

CONFIDENTIAL

Australian Election Study

HOW TO COMPLETE THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

When you fill out the questionnaire, please circle the number which is *closest* to your view. For example, when you are asked whether or not the government should spend more or less on defence, your view might be that the government should spend more. You would then circle the appropriate number:

Spend more on defence	①
Doesn't matter	2
Spend less on defence	3

If you are asked a specific fact, just enter the number. For example, when were you born?

Year 1952

Please read each question carefully. Remember, there are no right or wrong answers—we just want to know your own personal opinions.

Thank you again for your co-operation, and we hope you enjoy the questionnaire.

Section A: The Federal Election

1. Would you say you cared a good deal which party won the Federal election or that you did not care very much which party won?

Cared a good deal	1
Didn't care very much	2

2. During the election campaign, how often did you follow the election news on the television, or did you not follow it at all? And how about newspapers, did you follow the election news there? And on the radio? (Please circle one number in each column)

	TV	Newspapers	Radio
Often followed election news	1	1	1
Sometimes followed election news	2	2	2
Rarely followed election news	3	3	3
Never followed election news	4	4	4

3. And how important would you say that each of the television, newspapers and radio were in shaping your voting decision?

	TV	Newspapers	Radio
Very important	1	1	1
Fairly important	2	2	2
Not very important	3	3	3

4. How long ago did you decide that you would definitely vote the way you did?

A long time ago	1
Sometime last year	2
Sometime this year	3
During the election campaign	4

5. Which party did you vote for in the House of Representatives? And in the Senate?

	House of Representatives	Senate
Liberal	1	1
Labor	2	2
National (Country)	3	3
Australian Democrat	4	4
Other (please specify) _____		

6. Which one of these reasons comes closest to the main reason you voted for the party you chose for the House of Representatives?

I always vote that way	1
I thought it was the best party	2
I preferred another party but it had no chance of winning in this electorate	3
Other (please specify) _____	

7. Was there any time during the election campaign when you seriously thought you might vote for another party in the House of Representatives?

No	1
Yes, Liberal	2
Yes, Labor	3
Yes, National (Country)	4
Yes, Australian Democrats	5
Yes, other (please specify) _____	

8. Now, thinking back to the last Federal election in 1984, when Labor was led by Mr Hawke and the Liberals by Mr Peacock which party did you vote for in the House of Representatives? And in the Senate?

	House of Representatives	Senate
Liberal Party	1	1
Labor Party	2	2
National (Country) Party	3	3
Australian Democrat	4	4
Other (please specify) _____		

9. Since you have been voting in Federal elections, have you always voted for the same party, or have you voted for different parties?

Always voted Liberal	1
Always voted Labor	2
Always voted National (Country)	3
Always voted Australian Democrat	4
Occasionally voted Liberal and Labor	5
Occasionally voted Liberal and National (Country)	6
Occasionally voted Labor and National (Country)	7
Other combinations (please specify) _____	

10. Here is a list of issues that were discussed during the election campaign. When you were deciding about voting, how important was each of these issues to you? (Please circle one number in each row)

	Extremely important	Quite important	Not very important
Trade unions	1	2	3
Unemployment	1	2	3
Inflation	1	2	3
Interest rates	1	2	3
Health care	1	2	3
Living standards	1	2	3
Government spending	1	2	3
Taxes	1	2	3
The rural crisis	1	2	3
The environment	1	2	3

11. Do you think that compulsory voting should be retained, or do you think that people should only have to vote at Federal and State elections if they want to?

Strongly favour voting only if they want to	1
Favour voting only if they want to	2
Doesn't matter	3
Favour compulsory voting	4
Strongly favour compulsory voting	5

21. Which of the following qualities would you say Mr. Hawke has? Circle as many as you think he has. And how about Mr Howard and Mr Sinclair?

	Mr Hawke	Mr Howard	Mr Sinclair
Caring	1	1	1
Determined	2	2	2
Shrewd	3	3	3
Likeable as a person	4	4	4
Tough	5	5	5
Listens to reason	6	6	6
Decisive	7	7	7
Sticks to principles	8	8	8
Sincere	9	9	9

22. Still thinking of these three party leaders, at the time of the Federal election, which one do you think of as . . .

	Mr Hawke	Mr Howard	Mr Sinclair
. . . the one most able to unite the nation?	1	2	3
. . . the one most likely to get things done?	1	2	3
. . . the one most likely to improve Australia's standing abroad?	1	2	3
. . . the one with most concern for all groups in society?	1	2	3
. . . the one who would get the most out of a team?	1	2	3
. . . the one most in touch with ordinary people's problems?	1	2	3
. . . the one most likely to get Australia out of its current economic problems?	1	2	3

23. Moving away from the party leaders to the parties themselves, would you describe each of the Labor, Liberal and National parties as extreme or moderate, or are you not sure?

