

# WAPOR-GBS Joint Webinar

**Pandemic, Governance, and Comparative Public Opinion Research**



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at National Taiwan  
University

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# **The Changed and Unchanged of Public Perception Under the Covid Pandemic**

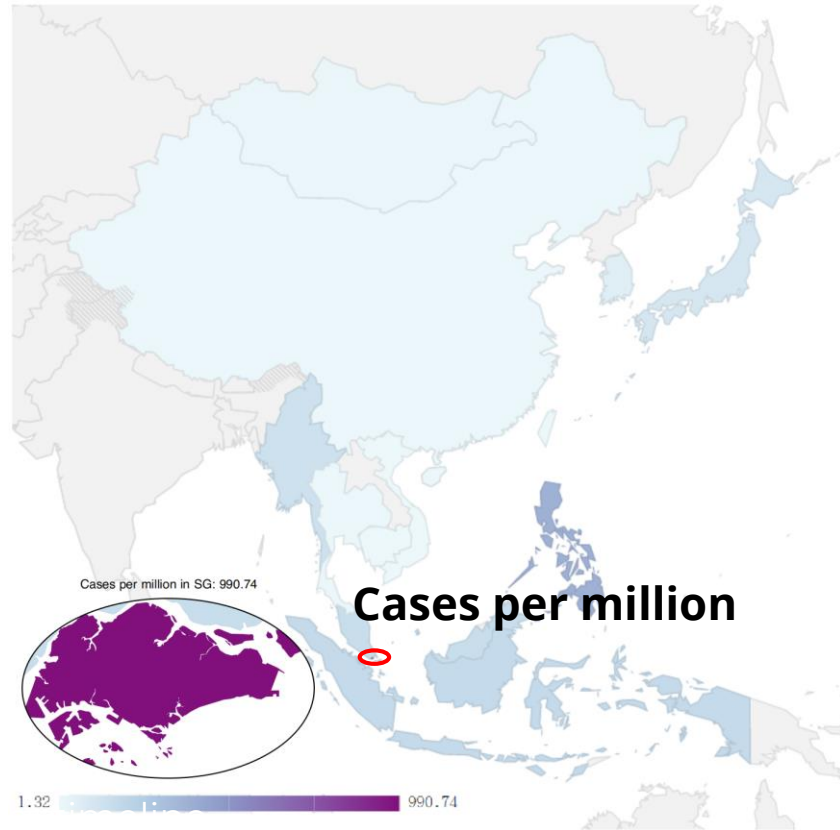
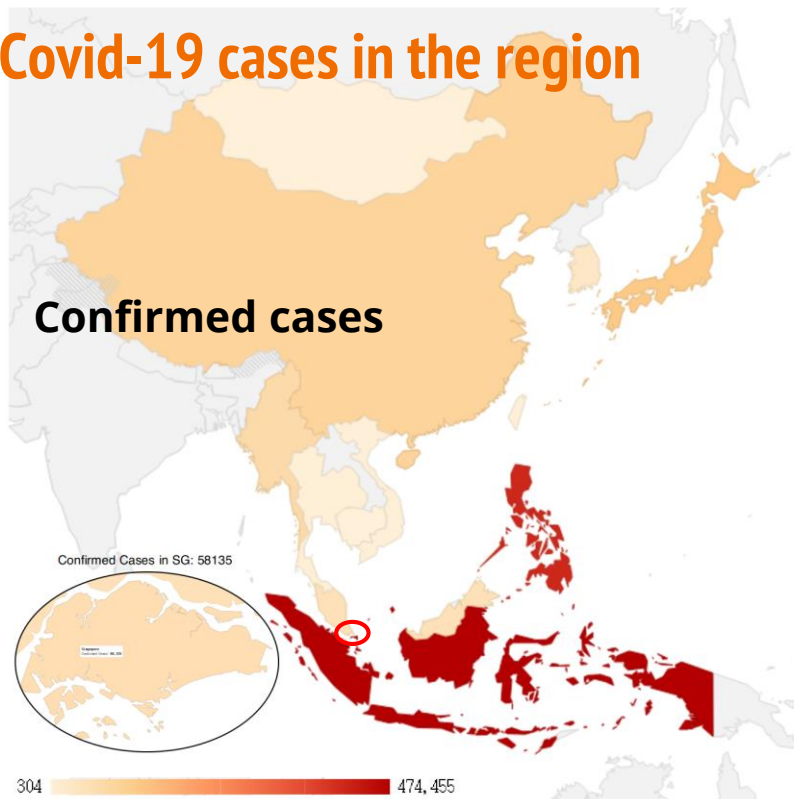
— The 2020 Singaporean Case —

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**Min-Hua Huang**  
**National Taiwan University**

