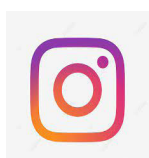## In this issue:

Articles

The Impact of Historical Factors on Singapore's Integration Policies/Frameworks and Peoples' Identities

Climate Change and Induced Migration: An Analysis of John Lanchester's The Wall

Book Review

Migrants and City Making

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MIGRANTS & CITY-MAKING — Dispossession, Displacement, & Urban Regeneration

AYŞE ÇAĞLAR & NINA GLICK SCHILLER

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The MIGRATION NEWS — People on the Move

GRFDT — Global Research Forum on Diaspora and Transnationalism

Editor's Note

The current issue of Roots & Routes attempts to explore the complex and multifaceted relationship between migration, identity and climate change. Articles in this issue examine how these phenomena intersect and interact in various contexts and regions and how they shape the experiences and aspirations of migrants and their communities. We hope this issue will stimulate further dialogue and collaboration among scholars and stakeholders interested in these topics.

The current issue is a synthesis of two articles and a book review that explore the interplay of historical and contemporary factors on the issues of integration and migration. The first article, titled "The Impact of Historical Factors on Singapore's Integration Policies/Frameworks and Peoples' Identities by Himani Chauhan, examines how Singapore's colonial past and post-independence challenges have shaped its integration policies and frameworks and how it has evolved over time to address the changing needs and aspirations of its diverse population. It discusses how British colonisation and migration from China, India, and Malaysia have shaped Singapore's ethnic diversity and its Chinese-Malay-Indian-Others (CMIO) model of multiculturalism. The second article, titled "Climate Change and Induced Migration: An Analysis of John Lanchester's The Wall' by Irram Irfan, is on climate change and induced migration and analyses the novel The Wall by John Lanchester.

The current issue also carries a book review titled "Migrants and City Making". It has been reviewed by Ahmed Murtala Hassan.

We invite readers to participate and share their experiences with us to have a meaningful engagement. You can communicate with us through email at editorinchief@grfdt.com. We wish you happy reading and look forward to your suggestions and comments.

Feroz Khan

THE IMPACT OF HISTORICAL FACTORS ON SINGAPORE'S INTEGRATION POLICIES/FRAMEWORKS AND PEOPLES' IDENTITIES

An overview of Integration in Singapore

Historical factors have played key roles in integration policies/frameworks around the world, although their lasting impacts on peoples' identities are often forgotten about in the wider literature and media. Singapore is one such country that scholars understudy. Historical factors have influenced Singapore's integration policies/ frameworks with lasting impacts on people's identities. This reflects how people often have to neglect one country from their identities to be accepted in the other.

Why Have People Historically Migrated to Singapore?

Migration to Singapore from around the region has been influenced by British colonisation and settlement history. Many people migrated to Singapore in the "19th and early 20th Centuries", creating "an ethnically and culturally diverse" country (Yang, 2020, 5). Singapore has had historic migration from China, India, and Malaysia.

Natural disasters, rebellions, and revolutions caused many Chinese to leave their homeland between 1896 and 1941 due to their oppressive government and poverty (Ee, 1961). These migrants originated from South China, specifically Kwangtung and Fukien (Yeoh & Lin, 2013). Singapore was also a "British entrepôt", so they had strong trading links to China, resulting in many Chinese migrating to Singapore as labourers for the new "labor-intensive industries" (Yeoh & Lin, 2013, 34)

British colonisation also had impacts on Indian and Malay migrants. Many Indians, specifically those from Tamil Nadu, migrated to Singapore as British colonisers called them to work as indentured labourers (Chacko, 2017). Malays primarily migrated to Singapore between the mid-19th Century and the Second World War (Minority Rights Group, n.d.). Malays were viewed as reliable and loyal, resulting in the British employing

them as police and the armed forces (Minority Rights Group, n.d.). Due to British colonisation, many Chinese, Indians, and Malays have migrated to Singapore which has impacted their integration policies/frameworks.