	Extreme	Not sure	Moderate
Labor	1	2	3
Liberal	1	2	3
National	1	2	3

24. And would you describe each of the parties as good for one class or good for all classes?

	Good for one class	Not sure	Good for all classes
Labor	1	2	3
Liberal	1	2	3
National	1	2	3

25. Finally in this section, would you describe each of the parties as united or divided?

	United	Not sure	Divided
Labor	1	2	3
Liberal	1	2	3
National	1	2	3

Section C: Election Issues

THE ECONOMY

26. How does the financial situation of your household now compare with what it was 12 months ago?

A lot better	1
A little better	2
About the same	3
A little worse	4
A lot worse	5

27. How do you think the general economic situation in this country has changed over the last 12 months?

A lot better	1
A little better	2
About the same	3
A little worse	4
A lot worse	5

28. Compared with a year ago, would you say that the government's policies have had a good effect, a bad effect, or that they really have not made much difference with regard to the financial situation of your household? And how about the country's general economic situation ?

	Household Finances	Country's Economy
Good Effect	1	1
Bad Effect	2	2
Not much difference	3	3

29. Do you ever feel angry about the way the present government is handling the economy?

Always	1
Often	2
Sometimes	3
Seldom	4
Never	5

30. Do you think that, a year from now, the government's policies will have improved the country's general economic situation, will have made it worse, or that they will not have made much difference one way or another?

Improved it	1
Made it worse	2
Not much difference	3

31. If the government had a choice about reducing taxes or spending more on social services, which do you think it should do?

Strongly favour reducing taxes	1
Mildly favour reducing taxes	2
It depends	3
Mildly favour spending more on social services	4
Strongly favour spending more on social services	5

32. Do you think that trade unions in this country have too much power or not too much power? And how about big business? Do you think they have too much power or not enough power? (ANPAS Q20)

	Trade unions	Big business
Too much power	1	1
Not too much	2	2
It depends	3	3

33. And, in your opinion, how do the leaders of the trade unions use their powers? And how about leaders of big business?

	Trade unions	Big business
For their own good	1	1
For the good of their members	2	2
For the good of the country as a whole	3	3

34. Please say whether you agree or disagree with each of these statements.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
High income tax makes people less willing to work hard	1	2	3	4	5
Income and wealth should be redistributed towards ordinary working people	1	2	3	4	5
Too many people these days rely on government handouts	1	2	3	4	5
More money should be spent on reducing poverty	1	2	3	4	5

35. Do you think the government should or should not do each of the following things, or doesn't it matter either way?

	Should do	Should not do	Doesn't matter
Introduce stricter laws to regulate the activities of trade unions?	1	2	3
Give workers more say in running the places where they work	1	2	3
Allow private industry to keep more of its profits?	1	2	3
Encourage the growth of private medicine	1	2	3

NON-ECONOMIC ISSUES

36. Do you think that the government should spend more or less money on defence?

Spend more	1
Doesn't matter	2
Spend less	3

37. Uranium mining is an issue now in Australia. Which one of these statements comes closest to how you feel?

Australia should mine its uranium and sell it on the world market	1
Australia's uranium should be mined but its sale should be subject to strict safeguards	2
Australia's uranium should be mined but reserved only for use in Australia	3
Australia's uranium should stay in the ground	4
Doesn't matter	5

38. Should the smoking of marijuana be made legal or should it remain illegal?

Strongly favour legalisation	1
Favour legalisation	2
It depends	3
Favour remaining illegal	4
Strongly favour remaining illegal	5

39. Do you think that women should be able to obtain an abortion easily when they want one, or do you think abortion should be allowed only in special circumstances?