## Covid-19 cases in the region

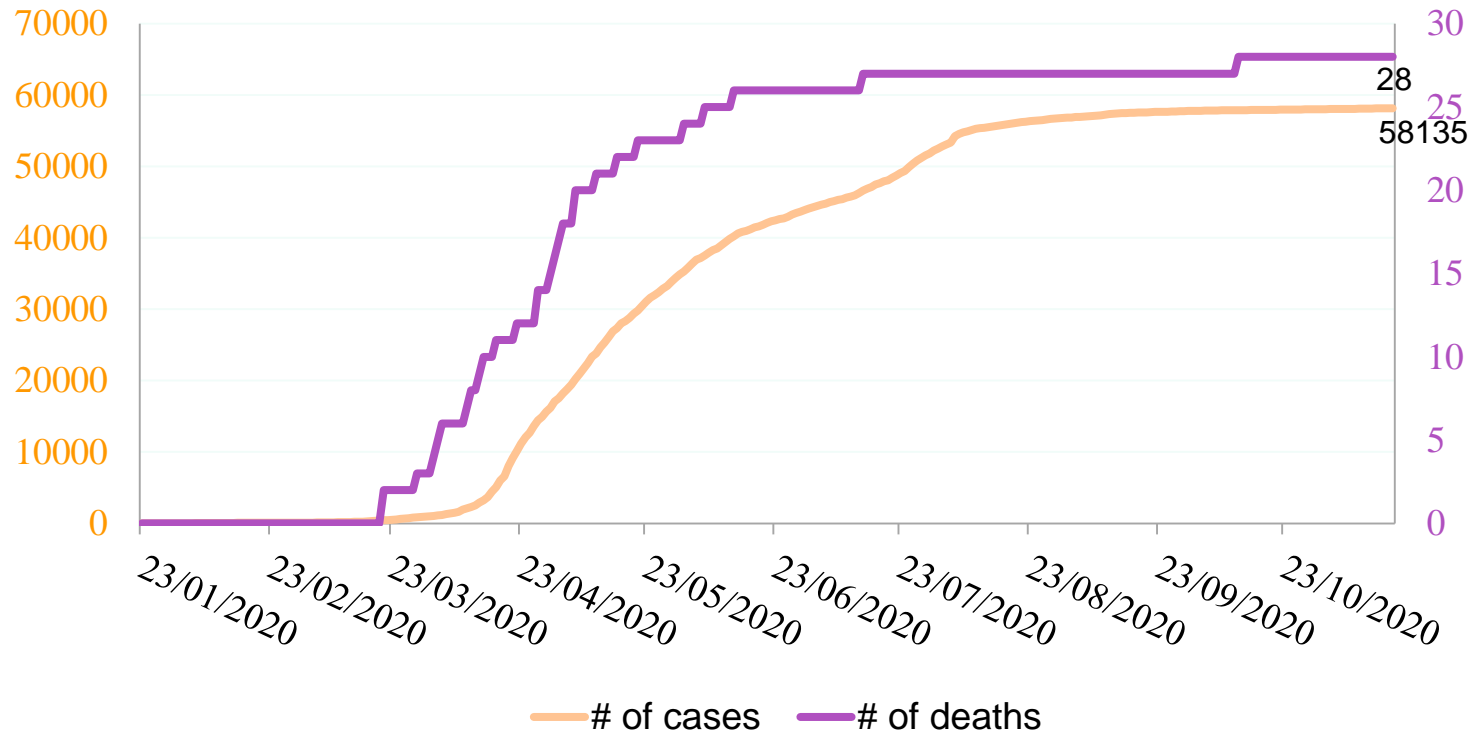


Cases reported on November 17, 2020 from CSSE, Johns Hopkins University

## Asian Barometer Survey Schedule (3rd-5<sup>th</sup> Wave)

Code	Country	Wave 3		Wave 4		Wave 5	
		Period	Sample Size	Period	Sample Size	Period	Sample Size
1	<b>Japan</b>	2011.12	1880	2015.1-2	1000	2019.7-10	1045
2	<b>Hong Kong</b>	2012.9	1207	2016.2-3	1000	Ongoing	
3	<b>Korea</b>	2011.5	1207	2015.10-12	1200	2019.5-7	1268
4	<b>China</b>	2011.7-10	3473	2015.7-2016.2	4217	2019.7-12	4941
5	<b>Mongolia</b>	2010.4-5	1210	2014.6-9	1228	2018.7-8	1284
6	<b>the Philippines</b>	2010.3	1200	2014.7	1200	2018.12	1200
7	<b>Taiwan</b>	2010.1-2	1592	2014.6-10	1657	2018.7-2019.1	1259
8	<b>Thailand</b>	2010.8-12	1512	2014.8-10	1200	2018.12-2019.2	1200
9	<b>Indonesia</b>	2011.5	1550	2016.1	1550	2019.7	1540
10	<b>Singapore</b>	2010.4-8	1000	2014.10.-12	1039	2020.7-9	1002
11	<b>Vietnam</b>	2010.9-10	1191	2015.9-10	1200	2018.6-7	1200
12	<b>Cambodia</b>	2012.2-3	1200	2015.10-11	1200	Ongoing	
13	<b>Malaysia</b>	2011.10-11	1214	2014.9-11	1207	2019.4-5	1237
14	<b>Myanmar</b>			2015.1-3	1620	2019.9-10	1627
15	<b>Australia</b>					2018.10-2019.1	1630
18	<b>India</b>					2019.11	5318

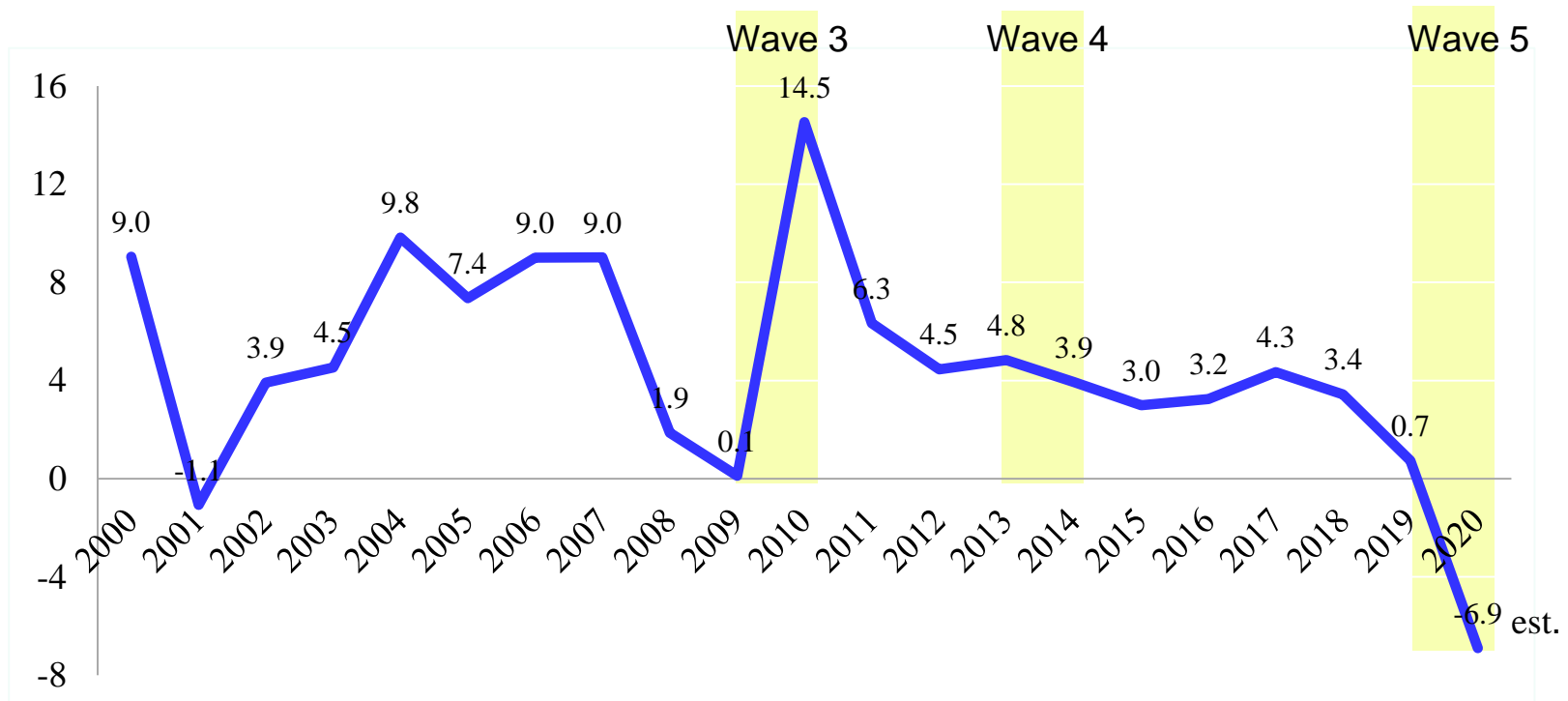
# Case Number and Death of COVID in Singapore



