

Citizens and the Nation: National Orientations of Singaporeans Survey (NOS 4)

Highlights

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Outline

- Objectives and methodology
- Findings on key variables
 - ❖ CNP (national loyalty)
 - ❖ GNPRIDE & SNPRIDE (national pride)
 - ❖ Political Alienation
 - ❖ Social Provision
 - ❖ Sense of Community

Sense of national loyalty and pride are healthy and stable; political alienation has declined; and, two in three indicate concern about the impact of foreigners on national unity. Chinese, Youth, Adults are over-represented among those with weaker ties to the nation.

Objectives and Methodology

- Rationale:
Track citizens' sense of loyalty and pride over time.

Core items are the CNP Index, GNPRIDE Index.

Elective sections to add further insight.
- Previous studies (with elective sections in brackets):
1993 NOS1 (Political Participation, Quality of Life)
1999 NOS2 (Political Participation, Quality of Life)
2005 NOS3 (Rootedness, Social Resilience)
2010 NOS4 (Political Participation)

Objectives and Methodology

Interview Method

Door-to-door by third party survey firm, Joshua Research Consultants

Respondent Criteria

Singapore citizens, 21 to 64 years old

Sampling

Disproportionate, stratified random sample, over-sampling for minorities.
Results weighted to reflect national distribution on ethnicity and housing type.

Sample Size

2016 interviews

Fieldwork

28 February 2009 to 11 May 2009

Objectives and Methodology

Profile of Weighted Sample

Age	Frequency	Valid Percentage
Young	451	22.3
Adult	674	33.3
Middle Aged	740	36.5
Seniors	162	8.0
Total	2027	100.0

Ethnicity	Frequency	Valid Percentage
Chinese	1548	76.4
Malay	302	14.9
Indian	150	7.4
Other	26	1.3
Total	2027	100.0

House Type	Frequency	Valid Percentage
1-3 room flat	513	25.3
4 room flat	648	32.0
5-6 room flat	543	26.8
Private	323	16.0
Total	2027	100.0

Note: Base sample is 2016, weighted sample is 2027.

Objectives and Methodology

Notes to charts that follow:

Age:

'Young' denotes 15-29 years old, 'Adult' denotes 30-44 years old, 'Middle Aged' denotes 45-59 years old and 'Seniors' denotes 60-64 years old.

House Type:

'5-6 room flat' includes HDB Executive Flat. 'Private' includes Executive Condominium, Private Condominium, Private Apartments and Landed Property.

Monthly Household Income:

'Low' denotes income between \$1,999 and below, 'Lower Middle' denotes income between \$2000 and \$4999, 'Middle' denotes income between \$5000 and \$7999 and 'Upper Middle or High' denotes income of \$8000 and above.

Education:

'Secondary' includes those with secondary education but no 'O' or 'N' Level qualifications and those with NTC 3 or equivalent qualifications. 'Post-secondary' includes those with 'A' levels, NTC ½ qualifications, or certificate in office skills. 'Degree or professional qualification' includes those with post-graduate level qualifications and other professional credentials.

Occupation:

The 'Service' occupational category includes managers, professionals, and associate professionals; the 'Intermediate' occupation category comprise clerical and service workers; while the 'Working' occupational category consist of skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled workers.

Citizen-Nation Psychological Ties (CNP) Index: National Loyalty Stable

- Index developed by Tan Ern Ser for IPS.
- Comprises 12-item National Identity (NID) Index and 12-item Willingness to Sacrifice (WTS) Index.
- Scores are from 1 to 5 for each, 1 indicating weak ties to country, 5 indicating strong, positive ties to country. (Scores for the negatively-worded sentences have been reversed.)

Citizen-Nation Psychological Ties (CNP) Index

- CNP scores, that is, national loyalty weakens with:
 - ❖ Higher socio-economic class
 - ❖ Chinese
 - ❖ Youth
 - ❖ Political alienation
- Sense of national loyalty has been healthy, and relatively stable between NOS3 and NOS4.

Citizen-Nation Psychological Ties (CNP) Index

Table 1a: Citizen-Nation Psychological Ties (CNP) Index

		% Positive Ties			
		NOS1	NOS2	NOS3	NOS4
	National Identity (NID) Items				
1	All things considered, I can say that I love Singapore.	92	95	94	97
2	I am proud to be a Singaporean.	94	95	93	97
3	My Singapore citizenship means a lot to me.	96	97	93	96
4	I would feel upset if I saw anyone burning the National Flag.	88	88	91	93
5	I feel proud whenever foreign leaders refer to Singapore as their model of economic success.	90	94	91	93
6	I do not feel a sense of belonging to Singapore (yet).	82	88	87	92
7	Singapore is the only place I feel completely at home.	91	89	87	91
8	I feel annoyed whenever people criticize Singapore.	76	76	74	76
9	It does not matter to me if I am a Singapore citizen or not.	82	83	72	77
10	I remain a Singapore citizen because I have nowhere else to go to right now.	70	71	62	72
11	It does not matter to me which country I am a citizen of, as long as I can attain a high standard of living.	51	52	50	56
12	I think of myself as a citizen of the world, and not of any country in particular.	55	50	53	54
	CNP Mean Score with range of 24 to 120 (CNP Mean Score with range of 2 to 10)	93.0 (7.75)	89.2 (7.43)	87.48 (7.25)	88.37 (7.36)
	NID Mean Score with range of 12 to 60 (NID Mean Score with range of 2 to 10)	50.0 (8.33)	46.5 (7.75)	45.60 (7.67)	46.19 (7.69)

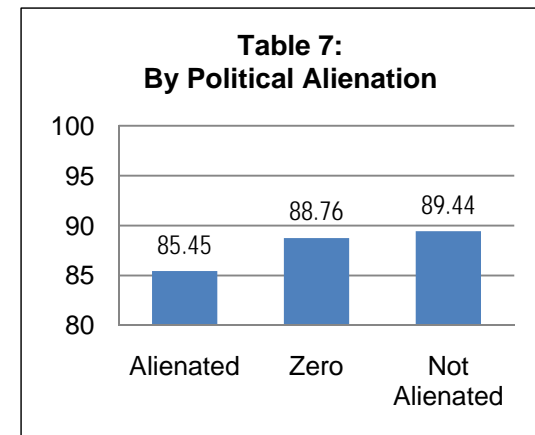
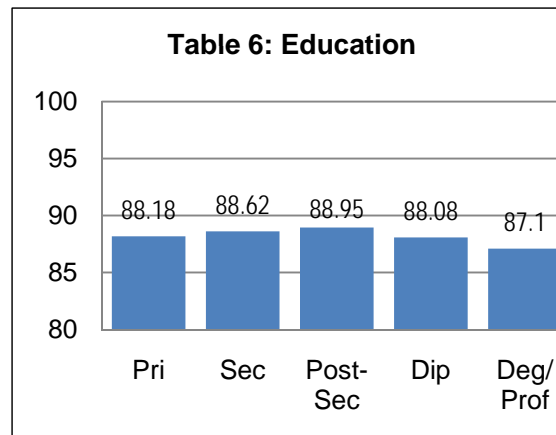
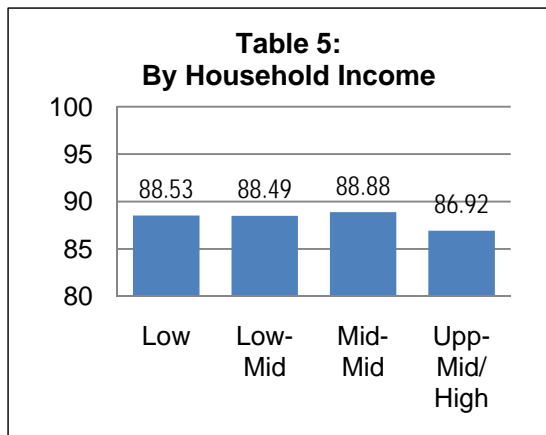
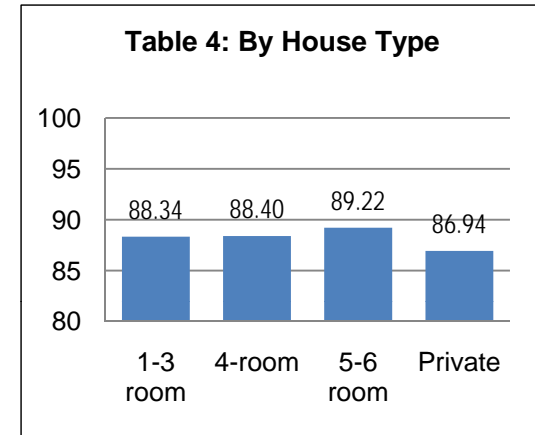
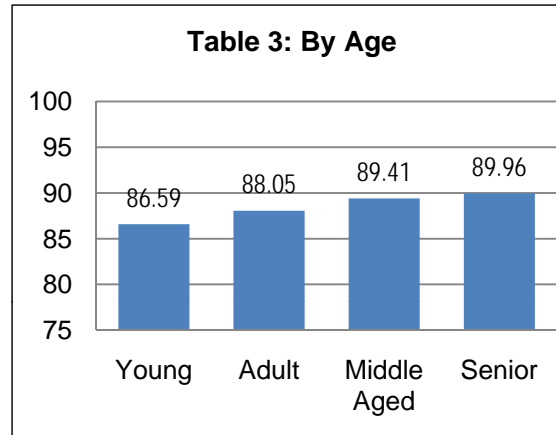
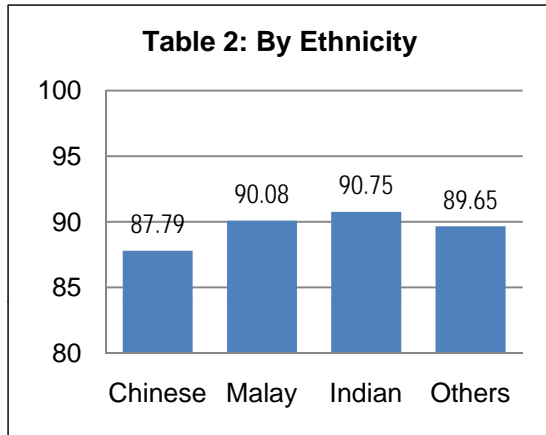
Citizen-Nation Psychological Ties (CNP) Index

Table 1b: Citizen-Nation Psychological Ties (CNP) Index

		% Positive Ties			
		NOS1	NOS2	NOS3	NOS4
	Willingness to Sacrifice (WTS) Items				
1	Even if I were to take up a higher paid job in another country, I would remain a Singaporean. (Even if I were to be given a better offer such as a higher paid job in another country, I will not emigrate.)	53	57	81	88
2	Singapore is worth defending no matter what the cost is to me.	72	76	79	85
3	I would fight for Singapore even if I do not stand to gain anything from doing so. (I will fight for Singapore if I can get some personal benefits from doing so.)	66	76	81	83
4	I would support Singapore even if it requires me to perform compulsory service in the interest of the nation.	71	78	80	84
5	Given the right opportunity elsewhere, I would be willing to give up my Singapore citizenship.	66	69	67	76
6	In the event of war, I would leave Singapore.	60	73	68	74
7	It is not wrong for people to give up their Singapore citizenship to avoid doing National Service	76	73	68	73
8	No duties are more important to me than the duties to Singapore.	66	63	62	68
9	I would not defend Singapore if it means losing my life.	55	66	60	63
10	I would not support Singapore if it requires me to pay heavier taxes in the interest of the nation.	48	51	48	59
11	I would (will not) support Singapore (even) if it requires me to undergo a huge pay-cut in the interest of the nation.	44	57	45	59
12	If the security of Singapore were threatened, Singaporeans who leave the country immediately to avoid the threat (before the attack) should not be allowed to come back.	47	51	38	43
	NID Mean Score with range of 12 to 60 (NID Mean Score with range of 2 to 10)	50.0 (8.33)	46.5 (7.75)	45.60 (7.67)	46.19 (7.69)
	WTS Mean Score with range of 12 to 60 (WTS Mean Score with range of 2 to 10)	44.0 (7.33)	42.6 (7.10)	41.88 (7.00)	42.18 (7.03)

