# Singaporeans' Political Attitudes
# Asian Barometer Survey (Wave 6, 2023)

by

Gillian KOH, Senior Research Fellow (Principal Investigator for ABS 6, Singapore)

TAN Ern Ser, Adjunct Principal Research Fellow and Academic Adviser, IPS Social Lab

TEO Kay Key, Research Fellow, IPS Social Lab

CHEOW Jin Jie, Research Assistant

(Revised on 25 Sept 24)

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National University of Singapore

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# 1. CONTEXT FOR ABS 6

# BACKGROUND OF ABS SURVEYS

## Asian Barometer Survey (ABS)

ABS is a comparative public opinion survey on political attitudes in Asia-Pacific. It examines the level that democratic norms and political systems have been entrenched in citizens in the countries and societies in the region. A common survey instrument developed by scholars is used.

Overall, the responses provide a sense of what "democracy" means to the public in these societies and countries; the legitimacy they confer onto their governing system; and the factors that shape those political attitudes.

IPS has been the Singapore partner since 2010. Each time, the survey gathers the responses of about 1,000 Singapore citizens in face-to face interviews, the findings are weighted if necessary to improve on their representation. This makes the data generalisable to citizens here.

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# BACKGROUND OF ABS SURVEYS IN SINGAPORE

## Data Collection, Timing of Elections and Economic Conditions

| Timing of Fieldwork (n is the number of respondents) | General (GE) or Presidential Elections (PE) | Growth Rate in Real GDP (%) Source: IMF | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wave 2: July – November 2006 (n=1012) | GE: May 6, 2006 (fieldwork **after** GE) | 2005: 7.4 2006: 9 | ⬆ |
| Wave 3: April – August 2010 (n=1000) | GE: May 7, 2011 PE: August 27, 2011 (fieldwork **before** GE and PE; not election year) | 2010: 14.5 2011: 6.2 | ⬇ |
| Wave 4: October 2014 – January 2015 (n=1039) | GE: September 11, 2015 (fieldwork **before** GE) | 2014:3.9 2015: 3 | ⬇ |
| Wave 5: July 2020 – Sept 2020 (n=1002) | GE: July 10, 2020 (fieldwork **after** GE) | 2019:1.3 2020: -3.9 | ⬇ |
| **Wave 6: September 2023 – November 2023 (n=1003)** | PE: September 1, 2023 (fieldwork right **after** PE; not GE year) | 2022: 3.8 2023:1.1 | ⬇ |

# 2. SURVEY METHODOLOGY & CHALLENGES OF ABS 6

# SAMPLE PROFILE

## Sample of 1003 Singapore Citizens 21 years old and above; sample weighted for age, race and gender.

| Age | Weighted Percentage |
|---|---|
| 21-29 | 18.2 |
| 30-39 | 23.1 |
| 40-54 | 34.2 |
| 55-64 | 22.0 |
| 65 and above | 2.4 |

| Race | Weighted Percentage |
|---|---|
| Chinese | 75.4 |
| Malay | 13.8 |
| Indian | 9.7 |
| Other | 1.2 |

| Gender | Weighted Percentage |
|---|---|
| Male | 49.6 |
| Female | 50.4 |

| Education Level | Percentage | National Proportion |
|---|---|---|
| Primary and below | 7.0 | 21.4 |
| Secondary | 18.0 | 15.5 |
| Post-secondary | 31.7 | 26.6 |
| University and above | 43.3 | 36.6 |

# SAMPLE PROFILE

| Occupational Categories | Category | % | National Proportions |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | |
| Senior Executives | | | |
| Professionals | Service | 41.8 | 63 |
| Technicians, supervisors | | | |
| | | | |
| Clerical workers | | | |
| Sales workers | Intermediate | 45.5 | 20 |
| Service workers | | | |
| | | | |
| Operators, semiskilled | Working | 12.7 | 18 |
| Unskilled workers | | | |

| Income Category | Figure | % |
|---|---|---|
| First quintile | < $1,347 | 8.5 |
| Second quintile | $1,348 – $2,400 | 11.3 |
| Third quintile | $2,401 - $3,634 | 18.7 |
| Fourth quintile | $3,635 - $5,578 | 23.0 |
| Fifth quintile | $5,579 and above | 38.4 |

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# SURVEY METHODOLOGY

## Change in the Mode of Data Collection in ABS 6 to "Self-Administration"

Previously, interviewers read out questions to respondents and keyed in the respondents' answers into their tablets. Interviewers could respond to questions respondents might have; they also provided peer pressure on respondents to give definitive answers.

**ABS 6:** Incorporated self-administration of the survey by respondents on tablets in the presence of the interviewers.

| Interviewer-administered | Self-administered |
|:---:|:---:|
| 10.9% | 89.1% |

# CHALLENGES

## Higher proportion of DK responses

In contrast to previous waves of ABS surveys, there is a higher proportion of respondents choosing the "Don't understand/Don't know/Can't choose/Decline to answer" (DK) option in Singapore's ABS 6 surveys.

This trend is pronounced in the International Relations section. There is a statistically significant relationship between the way people completed the survey and this section of the survey. Those completing the questions on their own were more likely to choose the "Don't understand/Don't know/Can't choose/Decline to answer" option.

We do not take those responses into account in calculating mean scores when we conduct our comparison of responses over the waves of data.

# 3. STATE OF DEMOCRACY IN SINGAPORE

# STATE OF DEMOCRACY IN SINGAPORE

Since 2006, most think that Singapore is a **democracy, but with minor problems.** More say it is a full democracy in 2023 compared to 2020.

**Chart 1: In your opinion, how much of a democracy is Singapore?**

| Year | A full democracy | A democracy, but with minor problems | A democracy, with major problems | Not a democracy | Don't understand/ Can't choose/ Decline to answer |
|------|------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| 2006 | 15.2% | 70.9% | 4.5% | 3.5% | 5.8% |
| 2010 | 13.4% | 68.5% | 6.5% | 3.0% | 8.6% |
| 2014 | 13.9% | 68.7% | 7.6% | 1.9% | 7.9% |
| 2020 | 9.2% | 68.6% | 15.4% | 4.6% | 2.3% |
| 2023 | 12.4% | 61.9% | 8.2% | 3.7% | 13.9% |

Legend:
- A full democracy
- A democracy, but with minor problems
- A democracy, with major problems
- Not a democracy
- Don't understand/ Can't choose/ Decline to answer

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# STATE OF DEMOCRACY IN SINGAPORE

From 2010 to 2023, respondents in each wave rated Singapore as being more democratic in the present compared to 10 years before, based on mean score.

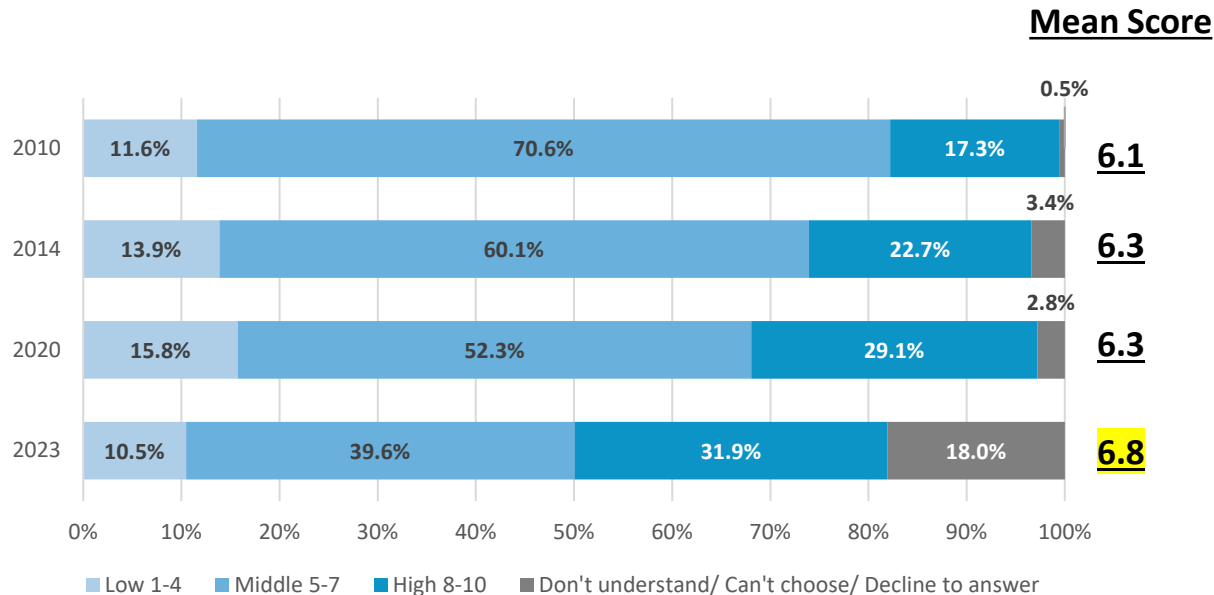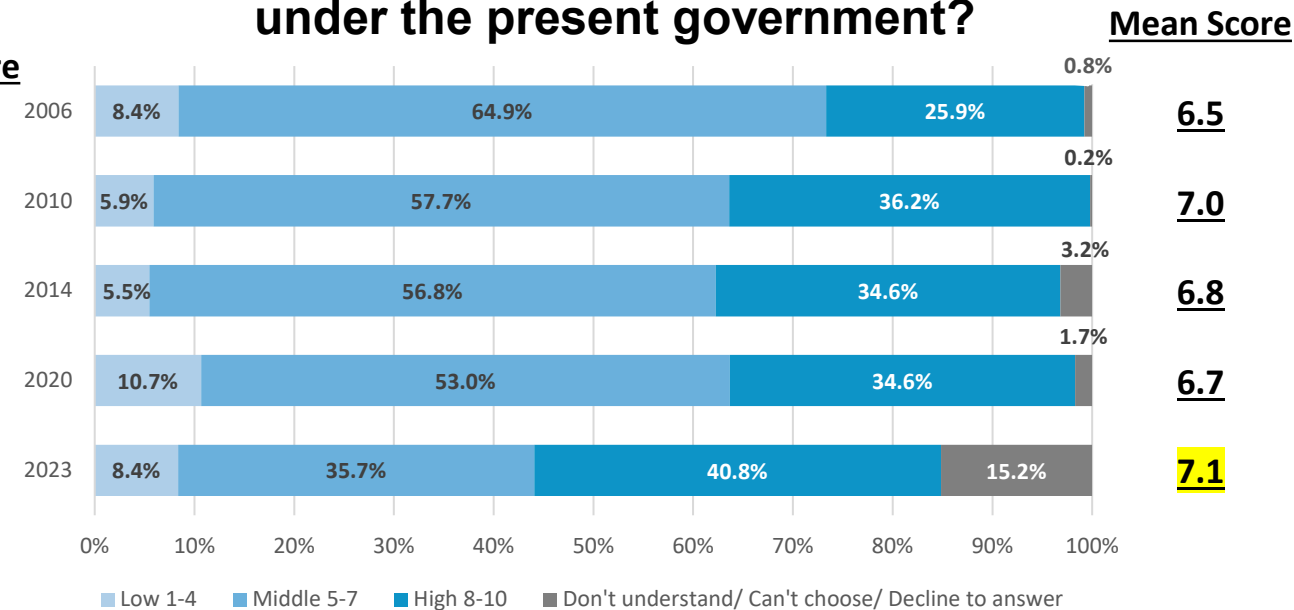**Chart 2: Where would you place our country 10 years ago?**

| Year | Low 1-4 | Middle 5-7 | High 8-10 | Don't understand/Can't choose/Decline to answer | Mean Score |
|------|---------|------------|-----------|---------|------------|
| 2010 | 11.6% | 70.6% | 17.3% | 0.5% | 6.1 |
| 2014 | 13.9% | 60.1% | 22.7% | 3.4% | 6.3 |
| 2020 | 15.8% | 52.3% | 29.1% | 2.8% | 6.3 |
| 2023 | 10.5% | 39.6% | 31.9% | 18.0% | 6.8 |

**Chart 3: Where would you place our country under the present government?**

| Year | Low 1-4 | Middle 5-7 | High 8-10 | Don't understand/Can't choose/Decline to answer | Mean Score |
|------|---------|------------|-----------|---------|------------|
| 2006 | 8.4% | 64.9% | 25.9% | 0.8% | 6.5 |
| 2010 | 5.9% | 57.7% | 36.2% | 0.2% | 7.0 |
| 2014 | 5.5% | 56.8% | 34.6% | 3.2% | 6.8 |
| 2020 | 10.7% | 53.0% | 34.6% | 1.7% | 6.7 |
| 2023 | 8.4% | 35.7% | 40.8% | 15.2% | 7.1 |

*Scale: 1 denotes "completely undemocratic" and 10 denotes "completely democratic".*
*Mean scores calculated without the DU/CC/DTA responses.*

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# STATE OF DEMOCRACY IN SINGAPORE
## MULTINOMIAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION ANALYSIS

**Past vs. Present State of Democracy**

- Further analysis of factors influencing respondents' impressions of democracy in Singapore in the past as compared to the present was conducted.

- Respondents were grouped into those who responded to Questions 92 and 93 that indicate they believe that (i) there was no change; (ii) it is less democratic now; (iii) it is more democratic now. (See Annex, Slide 76.)

- Using multinomial logistic regression, an analytical framework was created based on indicators in the ABS Wave 6 survey instrument to understand the types of citizens in these three groups, at the level of statistical significance.

# STATE OF DEMOCRACY IN SINGAPORE
## REGRESSION ANALYSIS

## Past vs. Present State of Democracy

- Based on a standard battery of questions, predictor variables were created to test if they explain the dependent variable (DV) – change in evaluation about democracy (See Annex for details – Slides 71 to 75)
  1. Political Interest
  2. Traditionalism
  3. Inclination towards Democratic Deconsolidation
  4. Equal Distribution of Power and Resources

- Other demographic variables included in the regression analysis:
  1. Gender
  2. Income
  3. Age
  4. Ethnicity
  5. Education

# STATE OF DEMOCRACY IN SINGAPORE

## MULTINOMIAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION – SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES ONLY

| DV: Views on democracy in Singapore now as compared to the past<br><br>*Reference group: No change* | Model 2^^<br>Exp (B) | |
| --- | --- | --- |
| | Less democratic now | More democratic now |
| **Equal Distribution of Power and Resources** | .615* | .741 |
| **Age**<br><br>Ages 56 and above<br><br>Ages 36-55<br><br>*Reference Group: Ages 21-35* | <br><br>.305***<br><br>.614 | <br><br>.400***<br><br>.664* |
| **Education**<br><br>Technical or Secondary Education<br><br>High School or some University Education<br><br>*Reference group: Bachelor's and above* | <br><br>2.287*<br><br>1.671 | <br><br>.599<br><br>.679 |

*$p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$. *** $p < 0.001$
^^: Age as a categorical variable.

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# STATE OF DEMOCRACY IN SINGAPORE

## MULTINOMIAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION RESULTS - SUMMARY

| | Less democratic now | No change | More democratic now |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Equal distribution of power and resources** | | More equal* | |
| **Age** | | Ages 56 and above***<br><br>Ages 36-55* | |
| **Education** | Less educated* | | |

*p < 0.05. **p < 0.01. ***p < 0.001.*

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# 4. MEANING OF DEMOCRACY

# MEANING OF DEMOCRACY

What do people mean when they think of the concept of "democracy"?

One way in a survey setting is to break the concept of "democracy" into four dimensions and ask what matters in a forced choice manner. We accept its limitations.

**Political-civic rights (in purple). For example, "People are free to express their political views openly"**

**Substantive (in orange). For example, "Basic necessities, like food, clothes and shelter, are provided for all"**
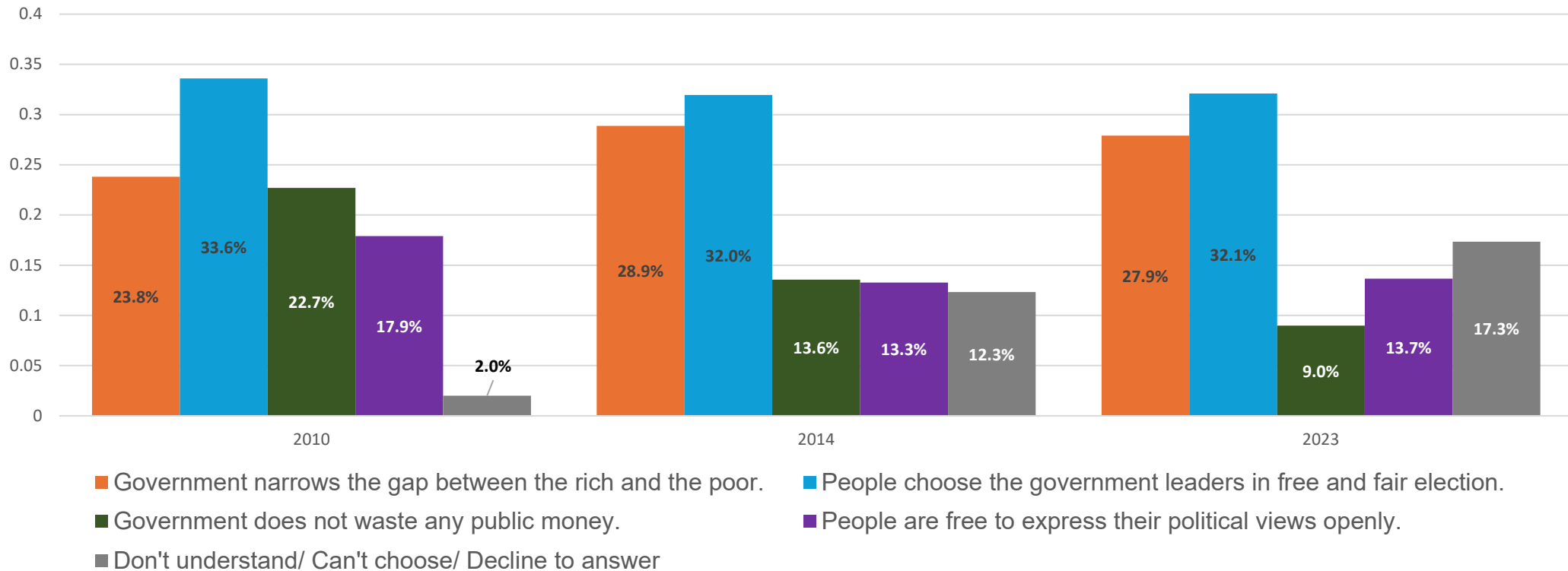
**Procedural (in turquoise). For example, "People choose government leaders in free and fair elections"**

**Good Governance (in green). For example, "Government ensures there is law and order"**

# MEANING OF DEMOCRACY

In the first of four questions, the procedural process of free and fair elections is the most important attribute, but a close second is the substantive one where government narrows the gap between rich and poor.

