

# Survey on Political Traits and Media Use

Report May 2011

### **Researchers:**

Mr Tan Tarn How Senior Research Fellow, IPS

Dr Chung Siyoung Visiting Fellow, Communications and New Media Programme, NUS

Dr Zhang Weiyu Assistant Professor, Communications and New Media Programme, NUS

This survey was funded by the Institute of Policy Studies.



(Updated on 13 June 2011: This version of the report contains substantive changes to the charts involving the variable for education.)

### Acknowledgement

IPS is grateful to Tote Board and Singapore Pools for their support of this study.



Giving Hope. Improving Lives.

INTRODUCTION	4
FINDINGS	6
Political Orientation	6
Political Interest	20
iii. Political Knowledge	22
iv. Political Talk (Frequency and Disagreement)	27
v. Political Efficacy	30
vi. Political Cynicism	41
vii. Political Participation	44
viii. Media Consumption	58
ix. Importance of Media	63
x. Trust of Media	69
xi. Attitudes towards Media	72
xii. Viral Media	77
xiii. Political Rally Attendance	78
xiv. "The Voting Question"	82

## Contents

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### i. Aim of Study

- 1. Little is known about Singaporeans' attitudes towards politics and their other political traits. Among the questions that have to be answered are: Do they engage in political activities, what is their attitude towards strong government and freedom, do they feel they have a say in political affairs, do they trust political leaders to do good by society, and how much knowledge about politics do they have?
- 2. Little is also known about the use of the Internet for political purposes. Among the questions that need to be answered are: How much do people use the Internet and traditional media for political information, and what is their trust of and assessment of the importance of the different media as a source of political information?
- 3. The aim of this study is to use a national survey to reveal basic and critical facts and figures on these two sets of questions. It looks at the variables of demographics, of political traits (namely, political interest, knowledge, political talk, self-efficacy, cynicism and participation), of media use and of attitudes towards media (both of the Internet and other media), and of the relationships between these variables.
- 4. The team comprises Mr Tan Tarn How, Dr Chung Siyoung and Dr Zhang Weiyu of the National University of Singapore. It wishes to acknowledge their gratitude to Lim Eu Min Charles, IPS Intern, and especially to Tan Simin, Research Associate at IPS, for their invaluable assistance.

#### ii. Methodology

- 5. The survey was conducted with a total of 1,092 Singaporeans aged 21 years old and above through Computer-Assisted Telephone Interview (CATI) by a commercial survey company. The interview averaged 25 minutes per respondent. A total of 27 questions, including demographic questions, were asked in English, Mandarin and Malay.
- 6. The main sample of 1,000 was surveyed in July and August 2010. A booster sample was surveyed in October 2010. Quota sampling and random dialling were employed to ensure a representative sample compatible with Census 2010 statistics.

### iii. Variables

- 7. Two broad categories of variables were tested: Political Traits and Media Use/Attitudes towards Media.
- 8. Political Traits tested include: Political Orientation, Political Interest, Political Knowledge, Political Efficacy, Political Cynicism and Political Participation.
- 9. Media Use variables tested include: Media Consumption, Trust of Media, Media Importance, and Attitudes towards Mainstream Media. Here, channels of media tested include: television, print newspapers, radio, the Internet, and also talking with others for political information.

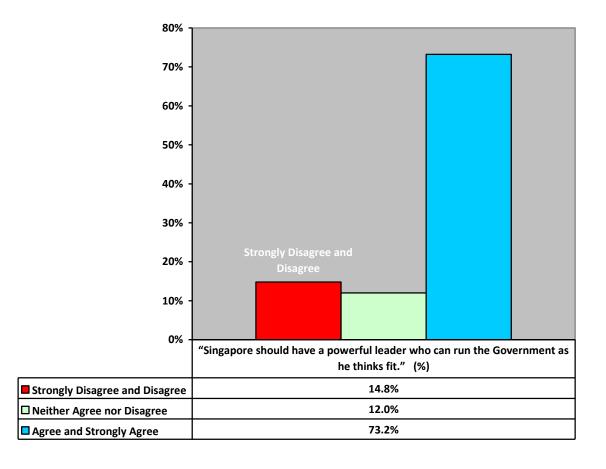
### FINDINGS

The major findings presented below give the overall responses to meaningful measures, which could be measured by individual questions or by groups of questions organised according to concepts such as political efficacy or online political participation. Correlations were also tested between these measures and demographics (age, education, family income, housing type and gender). They are presented in this report where they are statistically significant (that is, unlikely to be a result of chance). The footnotes also give the size of the correlations and the type of correlations used. The rule of thumb is that correlations below 0.25 are usually small, that is, the relationship between the two variables (say, age and consumption of online media) is a weak one.

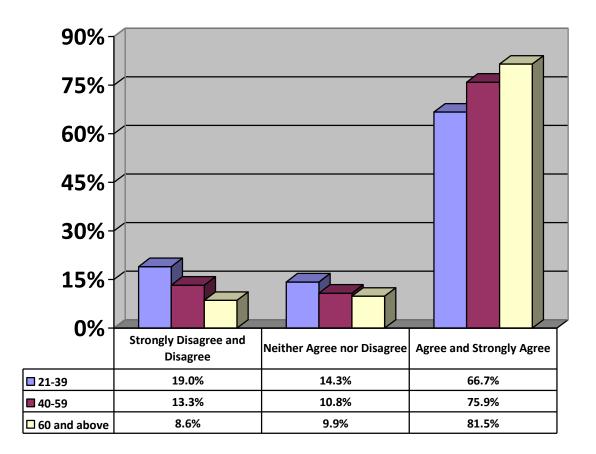
### **Political Orientation**

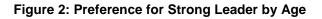
- 10. Political Orientation is a general term that describes the beliefs, attitudes and preferences of a group or nation. In the field of academic research, Political Orientation has often been used in the categorisation of two diametrically different or conflicting ideologies, with "left/right-wing", "Democrat/Republican" partisanship and "Communistic/Capitalistic" orientations being examples.
- Four statements were posed to respondents who were asked to state their level of agreement ranging from "Strongly Disagree" (1) to "Strongly Agree" (5) on a 5-point scale. The statements are:
  - a. "Singapore should have a powerful leader who can run the Government as he thinks fit."
  - b. "There are too many rules against participating in political activities in Singapore".
  - c. "Everyone should be given the freedom to criticise the government publicly."
  - d. "It is more important to have good economic growth than freedom of speech."
- 12. Results for the first statement, "Singapore should have a powerful leader who can run the Government as he thinks fit", are as follows.

Figure 1: Preference for Strong Leader (Mean = 3.79)



- 13. Analysis by demographics also revealed the following:
  - a. Older people are more likely to prefer a powerful leader compared to younger people; and





b. The less educated are more likely to prefer a powerful leader.

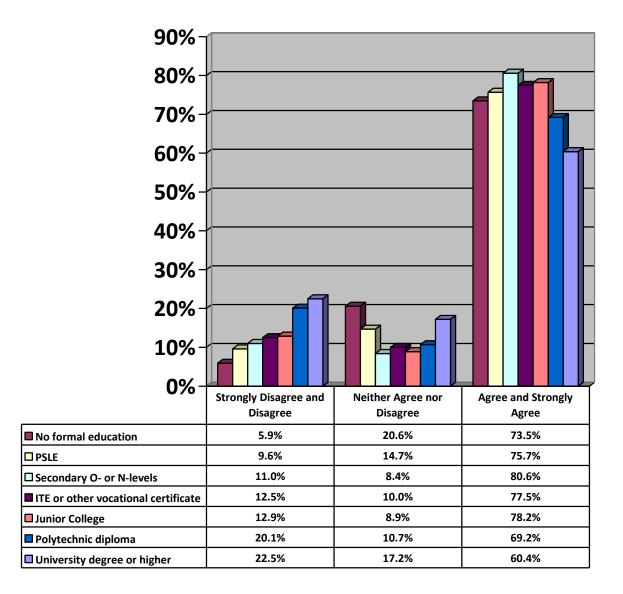
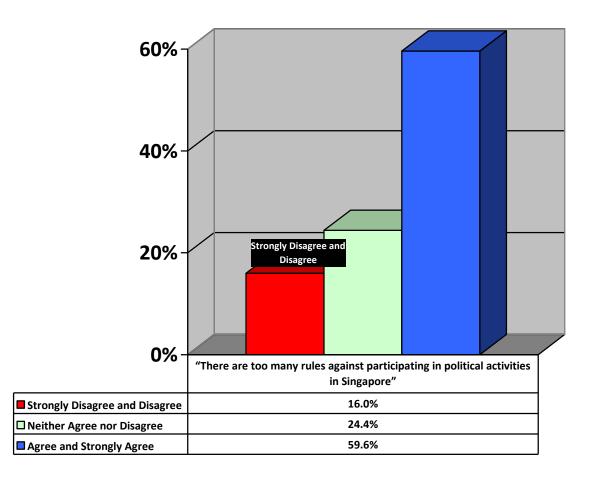


Figure 3: Preference for Strong Leader by Education Level

14. Results for the second statement, "There are too many rules against participating in political activities in Singapore", are as follows.





- 15. Analysis by demographics also revealed the following:
  - a. Younger respondents (those in the 21-39 age group) are slightly more likely to strongly agree or agree with the statement compared to their older counterparts.

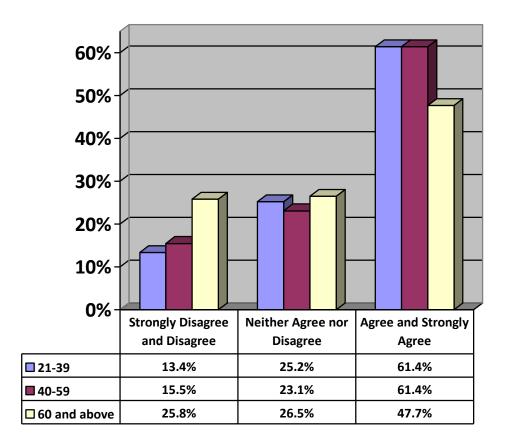


Figure 5: Desire for Fewer Rules for Political Participation, by Age

16. Results for the third statement, ""Everyone should be given the freedom to criticise the government publicly", are as follows.

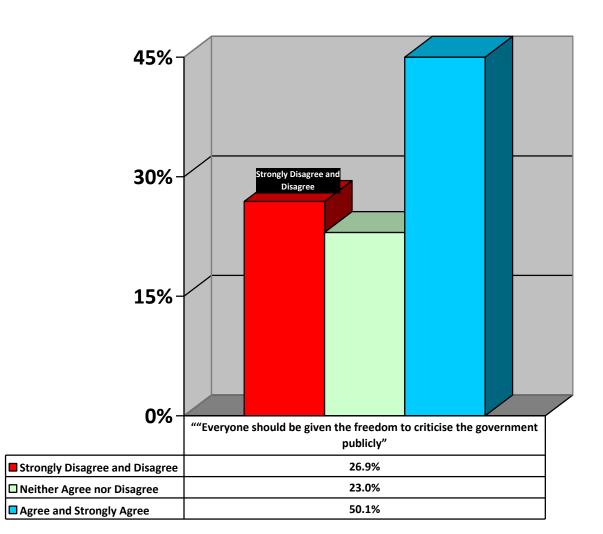


Figure 6: Desire for More Freedom to Criticise Government Publicly (Mean=3.28)

17. Results for the fourth statement, "It is more important to have good economic growth than freedom of speech", are as follows.