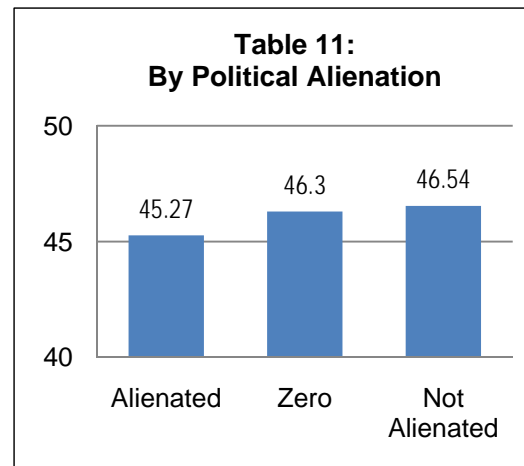
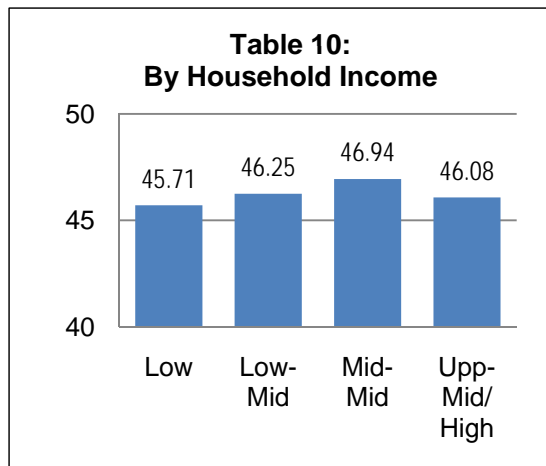
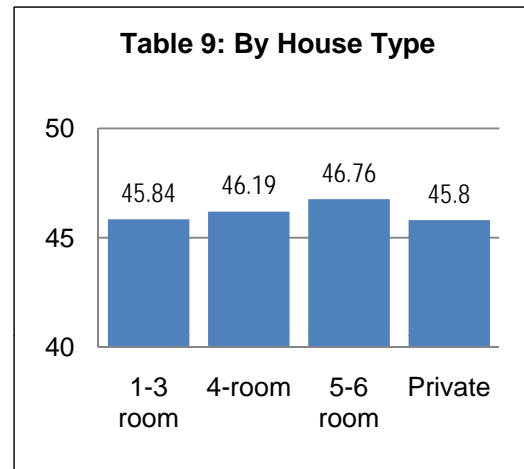
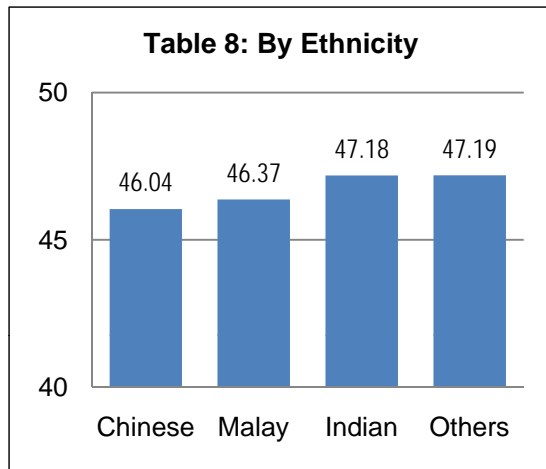
Citizen-Nation Psychological Ties (CNP)

Table 2-7: Citizen-Nation Psychological Ties by Ethnicity, Age, House Type, Income, Education, Political Alienation for NOS 4



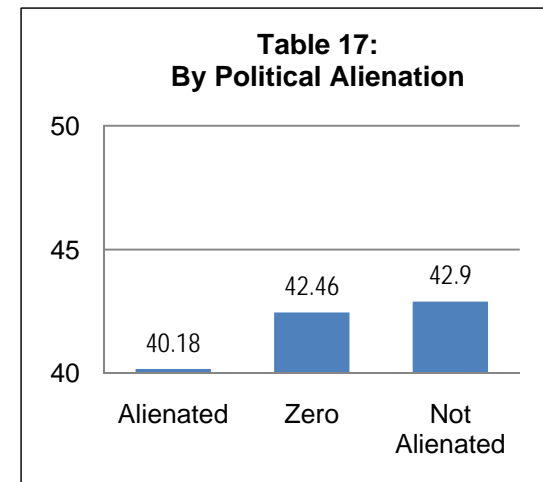
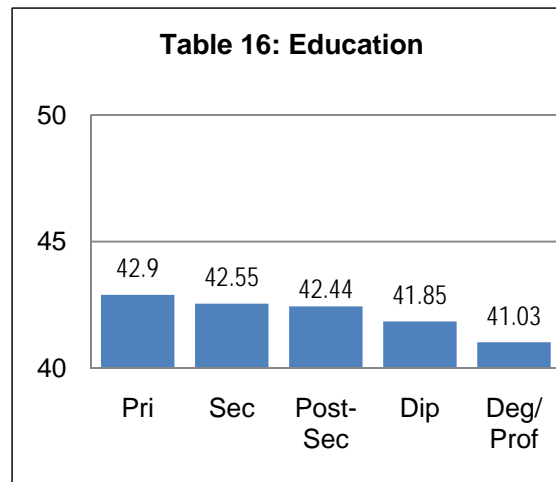
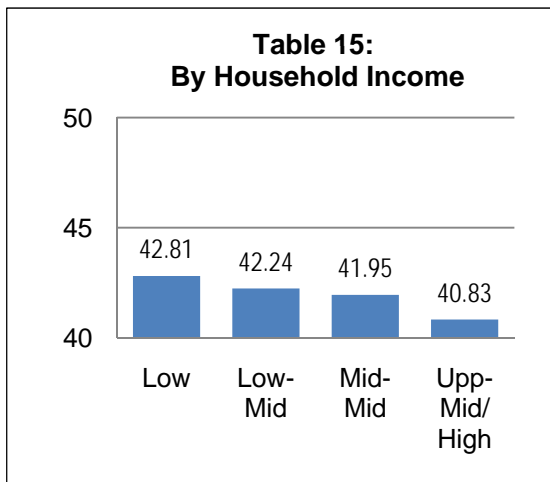
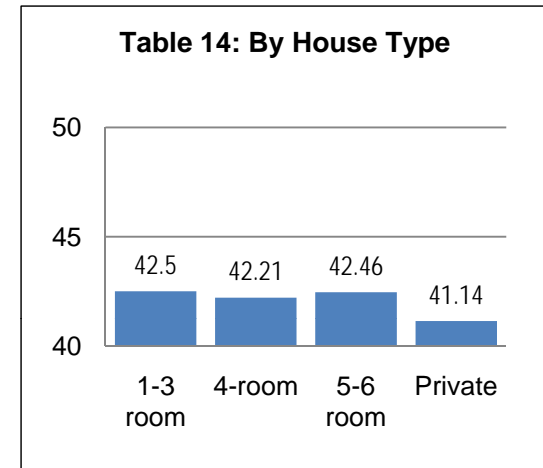
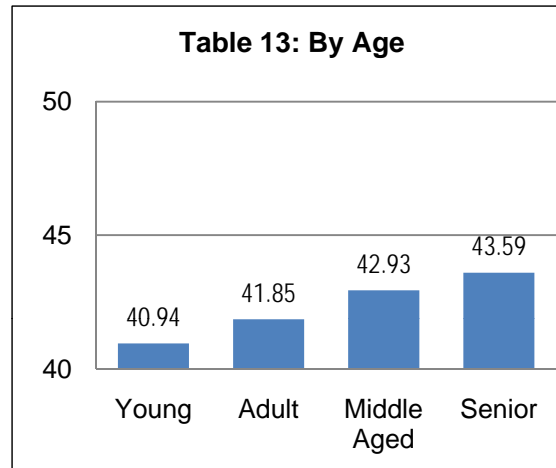
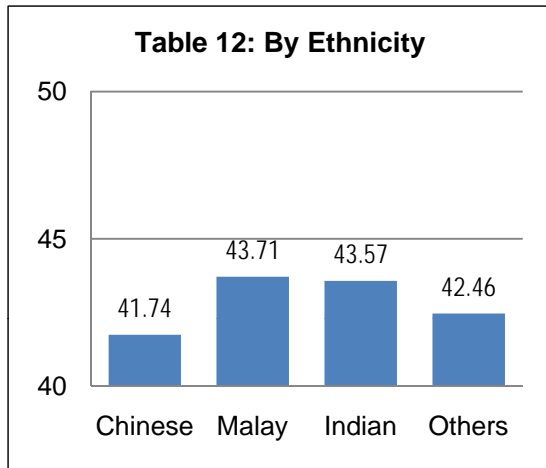
National Identity Index (NID)

Table 8 to 11: National Identity Index by Ethnicity, Age, House Type, Household Income, Education, Political Alienation for NOS 4



Willingness to Sacrifice (WTS)

Table 12 to 17: Willingness to Sacrifice by Ethnicity, Age, House Type, Household Income, Education, Political Alienation for NOS 4



National Pride (GNPRIDE and SNPRIDE) Indices: National Pride Relatively High and Stable

- Indices developed by National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago for international comparison.
- Comprises 5-item General National Pride (GNPRIDE) Index and 10-item Domain Specific National Pride (SNPRIDE) Index.
- GNPRIDE scores are 1 to 5 for ascending pride level, SNPRIDE scores are 0 for 'not proud' and '1' for 'proud'.
- CNP Index is a more complex index compared to GNPRIDE Indices, for instance it includes 'willingness to sacrifice' items.

National Pride (GNPRIDE and SNPRIDE) Indices

- GNPRIDE, that is, national pride weakens with:
 - ❖ Higher socio-economic class
 - ❖ Others
 - ❖ Youth
 - ❖ Political alienation
- GNPRIDE has held steady between NOS3 and NOS4.
- SNPRIDE, domain-specific pride weakens with:
 - ❖ Higher socio-economic class
 - ❖ Chinese
 - ❖ Adult
 - ❖ Political alienation

National Pride (GNPRIDE and SNPRIDE) Indices

Table 18: General National Pride (GNPRIDE) Index

		% Proud			
		NOS1	NOS2	NOS3	NOS4
1	Generally speaking, Singapore is a better country than most other countries.	--	85	84	93
2	I would rather be a citizen of Singapore than of any other country in the world.	--	85	83	87
3	The world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like the citizens of Singapore.	--	50	50	67
4	There are some things about Singapore that I am ashamed of.	--	26	41	47
5	People should support their country even if it is in the wrong.	--	27	29	39
GNPRIDE Mean Score		--	17.2	17.0	17.22

Note:
The GNPRIDE Index was introduced in NOS2.

