

IPS Survey on Internet and Media Use during GE2020

Digital and generational divides

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Is it true that ...



- ... GE 2020 was an “Internet election”?
- ... youth and first-time voters behaved differently from other voters?
- ... the older generation was digitally excluded?
- ... there was a generational divide in issues that mattered and voting behaviour?



Research Questions

1. How were the Internet and media used during GE 2020? What developments have there been since GE 2015?
2. With the migration of political campaigning online, how did people engage with political parties and candidates?
3. Were there differences in Internet and media use among different generations?
4. What else mattered for the voting outcomes?

Topline Findings

1. Digital platforms rose in importance for information seeking; traditional mass media, such as TV, print and radio, fell in importance.
2. Social networking sites and instant messaging were the two most popular modes of political engagement.
3. While older voters accessed traditional mass media more frequently than younger voters, digital platforms were popular across the electorate.
4. Boomers used instant messaging the most to learn more about political parties and candidates. They also used instant messaging as much as other generations when seeking information on the election.

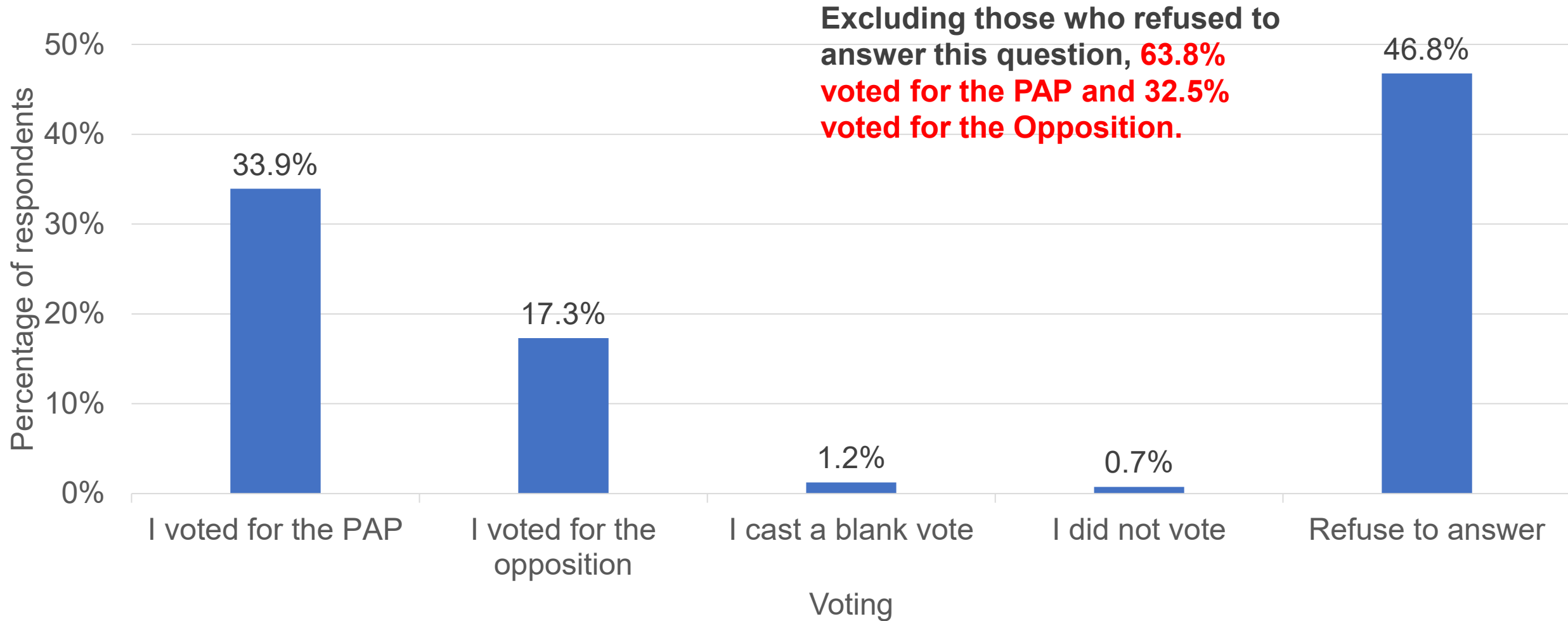
Topline Findings

5. Voting behaviour was influenced by Internet use, but factors such as people's primary reasons for voting and their satisfaction with how the government handled different issues mattered as well.
6. People's primary reasons for voting were the strongest predictor of how they voted. Primary reasons "I always voted for the same party" and "party's track record" mattered more to people who voted for the PAP. Primary reasons "having alternative views in parliament" and "dislike for one party (beyond reasons listed above)" mattered more to people who voted for the Opposition.
7. Online websites of Singapore mass media mattered more to people who voted for the PAP, while engaging with political parties/candidates via social networking sites and via their websites mattered more to people who voted for the Opposition.

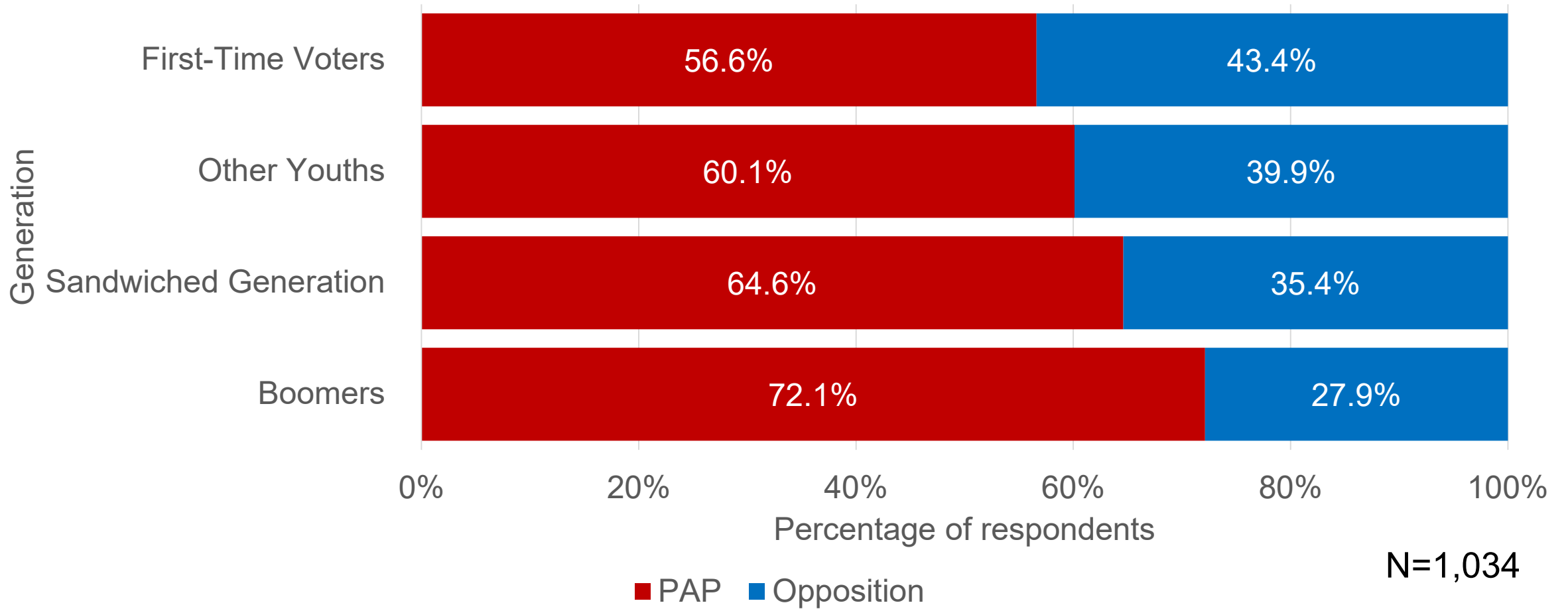
Methodology

- A survey was conducted with 2,018 citizens aged 21 years and above by YouGov from 13 - 21 July 2020. (The first three presentations on this panel are based on the IPS survey.)
- Respondents were asked via an online survey for their demographics, media use, political traits (e.g., political participation and political talk) and voting behaviour.
- The data was weighted based on the proportions of gender, race and age groups in the Singapore Citizen population (Department of Statistics, 2019).
- Analysis:
 - **First-time voters: 21 to 26 years old**
 - **Other youths: 27 to 35 years old**
 - **Sandwiched generation: 36 to 55 years old**
 - **Boomers: 56 years old and above**

