

A hand is shown from the top right, holding a white ballot paper and placing it into a white ballot box. The box has a slot on top. The background is a solid grey color.

The Rational Voter in Singapore

Flight to Safety, Bread and Butter, or Post-Material Values?

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1. Limitations of Surveys

1. Respondent Fatigue → Inaccurate Answers (Random response bias)
2. Social Desirability Bias
3. Personal Desirability Bias/Central Tendency Bias
4. Current Mood Bias
5. Measures sentiment, not conviction

2. Possible Concerns of Voters

- Two points as prelude
 - Every voter is ‘rational’
 - They vote according to their own costs and benefits
 - Their costs and benefits may or may not be material
 - The Singaporean voter is not ‘unique’

2. Possible Concerns of Voters

- i. Referendum on 4G and Lawrence Wong?
 - In 2020, flight to safety did not materialize: why?
- ii. Bread and Butter
 - Cost of living
 - Housing prices
- iii. Palestine
- iv. Fairness Issues
 - Perceptions of unjust treatment of candidates and gerrymandering
- v. Quality of Candidates
 - In plurality electoral systems, both party and candidate matter

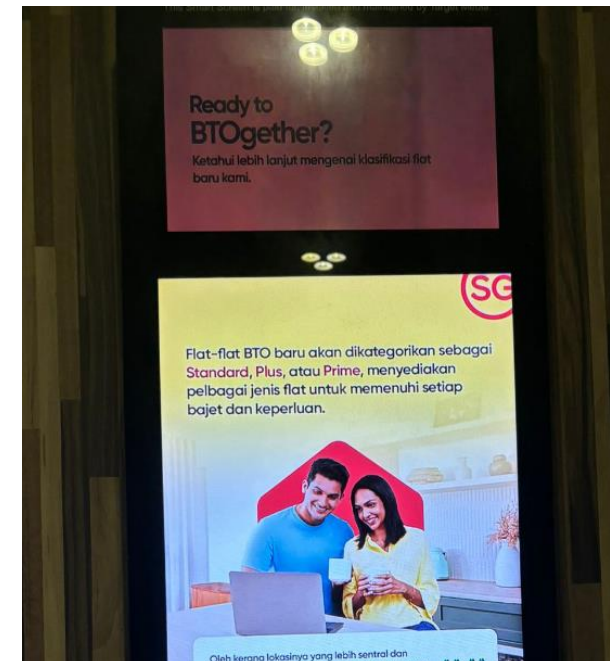
2. Possible Concerns of Voters: i. Referendum on 4G and Lawrence Wong

Year	'68	'72	'76	'80	'84	'88	91'	'97	'01	'06	'11	'15	'20
<u>Total Seats</u>	58	65	69	75	79	81	81	83	84	84	87	89	93
<u>PAP Seats</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>69</u>	<u>75</u>	77	80	77	81	82	82	81	83	83
<u>% of PAP votes</u>	86.7	70.4	74.1	77.7	64.8	63.2	61	65	75.3	66.6	60.1	69.9	61.2
2020 GE	Average PAP vote in GRCs led by 3G Leaders							Average PAP vote in GRCs led by 4G Leaders					
	PM Lee Hsien Loong Ng Eng Hen Teo Chee Hean Tharman Shanmugaratnam K. Shanmugam Vivian Balakrishnan Gan Kim Yong							DPM Heng Swee Keat Chan Chun Sing Ong Ye Kung Lawrence Wong Ng Chee Meng Tan Chuan-Jin Josephine Teo Masagos Zulkifli S. Iswaran/Desmond Lee					
	66.4%							59.56%					

2. Possible Concerns of Voters: ii. 'Bread and Butter'

- Cost of living
 - Utilities, town council fees, ERP
 - GST
 - Food and grocery prices!
- HDB
 - \$1m = 'psychological barrier'

Number of million-dollar HDB flats resold hit all-time high in June as resale prices rise 1.8%



Ready to BTOgether?
Ketahuilah lebih lanjut mengenai klasifikasi flat baru kami.

Flat-flat BTO baru akan dikategorikan sebagai Standard, Plus, atau Prime, menyediakan pelbagai jenis flat untuk memenuhi setiap bajet dan keperluan.

Oleh kerana lokasinya yang lebih sentral dan

2. Possible Concerns of Voters: iii. Palestine

- Overall approach of the government has remained, but there are some discernible shifts
 - UN votes; Air Drop; strong statements from Shanmugam and Vivian
- Question: has the government done enough for Palestine not to be an electoral issue?

ISEAS-YIH survey (April 2024)

Hamas' attack on Israel cannot be justified	Hamas was justified in attacking Israel	Israel has the right to retaliate as it sees fit	Israel has the right to retaliate subject to international law	Israel's attack on Gaza has gone too far	I do not have a view
8.1%	2.9%	4.8%	26.7%	46.2%	11.4%



2. Possible Concerns of Voters: iv. Fairness Issues

- GE 2020: First time voters rejected high-handed tactics
 - Raeesah Khan (part 1) incident; Alfian Sa'at
- Day after GE:
 - 'PAP needs to engage in "soul-searching"' (Min. Shanmugam)
- Things to watch
 - Reactions to EBRC report (discussion on gerrymandering)
 - Whether similar tactics are used during the campaigns and lead-up to it



2. Possible Concerns of Voters: v. Quality of Candidates

- In plurality electoral systems (such as Singapore's), both party and candidate matter
- In 2020, opposition candidates were really good, PAP-esque
- Question: Who are the ones who will be fielded?

3. Concluding Thoughts

- Timing and black swans
- Iswaran and Pritam's cases
- The 'freak election' and 'free rider' arguments
- Surveys measure sentiment, voting measures conviction