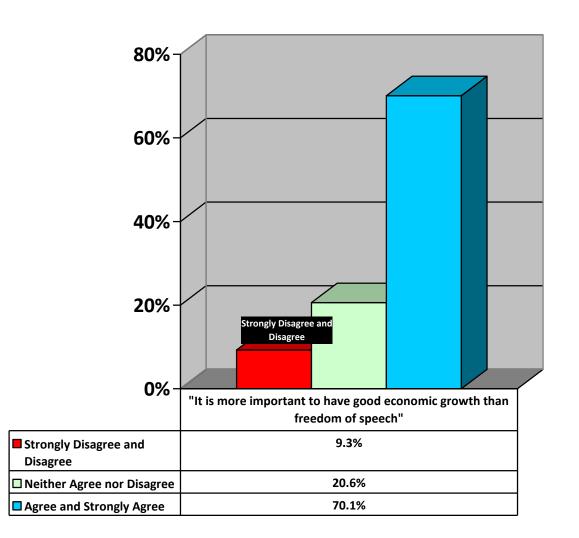
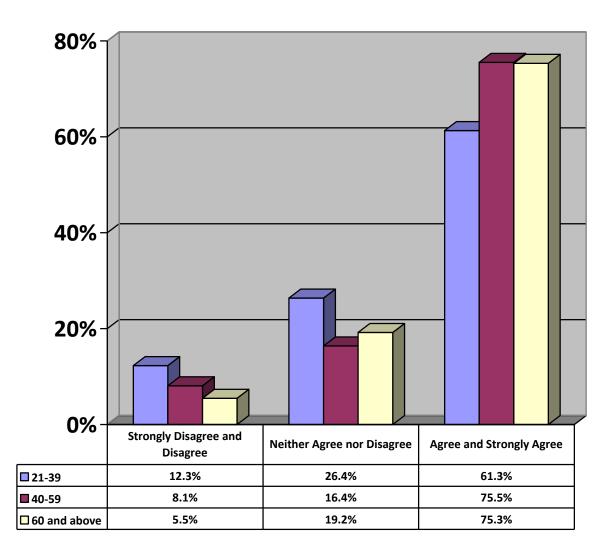


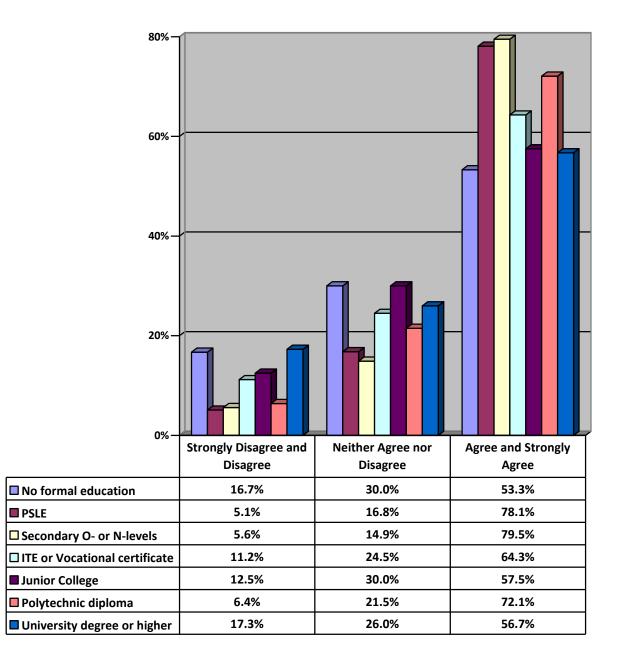
Figure 7: Preference for Economic Growth over Freedom of Speech (Mean = 3.73)

- 18. Analysis by demographics also revealed the following:
  - a. Younger respondents had slightly less preference for economic growth over freedom of speech compared with their older counterparts;





b. Those with higher levels of education are slightly more likely to disagree more with the statement than other respondents; and



### Figure 9: Preference for Economic Growth over Freedom of Speech, by Education Level

c. Respondents with higher monthly household income expressed slightly less preference for economic growth over freedom of speech.

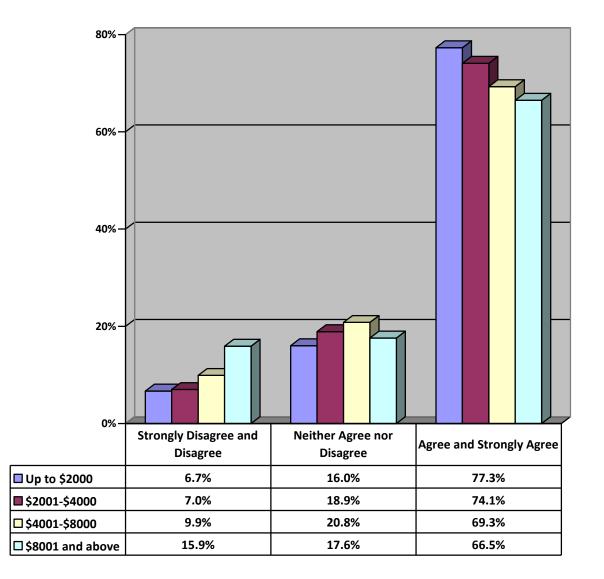


Figure 10: Preference for Economic Growth over Freedom of Speech, by Monthly Household Income

19. The findings from the Political Orientation questions are somewhat surprising and even counter-intuitive. For instance, 76.0% (highlighted in Table 1 below) of those who agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that "There are too many rules against participating in political activities in Singapore" also agreed, or strongly agreed that "Singapore should have a powerful leader who can run the Government as he thinks fit."

		There are too many rules against participating in political activities in Singapore			
		Strongly Disagree / Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree / Strongly Agree	Total
Singapore should have a powerful	Strongly Disagree / Disagree	18.6%	14.3%	14.5%	15.1%
leader who can run the Government as he thinks fit	Neither agree nor disagree	7.7%	21.4%	9.5%	12.1%
	Agree / Strongly Agree	73.7%	64.3%	<mark>76.0%</mark>	72.8%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

### Table 1 Comparison of Political Findings Between Preference for Strong Leader and Desire for Fewer Rules in Political Participation

20. Conversely, 62.2% (highlighted in Table 2 below) of those who agree, or strongly agree that "Singapore should have a powerful leader who can run the Government as he thinks fit" also agree, or strongly agree that "There are too many rules against participating in political activities in Singapore":

# Table 2Comparison of Political Orientation Findings Between Desire For FewerRules in Political Participation and Preference for Strong Leader

		Singapore should have a powerful leader who can run the Government as he thinks fit			
		Strongly Disagree / Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree / Strongly Agree	Total
There are too many rules against	Strongly Disagree / Disagree	19.7%	10.2%	16.2%	16.0%
participating in political activities in Singapore	Neither agree nor disagree	23.1%	43.2%	21.6%	24.4%
	Agree / Strongly Agree	57.1%	46.6%	<mark>62.2%</mark>	59.5%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

21. The same pattern can be discerned between preference for a strong leader and agreement with the statement "Everyone should be given the freedom to criticise the government publicly":

# Table 3Comparison of Political Orientation Findings Between Preference for Strong<br/>Leader and Desire for Freedom to Criticise Government Publicly

		-	ould be given t the governmen		
		Strongly Disagree	Neither	Agree and	
		and	Agree nor	Strongly	
		Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Total
Singapore should	Strongly Disagree and	17.5%	12.9%	14.9%	15.1%
have a powerful	Disagree				
leader who can run	Neither Agree nor	8.0%	25.8%	7.8%	12.0%
the Government as	Disagree				
he thinks fit	Agree and Strongly	74.5%	61.4%	<mark>77.3%</mark>	72.9%
	Agree				
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

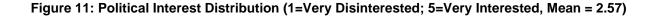
22. Respondents who preferred a strong leader also, by and large, expressed preference for economic growth over freedom of speech:

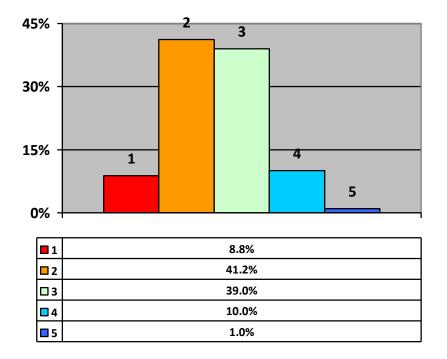
		It is more important to have good economic growth than freedom of speech			
		Strongly Disagree	Neither	Agree and	
		and	Agree nor	Strongly	
		Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Total
Singapore should	Strongly Disagree and	38.1%	14.7%	11.7%	14.8%
have a powerful	Disagree				
leader who can run	Neither Agree nor	11.3%	26.5%	8.0%	12.1%
the Government as	Disagree				
he thinks fit	Agree and Strongly	50.5%	58.8%	<mark>80.2%</mark>	73.1%
	Agree				
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

# Table 4Comparison of Political Orientation Findings Between Preference for StrongLeader and Preference for Economic Growth over Freedom of Speech

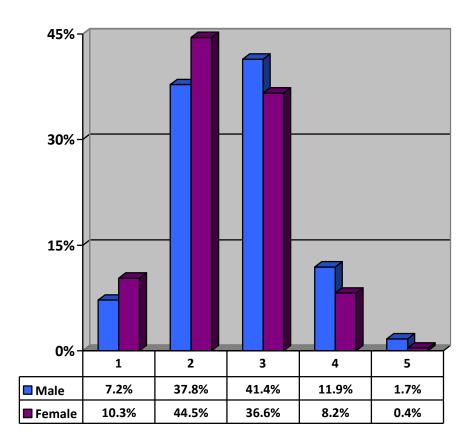
### **Political Interest**

- 23. Respondents' levels of Political Interest were calculated using three statements, to which they would express their levels of agreement on a 5-point scale. Their responses were then recoded to 1=Strongly Disagree, 2=Disagree, 3=Neither Agree nor Disagree; 4=Agree and 5=Strongly Agree. Responses were then combined and averaged out to calculate a Political Interest Score.
- 24. The 3 statements used in the calculation of Political Interest were:
  - a. "If I had more free time, getting involved in some political activity would be high on my list";
  - b. "The idea of participating in some political activity appeals to me"; and
  - c. "When something happens in politics, I want to know why or how it happened."
- 25. Overall Political Interest among Singaporeans surveyed had a mean value of 2.57, just shy of the 3.0 "Neither disinterested nor interested" mark.





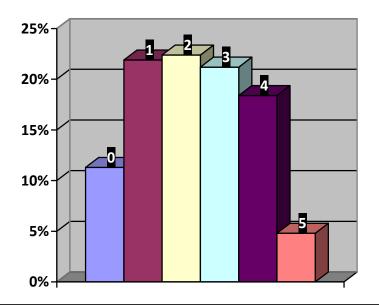
- 26. Analysis by demographics revealed that:
  - i. Males are more interested in politics than females.