How People Voted During GE 2020



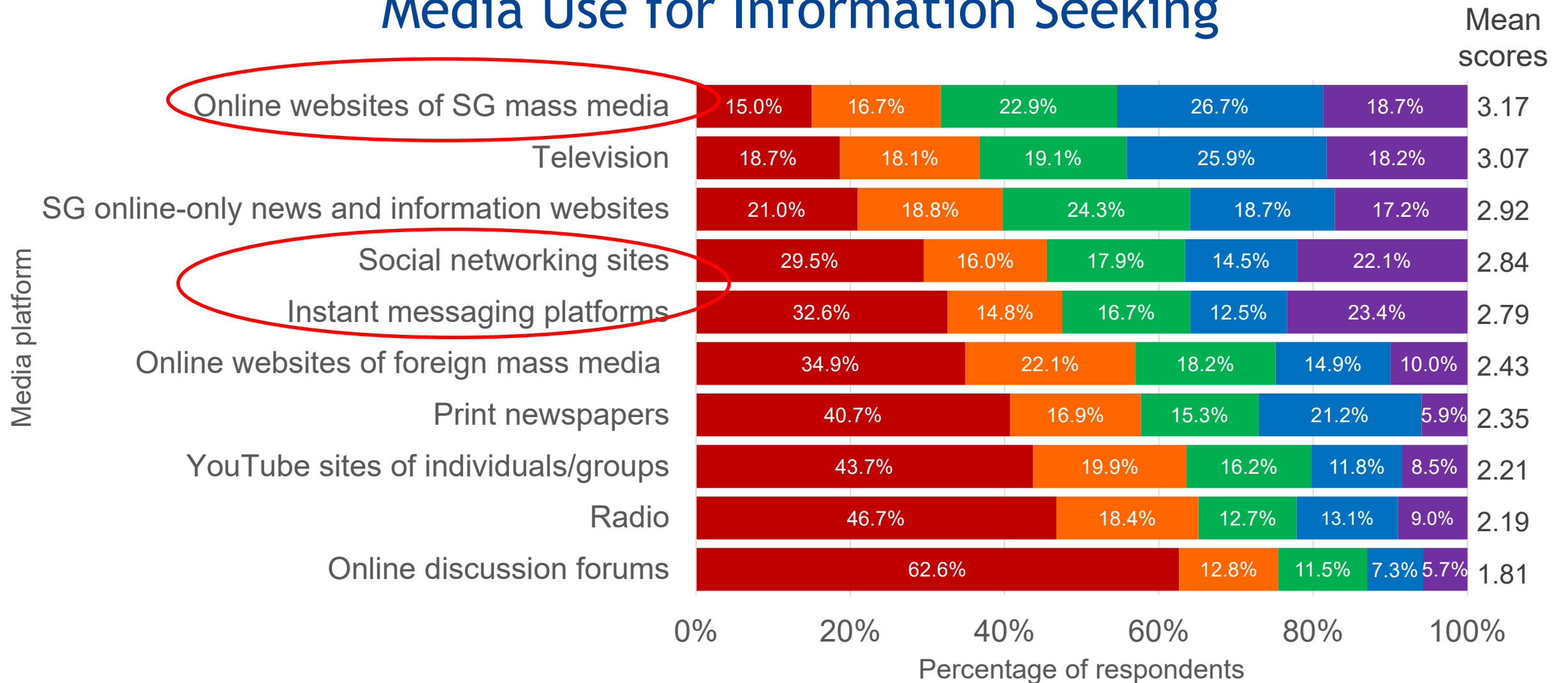
How Different Generations Voted



Media Types

- Mass media
 - Print newspapers (e.g., The Straits Times, Lianhe Zaobao, Berita Harian)
 - Television
 - Radio
 - Online websites of Singapore mass media (e.g., The Straits Times, Today, The New Paper, Lianhe Zaobao, Yahoo!News, Channel News Asia)
 - Online websites of foreign mass media (e.g., South China Morning Post, New York Times, BBC, CNN, Guardian)
 - SG online-only news and information websites (e.g., Rice Media, Mothership, TheSmartLocal, Independent.sg, The Online Citizen, TR Emeritus)
- Social media
 - Social networking sites (e.g., Facebook, Twitter, Instagram)
 - YouTube sites of individuals/groups (e.g., mrbrown, political parties, wah!banana, SGAG)
 - Instant messaging platforms (e.g., WhatsApp, Telegram, Facebook Messenger)
 - Online discussion forums/portals (e.g., Hardwarezone, Reddit, Quora)

Media Use for Information Seeking



■ Never
 ■ Once a week or less
 ■ A few days a week
 ■ About once a day
 ■ Several times a day

Increased popularity of digital sources since GE2015, traditional forms of mass media dropped in usage

Media Use for GE2015

1. Television (3.35)
2. Print newspapers (2.92)
3. Online websites of SG mass media (2.91)
4. Social networking sites (2.82)
5. Instant messaging platforms (2.59)
6. Radio (2.43)
7. Party and candidate websites/SNS (2.40)
8. Blogs and YouTube (2.20)
9. Printed party brochures and newsletters (1.96)
10. Online forums (1.77)

N=2,000

Media Use for GE2020

1. Online websites of SG mass media (3.17)
2. Television (3.07)
3. SG online-only news and information websites (2.92)
4. Social networking sites (2.84)
5. Instant messaging platforms (2.79)
6. Online websites of foreign mass media (2.43)
7. Print newspapers (2.35)
8. YouTube sites of individuals/groups (2.21)
9. Radio (2.19)
10. Party and candidate websites (1.94)
11. Printed party brochures and newsletters (1.87)
12. Online forums (1.81)

N=2,018

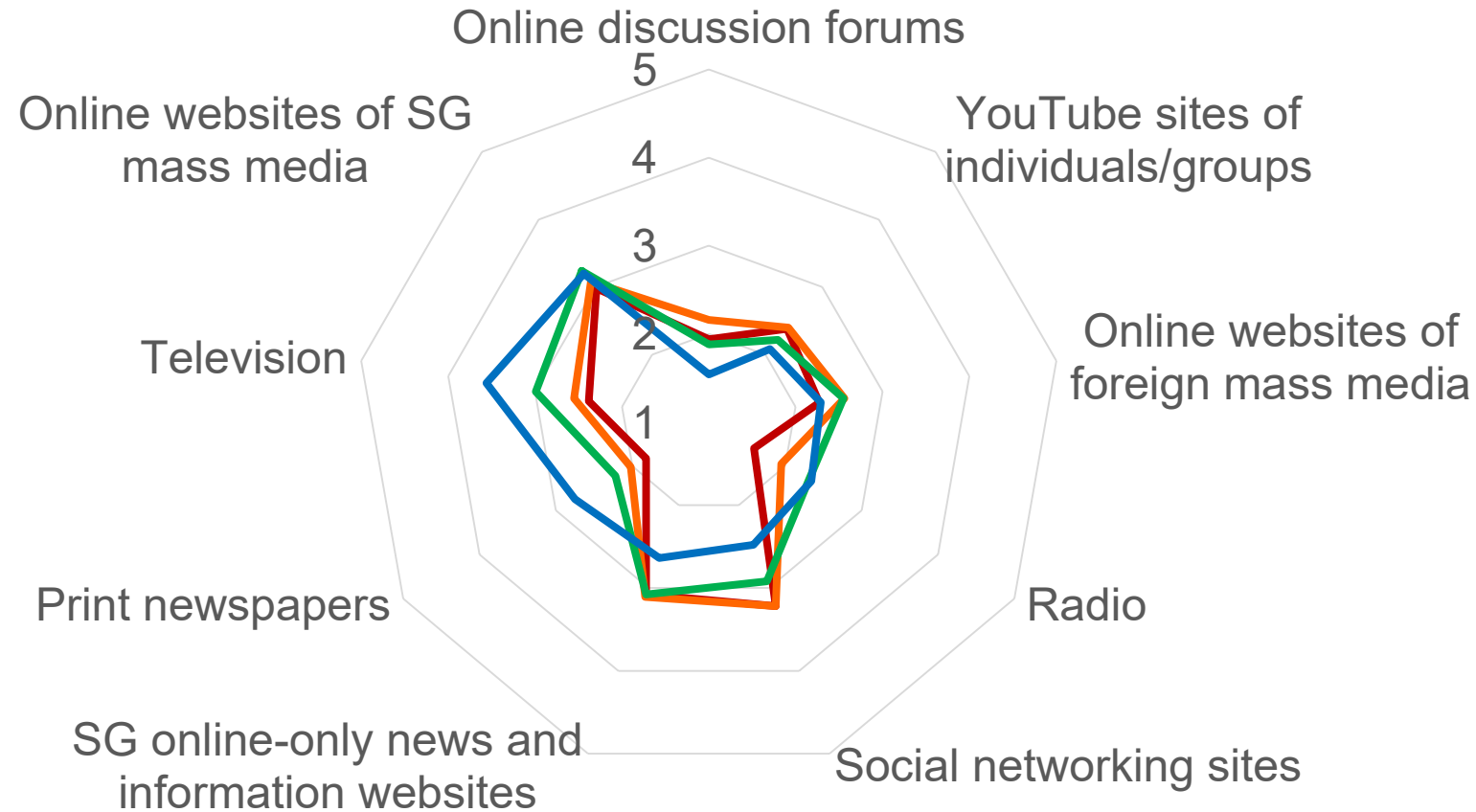
Top Three Media Platforms By Generation in GE 2020

Media Platform	First-Time Voters	Other Youths	Sandwiched Generation	Boomers
1	Social networking sites (3.22) (2015: Social networking sites, 3.29)	Social networking sites (3.22) (2015: Social networking sites, 3.29)	Online websites of SG mass media (3.24) (2015, Television, 3.32)	Television (3.56) (2015: Television, 3.77)
2	SG online-only news and information websites (3.08) (2015: Television, 2.95)	SG online-only news and information websites (3.11) (2015: Television, 2.90)	SG online-only news and information websites (3.08) (2015: Online websites of SG mass media, 2.93)	Online websites of SG mass media (3.2) (2015: Print newspapers, 3.37)
3	Online websites of SG mass media (2.98) (2015: Online websites of SG mass media, 2.84)	Online websites of SG mass media (3.08) (2015: Online websites of SG mass media, 2.84)	Television (2.99) (2015: Print newspapers, 2.90)	Instant messaging platforms (2.86) (2015, Online websites of SG mass media, 2.96)

(Ranking based on mean scores)

