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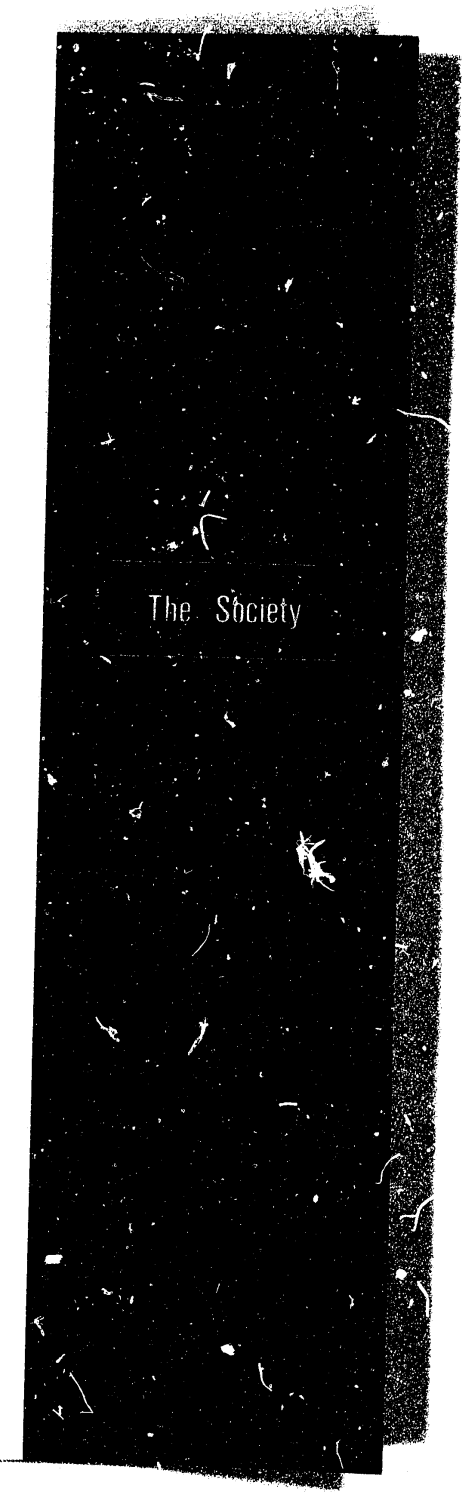

Singapore

May 1973

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SURVEY

CONFIDENTIAL

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SURVEY PUBLICATIONS

The basic unit of the NIS is the *General Survey*, which is now published in a bound-by-chapter format so that topics of greater perishability can be updated on an individual basis. These chapters—Country Profile, The Society, Government and Politics, The Economy, Military Geography, Transportation and Telecommunications, Armed Forces, Science, and Intelligence and Security, provide the primary NIS coverage. Some chapters, particularly Science and Intelligence and Security, that are not pertinent to all countries, are produced selectively. For small countries requiring only minimal NIS treatment, the *General Survey* coverage may be bound into one volume.

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SINGAPORE

CONTENTS

This General Survey supersedes the one dated July 1968, copies of which should be destroyed.

FIGURES

The Society

A. Introduction (U/OU)

Modern Singapore is a dynamic society, combining welfare state socialism and capitalist free enterprise. Its multiracial population, largely descended from Chinese, Indian, and Malay immigrant stock, enjoys the second highest per capita income in the Far East (after the Japanese), and its educational, health, housing, and welfare services are far advanced over those of its neighbors. Because of a lowered birth rate, the result of an effective family planning program, economic development has not been negated by a rapidly growing population. Full employment has been virtually achieved, and inflation has been contained within reasonable bounds.

Although impressive accomplishments have been made since 1959, Singapore is still, in relative terms, a small, weak country poor in natural resources. Perhaps its greatest asset is its industrious, disciplined, and resourceful people. Grave disparities, which in the past have led to violence, continue to exist, however, between the Chinese majority and the Malay minority. Despite improvement, the Malays, who prefer a noncompetitive life style, remain disadvantaged vis-a-vis the Chinese. Among the Chinese themselves, there are cleavages based on income and education and between those whose language and culture are traditionally oriented and those whose emotional ties are with the West. Future economic progress, now heavily dependent on foreign trade for both raw materials and markets, is to a considerable extent at the mercy of international economic developments.

In such a milieu, Singapore's leaders are attempting to create economic stability and to fashion a national consciousness that will reflect a fusion of the values and attitudes of the multiracial, multilingual, and multicultural society. Because of visible progress and prosperity, Singaporeans in the main have given support to government plans and policies. They have also become accustomed to active involvement in the political and social life of the nation. As one observer has noted, Singaporeans:

> are exposed to election rallies that bring their candidates and even top national leaders face to face with them in their home districts. They are rarely out of range of radio or television, so closely do they live and work together and so avid are they for perpetual sound and motion. They turn out by the hundreds of thousands for well-staged state occasions. In between times they pack the sports fields, the theaters, the parks, and the markets. They also pack the schools, the clinics, and the streets, and by day and by night it seems as though a major part of the population is always on the move.

The origins of Tumasik, or Old Singapore, remain shrouded in antiquity. According to ancient Malay annals, the first settlement was founded in the seventh century by an Indian prince who, upon landing on the island with his party, saw a strange beast which he took to be a lion. Believing this to be a good omen, he named the new settlement "Singapura," or Lion City. For roughly 12 centuries, Singapore remained largely a mangrove swamp inhabited by Malay fishermen and pirates, although from the 11th to the 15th century control of the island alternated between Indian and Siamese kingdoms engaged in a continuing struggle for domination of the Malay Peninsula.

In 1819, Thomas Stamford Raffles, the British governor of Bencoolen in Sumatra, selected Singapore as the site of a trading post for the East India Company. With its natural harbor and strategic location, Singapore, by the mid-1840's, had become a thriving port town (Figure 1) largely for entrepot trade, serving as a center for the exchange of products from Europe, India, China, and the neighboring countries of Southeast Asia. The population of the island increased rapidly. When the British party landed in 1819, they found a few Chinese gambier planters and some 120 Malay followers of the local sultan. In less than 6 months it was claimed that the influx of Chinese, Buginese from the Celebes, and Malays had raised the population to 5,000, a figure

FIGURE 1. A view of Singapore from Government Hill, as portrayed in 1846 by John Turnbull Thomas, a government surveyor who produced some of the earliest maps of the city (U/OU)

which is said to have doubled by the following year. By about 1840 the Chinese had become numerically predominant, and the colony at an early st ge of its development took on the character of a Chinese town.

During the remainder of the 19th and early 20th centuries, additional thousands of immigrants streamed into the island. Although overwhelmingly Chinese, their numbers included many Indians, mostly Tamils from southern India, and Malays originating in peninsular Malaya and the Indonesian islands. From a population that was largely transient and dominated by Chinese males, most of whom eventually returned to their homeland, Singapore society in the 20th century has stabilized fairly rapidly, largely as a result of the maturing of local-born residents, restrictions on immigration, and limitations on travel to and from China. By the early 1970's the transition from a transient to a permanently settled society was almost complete, roughly 75% of the population being Singapore-born.

Until World War II, Singapore was governed like any other British colony, the British influence molding its society and culture. After the withdrawal of the Japanese occupying forces, who apparently had little lasting impact on the Singaporean way of life, the United Kingdom resumed colonial rule, but it granted limited self-government in 1955 and full internal self-government in 1959. The Peopl.'s Action Party (PAP) won the election of 1959 and installed Lee Kuan Yew as Prime Minister of the new state. After declaring its independence from the United Kingdom in 1963, and after a brief union with Malaysia extending from 1963 to 1965, Singapore became an independent and sovereign republic within the British Commonwealth on 9 August 1965, with Prime Minister Lee remaining as the dominant political figure.

In the process of modern development, Singaporeans have been regional pioneers for a century and a half. They arrived as penniless and culturally deprived immigrants, most commonly as indentured coolies. Today, their descendants are accustomed to the spectacle of enormous disciplined enterprises. The small family-owned business is gradually giving way to large industrial plants requiring modern technological know-how, but trade and commerce remain the engrossing preoccupation of the majority of Singaporeans, in particular the Chinese. There are thousands of peddlers, shopkeepers, salesmen, merchants, and dealers of all descriptions and dimensions. The daily spectacle is one of the busiest of dealings in merchandise of all quantities and varieties, and as has been noted:

> the portable noodle stand, the streetside textile pitch, the ten-square-meter household goods emporium, the electronics shop, the motor car agency, the gigantic import-export house represent the normal range of career opportunity to be spanned perhaps within a lifetime.

B. Structure and characteristics of society (C)

Singapore's multiracial but predominantly Chinese population constitutes what might be called an immigrant society, in that its origins and development were based on a flow of immigration rather than on indigenous growth. The people who comprise the

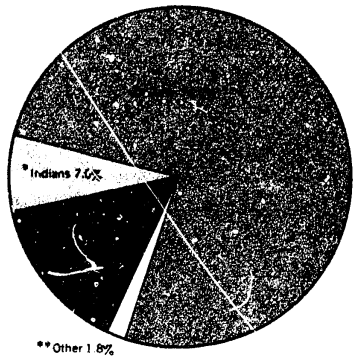
population today are primarily the descendants of contract laborers and others who came from China, India, the Malay Peninsula, and various parts of the Indonesian archipelago during the 19th century and the early decades of the 20th, settling an area which was largely uninhabited when the British acquired control of the island in 1819 but which was destined to become the major port and commercial center of Southeast Asia. Although Europeans make up only a tiny portion of the population, the long period of British rule has left an indelible Western imprint which appears to overshadow the traditional cultural patterns of the island's various Asian peoples. Singapore's role as the chief commercial, transportation, and communications crossroads of the region has contributed further to the process of Westernization and modernization and has given the society a highly cosmopolitan character.

These influences notwithstanding, the society contains significant divisive elements rooted in the different cultures and values of its principal ethnic groups, and while friction usually remains beneath the surface it has occasionally erupted into strife. Some of the differences have become blurred as urbanization and industrialization have brought the various groups into closer proximity. Also, since independence the government has made a vigorous effort to create a cohesive society and to promote a common Singaporean national outlook. The even-handed racial policy of Prime Minister Lee, combined with the general economic prosperity in which all ethnic groups share to some extent, has enabled Singapore to avoid serious outbreaks of communal violence in recent years.

1. Ethnic composition

According to results of the 1970 census, Chinese accounted for 76.2% of the population, Malays 15.0%, and Indians 7.0%, including some Ceylonese and those with origins in areas that now constitute Pakistan and Bangladesh. The remaining 1.8% were classified as "other," with Eurasians and Europeans comprising the majority (Figure 2). In the present century, the proportion of the total population represented by each of the major ethnic groups has remained roughly the same, as indicated in the following tabulation for selected census years prior to 1970:

Year	Chinese	Malays	Indians	Other
1901	72.1	15.8	7.8	4.3
1911	72.4	13.8	9.1	4.7
1921	75.3	12.8	7.7	4.2
1931	75.1	11.6	9.1	4.2
1947	77.8	12.1	7.3	2.8
1957	75.4	13.6	8.6	2.4



*Includes Pakistanis and Ceylonese
**Mostly Eurasians and Europeans

FIGURE 2. Ethnic groups, 1970 (U/OU)

Generally speaking, religious affiliation is an indicator of ethnic background. Most Singapore Chinese adhere to the traditional Chinese religion, which combines aspects of Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism; the Malays are almost all Muslims, and the Indians are predominantly Hindus.

Chinese first came to the island in significant numbers when the British began to develop it as a trading center and in this pursuit recruited thousands of laborers from southern China in the 19th century. Many remained to engage in trade or service occupations, and their success induced other Chinese to immigrate voluntarily. Malays from the Malay Peninsula and the Indonesian islands came in lesser numbers, first as farmers and fishermen and later as contract laborers. Indians entered the area initially as clerical or service personnel attached to the British East India Company but with the development of the plantation industry many immigrated as indentured laborers; others became traders or moneylenders upon arrival. The greatest influx of Indians occurred during the development of the rubber industry in the first two decades of the 20th century. Much of the early immigration, particularly among the Chinese and Indians, was of a transient nature, consisting of adult males who remained only long enough to save some money before returning to their homeland. This situation gradually changed with the arrival of increasing numbers of women. In the 20th century, the flow of immigration has been affected by various events, including World War II, and since the 1930's has been subject to a variety of governmental controls.

Elderly Chinese woman in traditional dress

Malay youths, one in western-style shorts, the other in traditional ankle-length sarong

Chinese father and son in family medicine shop

Malay mother and child

Indian family with Hindu family altar to the left. Images of Jesus and Mahatma Gandhi are included with those of Hindu deities

Indian Sikh wearing the turban and beard which characterize men of this sect

FIGURE 3. Representative Singaporeans (U/OU)

Development of the population through immigration has traditionally engendered the formation of ethnic enclaves, with new arrivals choosing to settle among people of similar racial and cultural background. Although patterns of ethnic exclusivity are likely to persist indefinitely in the central sections of the urban complex, there is a trend toward a weakening of residential segregation in the outer reaches of the metropolitan area and elsewhere—a trend which has been stimulated by a massive public housing program. Many Chinese, Malays, and Indians are now living side by side for the first time.

Because of the differing cultural traditions and the resulting psychological, and often physical, isolation from one another, intermarriage between members of the principal ethnic groups has not been common, a circumstance which has fostered the retention of distinctive physical characteristics. Although individual variations exist, most Singapore Chinese are of small to medium stature, with a sallow skin, dark brown eyes and a pronounced epicanthic fold, high and prominent cheekbones, and a rather broad nose with a low nasal bridge; head hair is straight and black, and body hair is sparse. The typical Singapore Malay is short and frequently of stocky build. His skin is darker and his facial features are broader than those of the Chinese, and the epicanthic fold is less pronounced. Like the Chinese, he has straight, black hair. The Indians exhibit considerable variation in physical traits. Most are of medium stature, with a fairly light build, dark skin, black, wavy hair, brown or black eyes, and a rather prominent nose. Many are fine-featured, however, and the minority whose forebears originated in the northern part of the Indian subcontinent are likely to be taller and have a lighter complexion than the southerners. Representative Singaporean physical types are shown in Figure 3.

Language per se is not a divisive factor in the society, because a majority of the population uses English either as a primary or a secondary tongue. Many Chinese and Indians, moreover, also understand Malay, the "national" language; in theory, a certain level of proficiency in Malay is required of all civil servants. After Singapore left the Malaysian federation in 1965, Malay was retained as the national language in order to ease political relationships with Malaysia and to provide a symbol for generating loyalty to Singapore among the island's Malay population. Malay also is one of the "official" languages, along with English, Mandarin Chinese (*kuo-yu*), and Tamil. The *de facto* language for government and business, however, is English, a legacy of the island's history as a British colony. Since 1959, the Singaporean Government has placed increasing emphasis on the use of English in the schools, and the necessity of having an English-language education as a means of social mobility and economic advancement is undisputed. Today it is virtually impossible to obtain employment in the civil service, or to undertake a career in the professions, in the more highly skilled technical occupations, or in large industrial enterprises without at least a working knowledge of English. Most Singaporeans speak their mother tongue within their homes and neighborhoods. The principal dialects among the Chinese are Hokkien, Cantonese, and Teochiu; small numbers also speak Hainanese, Hakka, and other dialects. The differences between the various Chinese dialects are so great that each, in effect, constitutes a separate language. An estimated two-thirds of the Indians speak Tamil, but Malayalam, Telegu, Punjabi, Hindi, and Bengali are also heard in some sectors of the Indian community. The Malay language used in Singapore is the "standard" version spoken in Malaysia.

2. Social structure

a. Chinese

The Singapore Chinese have a strong sense of ethnic loyalty but are deeply divided by socioeconomic differences. As virtually all of the immigrants had lower class origins, the major factors determining an individual's place in the social structure are economic status and education rather than traditional class distinctions. The original Chinese immigrants came almost entirely from the southern Chinese provinces of Fukien and Kwangtung, bringing with them their local customs, religion, superstitions, and foods. Because in Singapore there was no national pattern to which they could conform, they maintained a version of their homeland culture which, until recent times, was constantly reinforced by new immigrants. Although most of the original Chinese settlers came to work as laborers, they and their children soon branched out into other fields of economic endeavor, and today the Chinese are dominant in almost every occupational category, especially in commercial occupations.

Wealth is the most important means of acquiring high status, both for the individual and the family. A small but conspicuous minority have accumulated great wealth in business, industry, and banking, and this group constitutes the Chinese upper class. A much larger middle group has also emerged, comprising those in the professions, the civil service, medium-size business enterprises, and white-collar occupations in general. At a lower level are the majority of the Chinese population, mainly small shopkeepers, peddlers, laborers, people in service jobs, and some farmers. Most of the lower class is concentrated in the central portion of Singapore city, within the crowded "Chinatown" section, in which many of the old buildings are shophouses, with a family business on the ground floor and the family living quarters behind and above it. There is considerable upward social mobility among the Chinese, based on educational achievement, industriousness, and individual abilities.

Apart from class groupings based on economic status, two broad divisions are discernible within the present Chinese population. One sector, comprising a slight majority, consists of those still noticeably oriented toward their traditional culture; most of these persons are either China-born or first-generation Singaporeans who have been educated exclusively in the island's Chinese-language schools. A large proportion are in the lower socioeconomic brackets, and many speak and read only Chinese. They are likely to retain a feeling of loyalty toward China, regarding it as their permanent homeland, and for this reason they have been generally susceptible to influences and propaganda initiatives emanating from the People's Republic of China. The second sector consists of the growing number of Chinese who have been educated in English-language schools and whose cultural and emotional ties with China are weak; most of the political, business, and professional elite are in this group. These Chinese have assimilated Western life styles and values, and insofar as there is a distinct sense of a Singaporean national identity, it is found among them. Prime Minister Lee epitomizes the elite of this sector. Coming from a Hakka family and

educated at Cambridge, he learned to speak Mandarin Chinese only after his accession to power, when it became a political necessity.

While the Westernized Chinese tend to affiliate with broadly based organizations and societies and to circulate in a multiracial milieu, the tradition-oriented Chinese are generally involved in an extensive and often overlapping complex of ethnic-based voluntary associations. Largest and most inclusive of these are the dialect associations, which represent all of the major linguistic groupings among the Chinese population. These organizations traditionally have provided a variety of services for their members, including loans, assistance in finding employment, aid for education, and general welfare services. The large Hokkien Association has been particularly notable for its work in education. During the period of large-scale immigration, the dialect societies and other voluntary organizations performed an important function in supplying both material and psychological security for new settlers. Because this *raison d'etre* has less validity today, their membership and influence have been decreasing.

The ideal Chinese type of kinship organization, no longer sanctioned in the People's Republic of China and declining elsewhere, has been the large, extended family consisting of at least three generations living in one household, the typical group comprising a senior married couple, their unmarried children, and one or two married sons with their wives and children. The system is patrilineal and patrilocal, and the eldest male in the family has complete authority over its members, controlling family property and making all important decisions. Under the traditional system, daughters, when they marry, go to live with their husband's parents and become subservient to them. In accordance with Confucian teachings concerning filial piety, children are expected to show obedience to parents and to provide for their welfare in their old age. Because of the traditional stress on continuing the family line, there is a great desire for male progeny. When male children are lacking, it has been common practice to adopt a male child, often from some related branch of the family. The most important family relationship is that between father and eldest son, since the status of the son in the community has traditionally depended on that of the father. Upon the death of the father, the sons make periodic sacrifices in his memory at the family's ancestral shrine.

Traditionally, in China, a man was entitled to have a second wife, although the first wife usually continued to have "primary" status. A man might also "keep a girl," a mistress or concubine, and the borderline between secondary marriage and concubinage was often vague. The custom persisted among many of the Singapore Chinese until March 1962, when an ordinance known as the Women's Charter came into force whereby monogamous marriage became the only form permitted in Singapore, except among the Muslim Malays. Polygynous marriages already in existence remained valid, however, and children born of such unions are legitimate. In this type of marriage, the husband usually maintained a separate house for each wife and her children.

The infusion of Western ideas, the spread of modern education, and rapid urbanization have been changing traditional Chinese patterns of family organization in Singapore, and a new yearning for independence and individuality has been modifying family relationships. The changes are generally more of degree than of kind, with the result that the kinship system today is neither fully traditional nor fully modern, and compromises between the two are most typical. Nevertheless, the nuclear family is increasingly becoming the dominant type. For all classes it offers the advantage of escaping the domination of elders, and for young wives, in particular, it provides relief from the traditionally oppressive Chinese mother-in-law. Within the household, nuclear or extended, the position of women has improved, modifying the ancient saying that "a woman is obliged to obey her father before marriage, her husband after marriage, and her sons upon their father's death." The better educated and more sophisticated wives are no longer submissive in the presence of their husbands. Instead, they demand a role in decisionmaking, in disciplining children, and in managing family finances.

With many Chinese women sharing family responsibilities formerly reserved solely to men, heads of families no longer conform to the traditional concept of the stern, remote father figure. They tend to display more moderation in maintaining discipline and consequently have experienced some lessening of authority. Nevertheless, few serious confrontations occur between parents and children, the latter tending to bow to parental wishes. Family bonds remain strong, despite growing evidence of a "generation gap" stemming from the new desire for independence and self-expression on the part of Chinese youth and the burden of attempting to reconcile traditional values with modern life. The old spirit of filial devotion persists to the extent that even the most Westernized Chinese feel a strong sense of obligation to care for aged parents, and would suffer severe social sanctions should they fail to do so.

Under the traditional family system, Chinese parents exerted strict control in the choice of spouses for their children. Today, the selection of a marriage partner reflects a compromise between free choice and parental dictation. If parents bring a prospective couple together, final agreement normally rests with the young man and woman. On the other hand, if two young people initiate a match, it is usually subject to approval or rejection by the parents. Most Singapore Chinese brides are in the 20-24 age group; Chinese men are somewhat older when they marry, the largest proportion falling in the 25-29 age bracket. The marriage ceremony may be a religious one, conducted by a Buddhist or Taoist priest, or by a Christian clergyman if the bride and groom belong to the minority of Chinese families who have converted to Christianity. It may also be a civil ceremony, a form which is increasingly popular. Still other types of wedding "ceremonials" are sometimes used. One involves simply the drawing up of a privately made and printed marriage certificate. Another, known as a declaratory marriage, consists of an announcement in the Chinese press that the couple have decided to live together as man and wife. The legal status of such unions is unclear.

Until the promulgation of the Women's Charter, Singapore Chinese married in customary rites could separate by signing a mutual consent agreement, an action which was accepted by the Chinese community as equivalent to divorce. If either spouse refused to sign, there was no approved method of ending the union. Under the charter, however, every solemnized marriage must be registered by a public official, and the courts are authorized to dissolve such a marriage upon presentation of appropriate grounds. No woman other than a legal, "primary" wife whose marriage has been registered may claim a husband's property after his death.

b. Malays

Although a large proportion of Singapore's Malays are immigrants or descendants of immigrants from the Malay Peninsula, many derive from nearby Malay-speaking areas of Indonesia; others have origins farther afield in non-Malay-speaking parts of the archipelago but have adopted the language and other cultural traits of the local Malays. Over the years, tribal-linguistic differences have become increasingly indistinct.