**Chart 4 : Which is the most essential characteristic of democracy? (1)**



- ■ Government narrows the gap between the rich and the poor.
- ■ People choose the government leaders in free and fair election.
- ■ Government does not waste any public money.
- ■ People are free to express their political views openly.
- ■ Don't understand/ Can't choose/ Decline to answer

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# MEANING OF DEMOCRACY

In this second question, the substantive socio-economic attribute that the system ensures all can access the necessities in life is the most important one.

**Chart 5 : Which is the most essential characteristic of democracy? (2)**



- Basic necessities, like food, clothes and shelter, are provided for all.
- The legislature has oversight over the government.
- Government provides people with quality public services.
- People are free to organize political groups.
- Don't understand/ Can't choose/ Decline to answer

# MEANING OF DEMOCRACY

In this third question, the good governance attribute that government ensures law and order is the most important one.



Chart 6 : Which is the most essential characteristic of democracy? (3)

Legend:
- Government ensures job opportunities for all.
- Government ensures there is law and order.
- Don't understand/ Can't choose/ Decline to answer
- Multiple parties compete fairly in the election.
- Media is free to criticize the things government does.

Values:
- 2010: 25.0%, 12.0%, 43.0%, 18.6%, 1.4%
- 2014: 24.5%, 10.5%, 38.1%, 16.0%, 10.9%
- 2023: 21.7%, 13.1%, 42.5%, 8.5%, 14.3%
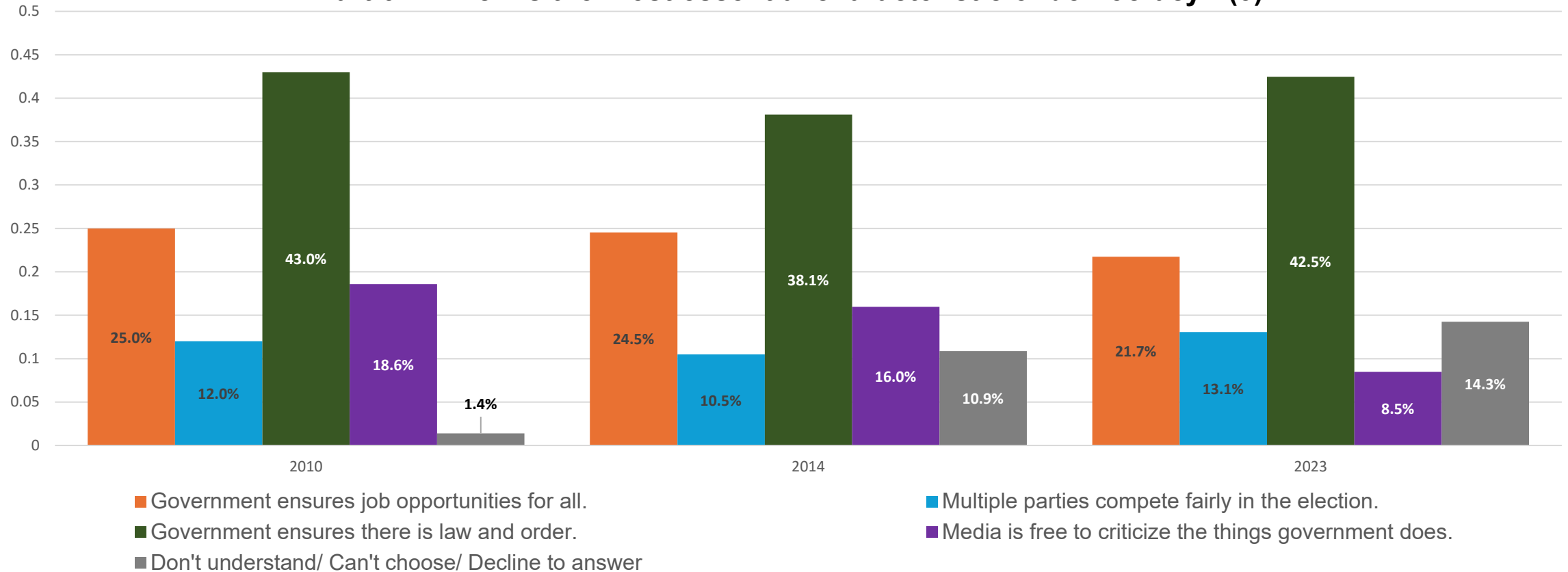
# MEANING OF DEMOCRACY

In this fourth question, the good governance attribute that politics is clean and free of corruption is the most important.

**Chart 7 : Which is the most essential characteristic of democracy? (4)**
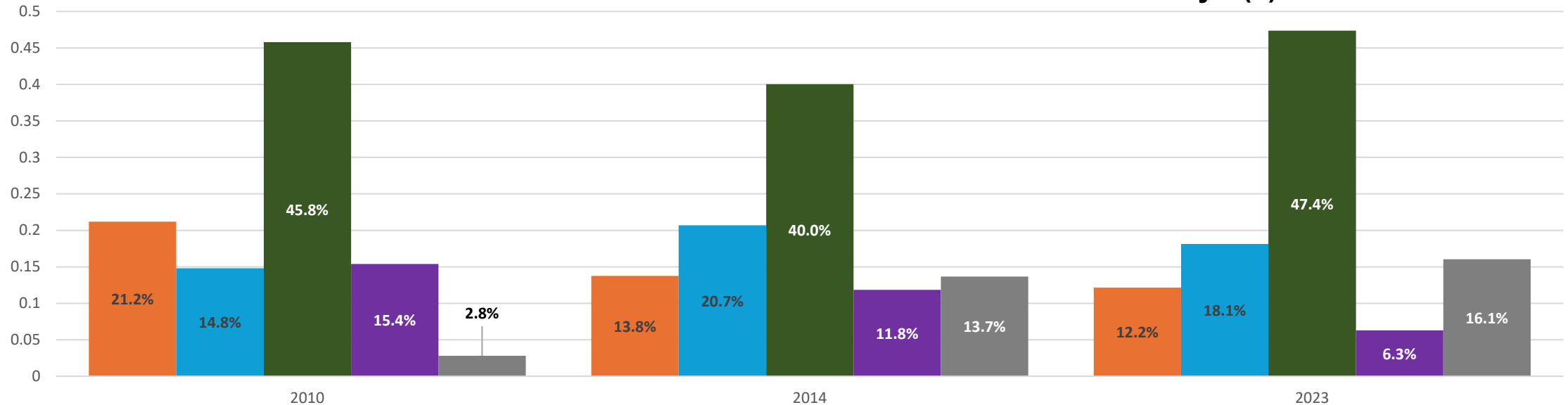


- ■ People receive state aid if they are unemployed.
- ■ Politics is clean and free of corruption.
- ■ Don't understand/ Can't choose/ Decline to answer
- ■ The court protects the ordinary people from the abuse of government power.
- ■ People have the freedom to take part in protests and demonstrations.

# MEANING OF DEMOCRACY

The dimensions deemed to be the important over the three waves:

**"People choose government leaders in free and fair elections."**

**"Basic necessities, like food, clothes and shelter, are provided for all."**

**"Government ensures there is law and order."**

**"Politics is clean and free of corruption."**

Singaporeans value the procedural, substantive and good governance dimensions, and in comparison, place less emphasis on **political-civic rights**.

# 5. SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY

# SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY

## Singaporeans' **commitment to democracy remains constant and strong.**

**Chart 8: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "Democracy may have its problems, but it is still the best form of government."**

**Mean Score***

| Year | Strongly Agree | Agree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree | Don't understand/ Can't choose/ Decline to answer | Mean Score* |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 2010 | 15.8% | 63.3% | 10.3% | 4.2% | 6.4% | **3.0** |
| 2014 | 20.3% | 58.1% | 7.2% | 0.9% | 13.5% | **3.1** |
| 2020 | 18.9% | 69.5% | 7.6% | 0.5% | 3.6% | **3.1** |
| 2023 | 18.3% | 53.9% | 7.7% | 0.6% | 19.4% | **3.1** |

Legend: ■ Strongly Agree ■ Agree ■ Disagree ■ Strongly Disagree ■ Don't understand/ Can't choose/ Decline to answer
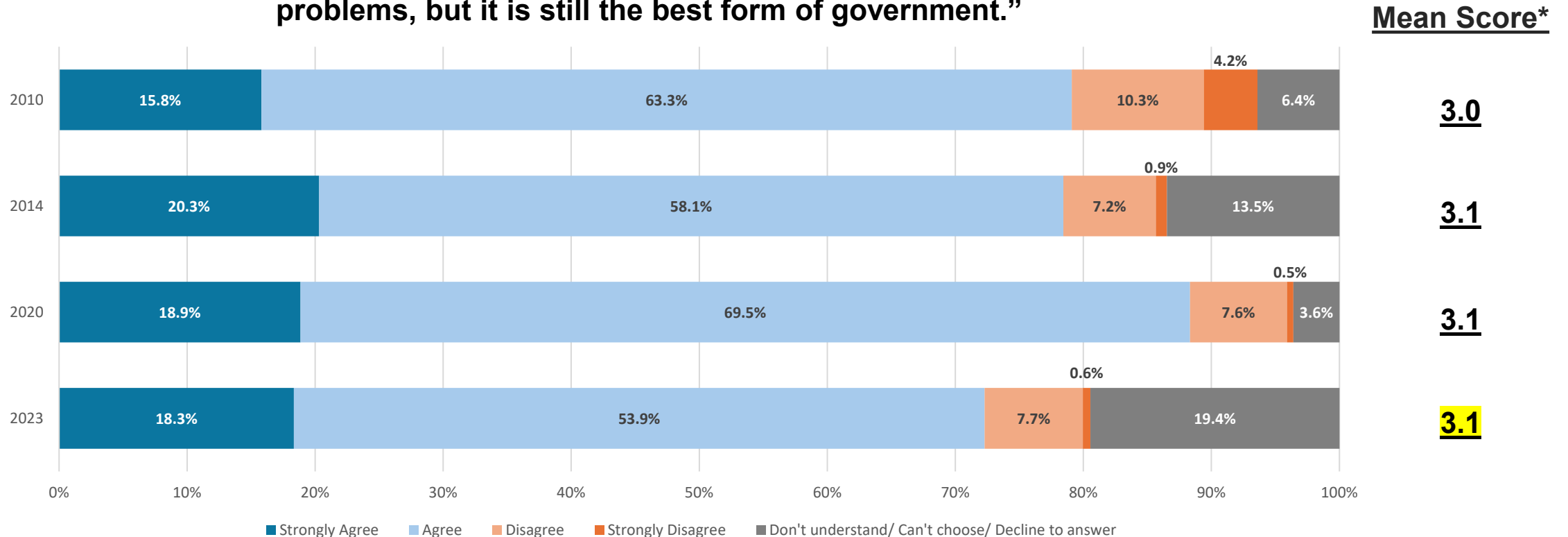
*The calculation of mean scores is based on reverse-coding of the variable.
Scale: 1 is "Strongly Disagree" and 4 is "Strongly Agree"
Mean score calculated without the DU/CC/DTA responses*

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# SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY

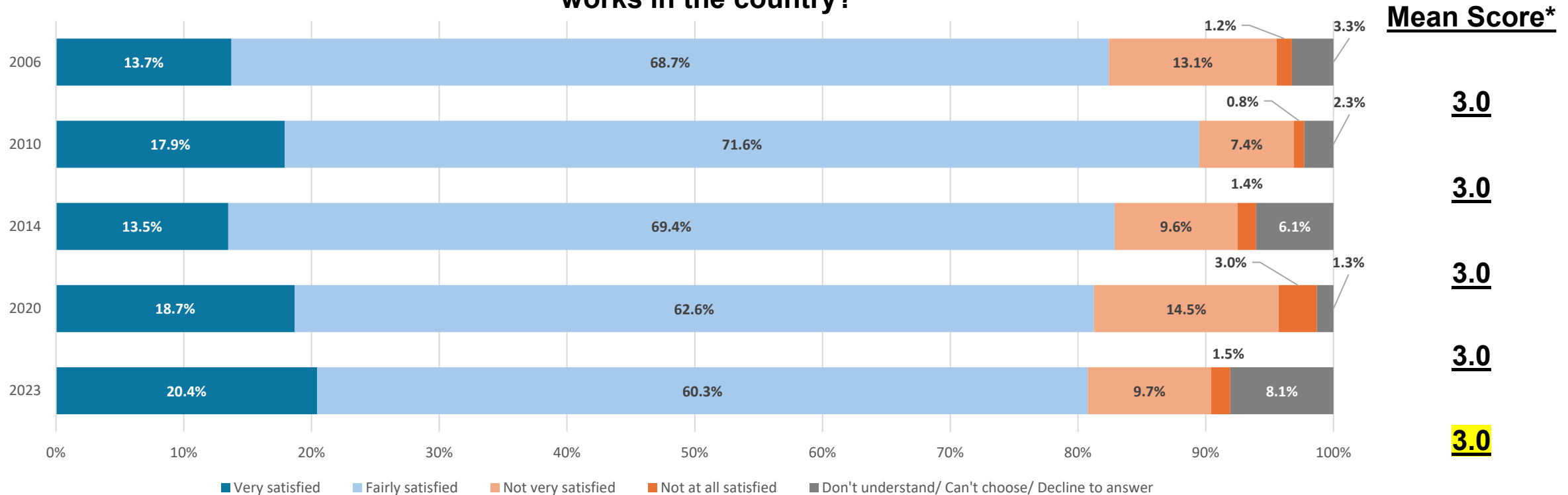Over **80% of Singaporeans** are **satisfied or very satisfied** with the way democracy works in Singapore over the past five waves of ABS surveys.

**Chart 9: On the whole, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way democracy works in the country?**



**Mean Score***

| Year | Very satisfied | Fairly satisfied | Not very satisfied | Not at all satisfied | Don't understand/ Can't choose/ Decline to answer | Mean Score |
|------|----------------|------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------------------------|------------|
| 2006 | 13.7% | 68.7% | 13.1% | 1.2% | 3.3% | 3.0 |
| 2010 | 17.9% | 71.6% | 7.4% | 0.8% | 2.3% | 3.0 |
| 2014 | 13.5% | 69.4% | 9.6% | 1.4% | 6.1% | 3.0 |
| 2020 | 18.7% | 62.6% | 14.5% | 3.0% | 1.3% | 3.0 |
| 2023 | 20.4% | 60.3% | 9.7% | 1.5% | 8.1% | 3.0 |

Legend: Very satisfied ■ Fairly satisfied ■ Not very satisfied ■ Not at all satisfied ■ Don't understand/ Can't choose/ Decline to answer ■

*The calculation of mean scores is based on reverse-coding of the variable.
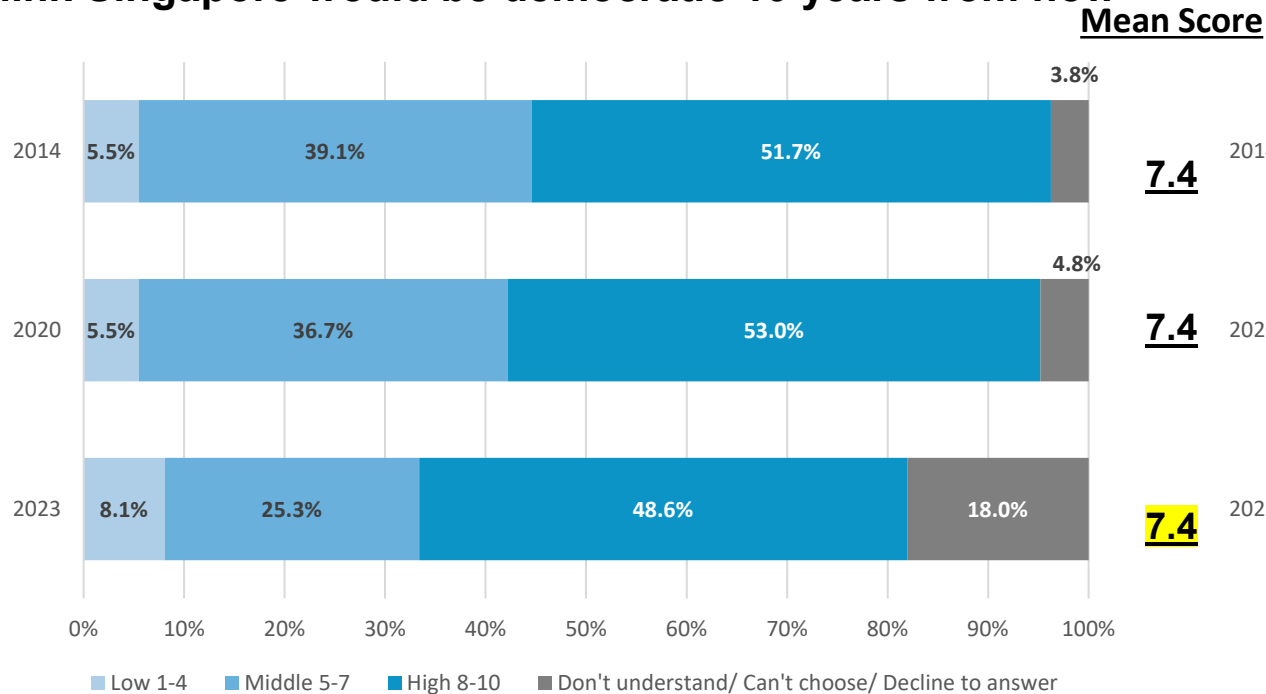Scale: 1 is "Not at all satisfied" and 4 is "Very satisfied"
Mean score calculated without the DU/CC/DTA responses*

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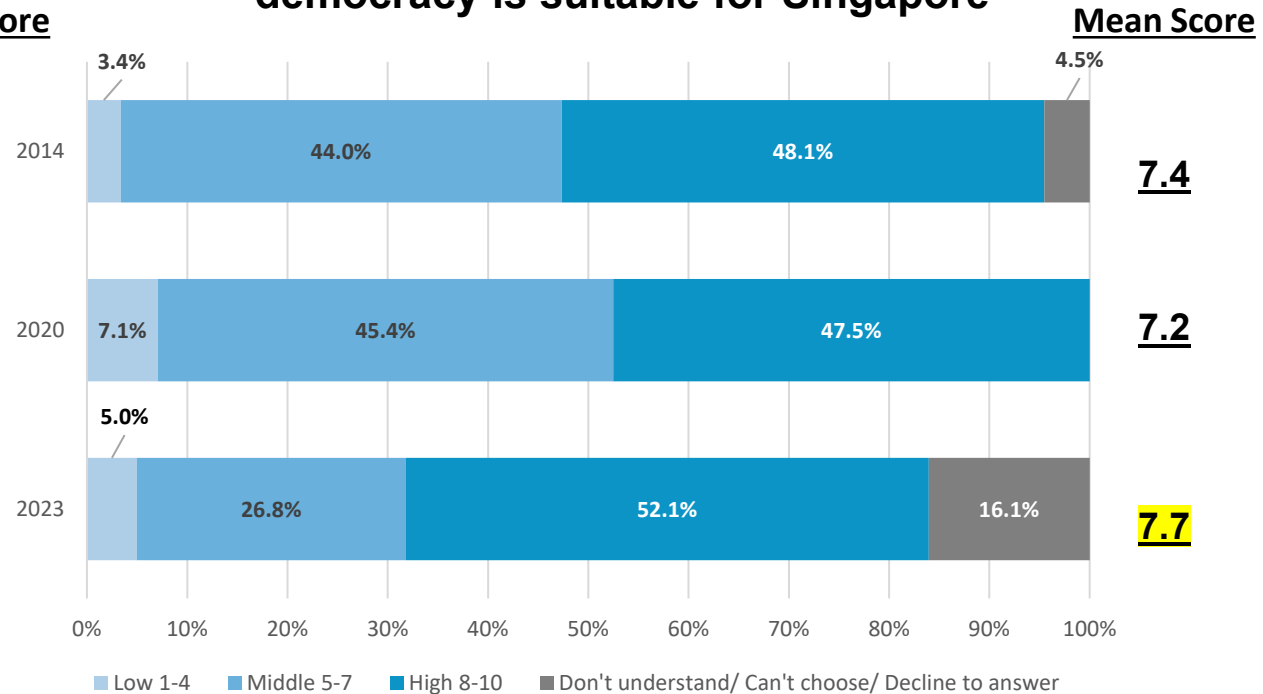
# SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY

There is strong belief democracy is suitable for Singapore, and strong expectation it will continue to "be democratic" in 10 years' time.