What Integration Policies/Frameworks Does Singapore Have?

Singapore's most predominant integration policy/ framework is the Chinese-Malay-Indian-Others (CMIO) Model. The People's Action Party adopted this model in 1959, which is continuously used to shape the country's ethnic profile (Solomon, 2018). This model has links to its colonial past as Chinese, Malay, and Indians came to Singapore due to the British. In effect, Singapore views Eurasians and Jews as Others (Vasu, 2012). The model also serves as an example of Singapore's multiculturalism as Singapore understands and manages the race of individuals in a way where peoples' racial identities are not subject to change (Vasu, 2012). As a result, the CMIO Model is also used during "public celebrations like the annual National Day Parade" to recognise Singapore's multiculturalism (Solomon, 2018, 95). Singapore frequently uses this model in its "public administration and governance framework" (Koh et al., 2015, 20).In governmental terms, the CMIO Model has been used to "manage language policies, access to public housing, statistical and census data and public holidays" (Solomon, 2018, 95). Although the CMIO Model tries to promote multiculturalism, in reality, it has resulted in more people experiencing challenges with their identities.

How Do Singapore's CMIO Model Impact Peoples' Identities?

Emily Tolentino – a Singaporean citizen originating from the Philippines – provides an example depicting how the CMIO Model has impacted her identity (Solomon, 2018). She explains an instance where, in

communicating with someone, she mentioned how she identified herself as a Singaporean, but they just laughed at her as she was "not a real Singaporean" due to her Filipino ethnicity and appearance (Solomon, 2018, 96). This caused Emily to just introduce herself to others as a Filipino since "it was easier" (Solomon, 2018, 96). She further highlights how the CMIO Model impacts her identity by stating that she is visibly Filipino and "not Chinese or Malay or Indian or White", reflecting how others will never see her as being "Singaporean enough" (Solomon, 2018, 96). However, this also reflects how the CMIO Model refers to those who are visibly white when they are talking about those in the Other category. This shows how others do not see Emily as a true Singaporean because her physical appearance and ethnicity are excluded from the CMIO categories. Emily's example thus reflects how she refrained from identifying herself as a Singaporean so that society would accept her.

An unnamed former female national table tennis player also illustrates how the CMIO Model impacted her identity as her loyalty to Singapore was questioned (Chan-Hoong& Wai Wai, 2015). She is seen as a foreigner and not a local by society, despite previously representing the country at the Olympics, marrying a Singaporean and having two children who were Singaporean citizens by birth (Chan-Hoong& Wai Wai, 2015). This example shows that since she is excluded from the CMIO Model, she is seen as a foreigner, instead of a Singaporean as she was born elsewhere. Her identity was impacted as despite wanting to identify herself as a Singaporean, society did not enable her to do so because they would always see her as a foreigner.

An anonymous Indian permanent resident was interviewed, shedding further light on this issue. The interviews stated how it is hard to maintain two cultural identities, so you primarily have to choose one over the other (Chacko, 2017). They add that despite identifying as an Indian, they have many local friends due to their shared common interests which are not dependent on their cultural background (Chacko, 2017). As the interviewee is a permanent resident, the CMIO Model has impacted their identity. The interviewee fits into the CMIO Model as they identify themselves as Indian, while only referring to themselves as a permanent resident when asked (Chacko, 2017). They choose to identify themselves as Indian rather than a permanent resident because other citizens are more likely to accept them for who they are without question since they are included in the CMIO Model.

Conclusion

In conclusion, Singapore's CMIO Model has been influenced by Britain calling people from their colonies to come and work in their growing industries. This reflects how Singapore's policies have been influenced by different historical events and times. The examples of impacts on peoples' identities reflect how they have to neglect one country from their identities for Singapore to accept them. For instance, Emily wants to be identified as Singaporean, but her physical characteristics constrain her from identifying herself as Filipino. The unnamed former female national table tennis player is also constrained to being a foreigner because she did not originate from Singapore. The anonymous Indian permanent resident interviewee talks about how people cannot maintain two cultural identities; however, the CMIO Model's impacts would be better judged if we knew where they originate from, as they only say they are Indian.