The original Malay settlers were farmers and fishermen, and a few still follow such occupations, but the Singapore Malays as a whole have become largely urbanized, in keeping with the highly urban and suburban character of the island. The traditional Malay class division between aristocracy and commoners, which still exists in Malaysia, has little pertinence in Singapore, where there is no established aristocracy and where the majority of Malay workers are unskilled or semiskilled. Although some progress has been made in raising the socioeconomic level of the Malays, they continue to be concentrated in low-status occupations in much greater proportions than any of the other ethnic groups. Relatively few aspire to white-collar jobs, and those who do are commonly employed in the civil service or in teaching, the principal channels of upward social mobility for this segment of the population. Observers indicate that the problem stems in large part from the poor quality of education in Malay-language schools, a situation which results in limited scholastic achievement, lack of proficiency in English, and low employment aspirations. A fundamental goal of the government is equality of opportunity for all ethnic groups, and Prime Minister Lee has expressed a determination to solve the problems which create the imbalance in development between the Malays and other groups.

The Malays do not appear to be organized to any significant extent into associations based on common origin or dialect, as is the case with the Chinese. There are a few Malay welfare associations, however, and such organizations as the Singapore Malay Teachers Union and the Muslim Religious Council represent Malay interests in the education and religious spheres. Also, Indian Muslim leaders and prominent members of Singapore's small Arab community have sometimes acted as spokesmen for the Malays on the basis of religious affinity.

Although the Malays have not been inclined to form ethnically oriented associations, there has been a definite tendency among groups originating in the same area to cluster together in *kampongs* (districts or villages). In many cases, especially among those Malays originating in Indonesia, the residents of a particular *kampong* have the same or similar occupations, a circumstance which provides an additional bond. The *kampong*, traditionally linked to the governmental structure through its headman, is still the most meaningful social unit for much of the rural and exurban Malay population. Typically, it is a fairly small unit; its residents usually know each other personally, often being related by blood or marriage. The families that make up a *kampong* live in a loosely organized communal manner characterized by mutual dependence and cooperation in the performance of local projects. These may include the establishment of a school, the improvement of a road, or the clearing of

a drainage ditch. The sense of unity in the *kampong* is furthered by the fact that its inhabitants share a common religion, Islam, which brings them together for rituals and celebrations, and subscribe to a common body of traditional customs *adat*—which govern most of their social relationships. Malay *kampongs* can be found on the coconut groves and rubber plantations of Singapore, as well as in the coastal areas and on the islands off the coast. But this type of community has been rapidly disappearing from the urban and suburban scene as old neighborhoods make way for blocks of new housing.

The nuclear family, consisting of a married couple living together with their unmarried children, is the most common type of kinship unit among Singapore Malays. Descent is traced from the father, but there are no family surnames. A person is known by his given name, to which is added *bin*, "son of," or *binti*, "daughter of," and the given name of the male parent; a woman's name does not change when she marries. Considerable solidarity, emotional as well as economic, exists between an individual and his kinsmen. An individual is considered to have the right to appeal to a wide circle of relatives for financial help or for services whenever he is in need.

In the relationship between parents and children, however, the pattern of rights and obligations is in sharp contrast to that of the Chinese. While parents must always be ready and willing to help their children in every way, even after the latter have married and settled in separate residences, they neither expect nor receive much in return. In both principle and practice there is little veneration of old age, and a man is always expected to consider the welfare of his wife and children before that of his parents. An elderly couple, unless they are infirm, must attempt to earn their living. The situation is not as unfair to the old as it might appear, for in their youth they would have had the same type of relationship with their own parents. One gives to one's children all the privileges that one received from one's own father and mother.

Marriage and divorce procedures among the Malay population are regulated by Islamic law and, to some extent, by *adat*. Marriage usually takes place within one's own territorial and income group and, if possible, within the kinship circle. In the past, most Malay girls were married in their teens, but as of 1970 more than half were in the 20-24 age group at the time of first marriage. The majority of Malay men marry in their early twenties. Matchmaking is considered to be the prerogative of parents, although the prospective groom is consulted and has some small freedom of choice; the bride often has none. The wedding, preceded by a formal engagement, starts with the signing of the marriage contract by the bride's legal guardian—her father or senior male relative—in the presence of her male kinsmen and guests. A registrar of Muslim marriages (*kathi*) officiates and issues the certificate. Thereafter, a variety of traditional rituals, ceremonies, and festivities takes place over a period of several days.

In the past, marriages among Malays lacked stability because of the ease with which a man could obtain a divorce under Muslim law—simply by repudiation of his wife. Since 1959, when Sharia (Muslim law) courts were established and given responsibility for deciding Muslim divorce cases, there has been a sharp decline in Malay divorces. Observers have noted considerable independence among the women of the Malay community in their marriage relationships, presumably because of the high degree of solidarity between a woman and her close kinsmen, upon whom she could depend for support if her husband should divorce her; children of divorced couples commonly reside with their mother. Any property a woman acquired before her marriage, or afterward through her own efforts, remains her own. When a marriage is dissolved by the death of the husband, his property is supposed to be divided among his heirs according to Islamic law, a male being granted double the share of a female. In practice, this requirement is modified by *adat*.

Although the Koran permits a Muslim to have up to four wives simultaneously, polygyny has never been common among Singapore Malays for the reason that few men in the depressed Malay community can support more than one wife and family at a time. Moreover, not many Malay parents are willing to give their daughters in marriage to a man whom they know to be already married. Extramarital liaisons with any degree of permanence have also been rare.

c. *Indians*

Almost all of the major ethnolinguistic groups of the Indian subcontinent are represented in Singapore, but southern Indians greatly predominate, accounting for more than 80% of the total Singapore Indian population in 1969; of these, the Tamil-speaking group is by far the largest. Most of the southern Indians are immigrants or descendants of immigrants who came to work on the rubber plantations in the early part of the 20th century. A much smaller group consists of diverse peoples with origins in northern India (including present-day Pakistan and Bangladesh), some of whom are descendants of persons who migrated to the Straits Settlements under British

auspices early in the 19th century to become laborers, clerks, traders, and middlemen of all sorts. The most numerous of the north Indian subgroups are the Punjabis, and the most distinctive are the Sikhs, all of whom have the name "Singh," meaning "lion." Tall and generally bearded, Sikh men wear their hair uncut coiled under a turban. Traditionally a warrior people, they are employed primarily as policemen and building guards.

The social structure of the Singapore Indians has been affected by the immigration patterns associated with a large sector of the community. Until late in the 19th century, the number of Indians coming to Singapore was fairly small, and there were few women among them. Most of the men who migrated in the early colonial period later returned to India, although some remained on the island and married Malay women; a smaller number of others eventually sent for their families. Significant immigration began in the latter part of the century and reached large proportions in the early 1900's, but the majority entered under contract to work on the rubber plantations and in other industries, and after completion of the contract many went back to the mother country. Moreover, those who stayed and remained on the rubber estates were dependent on the organization and patterns of living imposed by the plantation owner and had little opportunity to develop a distinctly Indian community. The constant turnover among the contract workers also militated against the formation of a stable and cohesive group. As time went on, however, the number of permanent migrants increased, more Indian women joined their husbands and brothers, and the men branched out into a variety of occupations and began to play a role in almost every phase of the economic life of the island, becoming largely urbanized in the process.

Since World War II there has been a growing stabilization of the Indian community. Although many still retain close ties with the homeland, actual contact with India has been diminishing, and in 1969 it was estimated that about half of the Indian population was born in Singapore. Also, most of the Indians seem to have decided to become citizens, an opportunity open to them following the creation of separate Singapore citizenship in 1957.

Because the great majority of Indian immigrants were from the lower castes, the hierarchical structure of the traditional Indian caste system and its attendant values have been minimized or lost in the Singapore Indian milieu. Similarly, cultural differences among peoples from southern India have become blurred, since most are Tamil-speaking Hindus who have intermarried freely with members of other linguistic groups from the south. Indians with antecedents in the northern part of the subcontinent have retained their distinctiveness, but there appears to be little antagonism between them and the southerners. Also, religious differences have created no problems among Singapore Indians; Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsees, and Christians coexist without hostility.

Despite the virtual absence of caste in the Indian community, class stratification is present, based on economic criteria. The Indian upper class appears to consist largely of a few bankers, wealthy businessmen, and successful professionals, many of whom are northern Indians. A middle sector comprises technicians, management and civil service personnel, small businessmen, and skilled workmen; and the lower class includes those engaged in services, semiskilled workers, street vendors, and unskilled industrial and agricultural laborers. There is little evidence of class solidarity. Voluntary associations among the Indians are usually centered on a craft, trade, or profession. Although the associations are concerned primarily with mutual problems relating to the commercial interests of the members, they also serve as pressure groups for Indian interests in general. Northern Indians make up a disproportionate share of the membership of such groups, and they therefore exert an influence somewhat greater than their percentage of the total Indian population would indicate.

Little specific information is available on kinship groupings among the Singapore Indians. In the mother country, tradition has favored the extended patrilineal family unit, composed of a husband and wife, their unmarried children, and the married sons and families, but the nuclear family is believed to predominate in the Singapore Indian community. Observers have noted that the immigration patterns of the Indians in the past have not been conducive to the development of strong family life. Many Indian men in Singapore reportedly still have wives and children in the homeland. Marriage customs among the Indian Muslim minority presumably conform to traditional Islamic precepts.

3. Social values and attitudes

Although Chinese, Malays, Indians, and other ethnic groups have had to live in fairly close proximity because of the geographical limitations of the island, the amount of cultural and social exchange has been small. Each of the groups has formed a distinctive element of society, maintaining its own values,

customs, and patterns of living. Singaporeans as a whole might be said to find their identity and their primary satisfaction in family and community relationships. There is little encouragement for the type of individualism that characterizes Western societies. Even among the wealthiest Chinese, business enterprise is regarded as a family affair. In general, Singaporeans show a high concern for the welfare of those in the kinship group and a relative indifference to those outside it.

Interethnic friction in Singapore centers on the divisiveness between the two principal groups, the Chinese and the Malays. Much of the problem is related to a difference in values which manifests itself most noticeably in the economic sphere. While the average Chinese is aggressive, acquisitive, and highly competitive, willing to take a risk to increase his material gain and social status, the Malay is unassertive, with no ambition to accumulate wealth, which he views as important only as it permits him to meet family needs and discharge religious obligations. The Malay does not believe in amassing wealth for its own sake or for prestige. His attitude toward labor ranges from leisurely to indolent, and he esteems cooperation more than competition. At the same time, the success of the Chinese in the commercial realm and the economic and political power that has accrued to them have engendered feelings of frustration, fear, and envy among the Malays, who regard themselves as the original inhabitants of the island and resent the rapid advances of a people they look upon as interlopers. Although the Malays have realized some limited economic progress in recent years, the gap between them and the Chinese continues to widen. Adding to their resentment of the Chinese is the Malay tendency to consider all non-Muslims—and especially the Buddhist, Taoist, and Confucianist Chinese—to be morally inferior.

Relations between the Indians and other ethnic communities have never been close, although there is no open hostility. The Indians distrust both the Chinese and the Malays, and the two latter groups sometimes accuse the Indians of a lack of interest in Singapore. The Indians do appear to have a weaker orientation as Singaporeans than either the Chinese or the Malays, largely because their traditionally transient pattern of immigration long prevented them from establishing roots on the island, and also because their relatively small number inhibits their being strong contenders for national power.

At this stage in Singapore's brief history as a self-governing political entity, local feelings of loyalty to Singapore as a nation are difficult to assess. The prime objective of the government is the creation of a unified multiracial society with a sense of true national identity. Singapore's leaders, and particularly Prime Minister Lee, believe that the country's survival as a cohesive nation depends mainly on whether its people can develop such identification, and a number of social and political programs have been directed toward this end. The government's goal is not the obliteration of the diverse social and cultural traditions of Singapore but their amalgamation into a distinctive, multifaceted society which will be receptive to Western concepts of progress.

There are indications that some Singaporeans are achieving a sense of national consciousness. To the extent that it exists, it resides primarily with the Westernized middle and upper class Chinese, who occupy most of the better positions in government, industry, and the professions, and who take great pride in Singapore's achievements and their role in them. Political separation from Malaysia in 1965 and the United Kingdom's decision to withdraw most of its military strength from the region have made this element of the population acutely aware that Singapore is now truly independent. For the Chinese population in general, the widely held image of Singapore as a "Chinese island in a Malay sea" has acted as a psychologically unifying factor, but this is a concept which the government is attempting to discourage, in an effort to overcome the fear of Singapore's neighbors that the island is a source of Chinese Communist influence directed at subversion of the area. Although those born there are gradually dying off, China's gravitational pull continues to be strong among the tradition-oriented sector of the Chinese population. In fact, the younger generation, both Chinese- and English-educated, is showing signs of a growing interest in its Chinese cultural roots as a result of the emergence of the People's Republic of China on the international stage.

In order to counteract Chinese chauvinism, the Lee administration has been accentuating its drive to create a separate Singaporean identity by emphasizing English-language education and Westernization (although it denounces Western "permissiveness"), and in doing so it often appears to disparage Chinese traditions. This has caused an adverse reaction from many of the Chinese-educated, who have come to believe that they are regarded as inferior. Prime Minister Lee is also experiencing some loss of support among English-educated Chinese, his "natural" constituency, who are disenchanted with his authoritarian style of leadership. Those who are

disaffected represent only a small portion of the total population. However, and they exercise only a limited influence.

Among the Malays and Indians, the development of a sense of Singaporean identity will depend largely on the extent to which they are accepted as equals, socially as well as politically, by the dominant Chinese. It is largely in recognition of this problem with respect to the Malays that the government as a gesture has made Malay the "national" language. It has also given the Malays special preference in education by making free schooling available to them through the secondary level. The government is committed to nondiscrimination in its hiring practices, and its housing policy and social and political action programs are clearly aimed at integration of all ethnic groups in the society. While both the Malays and the Indians recognize that their material well-being is greater in Singapore than it would be in Malaysia or India, many of the disadvantaged in both groups—as well as in the Chinese lower class—are becoming increasingly restive as the life style of a highly visible, wealthy minority exposes the growing gap between rich and poor.

C. Population (U/OU)

Singapore's population, estimated at slightly more than 2.1 million at midyear 1972, has grown rapidly in the 20th century, having increased more than ninefold since 1901 (Figure 4). The gains were particularly pronounced in the years 1947-57, with an average annual rate of growth of 4.4%. Growth during this period resulted not only from the continued influx of immigrants, Singapore's traditional source of residents, but also, and to a much greater extent, from a high birth rate coupled with a declining death rate. The impact of such growth on living conditions and the environment in general, on job opportunities, and

FIGURE 4. Population growth (U/OU)

CENSUS YEAR	POPULATION	AVERAGE ANNUAL RATE OF GROWTH
1901	226,842	*2.3
1911	303,321	3.0
1921	418,358	3.3
1931	557,745	2.9
1947	938,144	3.2
1957	1,445,929	4.4
1970	2,074,507	2.8

*Based on the 181,602 inhabitants enumerated in 1891.

FIGURE 5. Population increase, by source (U/OU)

INTER-CENSAL PERIOD	POPULATION INCREASE			NET MIGRATION AS PERCENT OF TOTAL INCREASE
	Natural increase	Net migration	Total	
1881-91	-30,600	74,500	43,900	*169.7*
1891-1901	-42,400	87,600	45,200	*193.8*
1901-11	-59,500	136,000	76,500	*177.8*
1911-21	-38,000	153,000	115,000	*133.0*
1921-31	15,900	123,500	139,490	*88.6*
1931-47	180,100	200,300	380,400	*52.7*
1947-57	395,300	112,500	507,800	*22.2*
1957-70	593,459	35,119	628,578	*5.6*

on access to schooling and medical care was quickly perceived by Singaporean authorities, who during the late 1950's and the 1960's moved to restrict immigration and to institute a comprehensive family planning program marked by never-ending innovative publicity on the population problem. As a result, population growth has been substantially slowed (a growth rate of 1.7% was indicated for 1971), and the Singapore experience has been widely viewed as successful. Much of the success of the family planning program is due to the compactness of the republic; more than 75% of all births occur in one government hospital, enabling direct personal contact with 30,000 to 40,000 mothers a year, and the entire population can be reached by radio and television.

Unlike earlier periods (Figure 5), the increase in Singapore's population in the years 1957-70 was essentially the result of natural increase. During this period, the excess of immigrants over emigrants was placed at only about 35,000. Singapore authorities claim that permanent emigrants outnumbered permanent immigrants in the late 1960's, however, so it is apparent that immigrants from Malaysia continued to move into Singapore in some numbers in the late 1950's and early 1960's; residents of Malaysia were excluded from a 1959 Singapore ban on permanent immigrants (except for those with needed skills). The ban was extended to Malaysia in 1967, when Singapore and Malaysia agreed to impose full immigration controls at the causeway connecting the two countries. Since that time, only wives and children of Singapore citizens and those persons (and their dependents) whose entry would be "of economic benefit to the republic" have been eligible for permanent immigrant status. In 1970 some 2,850 persons were granted entry permits for permanent residence in Singapore under these conditions. To cope

with a growing need for semiskilled or unskilled workers, the Singapore Government has issued work permits for entry to more than 70,000 additional persons, mainly Malaysians, since the beginning of 1970. These persons are regarded as temporary residents, however, and are not eligible for permanent status. Resident noncitizens without permanent immigrant status are not automatically eligible for reentry into the republic should they leave for any reason. Reentry permits are issued only to those who possess needed skills.

Vital statistics for the period 1947-71 (Figure 6) reveal a sharp drop in both birth and death rates, the decline in the former occurring mainly in the 1960's and that in the latter in the 1950's. The birth rate, which decreased by some 51% between 1947 and 1971, fell primarily because of the success of the family planning program in overcoming the traditional preference of Singaporeans for large families. The decline in the death rate—some 59% in the 1947-71 period—was directly linked to improved health conditions and to increased medical care facilities. Better health conditions were also the major factor in the decrease in the infant mortality rate, which fell from 87.3 (deaths of children under age 1 per 1,000 live births) in 1947 to 20.1 in 1971.

With declining mortality, life expectancy at birth has been rising. According to U.N. estimates, this value rose from 60.4 years in the 1950-55 period to 68.2 years in 1965-70, and is expected to exceed 70 years in 1970-75.

Because the death rate declined in the late 1940's and early 1950's while the birth rate remained fairly

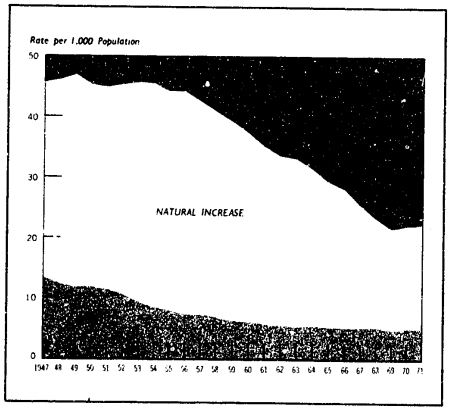


FIGURE 6. Vital rates (U/OU)

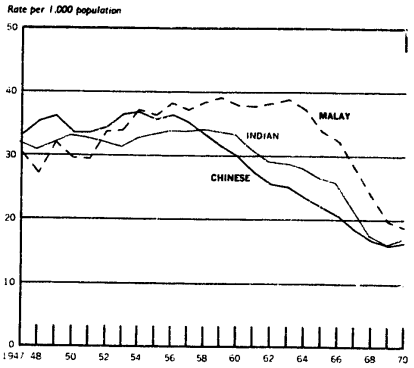


FIGURE 7. Rate of natural increase, by principal ethnic community (U/OU)

stable, the rate of natural increase showed a marked upward trend, reaching a peak of 37.1 per 1,000 population in 1954. Almost annually since that year, the rate has fallen as the birth rate has dropped; in 1971 the official rate was 16.9 per 1,000 population, but this proportion fails to reflect an underregistration of deaths. The Chinese community was the first to record a decline in the rate of natural increase, followed by the Indian and the Malay groups (Figure 7). As it has traditionally, the Malay community, which has a slightly higher birth rate, continues to register the highest rate of natural increase.

Concerned with the impact of rapid growth on economic and social development, Singapore authorities late in the 1950's undertook to restrict immigration and to subsidize the Singapore Family Planning Association, a private entity established in 1952 whose programs were meeting with increasingly popular response. By 1965, although the rate of natural increase had lessened as the result of a falling birth rate, it became apparent to the authorities that the desired scope of family planning activities was beyond the capacity of the association. Accordingly, the government took over responsibility for family planning in January 1966, establishing the Singapore Family Planning and Population Board within the Ministry of Health. The first official 5-year family planning program, initiated in 1966, had as its objective the reduction of the birth rate from 30 per 1,000 population (the rate in 1964) to 20 per 1,000 in 1970. Although the goal for 1970 was not reached, the

birth rate had declined to 22 per 1,000 population, and Singapore generally was viewed as a country whose population problem was under control. The goal for the period 1971-75 is 18 per 1,000.

After assuming control of family planning activities, the Singaporean Government devoted the first 6 months to improving the quality of its family planning services. Thereafter, it has concentrated on a massive indoctrinational campaign utilizing television and radio spots, posters, and exhibitions to make family planning an acceptable subject of conversation. The campaign centers around the theme "Singapore Needs Small Families," and emphasizes that small families live better, eat better, have a better education, have more money to spend, and enjoy better health. As a result, the number of women accepting family planning measures has risen steadily, the total for the 1966-70 period exceeding 160,000. Those clients who can afford to pay are charged S$1 (S$1.00=US$0.35) for a month's cycle of pills (which are also available in pharmacies), S$10 for the insertion of an interuterine device (IUD), and correspondingly modest prices for other devices. In 1968, some 54% of new acceptors chose the pill, 28% chose condoms, 10% chose the IUD, 4% chose miscellaneous other devices, 3% chose sterilization, and a handful chose injections, which were being given on an experimental basis.

As a further aspect of its family planning program, the government sponsored and, late in 1969, secured the passage of an Abortion Act and a Voluntary Sterilization Act. Both were aimed at cutting down the size of families among the less educated and lower income groups. Criteria for abortions have been established and are flexible enough to permit them to be performed for socioeconomic reasons. Abortions must take place in a government hospital or an approved institution and are available to Singapore citizens, to noncitizen wives of citizens, and to women, regardless of citizenship, who have resided in Singapore for at least 4 months immediately preceding the abortion. In 1970, the abortion rate was 50.8 per 1,000 live births. Sterilizations, which numbered 961 in 1970, are confined mainly to women, although some vasectomies are also being performed.

Apprehensive about a slight upturn in the birth rate in 1970, after 13 successive years of decline, the Singaporean Government introduced several "financial disincentives" aimed at reemphasizing family planning. The Employment Act was amended to exclude paid maternity leave for women who had already given birth to three children. In addition, delivery fees in government hospitals were changed from a standard charge to a graduated scale. A charge of S$10 is made for the first confinement, S$20 for the second, S$50 for the third, and S$100 for the fourth and each subsequent confinement. Delivery charges are waived for women who subsequently undergo sterilization. In a move to get tough with "irresponsible parents" who produce more children than they can afford to feed and rear, the government announced that large families no longer would be given priority when applying for low-cost public housing. Finally, in November 1972 the personal income tax law was revised so as to discourage families from having more than three children. Henceforth, the maximum number of deductions allowable for offspring is to be three instead of five.