N=2,018

Generational differences in Internet and media usage for information seeking

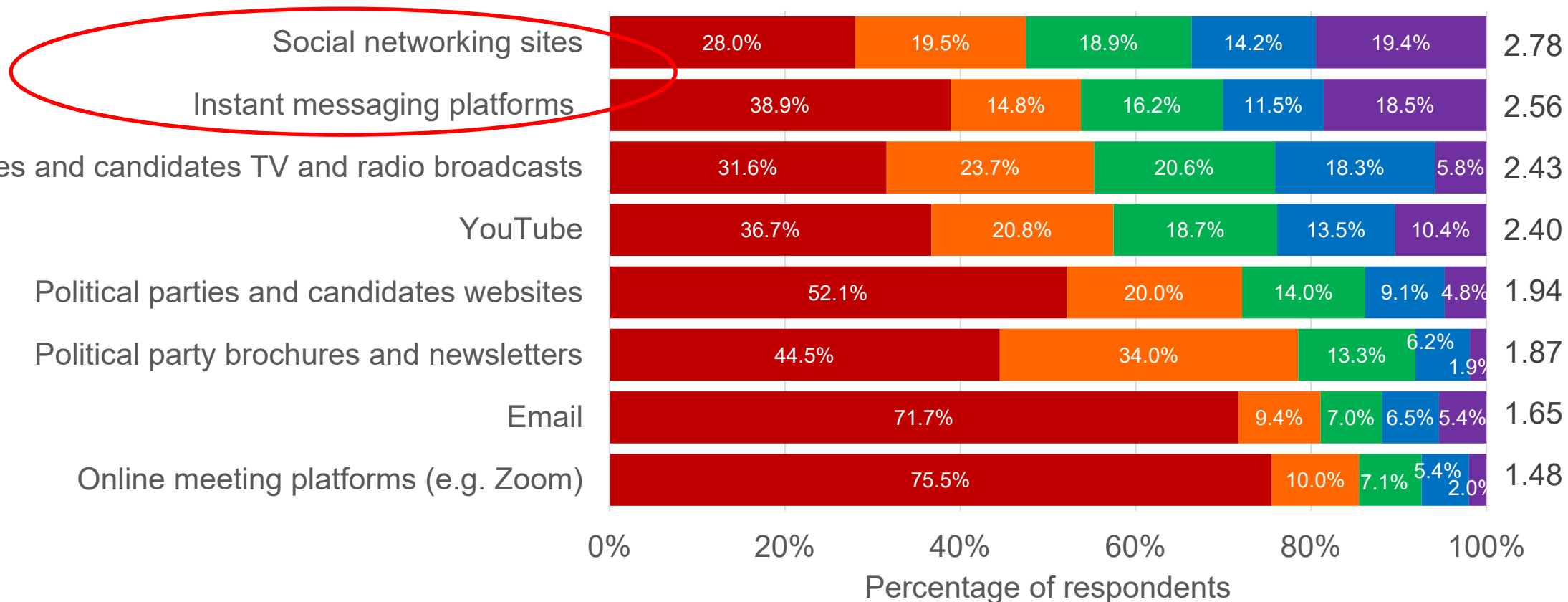


- Boomers used traditional forms of mass media platforms (print newspapers, TV and radio) more frequently than other generations.
- Youths used social media platforms (social networking sites and YouTube) more frequently than older voters.
- **No difference between generations for use of instant messaging platforms.**
- **Reliance on digital platforms among older voters.**

— First-Time Voters — Other Youths — Sandwiched Generation — Boomers

Platforms voters used to learn about and interact with political parties and candidates

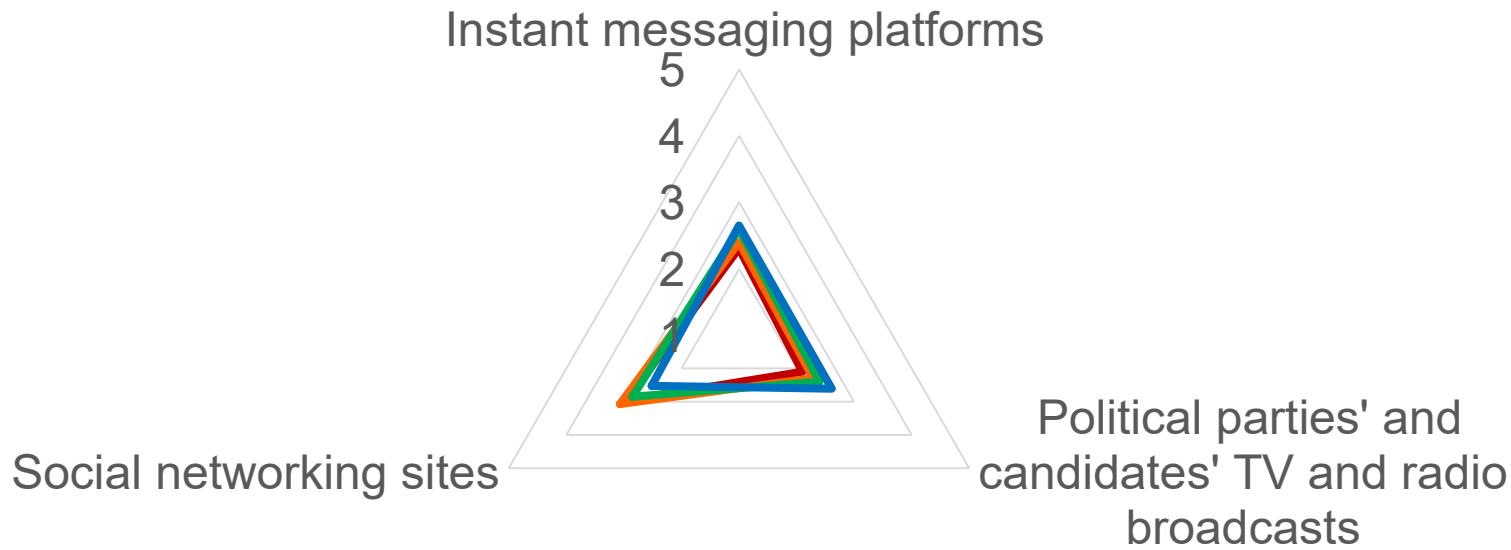
Mean scores



■ Never
 ■ Once a week or less
 ■ A few days a week
 ■ About once a day
 ■ Several times a day

Generational differences for only IM, SNS, and parties' and candidates' TV and radio broadcasts

Online meeting platforms, emails, YouTube, political parties' brochures and newsletters, and political parties' and candidates' websites show no significant generational difference

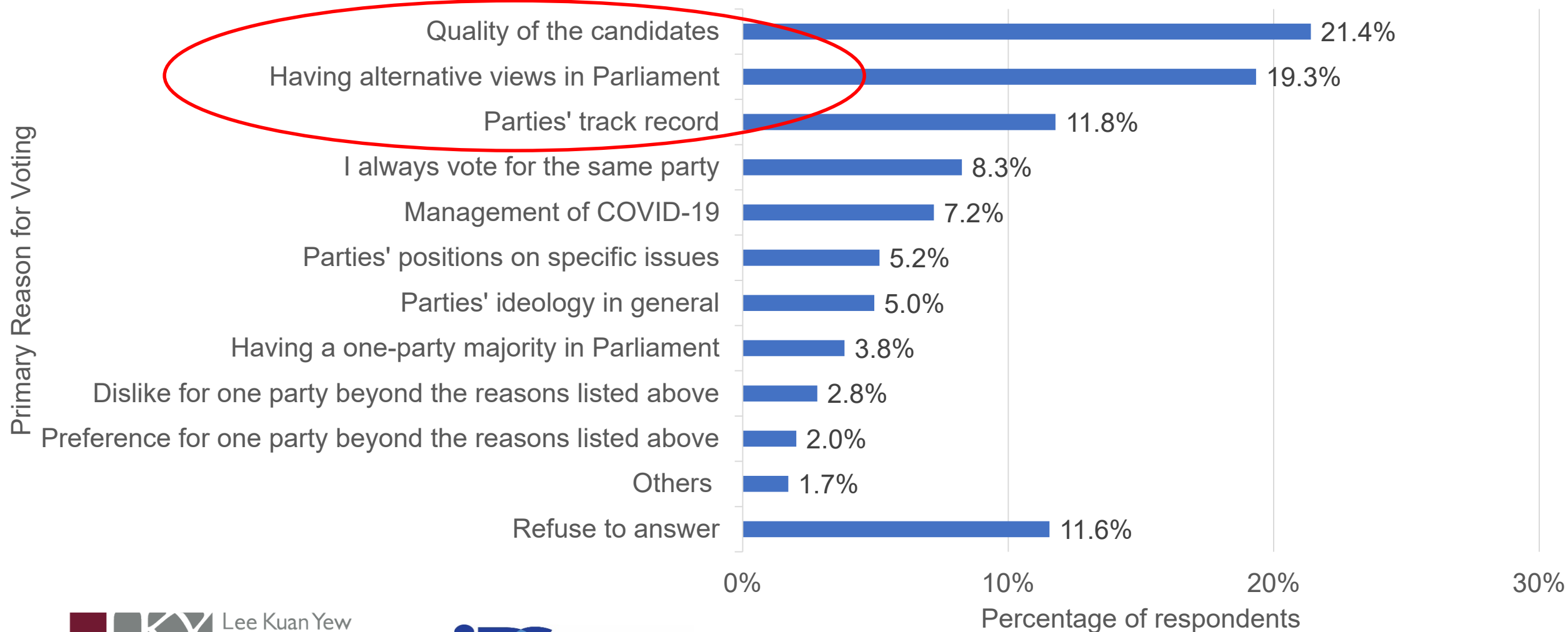


— First-Time Voters — Other Youths — Sandwiched Generation — Boomers

- **Youths used social networking sites more frequently than older voters to learn more about/interact with parties and candidates.**
- **Boomers used political parties' and candidates' TV and radio broadcasts most frequently, compared to the sandwiched generation, other youths and first-time voters.**
- **Boomers used instant messaging platforms more frequently than all other generations.**