However, the CMIO Model can now be viewed as more of an exclusionary policy/framework than the traditional integration one that promoted multiculturalism.In effect, it will be interesting to see how Singapore will approach this model in the future. A person's individual and national identity should not be limited to their race as several factors influence a person's identity.[1]

[1] If you would like to read more about the future implementation of the CMIO Model, Justin Ong has published the article *'Singapore's CMIO race model an administrative tool to manage policies: IPS panel'* which is an interesting read and is hyperlinked above.

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CLIMATE CHANGE AND INDUCED MIGRATION: AN ANALYSIS OF JOHN LANCHESTER'S THE WALL

In 1990, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, or IPCC, stated that the greatest impact of climate change would be on human migration. A steep rise in the Global Mean Sea Level, or GMSL, will become a dangerous result of anthropogenic climate change. The GMSL is projected to rise between 17 and 29cm by 2050. This extreme change in sea levels will result in coastal flooding and, therefore, a 25% decrease in the area of coastal lands. Along with a dynamic rise in sea level, global warming will lead to drastic climate changes, which will result in extreme temperatures, droughts, and floods. This striking climate change will affect 77% of the cities around the world (Crowther Lab). In the end, making huge stretches of the world uninhabitable. This loss of housing and living resources will result in a steep rise in forced climate migrants. According to the World Bank, if no climate action is taken, the number of forced climate migrants will rise up to 143 million by 2050. That means that "one in every 45 people will have been displaced" due to climate change (International Organization for Migration).

In The Wall, John Lanchester presents a future society that has experienced catastrophic climate change, leaving millions displaced. These forced climate migrants are seen floating endlessly on the sea, outside a concrete barrier, termed by Lanchester as "the Wall" (Lanchester 10). This "concrete monster" is the "National Coastal Defence Structure," which encircles Britain, securing its citizens from both unwanted water and climate migrants (Lanchester 11, 22). These unwanted and feared climate migrants are termed the "Others" (Lanchester 15).

In order to protect the Wall, from the Others, the young citizens of this frigid fortress state are deployed to guard the Wall for two years. These forced guards are known as "Defenders" (Lanchester 10). If they succeed in guarding the Wall for two years, they are permitted to live the rest of their lives inside the safety of the Wall. Although, if they fail and Others cross the Wall during their watch, they are forced to take the place of the Others and are put to sea. Thus, transforming the fate of these Defenders in an instant, from young citizens to induced migrants.

Although the cause of displacement of the forced climate migrants, or Others, and the induced migrants, or prior Defenders is different, they both share a doomed fate, resting in the unpredictable hands of Nature. The forced climate migrants or Others are displaced due to uninhabitable conditions of their homelands. While induced migrants or prior Defenders have been relocated as planned by the state and agreed upon by the community, as they failed to defend the Wall, and, therefore their lives.

The protagonist of this dystopian fable, Joseph Kavanagh, crosses over from being a citizen to an induced migrant, from a Defender to an Other. Kavanagh, who shares his name with Joseph K. from Franz Kafka's The Trial, also shares his fate of becoming an outlaw for no defendable reason. He is put to sea for failing in his "duty as a Defender" (Lanchester 124). This induced migration can be seen in the division of the book into three parts. Kavanagh migrates from being a citizen on "The Wall", which is the first part, to an induced migrant on "The Sea", which is the third part, with the intermediary stage of identifying himself and understanding "The Others", in the second part.