### **Political Knowledge**

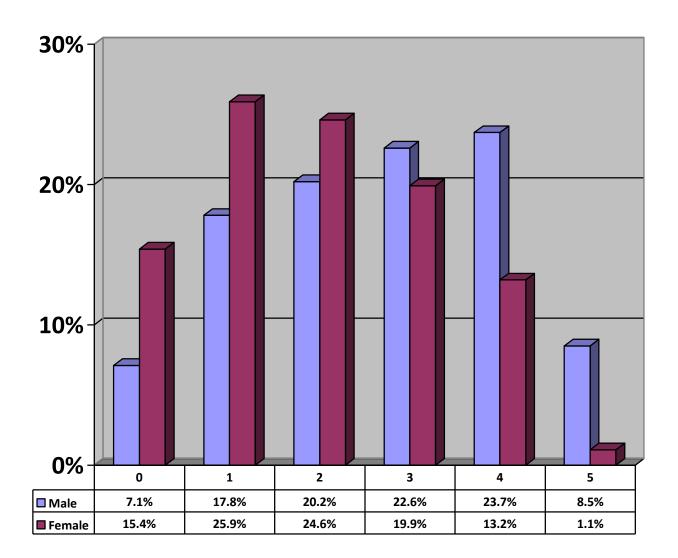
- 27. Five multiple-choice questions about Singapore's politics and judiciary were posed to respondents. The questions were as follows:
  - a. Who has NOT been the Prime Minister of Singapore?
  - b. Which party does not have an MP in Parliament?
  - c. Who has NOT been the Chief Justice of Singapore?
  - d. What is NOT correct about certain laws of Singapore?
  - e. Which of these persons is NOT an opposition politician?
- 28. Respondents were given one point for each correct answer, making the minimum score zero, and maximum five. Results as follows:





<b>0</b>	11.3%
	21.9%
□2	22.4%
□3	21.2%
■4	18.4%
5	4.8%

- 29. Analysis by demographics revealed the following:
  - a. Males scored higher on Political Knowledge than female respondents;



### Figure 14: Distribution of Political Knowledge Scores by Gender

b. Respondents with higher levels of education levels scored better;

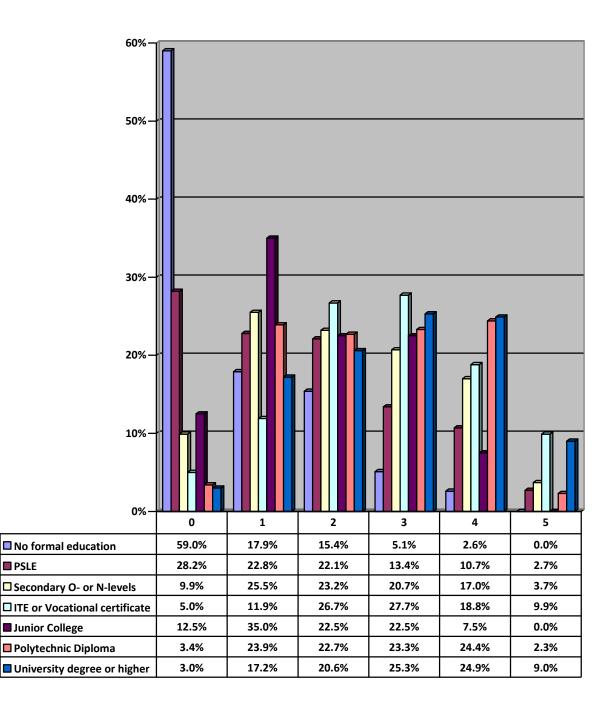
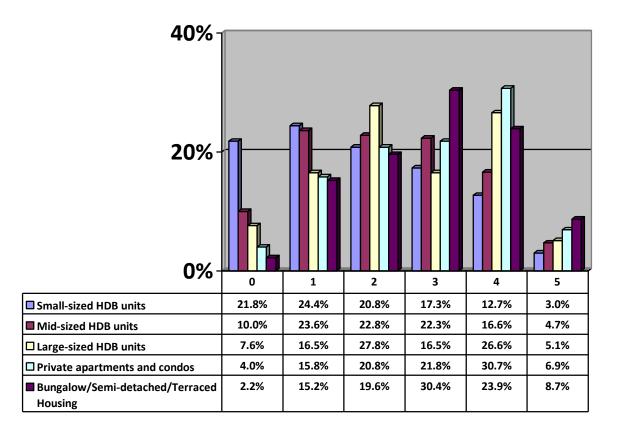


Figure 15: Political Knowledge Score by Education Level

c. Dwelling type<sup>1</sup> was associated with Political Knowledge scores; and



#### Figure 16 Political Knowledge Scores, by Dwelling Type

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> "Small-sized HDB flats" are 1-3 room flats, "Mid-sized HDB flats" are 4-5 room flats, "Large-sized HDB flats" include executive and maisonette units.

d. Monthly household income was also associated with Political Knowledge scores.

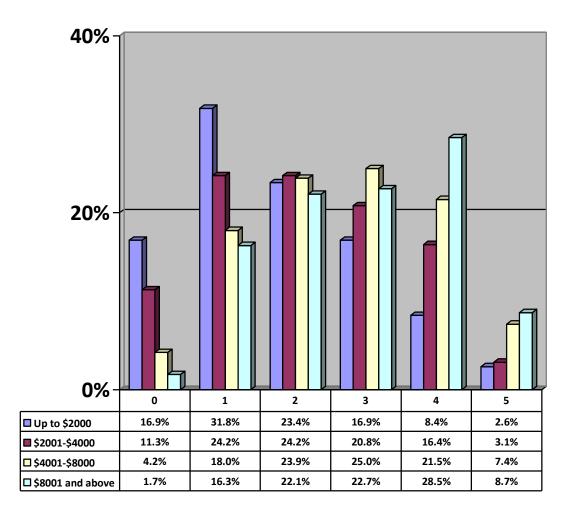
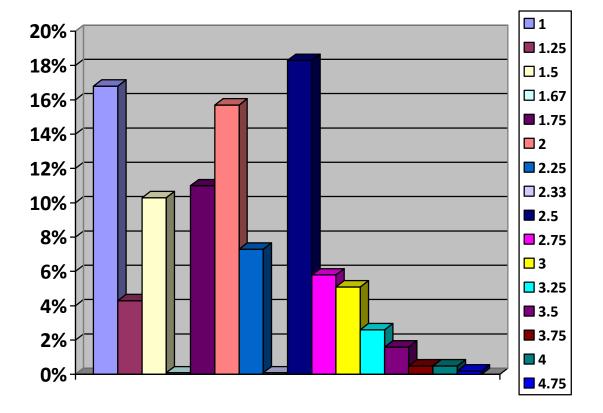


Figure 17: Political Knowledge Scores by Monthly Household Income

### Political Talk (Frequency and Disagreement)

- 30. Two questions were used to measure the level of political talk amongst Singaporeans, and if certain modes were preferred compared to others.
- 31. For the first question, "How often do you discuss politics, public affairs, or government policies?", respondents were asked to answer on a five-point scale: "All the time", "Very Often", "Sometimes", "Rarely" or "Never" with the following groups:
  - a. Family members;
  - b. Friends;
  - c. Colleagues; and
  - d. People met online.
- 32. Total Political Talk frequency was calculated by taking the mean of responses to each subcategory. 1 is taken to be "Never", and 5, "All the time". Findings as follows:
- 33. Political Talk is rare, with a mean of 2.00.



### Figure 18: Distribution of Total Political Talk Means

34. Political Talk is skewed towards the private.

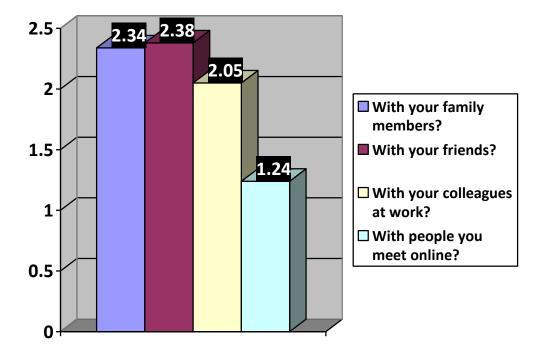
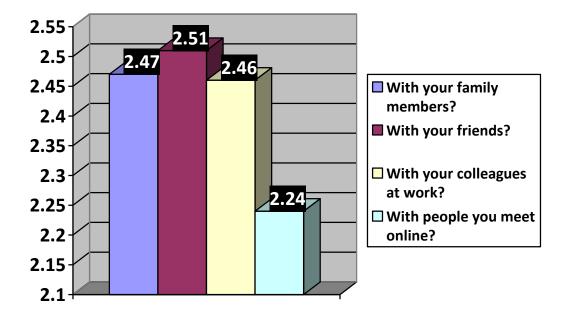


Figure 19: Political Talk by Mode

35. Where Political Talk exists, there is occasional disagreement (mean 2.47). (It should be noted that 903 respondents did not answer the sub-question "With people you meet online" as they do not use the medium for Political Talk.)

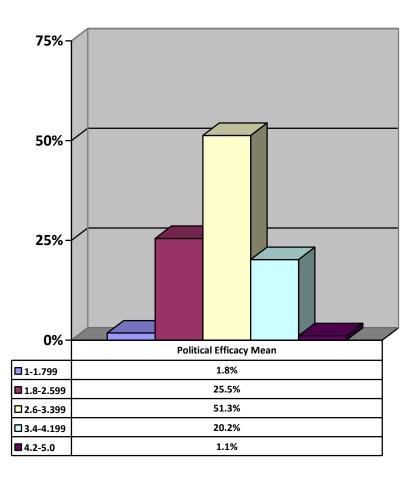


### **Political Efficacy**

- 36. Political Efficacy is defined by how much people believe the system can be changed, either as a result of people or of the responsiveness of institutions.
- 37. Under the umbrella of Political Efficacy, Self-Efficacy and Collective Efficacy components were also tested. Self-Efficacy refers to how much a person thinks he is qualified to know about or take part in politics, while Collective Efficacy refers to how much a person thinks people coming together will have impact on politics.
- 38. A total of seven questions were used to test both Self-Efficacy (four questions) and Collective Efficacy (three questions). Scores were then added up and averaged to calculate the value of SE and CE. The questions are:
  - a. Generally speaking, I have a pretty good understanding of important political issues of Singapore. (SE)
  - b. I am well-qualified to participate in politics. (SE)
  - c. Sometimes politics and government are so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on. (SE)
  - d. I am better informed about politics and government than most people. (SE)
  - e. Dramatic change could occur in this country if people banded together and demanded change. (CE)
  - f. Organised groups of citizens can have much impact on the political policies of this country. (CE)
  - g. Politicians would respond to the needs of citizens if enough people demanded change. (CE)
- 39. Scores from each question were also averaged to find an overall Political Efficacy score.
- 40. Results for overall Political Efficacy are as follows:

## Figure 21: Distribution of Political Efficacy Means (1=Very Inefficacious; 5=Very Efficacious, mean =

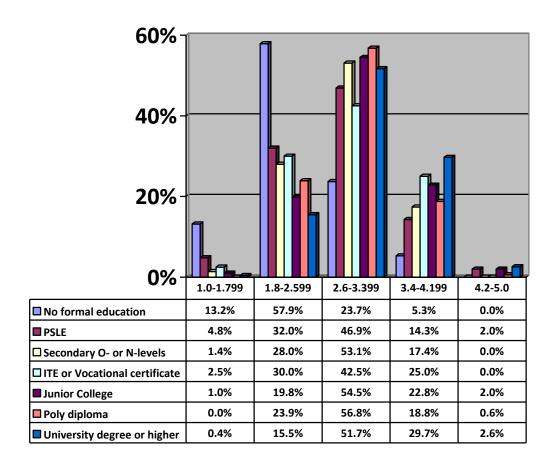
2.93)



41. Mean Political Efficacy was 2.93, placing responses in the "Neither Inefficacious nor Efficacious" bracket.

- 42. Analysis by demographics revealed that:
  - a. Respondents who were more highly educated expressed higher levels of Political Efficacy<sup>2</sup>.

Figure 22: Political Efficacy Distribution by Education Level



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Spearman's correlation coefficient is 0.248.

