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#### POST-ELECTION CONFERENCE 2015

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Wednesday, 4 November 2015 Ballroom 1 & 2, Orchard Hotel





## IPS POST-ELECTION CONFERENCE 2015

# Session One The IPS GE2015 Surveys

Presentation by

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# POPS (8) IPS Post-Election Survey 2015

Survey by the Institute of Policy Studies, Singapore September 2015

Revised, 6 November 2015



#### Content

- Research Background and Objectives
- Methodology
- Key Findings
- Cluster Analysis
- Conclusion
- (Appendix)



# Research Background and Objectives





## Research Background & Objectives

#### POPS or *Perception Of Policies in Singapore Survey*

- An IPS survey series that takes snap-shots of how stakeholders are responding to changes in the policy or the political environment.
- Questions and analysis by IPS research team, fieldwork by survey firm.
- The IPS Post-Election Survey 2015 or POPS(8) polled a random sample of 2,015 voting age Singapore citizens.

## POPS (8) Post-Election Survey September 2015

- Third wave of the IPS Post-Election Survey was conducted from 12 to 26 September 2015
- The comparative data (2006, 2011 and 2015) provides insights into what shaped the vote on 11 September 2015 and Singaporeans' political attitudes.



POPS(4) IPS Post-Election Survey 2011 findings about voter attitudes between GE2006 and GE2011:

- Political ideals were top concerns but "cost of living" too when it was not in 2006. This, especially for the Service Class and voters in the 30-39 and 40-54 age groups.
- Clearer distinction between Post-independence voters' support political pluralism compared independence generation.
- Candidates' moral virtues, social abilities and efficiency continued to matter more than credentials, grassroots experience and party affiliation.





- The Internet had become more influential.
- The voters likely to have shifted to supporting political pluralism were of the following profiles:
  - those in the 21-29, 65 and above age groups
  - Upper-middle income groups
  - 4-room flat dwellers
  - Post-secondary and higher
  - Intermediate class
  - Chinese
- More in the 40-54 age group shifted from supporting greater political pluralism into the "Swing" cluster.





#### The Burning Questions of the 2015 Survey

- Where did the key segments that shifted to support greater political pluralism in GE2011 stand in GE2015?
- Is the desire for political pluralism still closely related to social class; is it immutable?
- Are the desired qualities in candidates still the same?
- What was the impact of the Internet?
- Were there any issues specific to the year 2015 that mattered?





# Methodology





## Methodology

- Polling conducted from 12-26 September 2015 by survey firm, Degree Census, in English, Malay and Mandarin.
- Landline phone numbers randomly picked out of the register, with 2,015 completed surveys; 24.6% response rate (see Appendix).
- Profile of respondents checked against statistics in *Population in* Brief 2015 on the basis of age, gender and race, then weighted because of shortfalls in the sample of people who are 55 years old and above and oversample for people between 40 – 54 years old.
- Comparisons of the weighted sample profile with available citizen data (Census 2010, except for Occupational categories which is resident data) are found on the following slides.
- Data has a margin of error of +/- 2.2% at 95% confidence interval.





# Methodology – Weighted Sample Profile

>	Voted in Sep 11 election Yes No	(n=2,015) 97% 3%	<ul> <li>Occupation of employee</li> <li>Senior executives</li> <li>Professionals</li> <li>Technicians, supervisors</li> </ul>	. (r	61% (52%)
>	Gender Male Female	(n=2,015) 49% (49%) 51% (51%)		] ၊	27% (27%)
>	Employment status Employer Own account worker Employee	(n=2,015) 3% 4% 68%	Operators, semiskilled Unskilled workers S- Service Class I- Intermediate 6 W- Working Class	] <sub>W</sub>	13% (21%)
	Unpaid family worker Full-time homemaker Full-time student Retiree Unemployed Others	0% 6% 4% 12% 2% 1%	Housing type HDB 1-3 room HDB 4 room HDB 5-6 room/Executive Private	35% 29%	5) 6 (20%) 6 (34%) 6 (29%) 6 (17%)

Figures in green show the distribution based on citizen data from *Population in Brief 2015*. Figures in blues show distribution based on citizen data from *Census 2010* except information for Occupation and Housing Type which is for resident population.





## Methodology – Weighted Sample Profile

	Ethnic group	(n=2015)	,	Age group	(n=2015)
	Chinese	78% (	78%)	21-29	16% (16%)
	Malay	13% (	14%)	30-39	17% (17%)
	Indian	7% (79	%)	40-54	30% (30%)
	Others	1% (19	%)	55-64	20% (20%)
				65 & above	17% (17%)
>	Household income	e (n=1950)		Post-independence (21-49)	53% (52%)
	None - \$1,999	17% (22%)	L	Pre-independence (Above	49) 47% (48%)
	S\$2,000 - \$4,999	32% (27%)	LM		
				Education level	(n=2015)
	S\$5,000 - \$6,999	19% (14%)	MM	PSLE or below	11% (22%)
	S\$7,000 and above	32% (36%)		Secondary	31% (29%)
		32 /0 (30 /0)	UM	Post secondary	7% (11%)
ı	Low			Diploma	19% (9%)
LM				University/ Professional	31% (29%)

Figures in green show the distribution based on citizen data from *Population in Brief* 2015. Figures in blues show distribution based on citizen data from *Census* 2010 except information for Occupation and Housing Type which is for resident population.



MM Middle-Middle

UM Upper-Middle



# **Key Findings**





#### ssues

"Amount of Government help for needy", a new item in POPS(8), was among top five concerns.

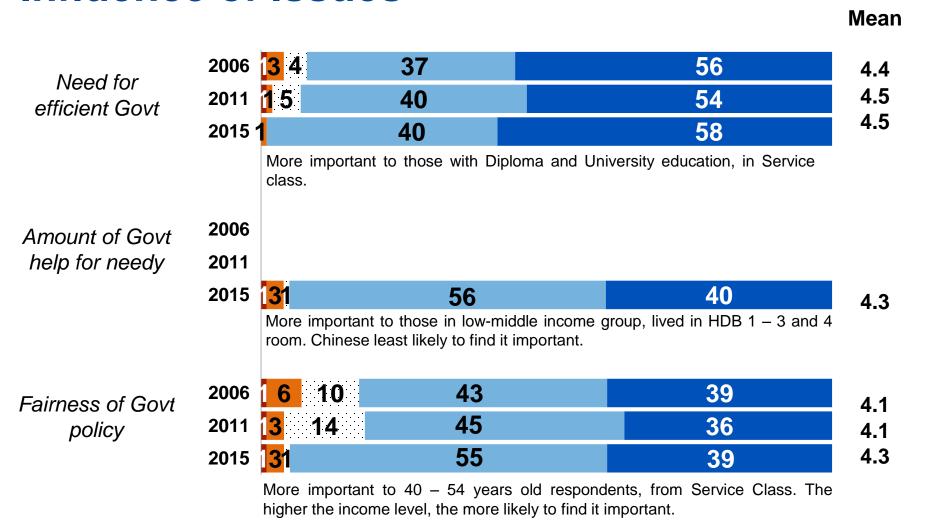
"Need for different views in Parliament" dropped to being ranked eighth by mean score, but percentage of those agreeing it was important has increased.

#### Scale 1 to 5

- 1: Not important at all
- 2: Not so important
- 3: Neutral
- 4: Important
- 5: Very important





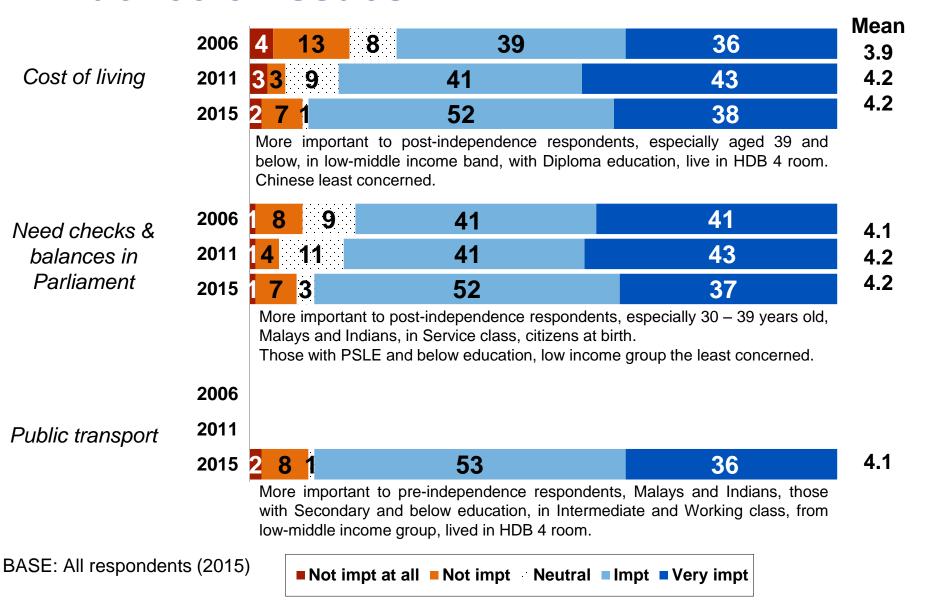


BASE: All respondents (2015)

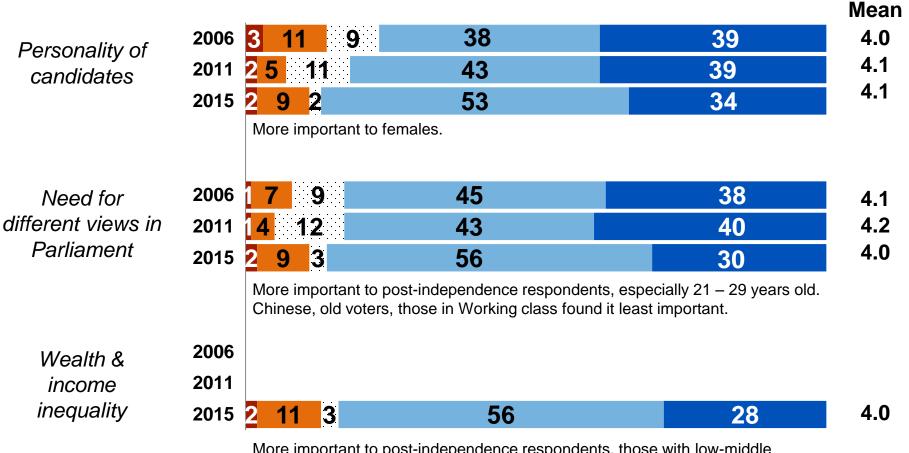
**■ Very impt** ■ Not impt at all ■ Not impt Neutral Impt











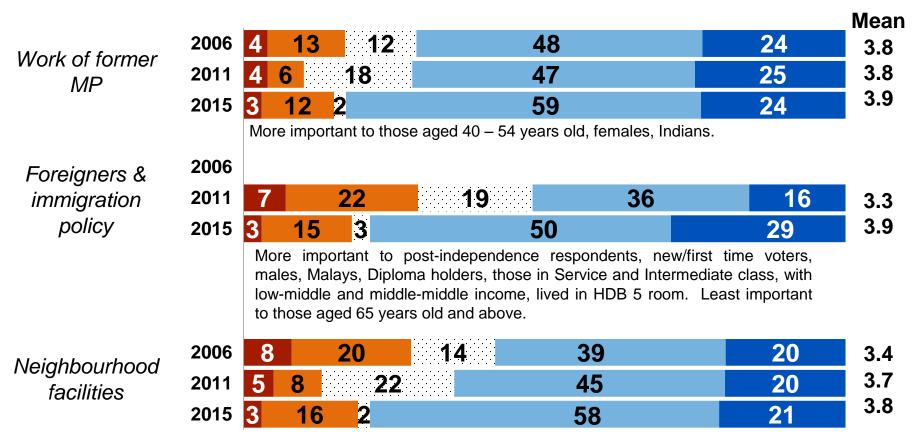
More important to post-independence respondents, those with low-middle income. Least important for Chinese, the most highly educated.

BASE: All respondents (2015)









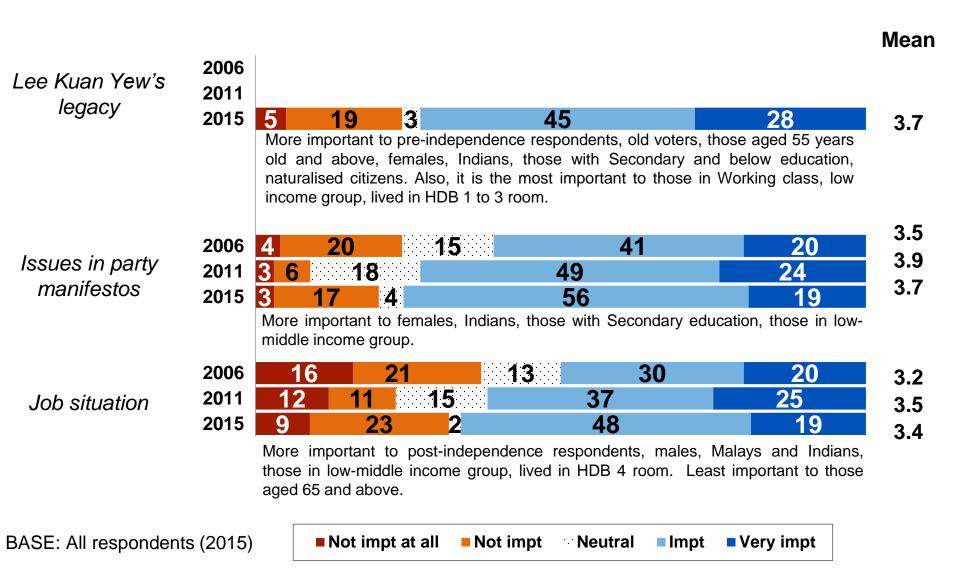
More important to pre-independence respondents, those aged 55 – 64 years old, females, Malays and Indians, those with Secondary and below education, in Intermediate class, with low and low-middle income, lived in HDB 4 room, naturalised citizens.

BASE: All respondents (2015)

■ Not impt at all ■ Not impt Neutral Impt ■ Verv impt

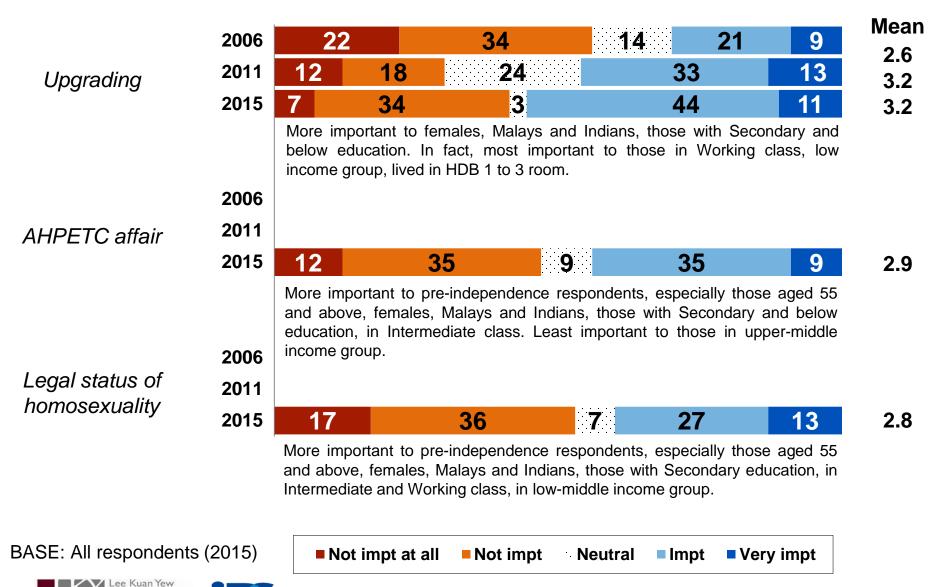












#### Issues

- "Efficient government" is still top concern and like in 2011, especially for
  - Service class
  - Diploma and University education
- "Government help for the needy", new item, ranked second and is important for
  - Low-middle income group
  - 1-4 room flat dwellers
- "Fairness of government policy" became more important and especially for
  - 40-54 age group
  - Service class
  - Those in higher income groups





#### Issues

- "Cost of living" became more important especially for
  - 39 years and below
  - Low-middle income group
  - Diploma education
- "Need for checks and balances" ranked second in 2011 now fifth by mean score, but increase from 84% in 2011 to 89% in 2015 agreeing that it was important, especially for
  - 30-39 age group
  - Malays and Indians
- "Need for different views in Parliament" fourth in 2011 now eighth by mean score, but increase from 83% in 2011 to 86% in 2015 agreeing it was important, especially for
  - 21-29 age group





#### **Issues**

- The LKY Legacy was especially important to
  - Pre-independence generation
  - 55 and above age groups
  - Secondary and below education
  - Working class
  - Low income group
  - 1-3 room flat dwellers
  - Indians
- The AHPETC issue was especially important to
  - Pre-independence generation
  - 55 and above age groups
  - Secondary and below education
  - Intermediate class
  - Malays and Indians





## **Candidates**



#### **Candidates**

Credentials, grassroots experience and party affiliation still not as important as honesty, fairness, efficiency and empathy, like 2011 and 2006.