1. Size and distribution

According to the preliminary results of the census of 22 June 1970, Singapore had a population of 2,074,507, a 43% increase over the 1,455,929 enumerated in 1957. By midyear 1972 it was estimated that the population had reached 2,145,000 and was rising by about 1.7% per year.

With an area of 225 square miles, roughly comparable with that of the city of Chicago, Singapore had a density of 9,533 persons per square mile at midyear 1972, only slightly less than that of Hong Kong. The proliferation of vast suburban housing developments is contributing to a more even distribution of the population than previously existed, but the bulk of the republic's inhabitants continue to reside within the city of Singapore, on the south-central coast. In 1957, some 63% of the island's population lived in the 37.6 square miles of the city proper, with densities in the crowded Chinatown area rising as high as 580 persons per acre. Chinatown since has been the scene of major urban renewal projects, but the central part of Singapore remains densely inhabited. New areas of high density include Queenstown, Jurong, Toa Payoh, and other comparable developments where the government has built large high-rise apartment complexes complete with markets, shops, theaters, schools, playgrounds, clinics, and other modern facilities.

The construction of new suburbs, the expansion of industry and commerce into hitherto rural areas, and the extension of the highway and public utilities systems throughout the island have resulted in a blurring of the distinctions between urban and rural. Although there are still scattered rural (or semirural) settlements, about 98% of the population are able to reach the downtown center within one-half to one hour by reasonably rapid public transit.

In general, the Singapore population is racially intermixed in the newer residential areas, but some of the older sections remain predominantly Chinese or Malay. The Malay community centers politically and intellectually upon the area near the Singapore Airport in Geylang. Other Malays live in *kampongs* scattered about the island. A few dwell on the offlying islands, most of which are wholly Malay in population. The Chinese and the Indians are found in all parts of Singapore.

As revealed by the 1970 census, the Chinese constituted majorities ranging from 51% to 98% in 51 of the 58 electoral divisions, and were the largest single group in three others. Malays comprised a majority in Geylang Serai and Kampong Kembangan and were the largest single group in Kampong Ubi and Telok Blangah. The greatest concentration of Indians was in Sembawang, where they made up 29% of the population. Of the 54 electoral divisions in which Chinese constituted the largest single group, Malays were the second largest in 35, Indians in 19. Persons of other than Chinese, Malay, or Indian origin—mainly Westerners—were concentrated most heavily in Tanglin, where they comprised 13% of the population.

2. Age-sex structure

The long-term trend in Singapore toward an increasingly youthful population was reversed during the 1960's. As a result of the declining birth rate and longer life expectancy, the median age rose from 18.8 years in 1957 to 19.7 in 1970. Despite the decline during the 1957-70 intercensal period in the proportion of the population under age 15 and a corresponding rise in the proportions in the adult years and the years of old age (Figure 8), Singapore has a young population, the median age in 1970 being more than 8½ years lower than that in the United States. The median age for the Malay community in 1970 was 16.6 years; for the Chinese it was 20.1 years; for the Indians, 21.6 years.

According to the preliminary results of the 1970 census, nearly one-fourth of the total population were under age 10 and about one-half were under age 20 (Figure 9). Only 3.3% of the population were age 65 or older, and only 12.3% were 50 or older. All together, 42.1% of the population were in the dependent ages (0-14 and 65 or older), whereas 57.9% were in the working ages (15-64), providing a ratio of 728 persons of dependent age per 1,000 persons of working age. This ratio was some 17% higher than that in the United States, but it was lower than that (817) ascertained by the 1957 Singapore census.

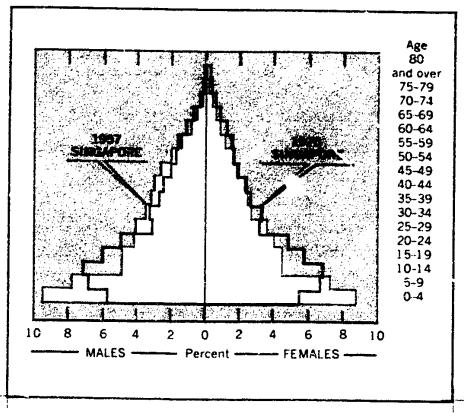


FIGURE 8. Population, by age group and sex, 1957 and 1970 (U/OU)

Singapore's population profile compared with that of the United States (Figure 10), reveals that Singapore has a larger proportion of persons in all age groups under 35 (except for 25-29) and that, conversely, the United States has a larger proportion of persons in the middle and older ages. The 1970 population pyramid for Singapore is marked by two major contractions: that for the age group 0-9 reflects the lower birth rate of the 1960's as compared with that of the 1950's; the contraction in the 25-29 age group shows the effect of World War II, with its war casualties, its higher death rate, and its impact on family formation.

According to data from the 1970 census, the population was made up of 1,062,127 males and 1,012,380 females, or 104.9 males per 100 females. Males exceeded females in all age groups except those 65 and older. The 1970 sex ratio, although high by Western standards, is the lowest to have been registered in Singapore in well over a century. The island traditionally has had an excess of men over women, its population having been formed in large part by immigrants, among whom men predominated overwhelmingly. In 1860, for example, there were over 600 males per 100 females, and men outnumbered women by better than two to one as late as the mid-1920's. As locally born persons have matured and raised their own families, and as the immigration of males has at times been severely restricted, the imbalance between the sexes has lessened. The imbalance remains greatest in the Indian community, where as of 1970 there were 152 males per 100 females. For the Chinese and Malay communities, the figures were 102 and 104, respectively.

FIGURE 9. Population by age group and sex, June 1970 (U/OU)

AGE GROUP	NUMBER			PERCENT DISTRIBUTION			MALES PER 100 FEMALES
	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	
0–4	121,039	114,417	235,456	*11.4*	*11.3*	*11.4*	105.8
5–9	143,926	136,607	280,533	*13.5*	*13.5*	*13.5*	105.4
10–14	148,506	140,341	288,847	*14.0*	*13.9*	*13.9*	105.8
15–19	126,358	120,059	246,417	*11.9*	*11.9*	*11.9*	105.2
20–24	103,181	100,554	203,735	*9.7*	*9.9*	*9.8*	102.6
25–29	66,650	66,095	132,745	*6.3*	*6.5*	*6.4*	100.8
30–34	68,462	67,919	136,381	*6.4*	*6.7*	*6.6*	100.8
35–39	58,441	54,454	112,895	*5.5*	*5.4*	*5.4*	107.3
40–44	54,015	46,862	100,877	*5.1*	*4.6*	*4.9*	115.3
45–49	44,148	37,598	81,746	*4.2*	*3.7*	*3.9*	117.4
50–54	37,770	33,453	71,223	*3.6*	*3.3*	*3.4*	112.9
55–59	34,044	31,321	65,365	*3.2*	*3.1*	*3.2*	108.7
60–64	24,998	23,925	48,923	*2.3*	*2.4*	*2.4*	104.5
65–69	16,488	17,011	33,499	*1.5*	*1.7*	*1.6*	96.9
70–74	8,261	10,577	18,838	*0.8*	*1.0*	*0.9*	78.1
75–79	3,855	6,307	10,162	*0.4*	*0.6*	*0.5*	61.1
80 and over	1,985	4,880	6,865	*0.2*	*0.5*	*0.3*	40.7
All ages	1,062,127	1,012,380	2,074,507	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	104.9

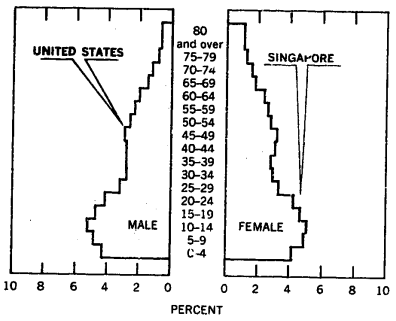


FIGURE 10. Age-sex structure, Singapore and the United States, 1970 (U/OU)

D. Living and working conditions

Conditions of living in Singapore, long the best in Southeast Asia, have improved substantially since the mid-1960's. A series of ambitious development plans orchestrating economic growth, heavy investment in social services, and family planning have led to the amelioration of longstanding social problems, albeit creating certain new ones in the process. Having devoted more than 35% of its total expenditures for health, education, welfare, and other social services during the years 1966-68, the government has since channeled increased proportions of its resources into capital investments designed to strengthen and expand the economy. Entailing among other things the development of industrial sites, the improvement of internal transportation, the reclamation of wastelands, the renovation of the central urban area, and the acceleration of an already massive public housing program, the investments have generated unprecedented economic prosperity, attended by the near elimination of unemployment, which had been severe for nearly two decades. Per capita income increased at an average annual rate of 12.5% between 1966 and 1971, when it reached a level of S$3,029, or roughly US$1,075,[1] a figure that was second only to that of Japan in East Asia. Thus, while the proportion of public expenditures for social services declined to about 25% in the early 1970's (Figure 11), most Singaporeans were healthier, better fed, and better housed than at any time in their history. With an increasingly large segment of the population sharing in the prosperity, moreover, the government was able to curtail sharply the proportion of funds allocated for direct public welfare services. (U/OU)

[1]Yearend exchange rates of the Singapore dollar (S$) per US$1.00 have been as follows:

1968: S$3.08	1970: S$3.08
1969: S$3.09	1971: S$2.90
	1972: S$2.80

FIGURE 11. Government expenditures for social services (U/OU)
(Percent of total expenditures)

FISCAL YEAR	EDUCATION	HEALTH	WELFARE AND OTHER	TOTAL
1966	23.8	13.2	6.4	43.4
1967	23.3	12.3	5.7	41.3
1968	21.3	10.6	3.9	35.8
1969/70	18.3	8.9	3.1	30.3
1970/71	14.7	6.9	3.0	24.6
1971/72	15.0	7.2	2.8	25.0

NOTE—Prior to 1969 the fiscal years coincided with the calendar years. The 1969/70 fiscal period extended from 1 January 1969 to 31 March 1970, and subsequent fiscal years have been from 1 April to 31 March. The percentages for FY1971/72 are estimates.

Singaporeans generally have benefited as a result of the government's closely guided plans for socioeconomic development, but they also have been required to make sacrifices. For example, restrictions on wage increases, a key element in the government's rather austere economic policy, came to constitute a limitation in the extent to which the mass of working class families shared in the national wealth. Furthermore, the personal income tax is quite high for people at all income levels, as is the property tax. Increased employment opportunities have come largely at the expense of a dilution in the right of workers to engage freely in trade unionism and in collective bargaining, and legislative devices have deprived the labor movement of some of its major prerogatives. (C)

Having adopted these and other measures largely to promote foreign investment, government leaders in the early 1970's perceived a growing restiveness among workers as the life-style of a highly visible group of wealthy entrepreneurs began to reveal a wide gap between rich and poor. Also, a growing awareness was being manifested in the disparity between workers' aspirations and their incomes. In light of these developments, the National Wage Council granted an 8% general wage increase in May 1972, and the Prime Minister held out the possibility for routine increases of 5% per annum thereafter, provided the economy continues to sustain a growth rate in excess of 10%. Two months earlier, the wages for civil servants had been increased by about 11%. (C)

While the wage restraints deterred an increase in wages for nearly 4 years, family income levels nevertheless rose as the growth in the economy enabled more persons to obtain work and underemployment declined. In fact, a household survey of family income levels conducted during the late 1960's revealed that the number of families earning S$150 or less per month, generally considered the poverty level, decreased by somewhat over 50% within the decade. The number of families having incomes in the S$151-S$300 range also decreased, but by a much smaller percentage. Conversely, the proportion of families who earned S$301 to S$1,000 monthly, a range broadly comprising society's middle sector, increased substantially. In order to attain the higher income levels, most families have had to rely on more than a single wage earner, as pay rates are low. Prior to the 1972 wage increase, the typical male industrial worker earned about S$50 per week; the male farmer or fisherman and the female industrial worker earned about S$30; and most beginning or unskilled workers earned approximately S$20. Despite the trend toward an enlargement of the middle class, the opportunities to attain a higher level of living have not been uniform. A disproportionate share of the wealth has accrued to the Chinese, especially to Chinese entrepreneurs, while many members of the minority groups—notably the Malays—continue to live at or near the poverty level. (U/OU)

Economic prosperity has been attended by increased acquisition of consumer goods, including both consumables and durables. Concerning the latter, the Prime Minister has observed that "many people now consider scooters, small cars, televisions, and refrigerators necessities, not luxuries." In 1969, one in every 20 persons owned a motor scooter or motorcycle; one in every 16 owned an automobile; one in 15 owned a television set; and one in nine a radio. The prices of many goods, especially items of prime necessity to the consumer, have been held down by strict controls. On the other hand, the cost of services, notably housing and transportation, has risen somewhat, requiring a realignment in the pattern of household expenditures (Figure 12). (U/OU)

Although prices increased at a faster pace during 1971 than at any time in more than a decade, inflation has been nominal, as indicated by the following consumer price index (1960 equals 100):

ITEM	1967	1969	1971
Food	114.3	112.2	114.3
Housing	108.6	112.5	116.0
Clothing	103.5	106.3	109.7
Miscellaneous	106.5	109.5	111.7
All items	110.6	111.1	113.6

The rise in prices that occurred during the years—and has continued through most of 1972—reflected the higher costs for imported articles, especially household furnishings and equipment. Two of the main sources

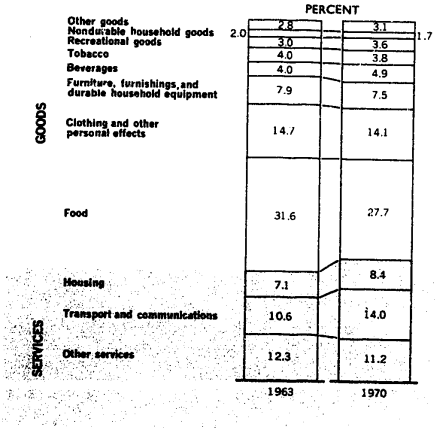


FIGURE 12. Distribution of household expenditures (U/OU)

for such goods have been Japan and the People's Republic of China. In 1966, the latter country was allowed to establish several department stores, or "emporiums," which are open every day of the week and are heavily patronized by people in all walks of life. (U/OU)

The acceleration in housing expenses since the end of the 1960's can perhaps be ascribed to an unsatisfied demand for better dwellings and a resultant increase in the cost of private housing, despite the enormous public housing program. According to the Prime Minister, over 60,000 families awaited public housing units as of mid-1972, at which time construction was proceeding at a pace of 20,000 units per annum, or twice the rate recorded in 1968. (U/OU)

The unfulfilled demand for public housing—a reflection of the aspiration for a still higher standard of living rather than of heedlessness, poor planning, or lack of resources on the part of the government—typifies the contrast between Singapore and other Southeast Asian states. Essentially, the needs and problems of Singaporeans are more akin to those shared by the peoples of the more developed Western nations. Similarly, several of the prime threats to health and to social security emanate from human frailties or from manmade contrivances, rather than from the natural environment. Crime and juvenile delinquency, for instance, are a major concern of the authorities and have prompted forcible responses by the police and courts. A substantial segment of the funds expended for welfare services is destined for the care and rehabilitation of wayward youth. Heavy penalties are meted out for the possession of firearms, and it is even illegal to conceal toy weapons. As a consequence, police statistics reflect a general decline in the incidence of serious crimes, not more than 2% of which are said to involve the use of firearms. The number of recorded cases of armed robbery and housebreaking reportedly dropped from a total of 3,125 in 1959 to 2,010 in 1969. The incidence of such crimes as murder, kidnapping, and extortion, formerly high, also has been lowered markedly. (U/OU)

Nonetheless, certain illegal activities persist; these include prostitution, gambling, trafficking in narcotics, and the operation of opium dens. Many of those who organize or engage in such activities, as well as those who perpetrate a disproportionately large number of the violent crimes, are members of Chinese secret societies. These organizations, erstwhile powerful crime syndicates, have largely evolved into gangs of delinquent youths who are kept in check only by relentless police action. Opium addiction, a serious problem elsewhere in Asia, is believed to be on the decline in Singapore, and heroin addiction is rare. Although there were an estimated 8,000 opium smokers in 1970, 87% of those arrested for the offense were over age 40. The use of marijuana appears to be increasing, however, especially among Malay youngsters. A Drug Act passed in 1969 was designed to enable authorities to cope with potential dangers posed by the newer types of addictive substances, namely the synthetic hallucinogens, and to strengthen the existing penalties for the use of dangerous drugs in general. Additional stringent penalties, including the flogging of convicted drug traffickers and the jailing of marijuana smokers for lengthy periods, were prescribed in a series of antidrug laws submitted to Parliament in late 1972. (U/OU)

Having blended elements of welfare state socialism with selective characteristics borrowed from societies which operate under free enterprise systems in order to attempt to build a resolute and dynamic society, national leaders have deemed it necessary to insulate their people from the doctrinaire aspects of communism as well as from the "degenerative" facets of contemporary Western civilization. One symptom of this has been the obsession for expunging the so-called "social pollution" spread by certain Western folkways and customs, such as the wearing of long hair by men. In the belief that hippies typify a permissiveness that is incompatible with the work ethic needed to insure continued prosperity, Singapore authorities have subjected foreign hippies, and would-

be local ones, too, to official and public persecution. The entry of foreign hippies has been discouraged, and some have been expelled, often following police charges that they had engaged in drug use or other objectionable activities. (C)

1. Health and sanitation (U/OU)

A comparatively high level of socioeconomic development, effective public health programs, and a widespread acceptance of Western medicine have combined to produce a level of health and sanitation that ranks among the highest in Asia. Natural environmental problems, such as those posed by the malarial swamps which once covered much of the island, have been virtually eliminated, and the population is by and large isolated from the afflictions that have traditionally ravaged the inhabitants of the mainland. Similarly, with the exception of rodents, animal and plant life no longer pose serious health hazards; moreover, rodents are kept under control by continuing inspection and extermination measures. On the other hand, climatic conditions, which are characterized by heavy rainfall and excessive humidity, promote a high incidence of respiratory diseases, skin infections, and allergies; in addition, the constancy of the tropical climate is enervating. Singaporeans also are subject to many of the threats to personal health and safety that prevail in Western metropolitan societies.

Two noncommunicable illnesses—cancer and heart diseases—are the leading causes of death; in the years 1963-70, they accounted for 13.7% and 11.1%, respectively, of all registered deaths. Additionally, cerebrovascular diseases caused 7.3% of all deaths; hypertension, 3.2%; motor vehicle accidents, 2.4%; and suicides, 1.7%. Mental illness has a high incidence.

The incidence of infectious diseases, including plague, cholera, malaria, and filariasis, is low; occasionally introduced by travelers, the maladies are invariably contained at an early stage and seldom result in fatalities. Leprosy, a disease once prevalent in Singapore, has been sharply curtailed, and the public leprosarium is said to operate at about one-half capacity. Although an average of more than 500 patients suffering from acute dysentery are admitted annually to public hospitals, gastrointestinal and other enteric diseases, including typhus fever and typhoid fever, no longer constitute serious threats to life. Food sold in the streets by hawkers or in open-air stalls (Figure 13) is believed to be a prime source of enteric sicknesses. Among respiratory ailments, pneumonia, tuberculosis, and bronchitis have the highest morbidity. The incidence of tuberculosis has declined steadily for many years in response to a concerted program of control, but the incidence of pneumonia has remained fairly stable and that of bronchitis has tended to rise. During the 1963-70 period, pneumonia accounted for 8.2% of all officially registered deaths, tuberculosis for 5.4%, and bronchitis for 3.4%.

As a major seaport and commercial center, the city is constantly vulnerable to the entry of infectious diseases from abroad, despite the rigid surveillance procedures exercised by health authorities. Although public housing and urban renewal programs have relieved the severe overcrowding that once characterized the central part of the city, thereby reducing chances for the spread of infection, hazards to the

FIGURE 13. Sidewalk butcher stalls, which often display uncovered pork cuts and entrails, major items in the Chinese diet, are gradually giving way to enclosed markets in the housing estates. Poultry, such as the smoked ducks hanging on the right, is also consumed widely. (U/OU)

health and safety of individuals are still concentrated in that area. There, too, air pollution caused by industrialization and the proliferation of motor vehicles poses a special danger to those who suffer from, or are susceptible to, respiratory disorders. Health problems are not unique to the residents of the built-up area, however, as serious health threats, resulting chiefly from inadequate sanitation practices and facilities, are found in some of the *kampongs*, particularly those inhabited by Malays.

The occurrence of such dangerous childhood diseases as diphtheria, whooping cough, and poliomyelitis declined markedly during the past decade; in 1970, only two deaths resulted from diphtheria, none from whooping cough, and there were no reported cases of poliomyelitis. Among adults, venereal diseases, which in large measure owe their high incidence to overcrowding and to the fact that transient maritime and naval personnel visit the city in substantial numbers, are a major health problem. Gonorrhea is by far the most prevalent form of venereal disease, followed by syphilis.

Judging from mortality rate trends, the antituberculosis measures have been highly effective. Having afflicted 358 persons per 100,000 population as recently as 1959, tuberculosis was the leading cause of death from disease during the first half of the present century. Although the incidence of tuberculosis remains at well over 100 cases per 100,000 population, the mortality rate from the disease had dropped dramatically, as indicated by the following tabulation, which gives mortality rates (per 100,000 inhabitants) for the leading causes of death:

	1963	1970
Cancer	74.0	76.9
Heart diseases	53.6	68.9
Cerebrovascular disease	36.1	50.2
Pneumonia	52.4	40.8
Tuberculosis	37.9	22.1
Bronchitis	16.7	21.7
Hypertension	12.9	17.2

Launched in the early 1950's, the antituberculosis campaign initially consisted chiefly of diagnostic and curative procedures; since 1960, however, the emphasis has been on prophylaxis through the administration of BCG immunizations to infants and schoolchildren. BCG immunizations are administered at hospitals and maternal and child care clinics throughout the island, and mobile teams regularly tour schools to inspect for possible outbreaks of the disease and to inoculate pupils, teachers, staff employees, and food hawkers who frequent the vicinity of schools. Over 90% of all babies born since 1967 have been immunized. Responsibility for performing diagnostic and treatment procedures rests mainly with Tan Tock Seng Hospital, in conjunction with the Singapore Anti-Tuberculosis Association (SATA), a private agency which operates several clinics. During the period 1963-70, the two entities administered a yearly average of 206,000 chest X-rays and regularly treated an average of about 5,200 patients; during that period, however, the number of patients requiring regular care declined by one-third. Although institutional treatment is available on a resident basis, most of those treated are out-patients. As in the case of tuberculosis, the decline in the incidence of other communicable diseases can be ascribed to the effectiveness of control measures. Ongoing immunization programs have been directed at curbing smallpox, cholera, tetanus, diphtheria, whooping cough, and poliomyelitis.