Unlike previous usages of the wall as a metaphorical barricade, Lanchester does not use it symbolically but as a practical structure. This is similar to the cold on the Wall, which "isn't a metaphor" (Lanchester 10). The practicality of the Wall is portrayed through the graphic visualisations of concrete poetry and haiku. The visuals move from the shape of a tree:

"a

poem

about a

tree in the

shape of a tree,

in this case a Christ-

mas tree, not a very con-

vincing tree and not a very good

poem but it's not trying to be a death-

less masterpiece it's just to show the idea

yes?"

 to a block of concrete:

"concrete concrete concrete concrete concrete

concrete concrete concrete concrete concrete

concrete concrete concrete concrete concrete

concrete concrete concrete concrete concrete

concrete concrete concrete concrete concrete

concrete concrete concrete concrete concrete"

and then to a haiku:

"sky!

cold

water

concrete

wind"

(Lanchester 17, 18, 19)

This change in shapes captures the Change that has occurred after a catastrophic climatic event that has left the world consisting of "concretewaterskywindcold" (Lanchester 18). It is this lack of spacing that represents the looming Wall, dividing the citizens and forcing climate migrants.

Lanchester's Wall also has a stark resemblance to the Wall of Westeros of George R. R. Martin's Game of Thrones. They both keep out unwanted migrants.

Although, unlike the Wall of Westeros, Lanchester's Wall is not magical but a massive concrete barricade. Whereas those attempting to cross the Wall are not white walkers who are "inhuman beings with mystic powers" or wights who are "dead people" turned into "zombies" but actual human beings (Renfro). In stark contrast to the white walkers, these forced climate migrants are "black-clad" figures hoping to "hopping silently over the Wall, knife in its hand, murder in its eyes, nothing to lose" (Lanchester 34). Therefore, it can be said that Lanchester, a self-proclaimed Game of Thrones addict, takes a realistic but inspired approach to the Westeros legend.

This fantasy turned reality does not hit Kavanagh until he is forced to experience the first turn of violence, when Mary, the cook of their squad, is shot while serving coffee to Kavanagh. This shocking turn to violence leaves Kavanagh in a phase of confusion and denial. Originally, Kavanagh is presented as a person who has blinkers on and has numbed himself to a life without perspective. It is this violent shot that forces him to understand the desperate hope of the forced climate migrants on the other side of the Wall.

The Others who are successful in making the breach are "always caught and offered the standard choice." They have to choose between "being euthanised, becoming Help or being put back to see" (Lanchester 40). This choice provided to forced climate migrants is similar to that offered to war captives. In order to survive, these migrants choose to become Help, which is a form of state-sanctioned slavery. They make this choice as it has the "attraction" that if they have children, "the children are raised as citizens," which resembles the current British Citizenship by Birth law for immigrant parents (Immigration Advice Service). This powerlessness over their identity is similar to the Pearls or immigrants of Gilead in Margaret Atwood's The Testaments. While Lanchester's climate migrants are offered to choose their identity, Atwood's Pearls are "observed carefully" and "assigned" their identities as "potential Wives or Econowives, or Supplicants, or, in some unhappy cases, Handmaids" (Atwood ch. 47). This limitation of choices provided to the migrants puts them in a tight spot. Thus, although they have entered a climatic safe space inside the Wall, they have not become liberated.

Prior to setting foot inside the Wall, they were in the open, and their lives toed between their free will and the forces of Nature. Whereas, after their successful escapade from Nature, they are now shackled by the state. Thus, the Wall confines them rather than rescues them.

The Help, as presented in The Wall is considered by Kavanagh as a "life upgrade," a "status symbol" which makes life both easier and "nicer." Kavanagh wants to become "rich enough" that he can afford Help so that he has "somebody else to do the boring and difficult bits" for him (Lanchester 62). Apart from domestic chores, these difficult bits include the time spent guarding the Wall, which the "rich and powerful people" are suspected of being exempted from by rigging their IDs and sending their Help instead of going themselves (Lanchester 83).