Primary reasons behind people's votes

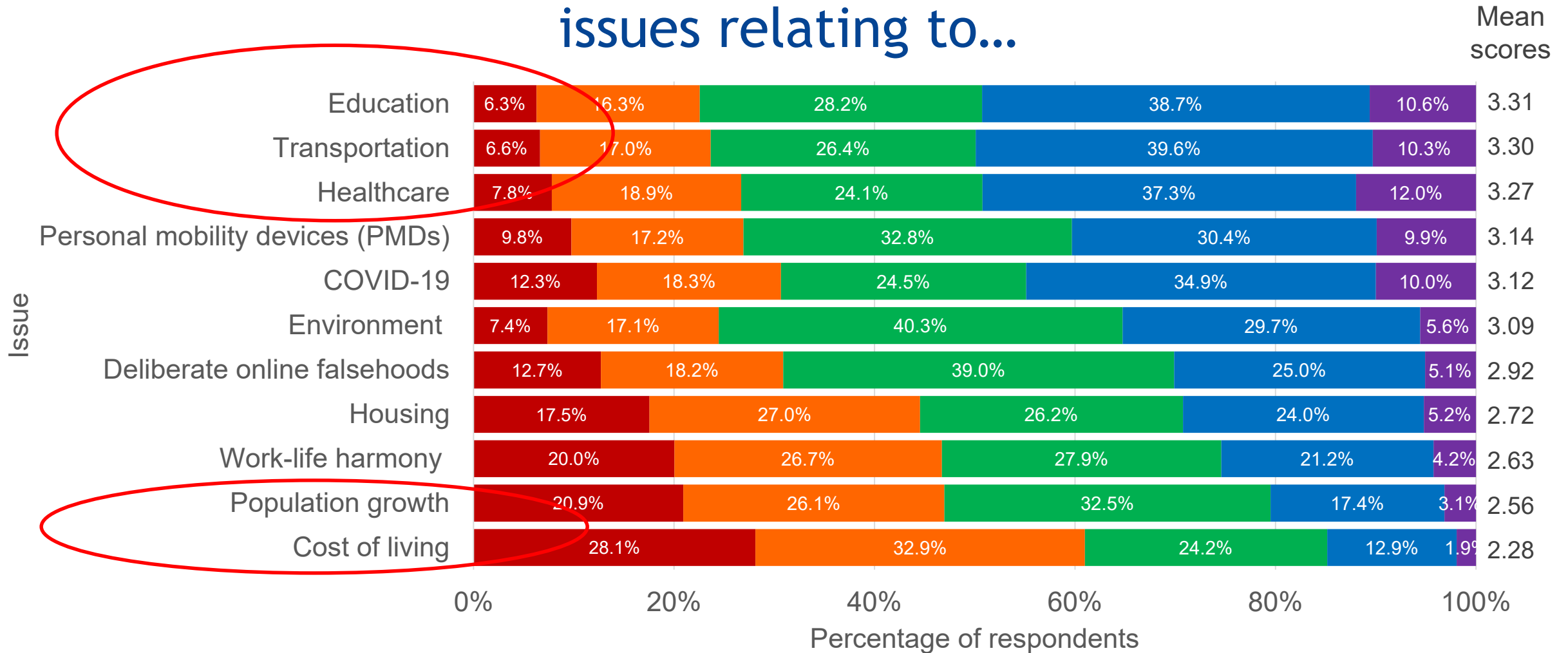
“Which of the following was the primary reason behind your vote this election?”



Top Three Primary Reasons By Generation

Primary Reason for Voting	First-Time Voters	Other Youths	Sandwiched Generation	Boomers
1	Quality of the candidates (22.5%)	Quality of the candidates (25.8%)	Quality of the candidates (24.1%)	Having alternative views in Parliament (26.0%)
2	Having alternative views in Parliament (17.7%)	Having alternative views in Parliament (17.7%)	Having alternative views in Parliament (20.5%)	Quality of the candidates (23.9%)
3	Parties' track record (11.2%)	Parties' track record (12.0%)	Parties' track record (12.8%)	Parties' track record (14.9%)

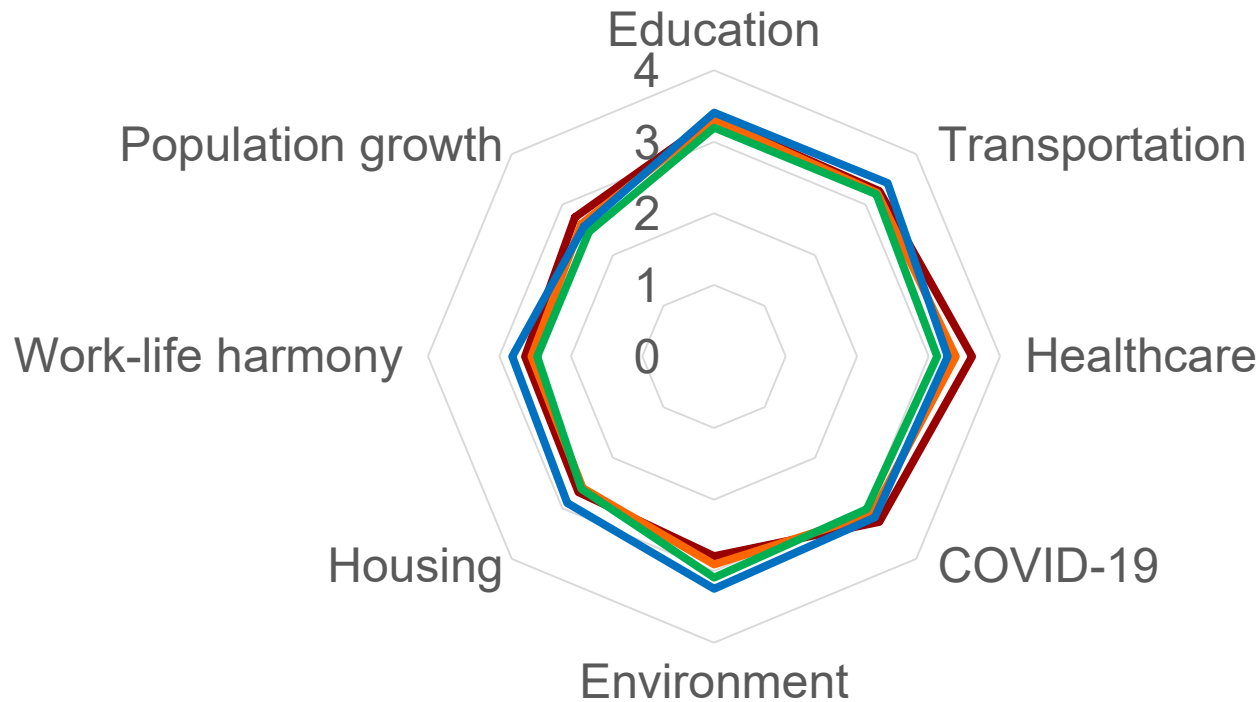
People's satisfaction with how the government is handling issues relating to...



■ Very dissatisfied
 ■ Somewhat dissatisfied
 ■ Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
 ■ Somewhat satisfied
 ■ Very satisfied

Generational differences in satisfaction for 8 issues

No significant difference found for cost of living, deliberate online falsehoods, and personal mobility devices.



- **Boomers were most satisfied with transportation, housing, education, work-life harmony and the environment.**
- **Youths were most satisfied with population growth, healthcare and COVID-19.**
- **In general, Sandwiched Generation is the least satisfied group.**

— First-Time Voters — Other Youths — Sandwiched Generation — Boomers

Internet use, primary reasons for voting and issue satisfaction explained generational differences in voting

Media use	Odds Ratio		Issue satisfaction	Odds Ratio		Primary reasons for voting	Odds Ratio	
	Likely to vote PAP	Likely to vote opp		Likely to vote PAP	Likely to vote opp		Likely to vote PAP	Likely to vote opp
General usage of online websites of SG mass media	1.23*	0.81*	Population growth	1.33*	0.75*	Quality of candidates	2.34**	0.43**
Engagement with political parties and candidates via social networking sites	0.74**	1.36**	Cost of living	1.33*	0.75*	Having alternative views in Parliament	0.14**	7.03**
Engagement with political parties and candidates via their websites	0.74*	1.35*	Deliberate online falsehoods	1.39*	0.72**	Having a one-party majority in Parliament	0.32**	3.15**
			COVID-19	1.27*	0.79*	Parties' track record	4.83**	0.21**
						I always vote for the same party	5.84**	0.17**
						Dislike for one party beyond reasons listed above	0.23**	4.27**

Note: $R^2 = .46$ (Cox & Snell), $.63$ (Nagelkerke). Model $\chi^2(42) = 614.50, p < .001$
 * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

For non-significant variables in the model, please see Appendix.

Internet use, primary reasons for voting and issue satisfaction explained generational differences in voting

- People's primary reasons for voting were the strongest predictor of how they voted. People whose primary reasons were "I always voted for the same party" and "party's track record" were 5.84 times and 4.84 times as likely to vote for the PAP, respectively. People's whose primary reasons were "having alternative views in parliament" and "dislike for one party (beyond reasons listed above)" were 7.03 times and 4.27 times as likely to vote for the Opposition, respectively.
- People's satisfaction with how the government handled population growth, cost of living, COVID-19 and deliberate online falsehoods predicted how they voted. Those who were satisfied with how the government handled these issues were 1.27 times to 1.39 times as likely to vote for the PAP.
- The media platforms that predicted how people voted were all Internet-based. People who used online websites of Singapore mass media were 1.23 times as likely to vote for PAP. People who engaged with political parties/candidates via social networking sites and via their websites were 1.36 times and 1.35 times as likely to vote for the Opposition.

Recap of Findings

1. Digital platforms rose in importance for information seeking; traditional mass media, such as TV, print and radio, fell in importance.
2. Social networking sites and instant messaging were the two most popular modes of political engagement.
3. While older voters accessed traditional mass media more frequently than younger voters, digital platforms were popular across the electorate.
4. Boomers used instant messaging the most to learn more about political parties and candidates. They also used instant messaging as much as other generations when seeking information on the election.