43. For Self-Efficacy: results are as follows. Self-Efficacy mean is low at 2.69.

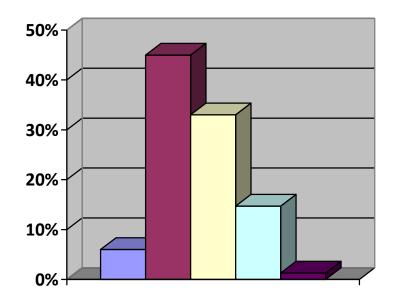


Figure 23: Distribution of Self-Efficacy Means (mean = 2.69)

1-1.799	6.0%
<b>1</b> .8-2.599	45.0%
2.6-3.399	33.0%
3.4-4.199	14.7%
4.2-5.0	1.3%

- 44. Analysis of demographics revealed that:
  - a. Female respondents reported lower Self-Efficacy scores compared to males;

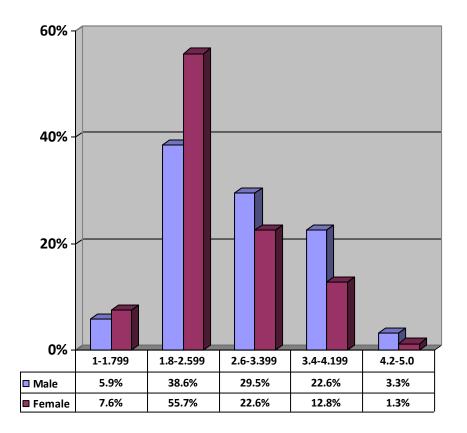


Figure 24: Self-Efficacy Distribution by Gender

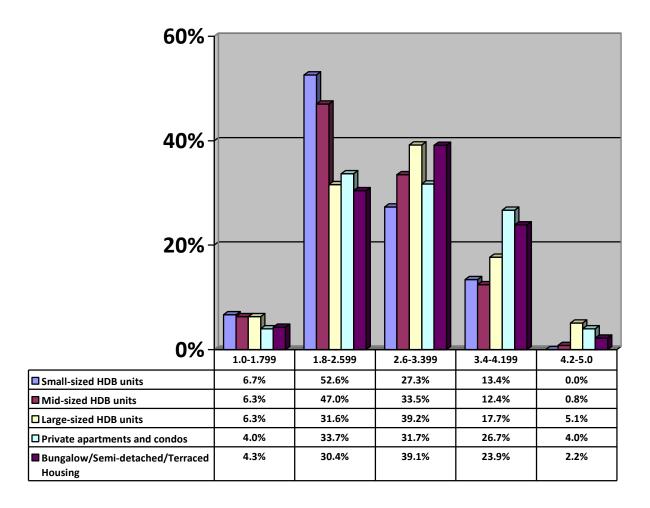
 Respondents with higher levels of education also reported higher levels of Self-Efficacy<sup>3</sup>;

70% 60% 50% 40% 30% 20% 10% 0% 1-1.799 1.8-2.599 2.6-3.399 3.4-4.199 4.2-5.0 64.9% 16.2% 13.5% 5.4% 0.0% No formal education 10.3% 56.6% 21.4% 10.3% 1.4% PSLE 5.4% 47.7% 33.7% 13.1% 0.0% Secondary O- or N-levels 42.5% 32.5% 10.0% □ ITE or Vocational certificate 12.5% 2.5% 2.0% 49.5% 25.7% 20.8% 2.0% Junior College 5.1% 44.3% 37.5% 12.5% 0.6% Polytechnic diploma 29.7% 41.8% 21.1% 3.9% 3.4% University degree or higher

Figure 25: Self-Efficacy Distribution by Education Level

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The Spearman's correlation coefficient is 0.249.

c. Dwelling type was somewhat<sup>4</sup> associated with reported Self-Efficacy levels<sup>5</sup>; and Figure 26: Distribution of Self-Efficacy Means by Dwelling Type



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> This report gives the statistically significant relationships between variables; where the relationships are weak, we will use the qualifiers 'slightly' or 'somewhat'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The Spearman's correlation coefficient is 0.151.

d. Monthly household income was also somewhat associated with reported SE<sup>6</sup>.

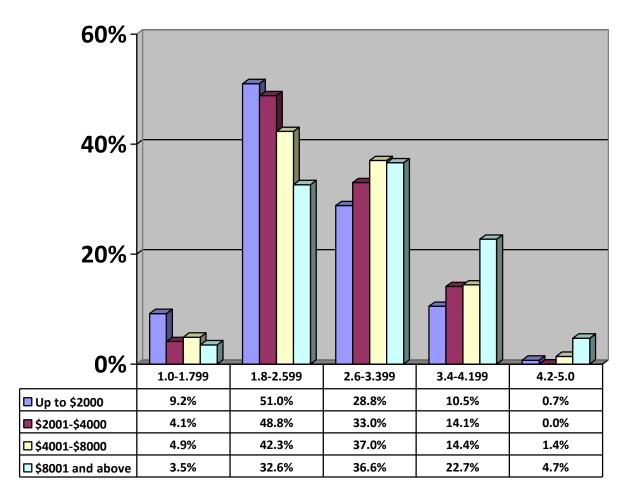


Figure 27: Self-Efficacy Distribution by Monthly Household Income

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The Spearman's correlation coefficient is 0.181.

45. For Collective Efficacy, results are as follows. Mean for CE was higher than for SE (2.69) at 3.31.

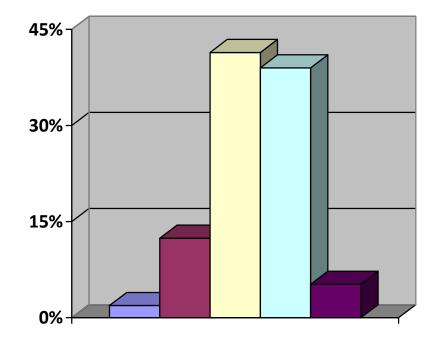
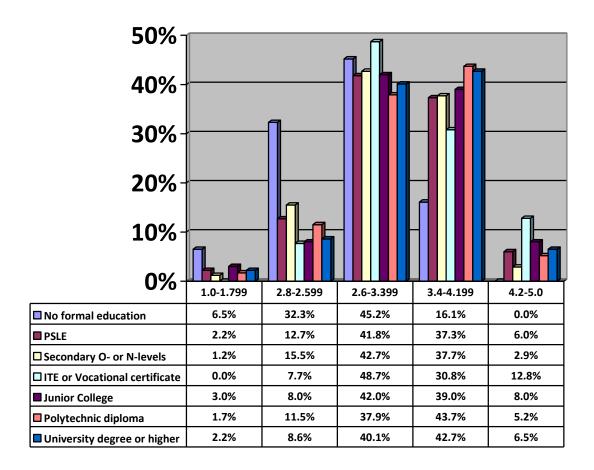


Figure 28: Distribution of Collective Efficacy Means (mean = 3.31)

<b>1</b> -1.799	1.9%
<b>1</b> .8-2.599	12.4%
2.6-3.399	41.4%
3.4-4.199	39.0%
4.2-5.0	5.2%

- 46. Analysis by demographics revealed that:
  - Education levels were positively but weakly associated with reported Collective Efficacy levels<sup>7</sup>; and

Figure 29: Collective Efficacy Distribution by Education Level



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The Spearman's correlation coefficient is 0.106.

b. Younger respondents reported slightly higher levels of Collective Efficacy<sup>8</sup>.

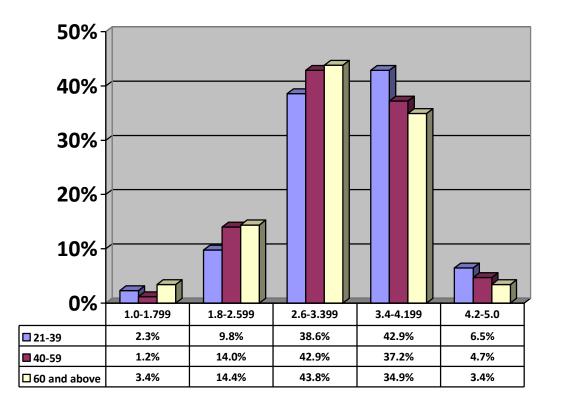


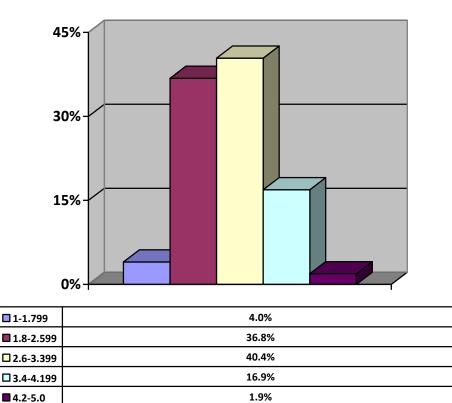
Figure 30: Collective Efficacy Distribution by Age

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The Spearman's correlation coefficient is 0.083.

## **Political Cynicism**

- 47. Political Cynicism can be broadly characterised as the "mistrust of politicians and political processes", where processes are seen to corrupt the persons who participate in it and also draw corrupt persons in as participants.
- 48. Political Cynicism was tested using four statements to which respondents expressed their level of agreement along a 5-point scale. Post-recoding, the lowest value 1 stands for "Not Cynical at all" and 5, "Very Cynical". Responses to all four statements were then added up and averaged to obtain a Political Cynicism score.
- 49. The four statements are:
  - a. Politicians quickly forget their election promises after a political campaign is over.
  - b. For politicians, having power is more important than catering to the people's wishes.
  - c. People are frequently manipulated by politicians.
  - d. Generally speaking, I can trust the Singapore government to do what is right.
- 50. Results for Political Cynicism are as follows:

Figure 31: Distribution of Political Cynicism Means (1=Not Cynical at all; 5=Very Cynical, mean = 2.80)



Political Cynicism was slightly low with a mean of 2.80 and 75<sup>th</sup> percentile located at 3.25.

- 51. Analysis by demographics also revealed the following:
  - a. Males were more politically-cynical than females; and

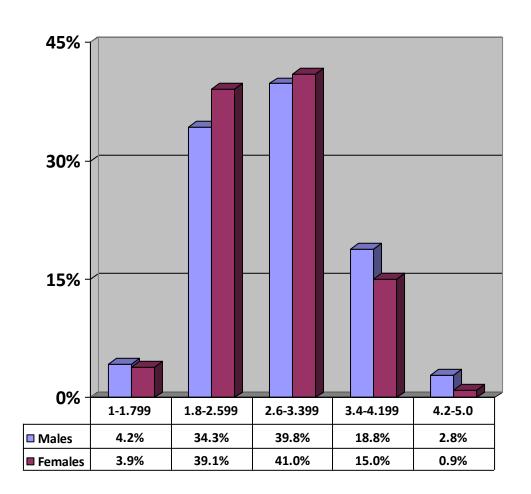
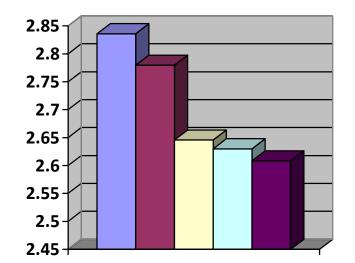


Figure 32: Distribution of Political Cynicism Means by Gender

b. Respondents who stayed in more expensive dwelling types were slightly more politically-cynical<sup>9</sup>.



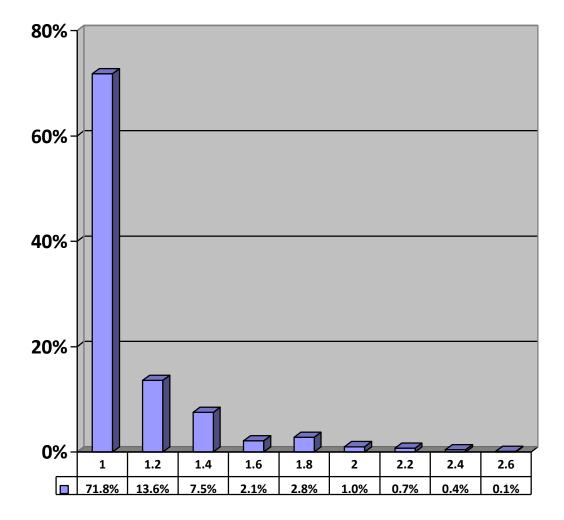
# Figure 33: Distribution of Political Cynicism Means by Dwelling Type

Small-sized HDB Units	2.836
Mid-sized HDB Units	2.7795
□ Large-sized HDB Units, HUDC, EC	2.6456
Private Apartments and Condos	2.63
Bungalow/Semi- detached/Terrace Housing	2.6087

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The Spearman's correlation coefficient is -0.085.