National Pride (GNPRIDE and SNPRIDE) Indices

Table 19: Domain-specific National Pride Index

		% Proud
1	Singapore's economic achievements	93
2	Social security system (e.g., CPF, Medisave, Workfare, Comcare)	88
3	Armed forces	88
4	Fair and equal treatment of all groups in society.	88
5	History	86
6	Scientific and technological achievements	83
7	Political influence in the world	81
8	The way democracy works (in Singapore)	80
9	Achievements in the arts and literature	54
10	Achievements in sports	48
	SNPRIDE1 Mean Score	7.88
	SNPRIDE2 Mean Score	2.76

Note: SNPRIDE1 mean score is derived by assigning 1 or 0 to each item and adding these scores for the 10 items, thereby producing a scale with range 0-10. SNPRIDE2 is derived by adding the scores for the 10 items and dividing the total scores by 10, thereby producing a scale with range 1-4.

National Pride (GNPRIDE and SNPRIDE) Indices

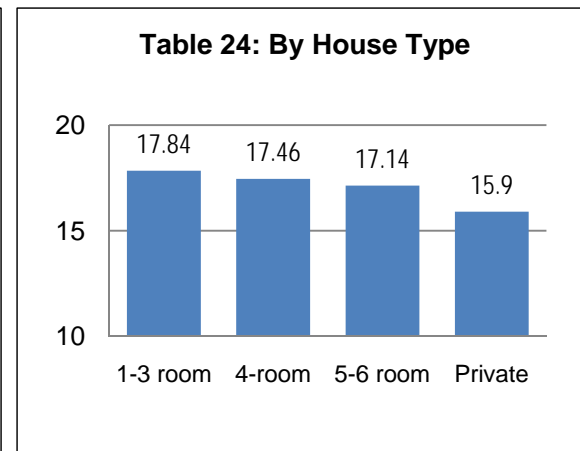
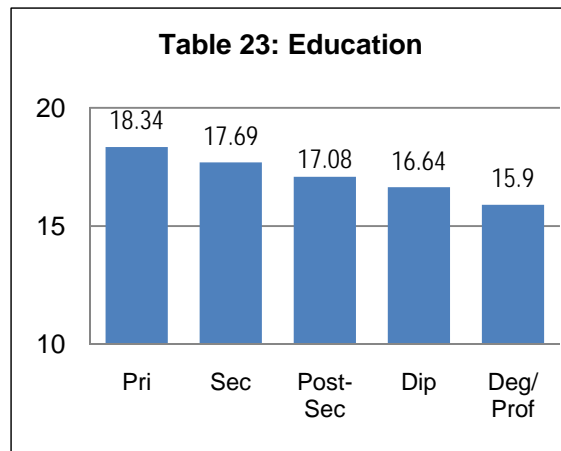
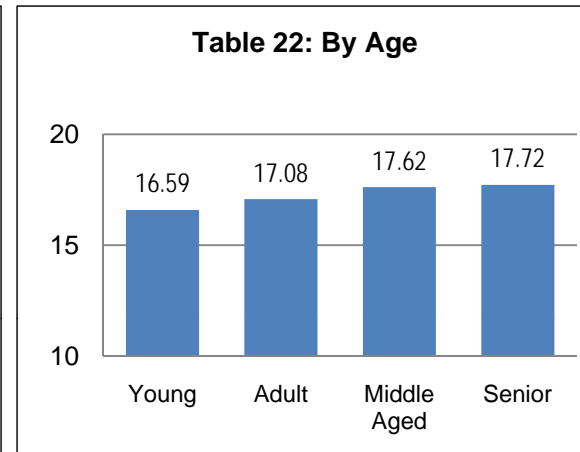
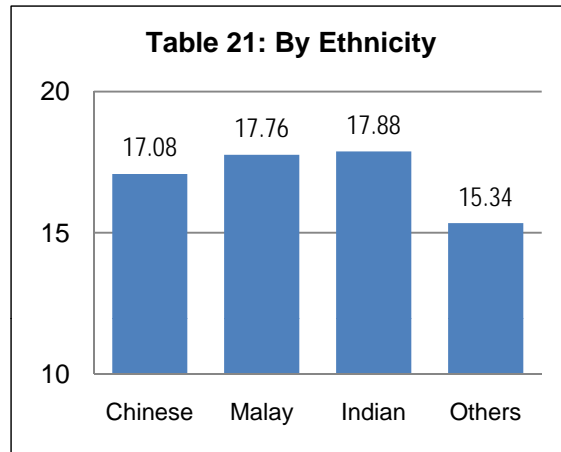
Table 20: Ranking of Countries on General and Domain-Specific National Pride for 2003-04 (Singapore, 2009)

	General National Pride	Domain-Specific National Pride	Average Ranking		General National Pride	Domain-Specific National Pride	Average Ranking
United States	17.7	4.0	T1	Great Britain	15.1	2.2	19
Venezuela	18.4	3.6	T1	Slovenia	16.1	1.1	20
Australia	17.5	2.9	3	Russia	16.7	1.3	21
Austria	17.4	2.4	4	Norway	14.9	1.3	T22
SINGAPORE	17.2	2.8		South Korea	16.0	1.0	T22
South Africa	17.0	2.7	5	Czech Republic	15.1	1.3	T24
Canada	17.0	2.4	6	Switzerland	14.3	1.6	T24
Chile	17.1	2.3	7	France	14.4	1.5	26
New Zealand	16.6	2.6	8	Taiwan	15.6	0.9	27
The Philippines	16.7	2.3	9	Germany-West	14.5	1.0	T28
Israel	16.2	2.3	10	Poland	15.3	0.9	T28
Denmark	16.6	1.7	T11	Slovakia	14.5	1.1	T28
Hungary	17.0	1.6	T11	Sweden	14.0	1.2	31
Ireland	15.3	2.9	T11	Latvia	13.4	1.0	32
Uruguay	16.1	2.0	14	Germany-East	14.2	0.7	33
Portugal	16.2	1.6	15	Bulgaria	NA	1.6	NA
Finland	16.1	1.8	16	Sweden	14.0		
Spain	16.5	1.6	17	Latvia	13.4		
Japan	15.9	1.8	18	Germany-East	14.2		
				Bulgaria	NA		

Note: Adapted from Smith, T. and Kim, S., National Pride in Cross-national and Temporal Perspective, *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, No.18, Spring 2006, pp.127-136.

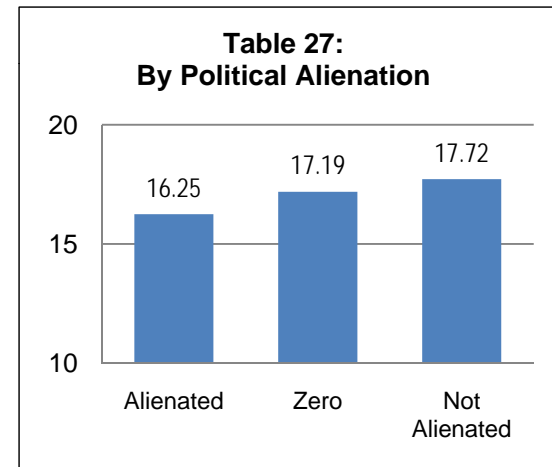
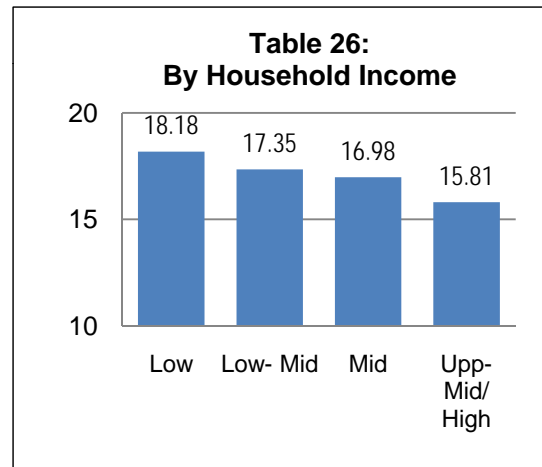
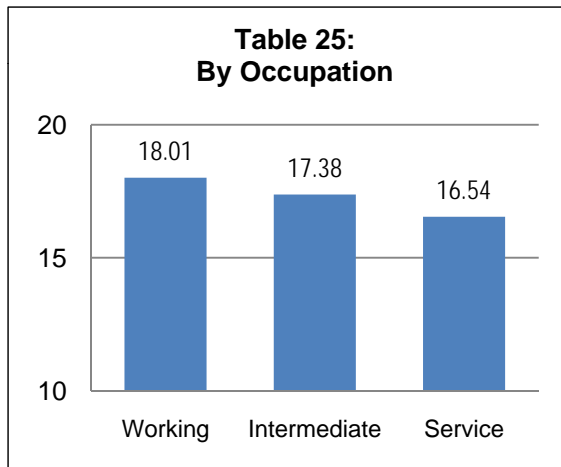
GNPRIDE

Table 21 to 24 : GNPRIDE by Ethnicity, Age, Education, House Type for NOS 4



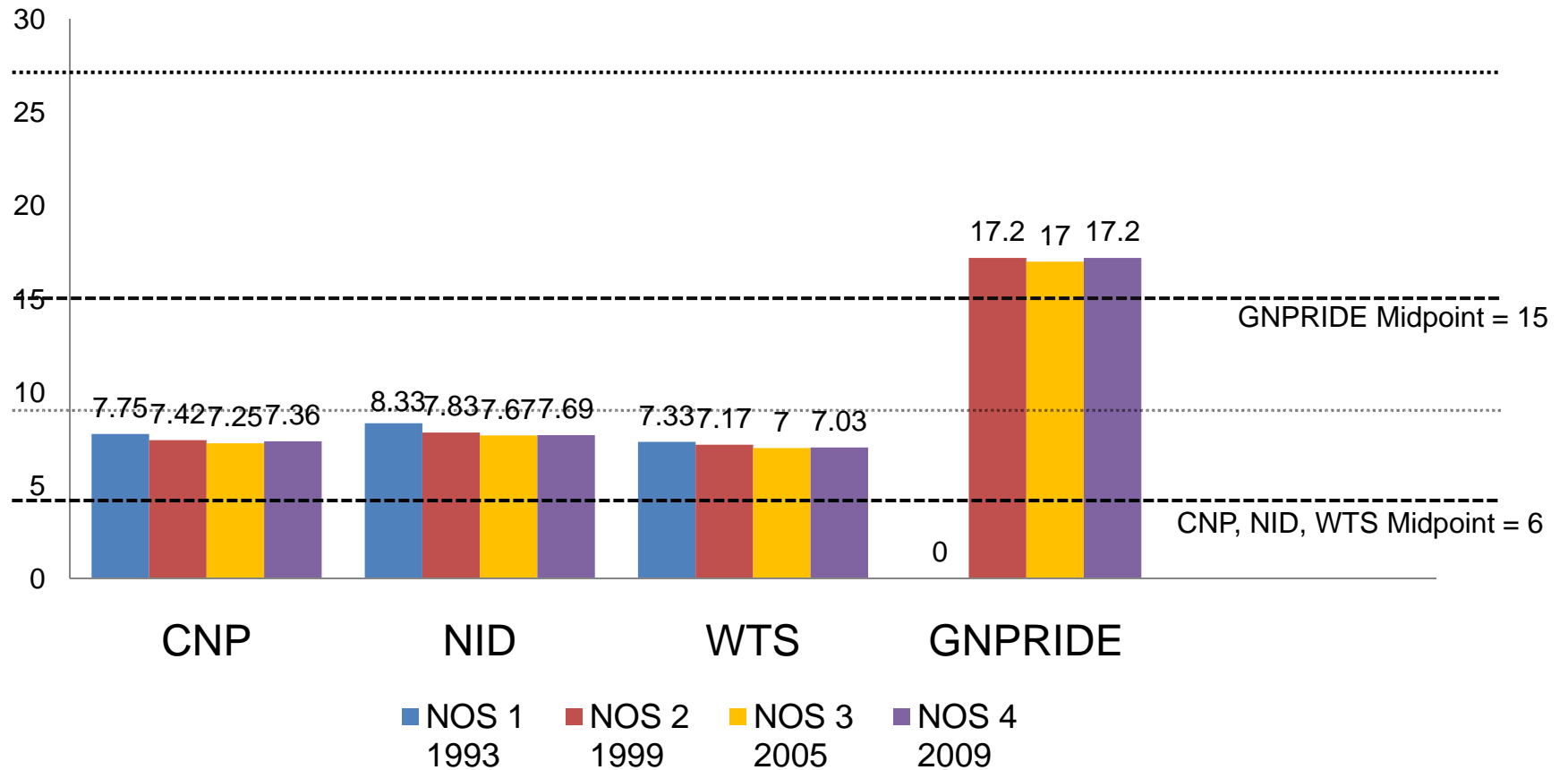
GNPRIDE

Table 25 to 27: GNPRIDE by Occupation, Household Income, Political Alienation for NOS 4



CNP, GNPRIDE Indices from NOS1 to NOS4

Table 28: Citizen-Nation Psychological Ties (CNP), National Identity (NID), and Willingness to Sacrifice (WTS), AND National Pride (GNPRIDE) mean scores



Note: GNPRIDE was introduced in NOS2.