"Hardworking/Committed" became more important in 2015.

#### Scale 1 to 5

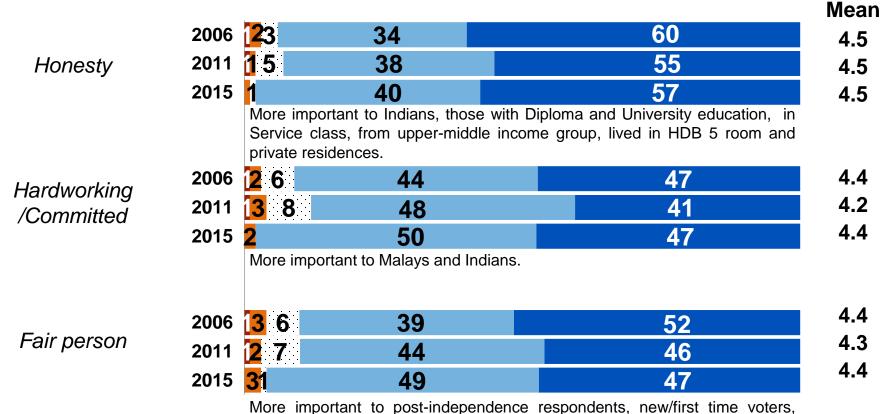
- 1: Not important at all
- 2: Not so important
- 3: Neutral
- 4: Important
- 5: Very important





### Influence of Candidates' Characteristics

#### How important....



Malays, Indians and Others, from low-middle income group.

BASE: All respondents (2015)

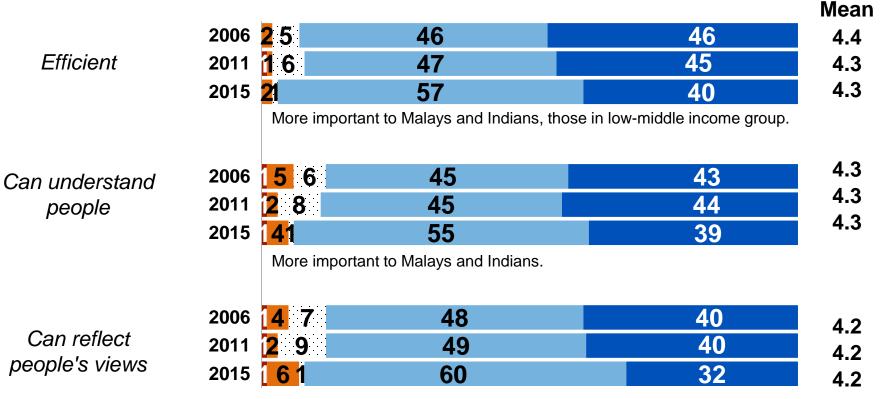
■ Not impt at all ■ Not impt Neutral ■ Impt ■ Very impt





### Influence of Candidates' Characteristics

#### How important....



More important to post-independence respondents, especially those aged 30 – 39 years old, those with low-middle income and above.

BASE: All respondents (2015)





## Influence of Candidates' Characteristics

How important					Mean
	2006	3 13 16	42	26	3.8
Credentials	2011		48	26	3.9
	2015	3 18 2	54	23	3.8
		More important to pre-incaged 55 and above, fem below education, in Workin	ales, Malays and India	ans, with Secondary and	0.0
Experience in	2006	3 13 221422	46	24	3.7
grassroots &	2011	3 7 19	47	24	3.8
community work	2015	2 18 3	56	21	3.8
Eloquent	2006 2011	and above, females, Mala	ays and Indians, those	s, especially those aged 65 with Secondary and below d, lived in HDB 1 to 3 room.	
speaker	2015	More important to females below education, from Intermiddle income bands, lived	ermediate and Working	g class, in low and low-	3.6
Candidate's	2006	8 24	16 31	21	3.3
party	2011	8 15 19	35	23	3.5
μ·	2015	6 27 3	42	22	3.5
BASE: All responden	nts (201	above, females, Malays education, from Intermed	and Indians, those with	nts, those aged 55 and the Secondary and below s, in low and low-middle	

■ Not impt at all ■ Not impt Neutral ■ Impt ■ Very impt





#### **Candidates**

- Top characteristic, "honesty" endorsed especially by
  - Service class
  - better-educated
  - 5-room flats and private housing dwellers
- Being "hardworking/committed" important especially to Malays and Indians.
- Being fair, and "can reflect people's views" matter more to
  - Post-independence
  - Low-middle income group





#### **Candidates**

- "Credentials", "experience in grassroots & community work" and party affiliation tend to be more important to
  - Pre-independence respondents
  - Secondary and below education
  - Working class
  - Low income group



## **Communication Channels**



#### **Communication Channels**

TV became most important. Next were print newspapers and Internet that were on par with each other.

Contact with grassroots workers slightly more important than election rallies.

#### Scale 1 to 5

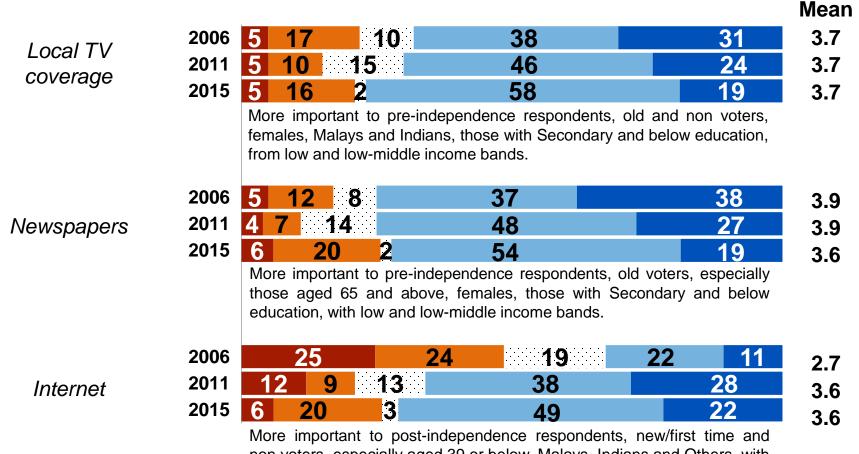
- 1: Not important at all
- 2: Not so important
- 3: Neutral
- 4: Important
- 5: Very important





#### Influence of Communication Channel

In shaping voting decision....



non voters, especially aged 39 or below, Malays, Indians and Others, with Diploma and University education, in Service class, in middle-middle and upper-middle income groups, lived in HDB 4 and 5 room, citizens at birth.

■ Not impt at all ■ Not impt Neutral ■ Impt ■ Very impt

BASE: All respondents (2015)





## **Top 5 Internet Channels**

Facebook	68.5%
YouTube	29.5%
Channel NewsAsia website	22.4%
Twitter	12.9%
Straits Times website	12.1%

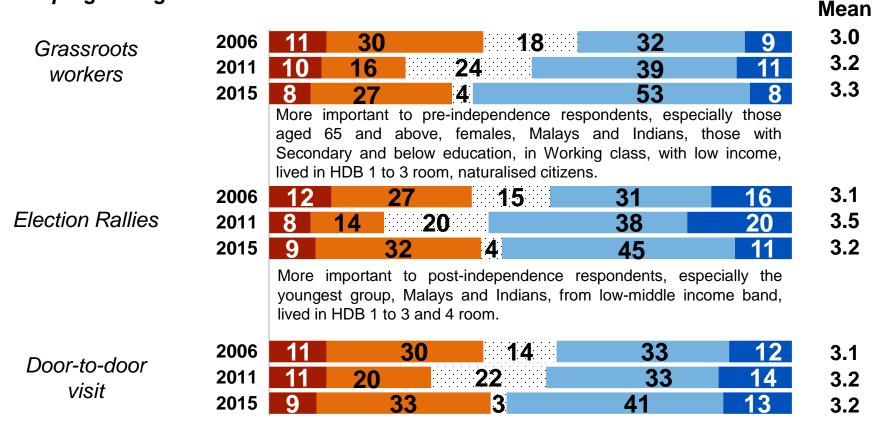
Base: Respondents who stated Internet as Important or Very Important (1335)





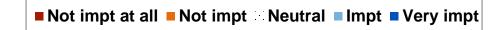
#### Influence of Communication Channel

In shaping voting decision....



More important to pre-independence respondents, especially those aged 55 and above, Indians, those with Secondary and below education, in Working class, with low and low-middle income bands, lived in HDB 1 to 3 room, naturalised citizens.

BASE: All respondents (2015)

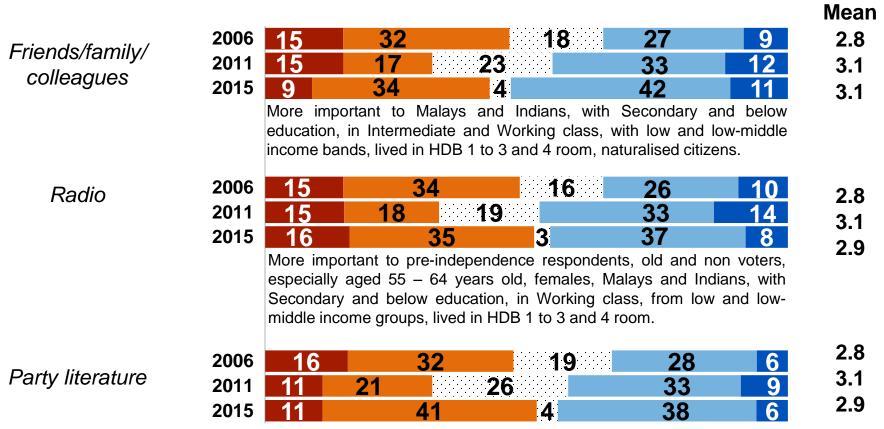






#### Influence of Communication Channel

#### In shaping voting decision....



More important to Malays and Indians, with PSLE and below education, in low and low-middle income groups, naturalised citizens.

■ Not impt at all ■ Not impt Neutral ■ Impt ■ Very impt

BASE: All respondents (2015)





#### **Communication Channels**

- TV rose above print newspapers with the change coming from among those in
  - 30-39 year old category
  - Upper-middle income group
- Internet more important to the same group as 2011
  - Post-independence voters
  - Service class
  - The lower the age, the more influential
  - The higher the occupational class, the more influential







PAP credibility increased the most, followed by the increase in SDP. WP maintained its mean score but more said they agreed it was credible.

Findings match ranking of top three parties based on the popular vote polled by each in GE2015.

#### Scale 1 to 5

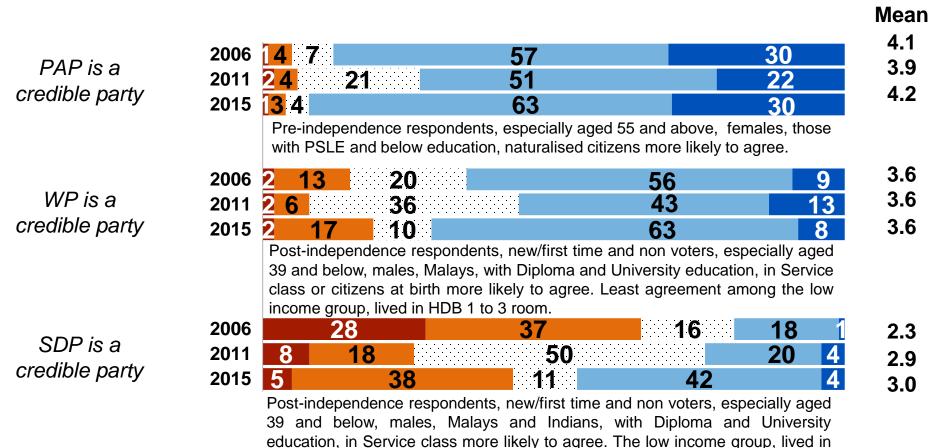
- 1: Strongly disagree
- 2: Disagree
- 3: Neutral
- 4: Agree
- 5: Strongly Agree





#### **Credibility of Political Parties**

Agree or disagree that ....



HDB 1 to 3 room were the least likely to agree.

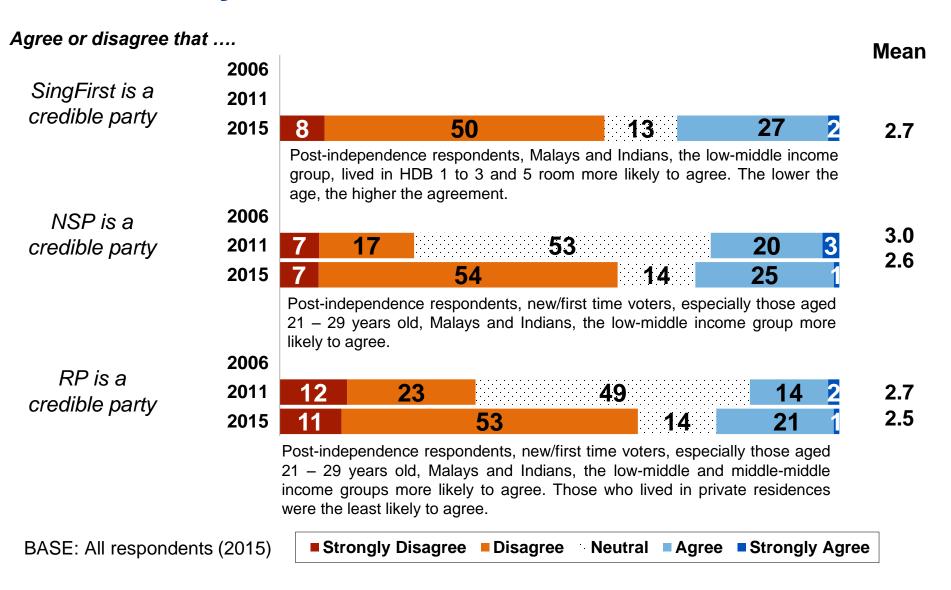
BASE: All respondents (2015)

■ Strongly Disagree ■ Disagree Neutral ■ Agree ■ Strongly Agree





## **Credibility of Political Parties**







#### The PAP was credible especially with

- Pre-Independence, 55 years old and above
- PSLE and below education
- Females
- Naturalised citizens

#### Both WP and SDP were credible especially with

- Post-independence, aged 39 and below
- Service Class
- Diploma and University education
- Males

#### The other opposition parties were more credible for

- Post-independence respondents
- 21 to 29 years old
- Low-middle income group





# **Credibility of Parties (PAP, Naturalised Citizens)**

Agree or disagree that PAP is a credible party....

Among those naturalised citizens who agreed and strongly agreed that PAP is a credible party, most were aged 40 years and above, been naturalised citizens for 31 years and more.

Age of naturalised Citizens who rated "Agreed" or "Strongly Agreed" for PAP credibility.	n	%
21 - 29	21	8.3%
30 - 39	38	15.3%
40 - 54	91	36.2%
55 - 64	43	17.2%
65 and above	58	23.0%
Total	251	100.0%

Years since become naturalised Citizens who rated "Agreed" or "Strongly Agreed" for PAP credibility.	n	%
5 years and below	56	22.2%
6 - 10 years	43	17.0%
11 - 20 years	37	14.7%
21 - 30 years	38	15.1%
31 years and above	78	31.1%
Total	251	100.0%





Comparing mean scores between 2015 and 2011.

#### PAP:

Rise in scores across the board, ranging from 0.16 to 0.39

Larger increases, minimum 0.3 increase in mean score, seen among

- 21-29, 30-39, 55-64 age groups
- PSLE and below, Secondary, Diploma, University education
- Intermediate and Service classes
- Chinese





#### WP:

Increase the most, of between 0.19 to 0.23, among

- 21-29 years old
- Malays

Larger dips, ranging from -0.18 to -0.30, among

- 55-64, 65 years and above
- "Others" ethnic category
- Working class

#### SDP:

Greatest increase, ranging between 0.16 to 0.34, seen among these groups

- 21-29, 30-39 age groups
- Malays, Indians
- Post-secondary, University education
- Service class

Larger dips, between -0.20 to -0.43, seen among 40-54, 65 years and above age groups



#### **Electoral System and Others**



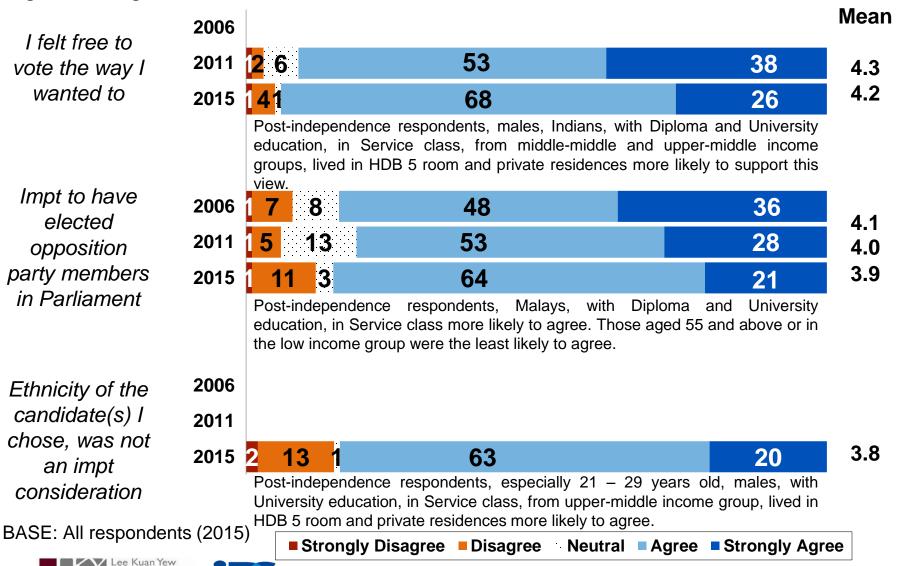
#### **Election System and Others**

Institute of

**Policy Studies** 

#### Agree or disagree that ....

National University of Singapore



#### **Election System and Others**

Agree or disagree that ....