**Chart 10: Expectation - Extent to which respondents think Singapore would be democratic 10 years from now**

Mean Score

| Year | Low 1-4 | Middle 5-7 | High 8-10 | Don't understand | Mean Score |
|------|---------|-----------|-----------|------------------|------------|
| 2014 | 5.5% | 39.1% | 51.7% | 3.8% | **7.4** |
| 2020 | 5.5% | 36.7% | 53.0% | 4.8% | **7.4** |
| 2023 | 8.1% | 25.3% | 48.6% | 18.0% | **7.4** |

■ Low 1-4   ■ Middle 5-7   ■ High 8-10   ■ Don't understand/ Can't choose/ Decline to answer

- *Scale: 1 is "Completely Undemocratic" and 10 is "Completely Democratic".*

**Chart 11: Suitability - Extent to which people think democracy is suitable for Singapore**

Mean Score

| Year | Low 1-4 | Middle 5-7 | High 8-10 | Don't understand | Mean Score |
|------|---------|-----------|-----------|------------------|------------|
| 2014 | 3.4% | 44.0% | 48.1% | 4.5% | **7.4** |
| 2020 | 7.1% | 45.4% | 47.5% | | **7.2** |
| 2023 | 5.0% | 26.8% | 52.1% | 16.1% | **7.7** |

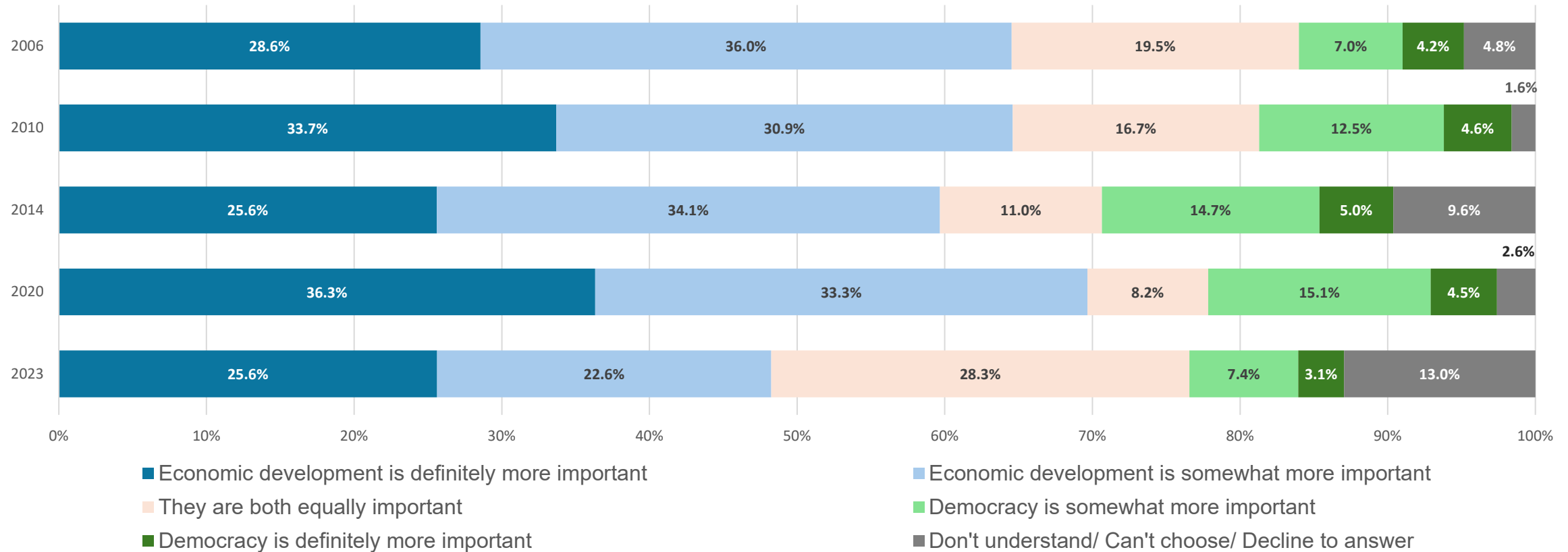■ Low 1-4   ■ Middle 5-7   ■ High 8-10   ■ Don't understand/ Can't choose/ Decline to answer

- *Scale: 1 is "Completely Unsuitable" and 10 is "Completely Suitable".*

# SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY

When compared to economic development, generally, democracy takes a back seat but more said they are equally important in the 2023 survey.

**Chart 12: Priority – Relative importance of democracy to economic development**



Legend:
- Economic development is definitely more important
- Economic development is somewhat more important
- They are both equally important
- Democracy is somewhat more important
- Democracy is definitely more important
- Don't understand/ Can't choose/ Decline to answer

2006: 28.6% | 36.0% | 19.5% | 7.0% | 4.2% | 4.8%
2010: 33.7% | 30.9% | 16.7% | 12.5% | 4.6% | 1.6%
2014: 25.6% | 34.1% | 11.0% | 14.7% | 5.0% | 9.6%
2020: 36.3% | 33.3% | 8.2% | 15.1% | 4.5% | 2.6%
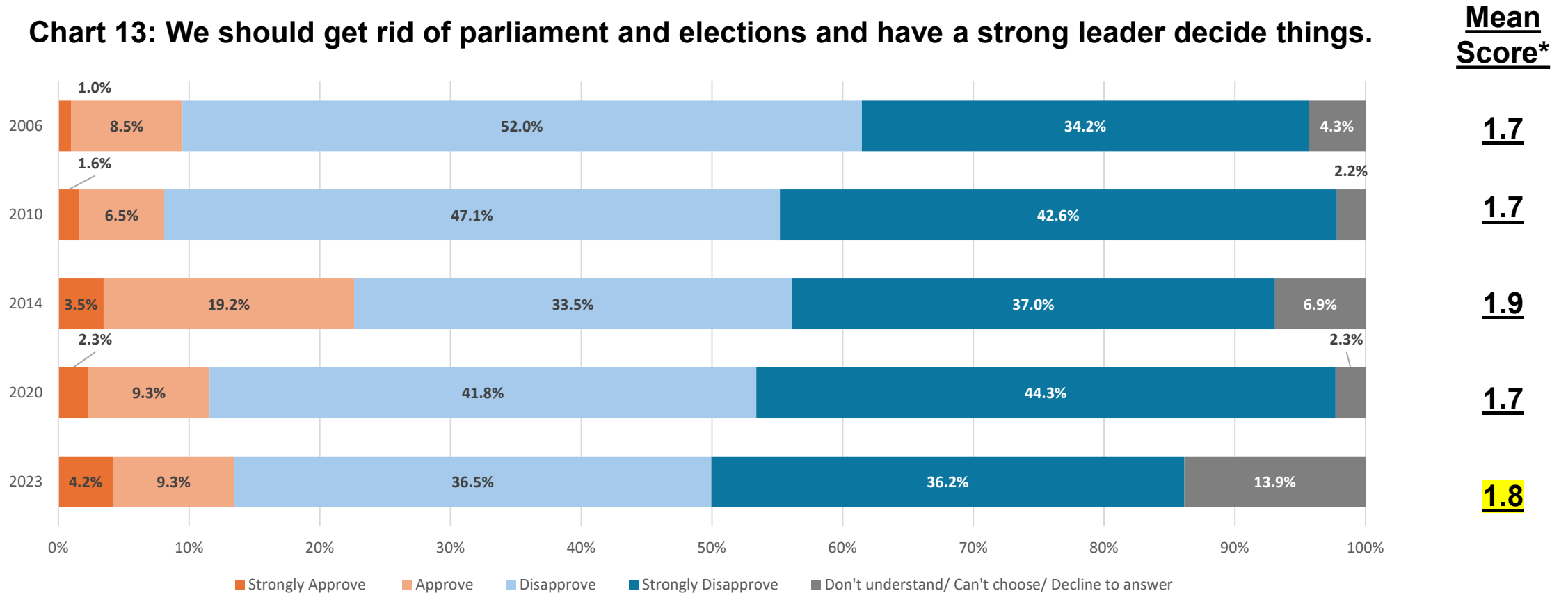2023: 25.6% | 22.6% | 28.3% | 7.4% | 3.1% | 13.0%

# 6. AUTHORITARIAN DETACHMENT

# AUTHORITARIAN DETACHMENT

Singaporeans demonstrate strong detachment from authoritarian scenarios.

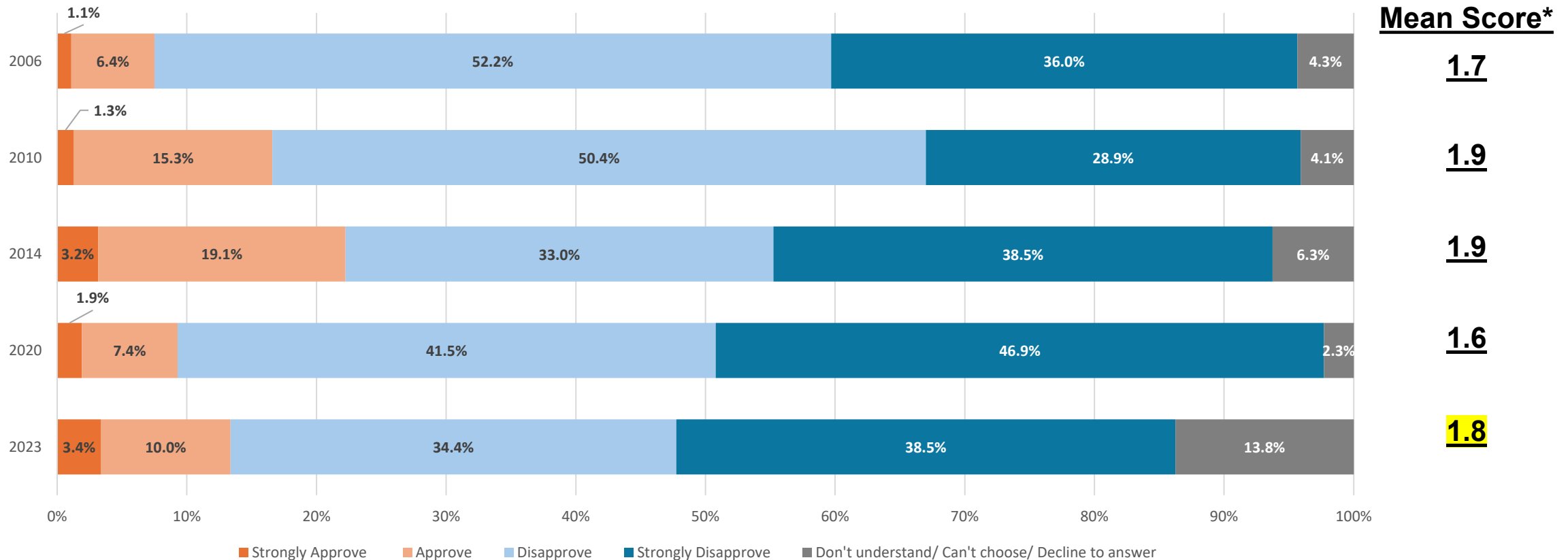**Chart 13: We should get rid of parliament and elections and have a strong leader decide things.**

**Mean Score***



| Year | Mean Score |
|------|------------|
| 2006 | 1.7 |
| 2010 | 1.7 |
| 2014 | 1.9 |
| 2020 | 1.7 |
| 2023 | 1.8 |

Legend: ■ Strongly Approve ■ Approve ■ Disapprove ■ Strongly Disapprove ■ Don't understand/ Can't choose/ Decline to answer

*The calculation of mean scores is based on reverse-coding of the variable.*
*Scale: 1 is "Strongly Disapprove" and 4 is "Strongly Approve"*
*Mean scores calculated without the DU/CC/RTA responses*

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# AUTHORITARIAN DETACHMENT

**Chart 14: Only one political party should be allowed to stand for election and hold office.**



| Year | Strongly Approve | Approve | Disapprove | Strongly Disapprove | Don't understand/ Can't choose/ Decline to answer | Mean Score* |
|------|-----------------|---------|------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| 2006 | 1.1% | 6.4% | 52.2% | 36.0% | 4.3% | **1.7** |
| 2010 | 1.3% | 15.3% | 50.4% | 28.9% | 4.1% | **1.9** |
| 2014 | 3.2% | 19.1% | 33.0% | 38.5% | 6.3% | **1.9** |
| 2020 | 1.9% | 7.4% | 41.5% | 46.9% | 2.3% | **1.6** |
| 2023 | 3.4% | 10.0% | 34.4% | 38.5% | 13.8% | **1.8** |

*The calculation of mean scores is based on reverse-coding of the variable*
*Scale: 1 is "Strongly Disapprove" and 4 is "Strongly Approve"*
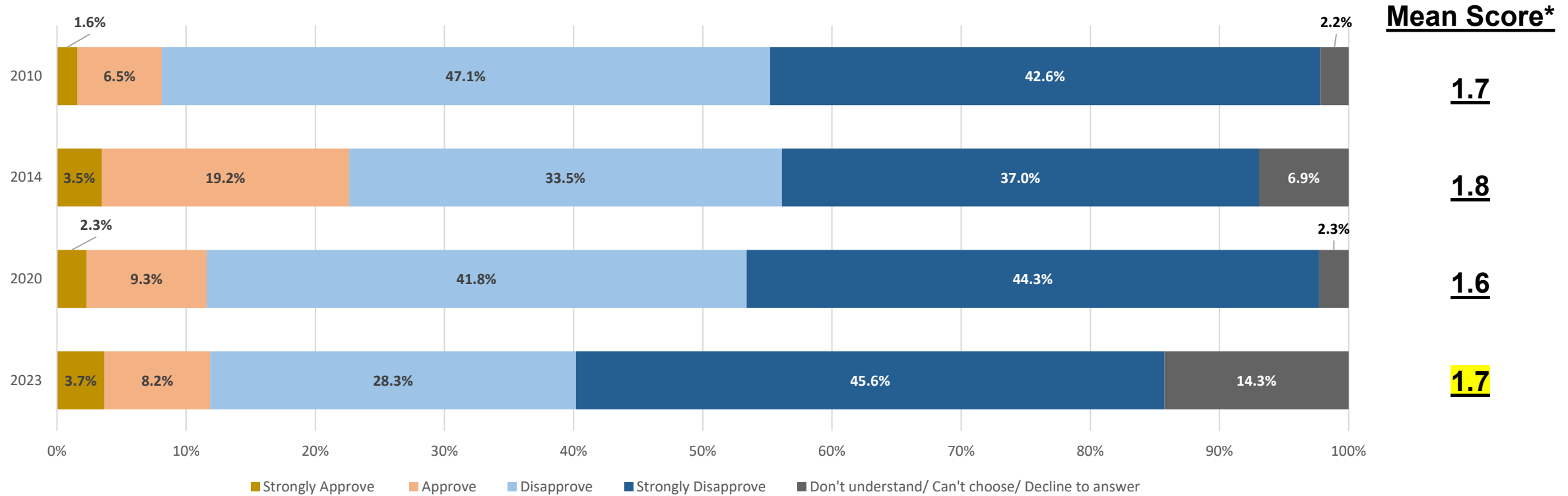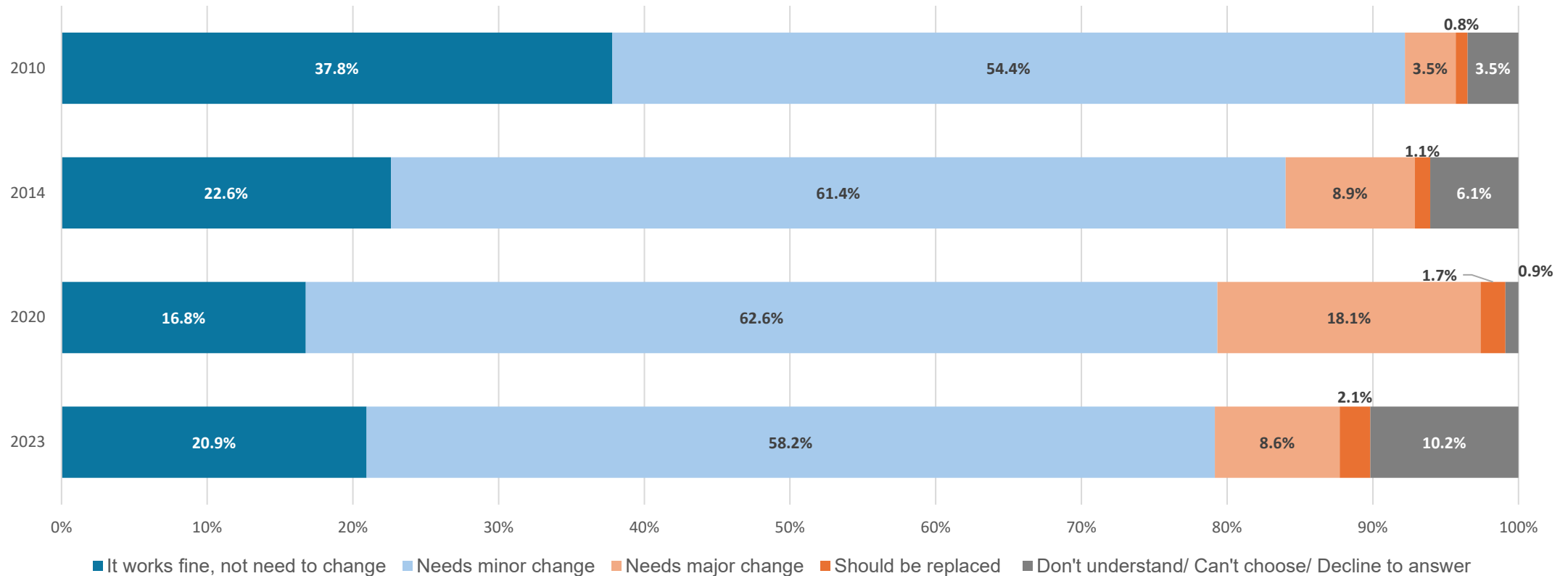*Mean scores calculated without the DU/CC/RTA responses*