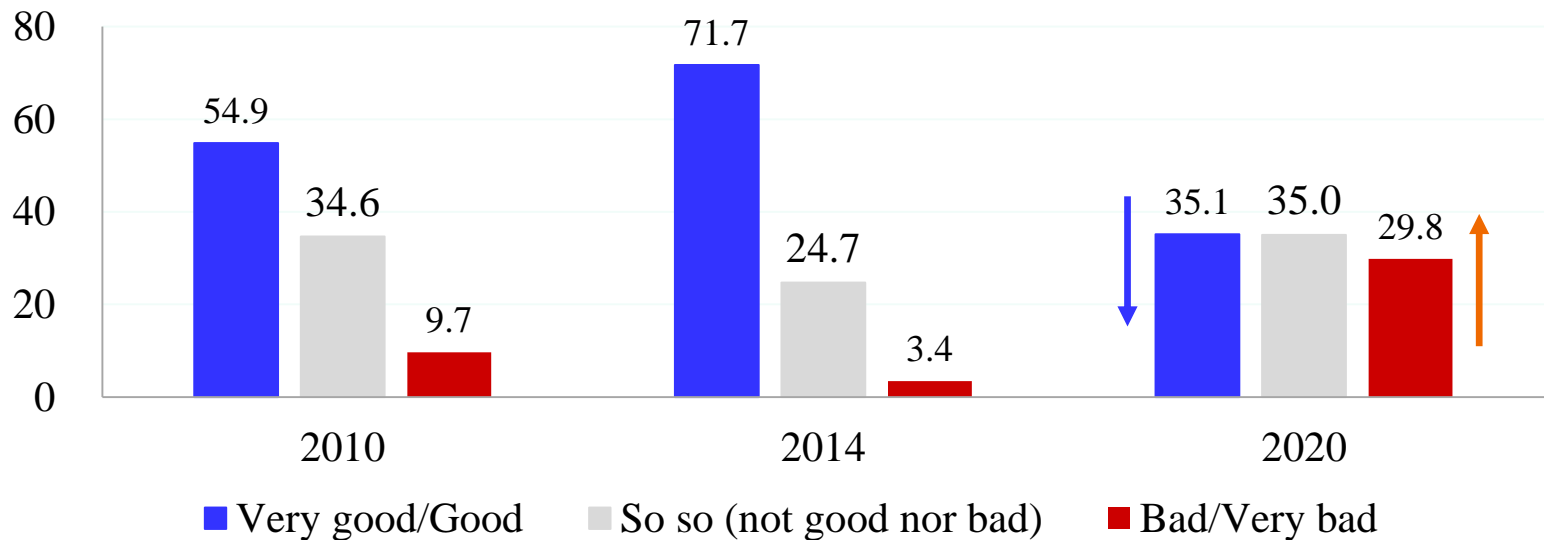
# Economic Impact

## Economic Evaluation

# Economic Growth Rate in Singapore since 2000 (Percent)

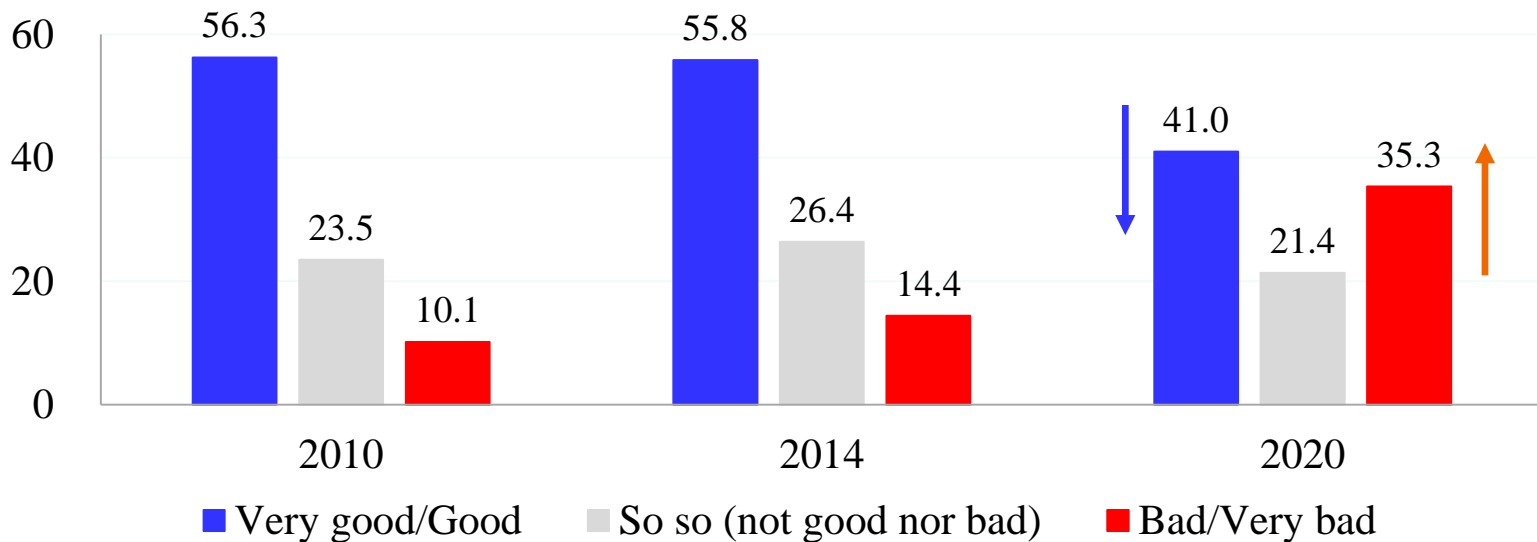


## How would you rate the overall economic condition