							Mean 3.5
Whole election	2006	7 15	14		48	15	3.3
system is fair to all	2011	6 12	20		45	16	3.5
political parties	2015	3 14	3		63	16	3.7
No need to		Working class	ass, lived in F	HDB 1 to 3 room, nawith University education	ged 55 and above, aturalised citizens months ation, in the upper-mic	ore likely to	<b>0.1</b>
change election	2006	6	21	<b>11</b>	48	13	3.4
system	2011	8	22	15	43	13	3.3
	2015	3	21 4		58	13	3.5
The Internet was the most impt of all in shaping my	2006	Indians, wi	ith PSLE and ore likely to agr	below education, ir ee.	ose aged 55 and above low income group,		3.0
views in this	2011	15	21	20	32	12	3.0 2.9
election	2015	8	42	5	36	8	2.9
BASE: All respondents	(2015)	and below, agree. Lea	males, from S	Service class, lived in among the Chinese,	e voters, especially th HDB 4 and 5 room n with PSLE and below	nore likely to	

■ Strongly Disagree ■ Disagree Neutral ■ Agree ■ Strongly Agree







Status quo (one-party dominance) or otherwise?

Cluster analysis to find out who wants greater pluralism.

- 5 variables
  - Need for checks and balances in Parliament.
  - Need for different views in Parliament.
  - The whole election system is fair to all political parties.
  - There is no need to change the election system because it has served well.
  - It is always important to have elected opposition party members in Parliament.

Change from calculating it using six items in the 2006 and 2011 survey.





The cluster analysis, which is done statistically, places respondents into three "clusters" based on their responses.

"Conservative" – responses suggest support of the political status quo compared to the other groups, but their political attitudes are changing with each survey.

'Pluralists" - responses suggest support for greater political pluralism and change in the electoral system compared to the other groups.

"Swing" – responses are an eclectic mix of views.

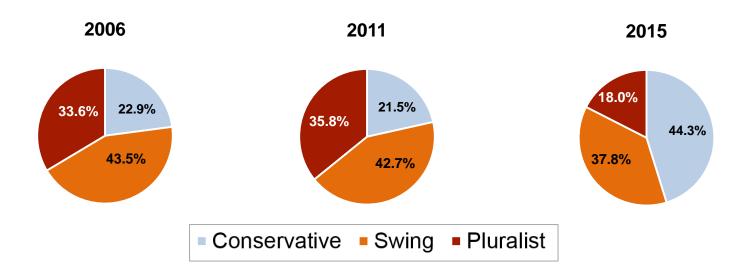




Conservative: Small dip in 2011, sharp increase in 2015.

Swing: Small dip in 2011, larger drop in 2015.

Pluralist: Slight increase in 2011, but sharp drop in 2015.







Between 2006 and 2015, the Conservative and Swing clusters increasingly agree that that "the election system is fair to all parties".

Those in the Pluralists cluster move in the opposite direction increasingly disagreeing that "the election system is fair to all parties".

		Conservative	Swing	Pluralist
Whole election system is fair to all political parties	2006	3.79	4.14	2.46
	2011	3.7	4.16	2.6
	2015	4.06	4.2	1.93



From 2006 to 2015, Conservative cluster increasingly agrees that there is "no need to change the electoral system".

The Swing cluster is gradually weakening in its agreement with the statement.

		Conservative	Swing	Pluralist
	2006	3.67	4.09	2.32
No need to change election system (Mean Scores)	2011	3.68	4.04	2.12
	2015	4.02	3.63	2.23



From 2006 to 2015, Conservative cluster is more likely to agree that it is "important to have elected opposition members in Parliament".

		Conservative		Swing		Pluralist	
Important to have elected opposition party members in Parliament	2006		3.23		4.31		4.39
	2011		3.29		4.24		4.22
	2015		3.5		4.31		4.32



From 2006 to 2015, the Conservative cluster increasingly agrees with the statement on the "need for checks and balances in Parliament".

		Conservative		Swing		Pluralist	
	2006		3.05		4.43		4.52
Need checks and balances in Parliament (Mean Scores)	2011		3.17		4.5		4.55
	2015		3.62		4.67		4.55



From 2006 to 2015, the Conservative and Swing clusters increasingly agree with that there is "need for different views in Parliament".

		Conservative		Swing		Pluralist	
	2006	3	80.8		4.37		4.57
Need for different views in Parliament	2011	3	.16		4.45		4.52
(Mean Scores)	2015	3	5.51		4.55		4.47

Overall, those considered to be in the Conservative cluster increasingly feel the need for accountability, for diverse views and elected opposition members in Parliament.



## Cluster Analysis (Age)

Percentage of respondents in Pluralist cluster decreases with increase in age profile.

#### Conservative:

- In 2011, there were dips in the 21-39 and 65 and above age groups.
- In 2015, there were increases across all age groups, with largest among 65 year olds and above.

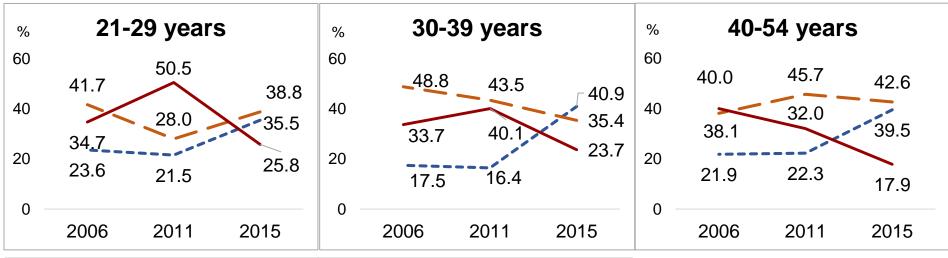
#### Pluralist:

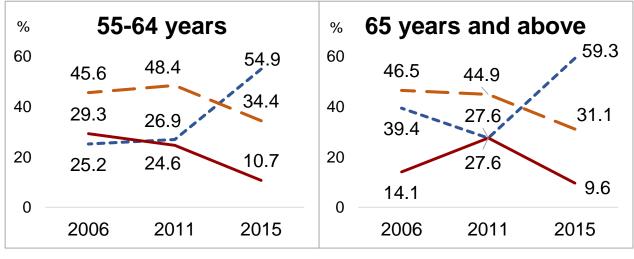
- In 2011, there were increases in all except the 55-64 age group.
- In 2015, there were dips in all especially in the 21-29 and 65 and above age groups.

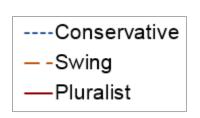




## **Cluster Analysis (Age)**







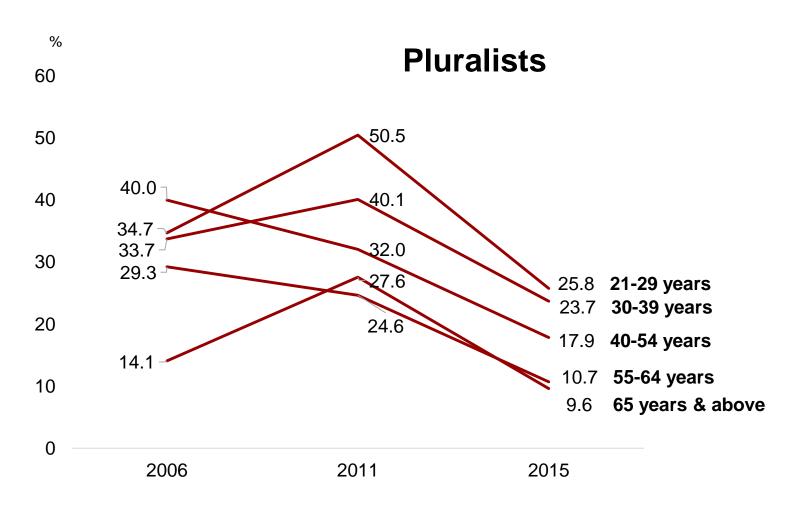
2006: n=956, Chi-square=28.362, df=8, p=.000 sig. 2011: n=1867, Chi-square=71.552, df=8, p=.000 sig.

2015: n=1899, Chi-square=82.892, df=8, p=.000 sig





#### Cluster Analysis (Age)



2006: n=956, Chi-square=28.362, df=8, p=.000 sig. 2011: n=1867, Chi-square=71.552, df=8, p=.000 sig.

2015: n=1899, Chi-square=82.892, df=8, p=.000 sig





# Cluster Analysis (Pre- and Post-independence)

There is a greater divergence between the percentage of those in the Pluralist and Conservative clusters for the pre-65ers.

Pre-65ers

2006: Most in Swing cluster

2011: Most in Swing cluster

2015: Most in Conservative cluster.

Post-65ers

2006: Most in Swing cluster

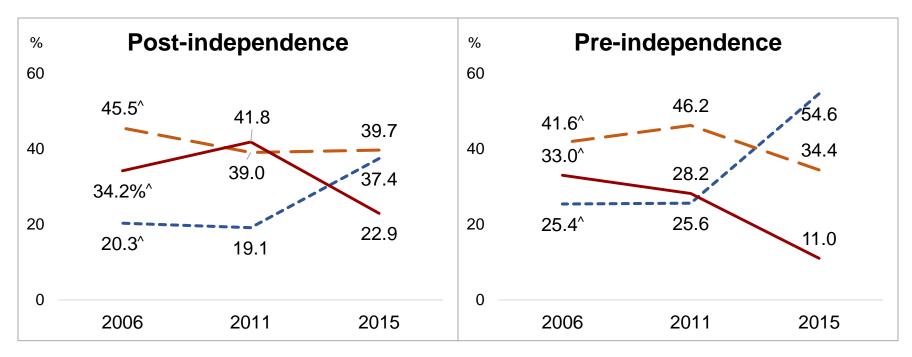
2011: Most in Pluralist cluster

2015: Most in Swing cluster



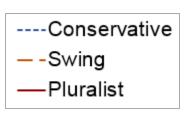


# **Cluster Analysis** (Pre- and Post-independence)



^ percentages are not significantly different at 0.05 level

2006: n=956, Chi-square=3.667, df=2, p=.160 ns. 2011: n=1868, Chi-square=39.135, df=2, p=.000 sig. 2015: n=1897, Chi-square=72.192, df=2, p=.000 sig







# **Cluster Analysis (Class)**

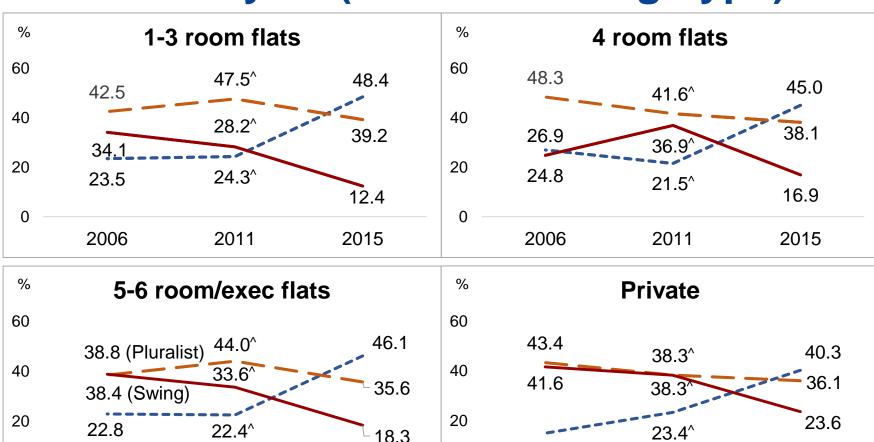
The support of political pluralism increases, the higher the level of socio-economic status, similar to findings of 2006 and 2011 surveys.

There were dips in all categories especially among:

- Intermediate class
- Lower-middle income group
- Post-secondary education



## Cluster Analysis (Class: Housing Type)



0

2015

2006: n=955, Chi-square=23.532, df=6, p=.001 sig. 2011: n=1820, Chi-square=10.196, df=6, p=.117 ns. 2015: n=1896, Chi-square=16.357, df=6, p=.012 sig.

2011

^ percentages are not significantly different at 0.05 level

2011

Conservative — - Swing — Pluralist

15.0

2006



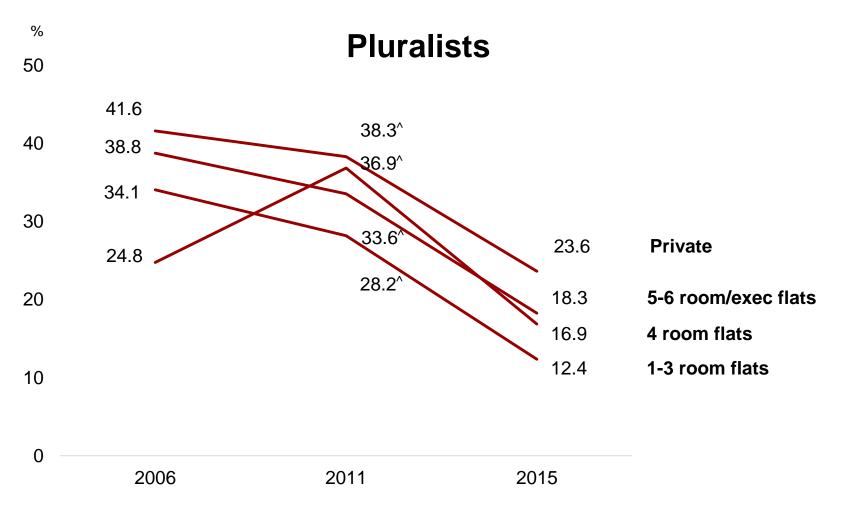
2006

0



2015

#### Cluster Analysis (Class: Housing Type)

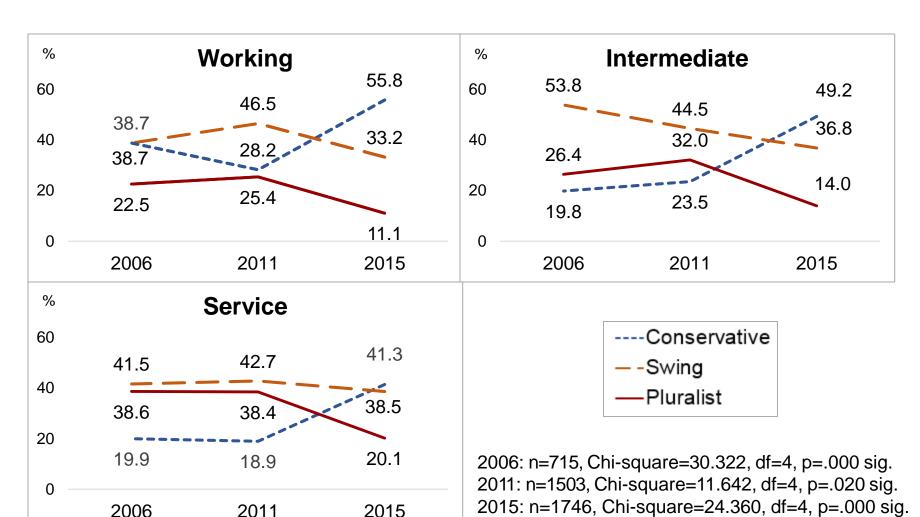


2006: n=955, Chi-square=23.532, df=6, p=.001 sig. 2011: n=1820, Chi-square=10.196, df=6, p=.117 ns. 2015: n=1896, Chi-square=16.357, df=6, p=.012 sig. ^ percentages are not significantly different at 0.05 level





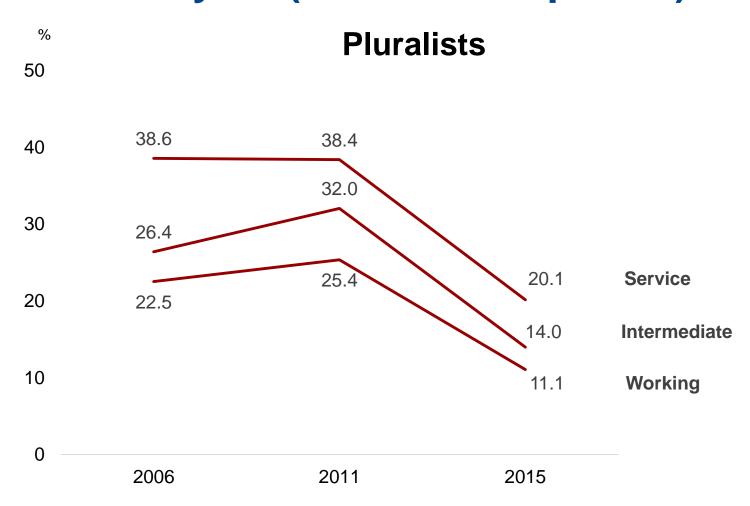
## Cluster Analysis (Class: Occupation)







#### Cluster Analysis (Class: Occupation)

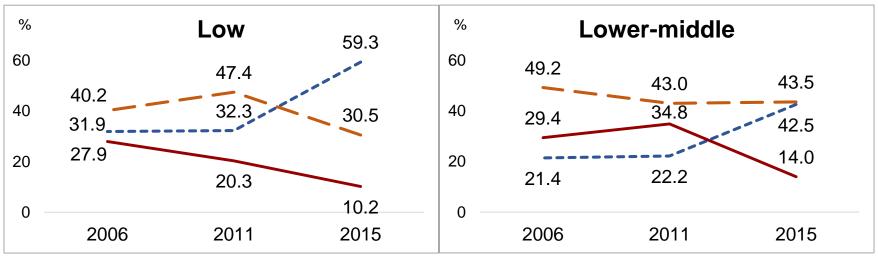


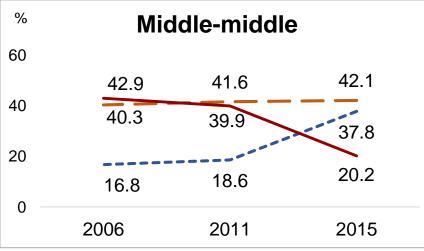
2006: n=715, Chi-square=30.322, df=4, p=.000 sig. 2011: n=1503, Chi-square=11.642, df=4, p=.020 sig. 2015: n=1746, Chi-square=24.360, df=4, p=.000 sig.