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# AUTHORITARIAN DETACHMENT

**Chart 15: We should get rid of elections and parliament and have experts make decisions on behalf of the people.**



**Mean Score\***

| Year | | |
|------|---|---|
| 2010 | 1.6% · 6.5% · 47.1% · 42.6% · 2.2% | **1.7** |
| 2014 | 3.5% · 19.2% · 33.5% · 37.0% · 6.9% | **1.8** |
| 2020 | 2.3% · 9.3% · 41.8% · 44.3% · 2.3% | **1.6** |
| 2023 | 3.7% · 8.2% · 28.3% · 45.6% · 14.3% | **1.7** |

Legend: ■ Strongly Approve  ■ Approve  ■ Disapprove  ■ Strongly Disapprove  ■ Don't understand/ Can't choose/ Decline to answer

*\*The calculation of mean scores is based on reverse-coding of the variable.*
*Scale: 1 is "Strongly Disapprove" and 4 is "Strongly Approve"*
*Mean scores calculated without the DU/CC/RTA responses*

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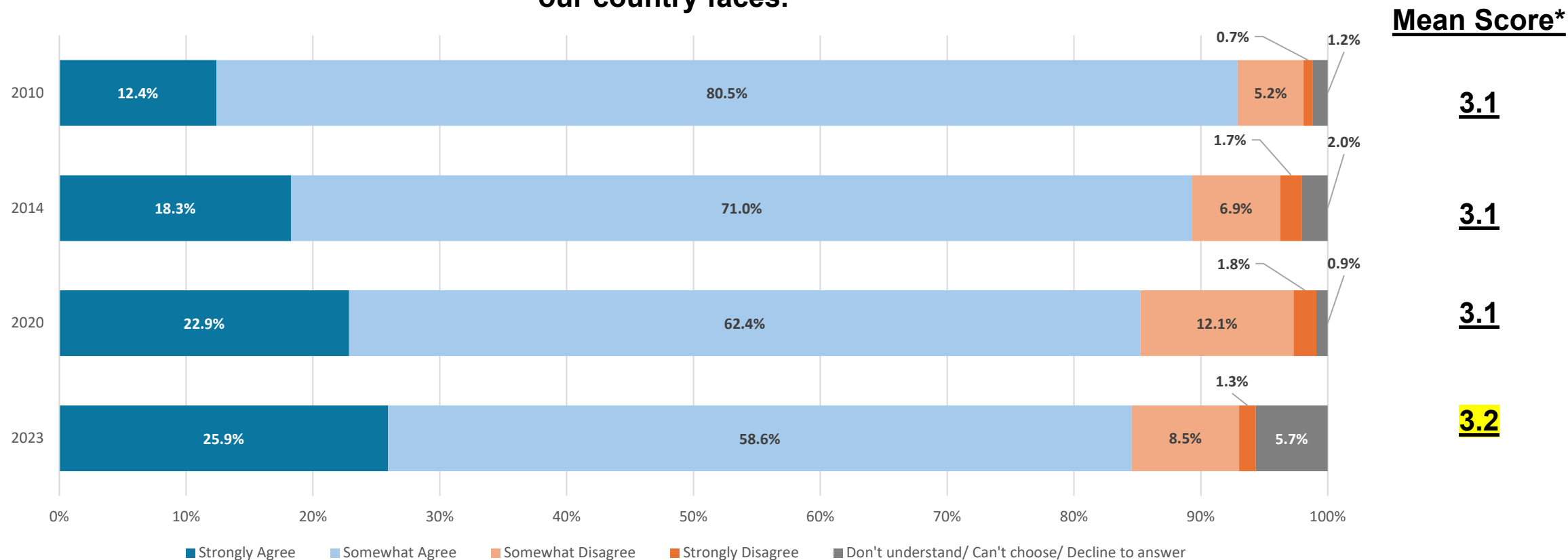# 7. SUPPORT FOR CURRENT SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

# SUPPORT FOR THE CURRENT SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

**Chart 16: Would you say our system of government works fine as it is, needs minor change, needs major change, or should be replaced?**

| Year | It works fine, not need to change | Needs minor change | Needs major change | Should be replaced | Don't understand/ Can't choose/ Decline to answer |
|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 2010 | 37.8% | 54.4% | 3.5% | 0.8% | 3.5% |
| 2014 | 22.6% | 61.4% | 8.9% | 1.1% | 6.1% |
| 2020 | 16.8% | 62.6% | 18.1% | 1.7% | 0.9% |
| 2023 | 20.9% | 58.2% | 8.6% | 2.1% | 10.2% |

# SUPPORT FOR THE CURRENT SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

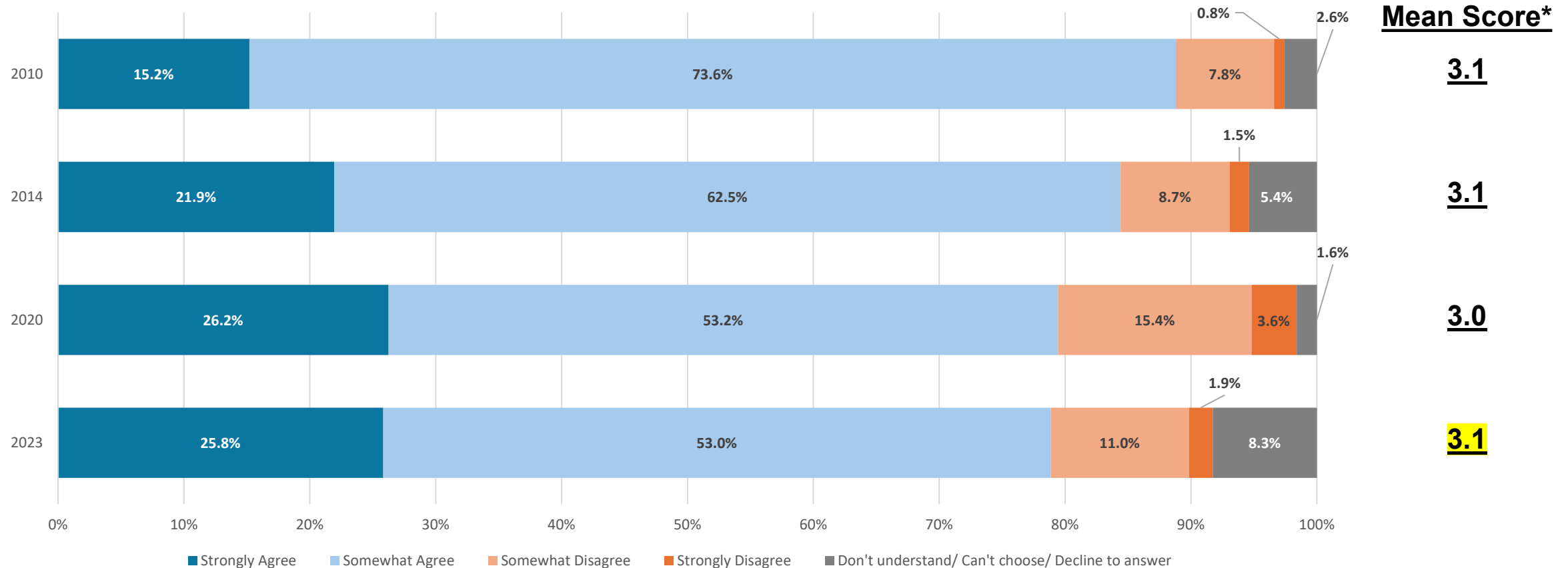**Chart 17: Over the long run, our system of government is capable of solving the problems our country faces.**



| Year | Mean Score* |
|------|-------------|
| 2010 | **3.1** |
| 2014 | **3.1** |
| 2020 | **3.1** |
| 2023 | **3.2** |

Legend: Strongly Agree | Somewhat Agree | Somewhat Disagree | Strongly Disagree | Don't understand/ Can't choose/ Decline to answer

*The calculation of mean scores is based on reverse-coding of the variable
Scale: 1 is "Strongly Disagree" and 4 is "Strongly Agree"
Mean scores calculated without the DU/CC/RTA responses*

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# SUPPORT FOR THE CURRENT SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

Chart 18: I would rather live under our system of government than any other that I can think of.

**Mean Score***

| Year | Strongly Agree | Somewhat Agree | Somewhat Disagree | Strongly Disagree | Don't understand/ Can't choose/ Decline to answer | Mean Score* |
|------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|
| 2010 | 15.2% | 73.6% | 7.8% | 0.8% | 2.6% | **3.1** |
| 2014 | 21.9% | 62.5% | 8.7% | 1.5% | 5.4% | **3.1** |
| 2020 | 26.2% | 53.2% | 15.4% | 3.6% | 1.6% | **3.0** |
| 2023 | 25.8% | 53.0% | 11.0% | 1.9% | 8.3% | **3.1** |

■ Strongly Agree ■ Somewhat Agree ■ Somewhat Disagree ■ Strongly Disagree ■ Don't understand/ Can't choose/ Decline to answer

*The calculation of mean scores is based on reverse-coding of the variable.*
*Scale: 1 is "Strongly Disagree" and 4 is "Strongly Agree"*
*Mean scores calculated without the DU/CC/RTA responses*

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# 8. ARCHETYPES OF SINGAPORE CITIZENS BASED ON POLITICAL ATTITUDES, ABS 6

# ARCHETYPES

## Cluster analysis of respondents based on three dimensions to indicate contentment with democracy and current system of government

| Dimension | Included Components |
|---|---|
| **Suitability of democracy** | Degree to which respondents think democracy is suitable for their country |
| **Support for democracy** | Degree to which respondents agree or disagree with the statement "Democracy may have its problems, but it is still the best form of government" |
| **System of government** | Degree to which respondents think that their system of government is capable of solving the problems their country faces. |
| | Degree to which respondents are proud of their system of government |
| | Degree to which respondents think that their system of government deserves the people's support even if it runs into problems |
| | Degree to which respondents would rather live under their system of government than any other that they can think of |

| Dimension | Correlations | |
|---|---|---|
| | **Suitability of democracy** | **System of government** |
| **Support for democracy** | .293*** | .240*** |
| **System of government** | .213*** | |

*Cases where responses to any dimensions were "Don't understand/Don't know/Can't choose/Decline to answer" were removed.*

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# ARCHETYPES

| Dimension (Mean scores) | Archetypes | | | Mean score for whole sample | Range of scores |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Contented Democrats** | **Contingent Democrats** | **Ambivalent Democrats** | | |
| | **N=166 (22.1%)** | **N=405 (53.9%)** | **N=181 (24.1%)** | | |
| **Suitability of democracy** | 8.67 | 8.47 | 5.39 | 7.77 | 1 to 10 (Completely unsuitable to Completely suitable) |
| **Support for democracy** | 4.00 | 2.93 | 2.73 | 3.12 | 1 to 4 (Strongly disagree to Strongly agree) |
| **System of government** | 3.41 | 3.23 | 2.69 | 3.14 | |

**The Contented Democrats:** Strongly agree that democracy is best form of government; think it suits Singapore well; and have the positive view of current system of government here.

**The Contingent Democrats:** Agree democracy is the best form of government; think it suits Singapore; and have a somewhat positive view of current system of government here.

**The Ambivalent Democrats:** Only somewhat agree democracy is best form of government; borderline in thinking it suits Singapore; have a close-to-neutral view about the system of government here compared to the other two archetypes.

# ARCHETYPES

## Identifying the Characteristics

- Based on a standard battery of questions, predictor variables on political attitudes were used to conduct subgroup analysis on the three archetypes. (See Annex – Slides 71-75)
    1. Political Interest
    2. Traditionalism
    3. Inclination towards Democratic Deconsolidation
    4. Equal Distribution of Power and Resources

- Demographic variables are also used to conduct the subgroup analysis:
    1. Gender
    2. Income
    3. Age
    4. Ethnicity
    5. Education
    6. Occupation Class

# ARCHETYPES

## Characteristics (See Annex Slides 79-82)

| Variables | Archetypes | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **Contented Democrats** | **Contingent Democrats** | **Ambivalent Democrats** |
| **Gender** | Disproportionately male | Disproportionately female | Disproportionately male |
| **Ethnicity** | Greater proportion of minorities | -- | -- |
| **Income** | -- | Disproportionately in the higher income brackets – the fourth or fifth quintile | Disproportionately in the lower income brackets – the first, second or third quintile |
| **Traditionalism** | More likely to be traditionalists | -- | -- |
| **Inclination towards Democratic Deconsolidation** | -- | Less inclined | More inclined |
| **Equal distribution of power and resources** | More positive assessment | More positive assessment | Less positive assessment |

Age, education, occupational class and political interest were found to be statistically insignificant.

# ARCHETYPES

## Archetypes and their sense of affiliation to political parties

Qn: Among the political parties, which party do you feel closest to?

| Parties (%) | Archetypes | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Contented Democrats | Contingent Democrats | Ambivalent Democrats |
| PAP | 63.9 | 63.7 | 42.0 |
| WP | 10.8 | 5.9 | 15.5 |
| Other opposition parties | 0.6 | 1.0 | 2.8 |
| Don't feel close | 21.1 | 27.4 | 34.8 |
| Not applicable | 3.6 | 2.0 | 5.0 |

$X^2$ (8, $N$ = 752) = 37.514, $p$ = <.001

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# 9. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