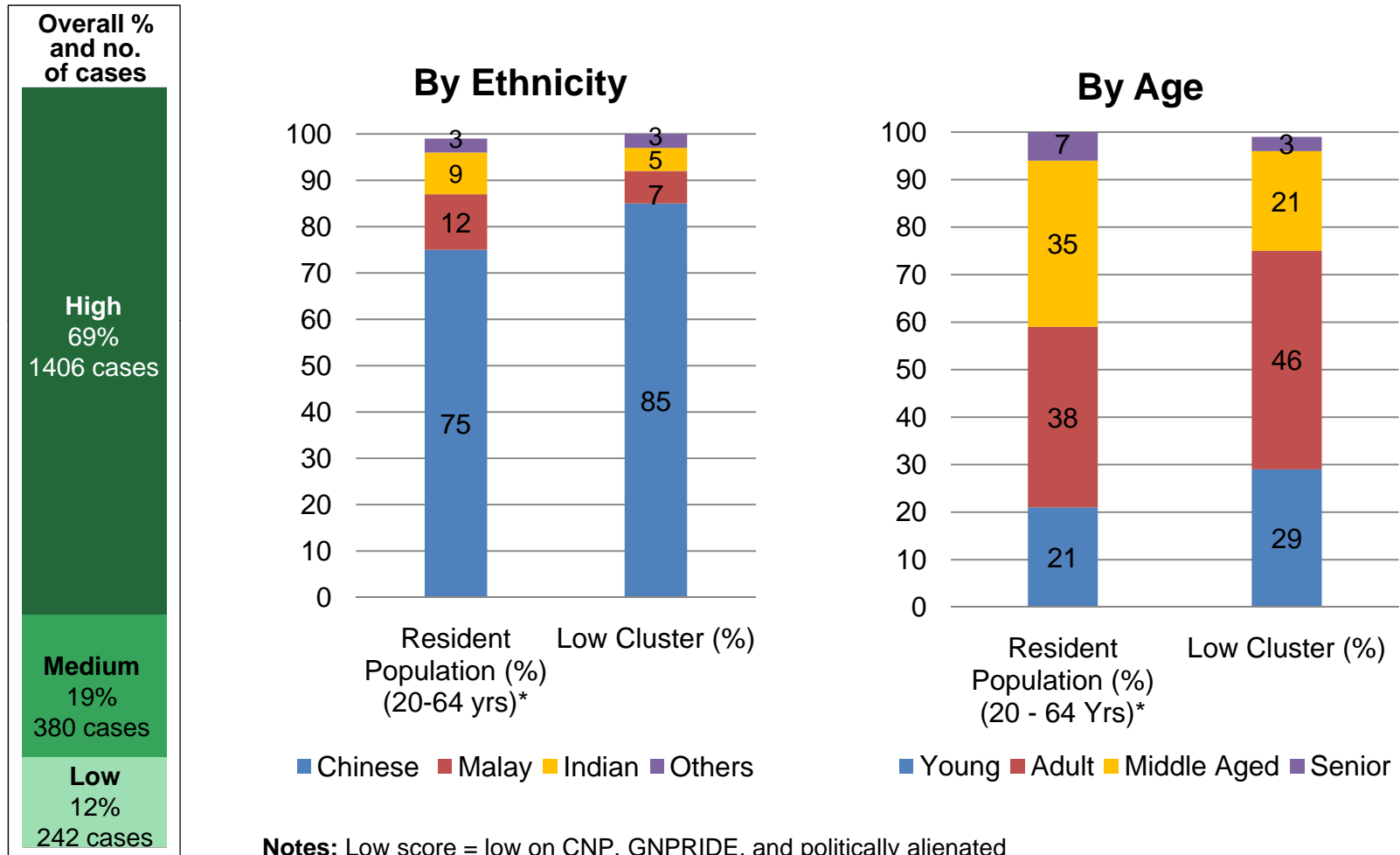
Cluster Analysis for NOS4

Cluster Analysis

- Respondents were grouped based on their sense of national loyalty, pride and political alienation for an overall sense of citizen-nation ties.
- Findings:
 - High:69%
 - Medium: 19%
 - Low:12% with 'over-representation' of Chinese, Youth, Adults vis-à-vis population.

Cluster Analysis for NOS4

Table 29: 'LOW' Cluster (242 cases)



Notes: Low score = low on CNP, GNPRIDE, and politically alienated
 Total cases = 2028 (weighted sample). Figure is not 2027 because of rounding error.
 *Source: Table 3.4, Yearbook of Statistics 2010, Department of Statistics, figures for end-June 2009.

Elective Section



Political Participation: Norms of Political Participation Strong

Findings

- Desire for political participation, the norms of active citizenship are strong.
- However, only about 8% have engaged in discussion on policy.
- Top three main channels for political participation deemed effective remain: Meet-the-People Session, writing to government offices, the newspapers.
- Of those who had not actively participated, 68% said it was because they had no strong views, 7% said they had no channels to do so, 13% said they thought there were no effective channels to do so. In 1998, 54% said they had no strong views, 15%, no channels, 16%, no effective channels.

Political Participation

Political Alienation

- We say there is political alienation if one's **desire** to influence national discussion on public policy outstrips the perception that it is **possible** to do so.
- It is the difference in score on two statements (2009):
It does not matter to me whether I have any influence on government policy or not.
It is possible for citizens to influence government decision-making in Singapore.
- Score ranges from 1 where the desire outweighs opportunity (alienated), to 0 where desire is met with perception of ability to do so (zero), and -1 ability to do so outstrips desire to do so (not alienated).

Caveat: the 'neutral' answer options have been removed in NOS4.

Political Participation

Table 30: “Voting gives citizens the most meaningful way to tell the government how the country should be run”

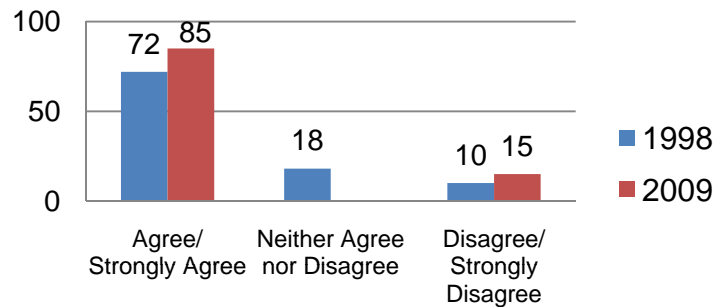


Table 31: “Apart from the vote, there should be other channels by which citizens can express their views on government policies”

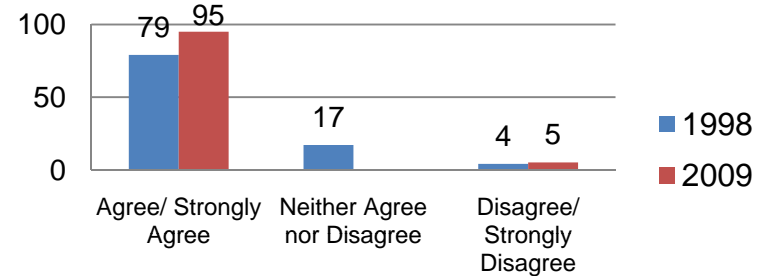


Table 32: “Every citizen, regardless of level of income or education, should have equal freedom to express their views on government policies”

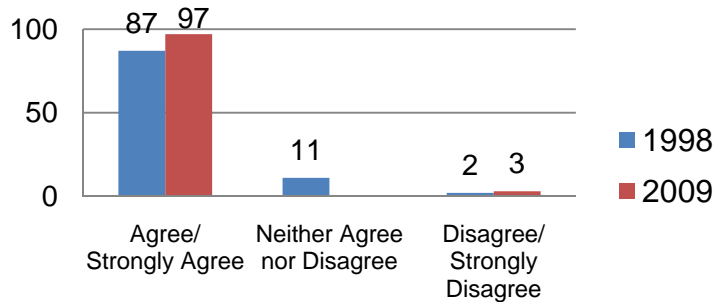
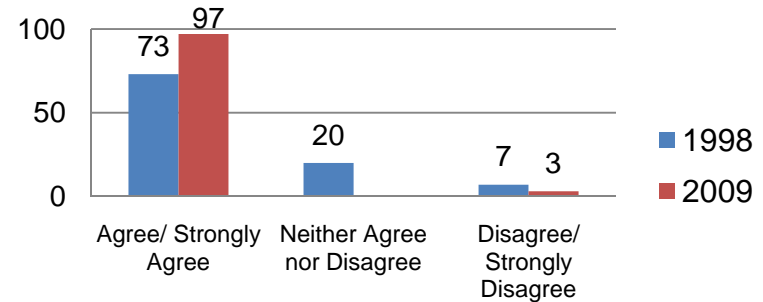


Table 33: “I would like the government to take more time to listen to citizens’ views even if a quick decision is necessary”



Political Participation

Table 34: “Have you ever made your views known to the government on any public policy issues”

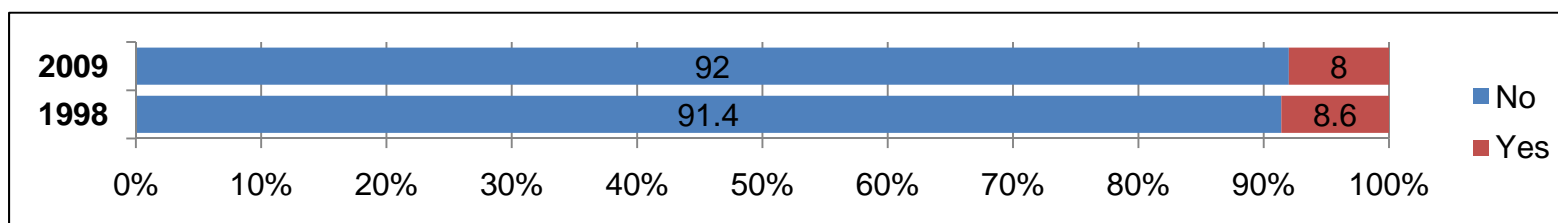


Table 35: Effectiveness of Channels for Political Expression

Channels for Political Expression	2009		1998	
	Rank	% agree	Rank	% agree
MPs Meet-the-People Session	1	78%	1	61%
The relevant government office	2	72%	2	48%
Letters to local newspapers	3	68%	3	47%
Community Development Councils	4	62%	7	34%
Town Councils	5	61%	4	47%
Grassroots Organisations	6	60%	6	44%
Reach (Feedback Unit, 1998)	7	57%	5	46%
The Prime Minister’s Office	8	56%	9	24%
Political Party	9	56%	10	22%
Internet	10	53%	N/A	N/A
Relevant Professional Body	11	48%	8	25%
Relevant Interest or Civic Organisation	12	46%	11	22%