of our Singapore today? (Percent)

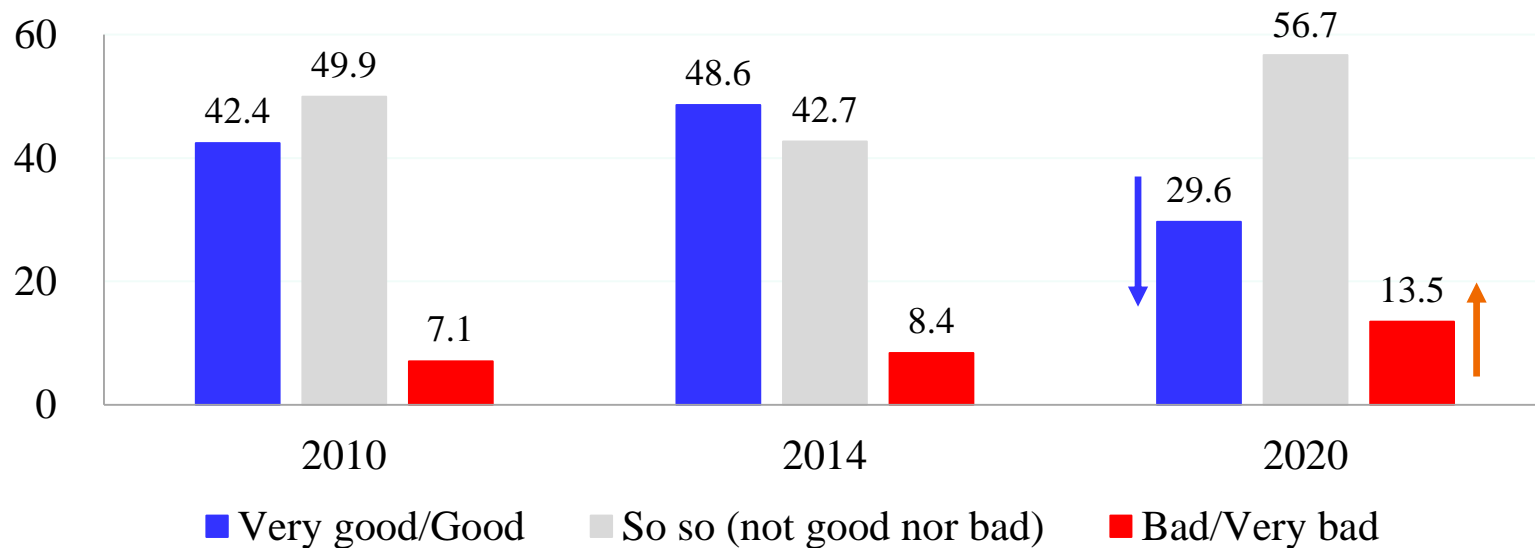




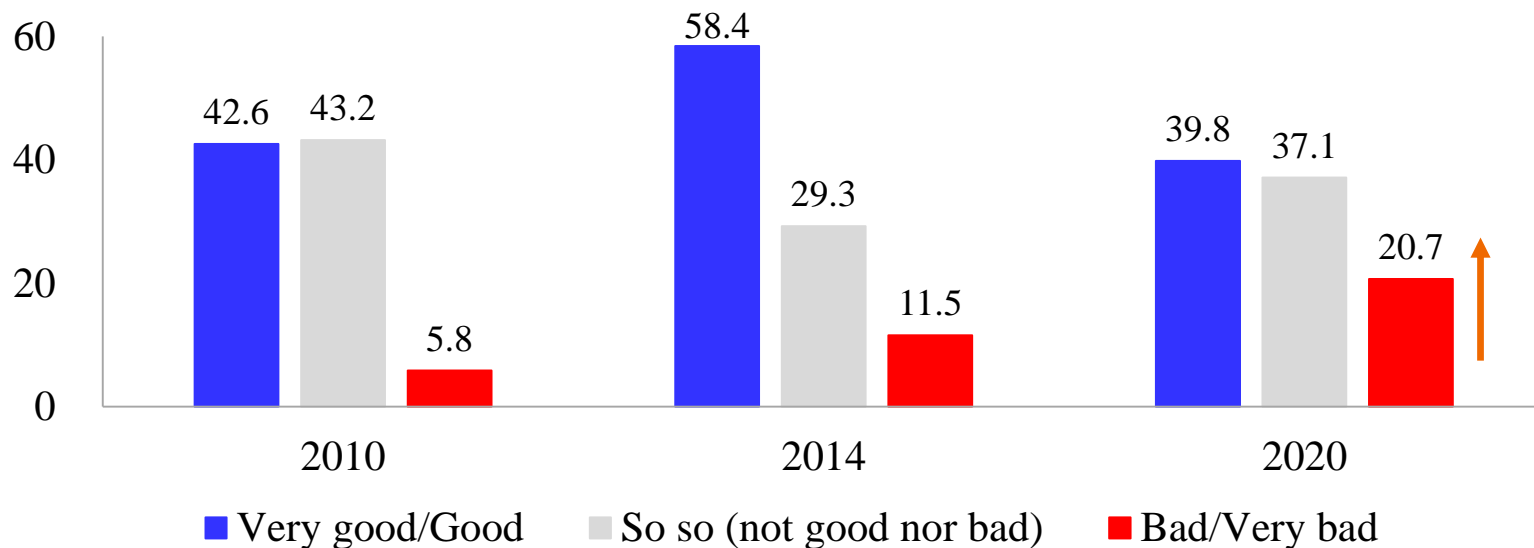
## What do you think will be the state of our country's economic condition a few years from now? (Percent)