The Ministry of Health has overall responsibility for developing and implementing a national health policy. It is empowered to supervise the maintenance of public health standards, to design health programs and emergency preventive measures, to administer hospitals and other health care facilities, and to oversee privately operated health services. These missions are carried out by the ministry's two main elements, the Hospital Division and the Public Health Division. The former is responsible for administering all public hospitals and for operating a network of clinics which furnish specialized care on an out-patient basis. The latter division, which is responsible for disease prevention programs, carries out food and drug inspections, operates street-cleaning and refuse-collection services, and administers immunizations; disease detection and quarantine specialists, including those who inspect schools, are attached to the division.

The water and sewerage systems are administered by the Ministry of National Development through its Public Utilities Board. Slaughtering of livestock is done under prescribed health standards at facilities operated by the Department of Primary Production, another entity of the same ministry.

The capacity of the health and sanitation services to cope with major epidemics or natural disasters has not been tested. Based on the effectiveness with which they carry out routine epidemiological work, as well as on their demonstrated ability to render emergency medical assistance in the aftermath of rioting, the elements of the Ministry of Health would appear to be qualified and adequately equipped to meet such contingencies. Some police and military personnel receive training in first aid and could be pressed into service during disaster relief operations or other

emergencies. The Blood Transfusion Service, an agency of the Ministry of Health, maintains a blood donor program and operates a central blood bank. The supply of blood appears to be adequate for routine medical needs.

Sixteen hospitals, five of them privately operated, were in service as of 1970. Two of the 11 public facilities, with a combined capacity of 1,666 beds, were of the general type, while the others provided specialized medical care, as indicated by the following tabulation:

Type of facility	Number of beds
Psychiatric hospital	2,029
Tuberculosis hospital	1,306
Leprosarium	785
Maternity hospital	539
Infectious diseases hospital	250
Orthopedic hospital	120
Chronic diseases hospital	100
Venereal and skin diseases hospital	51
Hospital for the mentally defective	45

A department within the tuberculosis hospital specializes in the treatment of heart diseases. The total capacity of public hospitals in 1970 was 6,891 beds, while that of private facilities was about 860 beds. On a national basis, there were 3.7 hospital beds per 1,000 population. The public hospitals provided the equivalent of nearly 2.2 million patient-days of medical care in 1970. Attesting to the substantial number of patients confined with mental illnesses, the psychiatric hospital accounted for 42.5% of the total time, while the two general hospitals provided 24.0% and the tuberculosis facility 13.1%.

While all public hospitals provide out-patient medical services, supplementary care is available through a network of government-supported medical dispensaries and maternity and child care clinics. A total of 27 dispensaries and 32 clinics were in operation during 1970. In that year, nearly 1.4 million patients visited the clinics, which charge a standard fee of S$1.50 per visit. The clinics also provide prenatal and postnatal care on an out-patient basis, midwives visiting patients' homes. In 1970, the government also maintained 79 dental clinics offering a full range of treatment, principally to school children, expectant and nursing mothers, hospital patients, and the chronically ill. The number of dental clinics increased by about 75% during the years 1963-70 to meet a rapidly increasing demand; in 1970 the clinics registered some 593,500 consultations.

A total of 8,404 medical and paramedical personnel were officially registered for service in 1970. While most paramedical personnel were employed in the public sector, nearly two-thirds of all physicians and three-fourths of all dentists were in private practice, as indicated in the following tabulation:

	Public practice	Private practice
Physicians	496	867
Dentists	102	296
Nurses	2,843	1,461
Midwives	1,493	601
Pharmacists	47	198

In 1970, the ratio of physicians per inhabitants was 1:1,522, while that of dentists was 1:5,212.

Professional medical training is centered in the School of Medicine, University of Singapore. The institution's admission standards and curriculum are compatible with requirements for the Cambridge School Certificate, and graduates probably compare favorably in professional competence with those of most Western medical schools. There is, however, a paucity of opportunities to train in some of the more specialized fields of medicine; consequently, such training is usually obtained in the United States or in European countries. A number of doctors have been recruited abroad.

Although directly linked to the presence of modern health care facilities and medical personnel, the comparatively high levels of health which prevail are also associated with the existence of essentially adequate sanitation services. The water supply is potable and serves nearly 95% of the total population. Drawn mainly from streams in the Malaysian State of Johore, where it is impounded in four reservoirs, the water is piped across the causeway for filtration and treatment, which includes fluoridation. However, the growth of population and industry rendered this source inadequate during the 1960's, prompting the development of rain catchment areas, the construction of two additional reservoirs in Singapore, and the expansion of a third in the central portion of the island. Despite these measures, the island's requirements for water—which in 1971 reached an average daily rate of 116 million gallons, 44% of it for household use—periodically strain the available supplies, especially during periods of low rainfall in southern Malaysia.

Approximately 60% of the population is served by a central sewerage system. In areas not reached by the system, many people employ septic tanks, pit latrines, or rustic privies (Figure 14) for the disposal of human waste. Some of these facilities are periodically pumped out by tanker trucks of the Public Utilities Board, and the waste is emptied into the central sewerage system

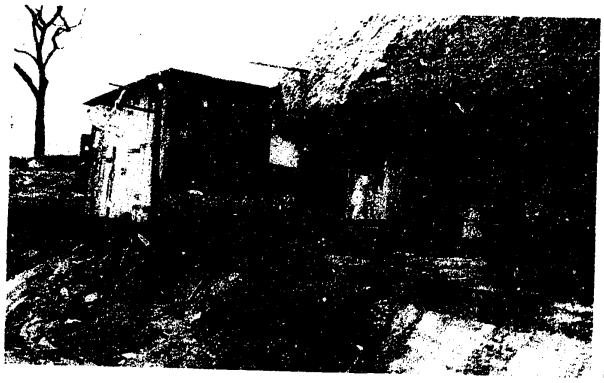


FIGURE 14. This *kampong* dwelling, equipped with a semidetached privy and a water tap, belongs to a Chinese midwife. (C)

for treatment. The residual sludge produced by treatment is used as night soil and for filling tracts of swampland.

In conjunction with antimalarial programs started in the mid-1950's, the government has given considerable attention to the improvement of water supplies and waste disposal methods in the outlying settlements. Emphasis has been placed on the installation of wells and standpipes of improved design so as to reduce the occurrence of parasitic infestation of local water supplies. Since the late 1960's, authorities have turned their attention to the newer problems of environmental sanitation, especially within the urban agglomeration. Stringent antipollution laws have been enacted in response to the health and ecological threats posed by industrial plants and automobiles. Public indoctrination campaigns, usually based on a variation of the "keep your city clean" theme, have been launched for a number of years. Backed by penalties for littering or otherwise polluting, these measures are said to have resulted in a marked improvement in the city's cleanliness. In a related matter, government plans call for the banning of all food hawkers by 1975.

2. Food consumption and nutrition (U/OU)

Although Singapore is a food-deficit area, its residents are among the best fed people in Asia. As elsewhere in the region, irrespective of ethnic derivation, the staple food is rice, the bulk of which is imported from nearby countries. However, much of the grain's nutritional content is lost because of a longstanding predilection for the polished form. Government efforts to lessen the preference for rice by promoting the consumption of wheat have yielded limited results. Reflecting the dependence on external sources for rice and other foodstuffs, the cumulative value of food commodities, live animals, and edible fats and oils constituted from 13% to 20% of the nation's total imports during the years 1967-71. In the latter year, rice imports alone amounted to 273 000 metric tons.

The island is able to meet most of the population's requirements for meat, poultry, and eggs, and local production of fresh vegetables satisfies about one-half of the total need. Leafy greens, including cabbage, spinach, kale, watercress, and lettuce, are among the main vegetables consumed; celery, cucumbers, green beans, and eggplant also are favored. The principal root crops are radishes, sweet potatoes, and cassava, the latter two used both as food for human consumption and as fodder for livestock. The variety of local fruit is large and includes papayas, bananas, mangoes, pineapples, rambutans, durians, and lemons. Peppers, curry, and other spices are widely used in the preparation of sauces. Together with fishing and poultry raising, swine husbandry is a major food production activity. The supply of fresh beef, on the other hand, is scant. During the years 1963-71, hogs comprised approximately 80% of all livestock slaughtered on the island; sheep and goats, 18%; and buffalo and oxen only 2%. In 1971, nearly 730,000 head of livestock were slaughtered.

Because the Chinese regularly eat pork and poultry and tend to consume a wider variety of vegetables, their diet is more plentiful, better balanced, and more nutritious, particularly with regard to the intake of proteins and vitamins, than is that of the other societal groups. The diet of the Malays, most of whom observe the Muslim proscription against eating pork, is generally deficient. In addition to lacking animal

protein, the typical diet of the Malays, and especially among children, lacks other important nutrients, as the consumption of milk, eggs, and fish is low. Nevertheless, consumption of milk, the vast bulk of which is imported in either canned or powdered form, has increased. Many Indians of the Hindu faith are vegetarians; those who are Muslims generally consume mutton, lamb, and goat meat.

3. Housing (U/OU)

Since World War II, extreme overcrowding throughout the city, but especially in the centrally located Chinese quarter, has been at the root of many of the health and other societal problems. Comprising what a national housing official once described as "the most crowded square mile in Asia," the central part of the city—an area of dilapidated shops and tenements where it has been customary for the people to sublet sleeping space in daylong shifts—was revealed to have population densities exceeding 580 persons per acre at the time of the 1957 census. While the overcrowding has been less severe in districts beyond the Chinese quarter, housing conditions there too have been substandard, notably in the Malay *kampongs* which lie along the coast and stream estuaries, which are subject to tidal flooding (Figure 15). Conditions are somewhat better in the Chinese *kampongs*, which are scattered throughout the island and are inhabited mainly by farmers and fishermen.

A modest effort to reduce the postwar housing deficit was made by the British colonial administration, which provided some 20,900 low-rent units during the years 1947-59. That amount proved to be far from sufficient and after the attainment of self-rule, high priority was accorded to the construction of public housing. The Housing and Development Board (HDB), an entity of the Ministry of National Development, was formed in 1960 and charged with implementing the First Five Year Building Program (1960-65). During that period, HDB concentrated its resources on developing Queenstown, a satellite town or housing estate, on the western outskirts of the city. By 1965, the program's goal of providing 51,000 apartments, or flats, had been exceeded by some 3,000 units, with Queenstown and half a dozen smaller housing estates accommodating 23.2% of the population. A survey conducted the following year revealed, however, that some 60% of the entire population still dwelt in substandard housing. Partly in response to this finding, but also because of the need to rid the inner city of its ramshackle buildings and narrow, congested streets, an urban renewal program was launched late in 1966. Within 5 years, approximately 5,800 new public housing units and shops had been built in the central area.

Under the Second Five Year Building Program (1965-70), resources were focused on developing Toa Payoh, a larger satellite town situated on the northern fringes of the city (Figure 16). Calling for the completion of a total of 60,000 units, the second plan emphasized the need to provide more open space and refinements in design and construction workmanship. As with the earlier housing estates, Toa Payoh has been laid out in neighborhood groupings comprising from 1,000 to 5,000 families; each neighborhood has its own primary school and market. Where three or more neighborhoods are in close proximity, a town center is provided containing a post office, banks,

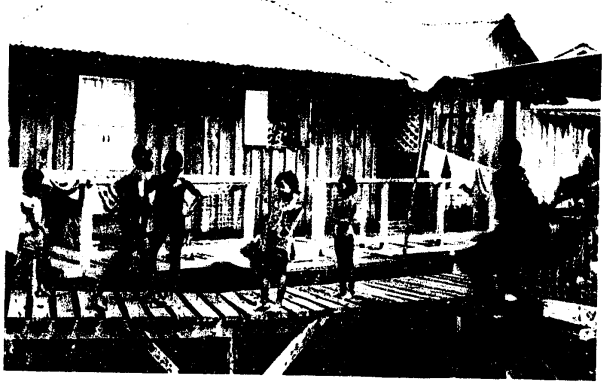


FIGURE 15. Malay *kampong*. Because of flooding, some dwellings are erected on stilts. Electricity is available in most *kampongs*, but few are served by central sewers or piped water. (U/OU)

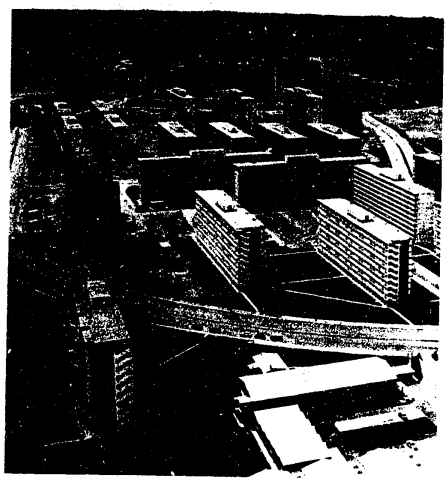


FIGURE 16. Partial view of Toa Payoh. Having replaced a squatter shantytown, Toa Payoh is scheduled to be completed in 1973, at which time it will have 36,000 flats accommodating 150,000 to 180,000 persons. As of mid-1970, it already housed an estimated 137,000 residents. (U/OU)

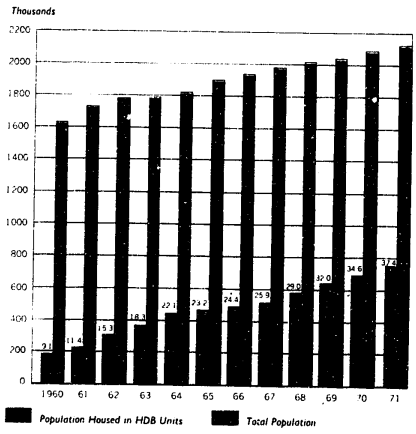


FIGURE 17. Population in public housing (U/OU)

department stores, health clinics, houses of worship, and recreational facilities.

Aiming to nearly double the number of public housing units constructed during the 1960's, the Third Five Year Building Program (1971-75) has a goal of 100,000 units, or the completion of one flat every 36 minutes, a target that reportedly was lagging as of mid-1972. Nonetheless, by the end of 1971 the HDB administered a total of 126,710 flats in multistory buildings, housing 37.4% of the national population (Figure 17). The current target calls for accommodating 45% of the population by 1975, and long-range plans forecast an increase to 70% sometime in the 1990's. Most of the existing housing estates, which are in various stages of completion, are to be finished during the years 1970-75, and three additional complexes—Bedok, Woodlands, and Telok Blangah—are to be started in that period. Bedok, scheduled for completion in 1975, has a planned maximum capacity of 150,000 residents. The other two, which are to be larger than either Queenstown or Toa Payoh, are considered long-range projects. Unlike Queenstown and Toa Payoh, however, some of the newer housing sites are situated at considerable distance from the city. To expand job opportunities, the government is providing incentives for businesses and industries to build new plants in the vicinity of the estates, or to relocate enterprises there.

Although surpassed by Toa Payoh as the largest housing estate, Queenstown contained approximately 21,000 flats and accommodated somewhat over 110,000 persons in 1971; plans call for it to be expanded by about 6,900 additional units.

Over one-third of public housing units are one-room efficiency apartments, but three-room flats (exclusive of kitchen and bathroom) still comprise the largest number, as indicated in the following tabulation:

Number of rooms	Number of units	Percent
1	43,077	*34.0*
2	30,717	*24.2*
3	49,682	*39.2*
4 or 5	3,234	*2.6*
Total	126,710	*100.0*

Most flats are rented, but in 1964 the HDB launched a "Home Ownership for the People" program whereby mortgage financing was offered on favorable terms to moderate income families. At the end of 1971, flats, which are being sold under a condominium arrangement, had been sold to 29.4% of all tenants, a proportion that the government hopes to raise by 10 to

20 percentage points within 4 years. Prevailing rental fees and purchase costs (in Singapore dollars) are as follows:

Number of rooms	Monthly rent	Purchase cost
1	20 or 30	3,300
2	40	4,900 or 6,000
3	60	6,200 or 7,500
4	120	12,500 or 13,000
5	*na*	22,000

The amount of rent is set at levels that normally do not exceed 15% of a family's income, and thus is said to exclude only a small minority from access to public housing. The allocation of rental flats is restricted to individuals having maximum incomes of S$500 per month or to families with total earnings of S$800. In special cases, families living at the poverty level, such as the Malay residents of several *kampongs* which the HDB wishes to raze, are granted a subsidy amounting to 40% of the rental fee to facilitate their resettlement; families with incomes in the range of S$151 to S$250 are granted a 30% subsidy. Slumdwellers and squatters also are provided other incentives for moving, and reportedly there has been little resistance to the resettlement projects. The minimum family size required to qualify for occupancy of a flat was originally set at five persons but has been reduced to two. Only Singapore nationals may occupy public housing.

To purchase flats, the monthly income ceilings are S$1,000 for individuals and S$1,500 for families. As an incentive for home ownership, the Central Provident Fund Ordinance, the major piece of social insurance legislation, was amended in September 1968 to enable workers to withdraw their contributions, entirely or in part, in order to apply the sum toward the 20% down payment required for purchasing a flat. In 1970 the down payment was waived for tenants who wished to purchase a flat in which they had resided continuously for 2 years, provided they had established a good record of rental payments. Additional incentives for home ownership have included a reduction from 36% to 23% of assessed evaluation in the annual rate of real property taxation, an extension by 5 years in the maximum length of time (formerly 15 years) required to repay a home mortgage, and the granting of authorization to owners wishing to resell their flats at a profit. Through a network of branch offices located on the housing estates, the HDB administers all rentals, sales, and other property transfers; it also attends to the general maintenance of the estates.

4. Work opportunities and conditions

a. The people and work (U/OU)

Rapid industrial growth since the late 1960's has generated a large expansion of employment opportunities in a wide variety of occupations, but mostly in light manufacturing and construction. In fact, unemployment, which was unofficially estimated to range between 10% and 15% of the labor force as recently as 1968, was substantially reduced within 2 years, by which time serious shortages had developed in the labor pool. The industrialization drive, however, coupled with a subordination of the importance attached to foreign trade—historically the leading economic activity—caused dislocations in the traditional patterns of employment.

While the rate of industrial expansion has been substantial, the nation's workers were largely unprepared for the advent of modern industrialization. Prior to the late 1960's, little had been done to reorient programs of human resource development, the main thrust of formal education having been directed at turning out liberal arts graduates trained to occupy white-collar positions. Thus a large proportion of workers, especially in the younger age groups, shared a disdain for manual labor. A concomitant of the widespread belief that the highest degree of prestige accrues to administrators and professionals, this attitude posed a particularly acute problem for new or diversifying industries trying to attract workers for jobs requiring little or no skill. Unlike most other industrializing countries, which draw on rural populations to satisfy such needs, it was necessary for Singapore to turn to external sources. As an expedient, the government adopted the policy of encouraging the temporary immigration of laborers, and over 70,000 work permits were issued to aliens, about 86% of them unskilled Malaysians, during a 2 ½-year period ending in mid-1972. Having considerably more difficulty enticing sufficient numbers of skilled workers, including technicians, engineers, and mid-level managers, the government has implemented a tax-incentive scheme designed to promote the establishment of on-the-job training by employers and has also developed long-range plans to expand and upgrade programs of instruction in technical fields within the regular educational system.

While the resistance toward manual labor and technical studies can be expected to erode in time, Singapore continues to experience some unemployment, a seemingly paradoxical situation in view of the general economic prosperity and the admission of foreign workers. The bulk of the unemployed,

however, are first-job seekers either untrained in the modern skills that have come into demand or unwilling to accept available work. As of mid-1972, some 35,300 unemployed were registered with the Ministry of Labor's Employment Exchange.

Although the labor force has showed signs of gradually conforming to the government's economic strategy, employment preferences along ethnic lines, as well as sociocultural barriers, have tended to interfere with the pace of industrialization. The construction industry, for example, which has long been dominated by Indians, experienced a severe shortage of both skilled and unskilled laborers during most of 1972; in addition to hindering the attainment of housing goals, the scarcity reportedly led to shoddy workmanship and increased costs, in part because inexperienced Malays had been pressed into service. It was likely, however, that Indian and Malay workers found it difficult to work together in harmony. For many years before the construction crisis, members of the two ethnic groups vied for a variety of service-oriented jobs, mainly in transportation, communications, and municipal activities; similarly, Indians and Malays have comprised a large proportion of those in the police and military services. Although contending in the same job markets, Indians have generally acquired higher levels of skill and, consequently, higher positions and better incomes than Malays, a disproportionately large number of whom hold menial jobs.

Progressing more slowly in socioeconomic terms than the members of the other ethnic communities, Malays prefer to work in cooperative rather than competitive situations. Because the accumulation of wealth is not important to the Malay, he is unlikely to be demanding and may even appear indolent once enough is earned to meet the basic and immediate necessities of life—an outlook that is reinforced by the high value which he ascribes to leisure. In sum, the agrarian orientation of the Malay worker appears not to have been eroded sufficiently to permit full acculturation to Singapore's urban-industrial society. Moreover, the resistance to such acculturation derives from the Malays themselves, as the attachment to traditional values remains strong. Many Malay parents, for example, continue to insist that their children be instructed predominantly in the ancestral tongue, thereby ignoring the handicap suffered by workers who are not fluent in either English or Chinese.

Contrasting sharply to the Malay, the Chinese is usually a competitive, self-assured individual. Chinese workers are represented in all branches of economic activity, but they predominate in commerce, international trade, and finance. Dominating virtually all forms of entrepreneurship, from street hawking (Figure 18) to transoceanic shipping, they occupy administrative, managerial, and supervisory positions at all levels and also comprise the bulk of those engaged in professional and technical occupations. Members of the small European community are among the few who effectively rival the Chinese, but such competition as occurs is confined mainly to the realm of finance. While holding a disproportionately large number of white-collar jobs, Chinese workers are also found in certain manual occupations (Figure 19).

FIGURE 18. Transporting their wares by cart or pedicab, street hawkers offer a variety of household goods or sell prepared foodstuffs. In conjunction with the urban renewal and public health programs, Singapore authorities are endeavoring to do away with street hawking by assisting the vendors to acquire permanent shops, or "pitches" (stalls), located in the housing estates. (U/OU)

Although universal education and the proliferation of job opportunities brought about by industrialization have blurred longstanding monopolizations of certain occupations by distinct sociocultural elements of the Chinese community, certain work preferences remain evident. Thus, most merchants are Hokkien, restaurant and domestic service jobs attract members of the Hainanese community, and many Cantonese are artisans. Farming, which plays an insignificant role in the national economy, is largely done by the Hakkas.