Political Participation

Table 36: “I would like to serve in organisations such as Town Council, PA-related grassroots organisations, Community Development Councils”

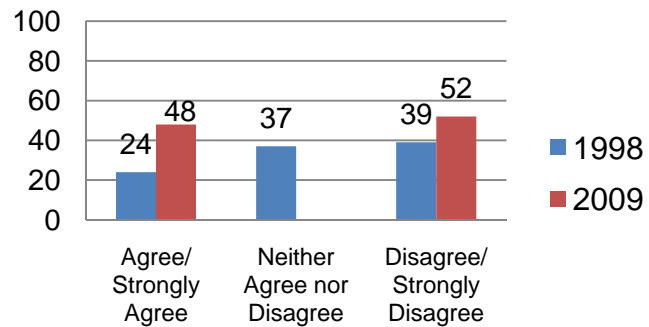
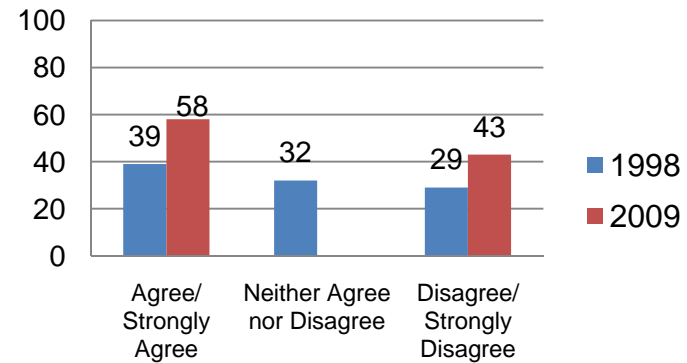


Table 37: “I would like to serve in a non-government-related organisation, say, professional bodies, or civic organisations”



Political Participation

Table 38: “It is possible for citizens to influence government decision-making in Singapore”

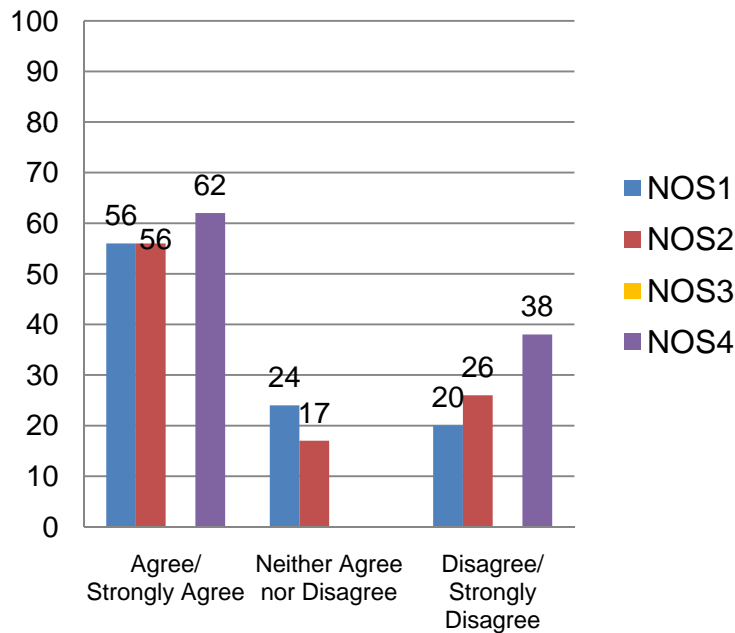
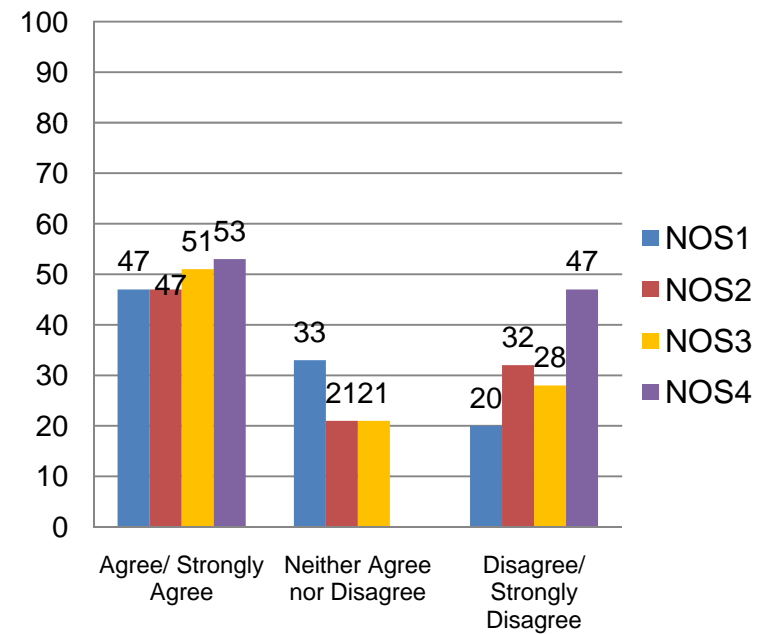
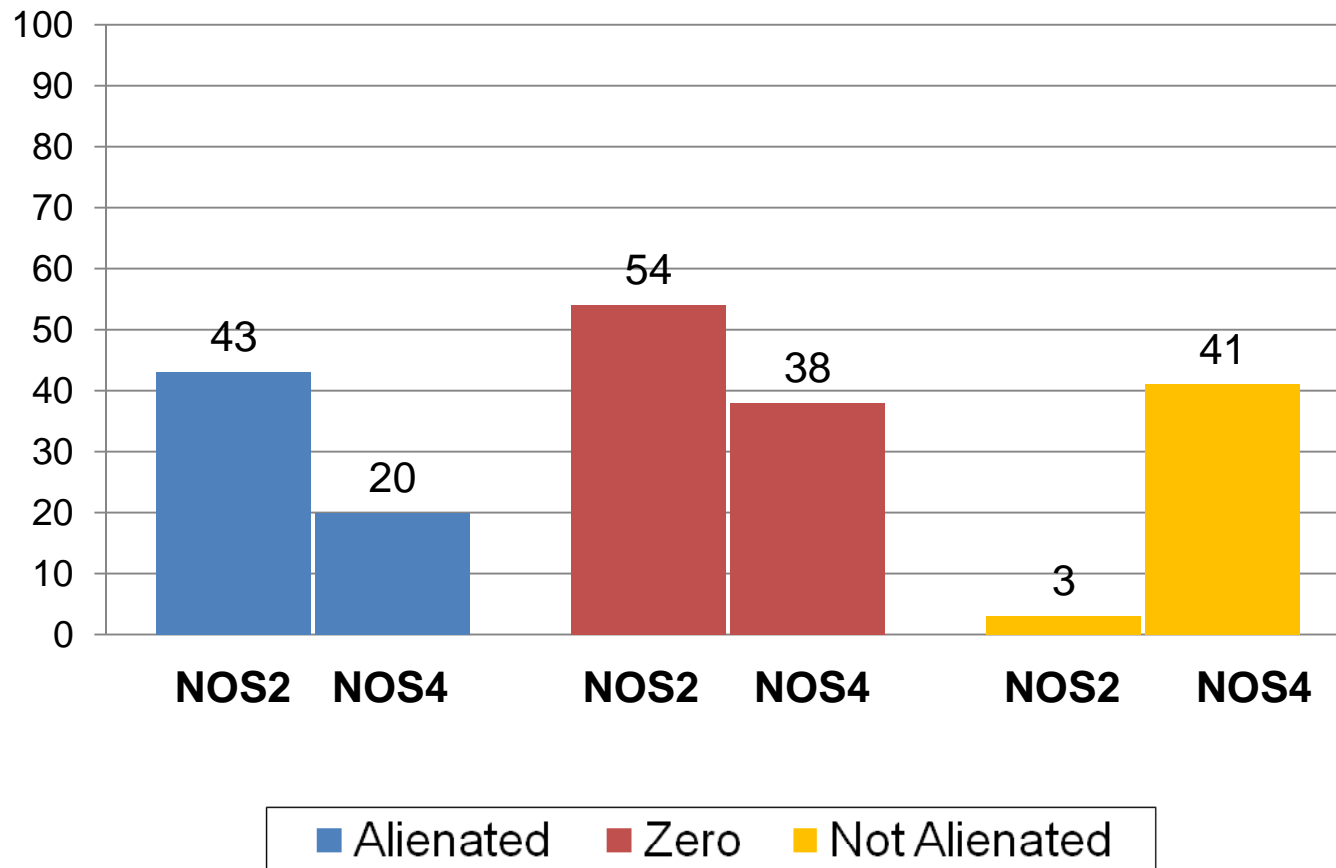


Table 39: “The government makes policies without giving people like me a chance to debate pros and cons first” (NOS4: The government makes policies without giving people like me a chance to express our views or opinions)