## How do you rate the economic situation of your family today? (Percent)



## What do you think the economic situation of your family will be a few years from now? (Percent)



# Political Impact

**Can governments and  
leaders earn trust amid  
the pandemic?**

## South Korea election: Ruling party wins amid coronavirus outbreak

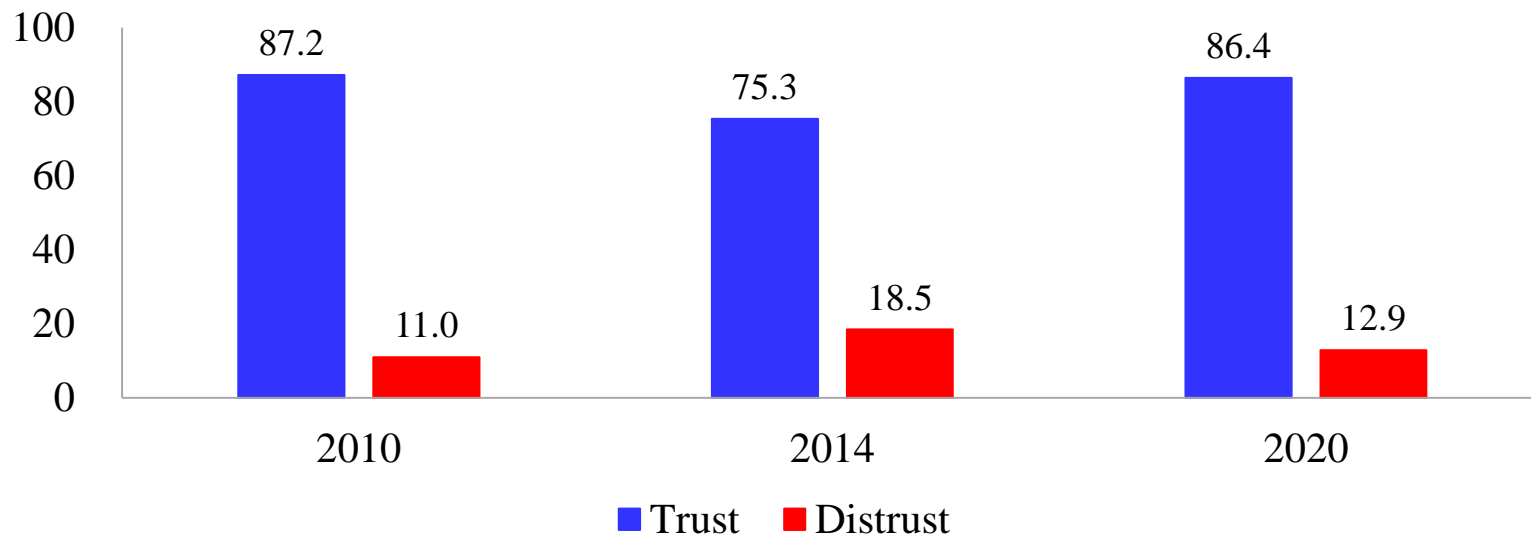
16 April 2020



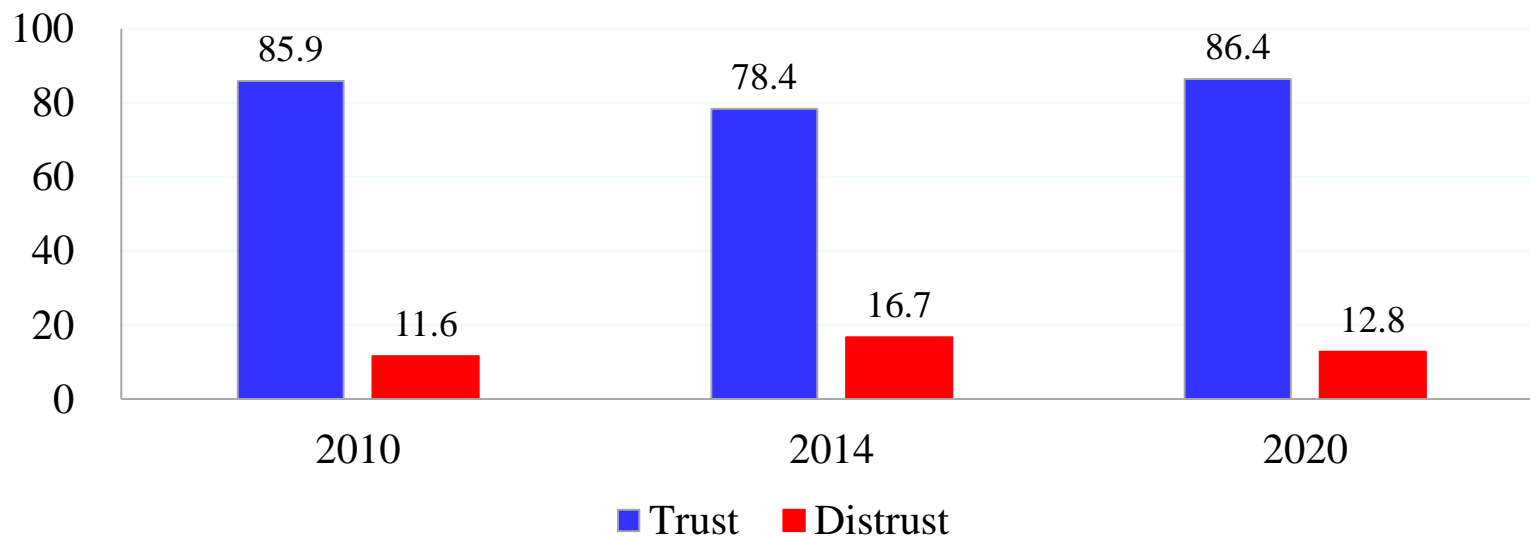
Hsien Loong arrives at a People's Action Party branch office as ballots are



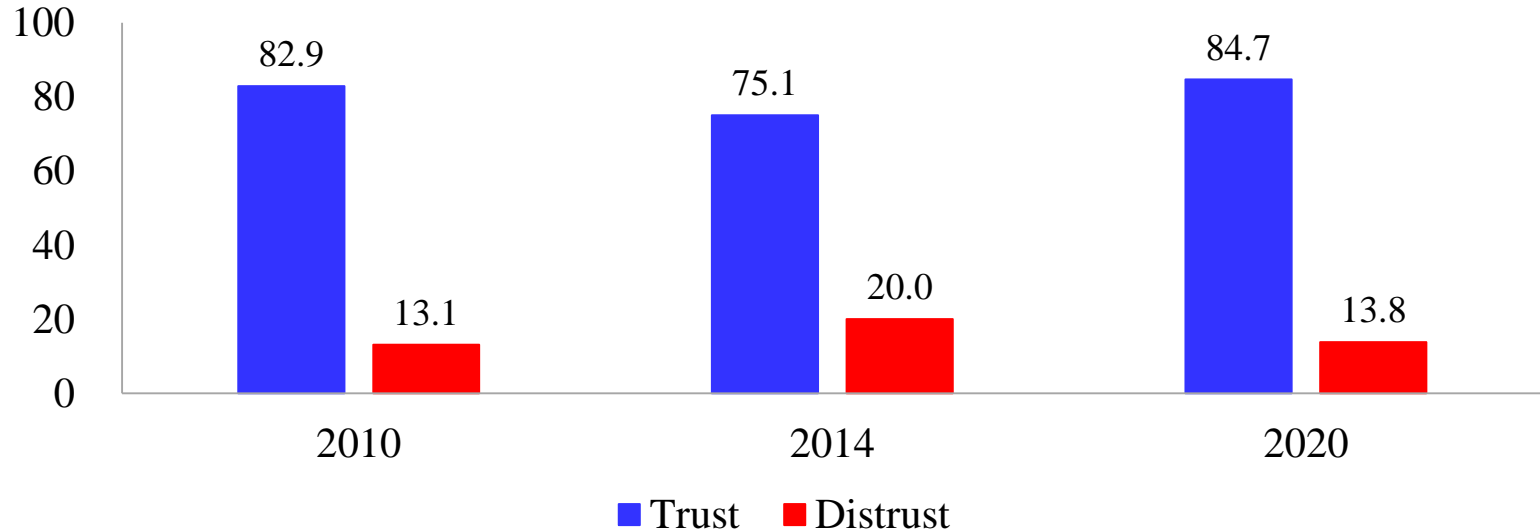
## The Prime Minister; Please tell me how much trust do you have in them? (Percent)