As opposed to Kavanagh's wish of having Help, Hifa's mother, a retired art teacher who already has Help realises that having another "human being at one's beck and call" is a "lessening of one own's humanity". Although she is later seen justifying this act of slavery as "a form of providing welfare and shelter and refuge to the wretched of the world". She further argues that she would never have succumbed to this decline of humanity in earlier times before the Change had occurred. Nonetheless, she defends her mannerism of a do-gooder as a reason for the "terribleness of age". She reasons that although the "spirit is willing", the "flesh is weak, and if we're being completely honest, the spirit isn't always willing either" (Lanchester 107). Therefore, it can be argued that irrespective of the Change, having Help, a pretentious term used for slavery, is a falling of humanity, a decline of civilisation, for which no argument can be regarded as reasonable and just.

The Others who cross the Wall tend to become Breeders, a term given to those who reproduce. The citizens, on the other hand, "don't want to Breed, because the world is such a horrible place". The rule is that if "you reproduce, you can leave" the Wall, so Defenders use breeding as an incentive to save their own lives (Lanchester 31). Thus, in order to live, they should create life. This is reflective of Kazuo Ishiguro's take on mortality and hope in his dystopian novel, Never Let Me Go, where the existence of the clones, Tommy,

Ruth, and Kathy, is to donate to create life. The purpose of the clones is parallel to that of the Others who have entered the Wall, as selfless providers for the rich and the powerful. Thus, the act of providing refuge to these forced climate migrants is a sham, in order to justify the state's exploitation of the climate migrants as Help and Breeders.

This realist story of a Kafkaesque character leaves the future of forced climate migrants at an uncertain but hopeful edge. Similar to Kafka's endings, The Wall ends in the confused state of settled in displacement, as Kavanagh and his partner, Hifa, find "some sort of installation" in the middle of the unsettling sea (Lanchester 172). Although, unlike Kafka, Lanchester adds a flicker of hope for survival in the literal sense of the flicker of a flame from a lamp. Therefore, providing light and warmth to the fear of uncertainty by stating, "Everything is going to be alright" (Lanchester 189).

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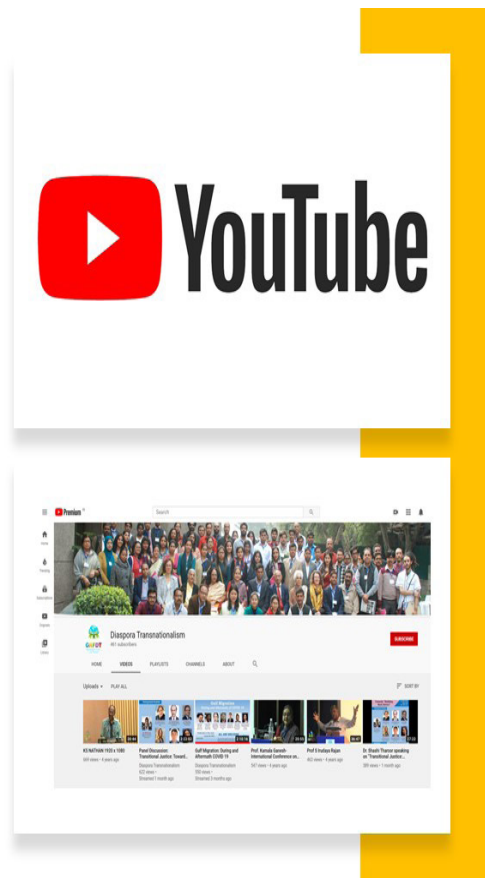
DIASPORA NETWORKS AND INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION OF SKILLS:
How Countries Can Draw on Their Talent Abroad

Ayse Caglar & Nina Glick Schiller (2018) Migrants and City Making: Dispersion, Displacement & Urban Regeneration. Duke University Press, Durham and London, Paper ISBN: 978-0-8223-7056-7, 296 p.