As is commonplace with Chinese communities elsewhere in the world, a strong sense of kinship influences employment practices, notably recruiting. The Chinese employer, who customarily assumes the role of a personal benefactor if not a father figure, has a predilection for hiring relatives. The strength of this

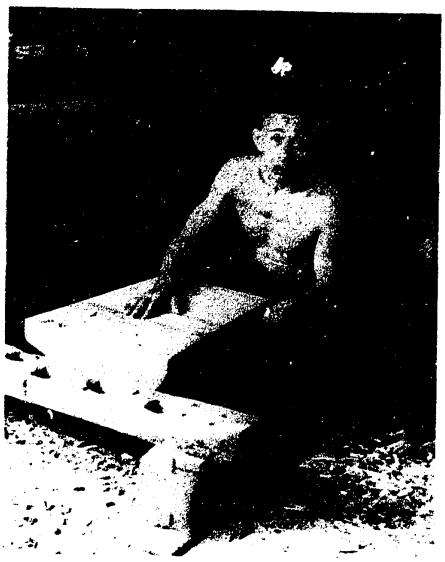


FIGURE 19. Despite the trend toward industrialization, skilled Chinese artisans, such as this carpenter, continue to play an important role in the economy. Working in small, family-operated establishments, many of the artisans hand down the ancestral occupation to their offspring. (U/OU)

commitment may even lead him to hire a relative who is not truly needed or even qualified for the work. If the supply of relatives is insufficient, the employer then usually seeks employees from among friends or close acquaintances; once those sources are exploited, additional candidates may be drawn from among individuals with whom the employer shares a common ancestral village, district, or even province on the Chinese mainland. In addition to complicating the process of recruiting personnel for large or expanding firms, the strength of kinship obligations tends to conflict with principles of modern management. Basically, the traditional Chinese employer has difficulty adapting to the somewhat formalized, impersonal relationships which prevail in modern firms; a special problem also is posed by the delegation of responsibility which is requisite in complex establishments, as the old-fashioned employer cherishes personal control and supervision.

While the traditional Chinese employer is not averse to hiring women for certain tasks, some resistance toward the employment of women outside the family business, or even outside the household, remains evident. Therefore, unlike the situation elsewhere in Southeast Asia, where women make up a substantial contingent of the labor force because of their participation in agriculture, Singaporean women have played a less important role as workers. Trends in the participation rate by women indicate, however, that industrialization is forging change in this. Having been enticed in increasing numbers to work in many of the new, or "pioneer," firms, some of which employ women predominantly, women as of September 1971 comprised 30% of the labor force, compared with 18% in 1957. In 1972, moreover, government officials were publicly urging housewives to seek jobs in the electronics, textile, and garment industries, all of which were experiencing severe worker shortages.

Greater employment opportunities for women notwithstanding, female workers are subject to on-the-job discrimination, especially as pertains to work assignments and remuneration. In 1970 the average amount earned by female workers was about 40% less than that earned by their male counterparts, and few women held supervisory posts. Furthermore, the inequity in payment occurs irrespective of skill level, as shown by the following tabulation of hourly wage rates (expressed in U.S. cents) for starting workers in the manufacturing industries:

Type of worker	Male	Female
Unskilled	15–23	10–15
Semiskilled	20–32	15–20
Skilled	30–75	20–25

While women increasingly are being drawn into the industrial work force, they have traditionally been relegated to domestic service and retail sales jobs, a notable exception being the Samsui women who serve as construction laborers (Figure 20).

The Singapore labor force also differs from others in Southeast Asia with respect to child labor. Although children aged 12 to 16 may obtain official work permits, few actually do so, in large measure because an increasing number complete secondary schooling prior to seeking work. The employment of children under age 12 is prohibited.

b. Labor legislation (U/OU)

Singapore's labor statutes are comprehensive in scope, having been revised or amended in order to update provisions pertaining to conditions of work and to strengthen those dealing with industrial relations. The Employment Act of 1968, a recodification of previous legislation, prescribes minimum standards governing, among other things, female and child

FIGURE 20. Samsui laborer. An association of celibate but nondenominational women who lead austere lives, the Samsui sisterhood originated in rural South China. The members scorn domestic jobs and seek personal and group redemption through the performance of strenuous outdoor work. (U/OU)

labor; hours of work and holidays; health, sanitation, and medical attention at places of employment; and a full range of work contract terms, including hiring and dismissal procedures. Minimum wage provisions do not exist, but the act sets forth guidelines concerning methods of remuneration and fringe benefits. Although the act recognizes the right of workers to organize, relations between labor and management are regulated mainly by the Industrial Relations Ordinance of 1960, as amended in 1968, which also outlines the government's role in the settlement of disputes between employees and employers. A third piece of legislation, the Workmen's Compensation Ordinance of 1955, applies chiefly to blue-collar workers, particularly to those engaged in hazardous duties; it specifically excludes domestic and casual workers, managers, and professionals. In addition to stipulating safety practices, the ordinance requires employers to insure workers against occupational injuries and work-related disabilities; employers are given the option of obtaining such coverage through private insurance carriers or of contributing to a government administered workmen's compensation fund. While the existing statutes establish minimum working standards, the machinery of collective bargaining is available to workers desiring better conditions; should such negotiations prove fruitless, workers may petition governmental arbitration.

Several of the legislative changes wrought in 1968 were designed to reduce production costs by curtailing the amount of worktime lost because of industrial conflicts and by tightening worker benefits. Thus, the statutes imposed restrictions on the right to strike, placed ceilings on the amount of wage increases, shortened the length of the workweek from 48 to 44 hours but limited the amount of overtime work to 48 hours per month, reduced the number of paid public holidays from 15 to 11, and reduced the amount of sick leave, which had previously averaged 32 man-days per year, to a maximum of 14 days in instances not involving hospitalization. Paid annual leave was limited to 7 days for employees with fewer than 10 years of continuous service and to 14 days for those having 10 or more years' employment. Acknowledging the importance of worker incentives, the legislation also contained provisions relating to profit sharing and to the inclusion of production bonus schemes in collective bargaining agreements.

Organized labor opposed several aspects of the legislation enacted in 1968. The provisions that met the strongest resistance were those amended to the Industrial Relations Ordinance for the purpose of diluting the power of unions to negotiate with management in matters pertaining to wage adjustments, to work assignments, and to hiring, promotion, and dismissal policies. Regarded by the government as essential to the maintenance of industrial tranquility, the measures also were officially construed as prerequisites for enticing foreign investors. Prior to that year, strikes could be called over minor issues, such as the dismissal or transfer of a single worker. The amendment to the ordinance not only enjoins workers from engaging in such strikes but also prohibits collective bargaining over any personnel action involving only one allegedly mistreated worker. Whereas issues concerning wages and dismissals—traditionally the main sources of conflict in industrial relations—had previously constituted the leading causes of strikes, other issues, most of them related to conditions of work, became the chief causes following implementation of the 1968 legislation (Figure 21). In fact, during 1969 the country experienced its first strike-free year in recent times. Five strikes were carried out the following year; only two were recorded

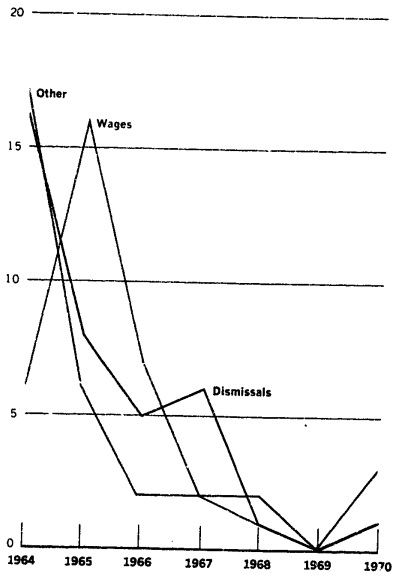


FIGURE 21. Labor strikes, by cause and year of inception (U/OU)

in 1971, resulting in the loss of 5,449 man-days, a substantially lower amount of lost worktime than was recorded in the mid-1960's (Figure 22). During the first half of 1972, however, there were six costly strikes, most of which occurred previous to that year's wage raise; those stoppages resulted in the loss of 16,268 man-days. Another measure which met labor's opposition stipulates that contracts resulting from collective bargaining are not renegotiable for a minimum of 3 years and may remain in effect as long as 5 years, at which time renegotiation is required.

The government, through the Labor Inspectorate, an entity of the Ministry of Labor, is charged with enforcing statutory provisions governing conditions of work. To assist in the performance of this mission, employers are legally bound to furnish detailed information concerning the number of workers employed, wage schedules, absenteeism because of illness, and the incidence and nature of job-related injuries. They also are required to register all job vacancies with the Employment Exchange, an agency that employers also are obliged to utilize in the recruiting of workers.

Although working conditions in Singapore are superior to those prevailing elsewhere in Southeast Asia, wide variation exists in the degree of compliance with the statutes. Generally, conditions of work are better in the large establishments, especially foreign firms, than in the numerous family-operated enterprises, where conditions are often poor because of the difficulty of supervising compliance with the regulations. Similarly, working conditions are said to be generally better in the public sector than in private industry. To facilitate the inspection of smaller establishments, the Labor Inspectorate reportedly plans to establish branch offices throughout the island. However, the need to pursue a more rigorous inspection and enforcement policy has also become imperative because of the proliferation of manufacturing industries since the late 1960's, a development that has been attended by the introduction of large quantities of modern machinery and by an increase in the number of industrial accidents. Because of the hazards created by rapid industrialization, a major revision of the existing Workmen's Compensation Ordinance was being officially considered in the early 1970's.

The legal basis for the formation and operation of trade unions derives from the Trades Union Ordinance of 1941, as subsequently amended. The statute

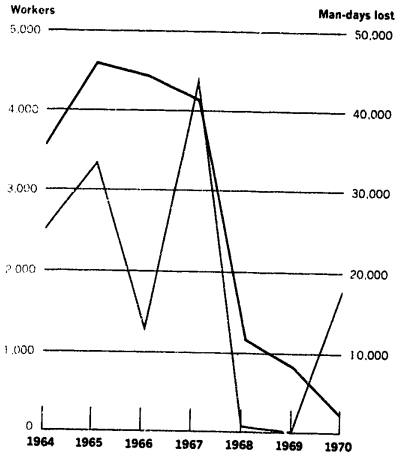


FIGURE 22. Number of striking workers and man-days lost (U/OU)

requires unions to register, and defines criteria which they must meet in order to obtain and retain legal sanction. Over the years, however, official interpretations of these criteria have been gradually broadened to the point where the government is empowered to abolish unions—a step it has taken on numerous occasions. The Industrial Relations Ordinance prohibits supervisory and managerial personnel from joining regular trade unions, and employees promoted to such positions must resign their union membership; they may, however, belong to specially chartered employer, or "white collar," unions.

c. Labor and management (C)

Having begun their organizational activities in the 1920's, the early trade unionists, most of whom were Chinese, drew their inspiration and techniques from Marxist teachings. Trade unionism did not flourish, however, until immediately after World War II, and then only briefly, as the principal labor organization, the Marxist-oriented Singapore Federation of Trade Unions, was dissolved upon the outbreak of the Communist insurgency in Malaya during 1948. After a period of inactivity, the trade union movement was revitalized in the early 1950's, once again largely by militant Communist labor leaders. Several opposition spokesmen, notably those belonging to the Singapore Industrial Workers Union, adhered to the revolutionary doctrines espoused by Mao Tse-tung. During the decade the movement became increasingly entangled in partisan activities, with the rank and file serving as the basis of popular support for contending political groups. Since union strength became dissipated among political factions, however, this development undermined the effectiveness of the labor organizations to deal with economic issues and enabled the government to begin rescinding the registrations of numerous locals, and especially of those aligned with the opposition, usually on charges of involvement in subversive activities.

Besides suppressing the opposition by means of legislative and administrative actions, the government itself, usually through PAP and adjunct groups, has become more and more disposed toward participation in the labor movement. Thus, while the number of legally sanctioned labor federations and individual trade unions generally declined during the 1950's and 1960's, the entities that were permitted to operate came increasingly under government control. During the years 1963-70 alone, the number of federations was reduced from four to one, that of unions declined by 10, and total union membership dropped sharply despite substantial growth in the blue-collar work force during the period (Figure 23). The losses were recorded both by organizations linked to opposition political groups and by unions affiliated with the National Trades Union Congress (NTUC), a federation which the government helped found in 1961 and which became its chosen instrument. Having extirpated the Singapore Association of Trade Unions, a federation of leftwing unions, in 1969, the government by the early 1970's had effectively disbanded all but a handful of opposition labor groupings, which continued to operate informally. The remaining leftwing unions, which in 1969 had an aggregate membership of fewer than 10,000—a figure which has probably continued to drop—have been plagued by factionalism and a lack of effective leadership. These unions have generally refrained from engaging in aggressive recruiting campaigns for additional members.

FIGURE 23. Number and membership of labor organizations (U/OU)

YEAR	TYPE OF ORGANIZATION		MEMBERSHIP
	Federation	Union	
1963	4	112	143,000
1964	4	106	157,000
1965	4	108	154,000
1966	3	108	142,000
1967	2	106	130,000
1968	2	110	126,000
1969	2	110	120,000
1970	1	102	112,000

Originally embracing unions of white-collar and utility workers, including government employees, the NTUC during the early 1960's gradually registered gains among industrial workers, often by making inroads into the leftwing unions. However, the resignation in 1965 of Devan Nair, NTUC Secretary General and one of Singapore's most effective trade unionists, coupled with the enactment 3 years later of legislation restricting trade union activities and prerogatives, resulted in a temporary decline in the federation's membership. The reinstatement of Nair in his former post during 1970, an event that was attended by the launching of a so-called "modernization" program, stimulated a growth in membership by unions affiliated with the NTUC; as of early 1972 these represented some 125,000 members, or roughly 28% of the labor force, most of the recent additions being workers in the manufacturing industries. Nearly two-thirds of the union members regularly pay dues by means of a recently instituted checkoff system, whereby employers collect the assessments, and the

financial situation of the NTUC and its affiliates is reported to have improved markedly during the early 1970's. In addition to contributions received from individual unions, the federation has received government subsidies.

By and large deprived of their traditional means for manifesting worker dissatisfaction, trade unionists have generally supported the NTUC's efforts toward modernization. The federation's new-found financial solvency enabled it to acquire a fulltime professional staff and, despite legal restraints, it has become an increasingly effective agent in industrial relations. Perhaps as important, by engaging in certain entrepreneurial and welfare activities the organization has aimed at becoming a more dynamic force in the nation's socioeconomic life. As part of the modernization program, the NTUC in 1971 established two cooperatively operated business ventures: a life insurance fund for workers, and a public transportation company. The enterprises proved successful, as the fund issued more than 4,000 insurance policies with a face value of S$17.4 million and the transportation company had a pool of over 1,200 vehicles within the first year of operation. On the basis of this success, the NTUC intends to inaugurate a chain of cooperative supermarkets at housing estates. Other plans call for the establishment of a dental clinic for workers and of a combined resort and training center.

At the international level, the NTUC is an affiliate of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), while at least a dozen of the federation's largest constituent unions are linked to other multinational labor groups, most of them International Trade Secretariats. NTUC representatives regularly participate in regional labor activities, including those of ICFTU and of the ILO. In October 1970, Singapore hosted an ILO-sponsored regional seminar on trade unionism and cooperatives, while the ILO's 57th international conference was held there in June 1971. Basing his campaign on the desirability of an unaligned trade union movement of third world nations, in 1971 Devan Nair ran for the post of Secretary General of the ICFTU; although he lost, Nair succeeded in enhancing the NTUC's international stature. During the same year he worked toward rapprochement with the AFL-CIO by agreeing in principle to participate in regional activities sponsored by the organization and by suggesting that Singapore could serve as a site for these.

Midlevel and production line managers as well as other supervisory personnel are represented by a substantial number of organizations, most of which are chartered as employer unions, although some are registered under the Societies Ordinance. In 1970, 53 of these white collar unions with an aggregate membership of 6,507 were in operation. The organizations' activities customarily include advising members on trends in industrial relations, representing them in collective bargaining and in arbitration procedures, and promoting or opposing legislation affecting management interests. Entrepreneurs and the upper echelons of management are represented by the Singapore Manufacturers' Association and by four smaller groups—the Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce, the Singapore Indian Chamber of Commerce, the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and the Singapore International Chamber of Commerce. Founded in 1932, the Manufacturers' Association serves as an information clearinghouse in matters pertaining to trade and to manufacturing technology for approximately 440 member enterprises; it also takes part in, or otherwise supports, trade fairs and missions, and publishes an annual directory and a monthly newsletter.

Within the purview of the Industrial Relations Ordinance—which provides machinery for the prevention and settlement of disputes between labor and management by means of collective bargaining, conciliation, and arbitration—the Ministry of Labor operates an Industrial Relations Section whose officers act as mediators between the two groups. Upon receipt of a joint request from the parties to a dispute, or at the discretion of the Minister of Labor, deadlocked conflicts are adjudicated by an Industrial Arbitrations Court, whose decisions are binding. In addition, all collective agreements, including those reached without the tribunal's intercession, must be certified by the court. In 1971 the Industrial Relations Section settled over 400 dispute cases, while 48 were referred to the court.

Reflecting the existence of a fundamental dichotomy in management principles, the techniques applied in solving industrial relations problems vary widely. In the numerous small establishments, most of which are operated by the Chinese and are heavily staffed with relatives, proprietors or managers tend to be authoritarian, yet paternalistic, toward their employees. Confronted with an upswing in trade unionism, the attitudes of old-fashioned employers have ranged anywhere from resigned acceptance to hostile opposition. Preferring to deal with employees on a personal rather than a group basis, traditional managers tend to take a dim view of formal work contracts and of guaranteed wages, fringe benefits, and working conditions. With the advent of rapid

industrialization, however, increased numbers of managers, including Chinese, are being trained in modern principles, some of which have been introduced by Western firms and are being emulated by local employers.

5. Social security (U/OU)

a. Welfare services

Assistance to needy members of society is furnished by the government and by numerous private agencies under the overall supervision of the Social Welfare Department, Ministry of Social Affairs. Created to deal with problems of postwar repatriation and the caring of refugees, the department rapidly assumed a wider range of responsibilities. In general terms, some form of assistance is available for those who are unemployed, elderly, chronically ill, handicapped, destitute, or otherwise disadvantaged. Private assistance, which complements that provided by the public sector, is coordinated by the Singapore Council of Social Service. Comprising 91 individual organizations, the council also fosters the entry by private groups into welfare fields inadequately covered by existing programs. The council derives the bulk of its funds from private sources, but it also receives a small government subsidy for administrative expenses. Roman Catholic missionary groups and the Salvation Army are among the oldest entities engaged in welfare work. Other major private organizations include the Singapore Association for the Blind, the Singapore Association for the Deaf, the Singapore Children's Society, and the Singapore Antituberculosis Association (SATA).

Some welfare services supported by the government are dispensed through 200 community centers located in urban, suburban, and exurban areas. Managed by the People's Association, an entity chaired by the Prime Minister and directed by PAP functionaries, the centers serve as distribution points for public assistance funds and as places for disseminating information pertaining to health, farming, legal matters, and cultural events. Additionally, the People's Association supports community development activities and youth programs.

The Public Assistance Scheme, the main welfare program, provides cash allowances up to a maximum of S$60 per month to members of households deprived of income by unemployment or other misfortune. Eligibility is subject to a "means test," and persons under age 55 without dependents cannot normally qualify for benefits unless they are medically certified as unable to work. The schedule of payments allows S$21 for the head of household, S$10 for the spouse, S$8 for each dependent age 16 and over, and S$5 for each one under age 16. To qualify, the head of household must register with the Employment Exchange, which tries to place the individual in a job. Largely because of the increase in employment opportunities since the late 1960's, the number of families receiving public assistance has declined sharply. Whereas an average of 29,141 families per month were granted allowances during 1964, the average had dropped to 8,915 families by 1971; the total expended under the program in each of those 2 years was about S$12.5 million and S$2.7 million, respectively. In a related plan, families which lose their home or of other personal belongings because of fire or a natural calamity may qualify for a relief grant.

Heads of household who are temporarily incapacitated by tuberculosis and are undergoing treatment for the disease may receive a monthly grant under the Tuberculosis Allowance Scheme. Subject to a monthly maximum of S$120 per household for a period not to exceed 2 years, the allowances amount to S$45 for the breadwinner, S$25 for the spouse, S$15 for each dependent age 16 and over, and S$12 for each youngster under that age. The number of families benefiting under the program has declined markedly because of the effectiveness of the antituberculosis measures. During 1971, an average of 240 families per month received allowances, and the total expenditure under the program was approximately S$181,900, a figure nearly three-fourths lower than the amount disbursed in 1966.

Under provisions of the Children and Young Persons Ordinance, the Social Welfare Department is charged with guaranteeing the general welfare of youth and is responsible for detaining and rehabilitating juvenile delinquents. In conjunction with a number of private agencies, the department supports several child welfare programs, one of the most important being the Fostering Scheme, whereby abandoned or orphaned youngsters age 9 and under are placed in approved foster homes. Adoption services are also offered. Additionally, the department administers eight centers for the care of children age 5-15, most of them school dropouts, belonging to indigent families. The centers, which have a combined capacity for 920 youngsters, provide specialized primary instruction and some vocational training. Ten daycare centers, or "creches," operated by the department attend to preschoolage children of working parents; although the charge for the service is quite nominal, the creches, which have a combined capacity for 900 children, reportedly are

underutilized. Free medical and dental care is provided to children attending the centers and creches. The care and rehabilitation of delinquent youth takes place in five Social Welfare Department homes; in that connection, the department also administers a probation program and carries out followup casework.

Additional Social Welfare homes include four specializing in women's care, two for destitute persons, and one for the aged. Within the purview of the 1961 Women's Charter, the Director of Social Welfare is empowered to order the detention of women under age 21 who are in "moral danger" or who otherwise need care and protection, and to prosecute persons who abuse the rights of women. Family counseling is available to persons involved in domestic conflicts, and a legal aid service assists those of limited means in the pursuit of civil actions. Responsibility for providing care and rehabilitation for the handicapped rests mainly with private groups.

b. Social insurance

Although a substantial amount of protection against social problems is provided, no single insurance program is applicable to the population at large. The bulk of pension plans, savings programs, and other arrangements designed to guarantee some form of income are administered by officially sanctioned private institutions. Insurance firms play a major role in this regard, as do the so-called mutual benefit schemes and provident funds which many working people join. The government does operate a Central Provident Fund for the benefit of workers—excluding employers, the self-employed, and unpaid family laborers—who are not covered by private plans. Although government agencies previously administered counterpart programs for their respective employees, a block of 41,500 "pensionable" civil servants was brought under the fund in March 1972.

Since its inception in 1955, more than 700,000 workers have paid into the Central Provident Fund, over three-fourths of the contributors having been workers earning less than S$300 per month. The fund, which essentially constitutes a forced savings plan, provides workers a lump-sum payment upon retirement, the minimum age for eligibility being 55. Permanently incapacitated workers, or those wishing to purchase a public housing unit, may withdraw their savings without regard to age. Noncitizens who emigrate are also permitted to withdraw their payments. In the event of a contributor's death, the sum is transferred in full either to designated survivors or to legal heirs. At yearend 1972, the contributions to the fund amounted to 12% of wages for employees earning less than S$200 per month and a higher percentage for those earning more than that sum, subject to a maximum contribution of S$300 per worker within a given month. For employees earning less than S$200 monthly, the employer pays the entire contribution; employees who earn more than that amount are required to pay a portion of the contribution, although the bulk of it is paid by the employer. The amount deposited to each worker's account earns 5.5% interest per annum. The amount paid into the fund more than doubled during the period 1967-71, and by early 1972 the total, including accrued interest, had surpassed S$1 billion; as of May 1972, 470,000 workers were actively contributing to the fund.