## United States vs. China
### Influence on the world, Asia and Singapore

# INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

## Nature of influence on the world – China rated more positively than the US
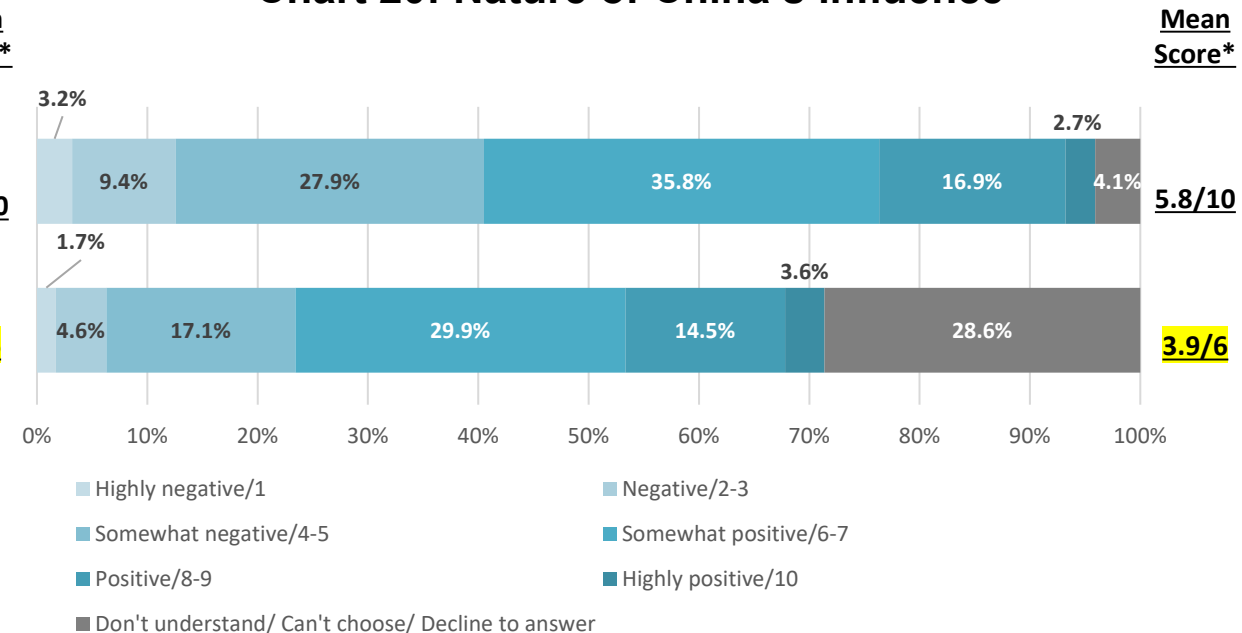


**Chart 19: Nature of US's influence**

Mean Score*

| Year | Highly negative/1 | Negative/2-3 | Somewhat negative/4-5 | Somewhat positive/6-7 | Positive/8-9 | Highly positive/10 | Don't understand | Mean Score* |
|------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2020 | 10.8% | 22.4% | 34.2% | 21.8% | 5.7% | 1.2% | 4.0% | 4.4/10 |
| 2023 | 4.9% | 6.7% | 25.6% | 22.6% | 8.5% | 2.3% | 29.4% | 3.4/6 |
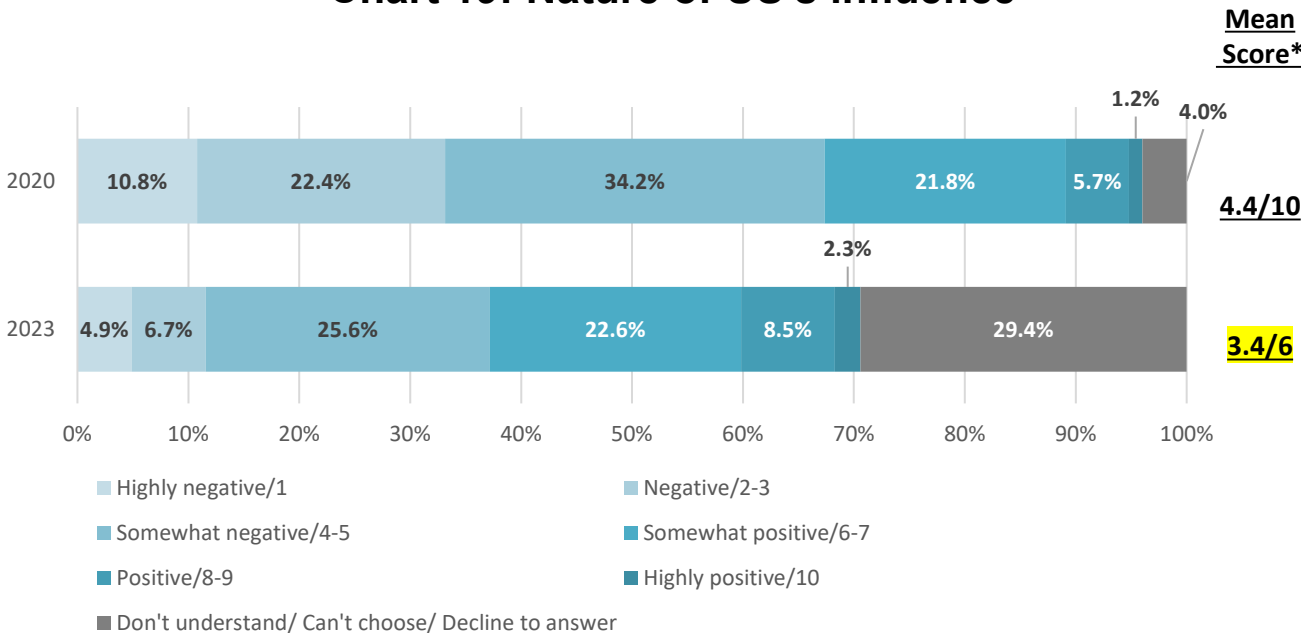
**Chart 20: Nature of China's influence**

Mean Score*

| Year | Highly negative/1 | Negative/2-3 | Somewhat negative/4-5 | Somewhat positive/6-7 | Positive/8-9 | Highly positive/10 | Don't understand | Mean Score* |
|------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2020 | 3.2% | 9.4% | 27.9% | 35.8% | 16.9% | 2.7% | 4.1% | 5.8/10 |
| 2023 | 1.7% | 4.6% | 17.1% | 29.9% | 14.5% | 3.6% | 28.6% | 3.9/6 |

Legend:
- Highly negative/1
- Negative/2-3
- Somewhat negative/4-5
- Somewhat positive/6-7
- Positive/8-9
- Highly positive/10
- Don't understand/ Can't choose/ Decline to answer

*To calculate the mean scores, a scale of 1-10 used for Wave 5
while scale of 1 to 6 (highly negative to highly positive) is used for Wave 6 data.
*The calculation of mean scores for Wave 6 is based on reverse-coding of the variable.

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# INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Nature of influence on Asia – China's influence slightly more positive than the US in 2020 and 2023 surveys



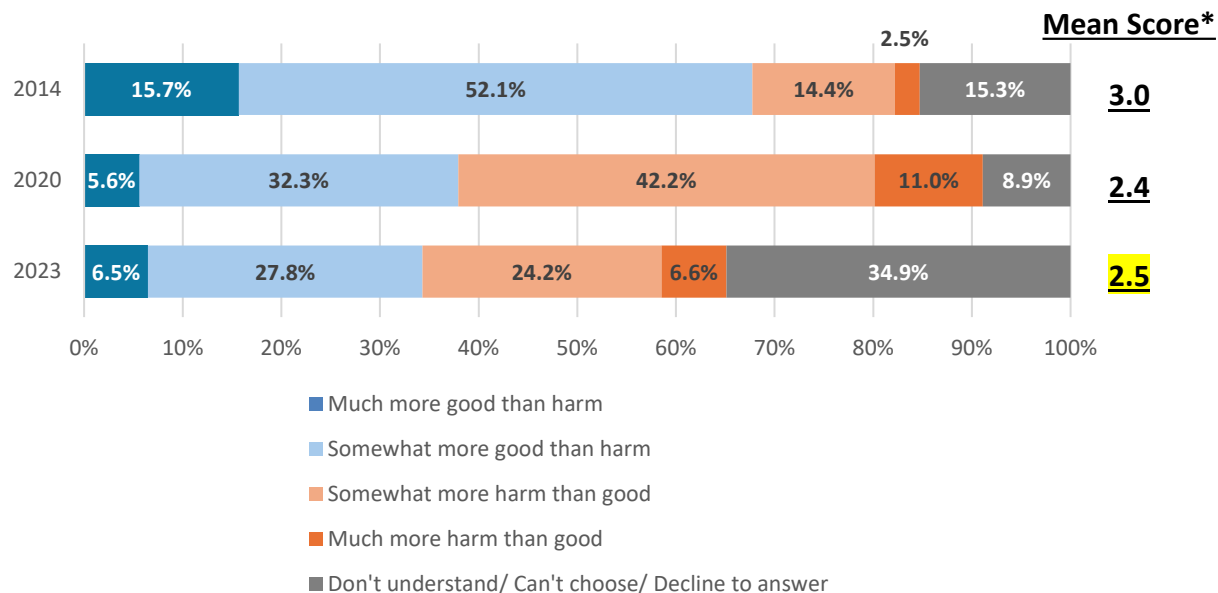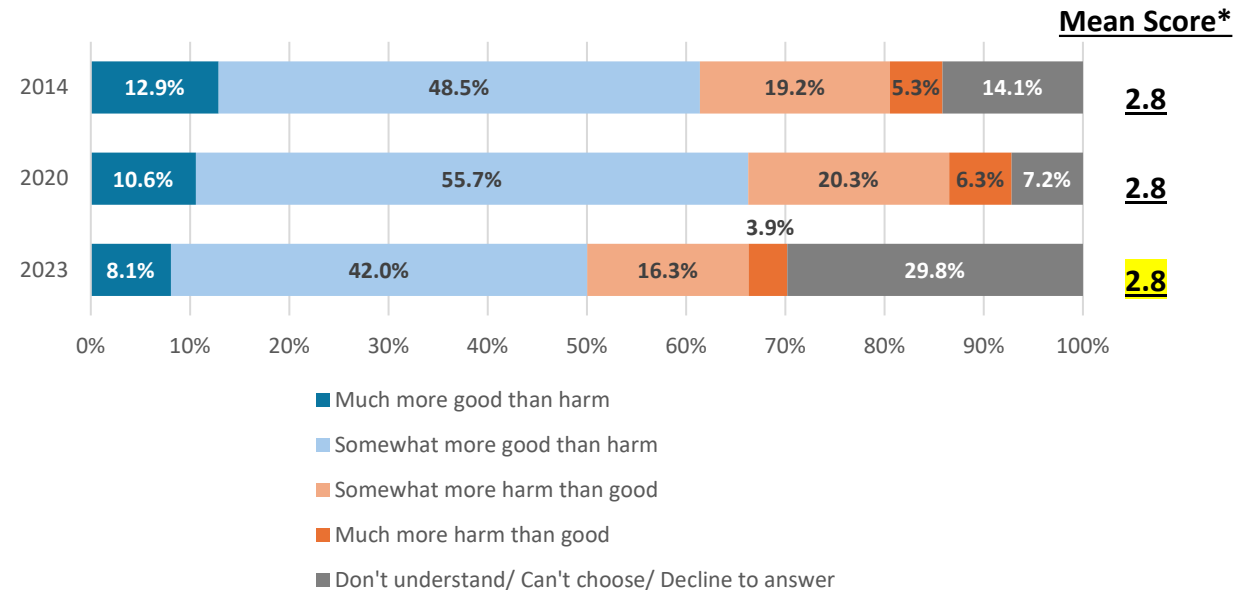**Chart 21: Does the United States do more good or harm to Asia?**

|  | Much more good than harm | Somewhat more good than harm | Somewhat more harm than good | Much more harm than good | Don't understand/ Can't choose/ Decline to answer | Mean Score* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2014 | 15.7% | 52.1% | 14.4% | 2.5% | 15.3% | 3.0 |
| 2020 | 5.6% | 32.3% | 42.2% | 11.0% | 8.9% | 2.4 |
| 2023 | 6.5% | 27.8% | 24.2% | 6.6% | 34.9% | 2.5 |

**Chart 22: Does China do more good or harm to Asia?**

|  | Much more good than harm | Somewhat more good than harm | Somewhat more harm than good | Much more harm than good | Don't understand/ Can't choose/ Decline to answer | Mean Score* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2014 | 12.9% | 48.5% | 19.2% | 5.3% | 14.1% | 2.8 |
| 2020 | 10.6% | 55.7% | 20.3% | 6.3% | 7.2% | 2.8 |
| 2023 | 8.1% | 42.0% | 16.3% | 3.9% | 29.8% | 2.8 |

*The calculation of mean scores is based on reverse-coding of the variable.
Scale: 1 is "much more harm than good" to 4 "much more good than harm"

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# INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Extent of influence on Asia – China outranks the US now and in 10 years' time.



Chart 23: Country that has the most influence on Asia now

| | 2014 | 2020 | 2023 |
|---|---|---|---|
| China | 48.7% | 70.1% | 49.6% |
| United States | 26.9% | 19.2% | 21.4% |
| Japan | 12.4% | 4.6% | 3.0% |
| India | 2.5% | 0.9% | 1.0% |
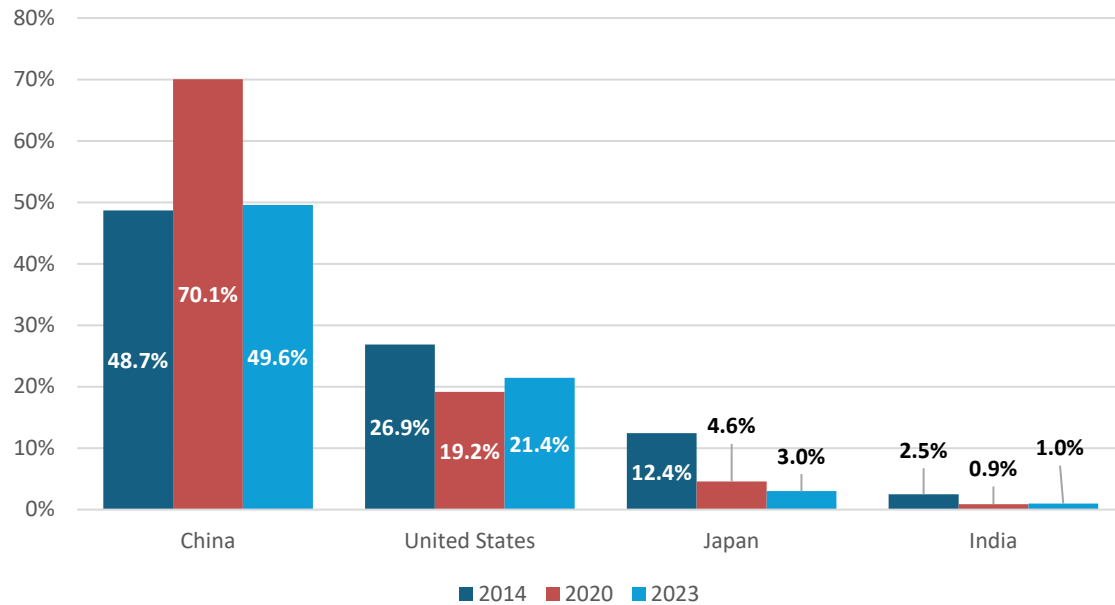


Chart 24: Country that will have the most influence in Asia in 10 years

| | 2014 | 2020 | 2023 |
|---|---|---|---|
| China | 61.7% | 74.7% | 59.1% |
| United States | 13.3% | 7.4% | 6.9% |
| Japan | 9.9% | 8.0% | 4.5% |
| India | 5.4% | 2.6% | 4.1% |

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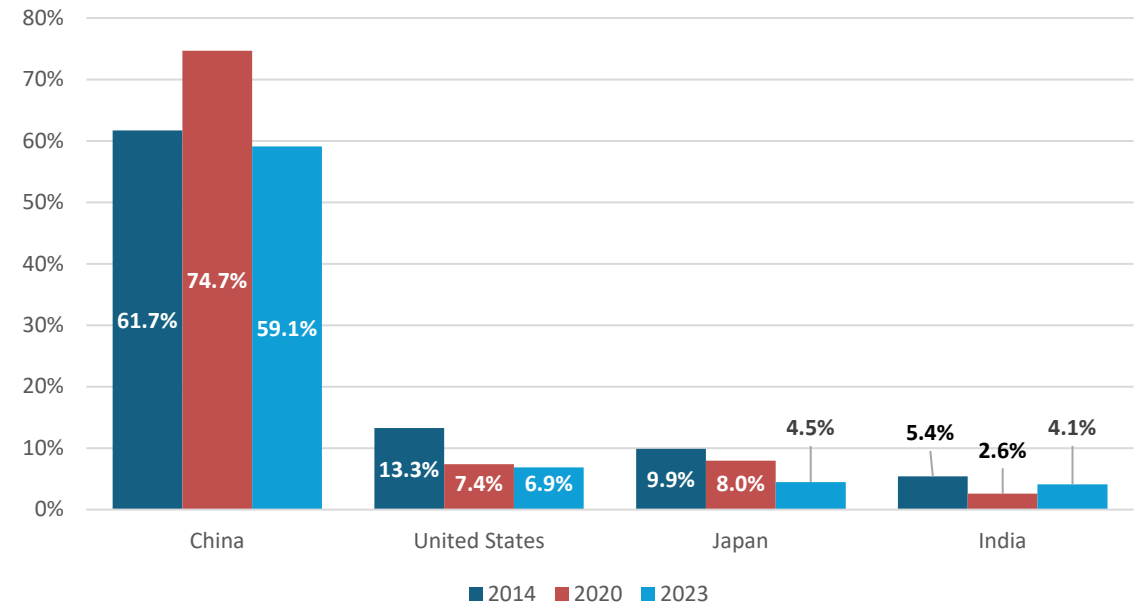
# INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Extent of influence on Singapore – scores for China and US are close, over three waves.

**Chart 25: Extent of US's influence on Singapore**

Mean Score*

| Year | A great deal | Some | Not much | No influence | Don't understand | Mean |
|------|-------------|------|----------|-------------|------------------|------|
| 2014 | 30.2% | 53.6% | 6.0% | 1.6% | 8.6% | **3.2** |
| 2020 | 22.9% | 63.4% | 9.9% | 1.1% | 2.8% | **3.1** |
| 2023 | 17.3% | 47.1% | 9.9% | 0.9% | 24.8% | **3.1** |

- A great deal of influence
- Some influence
- Not much influence
- No influence at all
- Don't understand/ Can't choose/ Decline to answer
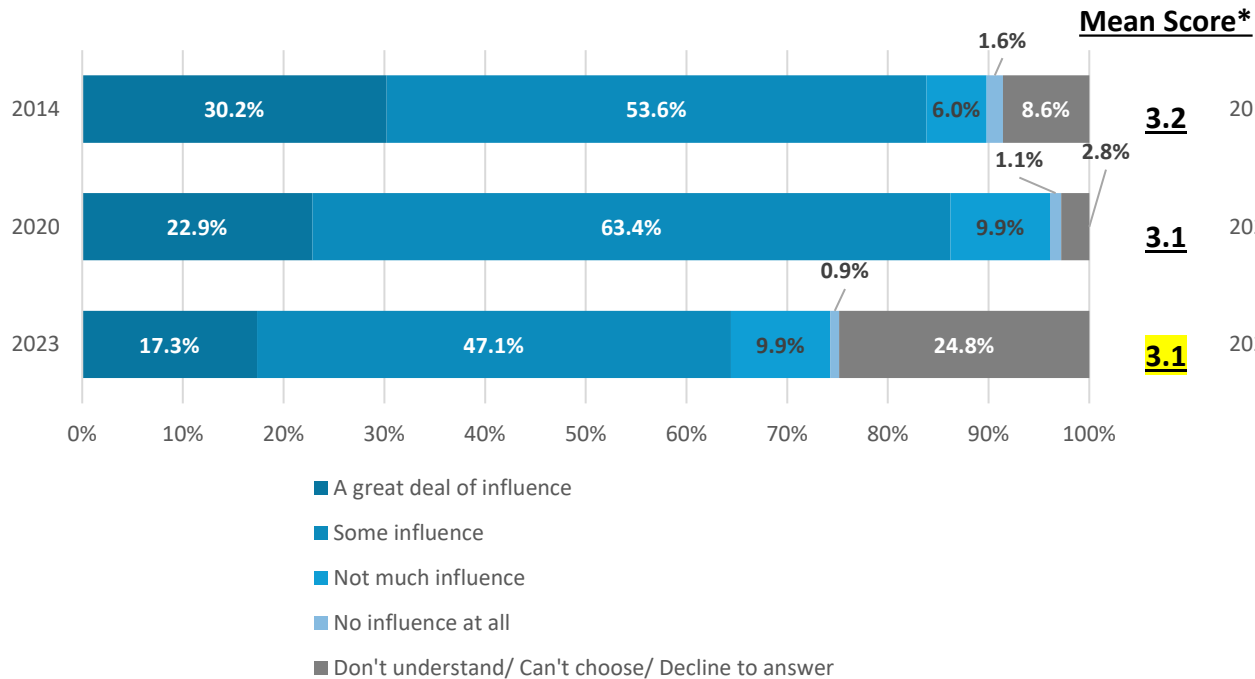
**Chart 26: Extent of China's influence on Singapore**