Ayse Caglar & Nina Glick Schiller's book, Migrants and City Making: Dispersion, Displacement & Urban Regeneration focuses on the relationship between cities and migrants as part of strategies of urban reformation. Generally, exploration of such relationships tends to focus on major cities in the global economies like New York, London, Tokyo; etc. but this book focuses on cities that are not global power houses. They include: Mardin, in Turkey, which lies on the Turkish-Syrian Border; Manchester, New Hampshire, in the North-eastern United States; and Halle/Saale, Saxony Anhalt,

Photo credit: https://www.amazon.in/Migrants-City-Making-Dispossession-Displacement-Regeneration ebook/dp/B07G6K82NM

a part of formerly socialist eastern Germany. The book also offers a multiscalar analytical framework placing both migrants and natives on the same level of analysis as social actors who are integral to city-making processes and are both connected to actors based in multiple social fields. Social fields are conceived as multiple and intersecting networks in which actors, as individuals, institutions, or corporate entities, hold uneven power, which may be locally, regionally or supranationally situated, as in the case of the EU, AU, ECOWAS, and UN.

Caglar & Schiller argue beyond the methodological nationalism and ethnic lens, an intellectual understanding that approaches social and historical processes as nationally bounded, portraying individuals as having one country and one identity. They argue that using an ethnic lens to describe migrants as individuals sharing the same ancestral heritage and thus forming a diaspora, disregards the diversity of migrants' relationship to their place of destination and important socio-economic commonalities between migrants and non-migrant populations (p. 4)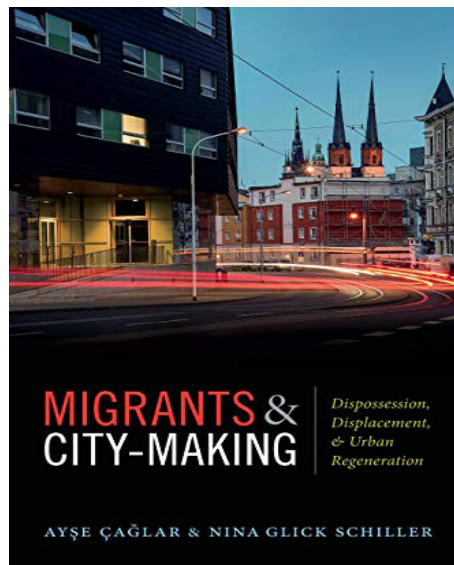. They further argue that critical policy analysis offers uniformity for neoliberal policy regimes which guides municipal authorities to enable equal opportunity and access to resources and social fields for both migrants and non-migrants as important stakeholders in city-making. Migrants and City-Making adopts the "mutisighted" analysis instead of the traditional "multisited" deployed by the majority of city anthropologists. "Multisighted" analysis allows for a thorough study of transnational migration and globalization in one location through a multiscalar lens that traces the interconnection of unequal processes and relationships that connect different places.

The authors deployed a qualitative methodology in their studies combining ethnographic participant observation; in-depth interviews with people differentially positioned in the social, cultural, and political life of the city; and the collection and analysis of urban economic, political, and cultural development documents, initiatives, and regeneration programs (p. 25). They interviewed municipal officials, urban developers and politicians involved in urban regeneration. They also interviewed civil society organisations concerned with the presence of migrants and other minorities and vulnerable groups. In addition, they mixed their methodology with qualitative analysis and collected relevant statistical information about

trade, unemployment, labour, investment, institutional structures and profiles, budgets, development plans, allocations, population composition and change, and local narratives about each city and its migrants from local, regional, and supranational websites connected to each city and from institutional offices, civil society organizations, and newspapers.