E. Religion (U/OU)

Because the Chinese comprise more than three-fourths of the total population, the pervasive religion of Singapore follows the traditional syncretic pattern of Chinese beliefs and practices. Although the vast majority of Chinese are nominally Mahayana Buddhists, their most common religious expression is an amalgamation of folk beliefs with elements of Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism. The Malays are virtually all Muslims, as are Singapore's few Arabs and a minority of the Indian population, mainly those who derive from the regions of the subcontinent that now make up Pakistan and Bangladesh. Most of the Indians are Hindus; Sikhs and Parsis constitute a small group. Christians, estimated to represent something in excess of 5% of the total population, include Europeans, Eurasians, and some Chinese and Indians. There also is a small Jewish community. No official figures are available concerning the size of the various religious groups. Religious affiliation was not covered in the 1957 census, and preliminary results of the 1970 census released up to mid-1972 contain no relevant data.

Religious particularism, by fostering communal solidarity among the different ethnic groups, has hindered the development of a national consciousness. It also has contributed in some measure to the communal discord which has plagued Singapore in the past and continues to exist beneath the surface of national life. In the early 1960's, Malay opposition to the government, which developed as a result of alleged discrimination in employment, housing, and education, was augmented by Muslim antagonism toward the economically entrenched "infidel Chinese." And in July 1964, bloody Malay-Chinese

riots broke out when a Malay religious procession was attacked while passing through a Chinese neighborhood. Earlier, before Singapore became a self-governing state, there had been outbreaks of anti-Christian rioting by Malays. Occurring in 1950 and again in 1955, the violence was directed against European, Chinese, and Indian Christians, as well as against the colonial government.

Both prior to and since independence, the government has upheld the principle of tolerance for all religious groups and of noninterference in their affairs, except for the purpose of protecting the rights of all and of insuring public order. Although it does not include a guarantee of religious freedom, the constitution of 1959 does contain a generalized provision for government responsibility in safeguarding the interests of "racial and religious minorities." It also specifically recognizes the "special position" of the Malays as the "indigenous people of Singapore" and stipulates that the government is responsible for protecting and promoting their religious concerns in addition to their political, economic, social, and cultural interests. The first significant legislation for the purpose of safeguarding what the Malays regard as their religious rights was the Muslim Ordinance of 1957. Enacted in anticipation of Singapore's attainment of self-governing status in 1959, the ordinance established a system of Sharia courts to adjudicate Muslim marriage and divorce cases. In 1966, as a further measure of conciliation, the government passed an Administration of Muslim Law Act setting up a Muslim Religious Affairs Council whose responsibilities include supervision of Sharia interpretations of religious law; the council is composed of prominent Muslim leaders. Under the 1966 legislation, traditional Malay custom (*adat*) is considered supplementary to Islamic law in the adjudications of the Sharia courts.

The government has sought over the years to reduce communal tensions by encouraging cooperation among leaders of the principal religions. In the aftermath of the 1955 communal riots an Inter-Religious Organization (IRO) was established, comprising representatives of all of Singapore's religious groups. Since its founding this body has served primarily as a liaison between the various groups and the government, but during the 1964 Malay-Chinese riots Prime Minister Lee prevailed on it to endorse his appeals for tolerance and an end to the violence. The presidency of the IRO is rotated among representatives of the constituent faiths.

1. Chinese religions

Buddhism has been the principal institutionalized religion of the Singapore Chinese, but Buddhist practices are closely intermingled with Taoism, a religion of indigenous Chinese origin, and with some elements of Confucianism. The Buddhist and Taoist influences are manifested largely through the popular aspects of those religions, which appeal primarily to the uneducated lower class. This is the case with Taoism in particular. There are few, if any, establishments in Singapore for the study of Taoism as a mystical philosophy as the religion was originally conceived by its founder, Lao Tzu, who lived sometime between the sixth and fourth centuries B.C. However, popular Taoism, which involves the propitiation of evil spirits through Taoist sorcerer-priests, is omnipresent in the imagery and rituals of many Chinese religious ceremonies. Orthodox Buddhism, which originally entered China from India during the first century A.D., is represented in Singapore primarily by Buddhist monks and nuns and by lay organizations. The traditional philosophical aspects of Buddhism are presented through a few Buddhist educational institutions and classes conducted by Buddhist scholars. Generally speaking, Buddhist religious precepts, with their emphasis on renunciation of the material world, have had little influence on the values of the Singapore Chinese. Similarly, as most of the Chinese immigrants have been from the lower economic levels, the Confucian intellectual philosophy and code of conduct which appealed to the educated Chinese upper classes in pre-Communist China have had relatively little attraction. Nevertheless, Confucian forms of ancestor worship are practiced in numerous temples and homes, and Confucian ethics still exert a certain influence in the lives of some Singapore Chinese.

Prevailing religious beliefs of the Chinese population are based on the traditional concept of the universe as governed by gods and spirits. The folk deities are many and varied, drawn from classical cults and from the Buddhist, Taoist, and Confucian traditions. An "upper" spirit world of the popular religion encompasses a diversified pantheon which includes important divinities, local deities, household gods, and nature spirits. A second spirit world relates to departed human souls, who have been judged according to their deeds while on earth. The virtuous may be rewarded with divine status or by reincarnation in another human existence which brings them honor and luxury, while the wicked may be punished by everlasting torture or by reincarnation

into a miserable existence or a lower form of animal life. The punishment of a soul, however, can be mitigated by the good deeds of his descendants or increased by their misdeeds. Moreover, rewards or punishments may come during one's lifetime as well as after death, and may be accorded to one's children. Wealth and good fortune are often regarded as compensation for good actions performed by the recipients or their ancestors. Conversely, sudden death, serious illness, or other disasters are looked upon as retribution for sinful deeds or for failure to propitiate malevolent spirits through proper rituals. The devout pay homage to their deities, spirits, and ancestors through prayers, offerings, and other rites in temples and before family altars in their homes. Such altars usually contain a variety of objects, including candles, incense sticks, prayer scrolls, and photographs of deceased family members. The better educated, Westernized Chinese are inclined to ignore what they regard as the more superstitious aspects of spirit worship, although they may participate in religious ceremonies as a family or communal obligation.

In addition to a variety of rituals related to personal and family concerns, certain holidays, such as the Chinese New Year and the Dragon Boat Festival (associated with the summer solstice), are occasions for religious rites, public as well as private. There are several hundred Chinese places of worship in Singapore, ranging from primitive roadside structures to imposing stone edifices; only a few are of strictly Buddhist orientation (Figure 24). In keeping with the syncretic religious patterns, most are equally devoted to Buddhist and Taoist ceremonies—with emphasis on spirit worship—and are served by clerics of both persuasions. Temples are commonly operated by communal associations, guilds, or other organizations and are supported primarily by contributions from worshipers and by donations from wealthy Chinese businessmen.

The only Chinese religious associations in Singapore are of Buddhist affiliation. A loosely formed group, the Singapore Buddhist Sangha (monkhood) Organization (SBSO), represents Buddhist monks and also has as its stated purposes the propagation of the faith, the conduct of educational and charitable activities in collaboration with Buddhist laymen, and the maintenance of contacts with coreligionists abroad. The leading lay organization is believed to be the Buddhist Union. This body, which has had representation in the IRO, professes to speak for Buddhists and to uphold their interests vis-a-vis those of other religious groups. Many other organizations claim Buddhist affiliation. Some operate schools and

FIGURE 24. Massive image of Buddha in a Buddhist temple. Few Chinese places of worship are of strictly Buddhist affiliation. Most reflect the diverse elements of Chinese folk religion. (C)

charitable institutions; others reportedly function solely for secular purposes. Several relatively new associations proclaim their goal to be the purging of Buddhist "superstitions" in order to establish a deeper spiritual foundation for Chinese religion; these groups also focus on communitywide educational and welfare activities. Singapore Buddhist delegations have frequently attended conferences of the World Fellowship of Buddhists, and the SBSO is affiliated with a World Federation of Chinese Sanghas formed in Taiwan in 1965.

2. Islam

The Malays, who constitute the bulk of Singapore's Muslim population, profess to adhere to the Sunni sect of Islam and to the Shafii school of Islamic jurisprudence. Most Malays, however, have little acquaintance with Muslim doctrine or law except as it affects their lives directly. The orthodox beliefs and practices to which they theoretically subscribe are

essentially the same as those of the Indian and Arab Muslims on the island, involving veneration of the Koran as the literal Word of God and the principal source of doctrine, and observance of the "Five Pillars" of Islam as defined in the Koran: the profession of faith, ritual prayer five times a day, almsgiving, daylight fasting during the month of Ramadan, and pilgrimage to Mecca. Among the mass of the Malay population there is little orthodox practice. Adherence to the prayer requirement is minimal; the *zakat*, or alms [illegible] rately paid; the fast of Ramadan is poorly observed; and few are able to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. Nevertheless, Malays almost never abandon Islam in favor of another formal religion; almost all Malay children are taught to recite some verses from the Koran, and marriage and burial rites are invariably solemnized by a Muslim functionary. Malays generally observe the Koranic injunction against eating pork, but they indulge in gambling and some drink alcoholic beverages despite the Koranic prohibition.

Popular religious beliefs and practices among the Malays include elements of mixed Muslim, Hindu, and indigenous origin. The Hindu component derives from ancient Hindu beliefs predominating in the region before the conversion of the Malays to Islam in the 15th century. Spirit worship is common, manifested in countless variations and affected by such factors as the social and economic status of the worshipers, the extent of their adherence to orthodox Islamic precepts, and their residence, whether urban or rural. In general, however, Malays recognize innumerable supernatural beings in vaguely hierarchical order. At the highest levels are various categories of angels, most of them creations of Muslim mythology, and at the opposite extreme are the evil spirits, or jinn, who are believed capable of causing all manner of misfortune. Hindu deities, although little known to the average Malay, are of considerable importance to Malay mystics and are also invoked by the local shamans who conduct rites aimed at propitiating the evil spirits. The principal elements in such rites are sacrifice and the use of incantations.

Orthodox religious activities—for Malay, Indian, and Arab Muslims alike—are centered in mosques. Those in predominantly Malay communities or neighborhoods are likely to be modest wooden buildings known as prayer halls, but elaborate marble or sandstone mosques can be found in the business district of Singapore city (Figure 25). The Muslim "clergy" consists mainly of imams, or prayer leaders, who preside at mosque services. Smaller mosques, or prayer halls, are managed by informal communal

FIGURE 25. Sultan Mosque, situated in the central section of Singapore city (C)

groups, while most of the larger mosques are administered by trusts. Financial support for these institutions is derived from endowments by well-to-do Muslims and from the *zakat* which mosques attempt to levy on their congregations. Most mosques include a Koranic school which offers rudimentary instruction in the teachings of the Koran.

Various Muslim organizations operate in Singapore, their leaders and active membership consisting primarily of Indian Muslims and Arabs. Although Arabs constitute a very small minority of the population, they hold considerable prestige among the Muslims because of their ethnic association with the holy city of Mecca. The most important Muslim association is the Muslim Religious Affairs Council, which is a corporate body with power to hold and dispose of communal property, enter into contracts, and administer the estates of deceased Muslims. It is also empowered to collect *zakat* for charity, handle

endowments for religious purposes, serve as trustee for mosques, and supervise Islamic educational institutions. Other organizations include a Women's Welfare Council and a Student Society, the latter consisting of Muslim secondary and university students. Singapore's Muslims have been represented in international conferences of the Muslim World League and the World Muslim Congress.

The most important Islamic holidays observed in Singapore are *Hari Raya Puasa*, celebrating the end of Ramadan, and *Hari Raya Haji*, occurring upon the return of those who have made the annual pilgrimage to Mecca. Both are public holidays.

3. Indian religions (non-Muslim)

In Singapore, as in India, the intellectual and philosophical tenets of Hinduism are observed by only a small sector of the Hindu community—Brahman temple priests and gurus (teachers), ascetics, and a few intellectuals. Most of the island's Hindus practice a popular folk religion centered around belief in the three major aspects of Brahma, the Supreme Spirit of the Universe: Brahma, the Creator; Vishnu, the Preserver or Sustainer; and Siva, the Generator and Destroyer. Linked with these are a number of lesser gods and goddesses.

Hindu temples in Singapore are usually dedicated to the worship of Vishnu or Siva (Figure 26). On religious holidays and other occasions, worshipers bring gifts to the temples to be offered by priests before images of the various deities. In the Sivaite temples, these include Siva's female consort, Parvati or Minakshi, the goddess of beauty and creation, and their son Subrahmanya. Household worship of deities is also common. All are viewed as emanations or aspects of the one Supreme Spirit, who is prepared to accept worship by the human spirit in whatever form it is offered, and who may be approached in a variety of ways. A few cults in Singapore still engage in ancient Hindu self-mortification practices (Figure 27), particularly in connection with religious festivals, of which there are many. *Deepavali*, the annual Hindu Festival of Lights, is a public holiday.

FIGURE 26. Hindu temple devoted to the worship of Siva, third member of the trinity which comprises Brahma, the Creator; Vishnu, the Preserver or Sustainer; and Siva, the Generator and Destroyer (C)

FIGURE 27. Member of a Hindu self-mortification cult carrying a *kavadi*, a steel frame surmounted by religious ornaments which is supported on the bearer's head by numerous steel darts inserted in his flesh (U/OU)

Hinduism in Singapore, as in India, has no formal organizational structure or hierarchy. Its temples and priests are supported by contributions of the faithful. Attached to some of the temples are schools for contemplative study maintained by various ascetic orders.

Little information is available on the organization, activities, and facilities of the Sikhs and Parsis of Singapore. Sikhism was founded in the 14th century by Nanak, its first guru, in the Punjab region of northwestern India. Nanak taught a monotheistic creed and preached the fundamental identification of

all religions with one another. He opposed the caste system. Eventually the Sikhs split into several divisions, and the original creed underwent a number of changes. In the 17th century, Govind Singh, the 10th and last Sikh guru, welded the Sikhs into a warrior community which adopted the caste practices and many of the beliefs typical of traditional Hinduism.

The Parsis are followers of the Persian prophet Zoroaster, who lived about the 6th century B.C. Their ancestors migrated to India from Persia in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. to escape Muslim persecution and settled in the area of Bombay. Parsis are faithful to much of the Zoroastrian dogma, which centers about a belief in the ultimate triumph of good as manifested by the god Ahura Mazda. This deity is represented in the form of pure natural substances, notably fire but also water and earth. In India, the community is closely unified and its economic strength there far outweighs its small size. The Parsis of Singapore reportedly form a highly respected group of merchants.

4. Christianity

Christian missionaries did not come to Singapore in significant numbers until late in the 19th century. Since that time, however, they have played a significant role in the development of society. In the period before World War II, English-language schools operated by Christian missions were regarded as scholastically superior to those of the British colonial government, and they accordingly became a channel for many Singaporeans, particularly the Chinese, to enter important positions requiring a knowledge of English. These schools also provided unprecedented educational opportunity for girls, of particular significance in view of the low status accorded women in traditional Chinese, Muslim, and Hindu societies. Additionally, the Christian presence had a substantial social impact in terms of the hospitals and other welfare institutions which the churches established and operated.

There are no precise or comprehensive statistics on the island's Christian community. Data available from church sources, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, are for Singapore and Malaysia combined. In 1971, a government source estimated that Christians of all denominations in Singapore totaled about 150,000. An unofficial 1966 estimate placed the total for that year at about 80,000, including approximately 60,000 Catholics and 20,000 Protestants. The principal Protestant denominations active in the area are Methodists, Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Seventh-day Adventists.

Roman Catholics are under the jurisdiction of the Archdiocese of Malacca-Singapore, with the Archbishop, a native of France, resident in Singapore. In 1966 there were reported to be 17 Catholic places of worship in the republic; some of those in the central city are sizable structures (Figure 28). Church personnel include members of religious orders, both male and female. Prominent among the male religious are Jesuits and Franciscans. Catholics schools, numbering about 20 in 1966, are operated by both priests and nuns, while church-sponsored welfare institutions are staffed entirely by nuns.

The largest of the Protestant denominations in Singapore is the Methodist Church, established in the area by U.S. missionaries. Its facilities in 1966

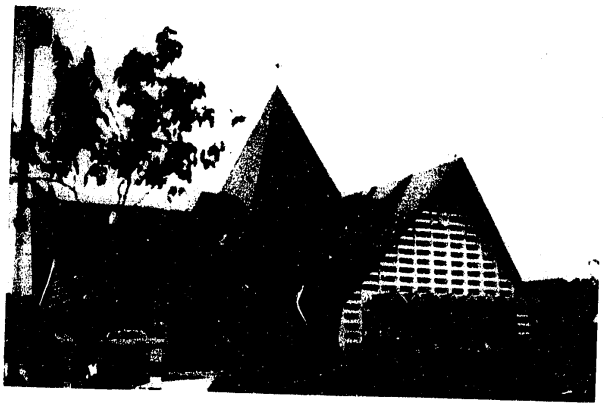


FIGURE 28. Roman Catholic church of modern design (C)

consisted of 21 places of worship, five schools, and one seminary. The clergy includes Chinese and Indians, as well as U.S. nationals. In 1966, services were conducted in English in eight of the churches; Chinese was used in eight others, and Indian languages in five. In the same year, the Anglican communion had 18 churches in Singapore, under the jurisdiction of the Diocese of Singapore and Malaya; it also operated three schools. The Presbyterian Church maintained 16 churches, a prayer hall, and a school for boys. Seventh-day Adventist facilities included four churches, a secondary school, and a hospital.

F. Education (U/OUO)

An expanded and modernized educational system has been the keystone of the Singaporean Government's efforts to raise levels of living, mold the diverse ethnic groups into a cohesive society, and provide adequate numbers of technically proficient personnel for the island's many new industries. In all sectors of the population, education is viewed as a prerequisite for lucrative employment or success in business. Among the Chinese, in addition, it is regarded as an important mark of social prestige. Since independence, the school system has been expanded through a massive building program in an effort to achieve the official goal of at least 10 years of education for every child in Singapore, beginning at age 6. Educational policy, as articulated by the government, endeavors to "inculcate habits and attitudes instrumental in the development of adaptability, creativity, social responsibility, and loyalty to the republic, and to provide the knowledge and skills necessary for the economic development of the country."

There has been a substantial rise in literacy as a result of the expansion of educational opportunity at the primary school level and the promotion of adult education programs. In the 1957 census, a rate of 52.3% was recorded for the population age 10 and over, literacy being defined as the ability to read and write a simple sentence. Based on unprocessed data from the 1970 census, a U.N. source has estimated that literacy for the same sector of the population has risen to 70%. The literacy rate for males in the 1957 census was 68.6%, while that for females was only 33.6%. Also, the limited educational opportunity available in Singapore before World War II was indicated by a progressive decline in the proportion of literates in the older age groups.

Information on educational attainment for 1966 indicates that of the population age 20 and over, 37.6% had received no education; 29.3% had not finished primary school; 11.5% had completed their schooling with a primary education; 9.4% had attended secondary school without completing that level of education; 9.7% had graduated from secondary school; and 2.5% had attended institutions of higher learning. Educational achievement for females was considerably lower than that for males, as shown in the following tabulation, in percentages:

	Males	Females
No education	17.2	57.9
Uncompleted primary	38.2	20.4
Completed primary	15.8	7.2
Uncompleted secondary	13.0	5.8
Completed secondary	12.5	6.9
Postsecondary	3.2	1.8
	100.0	100.0

Government control over education has been increasing steadily. All schools below the level of higher education are officially divided into three categories, designated "government," "government-aided," and "private." Of the 516 schools in operation as of 1970, 266 were in the first classification, wholly financed by the government and operated directly under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. A somewhat smaller number, 236, were in the government-aided category, privately administered but largely supported by the government and operated under the general supervision and control of the Ministry. The third and smallest group, the so-called private schools, numbered only 14 (excluding preprimary schools); these presumably obtain the bulk of their support from private sources but must comply with statutory requirements with respect to administrative and professional standards. Responsibility for education rests with the Minister of Education, but control of the educational establishment is in the hands of the ministry's Permanent Secretary, who also functions as Director of Education. Overall supervision of schools is exercised largely through a corps of inspectors under the direction of a Chief Inspector of Schools.

For many years, education was the largest item of expense in the government budget. Since 1969 it has dropped to second place after defense. In FY1970/71, a total of S$177.6 million was expended for education. Primary education is free in both government and government-aided schools for all children age 6 to 14 who were born in Singapore or whose parents are Singapore citizens. Free schooling is also available at the secondary level for Malay children, but a small tuition fee is required for children of other ethnic groups. Fees may be remitted, however, on grounds of

hardship or through scholarships awarded for excellence in schoolwork. Additionally, the government supplies textbooks for needy schoolchildren through a loan system.

School enrollment began a steady increase soon after World War II, following rehabilitation and reorganization of the educational system in the wake of the devastation wrought by Japanese occupation. By 1959, when Singapore attained full internal self-government, 266,625 students were enrolled in primary schools and 48,723 in secondary schools, and in 1968 the totals had risen to 371,970 and 150,641, respectively. The following year, changes in the age composition of the population, resulting in fewer potential students, began to be reflected in a downturn in the number of children attending school (Figure 29). By 1970, enrollment of females almost equaled that of males in primary and secondary schools. Institutions specializing in vocational training have experienced a small but continuous increase in the number of students registering for the various courses offered, accommodating more than 4,700 students in 1970. Enrollment at the level of higher education fluctuated during the 1960's, but the trend has been upward in recent years, rising from 7,518 in 1959 to 13,683 in 1970.

Although not compulsory, attendance at primary school was nearly universal by the mid-1960's, and educational facilities have been hard pressed to meet space requirements despite the large-scale school building program. Most schools operate double sessions, with one group of students and teachers using the premises in the morning beginning at 7:45, and another group in the afternoon starting at 1:00. In general, a 5-day school week is observed; the school year, extending from January to November, consists of three terms. In 1970, government and government-aided schools employed 12,248 teachers at the primary level and 6,530 at the secondary level; the student-teacher ratio averaged 30 to one in primary schools and 22 to one in secondary schools.

Singaporeans may choose to have their children attend schools using any one of the four official languages—English, Mandarin Chinese, Malay, or Tamil—as the medium of instruction. The government's expressed policy is to afford equal treatment to all four. All government and government-aided institutions, whatever the language medium, conform to a unified education structure and are expected to use curriculums with a common content. Whichever language medium is chosen, students must learn a second language from the time they enter primary school, and in the third year the national language, Malay, is added as a subject in the non-Malay schools. In all schools where Chinese, Malay, or Tamil is the language of instruction, the prescribed second language is English, in line with the government's efforts to build a cohesive nation from the diverse ethnic elements of the population. In any case, by far the most popular language medium is English. Among the 509,258 students attending schools at the primary and secondary levels in 1970, the language-stream distribution was as follows:

English	317,335
Chinese	162,111
Malay	28,340
Tamil	1,472
Total	509,258

The promotion of bilingualism has acquired an added dimension through a policy begun in the early 1960's, whereby two or three language streams are integrated in one school. By 1970 there were 112 schools of this type with a total enrollment of

FIGURE 29. Enrollment in educational institutions (U/OU)

YEAR	PRIMARY SCHOOLS	SECONDARY SCHOOLS	VOCATIONAL INSTITUTES	INDUSTRIAL TRAINING CENTERS	INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION	TOTAL
1963	335,656	84,425	843	...	11,849	432,773
1964	348,167	99,592	871	...	12,693	461,323
1965	357,075	114,736	1,193	...	13,807	486,811
1966	364,846	132,088	1,409	...	13,184	511,527
1967	368,654	144,448	1,752	...	13,005	527,859
1968	371,970	150,641	2,199	...	12,447	537,257
1969	366,881	147,981	2,843	1,286	12,713	531,704
1970	363,518	145,740	3,039	1,688	*13,863	527,848

... Not pertinent.
*Includes enrollment in the Teacher Training College.

approximately 174,000 students; almost all of these schools are government institutions, and most function at the primary level.