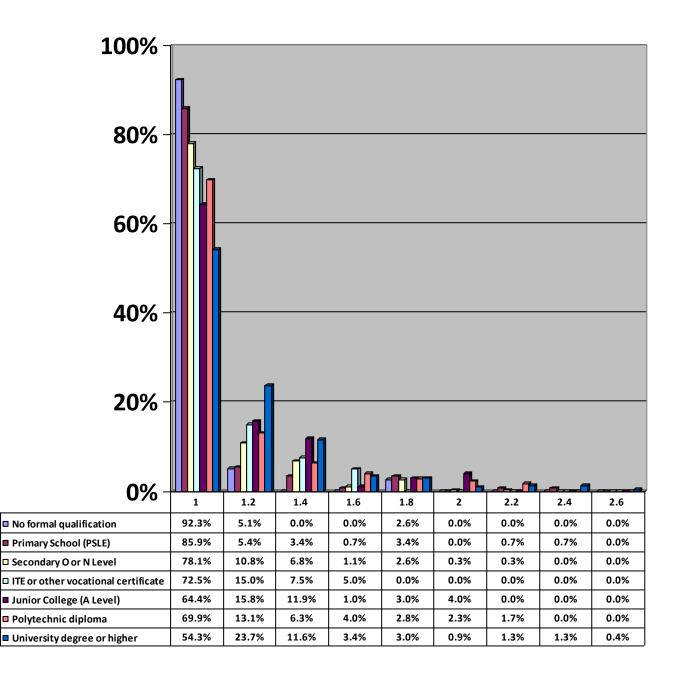
# **Political Participation**

- 52. Political Participation is defined broadly here, as "a voluntary activity in policy-making, and a voluntary activity in selecting policy makers" with "policy-making" further defined as "an indirect or direct influence over the policy-making". Two scholars, Sidney Verba and Norman H. Nie, distinguish four main modes of political participation, which are: voting; campaign activity; communal activity; and particularised contacts (i.e., contacting local officials on some highly specific issue).
- 53. In this survey, we tested political participation both offline and online. For offline participation, we asked participants to indicate the frequency with which they performed the following in the preceding six months:
  - a. Writing to the newspapers, the government, or a Member of Parliament.
  - b. Attending a meeting of discussion or dialogue organised by the Residents' Committee, Community Centre, or the Government.
  - c. Signing a petition (offline).
  - d. Participating in an event for a cause, for example, a walkathon, a flag day or other charity event.
  - e. Joining or volunteering for a welfare organisation or other nongovernmental organisations.
- 54. For online participation, respondents were surveyed on their activity frequency for the following:
  - a. I have signed up on an online petition.
  - b. I have read blogs on political and social issues such as Yawning Bread, The Online Citizen, and Temasek Review.
  - c. I have written on my blog about political or social issues.
  - d. I have written or commented on other people's blog on political or social issues.
  - e. I have taken part in online political or social issues forums.
  - f. I have forwarded online contents (regarding political and social issues) to other people.
- 55. Participation scores were then added up and averaged. A five-point scale was in use, with 1= "Never", 2 = "One to three times", 3 = "Four to six times", 4 = "Seven to nine times" and 5 = "Ten times or more".
- 56. For offline participation, results are as follows:



57. Offline Participation was low with a mean of 1.12 and no mean value exceeding 2.60.

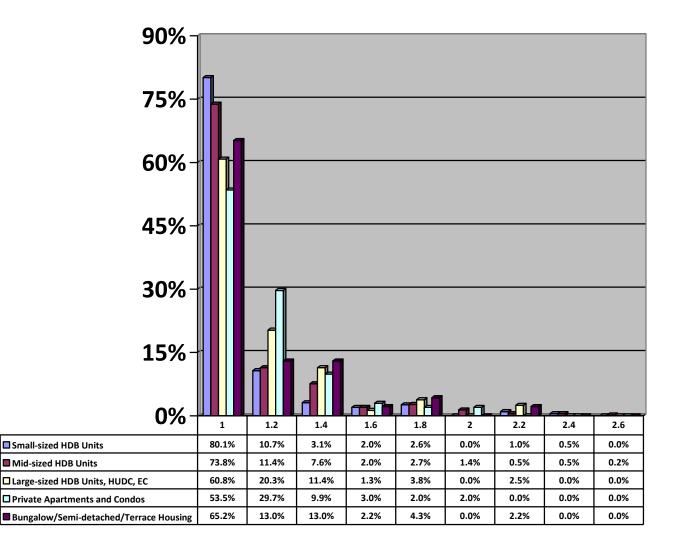
- 58. Analysis by demographics also revealed the following:
  - Respondents who were more educated also participated more<sup>10</sup>;
     Figure 35: Distribution of Offline Participation Means by Education Level



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The Spearman's correlation coefficient is 0.234.

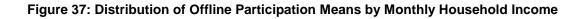
b. Offline Participation scores were somewhat associated with dwelling type<sup>11</sup>; and

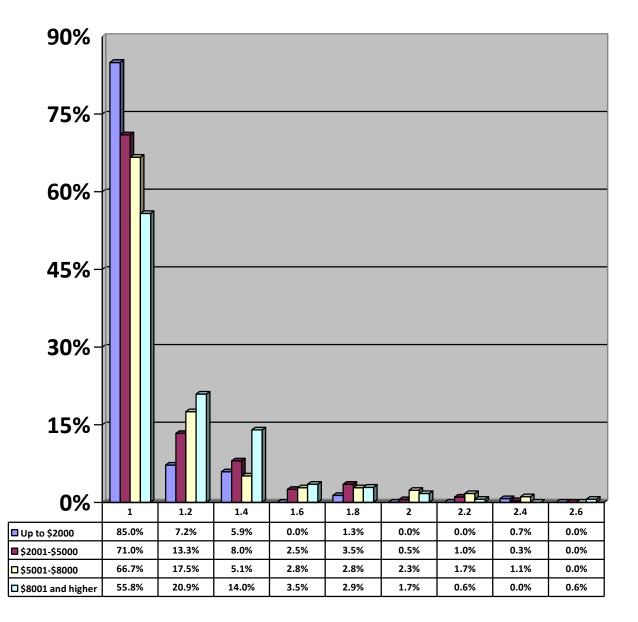




<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> The Spearman's correlation coefficient is 0.143.

c. Those with higher monthly household income were slightly more likely to participate more<sup>12</sup>.





<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> The Spearman's correlation coefficient is 0.167.

59. Results for Online Participation are as follows:

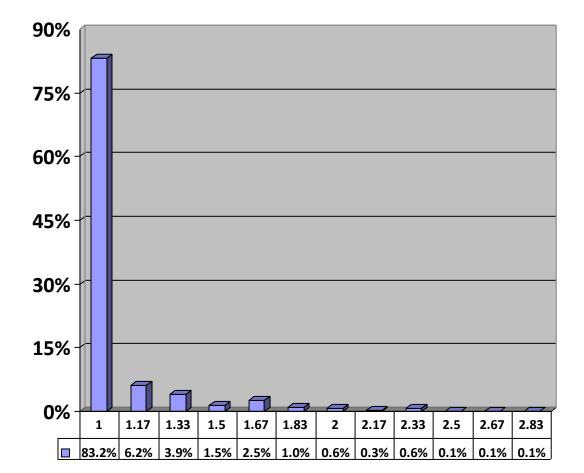
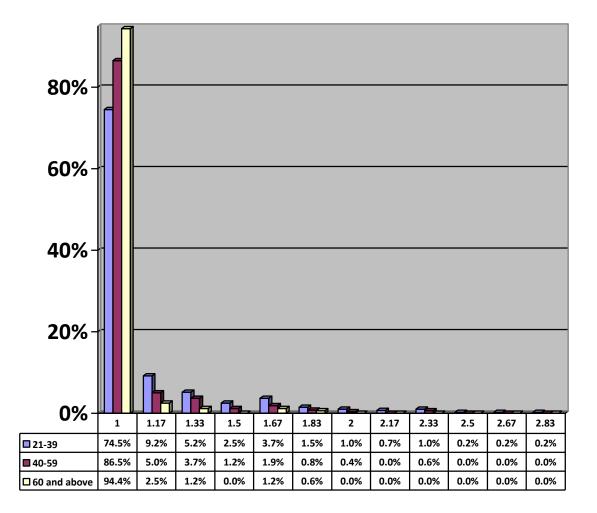


Figure 38: Distribution of Online Participation Means (mean = 1.08)

Online Participation mean was lower than Offline Participation mean at 1.08. No mean exceeded 2.83.

- 60. Analysis by demographics also revealed that:
  - a. Younger respondents were slightly more likely to participate more online<sup>13</sup>;





<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> The Spearman's correlation coefficient is 0.194.

b. Males participated more than females online;

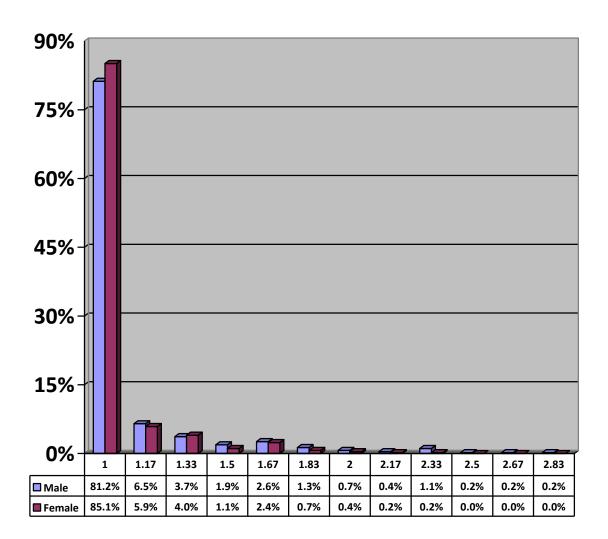
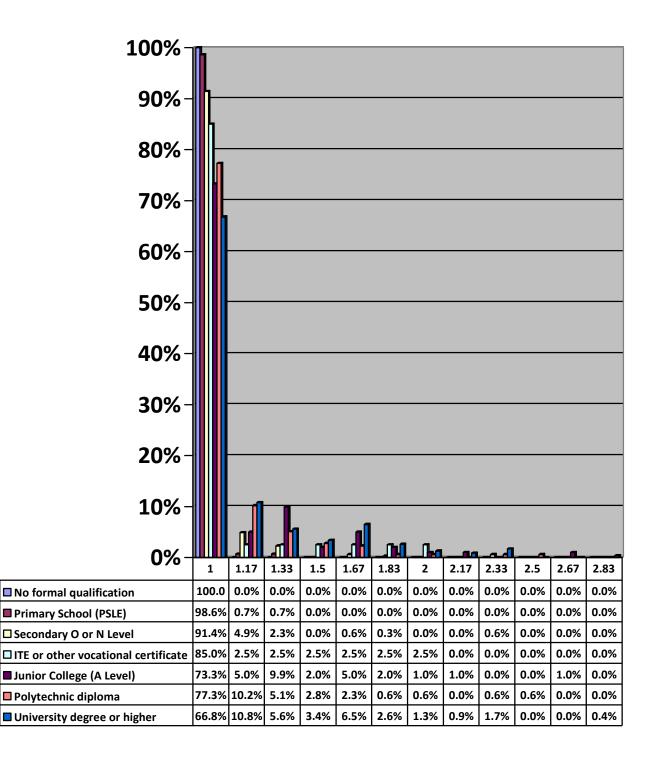


Figure 40: Distribution of Online Participation Means by Gender

c. Those with higher levels of education also participated online more<sup>14</sup>; and
 Figure 41: Distribution of Online Participation Means by Education Level



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> The Spearman's correlation coefficient is 0.308.

d. Those with higher monthly household income also participated online more<sup>15</sup>.