Recap of Findings

5. Voting behaviour was influenced by Internet use, but factors such as people's primary reasons for voting and their satisfaction with how the government handled different issues mattered as well.
6. People's primary reasons for voting were the strongest predictor of how they voted. Primary reasons "I always voted for the same party" and "party's track record" mattered more to people who voted for the PAP. Primary reasons "having alternative views in parliament" and "dislike for one party (beyond reasons listed above)" mattered more to people who voted for the Opposition.
7. Online websites of Singapore mass media mattered more to people who voted for the PAP, while engaging with political parties/candidates via social networking sites and via their websites mattered more to people who voted for the Opposition.

Conclusion

- GE 2020 was an “Internet election” given its role in information dissemination, political engagement and its influence on voting behaviour.
- Fears of a digital divide were unfounded? Levelling of access but need to address higher level divide.
- Will the next election be an “IM election”? Instant messaging both a boon and a bane, poses challenges for information integrity and political engagement.

END

Please contact Dr Carol Soon at
carol.soon@nus.edu.sg or 6516-8372 if you have
any questions.

Appendices

Demographics of Respondents (weighted)

Gender	Frequency	%
Male	989	49.0
Female	1029	51.0
Age	Frequency	%
21-24	106	5.3
25-29	186	9.2
30-34	190	9.3
35-39	208	10.3
40-44	201	10.0
45-49	119	5.9
50-54	236	11.6
55-59	201	10.0
60-64	158	7.9
65-69	240	11.8
70-74	133	6.6
75-79	25	1.2
80-86	17	0.9

Ethnicity	Frequency	%
Chinese	1568	77.7
Malay	279	13.8
Indian	146	7.2
Other	25	1.3

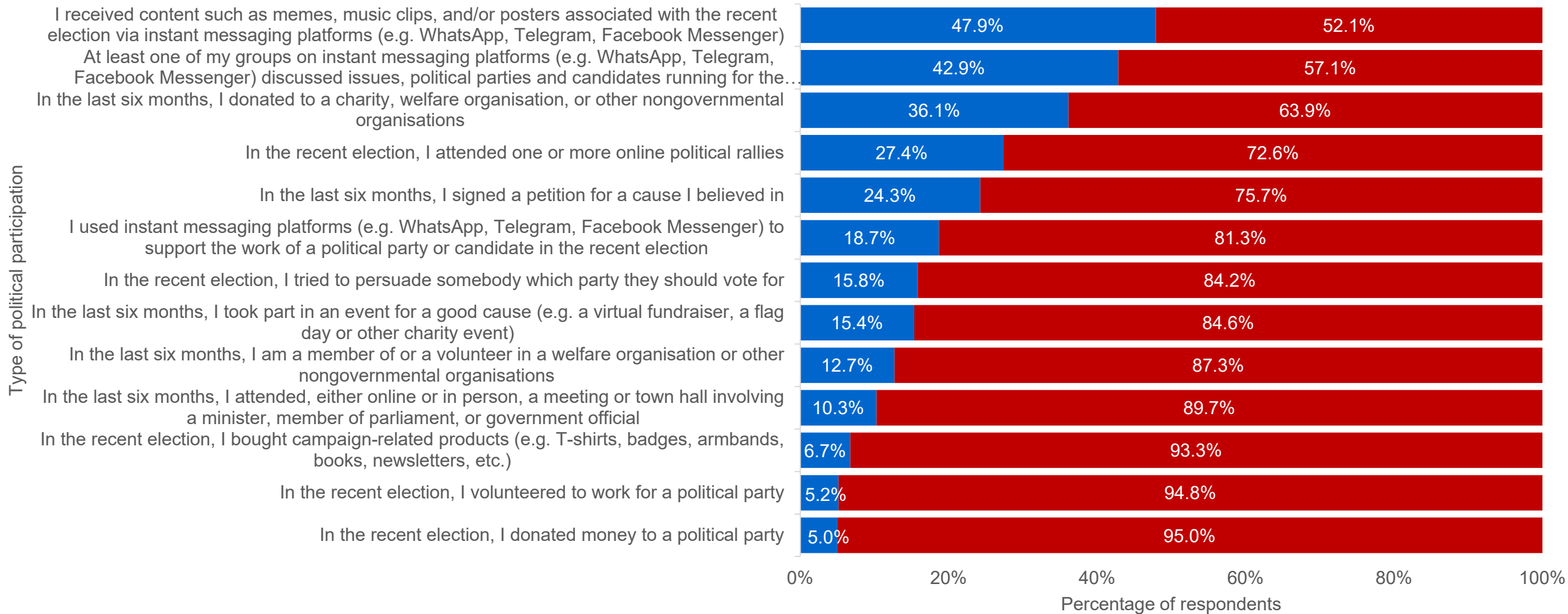
Housing Type	Frequency	%
HDB 1- or 2-room flat	56	2.8
HDB 3-room flat	300	14.9
HDB 4-room flat	650	32.2
HDB 5-room flat or Executive flat	602	29.8
Condominiums & other apartments	291	14.4
Landed properties	118	5.8
Others	2	0.1

Demographics of Respondents (weighted)

Monthly Household Income	Frequency	%
No working person/ Retiree households	150	7.4
Below \$1000	81	4.0
\$1,000-\$1,999	121	6.0
\$2,000-\$2,999	171	8.5
\$3,000-\$3,999	198	9.8
\$4,000-\$4,999	160	7.9
\$5,000-\$5,999	143	7.1
\$6,000-\$6,999	143	7.1
\$7,000-\$7,999	128	6.4
\$8,000-\$8,999	121	6.0
\$9,000-\$9,999	124	6.2
\$10,000-\$10,999	135	6.7
\$11,000-\$11,999	40	2.0
\$12,000-\$12,999	51	2.5
\$13,000-\$13,999	29	1.4
\$14,000-\$14,999	50	2.5
\$15,000-\$17,499	69	3.4
\$17,500-\$19,999	32	1.6
\$20,000 & over	70	3.5

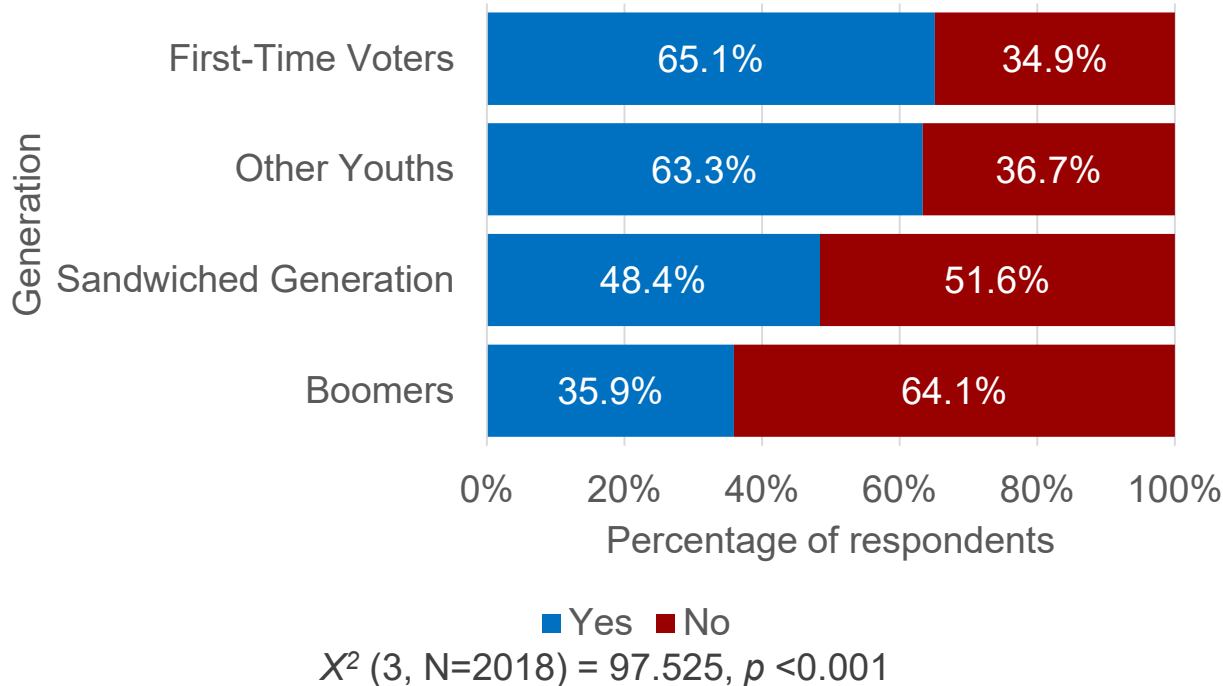
Education	Frequency	%
Below Primary	12	0.6
Primary	18	0.9
Lower Secondary	28	1.4
Secondary	322	16.0
Post-Secondary	186	9.2
Professional and WSQ Diploma	157	7.8
Polytechnic Diploma	369	18.3
Degree and above	898	44.5
Others	29	1.4