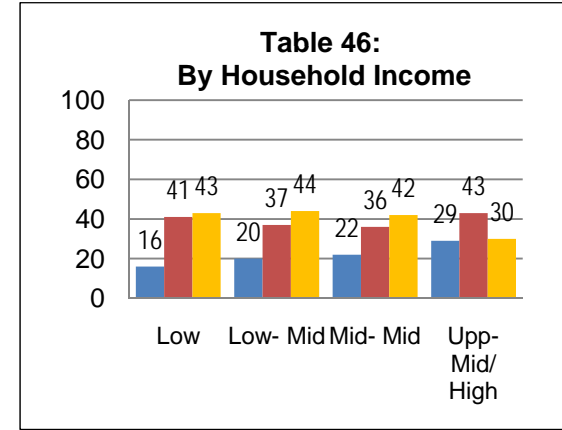
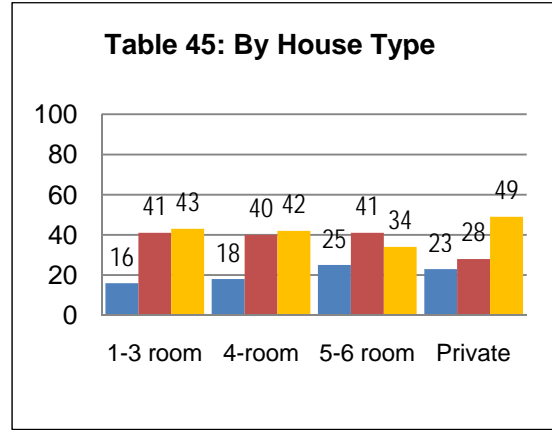
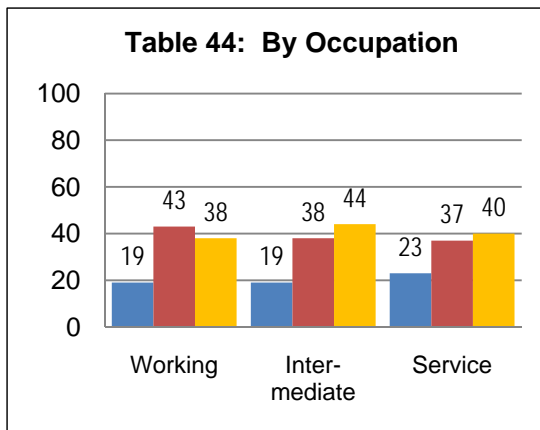
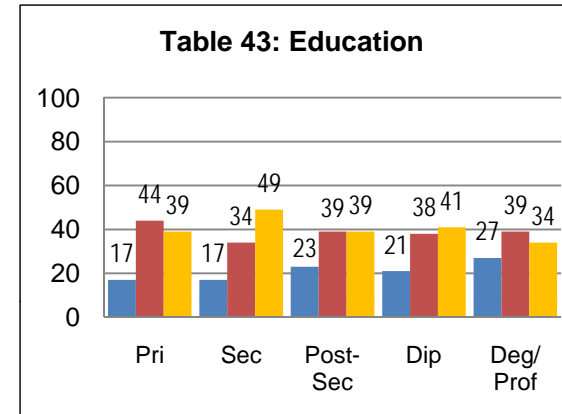
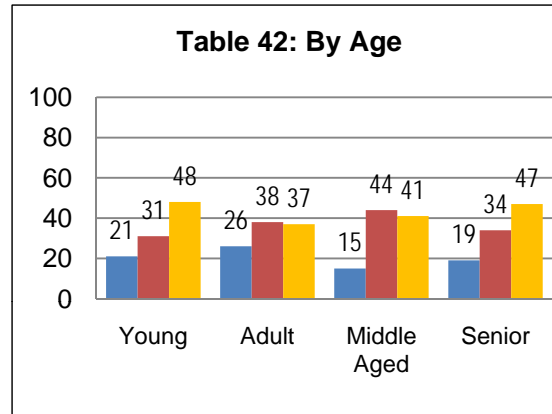
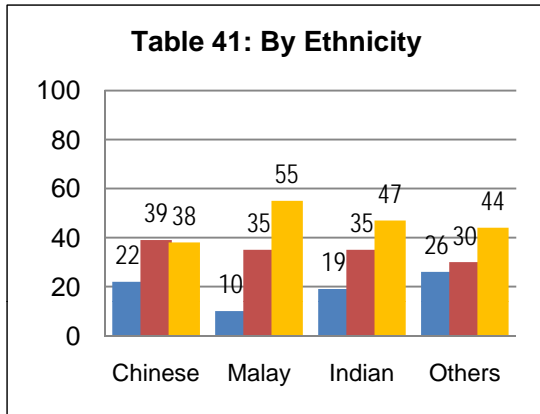
Political Alienation: Political alienation has declined

Table 40: Political Alienation



Political Alienation

Table 41 to 46: Political Alienation by Ethnicity, Age, Education, Occupation, House Type and Household Income



■ Alienated ■ Zero ■ Not Alienated

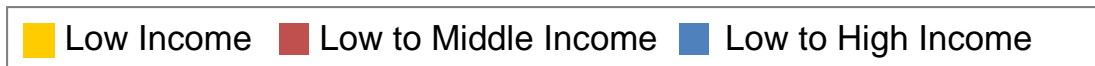
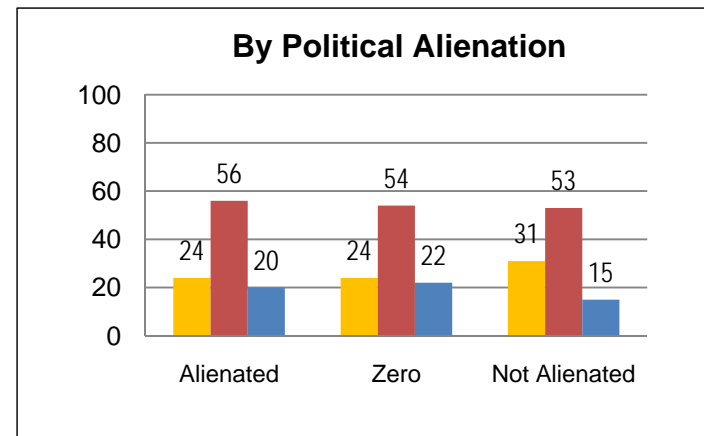
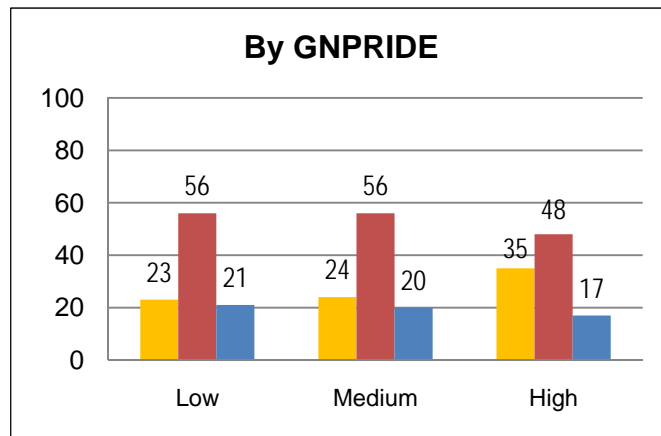
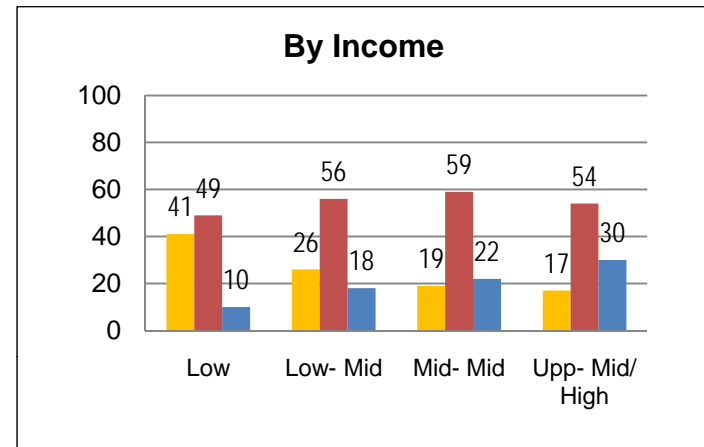
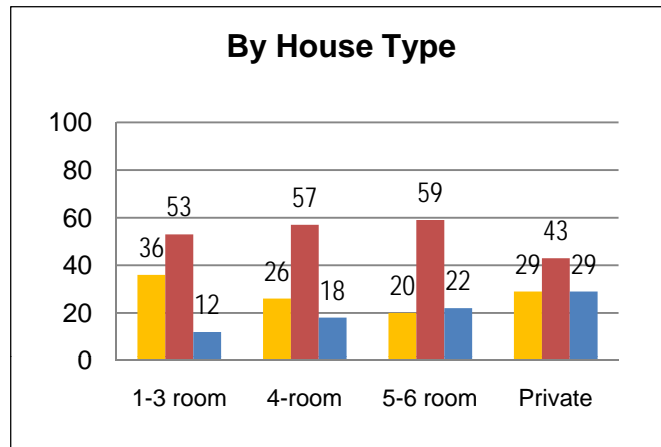
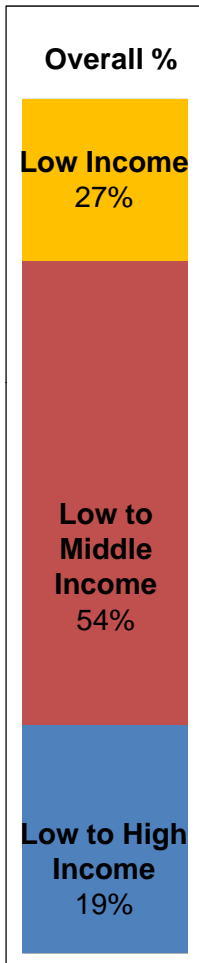
Social Provision: One Third Preferred Equal Subsidies For All

Findings:

- Found only in the NOS4 survey, with questions on who should benefit from social assistance and subsidies.
- 19% say that people from low to high income should benefit from subsidies.
- 29% to 31% prefer receiving government subsidies even if it means more taxes.
- 64% said that subsidy levels should not be the same for all.

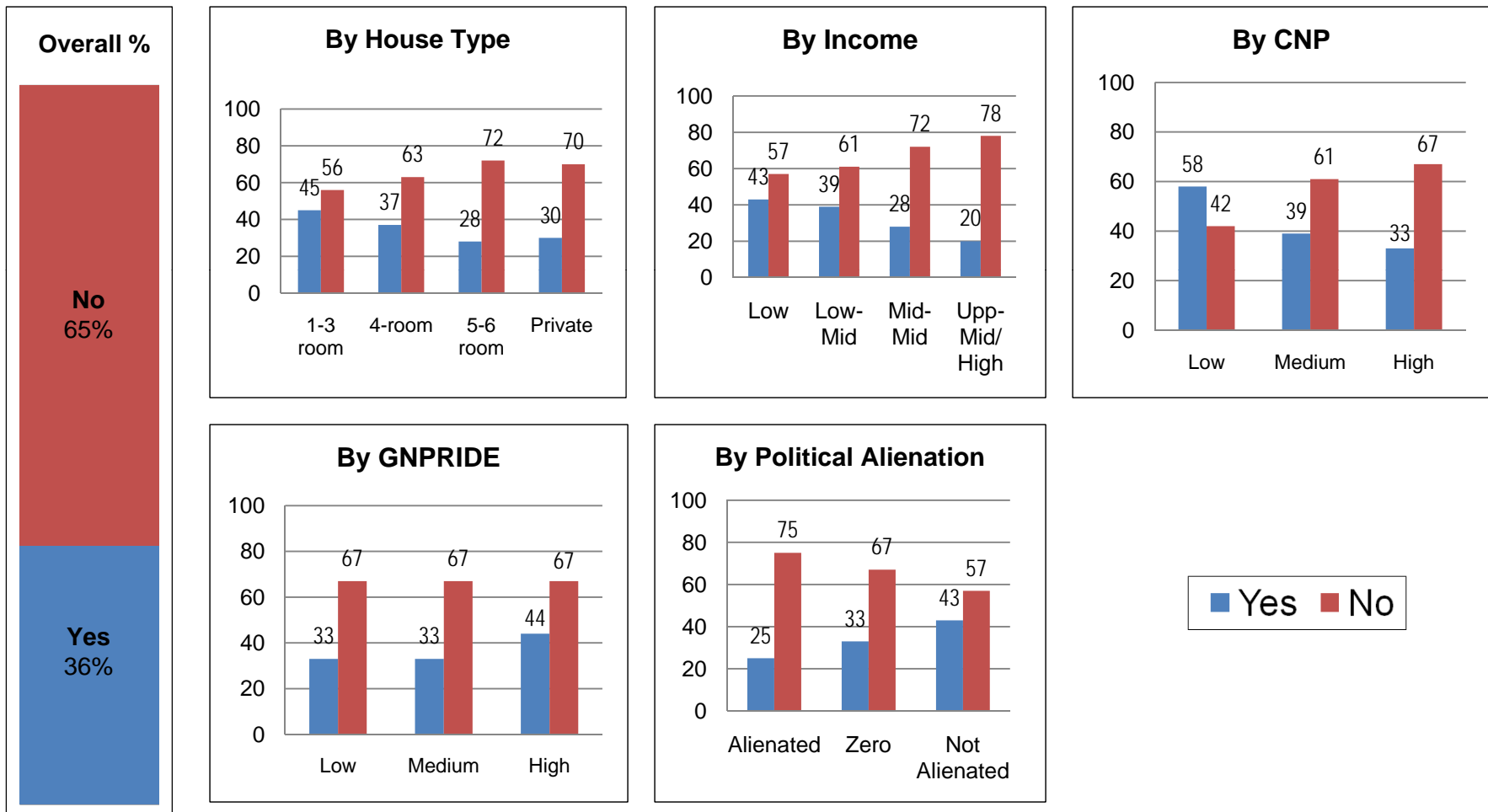
Social Provision

Table 47: “Who should the government provide subsidised goods and services like medical care, public transport, housing and education to?” (Overall)