## The Singapore government; Please tell me how much trust do you have in them? (Percent)

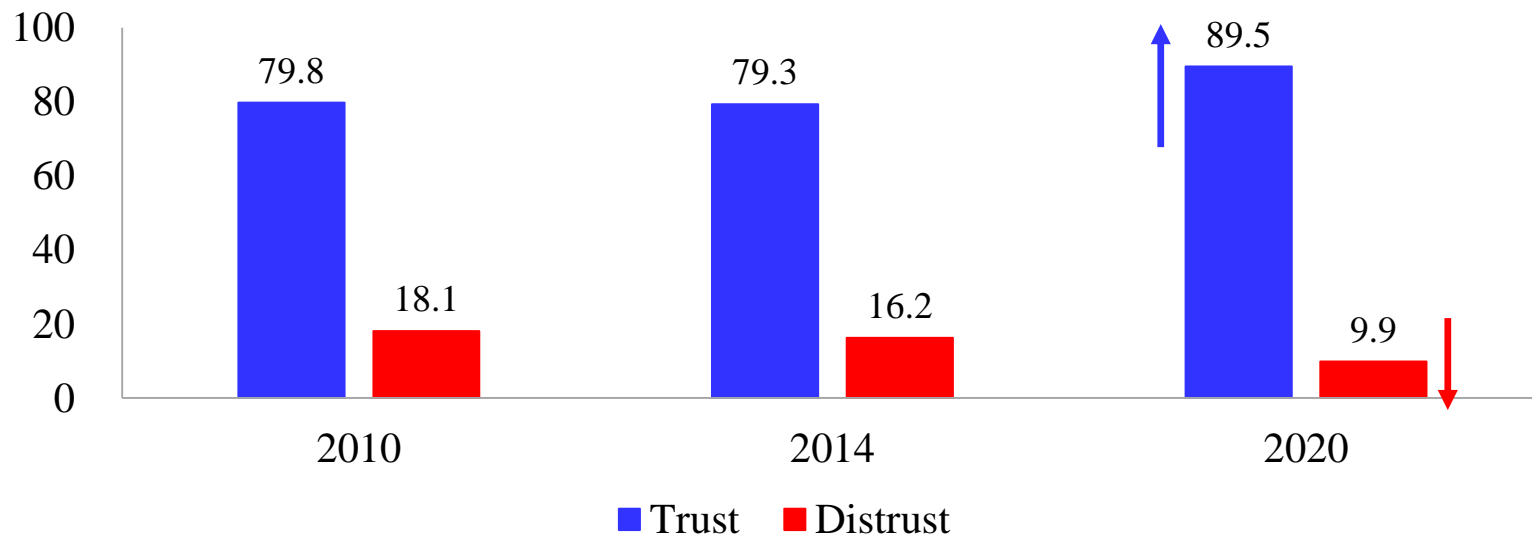


## Parliament; Please tell me how much trust do you have in them? (Percent)





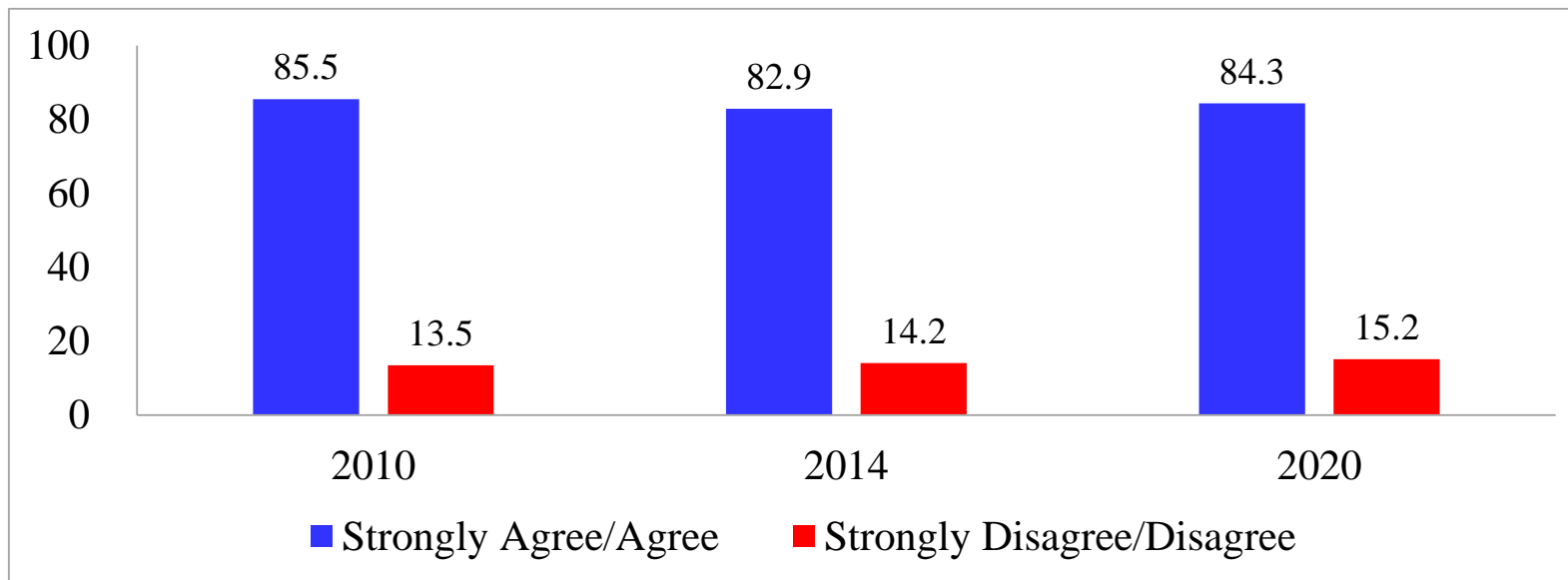
## Civil service; Please tell me how much trust do you have in them? (Percent)