Political Participation

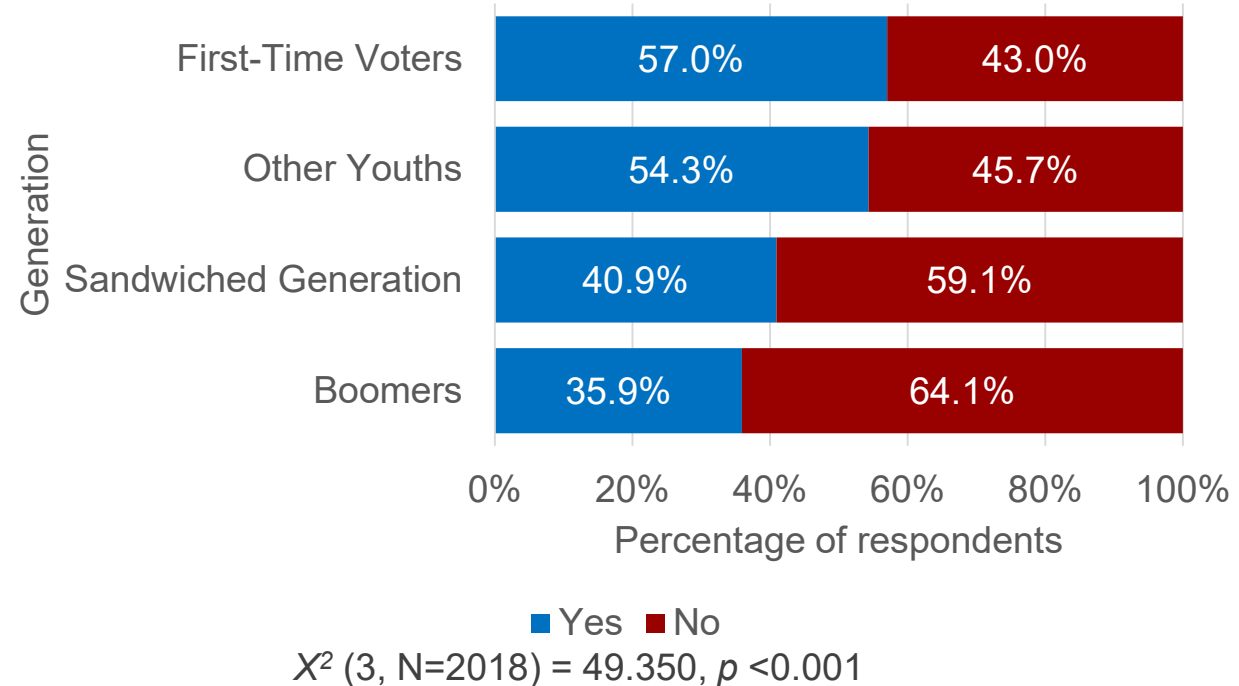


Generational Differences for Top Two Participation Modes

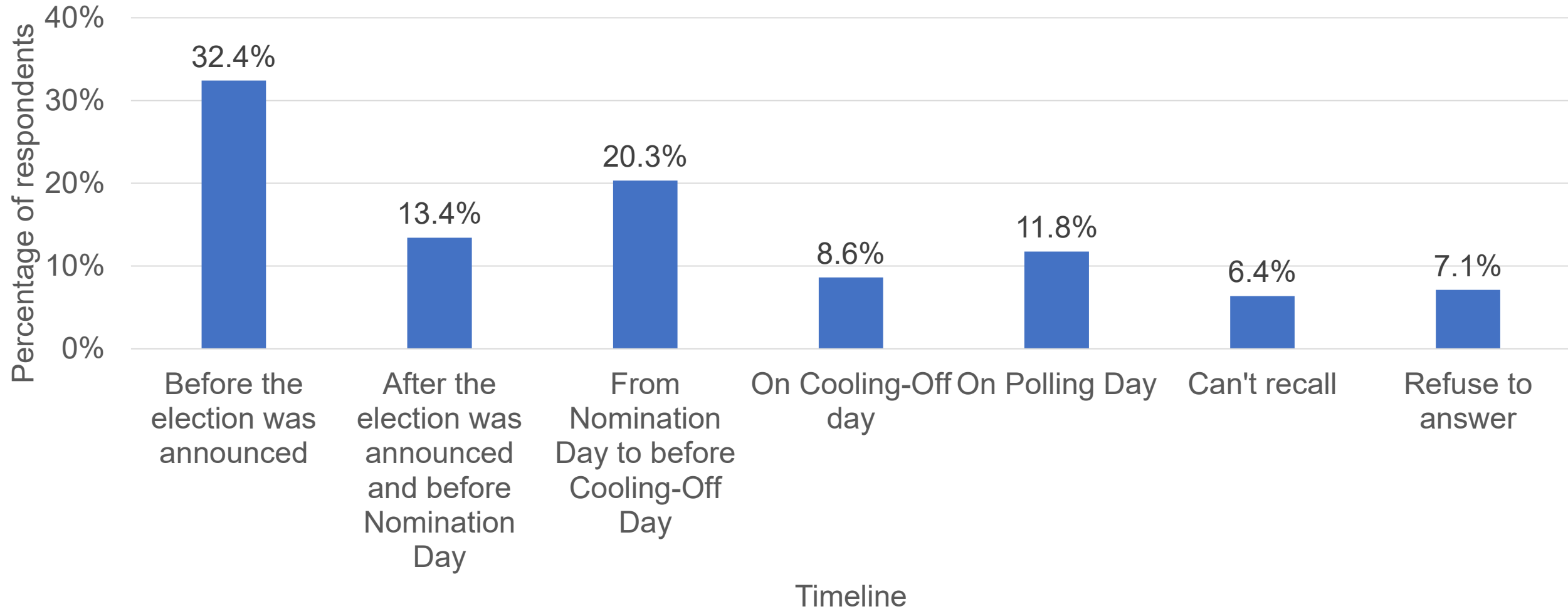
I received content such as memes, music clips, and/or posters associated with the recent election via instant messaging platforms (e.g. WhatsApp, Telegram, Facebook Messenger).



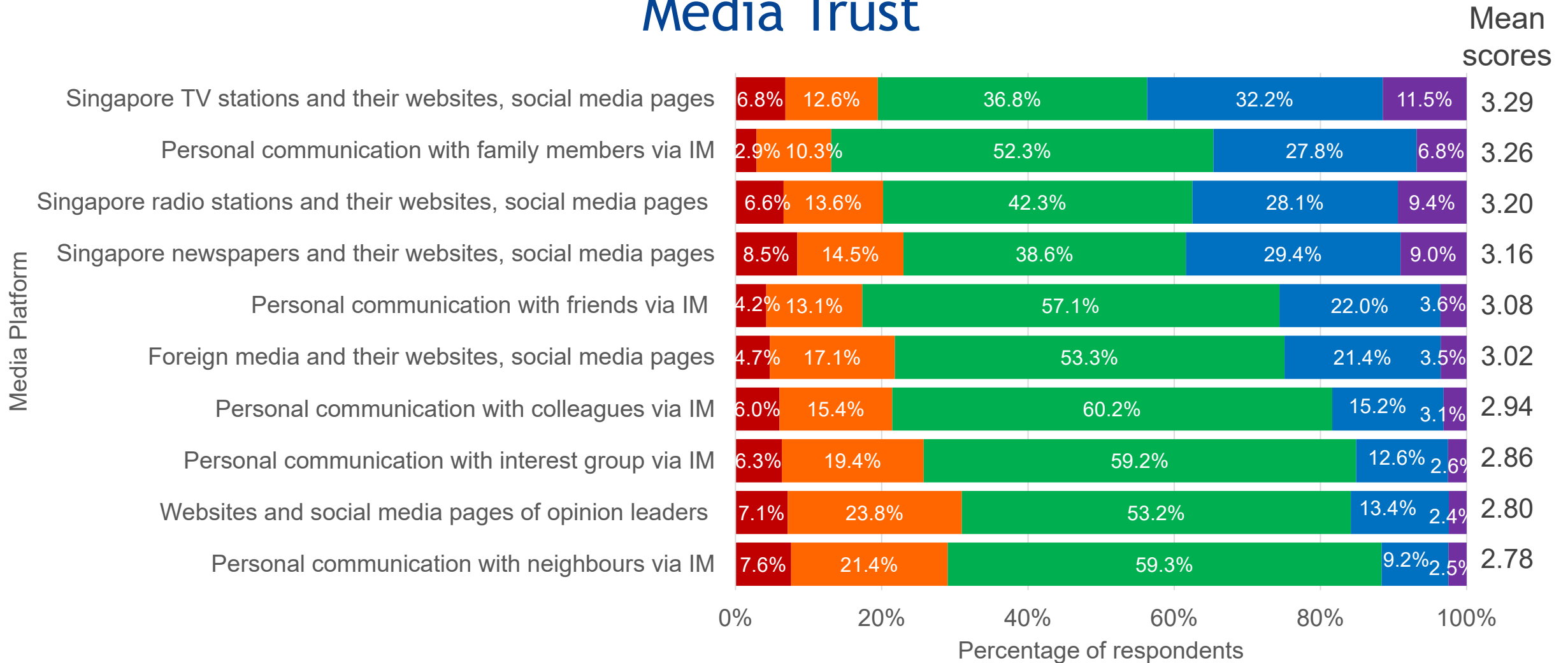
At least one of my groups on instant messaging platforms (e.g. WhatsApp, Telegram, Facebook Messenger) discussed issues, political parties and candidates running for the recent election.



When did voters decide whom to vote for?