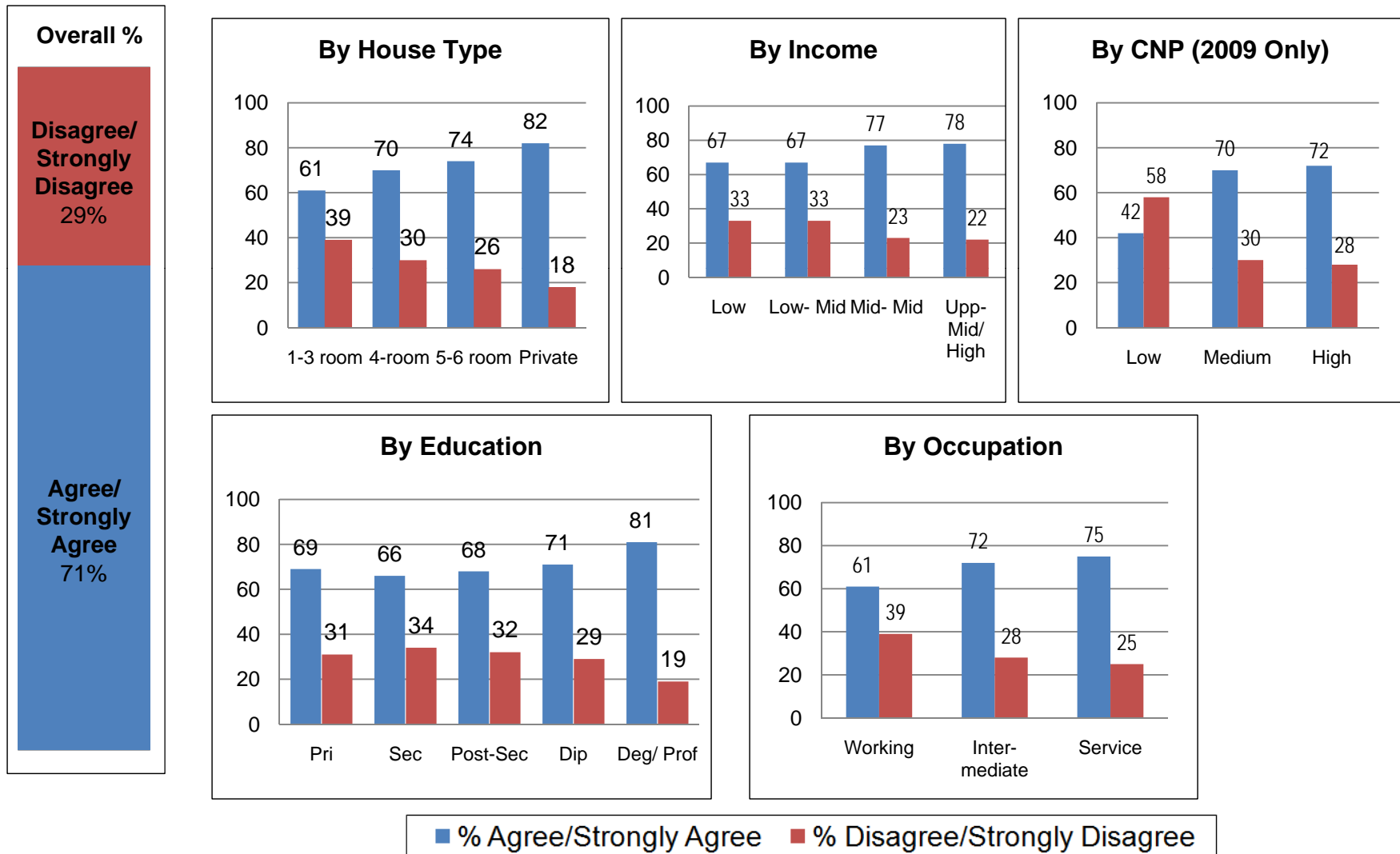
Social Provision

Table 48: “As a general principle, should the subsidy be the same to all who receive it?” (Overall)



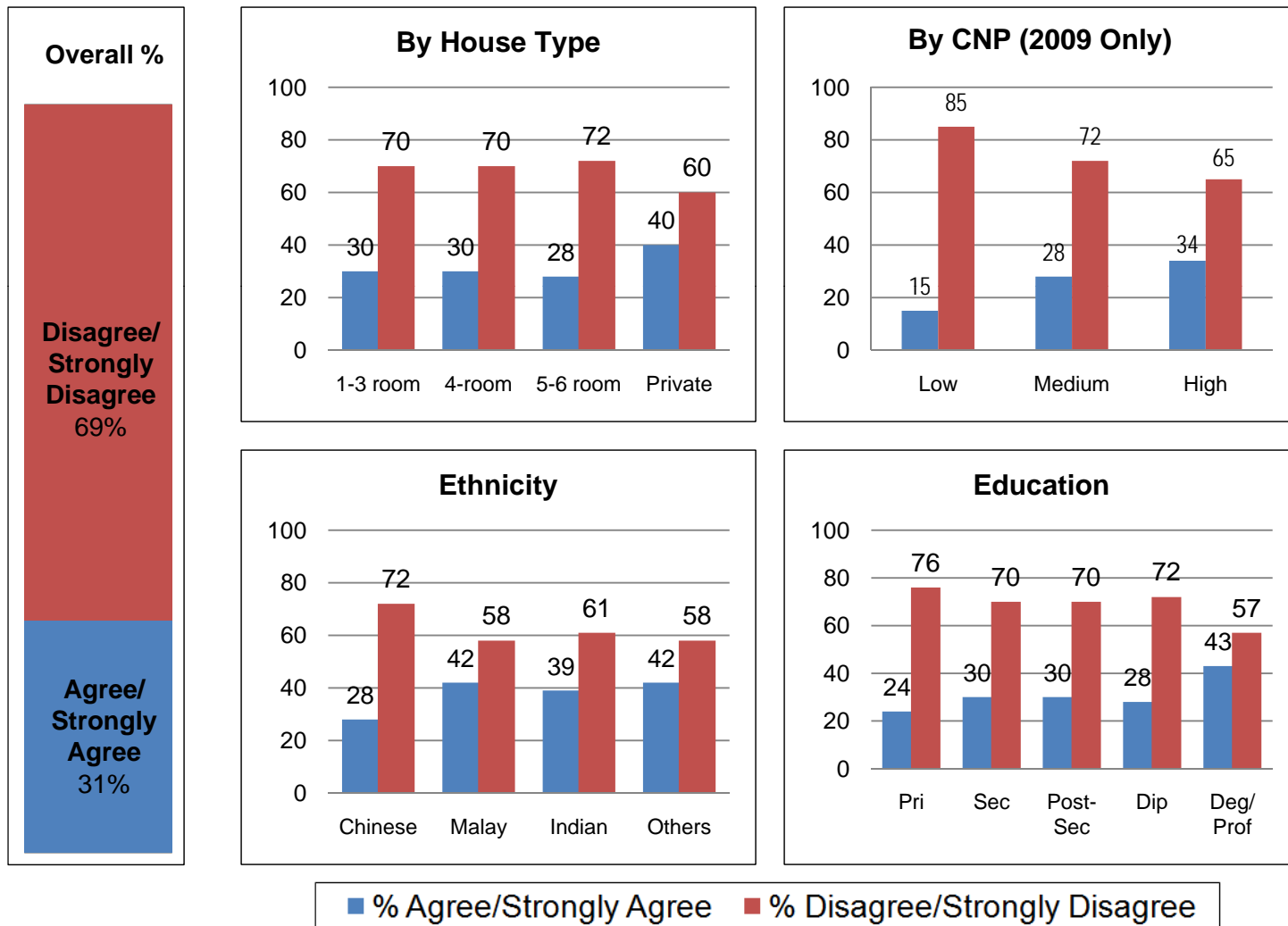
Social Provision

Table 49: “I am prepared to accept less government subsidies if I can pay less taxes.” (Overall)



Social Provision

Table 50: “I am prepared to pay more taxes if I can receive more government subsidies.” (Overall)



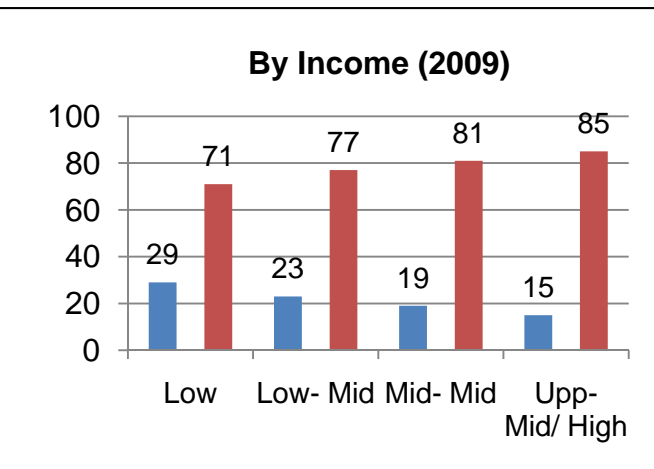
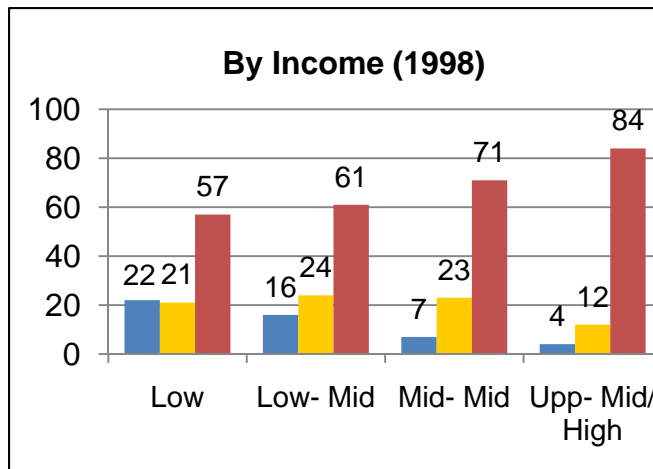
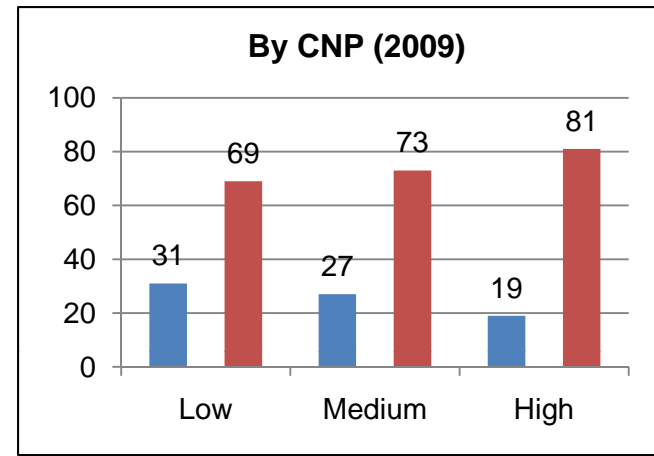
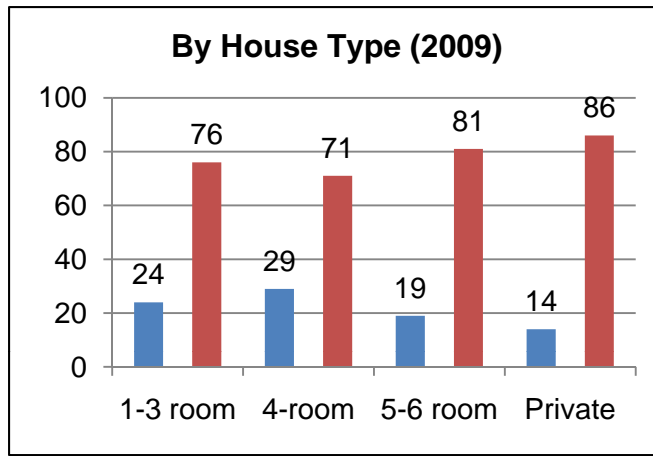
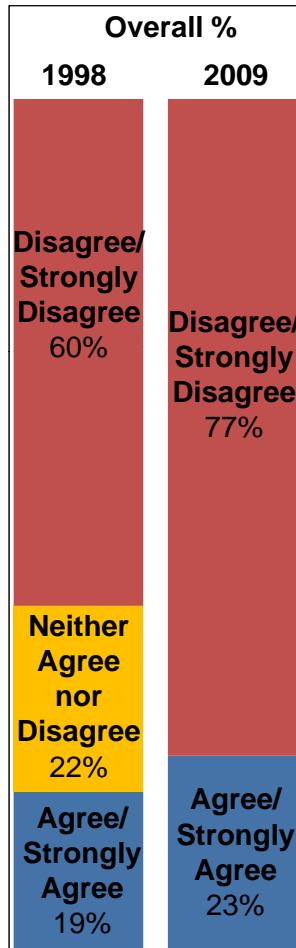
Sense of Community: Two in Three Concerned About Foreigners