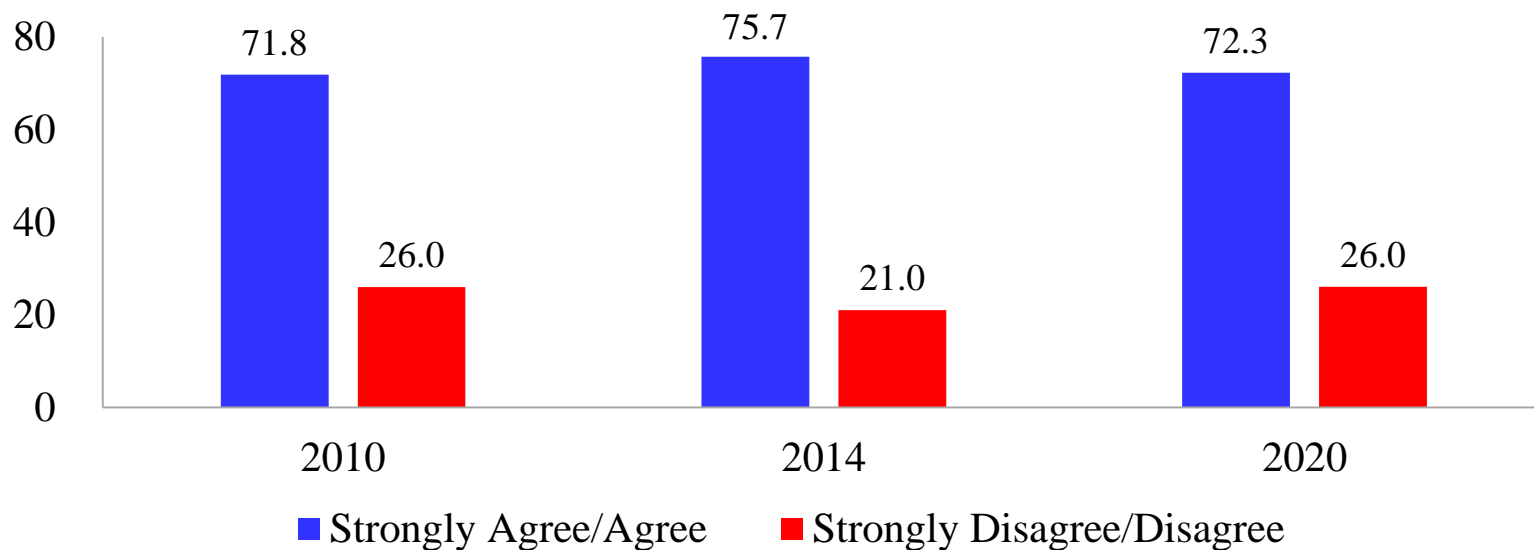
# Cultural Impact

**Is collectivism more  
stronger than before ?**

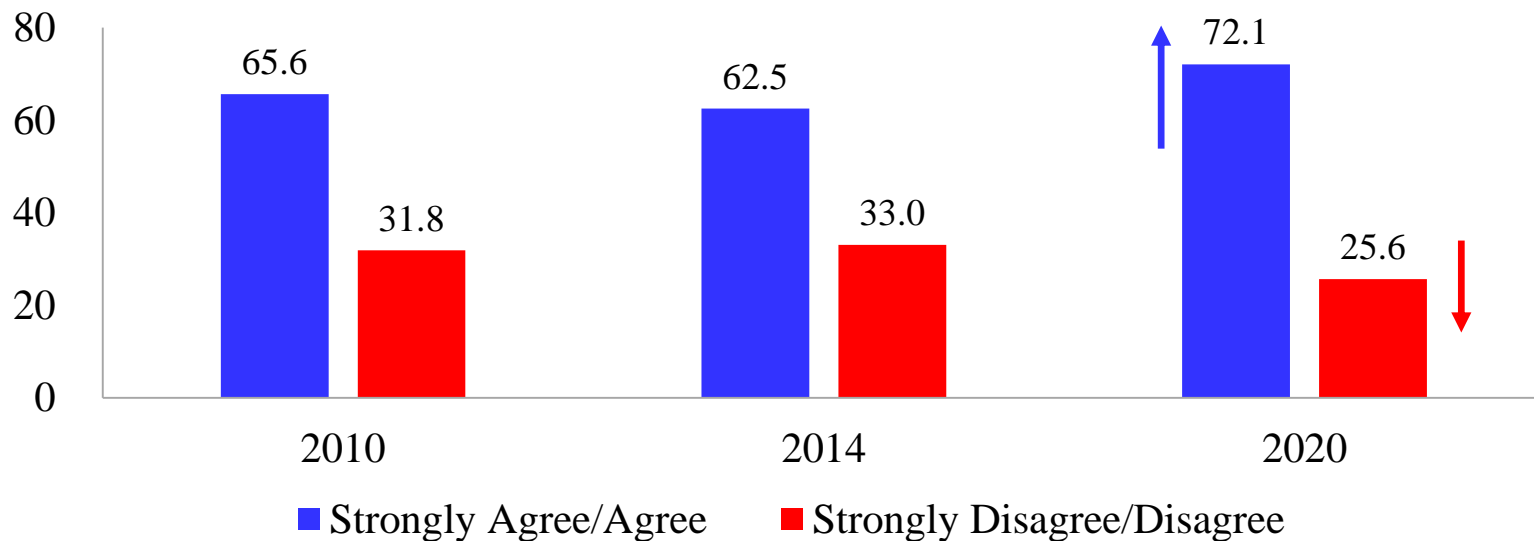
## For the sake of the family, the individual should put his personal interests second. (Percent)



## In a group, we should sacrifice our individual interest for the sake of the group's collective interest. (Percent)



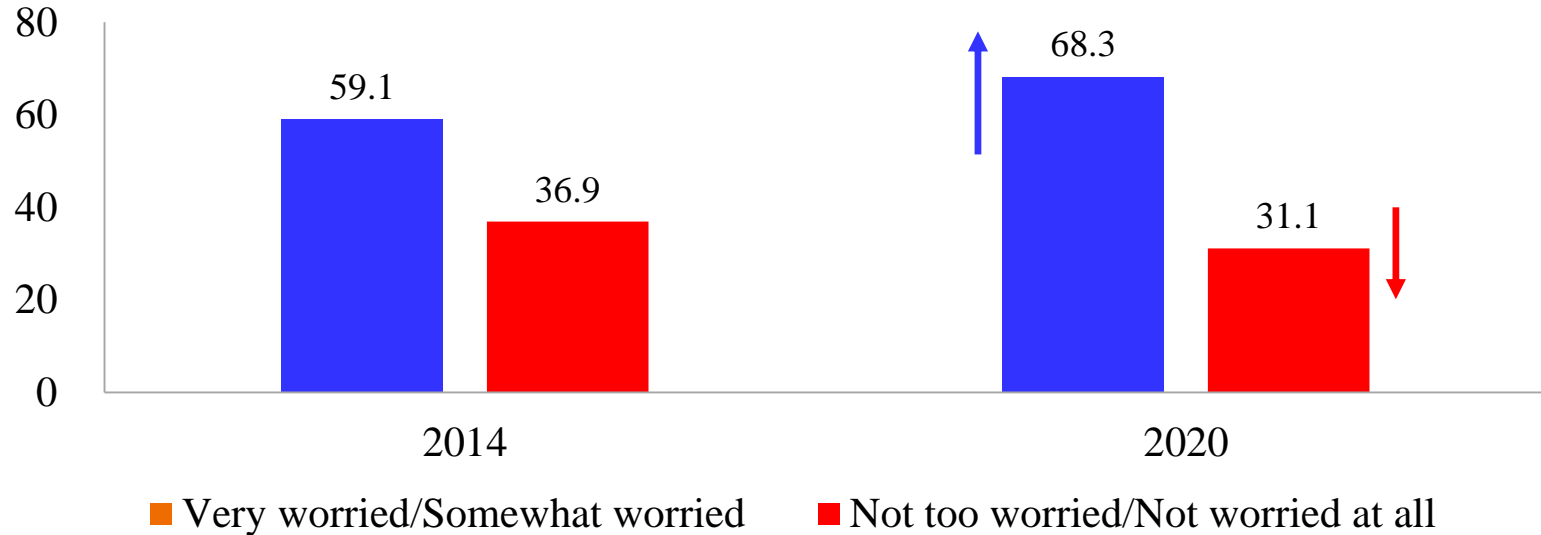
## For the sake of national interest, individual interest could be sacrificed. (Percent)