Media Trust



■ 1- Very untrustworthy ■ 2 ■ 3 ■ 4 ■ 5- Very trustworthy

Comparison of Media Trust between 2015 and 2020

Media Trust 2015

1. SG TV stations and their websites, social media pages (3.03)
2. SG newspapers and their websites, social media pages (2.98)
3. SG radio stations and their websites, social media pages (2.96)
4. Party and candidate websites/SNS (2.86)
5. Printed party brochures and newsletters (2.81)
6. SNS (2.57)
7. Instant Messaging (2.53)
8. Blogs and YouTube sites (2.46)
9. Online discussion forums and portals (2.32)

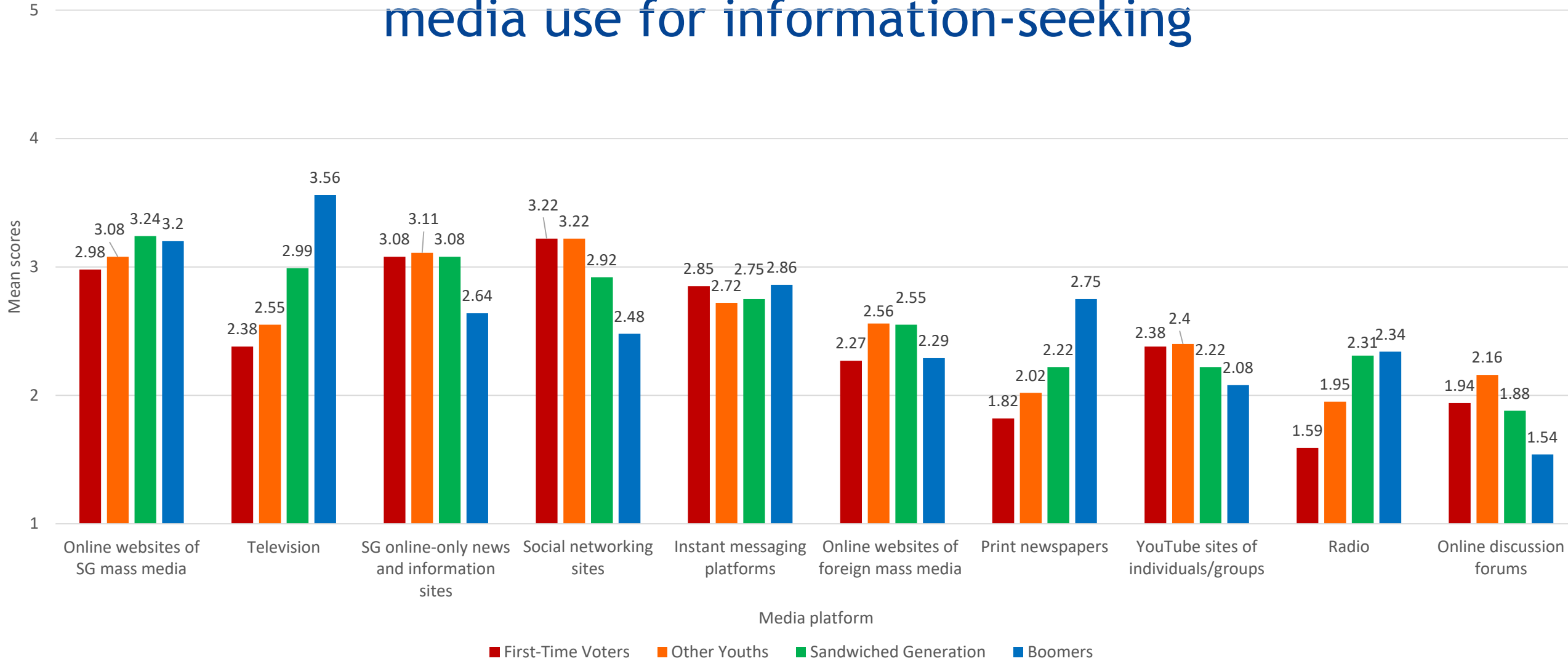
Media Trust 2020

1. SG TV stations and their websites, social media pages (3.29)
2. Personal communication via IM with family (3.26)
3. SG radio stations and their websites, social media pages (3.20)
4. SG newspapers and their websites, social media pages (3.16)
5. Personal communication via IM with friends (3.08)
6. Foreign mass media, websites, social media pages (3.02)
7. Personal communication via IM with colleagues (2.94)
8. Personal communication via IM with interest groups (2.86)
9. Websites and social media pages of opinion leaders (2.80)
10. Personal communication via IM with neighbours (2.76)

N=2,000

N=2,018

Frequency distribution of generational differences in media use for information-seeking

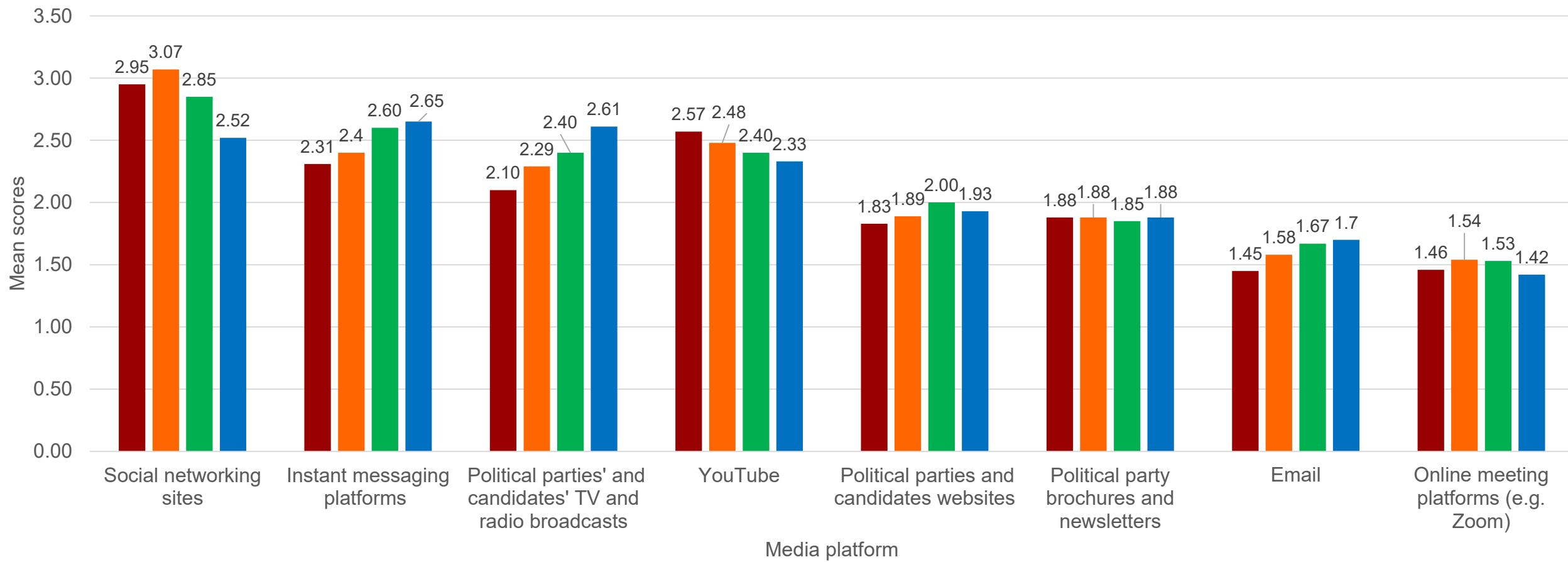


Significant difference among generations for 9 platforms

Only instant messaging platforms show no significant generational difference

Media Platform	ANOVA Result
Online websites of foreign mass media	$F(3,2014) = 6.79, p < 0.001$
Television	$F(3,2014) = 70.63, p < 0.001$
Print newspapers	$F(3,2014) = 42.89, p < 0.001$
SG online-only news and information websites	$F(3,2014) = 16.97, p < 0.001$
Social networking sites	$F(3,2014) = 25.91, p < 0.001$
Radio	$F(3,2014) = 20.62, p < 0.001$
Online websites of SG mass media	$F(3,2014) = 2.69, p < 0.05$
YouTube	$F(3,2014) = 5.65, p < 0.01$
Online discussion forums	$F(3,2014) = 23.53, p < 0.001$

Frequency distribution of generational differences in engagement with political parties/candidates



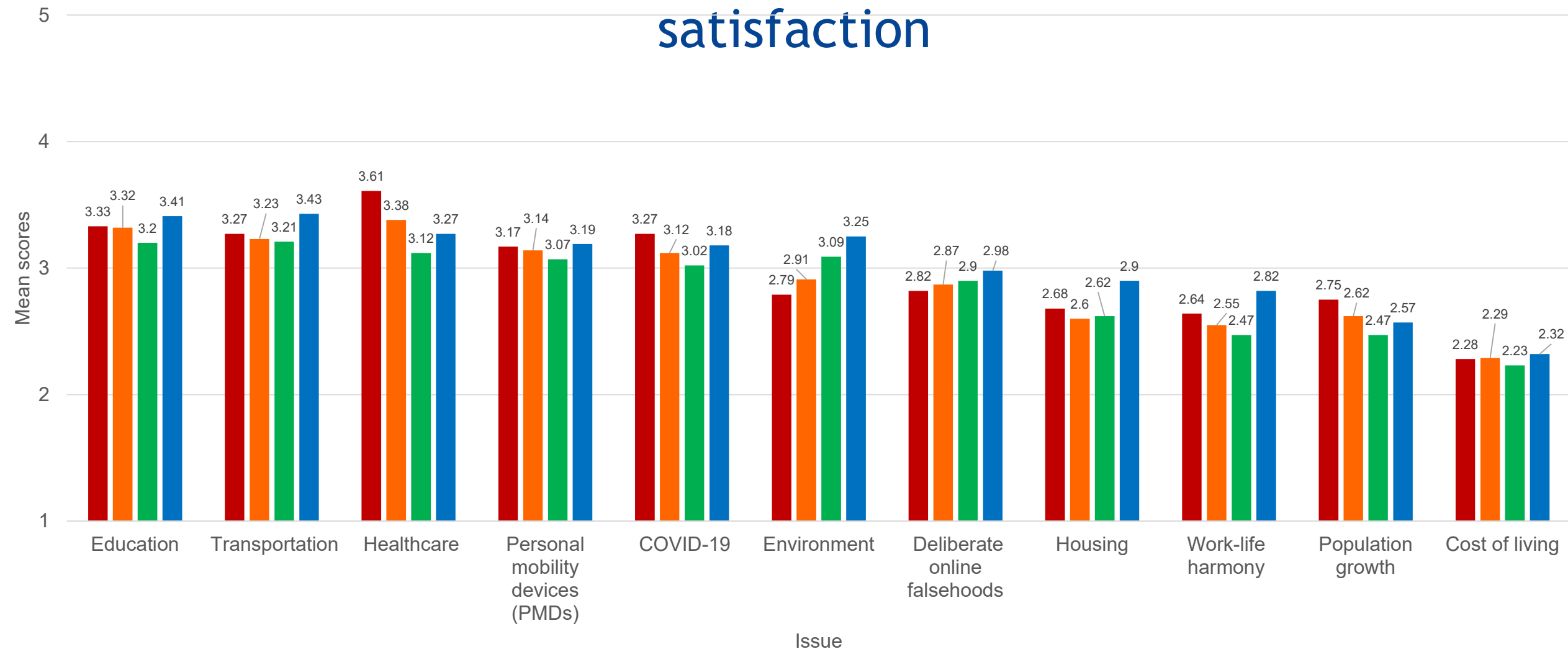
■ First-Time Voters ■ Other Youths ■ Sandwiched Generation ■ Boomers