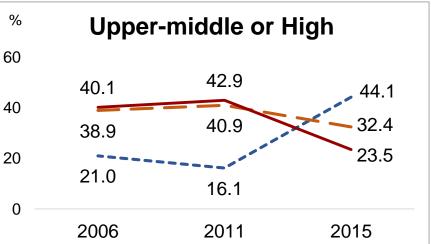




#### Cluster Analysis (Class: Household Income)







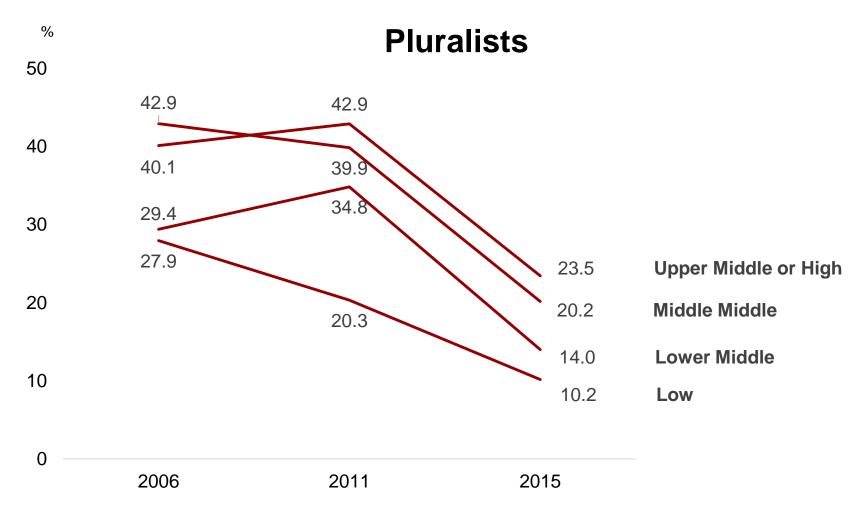
2006: n=956, Chi-square=27.586, df=6, p=.000 sig. 2011: n=1604, Chi-square=47.377, df=6, p=.000 sig. 2015: n=1842, Chi-square=60.850, df=6, p=.000 sig.







#### Cluster Analysis (Class: Household Income)

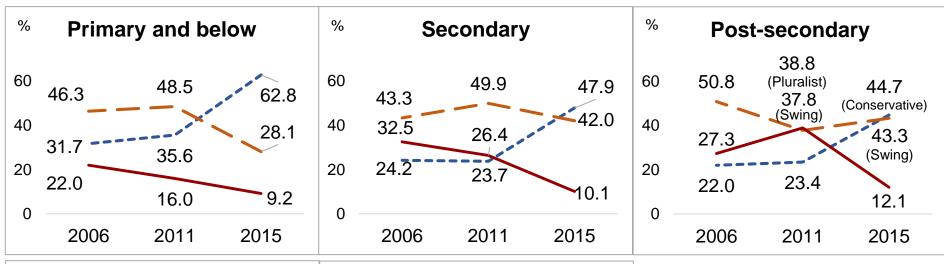


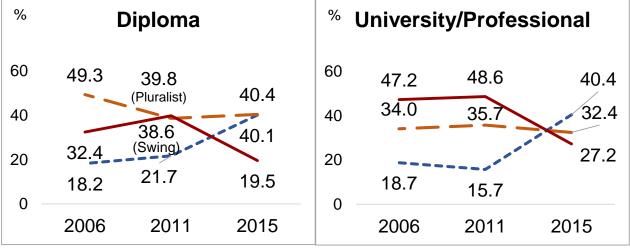
2006: n=956, Chi-square=27.586, df=6, p=.000 sig. 2011: n=1604, Chi-square=47.377, df=6, p=.000 sig. 2015: n=1842, Chi-square=60.850, df=6, p=.000 sig.





## Cluster Analysis (Class: Education)





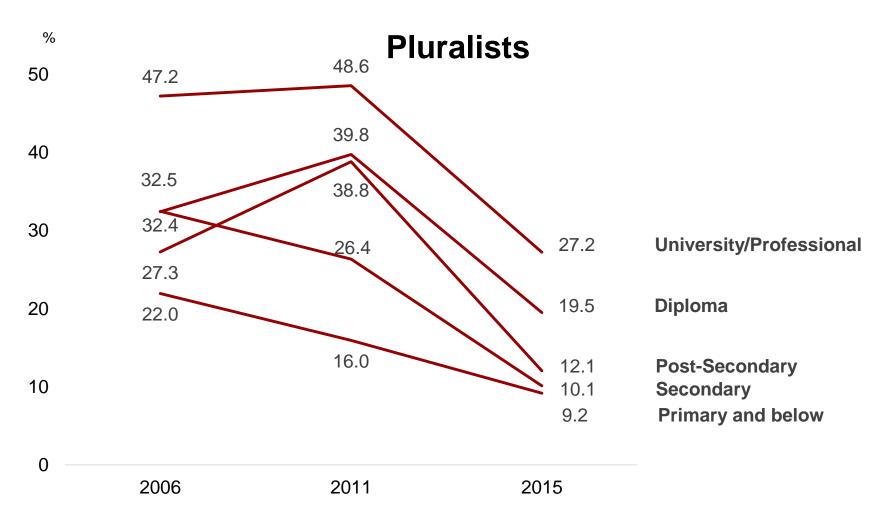
----Conservative Swina Pluralist

2006: n = 956, Chi-square=38.255, df=8, p=.000 sig. 2011: n = 1836, Chi-square=94.868, df=8, p=.000 sig. 2015: n = 1896, Chi-square=95.621, df=8, p=.000 sig.





### Cluster Analysis (Class: Education)



2006: n = 956, Chi-square=38.255, df=8, p=.000 sig. 2011: n = 1836, Chi-square=94.868, df=8, p=.000 sig. 2015: n = 1896, Chi-square=95.621, df=8, p=.000 sig.





### Cluster Analysis (Ethnicity)

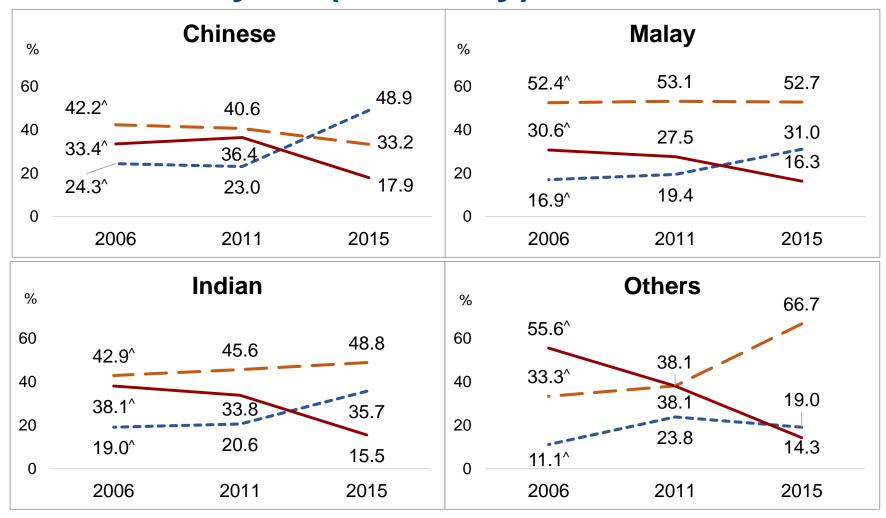
Conservatives: Largest percentage in the Others category of respondents in 2011, and Chinese in 2015.

Pluralists: Largest percentage in the Others category in 2011, and with Chinese respondents in 2015

Swing: Largest percentage in the Malay respondents in 2011, and the Others category in 2015.



### Cluster Analysis (Ethnicity)



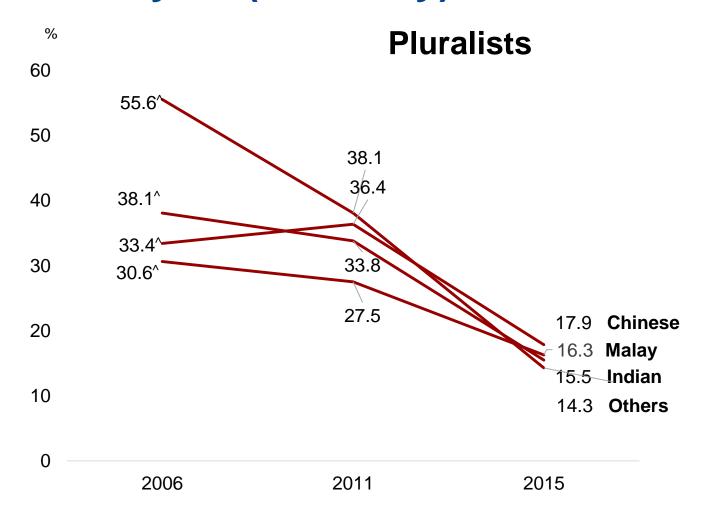
2006: n=956, Chi-square=8.366, df=6, p=.215 ns. 2011: n=1869, Chi-square=15.017, df=6, p=.020 sig. 2015: n=1897, Chi-square=54.937, df=6, p=.000 sig. ^ percentages are not significantly different at 0.05 level

--Conservative — -Swing –Pluralist





### Cluster Analysis (Ethnicity)



2006: n=956, Chi-square=8.366, df=6, p=.215 ns. 2011: n=1869, Chi-square=15.017, df=6, p=.020 sig. 2015: n=1897, Chi-square=54.937, df=6, p=.000 sig. ^ percentages are not significantly different at 0.05 level

----Conservative — -Swing — Pluralist





### Cluster Analysis (Naturalised citizens)

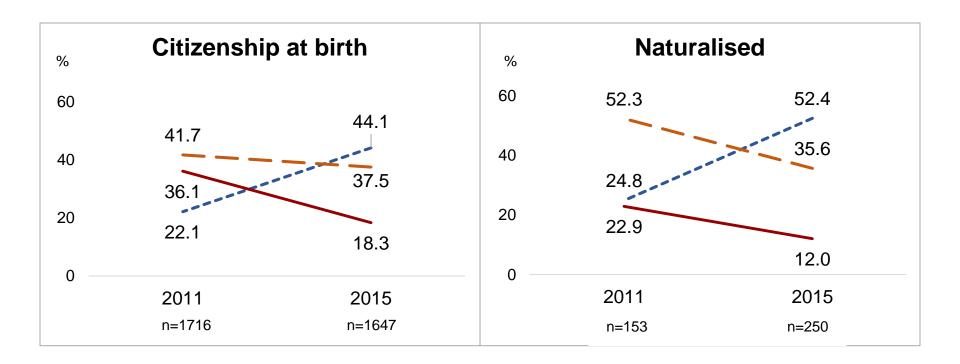
Conservative: Sharper increase in the naturalised category.

Pluralist: Sharper decline in the local-born category from 2011.

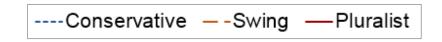
Swing: Sharper decline seen in the naturalised category from 2011.



### Cluster Analysis (Naturalised citizens)



2011: n=1869, Chi-square=11.177, df=2, p=.004 sig. 2015: n=1897, Chi-square=8.468, df=2, p=.014 sig



There is no significant relationship across clusters in a comparison of naturalised citizens who have been citizens for 0-5 years against those who have been citizens for longer for 2011 and 2015.





### Cluster Analysis (Naturalised citizens)

#### Years since citizenship

	Frequ	uency	9	<b>%</b>
	2011	2015	2011	2015
Years since citizenship				
5 years and below	29	60	1.4	3.0
Above 5 years	135	211	6.5	10.5
Citizenship at birth	1902	1745	92.1	86.6
Total	2066	2015	100.0	100.0





- The key segments that shifted from supporting the PAP and the political status quo in 2011, shifted back in 2015 and these were people in the
  - 21-39, 65 and above age groups
  - Lower-middle, Upper-middle and High income groups
  - 4-room flat dwellers
  - Intermediate and Working classes
  - Post-secondary and above educational categories
- The desire for political pluralism is greater with each step up the rung in socio-economic class, but the absolute level of support is conditional and can fall.



- The issues that matter to voters are a mix of political ideals, materialist and practical concerns. The help the government gives to the needy was especially important to those who might benefit from that most – the HDB 1 to 4 room flat dwellers.
- Have the reforms in public policy since GE2011 that changed the government's social compact with citizens, with special focus on the poor up to the lower-middle class and the elderly, provided the PAP with the political bounce seen in GE2015?
- The data provides no clear indication of what shifted the 21-29 age group from the Pluralist cluster but have the policies on educational and career opportunities and the ideal of Singapore as a "continuous meritocracy" helped?

- Will change in voter attitudes continue? Will the reduction in percentage of those in the Pluralist cluster be maintained? What is its impact on our political system?
- The opposition parties receive their main support from the young and the better-educated. What can those parties do to respond to the findings?
- Even those in the Conservative cluster are moving towards supporting the need for diverse and opposition voice and for "checks and balances". What does this mean for the political opposition?



- The qualities of integrity, being fair-minded, empathy and efficiency are still highly valued by Singapore voters.
- The use of the Internet and social media have not eroded the role of television and print newspapers in shaping voter attitudes.
- Naturalised citizens are more likely to be in the Conservative cluster and supportive of the PAP.

### **Acknowledgements**

The IPS research team comprised

Dr Gillian Koh, Senior Research Fellow Ms Debbie Soon, Research Associate of the IPS Politics and Governance Research Cluster and

Associate Professor Tan Ern Ser, Department of Sociology, National University of Singapore

Degree Census conducted the fieldwork for the survey.



### The End





# **Appendix**





### Methodology (Response Rate)

Total calls: 18,671.

Completed surveys: 2,015.

Calls found ineligible (non-citizens): 2,175.

Refusals: 398

The rest:14,083

were

unanswered calls

- answered but interviewers asked to ring again
- (i.e. eligible residents not home)
- survey was terminated before completion (n=2)

The response rate is 24.6% (calculated based on calls ineligible, refusals, completed and incomplete out of total calls).





### Methodology (Sampling)

• The age variables shaded have ±4% and more difference from distribution in Population in Brief 2015 data. Weighting was done to address these differences.