In addition to primary, secondary, and post-secondary institutions, Singapore has an adult education program and special schools for handicapped children. Preprimary education has not yet been developed to a significant degree; English- and Chinese-language kindergartens do exist, but most are sponsored by churches or private secular groups. Some preprimary classes are also available in community centers. Operated under the supervision of the Ministry of Social Affairs, these are intended to serve the children of working parents.

Primary schooling of 6 years' duration begins for most children at age 6, following curriculums and syllabuses developed by the Ministry of Education in the four language streams. Subjects offered include the first language (the medium of instruction), a second language, the national language, arithmetic, general science, history, geography, arts and crafts, music, physical education, and civics, the subject emphasis varying from year to year throughout the 6-year course. Upon finishing this segment of the educational system, pupils take the examination for the Primary School Leaving Certificate, which is conducted in each of the four official languages. Those who pass may go on to secondary school, but for large numbers of children, completion of primary school marks the end of formal education.

Secondary education consists of a 4-year lower cycle, which is generally viewed as secondary school proper, plus a 2-year upper cycle generally known as the "preuniversity" segment. Formerly, students entering secondary school could choose an academic, technical, vocational, or commercial program beginning in the first year, and most opted for the traditional academic type of education leading to white-collar employment. Beginning in 1969, however, radical changes were made in the system in an effort to ameliorate the acute shortage of technical personnel. For the first 2 years of secondary school, all students are now required to take a common curriculum which includes the first language and its literature, a second language, the national language, history and geography, mathematics, general science, technical drawing, arts and crafts, music, physical education, and civics. In addition, boys must spend 3 hours a week after regular school hours on metalwork and woodwork, or on metalwork and basic electricity. Girls may also take these vocational subjects; those who do not choose to do so must spend the 3 extra hours a week on domestic science. A revised curriculum for the third and fourth years of secondary school was introduced in 1970. According to a government report on education, this curriculum "provides the base for a liberal education and avoids . . . narrow specialization." Nevertheless, students still have a choice between an academic, technical, and commercial bias. It was expected that only about one-third of all students going into the third year of secondary school would choose technical studies, but in 1970 more than 65% of the third-year student body had opted for the technical course, signifying a marked lowering of resistance to this type of education.

National examinations are held for students completing the fourth year of secondary school, those in the Chinese-, Malay-, and Tamil-language streams taking the School Certificate examination and those in the English-language stream sitting for the Cambridge School Certificate examination. No precise figures are available, but attrition in enrollment is known to be high for each year of the secondary level and is especially high at the end of the fourth year.

Admission to the preuniversity cycle of secondary school is based on performance in the school certificate examinations. As in the case of lower secondary education, preuniversity coursework is geared to an academic, technical, or commercial bias. Students may take three principal subjects and one subsidiary subject, or two principal and two subsidiary subjects. The Higher School Certificate is awarded upon successful completion of the course and presentation of an acceptable "general paper." A 2-year preuniversity course leading to the Higher School Certificate is also available at the National Junior College, an institution established in 1969. Plans for setting up several similar institutions were being made in 1970.

Operating at the secondary level but somewhat outside the regular school system are vocational institutes and industrial training centers offering instruction in electrical, building, and other trades. Normally, those enrolled have completed 2 years of secondary education. In general, 2-year courses are provided at the institutes and short-term courses at the training centers. A system introduced in 1970 separates training in the various fields into several stages, enabling students with differing backgrounds to undertake instruction at a stage appropriate to their knowledge and skills. As of 1970, there were three vocational institutes with a total enrollment of 3,039, and four industrial training centers with an enrollment of 1,688.

Active participation in a varied program of extracurricular activities is encouraged in both primary and secondary institutions. Such participation is taken into consideration when students are selected for scholarships or for admission to preuniversity courses, and also for employment in the civil service upon graduation. Physical education is an important part of primary and secondary school curriculums, involving gymnastics and a wide range of games, and sports competition is organized on an interschool, intradistrict, and interdistrict basis throughout Singapore. All schools also have clubs which carry on activities related to subjects in the curriculum or to the more general interests of students.

Teachers in government primary and secondary schools are civil servants whose recruitment, appointment, and promotion or dismissal rest with the Public Service Commission, as is the case with other civil service personnel. Teachers in government-aided schools are not under the civil service system, and their appointment and subsequent career development is in the hands of the management committee of the particular school in which they teach. They receive the same rates of pay as teachers in government institutions, whose salary scales are determined by the Public Service Commission.

Of the 18,778 teachers employed in government and government-aided primary and secondary schools in 1970, 15,245 had appropriate educational qualifications and 3,533 were still undergoing training. Training of teachers in the four official language streams is centralized at the Teacher Training College, the minimum requirement for enrollment being the School Certificate (signifying 4 years of secondary education), with trainees specially selected on the basis of achievement in certain subjects. The college's main program is a 2-year, full-time course leading to a Certificate in Education for primary school teachers. As of the late 1960's, the course was divided into five subject categories: education, language studies, principal subjects, subsidiary subjects, and classroom practice. A part-time "teacher-in-training" program covers a 3-year period. Once a student has been selected for appointment as a teacher-in-training, he is posted to a school as a staff member at a regular salary and thereafter attends a specified number of lectures per week for 108 weeks, spread over the 3-year period.

Teachers in secondary schools, particularly those at the upper level, are supposed to be university graduates with a degree in education. University graduates without this qualification may become secondary school teachers by taking a 1-year course leading to a Diploma in Education. This program is available in both English and Chinese and is conducted by the Teacher Training College jointly with the University of Singapore's School of Education. The college also offers a 2-year course for holders of the Higher School Certificate which qualifies them for posts at the lower secondary level. Teachers in technical and vocational fields are trained in 1-year full-time and 2-year part-time courses leading to the Certificate in Education (Technical).

Of the 2,000 students enrolled at the Teacher Training College in 1970, 1,322 were attending full time and the remainder were receiving part-time training. An inservice program to keep teachers abreast of developments in their field is also conducted by the college, in cooperation with the Inspectorate Division of the Ministry of Education.

Placing increasing emphasis on the qualitative aspects of education, the ministry is encouraging teachers to make greater use of teaching aids now available to them. All government schools are supplied with record players, film projectors, and tape recorders, and many also have television sets. The government's educational television service, introduced in 1967, operates under the general supervision of the Ministry of Education, with programs planned, produced, and recorded on videotape at the Teacher Training College. The programing, which includes classes in languages, mathematics, science, geography, and civics, originally was confined to secondary schools but has been extended to the primary level.

Singapore's most important institution of higher education is the University of Singapore, established in 1962 but with origins dating back to 1905. As of 1970, it had faculties of Architecture, Arts and Social Sciences, Dentistry, Engineering, Law, Medicine, and Science, as well as schools of Accountancy and Business Administration, Education, Pharmacy, Postgraduate Dental Studies, and Postgraduate Medical Studies. English is the main language of instruction. A degree in medicine is awarded after 6 years of study, but the majority of courses lead to a bachelor's degree in 3 years, with an honors degree available after another year of study. Most faculties and schools also confer advanced degrees after additional years of coursework. A 2-year course leading to a diploma is offered in the fields of business administration, education, public health, fisheries, and social studies. For the 1970/71 academic year, the university had a teaching staff of 513 and an enrollment of 4,433, of whom 2,977 were male students and 1,456 female students. The Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences had the largest single

concentration of students (904), followed by the Faculty of Science (774), and the Faculty of Engineering (643). Enrollment in engineering and science courses has increased rapidly in recent years, reflecting a changing attitude toward these disciplines—a trend strongly encouraged by the government. A total of 1,163 degrees and 239 diplomas were awarded in 1970.

Several research facilities have been established at the university. These include an Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, and Economic Research Center, a Cancer Research Center, an Immunology Research and Training Center sponsored by WHO, and a Regional Marine Biological Center established by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

The island's second-ranking institution of higher learning is Nanyang University, functioning since 1956. Chinese is its main language of instruction. The university encompasses three main colleges—Arts, Commerce, and Science—which provide a 3-year course for a bachelor's degree and a further 1-year course for an honors degree. In 1970, a College of Graduate Studies was added for the pursuit of higher studies leading to advanced degrees. Total enrollment in 1970 stood at 2,310, divided about equally among the main colleges and with 24 students registered for Graduate Studies; the teaching staff numbered 185. At the end of the 1969/70 academic year Nanyang graduated 556 students.

Three institutions specialize in technical studies at the level of higher education. These are Singapore Polytechnic, the Singapore Technical Institute, and Ngee Ann Technical College. Singapore Polytechnic, functioning since 1959, is the major institution for training technical personnel to meet the manpower needs generated by the government's rapid industrialization policy. It offers full-time courses at diploma and certificate levels in civil, electrical, mechanical, electronic, and production engineering, rubber and plastics technology, mechanical drafting, surveying, and nautical studies. It also conducts evening classes in some of the courses. Student enrollment reached a total of 4,034 in 1970, and there were 130 full-time and 107 part-time instructors. Some 430 students graduated in 1970. The Singapore Technical Institute was established in 1969 to serve as an intermediate institution between the lower level vocational and industrial schools and Singapore Polytechnic. Providing instruction at what is described as the "advanced craft level," it specializes in mechanical engineering practice. Other courses include radio and television engineering and shipbuilding. In mid-1970 the enrollment totaled 278, but by 1972 the institute was expected to have 1,000 full-time students and an equal number of part-time trainees. Ngee Ann Technical College was founded as Ngee Ann College in 1963 by a Teochew clan association with the objective of providing instruction in technical subjects, home economics, and languages for students graduating from Chinese-medium secondary schools. In 1968 its name was changed, and as of 1970 it offered diploma courses in mechanical engineering, industrial electronics, and commerce. Enrollment totaled 808 in the latter year, served by a teaching staff of 34 full-time and 13 part-time instructors. Both Singapore Polytechnic and the Singapore Technical College use English as the principal medium of instruction; Ngee Ann Technical College uses Chinese.

Of Singapore's institutions of higher education, only the Teacher Training College and the Singapore Technical Institute are under the supervision of the Ministry of Education. The others are officially described as autonomous institutions. Nevertheless, the government participates in their administration through representation on their governing bodies. All of the expenses of the Teacher Training College and the Singapore Technical Institute are met from the national budget. The University of Singapore and Singapore Polytechnic are financed largely by government grants, with tuition fees and endowments providing a small portion of their income. Nanyang University and Ngee Ann Technical College have in the past received most of their support from fees and private sources, but they now benefit from government subsidies also.

As of 1972, students were showing little overt interest in political issues, although many were reported to be critical of the government's tight control over most areas of national life. In the past, however, secondary schools, colleges, and universities have been a source of serious unrest, centered particularly in the Chinese institutions. Student disturbances occurred periodically from the early postwar years until the mid-1960's, reaching their highest level from 1954 to 1956 when Communist and Communist-inspired student agitators mobilized large numbers of demonstrators, ignored government admonitions, and at times succeeded in virtually paralyzing the education system. Acts of terrorism were widespread, and a number of unsympathetic students and teachers were shot or beaten to death. The government crackdown which followed the 1954-56 disorders apparently shattered the subversive forces among the students, and although there were

numerous disturbances after that time, increasingly strict government control succeeded in blunting their effect and minimizing the violence. The last demonstrations of any consequence took place in May 1967 in protest over an amendment to the National Service Act requiring compulsory military service.

Adult education in Singapore is administered by an Adult Education Board which directs a variety of courses, conducted mainly in community centers throughout the island. In 1970, about 50,000 persons were enrolled in the programs, aimed primarily at three groups: illiterates taking the equivalent of lower primary school instruction, school dropouts attempting to complete their primary or secondary schooling, and adults seeking proficiency in a vocational field or simply desiring to broaden their education through language classes or courses of general interest; the foreign languages taught include French, German, Japanese, Hindi, Russian, Spanish, and Thai. Many of the overage students enrolled in primary level courses are being prepared for further training in a vocational institute or industrial training center. Examinations taken upon completion of primary and secondary level courses resemble those used in the regular educational system. The majority of teachers employed in adult education programs are drawn from government and government-aided schools.

Since 1964, the Department of Extramural Studies of the University of Singapore has provided a varied program of continuing education for the general public through lectures, seminars, and study groups. The program covers a wide range of subjects, including appreciation of music and the arts, computer science and engineering, economics, language, law, political science, psychology, and sociology. Nanyang University inaugurated a similar, more limited program in 1969.

There are schools for the handicapped outside the regular school system which cater to children who are blind, deaf, or otherwise physically handicapped, or mentally retarded. In 1970 there were 13 such institutions, operated by religious groups and private welfare organizations with the benefit of government financial assistance. To the extent possible, these schools follow the normal primary and secondary school curriculums, adaptations being made as necessary.

G. Artistic and cultural expression (U/OU)

Singapore has been described as a cultural desert. Aside from traditional forms of cultural expression brought from the ancestral homelands of the major ethnic groups and maintained within their respective communities, there is little artistic or intellectual activity. Moreover, no distinctive Singaporean culture has emerged. Although some contemporary works are being produced, primarily modern poetry and painting, they derive largely from Western forms. On the popular level as well, Western influence is pervasive, as reflected in modern dances, music, films, and magazines.

Because there is so little creative activity, the government, in the words of one of its spokesmen, has been obliged to play some part in filling the void. As early as 1959, one of the main functions of the Ministry of Culture was to protect and revitalize Malay culture, believed to be endangered by that of the more competitive Chinese, although government efforts were also motivated by the pragmatic goal of minimizing Malay-Chinese frictions. Since Singapore's separation from Malaysia in 1965, however, Malay culture is no longer being vigorously promoted. Instead, current policy is to encourage the creation of a national identity and culture that would be a synthesis of the best in the Chinese, Malay, Indian, and Western heritages—a culture that would supersede old loyalties to distant homelands and ancestral traditions. Through the schools and the mass media, particularly radio and television, the government is endeavoring to increase understanding and appreciation of the drama, music, dance, and other art forms of the various ethnic groups. It also sponsors a number of cultural festivals and has erected an impressive building housing the National Theatre (Figure 30).

Government policy toward Western culture, however, is highly puritanical. One of the first acts of the Lee Kuan Yew administration was to attack "yellow culture" by banning jazz, rock, jukeboxes, and some magazines, books, and films. This policy, designed to "eliminate sex-obsessed culture," derives from a combination of forces evident in many parts of Asia. It is a reaction to generations of colonialism, reflecting the thinking of the antiwhite left; and it is largely Chinese-inspired, stemming directly from the social austerity of the People's Republic of China. Such a policy, although concentrated on some of the shoddier products of the West, tends to create an atmosphere of censorship and conformity which inhibits creative expression. According to one observer, it has resulted in a "drab-souled philistinism" in the republic's cultural life. In a 1967 speech, for example, the Defense Minister contended that modern Singaporean drama should avoid the "crazy, sensual, ridiculous, boisterous, and overmaterialistic style" of

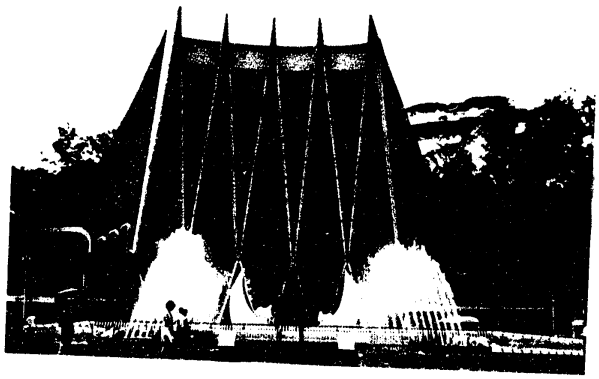


FIGURE 30. The National Theatre, completed in 1963 to commemorate the attainment of self-government in 1959. The theater is a popular setting for the performing arts, both local and foreign. (C)

Western productions, as well as the "feudalistic, superstitious, ignorant, and pessimistic" ideas of the East. Instead, playwrights should employ morally uplifting themes that emphasize the "spirit of patriotism" and "love for the people."

Traditional art forms, however, continue to flourish with government approval. Chinese opera, for example, is frequently performed on temporary stages erected in the streets of Chinatown to celebrate a festival, an anniversary, or a neighborhood party. These centuries-old dramas, called operas because of the many singing roles, are staged by professional actors wearing elaborate, traditional costumes (Figure 31). The plots, which generally concern ancient emperors, princesses, and magical forces, have moral themes and usually end with the triumph of virtue over evil. Dancing, swordplay, and massed battle scenes, accompanied by cymbals, gongs, and drums, enliven the reenactment of historical episodes. Chinese puppet shows are also popular, particularly in the countryside, as is the *wayang kulit*, the traditional Malay shadow play, which is also performed with puppets.

Government-sponsored performances keep alive the ancient dances. At the annual Youth Festival, for

FIGURE 31. Elaborately costumed members of a Chinese opera troupe. These traditional dramas are usually performed on temporary open-air stages to celebrate festivals or other public holidays. (U/OU)

example, students of all ethnic groups may perform the Chinese Dance of the Rolling Lantern, the Malay *Tarian Tempurong*, celebrating the coconut harvest, or the Javanese Candle Dance; also performed are Hindu temple dances in which each gesture has a special meaning. In addition, individuals such as Richard Tan, a highly rated Chinese performer of Indian classical dancing, are publicly praised as "polycultural pioneers." There is also keen interest in traditional music, particularly Chinese, which is taught in the schools and frequently heard over the radio. Although failing into disuse, ancient musical instruments such as the *nagaswaram*, a windpipe (Figure 32), and the *mirdangam*, a percussion instrument, are still being played in Hindu temples.

Notable among the traditional literature of the various ethnic groups are the Malay fables, proverbs, and verse which are passed down orally, although some have been collected in books. Often repeated by storytellers, the ancient narratives blend history, myth, and magic with wisdom and humor. A particular favorite, the fable of Pelandok, the mouse-deer, and how he crossed the river, illustrates the superiority of brains over brawn. A close observation of life is embodied in such proverbs as, "Do you think there are no crocodiles because the water is calm" Traditional Malay four-line verses known as *pantuns* often serve as musical repartee during the dance. Created over the centuries, they comment on life in palace and *kampong* with sensitivity and wisdom. Some manifest a sophistication reminiscent of Shakespeare, such as "How honeyed are the words that pour from lips which coax but plan deceit," while others evidence a gentle but mocking humor:

> **Wander, wander down the glen,**
> **Stopping at the neighbors' fences,**
> **Pretending to look for a hen,**
> **When his eyes are on the wenches.**

Reflecting the city's ethnic diversity, Singaporean architecture blends the styles of past and present, of Europe and Asia. Towering glass and concrete buildings (Figure 33) rise 50 stories above the old godowns, shops, and homes built a century ago. Contemporary dwellings include lavish suburban homes, many in the "California style," luxury apartments in Tanglin, and such modern developments as Queenstown, the first of Singapore's new satellite towns. Visible against the city's skyline are numerous public buildings, churches, temples, and mosques, including the neoclassic dome of the Supreme Court building; the Gothic spire of St. Andrews Cathedral, a hundred-year-old Anglican

FIGURE 32. Indian musician playing the *nagaswaram* in a Hindu temple. Traditional instruments, however, have largely been replaced with Western ones. (U/OU)

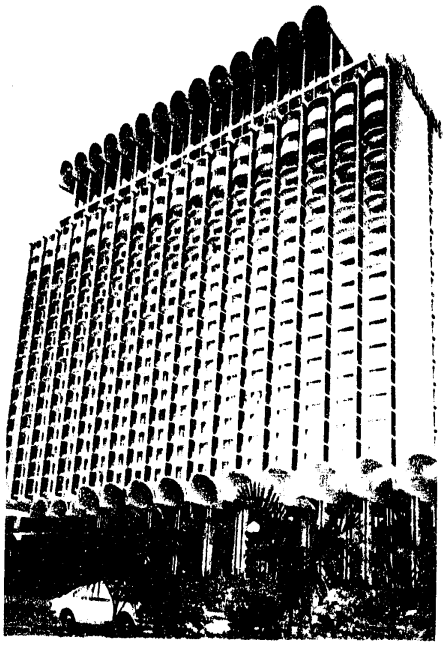


FIGURE 33. A modern skyscraper hotel. These structures seldom incorporate indigenous ornamental design. (U/OU)

church; the soaring, ornately carved entrance tower to the Sri Mariamman, Singapore's oldest Hindu temple; and the minaret of the ancient Sultan Mosque (Figure 25), built in traditional Middle East style. The city also abounds with Chinese temples and pagodas.

Few creative works were produced during the period of colonial rule, largely because most Singaporeans were poor peasant immigrants preoccupied with subsisting or improving their level of living. Since World War II, however, there has been a new release of artistic activity, much of it imitative of Western forms. In the literary field, established poets writing in English include Edwin Thumboo, Ee Tiang Hong, and Wong Phui Nam, who published collections in 1956, 1960, and 1963, respectively. Wong May, one of a group of 15 or more younger poets, had her verse published in New York in 1969. One of the better known writers in Tamil is S. V. Shanmugan, a foreman in a godown, whose essays and short stories reflect the social reform movement which became popular in the early 1960's. Among the writers in Malay, Harun Ammurrashid is outstanding. Three of his novels have been published in English, and one of these was selected for translation in 1969 under a UNESCO program. Other poets, novelists, and playwrights include a number of writers in Chinese.

Works in painting, sculpture, ceramics, calligraphy, and batik, a traditional Malay craft of dyeing cloth, are frequently exhibited. Singapore has about 300 painters, of whom perhaps five have received some recognition. Outstanding among these is Sunyee, who has acquired an international reputation. Trained in both Chinese and Western techniques of painting, she is equally adept in each. The best known exponent of batik painting in its modern form is Seah Kim Joo, whose work has been exhibited in Europe, Asia, Australia, and the United States; a striking example hangs in the lobby of Singapore's Hotel Malaysia. Perhaps the most recent art form to gain prominence is photography. The work of the members of the Photographic Society, established in 1950, has been internationally acclaimed.

Patronage of the arts, both public and private, originated in the mid-1930's when the Society of Chinese Artists and the Nanyang Academy of Fine Arts were founded, primarily to encourage and preserve traditional art. In addition, the Singapore Indian Fine Arts Society sponsors the performance of South Indian music and classical dance. In 1969, 35 Malay social, educational, and religious organizations joined in establishing the Central Council of Malay Cultural Organizations, Singapore, to provide a promotion of Malay cultural expression. An official organization was set up in 1955 to assist and coordinate the presentation of diverse non-Western art forms, such as Indian dancing, Chinese painting, jade carving, and calligraphy.