Mean Score*

| Year | A great deal | Some | Not much | No influence | Don't understand | Mean |
|------|-------------|------|----------|-------------|------------------|------|
| 2014 | 34.3% | 52.9% | | 4.4% | 1.5% / 6.8% | **3.3** |
| 2020 | 40.1% | 52.3% | | 4.6% | 0.6% | **3.4** |
| 2023 | 23.0% | 50.0% | 5.8% | 1.2% | 20.0% / 2.4% | **3.2** |

- A great deal of influence
- Some influence
- Not much influence
- No influence at all
- Don't understand/ Can't choose/ Decline to answer
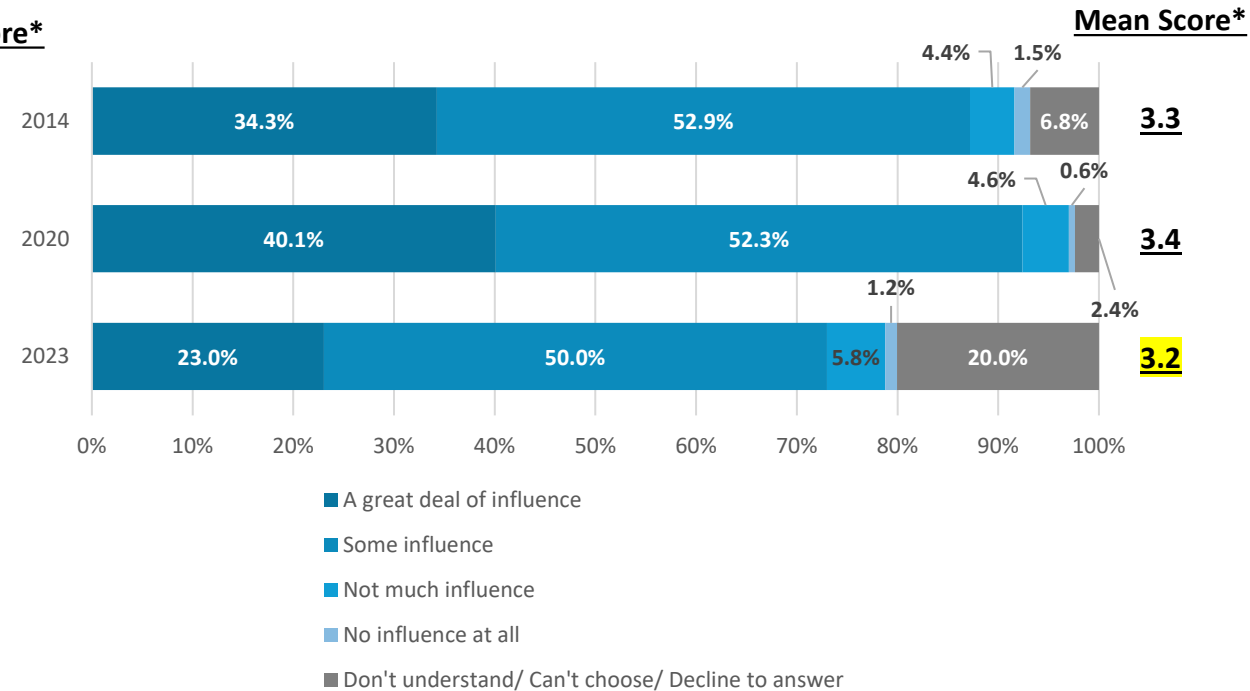
*The calculation of mean scores is based on reverse-coding of the variable.
Scale: 1 is "no influence at all" to 4 is "a great deal of influence"

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# INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Nature of influence on Singapore – China's influence slightly more positive than US in 2020 and 2023 surveys



**Chart 27: Nature of US's influence on Singapore**

Mean Score*

| | | Mean Score* |
|---|---|---|
| 2014 | 11.4% | 43.4% | 24.5% | 7.6% | 1.1% | 0.7% | 11.4% | **4.6** |
| 2020 | 2.3% 18.4% | 36.7% | 27.0% | 7.8% | 2.2% | 5.6% | **3.7** |
| 2023 | 2.8% 13.8% | 33.8% | 13.2% | 4.2% 1.7% | 30.6% | **3.9** |

0%  10%  20%  30%  40%  50%  60%  70%  80%  90%  100%

- ■ Very positive
- ■ Positive
- ■ Somewhat positive
- ■ Somewhat negative
- ■ Negative
- ■ Very negative
- ■ Don't understand/ Can't choose/ Decline to answer
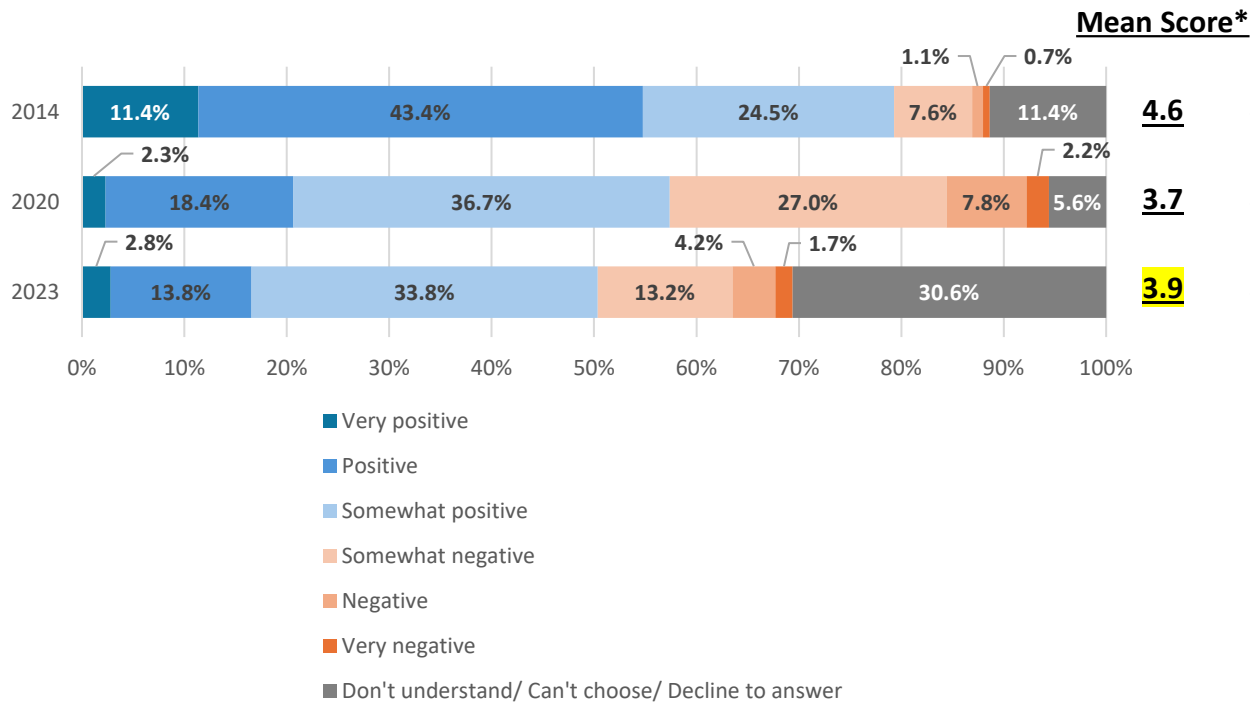
**Chart 28: Nature of China's influence on Singapore**

Mean Score*

| | | Mean Score* |
|---|---|---|
| 2014 | 6.1% | 38.3% | 27.5% | 12.8% | 2.8% | 1.5% | 11.0% | **4.3** |
| 2020 | 5.0% | 30.5% | 41.7% | 13.1% | 3.4% | 1.2% | 5.1% | **4.2** |
| 2023 | 4.8% | 18.7% | 34.0% | 11.9% | 1.8% 1.4% | 27.4% | **4.1** |

0%  10%  20%  30%  40%  50%  60%  70%  80%  90%  100%

- ■ Very positive
- ■ Positive
- ■ Somewhat positive
- ■ Somewhat negative
- ■ Negative
- ■ Very negative
- ■ Don't understand/ Can't choose/ Decline to answer
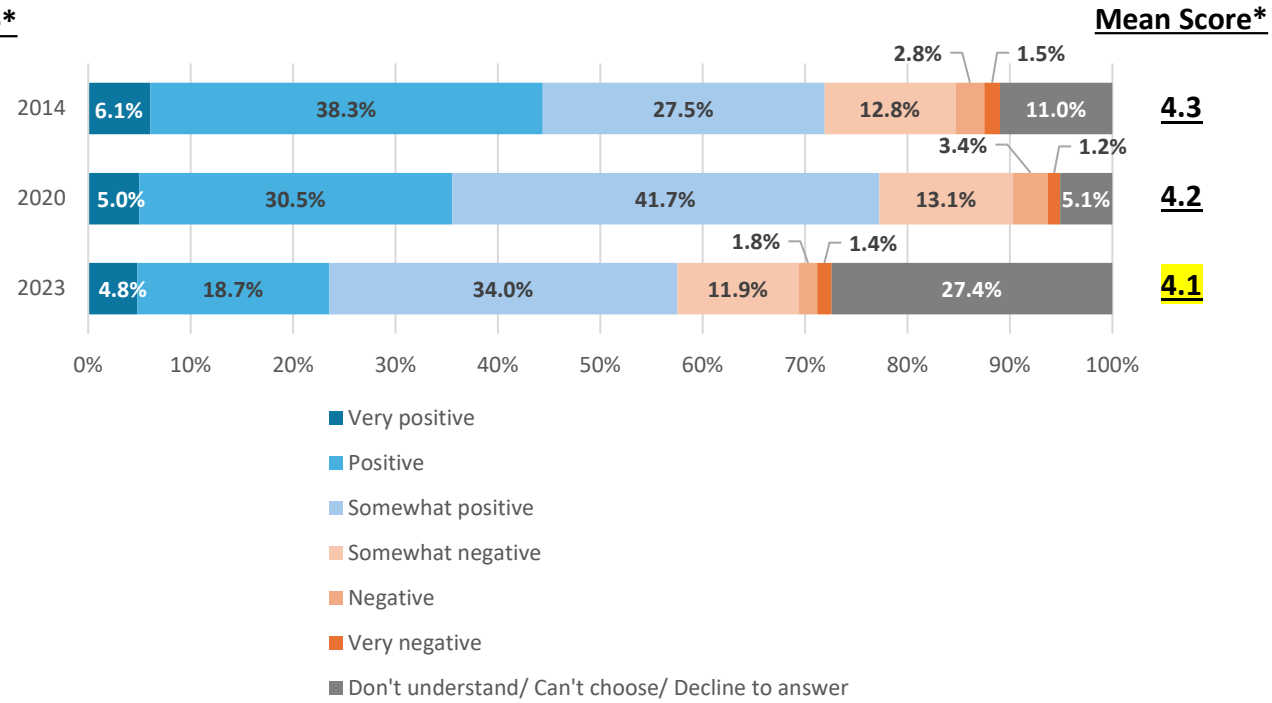
*The calculation of mean scores is based on reverse-coding of the variable.
Scale: 1 is "very negative" to 6 is "very positive"

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# INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
## MULTINOMIAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION RESULTS

**Regression Analysis: U.S. vs. China**

- Further analysis was conducted to understand the factors that influence respondents' perceptions of the nature of influence that China and the United States have on Singapore.

- Respondents were grouped into three categories based on their responses to Questions 182 and 184. (See Annex Slide 84.)

- Using multinomial logistic regression, an analytical framework was created based on indicators in the ABS Wave 6 survey instrument.

# INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
## MULTINOMIAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION RESULTS

**Dependent variable is quality of influence of U.S. vs. China on Singapore**

- Based on the standard battery of questions, the predictor variables that were created to test if they help to explain the DV were as follows: (Annex slides 71 to 75)
    1. Political Interest
    2. Traditionalism
    3. Attachment to authoritarian values

- Other demographic variables that were also in the included in the regression analysis were as follows:
    1. Gender
    2. Income
    3. Age
    4. Education
    5. Ethnicity

# INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
## REGRESSION RESULTS (SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES ONLY)

## MULTINOMIAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION – SINGAPORE (Slides 91-93)

| DV: Views towards China and US | Model 2 ^^ Exp (B) | |
|---|---|---|
| *Reference group: Same view towards US and China* | US has a more positive influence than China | China has a more positive influence than US |
| **Income** | .815* | 1.008 |

*\* p < 0.05. \*\* p < 0.01. \*\*\* p < 0.001*
*^^: Age as a categorical variable.*

# 10. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

## United States vs. China

### Comparative Analysis with the Philippines, Taiwan and Vietnam

# INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

## REGRESSION RESULTS

**Regression Analysis: Quality of influence US vs. China**

**Comparative Analysis with the Philippines, Taiwan and Vietnam**

Test demographic variables and potential drivers of varying perceived influence of the United States and China in three other alternative political regimes – Philippines (democracy), Taiwan (democracy) and Vietnam (one party state), for comparison with Singapore (one-party dominant state).

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# INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

## International Relations – Comparative Analysis (SGP, PHL, TWN, VNM)

|  | Taiwan | Vietnam | Philippines | Singapore |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **DV1 (US vs. China) Standardised mean score** | -1.275 | -1.230 | -1.009 | 0.201 |

*Scale: -5 to 5*

*(from **US having the most positive influence at -5** to **China having the most positive influence at +5**)*

# INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

## REGRESSION RESULTS

### Dependent Variable: Quality of Influence of US vs. China for Philippines, Taiwan and Vietnam

- Based on the standard battery of questions, the predictor variables that were created to test for each of these societies to check if they help to explain the DV for both types of regressions were as follows:
    1. Political Interest
    2. Traditionalism
    3. Attachment to authoritarian values

- Other demographic variables that were also in the included in the regression analysis are as follows:
    1. Gender
    2. Income
    3. Age
    4. Education

# INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
## MULTINOMIAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION RESULTS - SUMMARY
## Comparative Analysis – SGP, PHI, TWN and VNM (Slides 87-98)

| | US > China | Same | China > US |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Singapore** | | Higher income* | |
| **Philippines** | Ages 56 and above* | | |
| **Taiwan** | Female*** | More traditional**<br><br>Higher income*<br>Ages 56 and above*<br>Ages 36 – 55**<br>Technical or secondary educated* | Female**<br><br>Ages 56 and above***<br>Ages 36 – 55* |
| **Vietnam** | Female* | Higher political interest**<br><br>Higher income* | Stronger attachment to authoritarian values*<br><br>Ages 36 – 55*<br>Technical or secondary educated*<br>High school or some university educated* |

*p < 0.05. ** p < 0.01. *** p < 0.001.*

Lee Kuan Yew
School of Public Policy
National University of Singapore

IPS Institute of Policy Studies

# 11. CONCLUSION

# CONCLUSION – WHAT THE RESULTS SUGGEST

**Democracy – a political system valued by Singaporeans in the age of democratic backsliding globally**

1. **Democracy**, as a political system, is **increasingly being viewed as suitable** for Singapore.

2. Over the different waves of survey, the results suggest there is persistently strong support among Singaporeans for the idea that "Democracy may have its problems, but it is still the best form of government.

3. Despite Singapore being a one-party dominant state, the results suggest that most Singaporeans view Singapore as a democracy with minor problems over the years. Singaporeans are also consistently detached from authoritarianism.

4. Singaporeans value the procedural, substantive and good governance dimensions, but in comparison, place less emphasis on the dimension of political-civic rights. An example of substantive democracy that matters to Singaporeans is that "basic necessities, like food, clothes and shelter, are provided for all."

5. This sentiment is echoed in the multinomial logistic regression, where respondents who believe there is "equal distribution of power and resources" in Singapore's political system are likely to think that there is no change in the nature of Singapore's democracy between the past and now.

# CONCLUSION

## Three archetypes of Singapore citizens based on political attitudes

1.  The archetypes are built on respondents' sentiments about the suitability of democracy for Singapore, their support for democracy as a system, and the performance of Singapore's system of government.

2.  In terms of the archetypes' characteristics, the assessment of whether the system of government has allowed for a fair and equal distribution of power and resources also distinguishes one group from the other, among other characteristics.

3.  The Contented Democrats are likely to be male, have more minorities among them, be traditionalists and have a positive assessment about the distribution of power and resources through the system of government.

4.  The Contingent Democrats are more likely to be female, in the higher income bracket, not inclined towards democratic deconsolidation compared to the Ambivalent Democrats and have a positive assessment about the distribution of power and resources.

5.  The Ambivalent Democrats are likely to be male, likely to be in the lower income brackets, are relatively more inclined towards democratic deconsolidation compared to the Contingent Democrats and have a more negative assessment about the distribution of power and resources than the other two.

# CONCLUSION

**International Relations – Singaporean respondents likely to view influence of China in Asia and Singapore slightly more positively compared to the US.**

1. In general, Singaporean respondents are slightly more likely to perceive China to be good for Asia and Singapore when compared to the United States. In more rigorous testing however, they are neutral between the two powers, whereas respondents in Taiwan, Vietnam and the Philippines favour the US more.

2. Thinking about the future, Singaporean respondents believe China will have the most influence in Asia in 10 years' time, with a 52.2 percentage point difference to a similar question on United States' influence in the future.

3. Examining if there are any particular variables that are associated with Singaporean respondents' attitudes towards quality of influence of the US and China on Singapore, only the income variable is important and even then, it is that Singaporeans with higher income background are more likely to hold the same view regarding the quality of influence of both countries.

4. In contrast, for respondents in Taiwan, Vietnam and the Philippines, age, gender, education, political interest and their attachment to authoritarianism are associated with their views on the quality of influence of the US and China.

5. This analysis helps us check if there is any relationship between political attitudes and type of regime domestically, and the sense of affinity to these major powers.

Lee Kuan Yew
School of Public Policy

National University of Singapore

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# THE END

# ANNEX – SURVEY METHODOLOGY AND CHALLENGES

# CHALLENGES

**Higher proportion of DK responses**

A potential artefact of change in the mode of data collection.

To determine if there is a statistically significant association between the mode of survey and the proportion of DK responses in ABS6, cross – tabulation and Chi-square tests of independence are conducted.