<u>Age</u>	<u>Census 2010</u>	Pop. Brief 2015	Unweighted Survey (%)
21 - 29	16%	16%	17%
30 - 39	18%	17%	18%
40 - 54	34%	30%	34%
55 - 64	18%	20%	18%
65 and above	14%	17%	14%
Total	100%	100%	100%
<u>Gender</u>	<u>Census 2010</u>	Pop. Brief 2015	<u>Unweighted</u> <u>Survey (%)</u>
Male	49%	49%	49%
Female	51%	51%	51%
Total	100%	100%	100%
Race	<u>Census 2010</u>	Pop. Brief 2015	<u>Unweighted</u> Survey (%)
Chinese	78%	78%	78%
Malay	13%	14%	14%
Indian	7%	7%	7%
Others	1%	1%	1%
Total	100%	100%	100%





### **Methodology (Weighting)**

Weighted sample size is n=2,015 adults aged 21 and above. Weight factors used were based on the proportions of the gender, race and age groups in the Singapore Citizen (Population in Brief 2015) and are as follows:

Males	Chinese	e Malay Indian		Others
21 - 29	1.00	1.01	1.02	0.88
30 - 39	0.94	0.95	0.96	0.83
40 - 54	0.88	0.89	0.90	0.78
55 - 64	1.11	1.12	1.13	0.98
65 and above	1.27	1.28	1.30	1.12

Females	Chinese	Malay	Indian	Others
21 - 29	0.99	1.00	1.01	0.87
30 - 39	0.93	0.94	0.95	0.82
40 - 54	0.87	0.88	0.89	0.77
55 - 64	1.10	1.11	1.12	0.97
65 and above	1.26	1.27	1.29	1.11





### Methodology – Unweighted Sample Profile

	Voted in Sep 11 election Yes No	(n=2,015) 97% 3%	>	Occupation of employee. Senior executives Professionals Technicians, supervisors	s (n	=1,863) 62%
	Gender Male Female	(n=2,015) 49% 51%		Clerical workers Service workers	]	 26%
>	Employment status Employer Own account worker Employee Unpaid family worker Full-time homemaker	(n=2,015) 3% 4% 70% 0% 6%		Operators, semiskilled Unskilled workers Service Class I- Intermediate Working Class		 12%
	Full-time student Retiree Unemployed Others	4% 10% 2% 1%	Ho	HDB 1-3 room HDB 4 room HDB 5-6 room/Executive Private	19% 35% 30% 16%	





### Methodology – Unweighted Sample Profile

$\triangleright$	Ethnic group	(n=2,015)
	Chinese	78%
	Malay	14%
	Indian	7%
	Others	1%

Age group	(n=2,015)
21-29	17%
30-39	18%
40-54	34%
55-64	18%
65 & above	14%

Household income None - \$1,999	(n=1,955) 15%	L
S\$2,000 - \$4,999	32%	LM
S\$5,000 - \$6,999	19%	MM
 S\$7,000 and above	33%	UM

Post-independence (21-49) 56% Pre-independence (Above 49) 44%

(n=2,015)Education level... PSLE or below 10% Secondary 30% Post-secondary 7% 20% Diploma University/ Professional 33%

Low

Low-middle

MM Middle-middle

Upper-middle





# **Analysis By Age**



				Age Bands				
Mean Score	Total	A Post-I 21 - 49	B Pre-I 49 & above	C Young adults 21-29	D Adults 30-39	E Mid age 40-54	F Near old 55-64	G Old 65 & above
Need for efficient Govt	4.54	4.56	4.52	4.55	4.59	4.55	4.51	4.52
Amount of Govt help for needy	4.31	4.30	4.31	4.33	4.27	4.33	4.31	4.29
Fairness of Govt policy	4.29	4.35 <sup>B</sup>	4.22 <sup>A</sup>	4.34 <sup>G</sup>	4.33 <sup>G</sup>	4.36 <sup>FG</sup>	4.22 <sup>E</sup>	4.15 <sup>C,D,E</sup>
Cost of living	4.16	4.24 <sup>B</sup>	4.07 <sup>A</sup>	4.25 <sup>G</sup>	4.26 <sup>G</sup>	4.22 <sup>G</sup>	4.14 <sup>G</sup>	3.89 <sup>C,D,E,F</sup>
Need checks & balances in Parliament	4.16	4.26 <sup>B</sup>	4.05 <sup>A</sup>	4.24 <sup>G</sup>	4.28 <sup>G</sup>	4.21 <sup>G</sup>	4.12 <sup>G</sup>	3.92 <sup>C,D,E,F</sup>
Public transport	4.14	4.09 <sup>B</sup>	4.18 <sup>A</sup>	4.09	4.07	4.12	4.21	4.19

(Base) (1059)(956) (332)(336)(604)(396)(346)





				Age Bands				
Mean Score	Total	A Post-I 21 - 49	B Pre-I 49 & above	C Young adults 21-29	D Adults 30-39	E Mid age 40-54	F Near old 55-64	G Old 65 & above
Personality of candidates	4.09	4.08	4.10	4.00	4.12	4.12	4.12	4.06
Need for different views in Parliament	4.05	4.15 <sup>B</sup>	3.93 <sup>A</sup>	4.19 <sup>F,G</sup>	4.06 <sup>G</sup>	4.15 <sup>F,G</sup>	3.95 <sup>C,E</sup>	3.81 <sup>C,D,E</sup>
Wealth & income inequality	3.98	4.03 <sup>B</sup>	3.93 <sup>A</sup>	4.03	3.99	4.01	3.99	3.87
Work of former MP	3.89	3.91	3.87	3.87	3.93	3.94 <sup>G</sup>	3.93	3.73 <sup>E</sup>
Foreigners & immigration policy	3.87	3.99 <sup>B</sup>	3.75 <sup>A</sup>	3.98 <sup>G</sup>	3.9 <sup>G</sup>	3.98 <sup>G</sup>	3.85 <sup>G</sup>	3.58 <sup>C,D,E,F</sup>
Neighbourhood facilities	3.76	3.70 <sup>B</sup>	3.84 <sup>A</sup>	3.63 <sup>F</sup>	3.75	3.74	3.89 <sup>C</sup>	3.80

(Base)

(1059)

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(396)

(346)





				Age Bands					
Mean Score	Total	A Post-I 21 - 49	B Pre-I 49 & above	C Young adults 21-29	D Adults 30-39	E Mid age 40-54	F Near old 55-64	G Old 65 & above	
Lee Kuan Yew's legacy	3.73	3.49 <sup>B</sup>	3.99 <sup>A</sup>	3.27 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	3.52 <sup>F,G</sup>	3.74 <sup>C,F,G</sup>	4.00 <sup>C,D,E</sup>	4.05 <sup>C,D,E</sup>	
Issues in party manifestos	3.72	3.69	3.75	3.65	3.69	3.73	3.79	3.69	
Job situation	3.44	3.57 <sup>B</sup>	3.3 <sup>A</sup>	3.50 <sup>G</sup>	3.50 <sup>G</sup>	3.66 <sup>G</sup>	3.44 <sup>G</sup>	2.89 <sup>C,D,E,F</sup>	
Upgrading	3.18	3.18	3.17	3.22	3.25	3.09	3.16	3.24	
AHPETC affair	2.94	2.82 <sup>B</sup>	3.08 <sup>A</sup>	2.78 <sup>F,G</sup>	2.70 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	2.98 <sup>D</sup>	3.11 <sup>C,D</sup>	3.07 <sup>C,D</sup>	
Legal status of homosexuality	2.83	2.75 <sup>B</sup>	2.92 <sup>A</sup>	2.76	2.55 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	2.89 <sup>D</sup>	2.94 <sup>D</sup>	2.94 <sup>D</sup>	

(Base) (1059) (956) (332) (336) (604) (396) (346)





#### Influence of Candidates' Characteristics

			В	Age Bands					
Mean Score	Total	A Post-I 21 - 49	Pre-I 49 & above	C Young adults 21-29	D Adults 30-39	E Mid age 40-54	F Near old 55-64	G Old 65 & above	
Honesty	4.53	4.55	4.51	4.52	4.55	4.57	4.52	4.46	
Hardworking /Committed	4.41	4.42	4.41	4.40	4.38	4.44	4.43	4.40	
Fair person	4.40	4.45	4.36	4.47	4.47	4.40	4.35	4.36	
Efficient	4.34	4.35	4.32	4.33	4.34	4.36	4.32	4.32	
Can understand people	4.28	4.31	4.25	4.33	4.27	4.32	4.23	4.20	
Can reflect people's views	4.17	4.24 <sup>B</sup>	4.09 <sup>A</sup>	4.23 <sup>G</sup>	4.25 <sup>G</sup>	4.22 <sup>G</sup>	4.09	4.01 <sup>C,D,E</sup>	
Credentials	3.77	3.60 <sup>B</sup>	3.94 <sup>A</sup>	3.47 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	3.52 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	3.82 <sup>C,D</sup>	3.97 <sup>C,D</sup>	3.96 <sup>C,D</sup>	
Experience in grassroots & community work	3.75	3.59 <sup>B</sup>	3.94 <sup>A</sup>	3.54 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	3.49 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	3.77 <sup>C,D,G</sup>	3.94 <sup>C,D</sup>	3.99 <sup>C,D,E</sup>	
Eloquent speaker	3.63	3.61	3.65	3.72	3.53	3.61	3.61	3.67	
Candidate's party	3.48	3.21 <sup>B</sup>	3.79 <sup>A</sup>	3.03 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	3.19 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	3.52 <sup>C,D,F,G</sup>	3.77 <sup>C,D,E</sup>	3.84 <sup>C,D,E</sup>	

(Base) (1059)(332)(336)(604)(396)(346)(956)





#### Influence of Communication Channel

			В	Age Bands						
Mean Score	Total	A Post-I 21 - 49	Pre-I 49 & above	C Young adults 21-29	D Adults 30-39	E Mid age 40-54	F Near old 55-64	G Old 65 & above		
Local TV coverage	3.68	3.62 <sup>B</sup>	3.75 <sup>A</sup>	3.52	3.64	3.72	3.74	3.75		
Newspapers	3.61	3.48 <sup>B</sup>	3.75 <sup>A</sup>	3.33 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	3.42 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	3.73 <sup>C,D</sup>	3.68 <sup>C,D</sup>	3.76 <sup>C,D</sup>		
Internet	3.61	4.00 <sup>B</sup>	3.11 <sup>A</sup>	4.23 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	4.00 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	3.69 <sup>F,G</sup>	3.27 <sup>G</sup>	2.66 <sup>C,D,E,F</sup>		
Grassroots workers	3.25	3.11 <sup>B</sup>	3.41 <sup>A</sup>	3.06 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	2.99 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	3.31 <sup>C,D</sup>	3.37 <sup>C,D</sup>	3.45 <sup>C,D</sup>		
Election Rallies	3.17	3.23 <sup>B</sup>	3.10 <sup>A</sup>	3.37 <sup>G</sup>	3.20 <sup>G</sup>	3.23 <sup>G</sup>	3.11	2.90 <sup>C,D,E</sup>		
Door-to-door visit	3.16	3.03 <sup>B</sup>	3.31 <sup>A</sup>	2.96 <sup>F,G</sup>	2.99 <sup>F,G</sup>	3.18	3.33 <sup>C,D</sup>	3.29 <sup>C,D</sup>		
Friends/family/colleagues	3.11	3.08	3.15	3.22	3.02	3.06	3.13	3.17		
Radio	2.87	2.68 <sup>B</sup>	3.08 <sup>A</sup>	2.44	2.67	3.00 <sup>C,D</sup>	3.09 <sup>C,D</sup>	3.00 <sup>C,D</sup>		
Party literature	2.86	2.85	2.87	2.92	2.81	2.85	2.88	2.82		

(956)

A,B,C,D,E,F,G: Significantly different at 0.05 level.

(336)

(604)

(332)



(Base)



(1059)

(396)

(346)

# **Credibility of Political Parties**

						Age Bands	 S	
Mean Score (The Is a credible party)	Total	A Post-I 21 - 49	B Pre-I 49 & above	C Young adults 21-29	D Adults 30-39	E Mid age 40-54	F Near old 55-64	G Old 65 & above
PAP	4.19	4.09 <sup>B</sup>	4.30 <sup>A</sup>	4.04 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	4.03 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	4.20 <sup>C,D</sup>	4.29 <sup>C,D</sup>	4.33 <sup>C,D</sup>
WP	3.58	3.73 <sup>B</sup>	3.41 <sup>A</sup>	3.87 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	3.68 <sup>F,G</sup>	3.63 <sup>C,F,G</sup>	3.49 <sup>C,D,G</sup>	3.19 <sup>C,D,E,F</sup>
SDP	3.01	3.23 <sup>B</sup>	2.70 <sup>A</sup>	3.41 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	3.25 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	3.02 <sup>C,D,F,G</sup>	2.78 <sup>C,D,E,G</sup>	2.44 <sup>C,D,E,F</sup>
SingFirst	2.65	2.74 <sup>B</sup>	2.52 <sup>A</sup>	2.76 <sup>G</sup>	2.73 <sup>G</sup>	2.70 <sup>G</sup>	2.56	2.39 <sup>C,D,E</sup>
NSP	2.61	2.71 <sup>B</sup>	2.46 <sup>A</sup>	2.84 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	2.66 <sup>G</sup>	2.60 <sup>c</sup>	2.47 <sup>C</sup>	2.40 <sup>C,D</sup>
RP	2.49	2.61 <sup>B</sup>	2.34 <sup>A</sup>	2.64 <sup>F,G</sup>	2.57 <sup>G</sup>	2.52 <sup>G</sup>	2.41 <sup>C</sup>	2.23 <sup>C,D,E</sup>
(Base)		(1059)	(956)	(332)	(336)	(604)	(396)	(346)





### **Election System and Others**

			В	Age Bands					
Mean Score	Total	A Post-I 21 - 49	Pre-I 49 & above	C Young adults 21-29	D Adults 30-39	E Mid age 40-54	F Near old 55-64	G Old 65 & above	
I felt free to vote the way I wanted to	4.15	4.18	4.12	4.21	4.16	4.17	4.14	4.08	
Impt to have elected opposition party members in Parliament	3.94	4.05 <sup>B</sup>	3.81 <sup>A</sup>	4.07 <sup>F,G</sup>	4.04 <sup>F,G</sup>	4.02 <sup>F,G</sup>	3.83 <sup>C,D,E</sup>	3.69 <sup>C,D,E</sup>	
Ethnicity of the candidate(s) I chose, was not an impt consideration	3.85	3.91 <sup>B</sup>	3.78 <sup>A</sup>	3.99 <sup>F</sup>	3.90	3.84	3.74 <sup>C</sup>	3.81	
Whole election system is fair to all political parties	3.74	3.61 <sup>B</sup>	3.89 <sup>A</sup>	3.51 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	3.58 <sup>F,G</sup>	3.75 <sup>C</sup>	3.92 <sup>C,D</sup>	3.89 <sup>C,D</sup>	
No need to change election system	3.57	3.43 <sup>B</sup>	3.72 <sup>A</sup>	3.33 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	3.38 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	3.60 <sup>C,D</sup>	3.74 <sup>C,D</sup>	3.73 <sup>C,D</sup>	
The Internet was the most impt of all in shaping my views in this election	2.94	3.17 <sup>B</sup>	2.64 <sup>A</sup>	3.34 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	3.23 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	2.92 <sup>C,D,G</sup>	2.75 <sup>C,D,G</sup>	2.40 <sup>C,D,E,F</sup>	

(Base) (1059)(956)(332)(336)(604)(396)(346)





# **Analysis By Monthly Household Income**



			Occupation	n	I	Monthly H/H Income			
Mean Score	Total	A Working Class	B Interme- diate Class	C Service Class	D Low \$0- \$1999	E Low middle \$2000- \$4999	F Middle middle \$5000- \$6999	G Upper middle \$7000 & above	
Need for efficient Govt	4.54	4.46 <sup>C</sup>	4.45 <sup>C</sup>	4.60 <sup>B,A</sup>	4.44 <sup>G</sup>	4.52 <sup>G</sup>	4.55	4.61 <sup>D,E</sup>	
Amount of Govt help for needy	4.30	4.32	4.33	4.29	4.29	4.40 <sup>G</sup>	4.31	4.21 <sup>E</sup>	
Fairness of Govt policy	4.29	4.16 <sup>C</sup>	4.20 <sup>C</sup>	4.35 <sup>B,A</sup>	4.10 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	4.32 <sup>D</sup>	4.33 <sup>D</sup>	4.34 <sup>D</sup>	
Need checks & balances in Parliament	4.16	3.98 <sup>C</sup>	4.10 <sup>C</sup>	4.22 <sup>B,A</sup>	3.97 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	4.23 <sup>D</sup>	4.20 <sup>D</sup>	4.18 <sup>D</sup>	
Cost of living	4.16	4.05	4.17	4.18	4.06 <sup>E</sup>	4.27 <sup>D</sup>	4.15	4.13	
Public transport	4.13	4.25 <sup>C</sup>	4.24 <sup>C</sup>	4.06 <sup>A,B</sup>	4.21 <sup>G</sup>	4.31 <sup>F,G</sup>	4.11 <sup>E,G</sup>	3.93 <sup>D,E,F</sup>	

(Base) (233) (495) (1126) (330) (619) (373) (627)