Obtain abortion easily	1
Special circumstances only	2
No abortion under any circumstances	3

40. How important do you feel the Queen and Royal Family are to Australia?

Very important	1
Fairly important	2
Not very important	3

41. How close do you think Australia's links with the United States should be?

Very close	1
Fairly close	2
Not very close	3

42. Do you think that Australia should change its flag?

Strongly favour change	1
Favour change	2
Favour retaining current flag	3
Strongly favour retaining current flag	4

43. Please say whether you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
If you want to cut crime, cut unemployment	1	2	3	4	5
The police should be given more power	1	2	3	4	5
Bring back the death penalty	1	2	3	4	5
People who break the law should be given stiffer sentences	1	2	3	4	5

44. There is a good deal of talk these days about migration. Which of these statements comes closest to what you feel should be done?

Asians should be allowed to enter Australia as migrants just like people of European descent	1
There should be a small quota of Asian migrants	2
Asians should not be allowed to enter Australia as migrants	3
We should only allow people from Britain and Northern Europe to enter Australia as migrants	4
We should not have any more migrants at the present time	5

45. Do you think that Aborigines should get special benefits from the government, or do you think they should be treated no differently from everyone else?

Special benefits	1
No differently	2
It depends	3
Get too many benefits	4

46. There has been a lot of talk about AIDS recently. Do you think compulsory testing for AIDS should or should not be introduced for the following groups of people?

	Should test	Should not test	It depends
Immigrants entering Australia	1	2	3
Homosexuals	1	2	3
The Defence Forces	1	2	3
Prisoners in jail	1	2	3
Tourists entering Australia	1	2	3
Pregnant women	1	2	3

47. Do you think that there should be some censorship of books and films, or do you think that people should be able to read and see what they like?

Some censorship	1
Read and see what they like	2
It depends	3

48. When you hear of a strike, are your sympathies generally for or against the strikers?

For strikers	1
Against strikers	2
It depends	3

49. Do you think that homosexual acts between consenting adults should be legal or should they be prohibited by law?

Should be legal	1
Should be prohibited by law	2
It depends	3

50. How about job opportunities for women—do you think they are, in general, better or worse than job opportunities for men with similar education and experience?

Much better for women	1
Better for women	2
No difference	3
Worse for women	4
Much worse for women	5

51. Finally on election issues, some changes have been happening in Australia over the years. For each of the following please say whether you think it has gone too far, not gone far enough, or is it about right?

	Gone too far	About right	Not gone far enough
Attempts to give equal opportunity for women	1	2	3
The right to show nudity and sex in films and magazines	1	2	3
Protection of the environment	1	2	3
Immigrants keeping their ethnicity	1	2	3
Transferring land rights to aborigines	1	2	3

Section D: Social and Political Goals

52. There is a lot of talk these days about what the aims of Australia should be for the next ten years. Listed below are some of the goals that different people would give top priority. Would you say which one of these you yourself, consider the most important? And which would be the next most important?

	Most important	Next most important
Maintaining order in the nation	1	1
Giving the people more say in important government decisions	2	2
Fighting rising prices	3	3
Protecting freedom of speech	4	4

53. How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Canberra to do what is right?

Just about always	1
Most of the time	2
Only some of the time	3
Not at all	4

54. Would you say the Federal Government is pretty much run by a few big groups looking out for themselves, or that it is run for the benefit of all the people?

Run by a few big groups	1
Run for all the people	2

55. Do you think that people in the Federal Government waste a lot of money we pay in taxes, waste some of it, or don't waste very much of it?

Waste a lot of money	1
Waste some of it	2
Don't waste very much of it	3

56. Do you feel that quite a few of the people running the Federal Government are a little dishonest, not very many are, or do you think hardly any of them are dishonest at all?

Quite a few	1
Not very many	2
Hardly any	3

57. Which one of these statements comes closest to describing your feelings when you go out to a polling place to vote?

I get a feeling of satisfaction from it	1
I only do it because it is my duty	2
If I didn't, I would run the risk of being fined	3
I feel annoyed, it is a waste of time	4
I don't feel anything in particular	5

58. Some people feel that election campaigning is needed so the public can judge parties, candidates and issues. Others say it causes so much bitterness and is so unreliable that we'd be better off without it. What do you think?

Election campaigning is needed	1
We would be better off without it	2

59. There are various forms of political action that people can take. Please say, for each one, whether you have actually done any of these things, whether you would do it, or would never, under any circumstances, do any of them.