The book, Migrants and City-Making is organized into five (5) chapters. Chapter one, introduces three cities that are brought together as a social laboratory for the broad study- Mardin, in Turkey, lies on the Turkish-Syrian Border; Manchester, New Hampshire, in the North-eastern United States; and Halle/Saale, Saxony Anhalt, a part of formerly socialist eastern Germany. The chapter describes their similarities and differences. Major similarities presented in the chapter include the disempowered history of the three cities, neoliberal policy of capital accumulation as a strategy of urban regeneration and the processes of displacement and emplacement that affected both migrants and non-migrants that contributed to the repositioning of the cities. Chapter two covers interesting welcoming narratives of migrants and the concomitant emergence of their small business within a multiscalar neoliberal structure. It presents a critical debate between scholars who see migrants' businesses within the concept of ethnic entrepreneurs and those who situate migrants' businesses within the transnational flow of capital and the process of globalization (p. 97). Chapter three discusses the urban sociabilities of migrants within multiscalar powers. Theories of migration and social relations are introduced to provide a clear framework for understanding "sociability of emplacement". The book reveals that migrants in Manchester one of the three cities studied, established socibilities in three domains: proximal, workplace and institutional; which means that sociabilities is shared in physical spaces of apartment buildings, city streets, workplaces, and urban institutions. By corollary, sociabilities emplace migrants in their destination as important partners in city-making processes. Chapter four discusses the emergence of the concept and ideology of social citizenship of undocumented migrants, a social structure of the multiscalar reality that was established through embracing global Christianity. In both Manchester, New Hampshire and Halle in Germany two of the cities

studied, undocumented migrants sought their rights as legitimate inhabitants of the cities through a theological understanding that placed both migrants and non-migrants as people under the power of God who believe that all places and power belong to God. Generally, discussions of social citizenship examine how those who are excluded use forms of discourse and social relations, organizations, and movements of inclusion to establish themselves as social and political actors. Chapter five presents another interesting example of migrants as important actors in a multiscalar city-making process. Mardin, in Turkey, a historic global trade route lies on the Turkish-Syrian Border; used to be the home town of Syriac Christians before the 1915 massacre that forced them into exile to Europe and North America. The people referred to by religious and state authorities as Syriac Christians are divided by linguistic differences, geographical borders, and Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant Church divisions but are by no means a unified religious group (p. 179). The prominence of Mardin and its revitalization emerged in a multiscalar social field constituted by multiple and intersecting social, political, and religious networks and institutions, including the EU, UNESCO, the US State Department, and the networks of Eastern Christianity; as part of the changing positioning of Mardin and Turkey within regional and global processes of political and economic restructuring at that historical conjecture, the interest of Turkey to join EU and that of NATO to expand its military preponderance in the middle-East. Syriac Christians who are now Returnees became city-makers in this context. Turkey in collaboration with these supernational stakeholders designated Mardin as an important international tourism hub to revitalize the one-time economically viable city into a huge tourism economy. One of the most important sources of funding for tourism infrastructure and urban regeneration projects in Mardin was the EU. Although Turkey was not an EU member country, but since it indicated interest and had initiated a political process to join the EU and was considered as an Ascension country, from 1999 it became eligible for financial assistance through Instrument for Pre-Accession (IPA) funds. This opportunity is another evidence of a multiscalar effect of the role of migrants in the city-making process.

Migrants and City-Making offers a critique of

international migration scholars who portray migrants as isolated ethnic groups in destination countries and pay very little attention to their role in city-making process. The book highlighted opportunities for innovation for migration policy managers to learn from the experiences of these three disempowered cities around the world- Mardin, in Turkey, lies on the Turkish-Syrian Border; Manchester, New Hampshire, in the North-eastern United States; and Halle/Saale, Saxony Anhalt, a part of formerly socialist eastern Germany; whose leaders acted in the interest of the cities and embrace the Neoliberal multiscalar policy framework and recognise both migrants and non-migrants as important social actors in rebuilding their cities. However, the findings of the authors are only tenable for cities that had history of disempowerment and are in the process of reconstruction, because the possibilities of successful migrants' emplacement as revealed by the findings emerged from this historical conjecture. Thus, relaying on the findings as if migrants' emplacement experience in city-making process is the same across all cities is misleading. The authors can support their findings with more data from other cities that do not have similar disempowerment experiences as the three cities studied in order to introduce control in their data and produce findings that are more critical and general about migrants' emplacement in city-making.

Reviewed by Ahmed Murtala Hassan

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