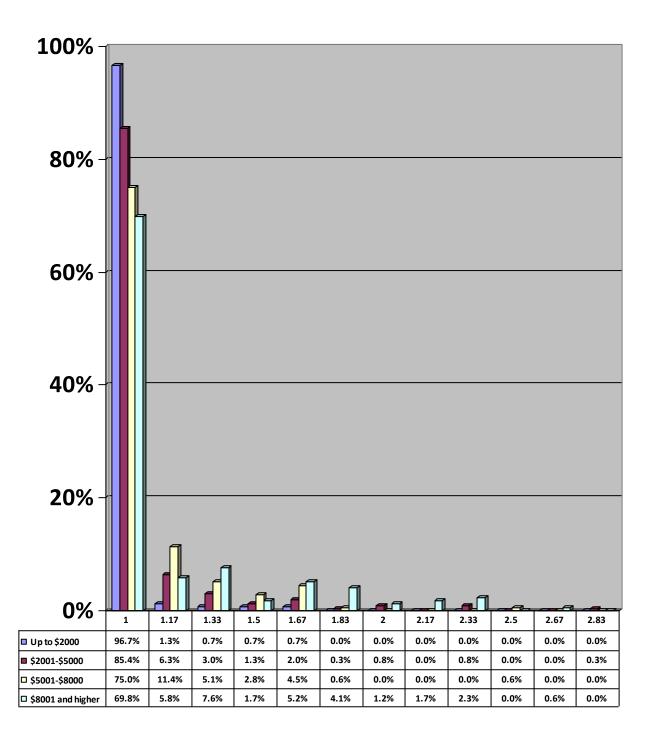


Figure 42: Distribution of Online Participation Means by Monthly Household Income

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> The Spearman's correlation coefficient is 0.242.

61. Overall Participation mean was 1.10, with no single mean exceeding 2.64. A minimum of 5 responses for the eleven items was needed before means were calculated.

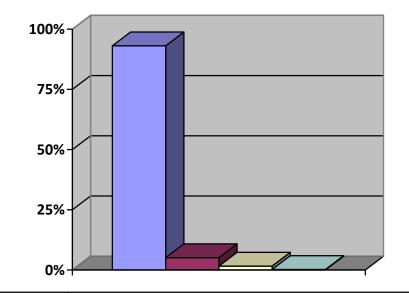


Figure 43: Distribution of Overall Participation Mean (mean=1.10)

<b>1.00-1.389</b>	93.1%
<b>1.39-1.789</b>	5.1%
<b>1.79-2.189</b>	1.6%
2.19-2.64	0.2%

- 62. Analysis by demographics also revealed that:
  - a. Respondents who were more educated also participated more in general<sup>16</sup>; and

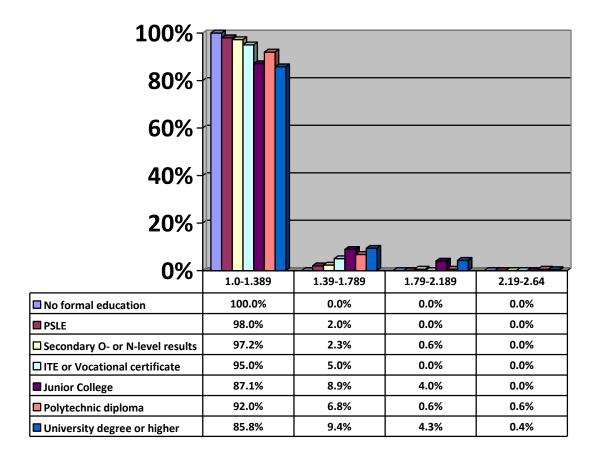
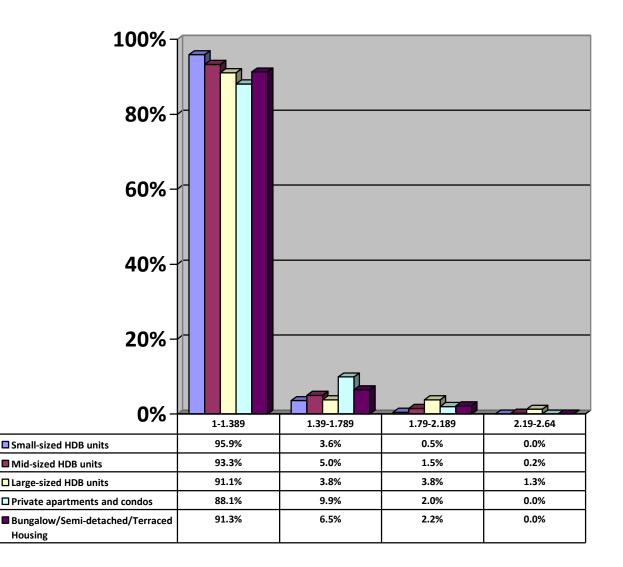


Figure 44: Distribution of Overall Participation Means by Education Level

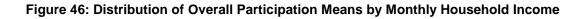
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> The Spearman's correlation coefficient is 0.319.

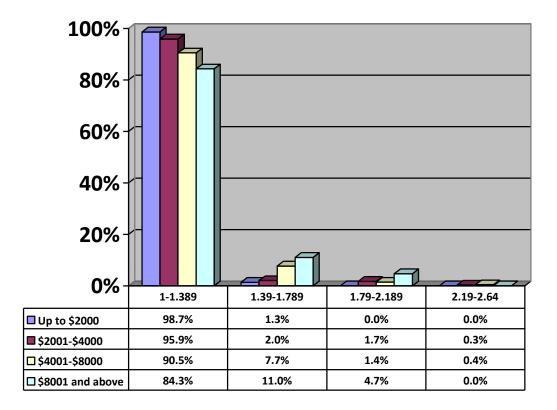
b. Dwelling type was also weakly associated with overall political participation.



#### Figure 45: Distribution of Overall Participation Means by Dwelling Type

b. Respondents with higher monthly household incomes participated more in general<sup>17</sup>.

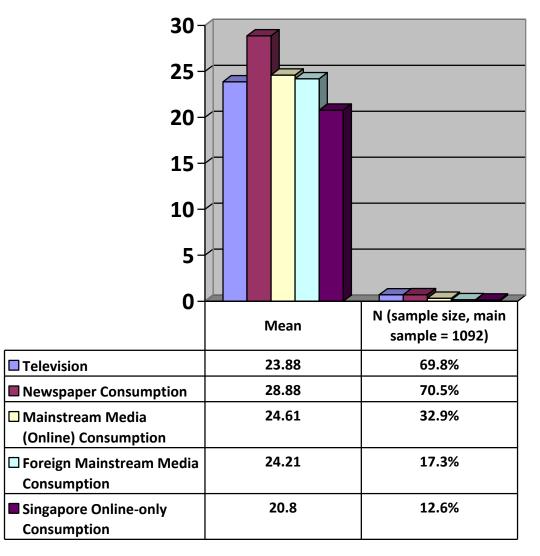




<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> The Spearman's correlation coefficient is 0.240.

## **Media Consumption**

- 63. Respondents on the survey were asked about the amount of time they spent daily (in multiples of five minutes) on various media channels for information on politics, governance and public policy issues. The channels are:
  - a. Television;
  - b. Print Newspapers;
  - c. Mainstream Media online, such as the online versions of *The Straits Times* and channelnewsasia.com;
  - d. Foreign Mainstream Media online, such as The New York Times and CNN; and
  - e. Singapore, online-only sources such as The Online Citizen and the Temasek Review.
- 64. Results as follows:
  - a. Media consumption mean, calculated using the sum of values reported for the five questions is 53.09 minutes. The median value is 35.0 minutes (that is, half the people consume at least 35 minutes of media a day for political news.)
  - b. Category means are as follows:



- 65. Respondents' reported consumption of the last category, i.e. The Online Citizen *et al*, had the lowest mean of 2.74 minutes when all 1,092 responses were calculated. However, this was partly due to the fact that only 13.2% (132 persons out of 1,092) of the sample reported using such media at all.
- 66. Crosstabulation analysis shows that of the 138 persons who do use such media for political news,
  - a. 128 (93%) read print newspapers;
  - b. 122 (89%) read Mainstream Media online;
  - c. 115 (84%) watch television for political news; and
  - d. 81 (60%) also read foreign media online.

- 67. Analysis by demographics also revealed that:
  - a. Younger respondents used TOC et al more;

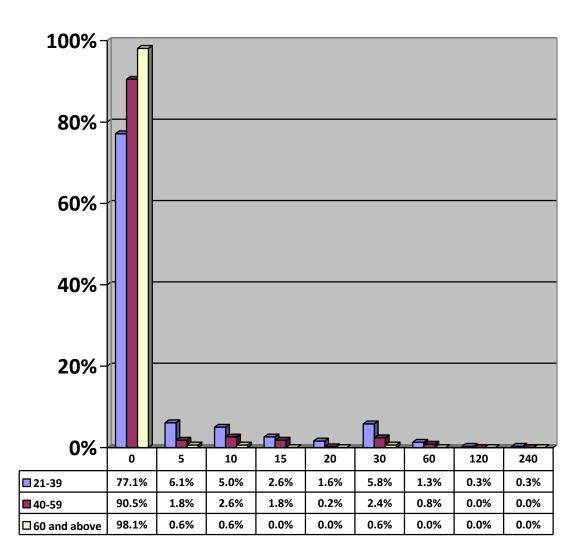


Figure 48: Distribution of TOC et al Consumption by Age, in Minutes

b. The more educated also use this online channel more; and

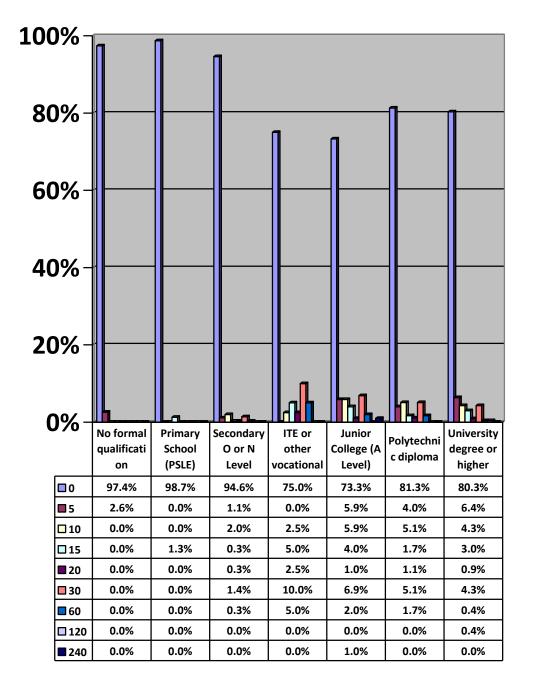


Figure 49: Distribution of TOC et al Consumption by Education Level, in Minutes

c. The better off also use TOC et al more.

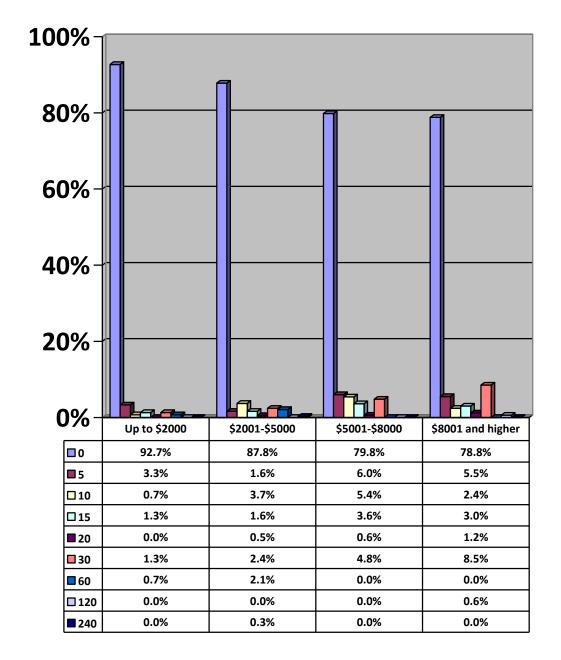
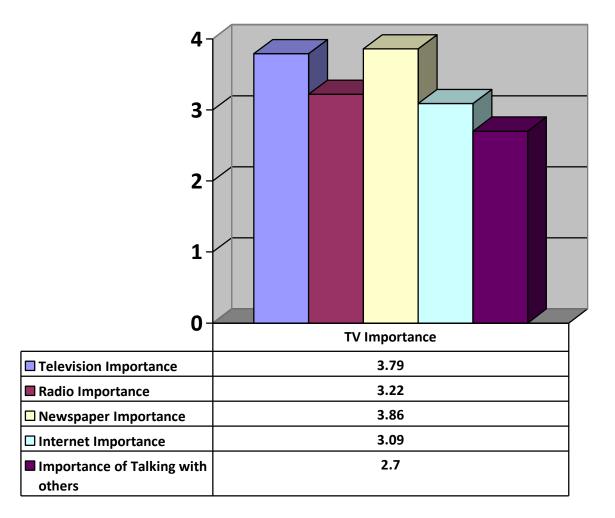


Figure 50: Distribution of TOC et al Consumption by Monthly Household Income, in Minutes

#### **Importance of Media**

- 68. Respondents were surveyed on how important each channel was to them for obtaining information on politics, governance and public policy issues on a five point scale, with 1 being Unimportant, 2 being Of Little Importance, 3=Moderately Important, 4=Important and 5 being Very Important. The channels are:
  - a. Television
  - b. Radio
  - c. Print Newspapers
  - d. The Internet
  - e. Talking with others
- 69. Results as follows:





Overall Media Importance had a mean of 3.35, between "Of Some Importance" and "Important".