			Occupatio	n	Monthly H/H Income				
Mean Score	Total	A Working Class	B Interme- diate Class	C Service Class	D Low \$0- \$1999	E Low middle \$2000- \$4999	F Middle middle \$5000- \$6999	G Upper middle \$7000 & above	
Personality of candidates	4.09	4.03	4.09	4.10	4.04	4.10	4.16	4.06	
Need for different views in Parliament	4.04	3.88 <sup>C</sup>	4.00	4.09 <sup>A</sup>	3.88 <sup>E,F</sup>	4.12 <sup>D</sup>	4.10 <sup>D</sup>	4.04	
Wealth & income inequality	3.97	3.93	4.01	3.96	3.88 <sup>E</sup>	4.13 <sup>DG</sup>	4.00	3.87 <sup>E</sup>	
Work of former MP	3.89	3.83	3.86	3.92	3.85	3.91	3.96	3.85	
Foreigners & immigration policy	3.87	3.61 <sup>B,C</sup>	3.86 <sup>A</sup>	3.92 <sup>A</sup>	3.65 <sup>E,F</sup>	4.00 <sup>D,G</sup>	3.93 <sup>D</sup>	3.84 <sup>E</sup>	
Neighbourhood facilities	3.76	3.77	3.89 <sup>C</sup>	3.70 <sup>B</sup>	3.83 <sup>G</sup>	3.84 <sup>G</sup>	3.78	3.61 <sup>D,E</sup>	

(Base) (233) (495) (1126) (330) (619) (373) (627)





			Occupatio	n		Monthly H/H Income				
Mean Score	Total	A Working Class	B Interme- diate Class	C Service Class	D Low \$0- \$1999	E Low middle \$2000- \$4999	F Middle middle \$5000- \$6999	G Upper middle \$7000 & above		
Lee Kuan Yew's legacy	3.74	3.99 <sup>C</sup>	3.89 <sup>C</sup>	3.62 <sup>A,B</sup>	3.98 <sup>F,G</sup>	3.87 <sup>G</sup>	3.67 <sup>D,G</sup>	3.46 <sup>D,E,F</sup>		
Issues in party manifestos	3.71	3.79	3.74	3.68	3.63	3.81 <sup>G</sup>	3.76	3.63 <sup>E</sup>		
Job situation	3.45	3.42	3.47	3.46	3.28 <sup>E</sup>	3.62 <sup>DG</sup>	3.43	3.37 <sup>E</sup>		
Upgrading	3.16	3.44 <sup>C</sup>	3.34 <sup>C</sup>	3.03 <sup>A,B</sup>	3.40 <sup>G</sup>	3.27 <sup>G</sup>	3.19 <sup>G</sup>	2.92 <sup>D,E,F</sup>		
AHPETC affair	2.92	2.91	3.11 <sup>C</sup>	2.85 <sup>B</sup>	3.08 <sup>G</sup>	2.99 <sup>G</sup>	2.98 <sup>G</sup>	2.75 <sup>D,E,F</sup>		
Legal status of homosexuality	2.82	3.04 <sup>C</sup>	2.94 <sup>C</sup>	2.73 <sup>A,B</sup>	2.82	3.02 <sup>F,G</sup>	2.78 <sup>E</sup>	2.65 <sup>E</sup>		

(Base) (233)(495)(373)(627)(1126)(330)(619)

A,B,C,D,E,F,G: Significantly different at 0.05 level. Lee Kuan Yew Institute of Policy Studies



#### Influence of Candidates' Characteristics

		(	Occupatio	n		Monthly H/H Income			
Mean Score	Total	A Working Class	B Interme- diate Class	C Service Class	D Low \$0- \$1999	E Low middle \$2000- \$4999	F Middle middle \$5000- \$6999	G Upper middle \$7000 & above	
Honesty	4.53	4.40 <sup>C</sup>	4.48 <sup>C</sup>	4.59 <sup>A,B</sup>	4.39 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	4.53 <sup>D</sup>	4.52 <sup>D</sup>	4.61 <sup>D</sup>	
Hardworking /Committed	4.40	4.42	4.37	4.42	4.41	4.46	4.39	4.37	
Fair person	4.40	4.32	4.37	4.43	4.32 <sup>E</sup>	4.45 <sup>D</sup>	4.40	4.42	
Efficient	4.33	4.28	4.30	4.36	4.24 <sup>E</sup>	4.39 <sup>D</sup>	4.35	4.32	
Can understand people	4.27	4.21	4.26	4.28	4.21	4.33	4.28	4.26	
Can reflect people's views	4.16	4.08	4.12	4.19	4.03 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	4.23 <sup>D</sup>	4.18 <sup>D</sup>	4.17 <sup>D</sup>	
Credentials	3.77	3.95 <sup>C</sup>	3.83	3.71 <sup>A</sup>	3.94 <sup>F,G</sup>	3.88 <sup>F,G</sup>	3.62 <sup>D,E</sup>	3.64 <sup>D,E</sup>	
Experience in grassroots & community work	3.74	4.08 <sup>B,C</sup>	3.81 <sup>C</sup>	3.64 <sup>A,B</sup>	3.97 <sup>F,G</sup>	3.86 <sup>G</sup>	3.73 <sup>G</sup>	3.52 <sup>D,E,F</sup>	
Eloquent speaker	3.61	3.80 <sup>C</sup>	3.74 <sup>C</sup>	3.52 <sup>A,B</sup>	3.73 <sup>G</sup>	3.75 <sup>G</sup>	3.60	3.46 <sup>D,E</sup>	
Candidate's party	3.51	3.83 <sup>C</sup>	3.65 <sup>C</sup>	3.38 <sup>A,B</sup>	3.80 <sup>F,G</sup>	3.58 <sup>F,G</sup>	3.35 <sup>D,E</sup>	3.29 <sup>D,E</sup>	

(495)

A,B,C,D,E,F,G: Significantly different at 0.05 level.

(330)

(619)

(1126)



(Base)



(233)

(373)

(627)

#### Influence of Communication Channel

		(	Occupatio	n	Monthly H/H Income			
Mean Score	Total	A Working Class	B Interme- diate Class	C Service Class	D Low \$0- \$1999	E Low middle \$2000- \$4999	F Middle middle \$5000- \$6999	G Upper middle \$7000 & above
Local TV coverage	3.67	3.72	3.71	3.65	3.77 <sup>G</sup>	3.87 <sup>F,G</sup>	3.63 <sup>E</sup>	3.51 <sup>D,E</sup>
Newspapers	3.61	3.69	3.66	3.57	3.74 <sup>G</sup>	3.69 <sup>G</sup>	3.51	3.50 <sup>D,E</sup>
Internet	3.61	3.01 <sup>B,C</sup>	3.45 <sup>C</sup>	3.77 <sup>A,B</sup>	3.02 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	3.65 <sup>D</sup>	3.82 <sup>D</sup>	3.74 <sup>D</sup>
Grassroots workers	3.23	3.56 <sup>C</sup>	3.41 <sup>C</sup>	3.09 <sup>A,B</sup>	3.47 <sup>F,G</sup>	3.43 <sup>F,G</sup>	3.20 <sup>D,E,G</sup>	2.95 <sup>D,E,F</sup>
Door-to-door visit	3.16	3.41 <sup>C</sup>	3.32 <sup>C</sup>	3.04 <sup>A,B</sup>	3.33 <sup>G</sup>	3.32 <sup>G</sup>	3.17 <sup>G</sup>	2.89 <sup>D,E,F</sup>
Election Rallies	3.16	3.23	3.15	3.15	3.17	3.30 <sup>G</sup>	3.19	3.04 <sup>E</sup>
Friends/family/colleagues	3.08	3.28 <sup>C</sup>	3.23 <sup>C</sup>	2.97 <sup>A,B</sup>	3.30 <sup>G</sup>	3.24 <sup>G</sup>	3.10	2.89 <sup>D,E</sup>
Radio	2.88	3.38 <sup>B,C</sup>	3.09 <sup>C</sup>	2.69 <sup>A,B</sup>	3.09 <sup>F,G</sup>	3.10 <sup>F,G</sup>	2.74 <sup>D,E</sup>	2.59 <sup>D,E</sup>
Party literature	2.85	2.88	2.92	2.82	2.95 <sup>G</sup>	2.98 <sup>G</sup>	2.84	2.68 <sup>D,E</sup>

(Base) (233)(495)(1126)(330)(619)(373)(627)





## **Credibility of Political Parties**

			Occupation			Monthly H	/H Income	
Mean Score (The Is a credible party)	Total	A Working Class	B Interme- diate Class	C Service Class	D Low \$0- \$1999	E Low middle \$2000- \$4999	F Middle middle \$5000- \$6999	G Upper middle \$7000 & above
PAP	4.20	4.28	4.15	4.20	4.21	4.19	4.17	4.18
WP	3.58	3.44 <sup>C</sup>	3.41 <sup>C</sup>	3.67 <sup>A,B</sup>	3.35 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	3.59 <sup>D</sup>	3.64 <sup>D</sup>	3.68 <sup>D</sup>
SDP	2.99	2.73 <sup>C</sup>	2.89 <sup>C</sup>	3.08 <sup>A,B</sup>	2.77 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	3.05 <sup>D</sup>	3.06 <sup>D</sup>	3.06 <sup>D</sup>
SingFirst	2.65	2.61	2.68	2.64	2.62	2.79 <sup>G</sup>	2.65	2.52 <sup>E</sup>
NSP	2.60	2.57	2.62	2.59	2.55	2.73 <sup>G</sup>	2.62	2.51 <sup>E</sup>
RP	2.48	2.48	2.52	2.47	2.43 <sup>E</sup>	2.65 <sup>D,G</sup>	2.53 <sup>G</sup>	2.34 <sup>E,F</sup>
(Base)		(233)	(495)	(1126)	(330)	(619)	(373)	(627)





## **Election System and Others**

			Occupatio	 n	N	Monthly H	/H Income			
Mean Score	Total	A Working Class	B Interme- diate Class	C Service Class	D Low \$0- \$1999	E Low middle \$2000- \$4999	F Middle middle \$5000- \$6999	G Upper middle \$7000 & above		
I felt free to vote the way I wanted to	4.16	4.05 <sup>C</sup>	4.06 <sup>C</sup>	4.22 <sup>A,B</sup>	4.04 <sup>F,G</sup>	4.08 <sup>F,G</sup>	4.22 <sup>D,E</sup>	4.24 <sup>D,E</sup>		
Impt to have elected opposition party members in Parliament	3.94	3.79 <sup>C</sup>	3.89	3.99 <sup>A</sup>	3.75 <sup>E,F,G</sup>	3.98 <sup>D</sup>	4.01 <sup>D</sup>	3.96 <sup>D</sup>		
Ethnicity of the candidate(s) I chose, was not an impt consideration	3.85	3.65 <sup>C</sup>	3.81	3.91 <sup>A</sup>	3.74 <sup>F,G</sup>	3.79	3.90	3.94 <sup>D,E</sup>		
Whole election system is fair to all political parties	3.74	3.90 <sup>C</sup>	3.78	3.70 <sup>A</sup>	3.85 <sup>G</sup>	3.83 <sup>G</sup>	3.73	3.60 <sup>D,E</sup>		
No need to change election system	3.56	3.69 <sup>C</sup>	3.59	3.52 <sup>A</sup>	3.69 <sup>G</sup>	3.59	3.50	3.49 <sup>D</sup>		
The Internet was the most impt of all in shaping my views in this election	2.94	2.68 <sup>C</sup>	2.91	2.99 <sup>A</sup>	2.74 <sup>E,F</sup>	3.03 <sup>D</sup>	3.07 <sup>D</sup>	2.88		
(Base)		(233)	(495)	(1126)	(330)	(619)	(373)	(627)		





# **Analysis By Education**



Mean Score	Total	A PSLE or below	B Secondary	C Post - secondary	D Diploma level	E University/ Professional
Need for efficient Govt	4.54	4.42 <sup>D,E</sup>	4.49 <sup>D</sup>	4.60	4.63 <sup>A,B</sup>	4.58 <sup>A</sup>
Amount of Govt help for needy	4.31	4.37 <sup>E</sup>	4.37 <sup>E</sup>	4.19 <sup>D</sup>	4.40 <sup>C,E</sup>	4.20 <sup>A,B,D</sup>
Fairness of Govt policy	4.29	4.11 <sup>C,D,E</sup>	4.23 <sup>E</sup>	4.38 <sup>A</sup>	4.32 <sup>A</sup>	4.36 <sup>A,B</sup>
Cost of living	4.16	4.02 <sup>D</sup>	4.14	4.12	4.26 <sup>A</sup>	4.18
Need checks & balances in Parliament	4.16	3.90 <sup>B,C,D,E</sup>	4.17 <sup>A</sup>	4.18 <sup>A</sup>	4.27 <sup>A</sup>	4.18 <sup>A</sup>
Public transport	4.14	4.32 <sup>C,E</sup>	4.29 <sup>C,E</sup>	4.04 <sup>A,B</sup>	4.19 <sup>E</sup>	3.90 <sup>A,B,D</sup>

(228)

A,B,C,D,E: Significantly different at 0.05 level.

(632)

(148)

(382)



(Base)



(624)

Mean Score	Total	A PSLE or below	B Secondary	C Post - secondary	D Diploma level	E University/ Professional
Personality of candidates	4.09	4.06	4.14	4.03	4.17	4.02
Need for different views in Parliament	4.05	3.88 <sup>D</sup>	4.04	4.05	4.13 <sup>A</sup>	4.06
Wealth & income inequality	3.98	4.02	4.05 <sup>E</sup>	3.96	4.00	3.89 <sup>B</sup>
Work of former MP	3.89	3.78	3.95	3.84	3.92	3.86
Foreigners & immigration policy	3.87	3.65 <sup>D</sup>	3.87	3.96	4.05 <sup>A,E</sup>	3.83 <sup>D</sup>
Neighbourhood facilities	3.76	3.82 <sup>E</sup>	3.94 <sup>E</sup>	3.73	3.76	3.58 <sup>A,B</sup>

(Base) (228) (632) (148) (382) (624)





Mean Score	Total	A PSLE or below	B Secondary	C Post - secondary	D Diploma level	E University/ Professional
Lee Kuan Yew's legacy	3.73	4.07 <sup>C,D,E</sup>	4.07 <sup>C,D,E</sup>	3.61 <sup>A,B,E</sup>	3.69 <sup>A,B,E</sup>	3.31 <sup>A,B,C,D</sup>
Issues in party manifestos	3.72	3.77	3.81 <sup>E</sup>	3.68	3.73	3.60 <sup>B</sup>
Job situation	3.44	3.37	3.41	3.30	3.63	3.42
Upgrading	3.18	3.47 <sup>C,E</sup>	3.31 <sup>E</sup>	3.11 <sup>A</sup>	3.19 <sup>E</sup>	2.94 <sup>A,B,D</sup>
AHPETC affair	2.94	3.22 <sup>D,E</sup>	3.18 <sup>D,E</sup>	2.95	2.89 <sup>A,B</sup>	2.64 <sup>A,B,D</sup>
Legal status of homosexuality	2.83	2.87	3.10 <sup>D,E</sup>	2.84	2.78 <sup>B</sup>	2.58 <sup>B</sup>

(Base) (228)(632)(148)(382)(624)





### Influence of Candidates' Characteristics

Mean Score	Total	A PSLE or below	B Secondary	C Post - secondary	D Diploma level	E University/ Professional
Honesty	4.53	4.37 <sup>B,D,E</sup>	4.53 <sup>A</sup>	4.48	4.55 <sup>A</sup>	4.59 <sup>A</sup>
Hardworking /Committed	4.41	4.45	4.44	4.41	4.43	4.36
Fair person	4.40	4.36	4.40	4.43	4.46	4.39
Efficient	4.34	4.31	4.34	4.30	4.42	4.30
Can understand people	4.28	4.27	4.29	4.19	4.32	4.27
Can reflect people's views	4.17	4.12	4.13	4.10	4.19	4.23
Credentials	3.77	4.09 <sup>D,E</sup>	3.96 <sup>D,E</sup>	3.89 <sup>E</sup>	3.61 <sup>A,B</sup>	3.51 <sup>A,B,C</sup>
Experience in grassroots & community work	3.75	4.15 <sup>C,D,E</sup>	4.00 <sup>D,E</sup>	3.76 <sup>A,E</sup>	3.60 <sup>A,B</sup>	3.46 <sup>A,B</sup>
Eloquent speaker	3.63	3.95 <sup>C,D,E</sup>	3.79 <sup>C,D,E</sup>	3.35 <sup>A,B</sup>	3.57 <sup>A,B</sup>	3.45 <sup>A,B</sup>
Candidate's party	3.48	3.96 <sup>C,D,E</sup>	3.85 <sup>C,D,E</sup>	3.27 <sup>A,B</sup>	3.28 <sup>A,B</sup>	3.12 <sup>A,B</sup>
(Base)		(228)	(632)	(148)	(382)	(624)