$H_0$: There is no association between the mode of survey and the respondents' answers.
$H_1$: There is an association between the mode of survey and the respondents' answers.

# CHALLENGES

## Higher proportion of DK responses: Views on the state of democracy

The proportion of DK responses is higher in self-administered surveys as compared to interviewer-administered surveys. For instance, in the case of Question 92, the survey mode is **moderately statistically significant in its effects on responses**.

**Q92. Where would you place our country under the present government?**

|  | Response | DK |
|---|---|---|
| **Interviewer-administered** | 91.7% | 8.3% |
| **Self-administered** | 84.0% | 16.0% |

$X^2$ (1, $N$ = 1003) = 4.525, $p$ = .033

# CHALLENGES

## Higher proportion of DK responses: Views on the state of democracy

On the other hand, for Question 93, there is **no statistically significant association** between survey mode and the respondents' answers.

**Q93. Where would you place our country ten years ago?**

|  | Response | DK |
|---|---|---|
| **Interviewer-administered** | 86.2% | 13.8% |
| **Self-administered** | 81.4% | 18.6% |

$X^2$ (1, $N$ = 1003) = 1.518, $p$ = .218

# CHALLENGES

## Higher proportion of DK responses: International Relations

Across **all** IR questions, there is a **highly statistically significant relationship** ($p$ = <.001) between survey mode and the respondents' choice of DK answers. This is evidence that $H_1$ is true.

### Evaluating the nature of US and China's influence on Singapore

**Q182. Generally speaking, the influence United States has on our country is ___?**

| | Response | DK |
|---|---|---|
| **Interviewer-administered** | 89.0% | 11.0% |
| **Self-administered** | 67.0% | 33.0% |

$X^2$ (1, $N$ = 1003) = 22.116, $p$ = <.001

**Q184. Generally speaking, the influence the China has on our country is ___?**

| | Response | DK |
|---|---|---|
| **Interviewer-administered** | 89.0% | 11.0% |
| **Self-administered** | 70.6% | 29.4% |

$X^2$ (1, $N$ = 1003) = 16.545, $p$ = <.001

# CHALLENGES

## Higher proportion of DK responses: International Relations

### Evaluating the nature of US and China's influence on Asia

**Q174. Does the United States do more good or harm to Asia?**

| | Response | DK |
|---|---|---|
| **Interviewer-administered** | 79.8% | 20.2% |
| **Self-administered** | 63.3% | 36.7% |

$X^2$ (1, $N$ = 1003) = 11.650, $p$ = <.001

**Q176. Does China do more good or harm to Asia?**

| | Response | DK |
|---|---|---|
| **Interviewer-administered** | 91.7% | 8.3% |
| **Self-administered** | 67.6% | 32.4% |

$X^2$ (1, $N$ = 1003) = 27.151, $p$ = <.001

# CHALLENGES

## Higher proportion of DK responses: International Relations

### Evaluating the nature of US and China's influence on the world

**Q175. In general, the influence the United States today has on world affairs is …?**

| | Response | DK |
|---|---|---|
| **Interviewer-administered** | 84.4% | 15.6% |
| **Self-administered** | 68.9% | 31.1% |

$X^2$ (1, $N$ = 1003) =11.243, $p$ = <.001

**Q177. In general, the influence China today has on world affairs is …?**

| | Response | DK |
|---|---|---|
| **Interviewer-administered** | 91.7% | 8.3% |
| **Self-administered** | 68.9% | 31.1% |

$X^2$ (1, $N$ = 1003) =24.811, $p$ = <.001

$H_1$: There is an association between the mode of survey and respondents' answers (in the IR section).

# ANNEX - DEMOCRACY

# DEMOCRACY – PAST AND PRESENT

## VARIABLES & INDICATORS

| Dependent Variables | Question Number (Wave 6) | Reliability | ABS Questions |
|---|---|---|---|
| State of Democracy (Past vs. Present) (DV = Q92-Q93) | 92 | | Where would you place our country under the present government? |
| | 93 | 0.860 | Where would you place our country ten years ago? |
| **Independent Variables** | **Question Number (Wave 6)** | **Reliability** | **ABS Questions** |
| Income | SE14 | NA | Annual Monthly Household Income |
| Ethnicity | SE11a | NA | Ethnicity |
| Age | SE3 | NA | Age of respondent |
| Education | SE5 | NA | What is your higher level of education? |
| Gender | SE2 | NA | Gender |

# DEMOCRACY – PAST AND PRESENT
## VARIABLES & INDICATORS

| Type | Variable | Reliability (SG) | ABS questions | Qns |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Variables related to governance** | | | | |
| **G1** | Traditionalism | 0.849 | For the sake of the family, the individual should put his personal interests second. | 56 |
| | | | In a group, we should sacrifice our individual interest for the sake of the group's collective interest | 57 |
| | | | For the sake of national interest, individual interest could be sacrificed | 58 |
| | | | When dealing with others, developing a long-term relationship is more important than securing one's immediate interest | 59 |
| | | | Even if parents' demands are unreasonable, children still should do what they ask. | 60 |
| | | | When a mother-in-law and a daughter-in-law come into conflict, even if the mother-in-law is in the wrong, the husband should still persuade his wife to obey his mother | 61 |
| | | | Being a student, one should not question the authority of their teacher | 62 |
| | | | In a group, we should avoid open quarrel to preserve the harmony of the group | 63 |
| | | | Even if there is some disagreement with others, one should avoid the conflict | 64 |
| | | | A person should not insist on his own opinion if his co-workers disagree with him | 65 |
| | | | Wealth and poverty, success and failure are all determined by fate | 66 |
| | | | If one could have only one child, it is more preferable to have a boy than a girl | 67 |

# DEMOCRACY – PAST AND PRESENT
## VARIABLES & INDICATORS

| Type | Variable | Reliability (SG) | ABS questions | Qns |
|------|----------|------------------|---------------|-----|
| **Variables related to governance** | | | | |
| **G2** | Political Interest | | How interested would you say you are in politics? | 47 |
| | | 0.697 | How often do you follow news about politics and government? | 48 |
| | | | When you get together with your family members or friends, how often do you discuss political matters? | 49 |
| **G3** | Equal distribution of power and resources | | Between elections, the people have no way of holding the government responsible for its actions. | 101 |
| | | | When government leaders break the laws, there is nothing the court can do. | 102 |
| | | 0.702 | All citizens from different ethnic communities in Singapore are treated equally by the government | 103 |
| | | | Rich and poor people are treated equally by the government | 104 |
| | | | People have basic necessities like food, clothes, and shelter. | 105 |
| | | | People are free to speak what they think without fear. | 106 |
| | | | People can join any organization they like without fear | 107 |

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# DEMOCRACY – PAST AND PRESENT
## VARIABLES & INDICATORS

| Type | Variable | Reliability (SG) | ABS questions | Qns |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Variables related to authoritarian values** | | | | |
| **M1** | Inclination towards democratic deconsolidation v1 | 0.841 | In order to solve the country's urgent problems, a leader can govern the country by decrees and disregard Parliament if necessary. | 168 |
| | | | As long as the government can solve our country's economic problem, it does not matter if the government holds regular elections or not | 169 |
| | | | This country needs a leader who can break the rules if necessary to get things done. | 170 |
| | | | As long as the government can maintain order and stability in the country, it does not matter whether it is democratic or undemocratic | 171 |
| | | | (Contrains individual rights and freedom for) A public health crisis like the Covid-19 pandemic | 172a |
| | | | An economic crisis that has caused the loss of many jobs | 172b |
| | | | Widespread corruption that the Prime Minister claims can only be reduced by increasing executive power | 172c |
| | | | A security crisis due to social unrest or terrorism | 172d |
| | | | The country is at war | 172e |

# DEMOCRACY

## CHARACTERISTICS OF ARCHETYPES – ADDITIONAL VARIABLES

| Type | Variable | Reliability (SG) | ABS questions | Qns |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Variables related to authoritarian values** | | | | |
| **M2** | Inclination towards democratic deconsolidation v2 | 0.857 | In order to solve the country's urgent problems, a leader can govern the country by decrees and disregard Parliament if necessary. | 168 |
| | | | As long as the government can solve our country's economic problem, it does not matter if the government holds regular elections or not | 169 |
| | | | This country needs a leader who can break the rules if necessary to get things done. | 170 |
| | | | As long as the government can maintain order and stability in the country, it does not matter whether it is democratic or undemocratic | 171 |
| **M3** | Index for Authoritarian Detachment | 0.915 | We should get rid of parliament and elections and have a strong leader decide things. | 129 |
| | | | Only one political party should be allowed to stand for election and hold office. | 130 |
| | | | The army (military) should come in to govern the country. | 131 |
| | | | We should get rid of elections and parliaments and have experts make decisions on behalf of the people. | 132 |
| **Demographic variables** | | | | |
| - | Occupation Class | - | Here is a list of different types of jobs. Which type of job do you have now? | SE9c. code |

# DEMOCRACY – PAST AND PRESENT

## DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

| Present vs Past | Frequency | Valid Percentage (%) | Cumulative Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|---|
| *More democratic in the past than in the present* | 147 | 18.3 | 18.3 |
| *Equally democratic in the past and present* | 364 | 45.4 | 63.7 |
| *More democratic in the present than in the past* | 291 | 36.3 | 100.0 |
| **Missing** | 201 | | |
| **Total** | 1003 | | |

# DEMOCRACY – PAST AND PRESENT

## MULTINOMIAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION RESULTS ON DEMOCRACY IN SINGAPORE PAST AND PRESENT

| Dependent Variable: Views on democracy in Singapore in the past as compared to the present. [i] (Reference group: Singapore is equally democratic in the past and in the present.) | Model 1 (Age as continuous variable) N = 710 | | Model 2 (Age as categorical variable) N = 710 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Singapore is more democratic in the past than in the present | Singapore is more democratic in the present than in the past | Singapore is more democratic in the past than in the present | Singapore is more democratic in the present than in the past |
| **Predicator Variable** | | | | |
| Political Interest | 1.181 (.166) | 1.206 (.133) | 1.184 (.166) | 1.191 (.133) |
| Traditionalism | 1.142 (.262) | 1.276 (.209) | 1.164 (.262) | 1.234 (.208) |
| Support for Democratic Deconsolidation | .802 (.209) | .841 (.165) | .798 (.209) | .849 (.165) |
| Equal Distribution of Power and Resources | .623* (.203) | .746 (.163) | .615* (.205) | .741 (.163) |
| **Demographic variables** | | | | |
| Female Reference Group: Male | 1.240 (.220) | 1.095 (.177) | 1.244 (.222) | 1.074 (.176) |
| Income | 1.103 (.093) | 1.059 (.077) | 1.105 (.095) | 1.053 (.077) |

*p < 0.05. ** p < 0.01. *** p < 0.001

[i] Exp(B) values are reported

# DEMOCRACY – PAST AND PRESENT

## MULTINOMIAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION RESULTS ON DEMOCRACY IN SINGAPORE PAST AND PRESENT

| Dependent Variable: Views on democracy in Singapore in the past as compared to the present. [i]  (Reference group: Singapore is equally democratic in the past and in the present.) | Model 1 (Age as continuous variable)  N = 710 | | Model 2 (Age as categorical variable)  N = 710 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Singapore is more democratic in the past than in the present | Singapore is more democratic in the present than in the past | Singapore is more democratic in the past than in the present | Singapore is more democratic in the present than in the past |
| **Demographic variables** | | | | |
| Age | .979* | .972*** | | |
| | (.010) | (.008) | | |
| Ages 56 and above | | | .305*** | .400*** |
| | | | (.341) | (.269) |
| Ages 36-55 | | | .614 | .664* |
| | | | (.253) | (.201) |
| *Reference Group: Ages 21-35* | | | | |
| Ethnicity | | | | |
| Non-Chinese | 1.050 | 1.263 | 1.014 | 1.283 |
| | (.262) | (.213) | (.264) | (.212) |
| *Reference group: Chinese* | | | | |
| Education | | | | |
| Technical or Secondary Education | 1.949 | .615 | 2.287* | .599 |
| | (.356) | (.296) | (.359) | (.296) |
| High school or some university education | 1.576 | .660* | 1.671 | .679 |
| | (.265) | (.207) | (.268) | (.208) |
| *Reference group: Bachelor's and above* | | | | |
| $R^2$ | 0.087 | | 0.092 | |

*\* p < 0.05. \*\* p < 0.01. \*\*\* p < 0.001*

*[i] Exp(B) values are reported*

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# DEMOCRACY - ARCHETYPES

## CLUSTER ANALYSIS FOR ARCHETYPES – DIMENSIONS

| Dimension | Included Questions |
|---|---|
| **Suitability of democracy** | Q95. Here is a similar scale of 1 to 10 measuring the extent to which people think democracy is suitable for our country. If "1" means that democracy is completely unsuitable for Singapore today and "10" means that it is completely suitable, where would you place our country today? |
| **Support for democracy** | Q128. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "Democracy may have its problems, but it is still the best form of government." |
| **System of government** | Q80. Over the long run, our system of government is capable of solving the problems our country faces. |
| | Q81. Thinking in general, I am proud of our system of government. |
| | Q82. A system like ours, even if it runs into problems, deserves the people's support. |
| | Q83. I would rather live under our system of government than any other that I can think of. |

# DEMOCRACY - ARCHETYPES

## CHARACTERISTICS OF ARCHETYPES

## CROSS-TABULATION FOR DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

| Gender (%) | Contented Democrats | Contingent Democrats | Ambivalent Democrats | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Male | 63.3 | 46.2 | 55.8 | 52.3 |
| Female | 36.7 | 53.8 | 44.2 | 47.7 |

$X^2$ (2, $N$ = 752) = 14.965, $p$ = <.001

| Ethnicity (%) | Contented Democrats | Contingent Democrats | Ambivalent Democrats | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Non-Chinese | 33.7 | 21.5 | 23.8 | 24.7 |
| Chinese | 66.3 | 78.5 | 76.2 | 75.3 |

$X^2$ (2, $N$ = 752) = 9.618, $p$ = .008

| Income (%) | Contented Democrats | Contingent Democrats | Ambivalent Democrats | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| The lowest quintile – less than $1,347 | 10.8 | 4.2 | 11.4 | 7.4 |
| The second quintile – from $1,348 to $2,400 | 7.4 | 8.5 | 16.5 | 10.2 |
| The third quintile – from $2,401 to $3,634 | 19.6 | 16.4 | 20.3 | 18.1 |
| The fourth quintile – from $3,635 to $5,578 | 23.0 | 23.8 | 20.3 | 22.8 |
| The highest quintile – $5,579 and above | 39.2 | 47.0 | 31.6 | 41.6 |

$X^2$ (8, $N$ = 659) = 26.825, $p$ = <.001

# DEMOCRACY - ARCHETYPES

## CHARACTERISTICS OF ARCHETYPES

### CROSS-TABULATION FOR DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

| Education (%) | Contented Democrats | Contingent Democrats | Ambivalent Democrats | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Technical or Secondary Education | 21.7 | 17.8 | 24.3 | 20.2 |
| High School or Some University Education | 36.7 | 36.5 | 41.4 | 37.8 |
| Bachelor's and above | 41.6 | 45.7 | 34.3 | 42.0 |

$X^2 (4, N = 752) = 7.617, p = .107$

| Age Group (%) | Contented Democrats | Contingent Democrats | Ambivalent Democrats | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ages 21-35 | 30.1 | 35.1 | 33.7 | 33.6 |
| Ages 36-55 | 41.0 | 46.2 | 46.4 | 45.1 |
| Ages 56 and above | 28.9 | 18.8 | 19.9 | 21.3 |

$X^2 (4, N = 752) = 7.574, p = .109$

| Occupation Class (%) | Contented Democrats | Contingent Democrats | Ambivalent Democrats | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Professional | 37.0 | 32.6 | 26.6 | 32.1 |
| Middle-class | 28.5 | 36.6 | 32.2 | 33.7 |
| Unskilled | 4.2 | 5.0 | 7.9 | 5.5 |
| Job not specified | 6.1 | 4.0 | 2.3 | 4.0 |
| Unemployed | 24.2 | 21.8 | 31.1 | 24.6 |

$X^2 (8, N = 741) = 15.225, p = .055$

# DEMOCRACY - ARCHETYPES

## CHARACTERISTICS OF ARCHTYPES

### COMPARE MEANS & ANOVA FOR POLITICAL ATTITUDES

| Variables | Archetypes | | | Mean score across all 3 archetypes | F-statistic |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Contented Democrats | Contingent Democrats | Ambivalent Democrats | | |
| Level of Political Interest | 2.48 | 2.35 | 2.36 | 2.38 | 2.275 |
| Support for Traditionalism | 2.67 | 2.51 | 2.50 | 2.54 | 7.680*** |
| Inclination towards Democratic Deconsolidation | 2.31 | 2.22 | 2.38 | 2.28 | 3.258* |
| Distribution of Power and Resources | 3.02 | 2.80 | 2.52 | 2.78 | 34.476*** |

# ANNEX – INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

# SGP DATA ANALYSIS (ABS 6)

## DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS ON QUALITY OF INFLUENCE OF US AND CHINA ON SINGAPORE

| China vs US | Frequency | Valid Percentage (%) | Cumulative Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|---|
| *US has a more positive influence than China* | 120 | 17.9 | 17.9 |
| *Same view towards US and China* | 350 | 52.2 | 70.0 |
| *China has a more positive influence than US* | 201 | 30.0 | 100.0 |
| **Missing** | 332 | | |
| **Total** | 1003 | | |

# SGP DATA ANALYSIS (ABS 6)

## MULTINOMIAL REGRESSION ANALYSIS ON QUALITY OF INFLUENCE OF US AND CHINA ON SINGAPORE

| Dependent Variable: Views towards China and US [i] (Reference group: Same view towards US and China) | Model 1 (Age as continuous variable) N = 578 | | Model 2 (Age as categorical variable) N = 577 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | US has a more positive influence than China | China has a more positive influence than US | US has a more positive influence than China | China has a more positive influence than US |
| **Predicator Variable** | | | | |
| Political Interest | 1.165 (.179) | .813 (.150) | 1.157 (.179) | .811 (.150) |
| Attachment to authoritarian values | .717 (.214) | 1.189 (.193) | .717 (.215) | 1.174 (.193) |
| Traditionalism | .689 (.283) | .639 (.247) | .682 (.283) | .641 (.247) |
| **Demographic variables** | | | | |
| Female  *Reference group: Male* | .761 (.239) | .677 (.202) | .755 (.239) | .673 (.202) |
| Income | .818* (.098) | 1.012 (.085) | .815* (.098) | 1.008 (.086) |