Singapore has few cultural centers. Foremost is the National Theatre, opened in 1963, with a seating capacity of 3,420. Five years later the National Theatre Company was founded to elevate the level of the performing arts to a quasi-professional basis. The company directs the activities of the National Orchestra, whose repertoire includes Western classics, Chinese folk music, and the works of local composers; the Chinese Orchestra, playing traditional instruments; the Junior Chinese Orchestra; and the National Choir. Plans are underway to launch drama companies for the production of Malay, Chinese, and Western plays. The older Victoria Theatre and the adjacent Victoria Memorial Hall are used extensively, along with the National Theatre, for performances by both local amateur groups and visiting foreign artists, the latter including in recent years Claudio Arrau, the Bolshoi Ballet, and the London Philharmonic Orchestra.

Singapore's National Museum, dating back to 1823, was established on its present site in 1887 and later expanded. Its extensive collections concentrate on the zoology, ethnology, and prehistory of Malaysia and surrounding territories. In 1962, half of the ground floor was converted into an art gallery to exhibit the works of local artists. The Botanic Gardens, founded in 1859, is considered one of the finest tropical gardens in the world, and the Van Kleef Aquarium, opened in 1955, houses many rare species.

In recent years, the city's three amusement centers, the Gay World, the Great World, and the New World, have degenerated into "dull acres of food stalls, advertisements, and whirlem cars." It is still possible, however, to see Chinese opera and such Malay dances as the *Baruh Joget*, a modern version of the traditional *Ronggeng*, in which the facing couples never touch. In a sharp break with tradition, Malay girls now dance for money with men from the audience.

Visitors to Singapore are always urged to see the Tiger Balm Gardens (Figure 34), built by two Chinese peasant brothers who amassed a large fortune from the sale of Tiger Balm Oil. Described as a "landscaped nightmare" and an "obscenity of ugliness," the gardens contain life-size statues painted in vivid colors; grottoes and caves display realistic tableaus depicting the tortures of the Chinese Hell. There are even figures of Walt Disney cartoon characters.

In sum, Singapore leaders make no claim that there is a "vibrant Singapore culture." Some feel, however,

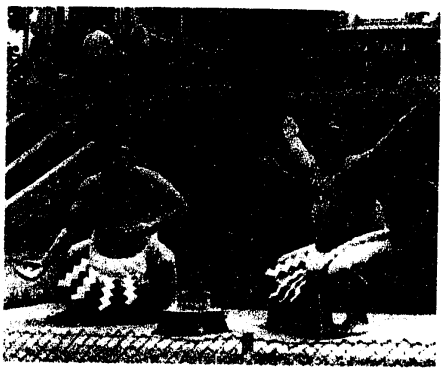


FIGURE 34. Painted concrete statues of Japanese *sumo* wrestlers and an advertisement for Tiger Balm Oil, at Tiger Balm Gardens (U/OU)

that the polycultural content of Singapore society will ensure a greater flowering of artistic and intellectual talent in the future.

H. Public information (C)

Public information media have long been important in Singapore. Rising levels of literacy and material well-being, increasing use of English, and a growing interest in both local and foreign affairs contribute to a substantial demand for printed materials and for access to radio, television, and motion pictures. The press is the most effective information medium for the literate segment of the population, and a number of newspapers published in different languages reflect the interests of the various ethnic communities. Radio serves as the primary source of news among the illiterate. Word of mouth plays a negligible role in public information, because all sectors of the society are within easy reach of modern communications.

Although the constitution contains no specifics regarding freedom of speech and of the press, these rights are accepted in principle by the government. In practice, however, the government imposes fairly strict controls in order to curb criticism of the administration and to discourage Chinese chauvinism. Authority over newspapers and periodicals is exercised through the Printing Presses Ordinance, which requires that they be registered and licensed annually, and licensing may be withheld on the grounds that the particular publication has printed material contrary to the public interest. Newspaper, magazine, and book imports are also regulated by the government, which is empowered to exclude publications it deems "prejudicial to public order." Motion pictures are subject to similar import controls and in addition are censored. The principal radio stations and the sole television station are owned and operated by the government.

The Ministry of Culture is the chief government agency functioning in the information field. It registers and licenses all publishing and printing enterprises, disseminates official announcements and informational bulletins, produces documentary films, arranges special exhibitions, and publishes a weekly digest of current affairs and government views. Other functions include operation of the National Library, the National Museum, and the National Theater. The ministry's broadcasting division is in charge of the radio and television services.

Singapore's newspapers include dailies published in all of the island's major languages. Because many circulate in Malaysia as well as in Singapore, no precise figures are available on total circulation. According to data issued by the Ministry of Culture, average daily newspaper circulation within Singapore stood at 390,000 in 1970; only 2 years earlier the figure had been 263,000. English- and Chinese-language papers dominate the industry. Although the latter have a wider readership, they lack the influence of the English-language press, primarily because substantial numbers of the sociopolitical elite are unable to read Chinese. Most Singapore newspapers are small, usually less than 10 pages, and the style and quality of reporting vary from one to another. Only the larger publications give significant space to foreign news.

The Straits Times Press (Malaysia), Ltd., a British-owned enterprise, is the dominant English-language publishing firm in Singapore and Malaysia. Its principal newspaper, the long-established *Straits Times*, is the most influential daily in the republic, read by government officials, political leaders, diplomats, educators, and most Singaporeans with an English-language education. In 1970, the daily circulation of the *Straits Times* within Singapore was 105,000, and the Sunday circulation 119,000. Containing a fairly comprehensive coverage of both domestic and foreign news, it combines a strong support of government policy with a generally pro-West orientation. Its Sunday edition devotes considerable space to women's interests, entertainment, and special features. The Straits Times Press also publishes an evening English-language newspaper, the *Malay Mail*, which has an estimated daily circulation of about 30,000. Like its sister paper, the *Mail* usually follows a progovernment, pro-West

editorial policy. Separate editions of both newspapers are issued in Kuala Lumpur, where the firm maintains its head office. As of 1971 the Straits Times Press had acquired a half-interest in a newly established daily, the *New Nation*, which is reportedly providing broader coverage of foreign news than either of the other two papers. In addition, the company issues a variety of publications, including miscellaneous periodicals, yearbooks, and directories.

Two independent English-language newspapers, the *Eastern Sun* and the *Singapore Herald*, were forced out of business by the government in 1971, the former because it allegedly had been receiving substantial subsidies from the People's Republic of China, and the latter because of what was officially considered to be undue criticism of the Lee administration.

The leading Chinese-language newspapers are the *Sin Chew Jit Poh* (Singapore Daily News) and the *Nanyang Siang Pau* (South Seas Daily News), published respectively by Sin Poh Amalgamated, Ltd. and the Nanyang Press, Ltd. Both put out editions in Malaysia as well as in Singapore. As of 1970, the daily circulation of the *Sin Chew Jit Poh* in Singapore was about 86,000, and the Sunday circulation 96,000. Corresponding estimates for the *Nanyang Siang Pau* were 42,000 and 50,000. The *Sin Chew Jit Poh* ostensibly is neutralist but has had a longstanding leftist editorial policy. Its criticism of the United States is persistent and vitriolic, and it contains little adverse comment on the People's Republic of China. However, it does support the Singaporean Government on many issues. Until 1969, the *Nanyang Siang Pau* had maintained a cautious editorial stance, but a top-level management change in that year produced a strong leftward orientation marked by extremely laudatory comment on China. In May 1971, four officials of the newspaper were arrested for allegedly inciting and exploiting Chinese nationalist tendencies, and since that time the paper's coverage of China has been muted. Both Sin Poh Amalgamated and the Nanyang Press are large firms with widespread commercial interests in addition to their publishing ventures; both are owned by wealthy Chinese.

Other Chinese-language daily newspapers are the *Min Pao* (People's Daily), with a 1970 circulation of approximately 19,000 (Sunday 21,000), and the *Shin Min Rhy Bau* (New People's Daily News), with a claimed circulation of about 48,000 (Sunday, 50,000). The *Min Pao* has a heavily pro-Peking coloration which [illegible] to be influenced by its substantial ads [illegible] from several emporiums that sell [illegible] products. The *Shin Min Rhy Bau* is a sensational-type publication emphasizing sex and violence.

The only significant Malay-language daily newspaper in Singapore is the *Berita Harian* (Daily News), published by the Straits Times Press in Kuala Lumpur for distribution in Singapore. Its editorial policy, like that of other Straits Times Press papers, supports government policy and is usually favorable to the West. In 1970, its weekday edition had a Singapore circulation estimated at about 13,000, and its Sunday edition, *Berita Minggu* (Weekly News) claimed 15,000. Both are printed in the Rumi script, a romanized version of Malay. Generally, two or three Indian-language dailies are published in the republic, emphasizing news from the Indian subcontinent, but the mortality rate among these newspapers is high. The *Tamil Murasu* (Tamil Drum) was the principal publication serving the Indian community in 1970. Its daily and Sunday circulation figures in that year were estimated at 7,100 and 9,000, respectively.

Numerous periodicals are published in Singapore, the number varying widely from year to year because of the ephemeral character of many such publications. In 1969, licenses were issued to 758 periodicals; the figure in 1966 had been 556. In the latter year, the latest for which a linguistic breakdown is available, 246 were published in English, 103 in Chinese, 27 in Malay, 13 in Tamil, one in Punjabi, and 166 in more than one language. English-language publications usually account for 35% to 50% of the annual output. Although some long-established periodicals have a substantial circulation, most claim fewer than 1,000 subscribers. Included among the publications are weekly and fortnightly magazines, monthly periodicals, quarterly journals, and annuals. Some are well edited and well printed and intended for a general audience; others are essentially newsletters directed toward a small group. Among the most popular, in terms of total circulation, are motion picture magazines, pictorials, and magazines devoted to subjects of interest to women. A number of periodicals deal with literature, philosophy, fine arts, and technology, but few of these have a significant circulation. Most of the government agencies issue periodic publications, as do the professional societies and religious bodies.

Periodicals imported from abroad are subject to examination under provisions of the Undesirable Publications Ordinance, and those deemed to be against the public interest are banned and confiscated. All imported Chinese-language periodicals are scrutinized; examination of English-language imports is carried out on a sampling basis. Chinese-language

publications are confiscated primarily for political reasons, but many of those banned are subsequently smuggled into the republic and sold surreptitiously. English-language periodicals are most frequently prohibited on moral grounds. The more widely known U.K. and U.S. magazines are sold in Singapore and have a fairly large readership, as do some nonpolitical Chinese-language magazines from Hong Kong and China. A few Soviet periodicals are also in circulation. USIS issues a weekly magazine for readers in Singapore and Malaysia which is printed in English and Chinese; several other foreign information services also sponsor periodicals.

There is no domestic press service in Singapore. Newspapers rely on their own staffs, on foreign press agencies, or on the publicity division of the Ministry of Culture for their news copy. Because Singapore has traditionally served as a newsgathering center for much of Southeast Asia, many of the major foreign news agencies maintain offices there. These include Reuters, the Associated Press, United Press International, *Agence France-Presse*, and TASS. Sources for the Chinese-language press include the Republic of China's Central News Agency, Peking's New China News Agency, and Hong Kong news outlets. United Press of India services Indian-language publications.

Rising literacy and improved levels of living have contributed to an increasing demand for books. There are few book-publishing firms in the republic, however, and a large proportion of the total book stock must therefore be imported. Most books published in Singapore are texts, but each year a few scientific studies, novels, religious works, and miscellaneous other volumes are issued. Two local firms turning out Chinese-language materials are the Nanyang Book Company and the Commercial Press, Ltd. The principal companies publishing English-language works are the Straits Times Press, Ltd. and the Far East Publishing Company. While most Malay-language books are brought in from Malaysia, a few small enterprises issue Malay textbooks. There is also a publishing house specializing in Indian-language books. Imported books are subject to the same controls that apply to periodicals, undergoing review by the authorities before distribution to booksellers. A large quantity of Chinese-language imports flows in from Hong Kong, the People's Republic of China, and Nationalist China; English-language books come primarily from the United Kingdom and the United States.

Singapore's National Library is also the center of the island's public library system. In addition to its main headquarters, it operates a large full-time branch in Queenstown, five part-time branches, and three bookmobiles. Holdings of the library in 1970 amounted to about 472,000 items, including volumes in English, Chinese, Malay, and Tamil, braille materials, music scores, microfilms, maps, prints, and archives; books alone numbered 460,000. The entire collection is reported to be the largest in Southeast Asia. Library records indicate that about 1,437,000 books were borrowed in 1970.

Although it has declined somewhat since the advent of television, radio still commands the largest following of any of the information media in Singapore. It is particularly important for the dissemination of news. Government statistics for 1970 indicate that there were more than 250,000 licensed receivers (annual fee: S$12) on the island at that time; this figure does not include the large number of transistor radios in use, as they are not subject to licensing. A USIS estimate placed the total number of receivers of all types at 500,000 in 1970.

The main radiobroadcasting facilities, known collectively as *Radio Singapore*, are controlled and operated by the broadcasting division of the Ministry of Culture. *Radio Singapore* broadcasts in each of the four official languages, using five transmitters ranging in power from 7.5 to 100 kilowatts. Its shortwave transmissions can be heard throughout Southeast Asia. All four language services provide a variety of programs, including news and commentary, musical presentations, drama, sports, and miscellaneous cultural features. Broadcasts in Chinese and Malay are scheduled daily from 5 a.m. until midnight, those in English from 6 a.m. to midnight, and those in Tamil from 5 a.m. to 9 p.m. Each of the language services carries advertisements and commercially sponsored programs, but no commercial intrusions are allowed during newscasts, lectures, or programs of "serious" music. With the exception of those Chinese who have an English-language education, all of the island's major ethnic groups tend to listen to programs broadcast in their own language.

In addition to *Radio Singapore*, a wired service is operated under government charter by Rediffusion (Singapore) Private, Ltd., a subsidiary of Rediffusion International, Ltd., of London. Broadcasts are relayed from substations over about 2,500 miles of cable to loudspeakers rented by more than 57,000 individual subscribers for a fee of S$1 per month. Each subscriber chooses the programing of either the "Gold" or "Silver" Network. The former presents programs solely in Chinese, the latter in both Chinese and English. Much of the daily programming—provided from 6 a.m. until midnight—is devoted to music, but it also

includes news and miscellaneous other features of a local nature.

Singaporeans with shortwave receiving sets are able to pick up broadcasts from numerous foreign countries, including the People's Republic of China and the U.S.S.R. Voice of America broadcasts reportedly have a limited listenership, except for special events such as space flights. However, the USIS supplies *Radio Singapore* with tapes and scripts, mainly musical and information programs, and these have considerable popular appeal.

The television audience has grown rapidly since the inauguration of regularly scheduled telecasts in April 1963. The total number of sets rose from an estimated 3,500 early in 1964 to 93,000 by the end of 1967, and to more than 190,000 in late 1972. Payment of the annual licensing fee of S$36 entitles the user to a radio license also. Television has been installed in neighborhood community centers and is often found in other public gathering places, including restaurants and bars. In addition, many schools have access to educational television.

Like *Radio Singapore*, *Television Singapore* is operated under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture. It transmits on two channels, providing (as of 1970) 13½ hours of programing daily, Monday through Saturday, and 22 hours on Sundays and public holidays. Programs are available in each of the four official languages, usually with subtitles in a second language. For some features, a simultaneous narration is carried in a third language on radio. The two channels do not usually schedule programs in the same language at the same time; they also seek to avoid simultaneous duplication of program content. Telecasts include drama, variety shows, documentaries, sports presentations, and motion pictures, in addition to regular newscasts and coverage of special local events. The government is increasingly turning to television as an informational and indoctrinational medium. Speeches by officials, activities of government leaders, and ceremonial state functions are given thorough coverage. In the late 1960's, local presentations accounted for about 30% of total programing. The remainder consisted primarily of taped materials imported from the United Kingdom, the United States, and Hong Kong. USIS productions are also used. During one 3-month period in 1971, USIS documentaries and other programs occupied more than 8 hours of prime veiwing time. Educational television was initiated in Singapore in 1967 under the guidance of the Center for Educational Television Overseas, a London-based enterprise.

Operating revenue for government radio and television services is derived from spot advertising and commercial sponsorship of programs, from the licensing fees for ownership of radios and television sets, and from government subsidies as neccessary.

Motion pictures are a popular form of entertainment for all. Attendance at Singapore's 72 theaters (seating capacity, 55,000) totaled approximately 28 million in 1970, having increased from 25.1 million in 1962. With only limited local production, the island relies heavily on film imports. As of 1968, only one domestic commercial studio, Cathay-Keris Film Productions, Ltd., an affiliate of Cathay Organization, Ltd., was producing motion pictures, its output consisting of a handful of feature-length films with Malay soundtracks, in addition to newsreels, documentaries, television presentations, and filmed advertisements. Cathay and another organization, Shaw Brothers, are the main importers and distributors of motion pictures in Singapore and Malaysia. Each firm owns an operates a theater circuit, and together they control most of the theaters on the island.

The principal sources of film imports are Hong Kong, Nationalist China, the United States, India, and Japan; some come from the United Kingdom and other European countries. In 1970, as a result of a sharp drop in imports from the United States, Chinese-language films outnumbered English-language features for the first time. Most of the Chinese films have Cantonese soundtracks, but some employ other dialects or Mandarin. As a general rule, Chinese-, English-, and Indian-language motion pictures are shown with the original soundtrack and without subtitles. Films in other languages normally are dubbed locally, usually in English or in Mandarin Chinese. Musicals and adventure films, including westerns, have proved to be the most popular of the U.S. productions. Similarly, Chinese films with the most appeal are the "swashbuckling" adventure type. Censorship of motion pictures involves primarily subjects which might be contrary to the customs or religious beliefs of Singapore's principal ethnic groups.

The Ministry of Culture produces a variety of informational films which are given wide distribution through commercial theaters, government-sponsored mobile units, schools, and voluntary associations. USIS and a few other foreign information services also supply documentaries for exhibition in theaters and before various groups. Chinese, Malay, and Tamil versions of USIS features are normally provided, in addition to the English-language originals.

I. Suggestions for further reading (U/OU)

Ahmat, Sharom "Singapore Malays, Educational and National Development," *Suara Universiti*, pp. 41-55, January 1971. Describes inadequacies in Malay education and recommends improvements.

Bloodworth, Dennis. *The Chinese Looking Glass*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux. 1967. Useful insights into Chinese social behavior based in part on observations of Singapore Chinese.

Boardman, Gwenn R. *Living In Singapore*. New York: Thomas Nelson Inc. 1971. A simplistic description of Singapore life which nonetheless imparts the flavor of the city.

Buxbaum, David C. "Chinese Family Law in a Common Law Setting," *Journal of Asian Studies*, pp. 621-44, August 1966. Details the interaction between English common law and Chinese customary law.

Clark, David H., and Koh, F. Y. "Labor Absorption in Singapore," *In Conference on Manpower Problems in East and Southeast Asia*, 58 pp., May 25, 1971. Discusses shifts in the distribution of the labor force, particularly in the manufacturing sector, which has been the focus of the government's development efforts. Also analyzes the unemployment problem.

Djamour, Judith. *Malay Kinship and Marriage in Singapore*. London: Athlone Press. 1959. A standard source for Malay social values and social organization. The first chapter contains a graphic and comprehensive description of the Malay community structure.

"Education in Singapore," *Bulletin of the UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Asia*, pp. 181-188, March 1972. A succinct description of the major changes in educational policy initiated by the Government of Singapore in 1969.

Freedman, Maurice. "Chinese Kinship and Marriage in Singapore," *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, pp. 65-73, September 1962. Discusses the extent of social change among the politically and socially ascendant "Baba," or Straits-born Chinese, in the 19th century.

Freedman, Maurice, and Topley, Marjorie. "Religion and Social Realignment Among the Chinese in Singapore," *Journal of Asian Studies*, pp.3-23, November 1961. Details the variety of Chinese religious groupings and the syncretic nature of their religious beliefs.

Hanna, Willard A. "The Republic of Singapore: Population Review 1970." *In The American Universities Field Staff Reports* (Southeast Asia Series), 25 pp., December 1970. Largely a detailed discussion of the government's birth control program.

Hassan, Riaz. "Occupational and Class Structures of Singapore Malays," *Suara Universiti*, pp. 29-32, January 1971. Examines shifts in occupational categories of Malay workers in 1947, 1957, 1970 and assesses their rate of economic progress.

———. "Population Change and Urbanization in Singapore," *Civilizations*, vol. 19, pp. 169-188, 1969. A discussion of population growth and change since 1819, followed by an analysis of the probable effects of rapid urbanization upon ethnic groups.

Lin Chong Yah. "Changes in Organization and Management in the Industrial Sector in Singapore," *Suara Universiti*, pp. 9-14, January 1971. Describes the gradual transition from small, traditional, family-based enterprises to large, modern, industrial establishments.

McKie, Ronald. *The Emergence of Malaysia*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World. 1963. Includes an interesting, journalistic account of Singapore society and culture.

Ooi Jin-bee and Chiang Hai Ding (eds.). *Modern Singapore*. Singapore: University of Singapore. 1969. Includes essays which discuss salient features of the population and social structure, both past and present.

Peng Poh-seng. "The Straits Chinese in Singapore: A Case of Local Identity and Socio-cultural Accommodation," *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, pp. 95-114, March 1969. Compares the distinctive linguistic, cultural, and political traits of the early Straits-born Chinese with those of the China-born immigrant.

Sandhu, Kernial Singh. "Some Aspects of Indian Settlement in Singapore, 1819-1969," *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, pp. 193-201, September 1969. A profile of Indian subgroups which notes changes in occupational preferences, decreased contacts with India, and increased stabilization of the community.

Skerly, Nada. "The Aged in Singapore: Veneration Collides with the 20th Century," *The Alicia Patterson Fund*, 20 pp., December 1971. A journalistic account of the social tensions generated within Chinese families by the conflict between tradicional kinship obligations toward the aged and the modern values of the younger generation.

Topley, Marjorie. "The Emergence and Social Function of Chinese Religious Associations in Singapore," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 3, no. 3, pp. 289-314, 1961. A valuable description of the social functions of Chinese religion, modern religious associations, and the trend toward secularization in Chinese social life.

Yeh, Stephan H. K. "Chinese Marriage Patterns in Singapore," *Malayan Economic Review*, pp. 102-112, April 1964. Examines the influence of race, religion, age, occupation, and education upon the choice of a marriage partner.

———. "The Size and Structure of Households in Singapore, 1957-1966," *Malayan Economic Review*, pp. 97-115, October 1967. An analysis of trends in the composition of Singapore households by one of the city's leading demographers. Findings are based in part on results of the 1966 sample household survey.

You Poh Seng. "The Population of Singapore, 1966: Demographic Structure, Social and Economic Characteristics," *Malayan Economic Review*, pp. 59-96. October 1967. An excellent analysis of the population, based on data provided by the 1966 sample household survey. A section on education contains useful information.

Glossary

ABBREVIATION	ENGLISH
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
HDB	Housing and Development Board
ICFTU	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
ILO	International Labor Organization
IRO	Inter-Religious Organization
NTUC	National Trades Union Congress
PAP	People's Action Party
SATA	Singapore Antituberculosis Association
SBSO	Singapore Buddhist Sangha Organization
WHO	World Health Organization
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

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