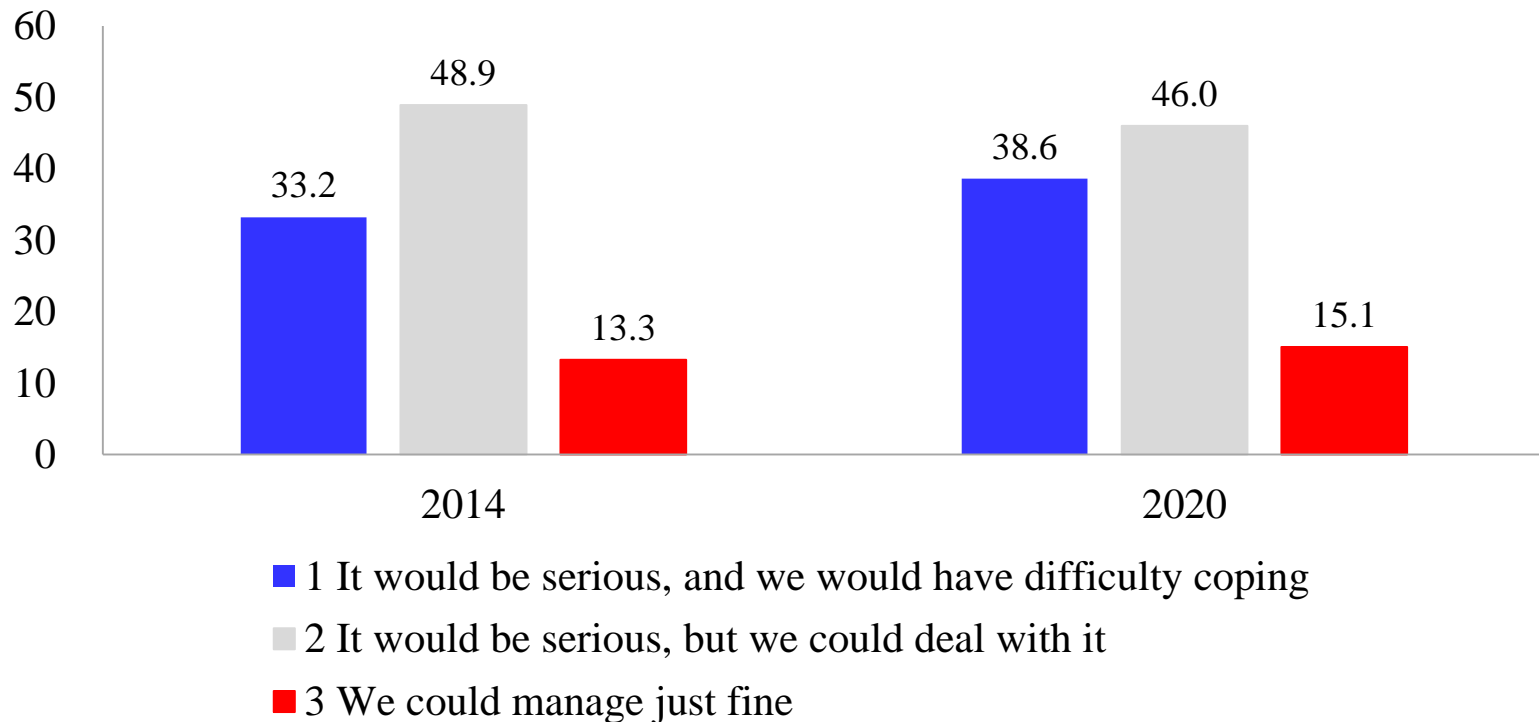
# Possible Trends

**While we generally would expect governments to lose support if they do not handle the pandemic well, How about the opposite?**

## Economic Pessimism : How worried are you that your family might lose its major source of income within the next 12 months?



## If your family were unfortunate enough to lose its main source of income, how serious would it be for your family?





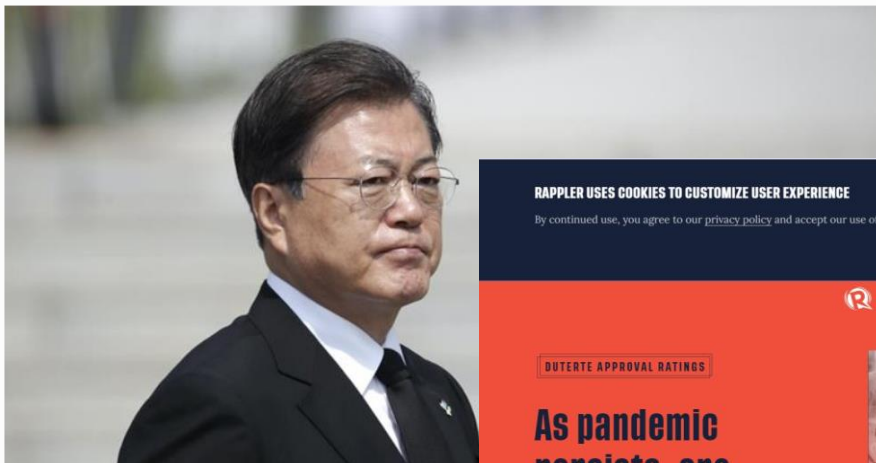
# Abuse of power has become the norm in Moon's South Korea

*And Koreans are taking notice.*



by Hyung-A Kim

5 Sept 2020



SEARCH

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## Tsai Takes a Political Risk to Pursue a Taiwan-US Trade Agreement

Her Friday announcement that she would ease restrictions on U.S. pork and beef imports led to a backlash from opposition politicians and local farmers.



By Nick Aspinwall

August 31, 2020



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DUTERTE APPROVAL RATINGS

### As pandemic persists, are Filipinos still satisfied with Duterte?

JULY 6, 2020 10:38 PM PHT

[LORE BEN TUQUERO](#)



[major hurdle](#) to a United States when imports on Friday, and has sparked

et standards on ported pork and cattle aged more



## Commonality: Hegemonic rule buttressed by a rubber-stamp legislature

# THE NEW COMPETITIVE AUTHORITARIANISM

*Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way*

*Steven Levitsky is David Rockefeller Professor of Latin American Studies and professor of government at Harvard University. Lucan Way is professor of political science at the University of Toronto. Together, they are the authors of Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War (2010).*

Nearly two decades ago, our article on “The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism” appeared in these pages.<sup>1</sup> It introduced a type of regime in which the coexistence of meaningful democratic institutions and serious incumbent abuse yields electoral competition that is real but unfair. Today competitive authoritarianism remains alive and well. Membership in the category was relatively fluid during the post–Cold War period, as Christopher Carothers has observed.<sup>2</sup> Some competitive authoritarian regimes democratized (including Peru, Slovakia, and Taiwan), while others hardened into full-blown authoritarianism (such as Belarus, Cambodia, and Russia). Still others (including Albania, Benin, and Ukraine) careened back and forth between democracy and competitive authoritarianism.<sup>3</sup>

The 35 competitive authoritarian regimes we examined in our 2010 book *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War* followed diverging paths between 1990 and 2019: Fifteen democratized;<sup>4</sup> six democratized but later regressed into (usually competitive) authoritarianism;<sup>5</sup> four slid into full-scale authoritarianism;<sup>6</sup> and ten remained continuously competitive authoritarian.<sup>7</sup>

But as competitive authoritarianism has broken down in some countries, it has emerged in others. Some regimes, as in Guinea, Kyrgyzstan, and Uganda, liberalized from hegemonic to competitive authoritarian rule. Others, as in Bolivia, Hungary, the Philippines, Turkey, and

**Competitive authoritarianism:  
The coexistence of meaningful  
democratic institutions and  
serious incumbent abuse yields  
electoral competition that is real  
but unfair.**

## Subtle measures

- Control the judicial branch
- Control independent agencies
- Passing laws undermines the opposition or certain party
- Politicize state-run media, co-opt much of the private media
- Let cyber warriors do nasty criticisms against the opposition

# Conclusion

**The pandemic provides an opportunity for leaders to secure solid support that is difficult to come by in an environment of (true) multi-party competition. Thus, it also provides an opportunity for competitive authoritarianism to accelerate the process. Once competitive authoritarianism is in place, democracy only has the facade.**

**No democracy can be taken for granted**

**~~~Levitsky and Way**

# Thank you

**Comments and questions welcomed**