*p < 0.05. ** p < 0.01. *** p < 0.001

[i] Exp(B) values are reported

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# SGP DATA ANALYSIS (ABS 6)

## MULTINOMIAL REGRESSION ANALYSIS FOR QUALITY OF INFLUENCE OF US AND CHINA ON SINGAPORE

| Dependent Variable: Views towards China and US [i] *(Reference group: Same view towards US and China)* | Model 1 (Age as continuous variable) N = 578 | | Model 2 (Age as categorical variable) N = 577 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | US has a more positive influence than China | China has a more positive influence than US | US has a more positive influence than China | China has a more positive influence than US |
| **Demographic variables** | | | | |
| Age | .983 (.010) | 1.007 (.008) | | |
|     Ages 56 and above | | | .591 (.355) | 1.162 (.293) |
|     Ages 36-55 | | | .810 (.256) | 1.366 (.231) |
| *Reference Group: Ages 21-35* | | | | |
| Education | | | | |
|     Technical or Secondary Education | .917 (.416) | 1.371 (.318) | .909 (.419) | 1.460 (.320) |
|     High school or some university education | .987 (.267) | 1.062 (.231) | 1.005 (.269) | 1.087 (.232) |
| *Reference group: Bachelor's and above* | | | | |
| $R^2$ | 0.058 | | 0.059 | |

*\* p < 0.05. \*\* p < 0.01. \*\*\* p < 0.001*

*[i] Exp(B) values are reported*

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# SGP, PHL, TWN, VNM DATA ANALYSIS (ABS 6)

## VARIABLES & INDICATORS

| Dependent Variables | Question Number (Wave 4) | Reliability | ABS Questions |
|---|---|---|---|
| Views towards China and US<br><br>(DV = Q182-Q184) | 182 | | In general, what kind of the influence does China have on our country? |
| | 184 | NA | In general, what kind of the influence does the United States have on our country? |
| **Independent Variables** | **Question Number (Wave 4)** | **Reliability** | **ABS Questions** |
| Income | SE14 | NA | Annual Monthly Household Income |
| Age | SE3 | NA | Age of respondent |
| Education | SE5 | NA | What is your higher level of education? |
| Gender | SE2 | NA | Gender |

# SGP, PHL, TWN, VNM DATA ANALYSIS (ABS 6)

## VARIABLES & INDICATORS

| Type | Variable | Reliability (SG) | Reliability (PH) | Reliability (TW) | Reliability (VN) | ABS questions | Qns |
|------|----------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|---------------|-----|
| **Variables related to governance** | | | | | | | |
| **G1** | Traditionalism | | | | | For the sake of the family, the individual should put his personal interests second. | 56 |
| | | | | | | In a group, we should sacrifice our individual interest for the sake of the group's collective interest | 57 |
| | | | | | | For the sake of national interest, individual interest could be sacrificed | 58 |
| | | | | | | When dealing with others, developing a long-term relationship is more important than securing one's immediate interest | 59 |
| | | | | | | Even if parents' demands are unreasonable, children still should do what they ask. | 60 |
| | | 0.849 | 0.718 | 0.759 | 0.726 | When a mother-in-law and a daughter-in-law come into conflict, even if the mother-in-law is in the wrong, the husband should still persuade his wife to obey his mother | 61 |
| | | | | | | Being a student, one should not question the authority of their teacher | 62 |
| | | | | | | In a group, we should avoid open quarrel to preserve the harmony of the group | 63 |
| | | | | | | Even if there is some disagreement with others, one should avoid the conflict | 64 |
| | | | | | | A person should not insist on his own opinion if his co-workers disagree with him | 65 |
| | | | | | | Wealth and poverty, success and failure are all determined by fate | 66 |
| | | | | | | If one could have only one child, it is more preferable to have a boy than a girl | 67 |

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# SGP, PHL, TWN, VNM DATA ANALYSIS (ABS 6)

## VARIABLES & INDICATORS

| Type | Variable | Reliability (SG) | Reliability (PH) | Reliability (TW) | Reliability (VN) | ABS questions | Qns |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Variables related to governance** | | | | | | | |
| **G2** | Political Interest | 0.697 | 0.571 | 0.613 | 0.675 | How interested would you say you are in politics? | 47 |
| | | | | | | How often do you follow news about politics and government? | 48 |
| | | | | | | When you get together with your family members or friends, how often do you discuss political matters? | 49 |
| **Variables related to authoritarian values** | | | | | | | |
| **M2** | Attachment to Authoritarian Values | 0.839 | 0.627 | 0.765 | 0.566 | Government leaders are like the head of a family; we should all follow their decisions. | 149 |
| | | | | | | The government should decide whether certain ideas should be allowed to be discussed in society. | 150 |
| | | | | | | Harmony of the community will be disrupted if people organize lots of groups. | 151 |
| | | | | | | When judges decide important cases, they should accept the view of the executive branch. | 152 |
| | | | | | | If the government is constantly checked [i.e. monitored and supervised] by the legislature, it cannot possibly accomplish great things. | 153 |
| | | | | | | If we have political leaders who are morally upright, we can let them decide everything. | 154 |
| | | | | | | If people have too many different ways of thinking, society will be chaotic. | 155 |

# PHL DATA ANALYSIS (ABS 6)

## DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

| China vs US | Frequency | Valid Percentage (%) | Cumulative Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|---|
| US has a more positive influence than China | 667 | 57.5 | 57.5 |
| Same view towards US and China | 343 | 29.5 | 87.0 |
| China has a more positive influence than US | 151 | 13.0 | 100.0 |
| **Missing** | 39 | | |
| **Total** | 1200 | | |

| Education | Frequency | Valid Percentage (%) | Cumulative Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Technical or Secondary Education | 366 | 30.5 | 30.5 |
| High School or Some University Education | 698 | 58.2 | 88.7 |
| Bachelor's and above | 136 | 11.3 | 100.0 |
| **Missing** | 0 | | |
| **Total** | 1200 | | |

| Gender | Frequency | Valid Percentage (%) | Cumulative Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Male | 600 | 50.0 | 50.0 |
| Female | 600 | 50.0 | 50.0 |
| **Missing** | 0 | | |
| **Total** | 1200 | | |

| Income | Frequency | Valid Percentage (%) | Cumulative Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|---|
| The Fifth Quintile | 395 | 33.8 | 33.8 |
| The Fourth Quintile | 353 | 30.2 | 63.9 |
| The Third Quintile | 251 | 21.5 | 85.4 |
| The Second Quintile | 132 | 11.3 | 96.7 |
| The First Quintile | 39 | 3.3 | 100.0 |
| **Missing** | 30 | | |
| **Total** | 1200 | | |

| Age | Frequency | Valid Percentage (%) | Cumulative Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ages 18-35 | 462 | 38.5 | 38.5 |
| Ages 36-55 | 438 | 36.5 | 75.0 |
| Ages 56 and above | 300 | 25.0 | 100.0 |
| **Missing** | 0 | | |
| **Total** | 1200 | | |

# PHL DATA ANALYSIS (ABS 6)

## REGRESSION RESULTS – FULL REGRESSION TABLE FOR QUALITY OF INFLUENCE OF US AND CHINA

| Dependent Variable: Views towards China and US [i] (Reference group: Same view towards US and China) | Model 1 (Age as continuous variable) N = 1134 | | Model 2 (Age as categorical variable) N = 1130 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | US has a more positive influence than China | China has a more positive influence than US | US has a more positive influence than China | China has a more positive influence than US |
| **Predicator Variable** | | | | |
| Political Interest | 1.198 (.105) | 1.202 (.154) | 1.202 (.105) | 1.210 (.155) |
| Attachment to authoritarian values | .742 (.153) | 1.224 (.225) | .742 (.152) | 1.238 (.226) |
| Traditionalism | .777 (.164) | .839 (.241) | .782 (.163) | .849 (.242) |
| **Demographic variables** | | | | |
| Female<br><br>Reference group: Male | 1.065 (.137) | 1.244 (.199) | 1.083 (.137) | 1.283 (.200) |
| Income | .994 (.065) | 1.003 (.095) | .993 (.065) | 1.009 (.095) |

\* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001

[i] Exp(B) values are reported

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# PHL DATA ANALYSIS (ABS 6)

## REGRESSION RESULTS – FULL REGRESSION TABLE FOR QUALITY OF INFLUENCE OF US AND CHINA

| Dependent Variable: Views towards China and US [i] *(Reference group: Same view towards US and China)* | Model 1 (Age as continuous variable) N = 1134 | | Model 2 (Age as categorical variable) N = 1130 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | US has a more positive influence than China | China has a more positive influence than US | US has a more positive influence than China | China has a more positive influence than US |
| **Demographic variables** | | | | |
| Age | 1.011* (.005) | 1.007 (.007) | | |
| Ages 56 and above | | | 1.543* (.193) | 1.276 (.270) |
| Ages 36-55 | | | 1.006 (.154) | .741 (.229) |
| *Reference Group: Ages 18-35* | | | | |
| Education | | | | |
| Technical or Secondary Education | 1.209 (.224) | 1.906 (.417) | 1.235 (.255) | 1.998 (.418) |
| High school or some university education | 1.040 (.224) | 1.813 (.377) | 1.020 (.224) | 1.797 (.378) |
| *Reference group: Bachelor's and above* | | | | |
| $R^2$ | 0.029 | | 0.032 | |

*\* p < 0.05. \*\* p < 0.01. \*\*\* p < 0.001*

*[i] Exp(B) values are reported*

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# TWN DATA ANALYSIS (ABS 6)

## DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

| China vs US | Frequency | Valid Percentage (%) | Cumulative Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|---|
| US has a more positive influence than China | 973 | 67.8 | 67.8 |
| Same view towards US and China | 270 | 18.8 | 86.6 |
| China has a more positive influence than US | 193 | 13.4 | 100.0 |
| **Missing** | 96 | | |
| **Total** | 1532 | | |

| Gender | Frequency | Valid Percentage (%) | Cumulative Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Male | 801 | 52.3 | 52.3 |
| Female | 731 | 47.7 | 100.0 |
| **Missing** | 0 | | |
| **Total** | 1532 | | |

| Age | Frequency | Valid Percentage (%) | Cumulative Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ages 18-35 | 376 | 24.5 | 24.5 |
| Ages 36-55 | 608 | 39.7 | 64.2 |
| Ages 56 and above | 548 | 35.8 | 100.0 |
| **Missing** | 0 | | |
| **Total** | 1532 | | |

| Education | Frequency | Valid Percentage (%) | Cumulative Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Technical or Secondary Education | 267 | 17.5 | 17.5 |
| High School or Some University Education | 643 | 42.0 | 59.5 |
| Bachelor's and above | 620 | 40.5 | 100.0 |
| **Missing** | 2 | | |
| **Total** | 1532 | | |

| Income | Frequency | Valid Percentage (%) | Cumulative Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|---|
| The Fifth Quintile | 343 | 24.0 | 24.0 |
| The Fourth Quintile | 272 | 19.1 | 43.1 |
| The Third Quintile | 265 | 18.6 | 61.7 |
| The Second Quintile | 276 | 19.3 | 81.0 |
| The First Quintile | 271 | 19.0 | 100.0 |
| **Missing** | 105 | | |
| **Total** | 1532 | | |

# TWN DATA ANALYSIS (ABS 6)

## REGRESSION RESULTS – FULL REGRESSION TABLE FOR QUALITY OF INFLUENCE OF US AND CHINA

| Dependent Variable: Views towards China and US [i] _(Reference group: Same view towards US and China)_ | Model 1 (Age as continuous variable) N = 1351 | | Model 2 (Age as categorical variable) N = 1344 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | US has a more positive influence than China | China has a more positive influence than US | US has a more positive influence than China | China has a more positive influence than US |
| **Predicator Variable** | | | | |
| Political Interest | 1.253* | 1.275 | 1.227 | 1.300 |
| | (.108) | (.145) | (.107) | (.144) |
| Attachment to authoritarian values | 1.252 | .790 | 1.258 | .780 |
| | (.191) | (.260) | (.191) | (.259) |
| Traditionalism | .465** | .570 | .453** | .635 |
| | (.270) | (.369) | (.266) | (.360) |
| **Demographic variables** | | | | |
| Female | 1.655** | 1.796** | 1.678*** | 1.789** |
| | (.154) | (.206) | (.154) | (.206) |
| _Reference group: Male_ | | | | |
| Income | .948 | .826* | .959 | .818* |
| | (.057) | (.079) | (.057) | (.078) |

_* p < 0.05. ** p < 0.01. *** p < 0.001_

_[i] Exp(B) values are reported_

# TWN DATA ANALYSIS (ABS 6)

## REGRESSION RESULTS – FULL REGRESSION TABLE FOR QUALITY OF INFLUENCE OF US AND CHINA

| Dependent Variable: Views towards China and US [i]<br>(Reference group: Same view towards US and China) | Model 1 (Age as continuous variable)<br>N = 1351 | | Model 2 (Age as categorical variable)<br>N = 1344 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | US has a more positive influence than China | China has a more positive influence than US | US has a more positive influence than China | China has a more positive influence than US |
| **Demographic variables** | | | | |
| Age | .986*<br>(.006) | 1.034***<br>(.008) | | |
| Ages 56 and above | | | .574*<br>(.241) | 4.433***<br>(.386) |
| Ages 36-55 | | | .581**<br>(.204) | 2.120*<br>(.360) |
| *Reference Group: Ages 18-35* | | | | |
| Education | | | | |
| Technical or Secondary Education | .557*<br>(.251) | .458*<br>(.343) | .513**<br>(.252) | .476*<br>(.340) |
| High school or some university education | .983<br>(.177) | 1.260<br>(.244) | 1.001<br>(.178) | 1.204<br>(.246) |
| *Reference group: Bachelor's and above* | | | | |
| $R^2$ | 0.124 | | 0.124 | |

$* p < 0.05. ** p < 0.01. *** p < 0.001$

[i] Exp(B) values are reported

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# VNM DATA ANALYSIS (ABS 6)
## DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

| China vs US | Frequency | Valid Percentage (%) | Cumulative Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|---|
| *US has a more positive influence than China* | 637 | 63.3 | 63.3 |
| *Same view towards US and China* | 265 | 26.3 | 89.6 |
| *China has a more positive influence than US* | 105 | 10.4 | 100.0 |
| **Missing** | 230 | | |
| **Total** | 1237 | | |

| Gender | Frequency | Valid Percentage (%) | Cumulative Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Male* | 580 | 46.9 | 46.9 |
| *Female* | 657 | 53.1 | 100.0 |
| **Missing** | 0 | | |
| **Total** | 1237 | | |

| Age | Frequency | Valid Percentage (%) | Cumulative Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Ages 18-35* | 479 | 38.7 | 38.7 |
| *Ages 36-55* | 463 | 37.4 | 76.2 |
| *Ages 56 and above* | 295 | 23.8 | 100.0 |
| **Missing** | 0 | | |
| **Total** | 1237 | | |

| Education | Frequency | Valid Percentage (%) | Cumulative Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Technical or Secondary Education* | 218 | 17.6 | 17.6 |
| *High School or Some University Education* | 776 | 62.7 | 80.4 |
| *Bachelor's and above* | 243 | 19.6 | 100.0 |
| **Missing** | 0 | | |
| **Total** | 1237 | | |

| Income | Frequency | Valid Percentage (%) | Cumulative Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|---|
| *The Fifth Quintile* | 78 | 6.6 | 6.6 |
| *The Fourth Quintile* | 60 | 5.1 | 11.6 |
| *The Third Quintile* | 115 | 9.7 | 21.4 |
| *The Second Quintile* | 386 | 32.6 | 53.9 |
| *The First Quintile* | 546 | 46.1 | 100.0 |
| **Missing** | 52 | | |
| **Total** | 1237 | | |

# VNM DATA ANALYSIS (ABS 6)
## REGRESSION RESULTS – FULL REGRESSION TABLE FOR QUALITY OF INFLUENCE OF US AND CHINA

| Dependent Variable: Views towards China and US [i] *(Reference group: Same view towards US and China)* | Model 1 (Age as continuous variable) N = 983 | | Model 2 (Age as categorical variable) N = 969 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | US has a more positive influence than China | China has a more positive influence than US | US has a more positive influence than China | China has a more positive influence than US |
| **Predicator Variable** | | | | |
| Political Interest | .726* (.124) | .976 (.197) | .724** (.124) | .957 (.196) |
| Attachment to authoritarian values | 1.396 (.236) | 2.228* (.360) | 1.397 (.236) | 2.335* (.362) |
| Traditionalism | .920 (.263) | 1.163 (.408) | .907 (.263) | 1.118 (.408) |
| **Demographic variables** | | | | |
| Female  *Reference group: Male* | 1.446* (.154) | .904 (.245) | 1.400* (.156) | .798 (.250) |
| Income | .942 (.075) | .771* (.103) | .943 (.075) | .770* (.103) |

*\* p < 0.05. \*\* p < 0.01. \*\*\* p < 0.001*

[i] *Exp(B) values are reported*

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# VNM DATA ANALYSIS (ABS 6)

## REGRESSION RESULTS – FULL REGRESSION TABLE FOR QUALITY OF INFLUENCE OF US AND CHINA

| Dependent Variable: Views towards China and US [i] (Reference group: Same view towards US and China) | Model 1 (Age as continuous variable) N = 983 | | Model 2 (Age as categorical variable) N = 969 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | US has a more positive influence than China | China has a more positive influence than US | US has a more positive influence than China | China has a more positive influence than US |
| **Demographic variables** | | | | |
| Age | 1.005 (.006) | 1.002 (.008) | | |
| Ages 56 and above | | | 1.175 (.215) | .940 (.351) |
| Ages 36-55 | | | 1.292 (.185) | 1.839* (.291) |
| Reference Group: Ages 18-35 | | | | |
| Education | | | | |
| Technical or Secondary Education | 1.260 (.272) | 3.015* (.451) | 1.252 (.273) | 3.011* (.451) |
| High school or some university education | 1.307 (.188) | 2.173* (.369) | 1.307 (.188) | 2.210* (.370) |
| Reference group: Bachelor's and above | | | | |
| R² | 0.063 | | 0.071 | |

*$p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$. *** $p < 0.001$*

[i] *Exp(B) values are reported*

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