- 70. Analysis by demographics also revealed that:
  - a. Younger respondents were more likely to say that media was more important.

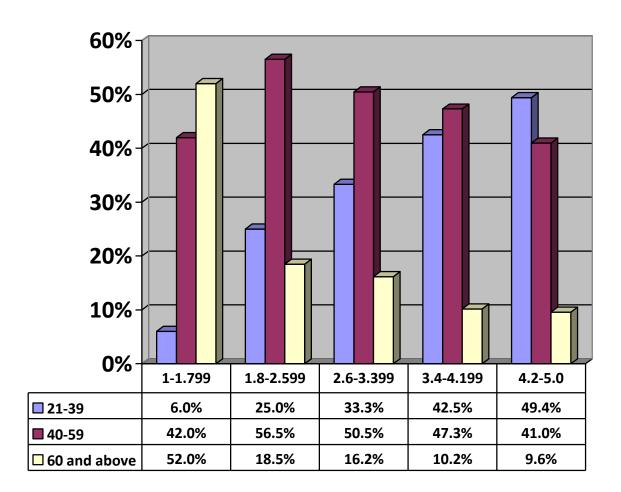
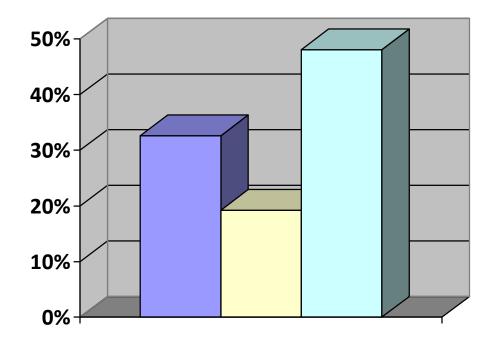


Figure 52: Distribution of Media Importance Mean by Age

71. Compared to overall Media Importance, Importance of the Internet had a lower mean of 3.09. 119 respondents did not answer this question probably as there was a significant group that did not use the Internet for political, government and policy news. Respondents who had answered "Don't Know" were also removed from the sample.





Unimportant / Of Little	32.6%
Importance	
Moderately Important	19.2%
🗖 Important / Very	48.1%
Important	

- 72. Analysis by demographics also revealed the following:
  - Younger respondents were slightly more likely to say the Internet was more important for political news compared to older respondents;

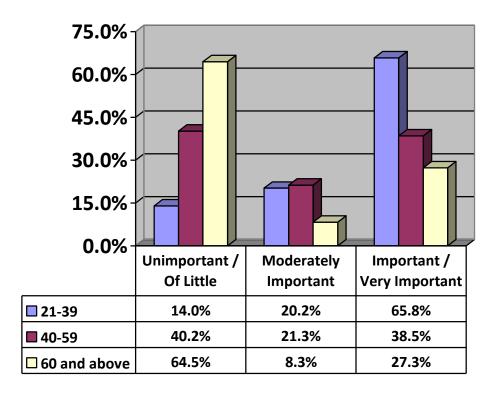


Figure 54: Distribution of Internet Importance Scores by Age

b. Respondents with more education also found the Internet to be more important for political news compared to respondents with less education; and

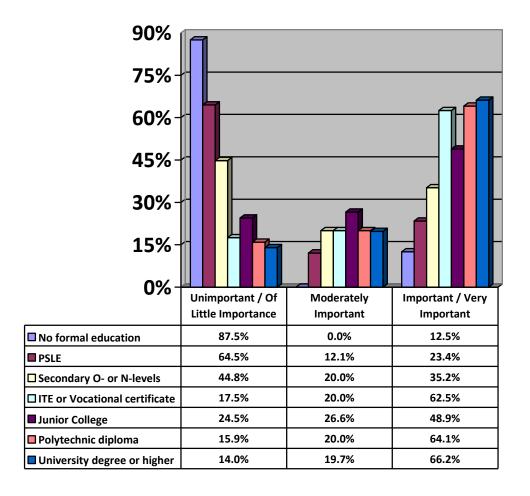


Figure 55: Internet Importance Scores by Education Level

c. Those with higher monthly household income also placed slightly greater importance on the Internet as a source of political news compared to other respondents.

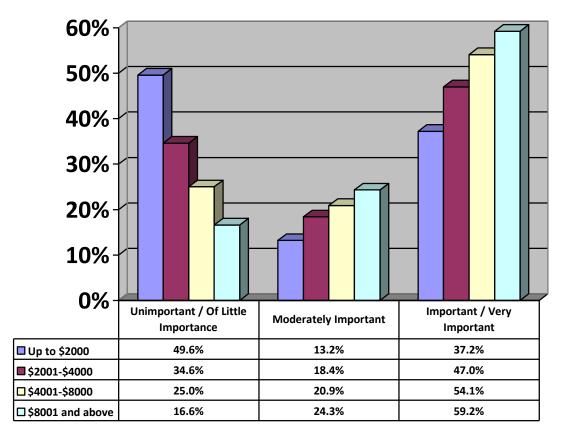
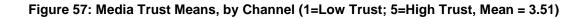
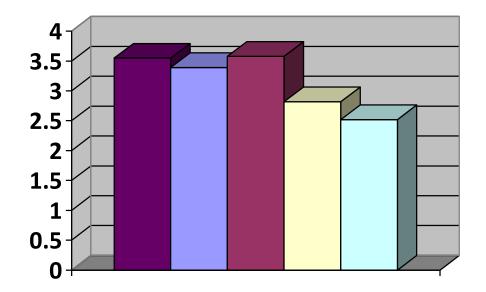


Figure 56: Internet Importance Scores by Monthly Household Income

## **Trust of Media**

73. Respondents' trust of various media channels was measured on a five-point scale on the question, "How trustworthy is each media for you as a source of information about politics? Is each of the following very trustworthy, trustworthy, moderately trustworthy, a little trustworthy, or untrustworthy to you as a source of information about politics?" with answers ranging from "Untrustworthy" (1) to "Very trustworthy" (5). General results as follows:



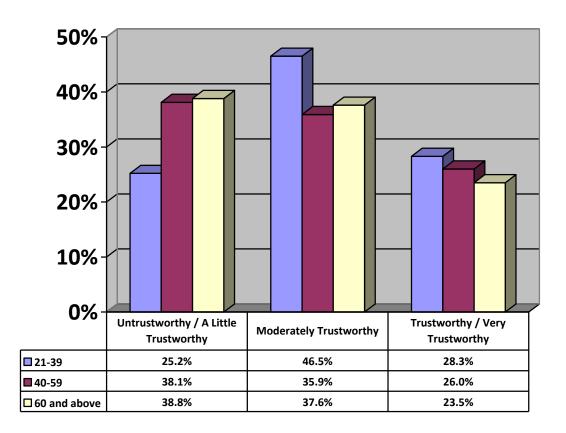


TV Trust	3.55
🗖 Radio Trust	3.39
Newspaper Trust	3.58
Internet Trust	2.82
Talking with others Trust	2.52

Overall media trust mean was 3.20.

74. Trust in the Internet as an outlet for political news was lower, with a mean of 2.82. One in five respondents did not answer this question as they do not use the Internet for political information.

- 75. Analysis by demographics also revealed the following:
  - a. Younger respondents had slightly higher levels of trust in the Internet compared to other respondents; and



#### Figure 58: Internet Trust Scores by Age

 Respondents with higher levels of education were also more likely to trust the Internet as a channel for political news<sup>18</sup>.

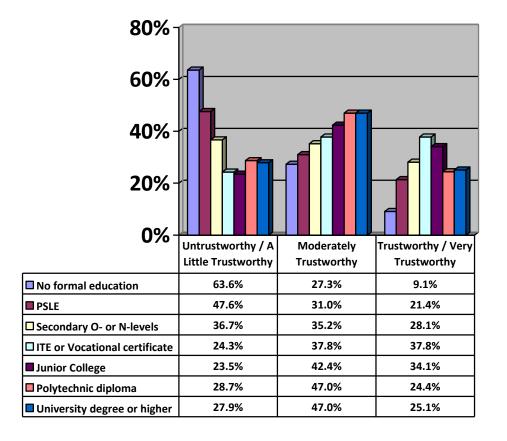


Figure 59: Interest Trust Scores by Education Level

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> The Spearman's correlation coefficient is 0.100.

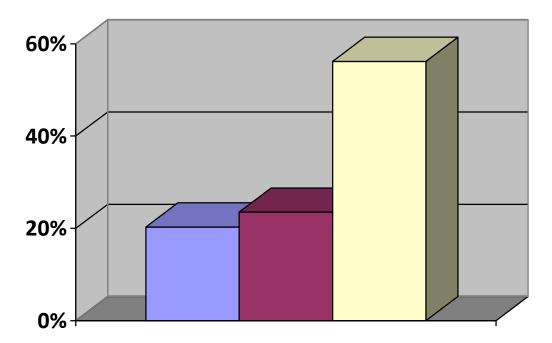
#### **Attitudes towards Media**

- 76. Two statements were used to test respondents' attitudes and perceptions towards local mainstream media. They were:
  - a. "There is too much Government control of newspapers and television"; and
  - b. "Newspapers and television are biased when they report on Singapore politics, political parties and elections".

Respondents were asked to state their agreement with the two statements along a five-point scale.

77. For the first statement, "There is too much Government control of newspapers and television", results are as follows.

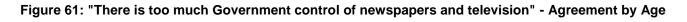
Figure 60: "There is too much Government control of newspapers and television" – Agreement (mean = 3.47)

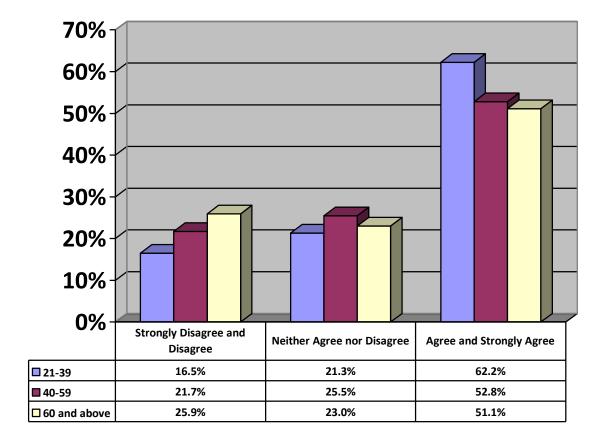


Strongly Disagree and Disagree	20.3%
Neither Agree nor Disagree	23.5%
Agree and Strongly Agree	56.2%

Mean agreement with the statement was 3.47, between "Neither Agree nor Disagree" and "Agree".

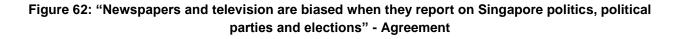
78. Younger respondents had slightly higher levels of agreement with the statement compared to other respondents<sup>19</sup>.