#### Influence of Communication Channel

(Base)		(228)	(632)	(148)	(382)	(624)
Party literature	2.86	3.19 <sup>B,D,E</sup>	2.91 <sup>A,E</sup>	2.85	2.83 <sup>A</sup>	2.70 <sup>A,B</sup>
Radio	2.87	3.44 <sup>C,D,E</sup>	3.23 <sup>C,D,E</sup>	2.73 <sup>A,B</sup>	2.76 <sup>A,B</sup>	2.39 <sup>A,B,C,D</sup>
Friends/family/colleagues	3.11	3.45 <sup>D,E</sup>	3.31 <sup>D,E</sup>	3.17 <sup>E</sup>	3.06 <sup>A,B,E</sup>	2.82 <sup>A,B,C,D</sup>
Door-to-door visit	3.16	3.60 <sup>C,D,E</sup>	3.34 <sup>D,E</sup>	3.09 <sup>A</sup>	2.98 <sup>A,B</sup>	2.95 <sup>A,B</sup>
Election Rallies	3.17	3.35	3.19	3.11	3.19	3.09
Grassroots workers	3.25	3.63 <sup>C,D,E</sup>	3.56 <sup>C,D,E</sup>	3.18 <sup>A,B</sup>	3.11 <sup>A,B</sup>	2.91 <sup>A,B</sup>
Internet	3.61	2.65 <sup>B,C,D,E</sup>	3.44 <sup>A,D,E</sup>	3.48 <sup>A,D,E</sup>	3.91 <sup>A,B,C</sup>	3.89 <sup>A,B,C</sup>
Newspapers	3.61	3.75 <sup>D</sup>	3.74 <sup>D,E</sup>	3.58	3.47 <sup>A,B</sup>	3.50 <sup>B</sup>
Local TV coverage	3.68	3.87 <sup>E</sup>	3.83 <sup>E</sup>	3.66	3.74 <sup>E</sup>	3.44 <sup>A,B,D</sup>
Mean Score	Total	A PSLE or below	B Secondary	C Post - secondary	D Diploma level	E University/ Professiona





# **Credibility of Political Parties**

Mean Score (The Is a credible party)	Total	A PSLE or below	B Secondary	C Post - secondary	D Diploma level	E University/ Professional
PAP	4.19	4.29 <sup>E</sup>	4.22	4.22	4.15	4.13 <sup>A</sup>
WP	3.58	3.41 <sup>D,E</sup>	3.40 <sup>D,E</sup>	3.63	3.67 <sup>A,B</sup>	3.75 <sup>A,B</sup>
SDP	3.01	2.75 <sup>D,E</sup>	2.86 <sup>D,E</sup>	3.05	3.11 <sup>A,B</sup>	3.15 <sup>A,B</sup>
SingFirst	2.65	2.68	2.65	2.63	2.70	2.60
NSP	2.61	2.68	2.57	2.58	2.62	2.61
RP	2.49	2.54	2.48	2.56	2.57	2.42
(Base)		(228)	(632)	(148)	(382)	(624)





# **Election System and Others**

Mean Score	Total	A PSLE or below	B Secondary	C Post - secondary	D Diploma level	E University/ Professional
I felt free to vote the way I wanted to	4.15	4.05 <sup>D,E</sup>	4.08 <sup>D,E</sup>	4.08	4.23 <sup>A,B</sup>	4.24 <sup>A,B</sup>
Impt to have elected opposition party members in Parliament	3.94	3.75 <sup>D,E</sup>	3.89 <sup>D</sup>	3.88	4.05 <sup>A,B</sup>	4.00 <sup>A</sup>
Ethnicity of the candidate(s) I chose, was not an impt consideration	3.85	3.71 <sup>D,E</sup>	3.74	3.90	3.91	3.96 <sup>A,B</sup>
Whole election system is fair to all political parties	3.74	3.89 <sup>E</sup>	3.91 <sup>D,E</sup>	3.93 <sup>E</sup>	3.69 <sup>B,E</sup>	3.50 <sup>A,B,C,D</sup>
No need to change election system	3.57	3.81 <sup>C,E</sup>	3.72 <sup>E</sup>	3.48 <sup>A</sup>	3.58 <sup>E</sup>	3.34 <sup>A,B,D</sup>
The Internet was the most impt of all in shaping my views in this election	2.94	2.45 <sup>B,C,D,E</sup>	2.97 <sup>A</sup>	2.85 <sup>A</sup>	3.13 <sup>A</sup>	2.96 <sup>A</sup>
(Base)		(228)	(632)	(148)	(382)	(624)

(382) (228) (632) (148) (b**2**4)





# **Analysis By Ethnicity**





		Ethnicity					
Mean Score	Total	A Chinese	B Malay	C Indian	D Others		
Need for efficient Govt	4.54	4.54	4.51	4.61	4.78		
Amount of Govt help for needy	4.31	4.26 <sup>B,C,D</sup>	4.50 <sup>A</sup>	4.43 <sup>A</sup>	4.70 <sup>A</sup>		
Fairness of Govt policy	4.29	4.27	4.33	4.35	4.54		
Cost of living	4.16	4.09 <sup>BC</sup>	4.41 <sup>A</sup>	4.44 <sup>A</sup>	4.52		
Need checks & balances in Parliament	4.16	4.11 <sup>B,C</sup>	4.34 <sup>A</sup>	4.38 <sup>A</sup>	4.45		
Public transport	4.14	4.07 <sup>B,C</sup>	4.40 <sup>A</sup>	4.35 <sup>A</sup>	4.42		

(Base) (1579) (270) (142) (23)





		Ethnicity					
Mean Score	Total	A Chinese	B Malay	C Indian	D Others		
Personality of candidates	4.09	4.09	4.07	4.13	4.30		
Need for different views in Parliament	4.05	3.97 <sup>B,C,D</sup>	4.26 <sup>A</sup>	4.39 <sup>A</sup>	4.53 <sup>A</sup>		
Wealth & income inequality	3.98	3.91 <sup>B,C</sup>	4.24 <sup>A</sup>	4.21 <sup>A</sup>	4.29		
Work of former MP	3.89	3.84 <sup>C</sup>	3.98	4.19 <sup>A</sup>	4.24		
Foreigners & immigration policy	3.87	3.83 <sup>B</sup>	4.08 <sup>A</sup>	3.98	4.05		
Neighbourhood facilities	3.76	3.68 <sup>B,C</sup>	4.06 <sup>A</sup>	4.04 <sup>A</sup>	4.23		

(Base) (1579)(270) (142)(23)





		Ethnicity						
Mean Score	Total	A Chinese	B Malay	C Indian	D Others			
Lee Kuan Yew's legacy	3.73	3.69 <sup>C</sup>	3.70 <sup>C</sup>	4.11 <sup>A,B</sup>	3.98			
Issues in party manifestos	3.72	3.67 <sup>C</sup>	3.84	3.96 <sup>A</sup>	4.02			
Job situation	3.44	3.33 <sup>B,C</sup>	3.91 <sup>A</sup>	3.83 <sup>A</sup>	3.57			
Upgrading	3.18	3.07 <sup>B,C</sup>	3.55 <sup>A</sup>	3.66 <sup>A</sup>	3.61			
AHPETC affair	2.94	2.87 <sup>B,C</sup>	3.15 <sup>A</sup>	3.21 <sup>A</sup>	3.27			
Legal status of homosexuality	2.83	2.75 <sup>B,C</sup>	3.11 <sup>A</sup>	3.13 <sup>A</sup>	2.89			

(Base) (1579) (142)(270) (23)





### **Influence of Communication Channel**

			Ethnicity			
Mean Score	Total	A Chinese	B Malay	C Indian	D Others	
Local TV coverage	3.68	3.62 <sup>B,C</sup>	3.92 <sup>A</sup>	3.89 <sup>A</sup>	3.98	
Newspapers	3.61	3.58	3.63	3.79	3.70	
Internet	3.61	3.52 <sup>B,C,D</sup>	3.93 <sup>A</sup>	3.81 <sup>A</sup>	4.24 <sup>A</sup>	
Grassroots workers	3.25	3.19 <sup>B,C</sup>	3.41 <sup>A</sup>	3.59 <sup>A</sup>	3.40	
Election Rallies	3.17	3.06 <sup>B,C</sup>	3.49 <sup>A</sup>	3.65 <sup>A</sup>	3.70	
Door-to-door visit	3.16	3.10 <sup>C</sup>	3.29	3.57 <sup>A</sup>	3.38	
Friends/family/colleagues	3.11	2.99 <sup>B,C</sup>	3.52 <sup>A</sup>	3.69 <sup>A</sup>	3.35	
Radio	2.87	2.75 <sup>B,C</sup>	3.40 <sup>A</sup>	3.19 <sup>A</sup>	2.84	
Party literature	2.86	2.77 <sup>B,C</sup>	3.11 <sup>A</sup>	3.30 <sup>A</sup>	3.31	
(Base)		(1579)	(270)	(142)	(23)	





#### Influence of Candidates' Characteristics

		Ethnicity				
Mean Score	Total	Chinese       Mala         4.53       4.51°       4.57°         4.41       4.38°       4.54°         4.40       4.35°       4.59°         4.34       4.31°       4.43°         4.28       4.24°       4.37°         4.17       4.14       4.25°         3.75       3.68°       4.04°         3.63       3.53°       4.00°         3.48       3.42°       3.66°	B Malay	C Indian	D Others	
Honesty	4.53	4.51 <sup>C</sup>	4.57	4.66 <sup>A</sup>	4.81	
Hardworking /Committed	4.41	4.38 <sup>B,C</sup>	4.54 <sup>A</sup>	4.55 <sup>A</sup>	4.61	
Fair person	4.40	4.35 <sup>B,C,D</sup>	4.59 <sup>A</sup>	4.60 <sup>A</sup>	4.73 <sup>A</sup>	
Efficient	4.34	4.31 <sup>B,C</sup>	4.43 <sup>A</sup>	4.47 <sup>A</sup>	4.55	
Can understand people	4.28	4.24 <sup>BC</sup>	4.37 <sup>A</sup>	4.50 <sup>A</sup>	4.57	
Can reflect people's views	4.17	4.14	4.25	4.29	4.31	
Credentials	3.77	3.68 <sup>B,C</sup>	4.04 <sup>A</sup>	4.19 <sup>A</sup>	3.80	
Experience in grassroots & community work	3.75	3.69 <sup>B,C</sup>	3.98 <sup>A</sup>	4.05 <sup>A</sup>	3.76	
Eloquent speaker	3.63	3.53 <sup>B,C</sup>	4.00 <sup>A</sup>	3.97 <sup>A</sup>	3.70	
Candidate's party	3.48	3.42 <sup>B,C</sup>	3.66 <sup>A</sup>	3.87 <sup>A</sup>	3.54	
(Base)	_	(1579)	(270)	(142)	(23)	





# **Credibility of Political Parties**

_			Ethn	nicity	
Mean Score (The Is a credible party)	Total	A Chinese	B Malay	C Indian	D Others
PAP	4.19	4.20	4.11	4.24	4.34
WP	3.58	3.53 <sup>B</sup>	3.78 <sup>A</sup>	3.70	3.55
SDP	3.01	2.89 <sup>B,C</sup>	3.41 <sup>A</sup>	3.44 <sup>A</sup>	3.38
SingFirst	2.65	2.56 <sup>B,C</sup>	3.00 <sup>A</sup>	2.84 <sup>A</sup>	2.70
NSP	2.61	2.53 <sup>B,C</sup>	2.91 <sup>A</sup>	2.85 <sup>A</sup>	2.66
RP	2.49	2.39 <sup>B,C</sup>	2.86 <sup>A</sup>	2.75 <sup>A</sup>	2.48
(Base)		(1579)	(270)	(142)	(23)





# **Election System and Others**

		Ethnicity				
Mean Score	Total	А	В	С	D	
		Chinese	Malay	Indian	Others	
I felt free to vote the way I wanted to	4.15	4.14 <sup>C</sup>	4.13 <sup>C</sup>	4.34 <sup>A,B</sup>	4.41	
Impt to have elected opposition party members in Parliament	3.94	3.89 <sup>B</sup>	4.14 <sup>A</sup>	4.08	4.08	
Ethnicity of the candidate(s) I chose, was not an impt consideration	3.85	3.84	3.81	3.99	3.93	
Whole election system is fair to all political parties	3.74	3.73	3.76	3.79	3.87	
No need to change election system	3.57	3.56 <sup>c</sup>	3.46 <sup>C</sup>	3.82 <sup>A,B</sup>	3.69	
The Internet was the most impt of all in shaping my views in this election	2.94	2.82 <sup>B,C,D</sup>	3.45 <sup>A</sup>	3.15 <sup>A</sup>	3.61 <sup>A</sup>	
(Base)		(1579)	(270)	(142)	(23)	





# **Analysis By Voters/Non-Voters**





Mean Score	Total	A + B Voters Sub-total	A Old voters	B New/ first time voters	C Non-voters
Need for efficient Govt	4.54	4.54	4.54	4.64	4.60
Amount of Govt help for needy	4.31	4.31	4.30	4.44	4.34
Fairness of Govt policy	4.29	4.29	4.29	4.29	4.33
Cost of living	4.16	4.16	4.15	4.33	4.18
Need checks & balances in Parliament	4.16	4.15	4.15	4.20	4.38
Public transport	4.14	4.13	4.13	4.19	4.19

(Base) (1949)(1825)(124) (66)





Mean Score	Total	A + B Voters Sub-total	A Old voters	B New/ first time voters	C Non-voters
Personality of candidates	4.09	4.10	4.09	4.10	3.92
Need for different views in Parliament	4.05	4.03	4.02 <sup>B,C</sup>	4.25 <sup>A</sup>	4.38 <sup>A</sup>
Wealth & income inequality	3.98	3.98	3.97	4.14	4.02
Work of former MP	3.89	3.89	3.88	3.96	3.85
Foreigners & immigration policy	3.87	3.87	3.85 <sup>B</sup>	4.15 <sup>A</sup>	3.97
Neighbourhood facilities	3.76	3.76	3.76	3.69	3.87

(Base) (1949) (1825)(124) (66)





Mean Score	Total	A + B Voters Sub-total	A Old voters	B New/ first time voters	C Non-voters
Lee Kuan Yew's legacy	3.73	3.73	3.75 <sup>B</sup>	3.41 <sup>A</sup>	3.62
Issues in party manifestos	3.72	3.72	3.72	3.64	3.71
Job situation	3.44	3.43	3.43	3.52	3.75
Upgrading	3.18	3.18	3.18	3.19	3.09
AHPETC affair	2.94	2.94	2.93	3.03	2.98
Legal status of homosexuality	2.83	2.82	2.82	2.81	3.00

(Base) (1949)(1825)(124)(66)





#### Influence of Candidates' Characteristics

Mean Score	Total	A + B Voters Sub-total	A Old voters	B New/ first time voters	C Non-voters
Honesty	4.53	4.53	4.53	4.55	4.59
Hardworking /Committed	4.41	4.41	4.40	4.54	4.58
Fair person	4.40	4.40	4.39 <sup>B</sup>	4.60 <sup>A</sup>	4.44
Efficient	4.34	4.33	4.33	4.41	4.47
Can understand people	4.28	4.27	4.27	4.33	4.42
Can reflect people's views	4.17	4.16	4.15	4.28	4.34
Credentials	3.77	3.77	3.80 <sup>B</sup>	3.34 <sup>A</sup>	3.71
Experience in grassroots & community work	3.75	3.76	3.77	3.58	3.59
Eloquent speaker	3.63	3.62	3.61	3.81	3.75
Candidate's party	3.48	3.49	3.53 <sup>B</sup>	2.96 <sup>A</sup>	3.24
(Base)	·	(1949)	(1825)	(124)	(66)





### Influence of Communication Channel

Mean Score	Total	A + B Voters Sub-total	A Old voters	B New/ first time voters	C Non-voters
Local TV coverage	3.68	3.68	3.70 <sup>B</sup>	3.38 <sup>A,C</sup>	3.88 <sup>B</sup>
Newspapers	3.61	3.60	3.63 <sup>B</sup>	3.27 <sup>A</sup>	3.67
Internet	3.61	3.59	3.54 <sup>B,C</sup>	4.31 <sup>A</sup>	4.16 <sup>A</sup>
Grassroots workers	3.25	3.24	3.25	3.12	3.45
Election Rallies	3.17	3.15	3.14 <sup>C</sup>	3.39	3.65 <sup>A</sup>
Door-to-door visit	3.16	3.17	3.18	3.05	2.91
Friends/family/colleagues	3.11	3.10	3.09	3.31	3.45
Radio	2.87	2.87	2.90 <sup>B</sup>	2.40 <sup>A,C</sup>	2.94 <sup>B</sup>
Party literature	2.86	2.86	2.85	2.96	2.89
(Base)	•	(1949)	(1825)	(124)	(66)





# **Credibility of Political Parties**

Mean Score (The is a credible party)	Total	A + B Voters Sub-total	A Old voters	B New/ first time voters	C Non-voters
PAP	4.19	4.19	4.19	4.12	4.16
WP	3.58	3.57	3.55 <sup>B,C</sup>	3.79 <sup>A</sup>	3.99 <sup>A</sup>
SDP	3.01	2.99	2.97 <sup>B,C</sup>	3.32 <sup>A</sup>	3.46 <sup>A</sup>
SingFirst	2.65	2.64	2.62	2.86	2.88
NSP	2.61	2.60	2.58 <sup>B</sup>	2.87 <sup>A</sup>	2.72
RP	2.49	2.49	2.47 <sup>B</sup>	2.71 <sup>A</sup>	2.56

(Base) (1949)(1825)(124)(66)