Findings

- Final section on questions of national unity.
- Identification with other races strengthens with higher socio-economic class and CNP score.
- View of impact of foreigners on unity slightly more positive among those at higher socio-economic level, higher CNP score and no political alienation.
- If it is an economic imperative, acceptance of foreigners increases slightly, with those at higher socio-economic level, higher CNP, the politically alienated and those with medium GNPRIDE scores and among the Youth more positive.

Sense of Community

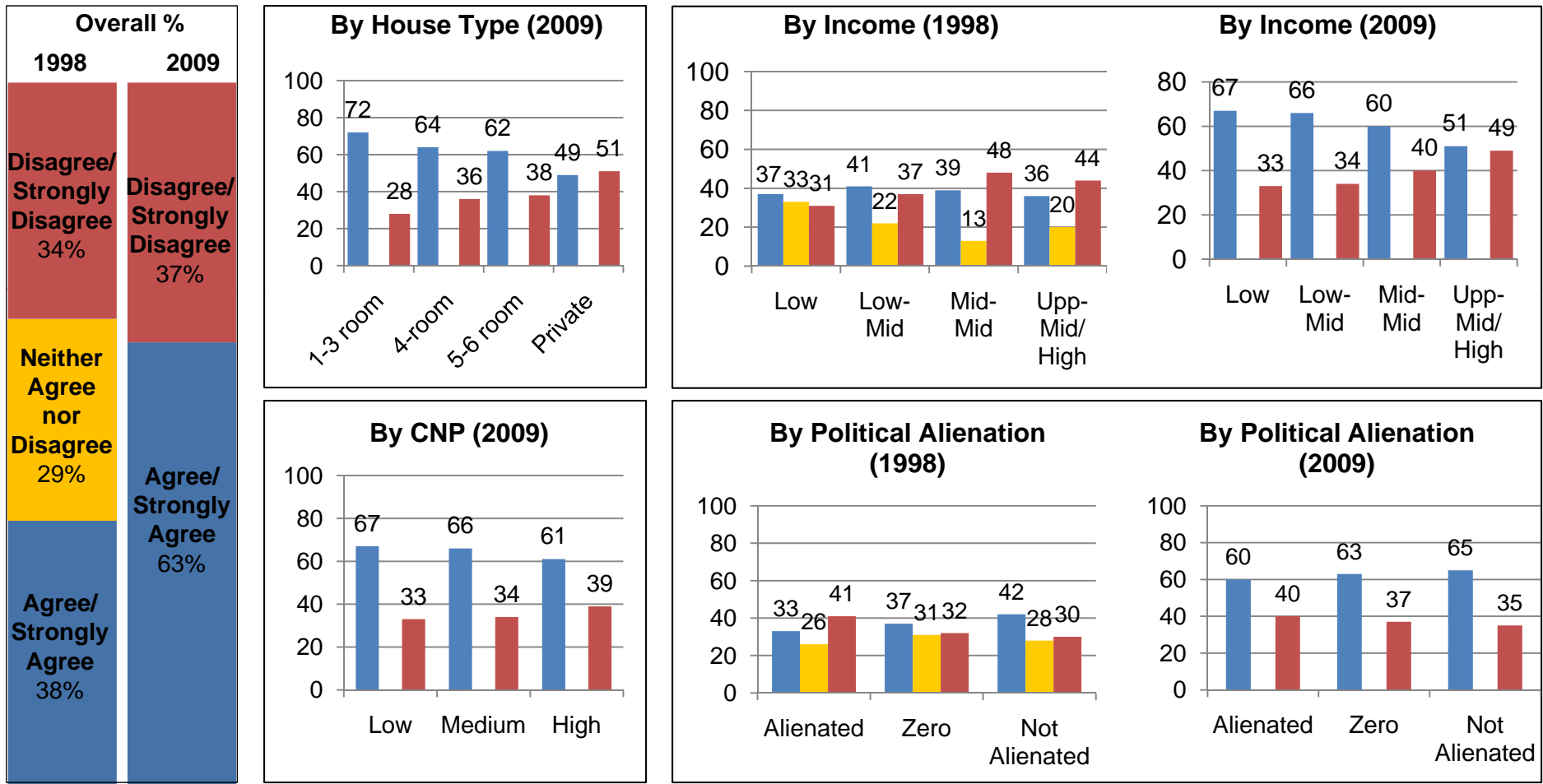
Table 51: “I don’t have much in common with Singaporeans of other races.” (Overall)



■ % Agree/ Strongly Disagree ■ % Neither Agree nor Disagree ■ % Disagree/ Strongly Disagree

Sense of Community

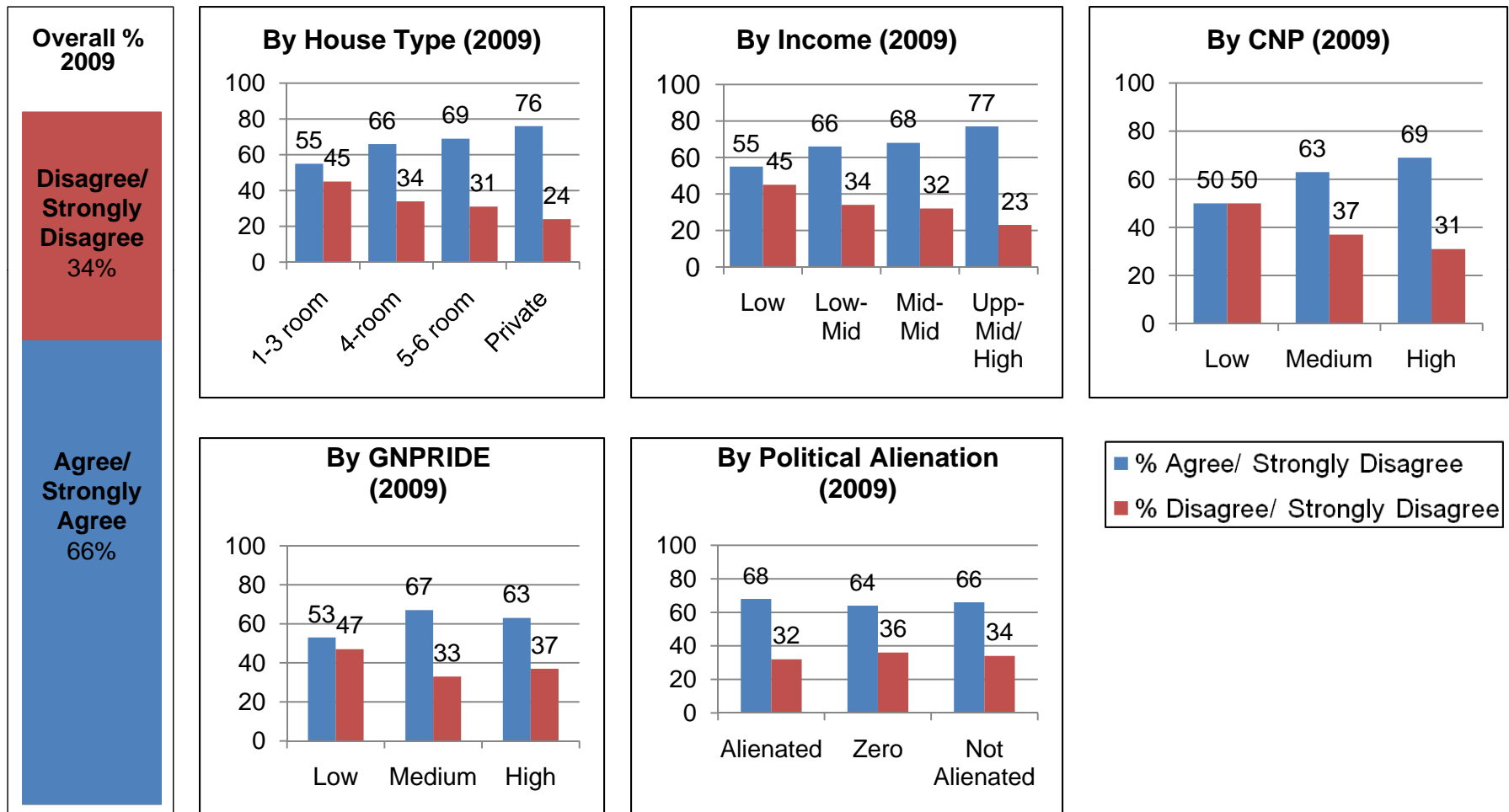
Table 52: “The policy to attract more foreign talent will weaken Singaporeans’ feeling as one nation, one people.” (Overall)



■ % Agree/ Strongly Disagree ■ % Neither Agree nor Disagree ■ % Disagree/ Strongly Disagree

Sense of Community

Table 53: “The government is right to increase the number of foreigners working in Singapore if our economy needs it.” (Overall)



Key Takeaways – Citizen-Nation Ties

- Citizen-nation ties are relatively stable considering other trends from globalisation that seem to mean that these can only weaken.
- The government and citizen initiatives are on-going to mitigate the effects of globalisation, while accepting that people have multiple and fluid identities.
- How much more is needed; what are the most effective ways of ensuring strong citizen-nation ties *if* we believe that is an important task for our young nation-state?

Key Takeaways – Political Participation

- Channels for political participation, both government and non-government, have increased over the course of the NOS series.
- The norms of active citizenship with regard to political participation are widely adopted.
- Political Alienation varies with socio-economic level.
 - ❖ Higher socio-economic level: Demand for participation outstrips opportunities.
 - ❖ Lower socio-economic level: The gap is not as large.
 - ❖ Is the growth of ‘critical citizens’ a good or bad thing?

Key Takeaways – Sense of Community

- Ostensibly, there is a strengthening sense of community.
- There is some concern about how foreigners affect the sense of ‘one people, one nation’ – is it high or manageable?
- Greater support when the presence of foreigners is framed in the discussion as an ‘economic imperative’.
- Acceptance is associated with CNP scores. Something to watch for the future.

The End