	Have done	Might do	Would never do
Signing a petition	1	2	3
Joining in boycotts	1	2	3
Attending lawful demonstrations	1	2	3
Joining unofficial strikes	1	2	3
Occupying buildings and factories	1	2	3
Damaging things, like breaking windows, removing road signs	1	2	3
Using personal violence like fighting with other demonstrators or the police	1	2	3

Section E: Education and Work

EDUCATION

60. What is the highest grade or year of (primary and secondary) school you have completed?

No formal schooling	00
Primary	01
Grade 1	02
Grade 2	03
Grade 3	04
Grade 4	05
Grade 5	06
Grade 6	07
Secondary	08
Form 1 or Year 7	09
Form 2 or Year 8	10
Form 3 or Year 9	11
Form 4 or Year 10	12
Form 5 or Year 11	
Form 6 or Year 12	
Other (please specify) _____	

61. How old were you when you left (primary/secondary) school?

Age _____

62. For your (secondary) school, did you mostly go to a government school or to a Catholic school, or what?

Government (state) school	1
Catholic school	2
Other private school	3
Other (please specify) _____	

63. In all, how many years of tertiary education have you completed since you left secondary school? Count universities, CAE's and such but not apprenticeships. If your tertiary education was part-time give the number of years of full-time study that would be the equivalent.

No tertiary education	00
Years _____	

64. Have you obtained a trade qualification, a degree or a diploma, or any other qualification since leaving school? What is your highest qualification?

No qualification	1
Higher degree	2
Degree	3
Diploma	4
Professional training	5
Trade certificate	6

WORK

65. Now some questions about the work you are doing now. Last week, what were you doing?

Working full-time for pay	1
Working part-time for pay	2
With a job but not at work because of temporary illness, vacation, or strike	3
Unemployed, laid off, looking for work	4
Retired	5
At school or university	6
Keeping house	7
Other (specify) _____	

66. What kind of work do you do? Describe using two words or more. Include award or government designation if possible. (If you are not working for pay now, please describe your last regular job. If you have never worked, please skip this section and go to Section F).

a. Occupation _____

b. What are some of your main duties?

Duties _____

c. What kind of business or industry is (or was) that in? What do they do or make at the place where you work?

Kind of industry _____

d. Do you work for a private company, or what?

Private company or business	1
Australian/Commonwealth/Federal Government	2
State Government	3
Local Government	4
Family business or farm	5
Self-employed	6

67. In your job, do you directly supervise anyone who is responsible to you?

Yes	1
No	2

68. Do you belong to a trade union?

Yes	1
No	2

69. About how long have you belonged to a trade union?

Years _____

70. To what social class would you say you belong?

Upper	1
Middle	2
Working	3
None	4

80. Are you now married, divorced, or what?

Never married (if never married go to Question 89)	1	→Q 89
Now married	2	
Widowed	3	
Divorced	4	
Separated	5	
De facto, living together	6	

81. How many children have you ever had? (Please include children from previous marriages, but do not include step-children or adopted children).

None 00
Number of children _____

82. How old was your husband or wife when he or she left school? (If you are widowed, divorced or separated, please answer these questions for your former husband or wife).

Age _____

83. Is your husband or wife working now?

Working full-time for pay	1
Working part-time for pay	2
Keeping house	3
Retired	4
Other (specify) _____	

84. What kind of work does (or did) your husband or wife do? Describe in two words or more. (If not working now, please describe his or her last job. If he or she has never worked for more than one year, please go to Q 88).

a. Occupation _____

b. What are (were) some of his or her main duties?

Duties _____

85. Does (did) your partner work for a private company, or what?

Private company or business	1
Australian/Commonwealth/Federal Government	2
State Government	3
Local Government	4
Family business or farm	5
Self-employed	6

86. Does (did) your partner supervise anyone who is (was) directly responsible to them?

Yes	1
No	2

87. Is (was) your partner a member of a trade union?

Yes	1
No	2

88. Does (did) your partner have a preference for any particular political party?

Yes, Liberal	1
Yes, Labor	2
Yes, National (Country)	3
Yes, Australian Democrats	4
Yes, New Nationals (Joh Party)	5
Yes, other party	6
None	7

89. What is your religious denomination now?

Catholic	1
Church of England	2
Methodist	3
Orthodox	4
Presbyterian	5
Uniting Church	6
No religion	7
Other (specify) _____	

90. Apart from weddings, funerals and baptisms, about how often do you attend religious services these days?

More than once a week	1
Once a week	2
Several times a month	3
At least once a month	4
Several times a year	5
At least once a year	6
Less than once a year	7
Never	8

That is the end of the questionnaire. Thank you for your co-operation. Would you put the questionnaire in the pre-paid reply envelope and post it back to us?

If there is anything else you would like to add, please do so below.