# **Election System and Others**

Mean Score	Total	A + B Voters Sub-total	A Old voters	B New/ first time voters	C Non-voters
I felt free to vote the way I wanted to	4.15	4.15	4.15	4.20	4.24
Impt to have elected opposition party members in Parliament	3.94	3.93	3.92	4.05	4.14
Ethnicity of the candidate(s) I chose, was not an impt consideration	3.85	3.85	3.84	3.99	3.97
Whole election system is fair to all political parties	3.74	3.74	3.75	3.61	3.80
No need to change election system	3.57	3.57	3.58	3.46	3.51
The Internet was the most impt of all in shaping my views in this election	2.94	2.93	2.89 <sup>B</sup>	3.41 <sup>A</sup>	3.20
(Base)		(1949)	(1825)	(124)	(66)





# **Analysis By Housing Type**



		Housing Type					
Mean Score	Total	A HDB 1-3 room	B HDB 4 room	C HDB 5-6 toom	D Private		
Need for efficient Govt	4.54	4.50	4.52	4.57	4.60		
Amount of Govt help for needy	4.31	4.38 <sup>D</sup>	4.38 <sup>C,D</sup>	4.26 <sup>B</sup>	4.16 <sup>A,B</sup>		
Fairness of Govt policy	4.29	4.23	4.27	4.32	4.35		
Cost of living	4.16	4.11	4.23 <sup>D</sup>	4.19	4.02 <sup>B</sup>		
Need checks & balances in Parliament	4.16	4.13	4.18	4.15	4.19		
Public transport	4.14	4.20 <sup>D</sup>	4.25 <sup>C,D</sup>	4.09 <sup>B,D</sup>	3.90 <sup>A,B,C</sup>		

(Base) (401) (703) (586)(325)





		Housing Type					
Mean Score	Total	A HDB 1-3 room	B HDB 4 room	C HDB 5-6 toom	D Private		
Personality of candidates	4.09	4.09	4.07	4.10	4.11		
Need for different views in Parliament	4.05	4.01	4.09	3.99	4.09		
Wealth & income inequality	3.98	4.07 <sup>D</sup>	4.01 <sup>D</sup>	3.98	3.82 <sup>A,B</sup>		
Work of former MP	3.89	3.95	3.87	3.91	3.82		
Foreigners & immigration policy	3.87	3.82	3.89	3.97 <sup>D</sup>	3.75 <sup>C</sup>		
Neighbourhood facilities	3.76	3.79	3.81 <sup>D</sup>	3.78	3.59 <sup>B</sup>		

(Base) (401) (703)(586)(325)





	Total	Housing Type				
Mean Score		A HDB 1-3 room	B HDB 4 room	C HDB 5-6 toom	D Private	
Lee Kuan Yew's legacy	3.73	3.93 <sup>B,C,D</sup>	3.71 <sup>A</sup>	3.66 <sup>A</sup>	3.65 <sup>A</sup>	
Issues in party manifestos	3.72	3.74	3.73	3.71	3.68	
Job situation	3.44	3.43	3.50 <sup>D</sup>	3.48	3.27 <sup>B</sup>	
Upgrading	3.18	3.41 <sup>C,D</sup>	3.29 <sup>C,D</sup>	3.11 <sup>A,B,D</sup>	2.77 <sup>A,B,C</sup>	
AHPETC affair	2.94	3.05	2.99	2.84	2.86	
Legal status of homosexuality	2.83	2.88	2.82	2.86	2.73	

(Base) (401) (703)(586)(325)





### Influence of Candidates' Characteristics

		Housing Type				
Mean Score	Total	A HDB 1-3 room	B HDB 4 room	C HDB 5-6 toom	D Private	
Honesty	4.53	4.43 <sup>C,D</sup>	4.53	4.56 <sup>A</sup>	4.61 <sup>A</sup>	
Hardworking /Committed	4.41	4.40	4.45	4.39	4.42	
Fair person	4.40	4.40	4.44	4.37	4.40	
Efficient	4.34	4.29	4.35	4.36	4.32	
Can understand people	4.28	4.27	4.32	4.25	4.25	
Can reflect people's views	4.17	4.16	4.19	4.15	4.17	
Credentials	3.77	3.89	3.75	3.72	3.72	
Experience in grassroots & community work	3.75	3.93 <sup>B,C,D</sup>	3.75 <sup>A</sup>	3.72 <sup>A</sup>	3.62 <sup>A</sup>	
Eloquent speaker	3.63	3.71 <sup>D</sup>	3.69 <sup>D</sup>	3.61	3.43 <sup>A,B</sup>	
Candidate's party	3.48	3.65 <sup>C</sup>	3.48	3.41 <sup>A</sup>	3.42	
(Base)		(401)	(703)	(586)	(325)	





#### Influence of Communication Channel

		Housing Type			
Mean Score	Total	A HDB 1-3 room	B HDB 4 room	C HDB 5-6 toom	D Private
Local TV coverage	3.68	3.79	3.73	3.62	3.58
Newspapers	3.61	3.57	3.61	3.56	3.72
Internet	3.61	3.28 <sup>B,C</sup>	3.74 <sup>A,D</sup>	3.72 <sup>A</sup>	3.50 <sup>B</sup>
Grassroots workers	3.25	3.42 <sup>C,D</sup>	3.28	3.18 <sup>A</sup>	3.11 <sup>A</sup>
Election Rallies	3.17	3.24 <sup>D</sup>	3.24 <sup>D</sup>	3.14	2.98 <sup>A,B</sup>
Door-to-door visit	3.16	3.35 <sup>C,D</sup>	3.21 <sup>D</sup>	3.12 <sup>A</sup>	2.89 <sup>A,B</sup>
Friends/family/colleagues	3.11	3.20 <sup>D</sup>	3.19 <sup>D</sup>	3.06	2.94 <sup>A,B</sup>
Radio	2.87	3.04 <sup>C,D</sup>	2.98 <sup>C,D</sup>	2.76 <sup>A,B</sup>	2.61 <sup>A,B</sup>
Party literature	2.86	2.97	2.85	2.82	2.78
(Base)		(401)	(703)	(586)	(325)





# **Credibility of Political Parties**

		Housing Type				
Mean Score (The is a credible party)	Total	A HDB 1-3 room	B HDB 4 room	C HDB 5-6 toom	D Private	
PAP	4.19	4.25	4.15	4.20	4.18	
WP	3.58	3.36 <sup>B,C,D</sup>	3.61 <sup>A</sup>	3.64 <sup>A</sup>	3.67 <sup>A</sup>	
SDP	3.01	2.86 <sup>C</sup>	3.05	3.07 <sup>A</sup>	2.98	
SingFirst	2.65	2.71 <sup>D</sup>	2.63	2.75 <sup>D</sup>	2.44 <sup>A,C</sup>	
NSP	2.61	2.61	2.64	2.64	2.46	
RP	2.49	2.54 <sup>D</sup>	2.54 <sup>D</sup>	2.51 <sup>D</sup>	2.27 <sup>A,B,C</sup>	
(Base)		(401)	(703)	(586)	(325)	





# **Election System and Others**

		Housing Type			
Mean Score	Total	A HDB 1-3 room	B HDB 4 room	C HDB 5-6 toom	D Private
I felt free to vote the way I wanted to	4.15	4.08 <sup>C,D</sup>	4.11	4.21 <sup>A</sup>	4.23 <sup>A</sup>
Impt to have elected opposition party members in Parliament	3.94	3.82	3.96	3.96	3.99
Ethnicity of the candidate(s) I chose, was not an impt consideration	3.85	3.71 <sup>C,D</sup>	3.85	3.89 <sup>A</sup>	3.95 <sup>A</sup>
Whole election system is fair to all political parties	3.74	3.86 <sup>D</sup>	3.75	3.70	3.63 <sup>A</sup>
No need to change election system	3.57	3.63	3.57	3.55	3.51
The Internet was the most impt of all in shaping my views in this election	2.94	2.84 <sup>B</sup>	3.10 <sup>A,D</sup>	2.97 <sup>D</sup>	2.67 <sup>B,C</sup>
(Base)		(401)	(703)	(586)	(325)





# **Analysis By Gender**





Mean Score	Total	A Male	B Female
Need for efficient Govt	4.54	4.52	4.57
Amount of Govt help for needy	4.31	4.31	4.30
Fairness of Govt policy	4.29	4.29	4.29
Cost of living	4.16	4.14	4.18
Need checks & balances in Parliament	4.16	4.15	4.17
Public transport	4.14	4.10	4.17

(Base) (989)(1026)





Mean Score	Total	A Male	B Female
Personality of candidates	4.09	4.01 <sup>B</sup>	4.17 <sup>A</sup>
Need for different views in Parliament	4.05	4.06	4.03
Wealth & income inequality	3.98	3.99	3.98
Work of former MP	3.89	3.83 <sup>B</sup>	3.94 <sup>A</sup>
Foreigners & immigration policy	3.87	3.92 <sup>B</sup>	3.83 <sup>A</sup>
Neighbourhood facilities	3.76	3.66 <sup>B</sup>	3.87 <sup>A</sup>

(Base) (989) (1026)





Mean Score	Total	A Male	B Female
Lee Kuan Yew's legacy	3.73	3.50 <sup>B</sup>	3.95 <sup>A</sup>
Issues in party manifestos	3.72	3.63 <sup>B</sup>	3.80 <sup>A</sup>
Job situation	3.44	3.56 <sup>B</sup>	3.33 <sup>A</sup>
Upgrading	3.18	3.05 <sup>B</sup>	3.30 <sup>A</sup>
AHPETC affair	2.94	2.79 <sup>B</sup>	3.08 <sup>A</sup>
Legal status of homosexuality	2.83	2.74 <sup>B</sup>	2.92 <sup>A</sup>

(Base) (989) (1026)





#### Influence of Candidates' Characteristics

Mean Score	Total	A Male	B Female
Honesty	4.53	4.51	4.56
Hardworking /Committed	4.41	4.39	4.44
Fair person	4.40	4.38	4.43
Efficient	4.34	4.31	4.36
Can understand people	4.28	4.28	4.28
Can reflect people's views	4.17	4.14	4.19
Credentials	3.77	3.63 <sup>B</sup>	3.89 <sup>A</sup>
Experience in grassroots & community work	3.75	3.65 <sup>B</sup>	3.86 <sup>A</sup>
Eloquent speaker	3.63	3.52 <sup>B</sup>	3.73 <sup>A</sup>
Candidate's party	3.48	3.32 <sup>B</sup>	3.64 <sup>A</sup>
(Base)	•	(989)	(1026)





#### Influence of Communication Channel

(Base)		(989)	(1026)
Party literature	2.86	2.83	2.88
Radio	2.87	2.78 <sup>B</sup>	2.95 <sup>A</sup>
Friends/family/colleagues	3.11	3.09	3.14
Door-to-door visit	3.16	3.16	3.16
Election Rallies	3.17	3.13	3.21
Grassroots workers	3.25	3.18 <sup>B</sup>	3.32 <sup>A</sup>
Internet	3.61	3.66	3.56
Newspapers	3.61	3.49 <sup>B</sup>	3.72 <sup>A</sup>
Local TV coverage	3.68	3.55 <sup>B</sup>	3.81 <sup>A</sup>
Mean Score	Total	A Male	B Female





### **Credibility of Political Parties**

Mean Score (The is a credible party)	Total	A Male	B Female
PAP	4.19	4.16 <sup>B</sup>	4.22 <sup>A</sup>
WP	3.58	3.70 <sup>B</sup>	3.46 <sup>A</sup>
SDP	3.01	3.07 <sup>B</sup>	2.94 <sup>A</sup>
SingFirst	2.65	2.65	2.64
NSP	2.61	2.60	2.61
RP	2.49	2.49	2.49

(Base) (989)(1026)





## **Election System and Others**

Mean Score	Total	A Male	B Female
I felt free to vote the way I wanted to	4.15	4.20 <sup>B</sup>	4.11 <sup>A</sup>
Impt to have elected opposition party members in Parliament	3.94	3.96	3.92
Ethnicity of the candidate(s) I chose, was not an impt consideration	3.85	3.90 <sup>B</sup>	3.80 <sup>A</sup>
Whole election system is fair to all political parties	3.74	3.64 <sup>B</sup>	3.83 <sup>A</sup>
No need to change election system	3.57	3.47 <sup>B</sup>	3.66 <sup>A</sup>
The Internet was the most impt of all in shaping my views in this election	2.94	3.00 <sup>B</sup>	2.87 <sup>A</sup>

A,B: Significantly different at 0.05 level.





(Base)

(1026)

(989)

# **Analysis By Citizenship Status**



Mean Score	Total	A At birth	B Naturalised
Need for efficient Govt	4.54	4.54	4.56
Amount of Govt help for needy	4.31	4.31	4.27
Fairness of Govt policy	4.29	4.29	4.26
Cost of living	4.16	4.18	4.06
Need checks & balances in Parliament	4.16	4.18 <sup>B</sup>	4.05 <sup>A</sup>

(Base) (1745)(270)





Mean Score	Total	A At birth	B Naturalised
Public transport	4.14	4.14	4.08
Personality of candidates	4.09	4.09	4.08
Need for different views in Parliament	4.05	4.06	3.96
Wealth & income inequality	3.98	4.00	3.89
Work of former MP	3.89	3.89	3.88
Foreigners & immigration policy	3.87	3.89	3.76
Neighbourhood facilities	3.76	3.74 <sup>B</sup>	3.94 <sup>A</sup>

(Base) (1745) (270)







Mean Score	Total	A At birth	B Naturalised
Lee Kuan Yew's legacy	3.73	3.70 <sup>B</sup>	3.89 <sup>A</sup>
Issues in party manifestos	3.72	3.72	3.71
Job situation	3.44	3.44	3.48
Upgrading	3.18	3.16	3.30
AHPETC affair	2.94	2.94	2.89
Legal status of homosexuality	2.83	2.82	2.86

(Base) (1745)(270)





#### Influence of Candidates' Characteristics

Mean Score	Total	A At birth	B Naturalised
Honesty	4.53	4.54	4.49
Can understand people	4.28	4.28	4.25
Can reflect people's views	4.17	4.16	4.22
Efficient	4.34	4.34	4.34
Hardworking /Committed	4.41	4.42	4.37
Candidate's party	3.48	3.47	3.58
Fair person	4.40	4.41	4.38
Credentials	3.77	3.77	3.73
Experience in grassroots & community work	3.75	3.74	3.83
Eloquent speaker	3.63	3.63	3.58
(Dana)	•	(4745)	(070)

(Base) (270)(1745)





### **Influence of Communication Channel**

(Base)		(1745)	(270)
Party literature	2.86	2.83 <sup>B</sup>	3.00 <sup>A</sup>
Radio	2.87	2.87	2.85
Friends/family/colleagues	3.11	3.09 <sup>B</sup>	3.28 <sup>A</sup>
Door-to-door visit	3.16	3.14 <sup>B</sup>	3.31 <sup>A</sup>
Election Rallies	3.17	3.17	3.15
Grassroots workers	3.25	3.22 <sup>B</sup>	3.47 <sup>A</sup>
Internet	3.61	3.63 <sup>B</sup>	3.46 <sup>A</sup>
Newspapers	3.61	3.59	3.70
Local TV coverage	3.68	3.70	3.58
Mean Score	Total	A At birth	B Naturalised





## **Credibility of Political Parties**

Mean Score (The is a credible party)	Total	A At birth	B Naturalised
PAP	4.19	4.17 <sup>B</sup>	4.31 <sup>A</sup>
WP	3.58	3.60 <sup>B</sup>	3.45 <sup>A</sup>
SDP	3.01	3.02	2.95
SingFirst	2.65	2.65	2.61
NSP	2.61	2.61	2.58
RP	2.49	2.48	2.54

(Base) (1745)(270)





## **Election System and Others**

Mean Score	Total	A At birth	B Naturalised
I felt free to vote the way I wanted to	4.15	4.16	4.12
Impt to have elected opposition party members in Parliament	3.94	3.95	3.88
Ethnicity of the candidate(s) I chose, was not an impt consideration	3.85	3.84	3.90
Whole election system is fair to all political parties	3.74	3.71	3.91
No need to change election system	3.57	3.54 <sup>B</sup>	3.72 <sup>A</sup>
The Internet was the most impt of all in shaping my views in this election	2.94	2.95	2.86

(1745)(270)(Base)







Hougang Bukit Batok Pioneer Fengshan Bukit Panjang Radin Mas Potong Pasir Marsiling-Yew Tee GRC Chua Chu Kang GRC Aljunied GRC Tampines GRC Bishan-Toa Payoh GRC West Coast GRC Jurong GRC Marine Parade GRC

#### POST-ELECTION CONFERENCE 2015

Tanjong Pagar GRC Ang Mo Kio GRC East Coast GRC Pasir Ris-Punggol GRC Holland-Bukit Timah GRC Nee Soon GRC Jalan Besar GRC Sembawang GRC MacPherson Yuhua Hong Kah North Sengkang West Punggol East Mountbatten

Wednesday, 4 November 2015 Ballroom 1 & 2, Orchard Hotel