Significant differences among generations for only IM, SNS, and parties' and candidates' TV and radio broadcasts

Online meeting platforms, emails, YouTube, political parties' brochures and newsletters, and political parties' and candidates' websites show no significant generational difference

Media Platform	ANOVA Result
Instant messaging platforms	$F(3,2014) = 4.02, p < 0.05$
Social networking sites	$F(3,2014) = 13.98, p < 0.001$
Political parties' and candidates' radio and TV broadcasts	$F(3,2014) = 10.87, p < 0.001$

Frequency distribution of generational differences in issue satisfaction

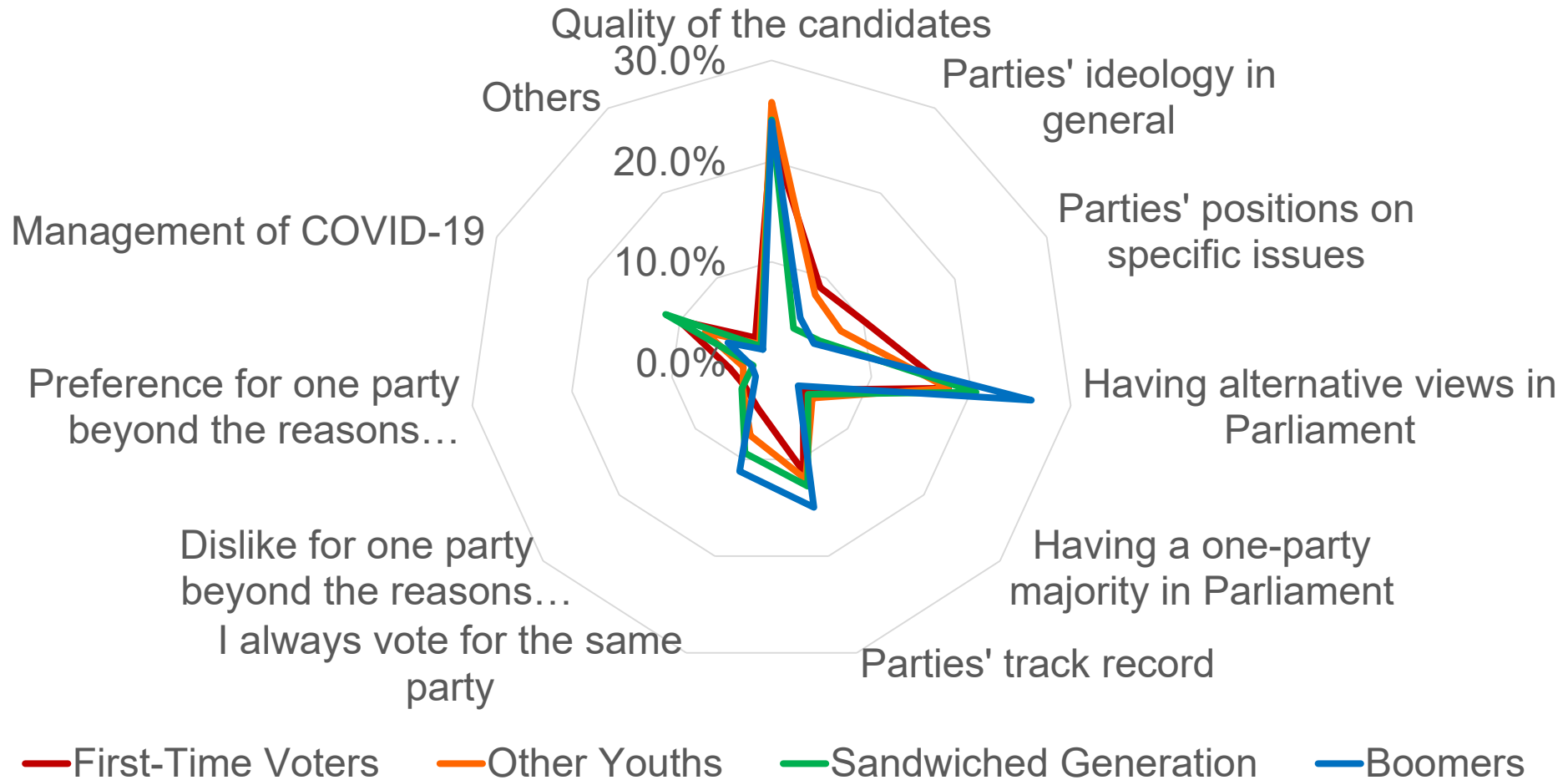


Significant differences among generations for 8 issues

No significant difference found for cost of living, deliberate online falsehoods, and personal mobility devices

Issue	ANOVA Result
Population growth	$F(3,2014) = 3.92, p < 0.01$
Work-life harmony	$F(3,2014) = 12.39, p < 0.001$
Housing	$F(3,2014) = 9.59, p < 0.001$
Environment	$F(3,2014) = 16.70, p < 0.01$
COVID-19	$F(3,2014) = 3.24, p < 0.05$
Healthcare	$F(3,2014) = 11.20, p < 0.001$
Transportation	$F(3,2014) = 6.36, p < 0.001$
Education	$F(3,2014) = 4.89, p < 0.01$

Generational Differences in Primary Reason for Voting



Regression model - Primary reason for voting

Breakdown of primary reasons for voting***	Odds Ratio	
	Likely to vote PAP	Likely to vote opp
Quality of candidates	2.34***	0.43***
Parties' ideology in general	0.98	1.02
Parties' position on specific issues	0.76	1.32
Having alternative views in Parliament	0.14***	7.03***
Having a one-party majority in Parliament	0.32**	3.15**

Breakdown of primary reasons for voting***	Odds Ratio	
	Likely to vote PAP	Likely to vote opp
Parties' track record	4.83***	0.21***
I always vote for the same party	5.84***	0.17***
Management of Covid-19	1.56	0.64
Dislike for one party beyond reasons listed above	0.23**	4.27**
Preference for one party beyond reasons listed above	1.43	0.70

Note: $R^2 = .46$ (Cox & Snell), $.63$ (Nagelkerke). Model $\chi^2(42) = 614.50, p < .001$

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

For categorical variables such as "primary reasons for voting" and "generation", overall significances are provided because they are categorical.

Regression model - Issue satisfaction

Issue satisfaction	Odds Ratio	
	Likely to vote PAP	Likely to vote opp
Population growth	1.33*	0.75*
Transportation	0.97	1.03
Personal mobility devices (PMDs)	1.10	0.91
Housing	0.95	1.06
Education	1.14	0.88
Work-life harmony	1.23	0.81

Issue satisfaction	Odds Ratio	
	Likely to vote PAP	Likely to vote opp
Environment	0.97	1.03
Cost of living	1.33*	0.75*
Healthcare	1.08	0.92
Deliberate online falsehoods	1.39*	0.72**
Covid-19	1.27*	0.79*

Note: $R^2 = .46$ (Cox & Snell), $.63$ (Nagelkerke). Model $\chi^2(42) = 614.50, p < .001$

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Regression model - Media variables

Mass media use for information seeking	Odds Ratio		Social media use for information seeking	Odds Ratio		Engagement with political candidates	Odds Ratio	
	Likely to vote PAP	Likely to vote opp		Likely to vote PAP	Likely to vote opp		Likely to vote PAP	Likely to vote opp
Print newspapers	1.05	0.95	YouTube	1.23	0.82	YouTube	0.88	1.13
Television	1.11	0.90	Online discussion forums	0.84	1.19	Online meeting platforms	1.14	0.88
Radio	0.93	1.08	Social networking sites	1.18	0.85	Social networking sites	0.74**	1.36**
Online websites of SG mass media	1.23*	0.81*	Instant messaging platforms	0.95	1.05	Instant messaging platforms	1.07	0.93
Online websites of foreign mass media	1.12	0.90				Political parties' and candidates' radio and TV broadcasts	1.19	0.84
SG online-only news and information websites	1.00	1.00				Email	0.96	1.04
						Political parties' and candidates' websites	0.74*	1.35*
						Parties' brochures and websites	0.96	1.05

Note: $R^2 = .46$ (Cox & Snell), $.63$ (Nagelkerke). Model $\chi^2(42) = 614.50, p < .001$

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Regression model - Generation

Breakdown of generation variable (p=0.130)	Odds Ratio	
	Likely to vote PAP	Likely to vote opp
First-time voters (vs. Boomers)	0.41*	2.41*
Other youths (vs. Boomers)	0.72	1.39
Sandwiched generation (vs. Boomer)	0.92	1.09

Note: $R^2 = .46$ (Cox & Snell), $.63$ (Nagelkerke). Model $\chi^2(42) = 614.50, p < .001$

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