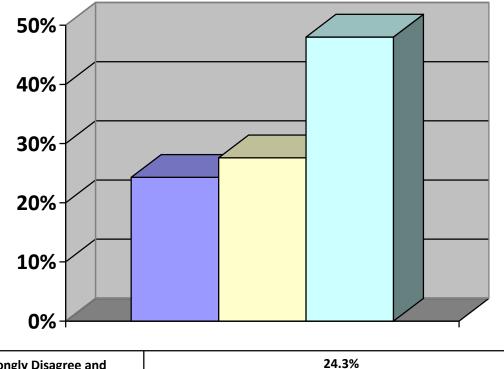




<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> The Spearman's correlation coefficient is -0.120.

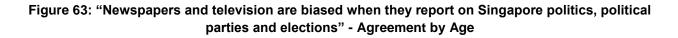
The second statement, "Newspapers and television are biased when they report on 79. Singapore politics, political parties and elections", had a mean of 3.30 among respondents.

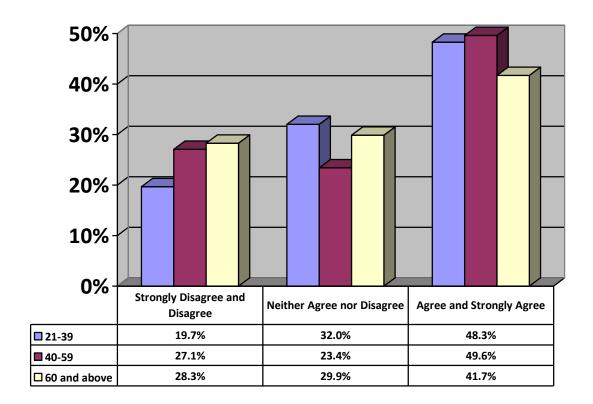




Strongly Disagree and Disagree	24.3%
Neither Agree nor Disagree	27.6%
□ Agree and Strongly Agree	48.0%

- 80. Analysis by demographics also revealed the following:
  - a. Younger respondents were slightly more likely to agree with the statement<sup>20</sup>; and





<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> The Spearman's correlation coefficient is -0.067.

b. The higher educated were slightly more likely to see more bias<sup>21</sup>.

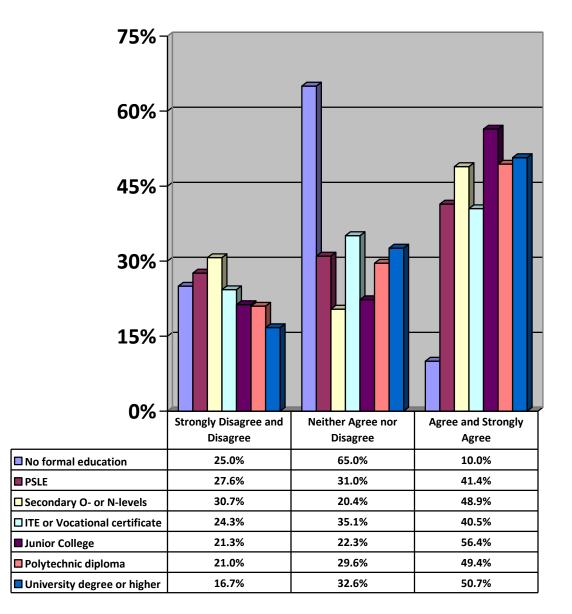


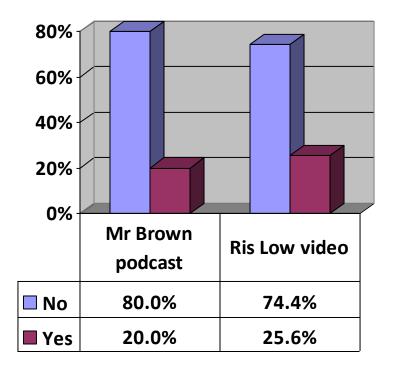
Figure 64: "Newspapers and television are biased when they report on Singapore politics, political parties and elections" - Agreement by Education Level

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> The Spearman's correlation coefficient is 0.113.

## Viral Media

81. Respondents were asked two questions about whether they have seen two specific instances of viral media, one with political content (blogger Mr Brown's "Bak Chor Mee" podcast), and one without (a STOMP video of Ris Low answering questions about her fashion preferences). Results are as follows:

Figure 65: Percentages of Respondents Who Have Seen / Not Seen Certain Viral Media



## **Political Rally Attendance**

- 82. The survey also queried respondents on their past political activities, including rally attendance. Respondents were asked if they had attended a political rally in the 2006 General Elections. Results as follows:
  - a. Males were slightly more likely to have attended rallies<sup>22</sup>;

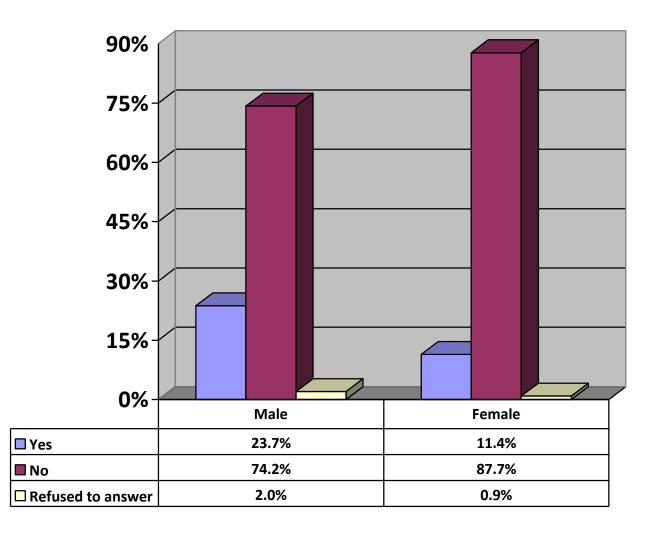
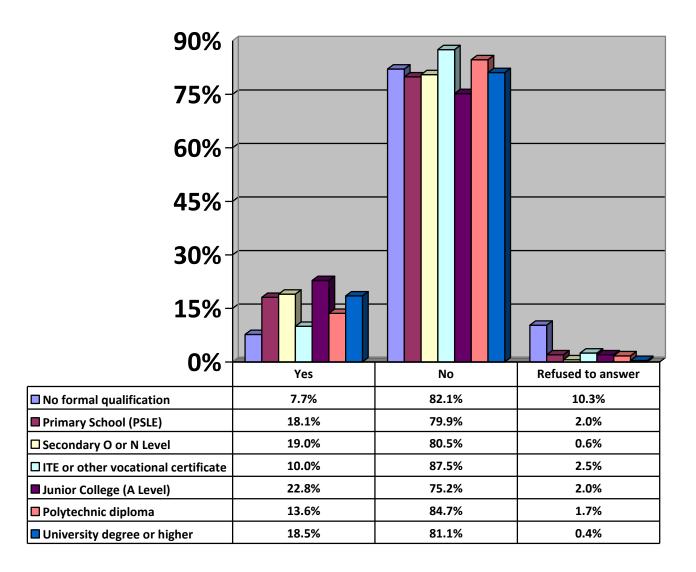


Figure 66: 2006 Rally Attendance by Gender

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> The Cramer's V correlation coefficient is 0.172.

b. The educated were slightly more likely to have attended rallies; and

Figure 67: 2006 Rally Attendance by Education Level



c. Those with higher household income were slightly more likely to have attended rallies<sup>23</sup>.

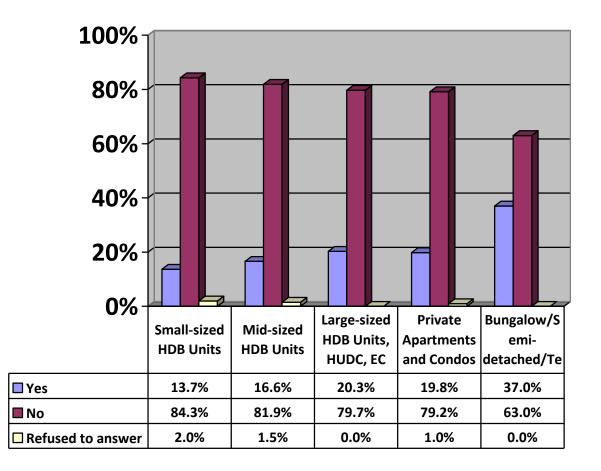
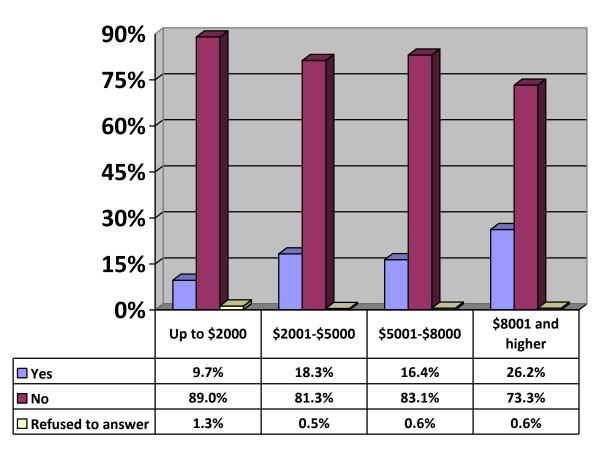


Figure 68: 2006 Rally Attendances by Dwelling Type

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> The Cramer's V correlation coefficient is 0.089.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> The Cramer's V correlation coefficient is 0.096.

# "The Voting Question"

- 83. The survey also included one question on voting, asking respondents who they had voted for in the 2006 General Elections. They were given five options to choose from:
  - a. I voted for the PAP
  - b. I voted for the opposition
  - c. I did not vote but would have voted for the PAP
  - d. I did not vote but would have voted for the opposition
  - e. I did not vote.

The "I refuse to answer" option was not read out, but was recorded.

84. The responses were as follows:

Table 5	Which one of the following applies to you for the last election in 2006?
---------	--

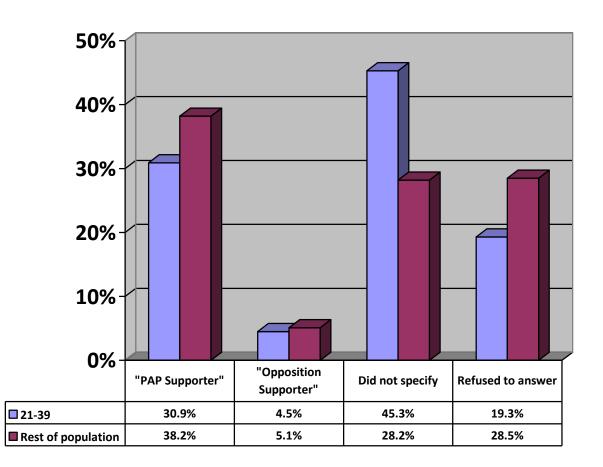
	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
I voted for the PAP	28.2	28.2
I voted for the Opposition.	3.5	31.7
I did not vote but would have voted for the PAP.	7.3	39.0
I did not vote but would have voted for the Opposition.	1.4	40.4
l did not vote.	34.5	74.9
Refused (do not read out)	25.1	100.0
Total	100.0	

- 85. We can make the following conclusions:
  - a. A sizeable group, 25.1 per cent, refused to answer the question on whether they had voted, or how they voted. This seems to indicate a level of discomfort, even fear, among the respondents.
  - b. The ratio of the people who said they voted for the PAP versus for the Opposition is much higher than that in reality in 2006 (66.6. to 33.4 per cent).
- 86. Further results are shown in the chart below (Figure 80: "PAP supporters", "Opposition Supporters" and the Rest by Age). "PAP Supporters" are those who said they voted for the PAP or would have voted for the PAP, while "Opposition Supporters" are those who said they voted for the Opposition or would have voted for the Opposition. "Did Not Specify"

refers to those who said they did not vote but did not specify who they would have voted for. Within the sample, we found that youth are:

- a. Less likely to profess support for the PAP (either by saying that they voted for the party, or would have given the chance); and
- b. Less likely to refuse to answer.





\*\*\*\*\*