

Australian Election Study

HOW TO FILL OUT THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

To answer most of the questions you only need to **circle a number**. Please circle the number which is **closest** to your view—there are no right or wrong answers. Here is an example.

Do you think the government should spend more or less on education?	
Spend more on education	1
Doesn't matter	2
Spend less on education	3
If you think the government should spend more on education, you would circle "1" as shown.	

Sometimes you are asked to write in an answer — in that case, simply write your answer in the space provided.

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

<p>Please return the completed questionnaire in the post-paid envelope provided to:</p> <p>Australian Election Study Research School of Social Sciences The Australian National University Locked Bag 8502 Canberra ACT 2601</p>

We hope you enjoy the questionnaire. And thank you very much for taking part in this study.

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Dr David Gow, University of Queensland

Section A: The Election Campaign

First, some questions about the Federal election campaign, the period between when the election was announced on 29 August and election day on Saturday 9 October.

A.1. Generally speaking, how much interest do you **usually have** in what's going on in politics?

- A good deal 1
 Some 2
 Not much 3
 None 4

A.2. How much attention did you pay to reports about the election campaign **in the newspapers**—a good deal, some, not much or none at all?

- A good deal 1
 Some 2
 Not much 3
 None at all 4

A.3. Did you follow the election campaign news **on television**—a good deal, some, not much or none at all?

And did you follow the election campaign news **on the radio**?

- | | Television | Radio |
|-------------------|------------|-------|
| A good deal | 1 | 1 |
| Some | 2 | 2 |
| Not much | 3 | 3 |
| None at all | 4 | 4 |

A.4. And how much interest would you say you took **in the election campaign** overall?

- A good deal 1
 Some 2
 Not much 3
 None at all 4

A.5. Here is a list of things some people do during elections. How often did you do any of these things during the recent election?

	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely	Not at all
Discuss politics with others.....	1	2	3	4
Talk to other people to persuade them to vote for a particular party or candidate	1	2	3	4
Show your support for a particular party or candidate by, for example, attending a meeting, putting up a poster, or in some other way	1	2	3	4
Go to any political meetings or rallies.....	1	2	3	4
Contribute money to a political party or election candidate	1	2	3	4

A.6. During the election campaign, did a candidate or anyone from a political party contact you to persuade you to vote for them?

- Yes 1
 No 2

- A.7. Did you watch the televised debate between John Howard and Mark Latham on Sunday 12 September?
- Yes 1
No 2
- A.8. From what you saw or what you heard or read about it, who do you think performed better in the debate—Howard or Latham?
- Howard did much better..... 1
Howard did somewhat better 2
About equal 3
Latham did somewhat better 4
Latham did much better 5
- A.9. There are a number of programs on radio in which people call in to voice their opinions about politics. How often do you listen to political talkback radio programs of this type?
- Every day 1
Most days 2
Once or twice a week 3
Only occasionally 4
Not at all 5
- A.10. Did you make use of the internet at all to get news or information about the 2004 Federal election?
- Don't have access to the internet 1
Have access but didn't use it for election information 2
Yes, once or twice 3
Yes, on several occasions 4
Yes, many times 5
- A.11. During the 2004 election campaign did you visit any of the following websites? (**Circle as many as apply.**)
- Party site (eg, Liberals, ALP, Green etc)..... 1
Your own MP's site..... 2
Individual candidate site in your electorate (that is, other than that of your MP)..... 3
Other candidate/MPs sites outside your electorate 4
Federal parliament site 5
Australian Electoral Commission site 6
Fun/political humour site 7
Online opinion poll (eg, Channel9/Bulletin poll) 8
Mainstream news media (eg, ABC Online, CNN, SMH site etc) 9
Political weblog or 'blog' 10
- A.12. Do you think that voting at Federal elections should be compulsory, or do you think that people should only have to vote if they want to?
- Strongly favour compulsory voting 1
Favour compulsory voting 2
Favour people voting only if they want to 3
Strongly favour people voting only if they want to 4
- A.13. Would you have voted in the election if voting had not been compulsory?
- Definitely would have voted 1
Probably would have voted 2
Might, might not 3
Probably not 4
Definitely not 5

Section B: Party Preference and Voting

- B.1. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as Liberal, Labor, National or what?
- | | | |
|------------------------------------|---|--------------------|
| Liberal | 1 | |
| Labor | 2 | |
| National (Country) Party | 3 | |
| Australian Democrats | 4 | |
| Greens | 5 | |
| One Nation..... | 6 | |
| Other party (please specify) _____ | 7 | |
| No party | 8 | [GO TO B.3] |
- B.2. Would you call yourself a very strong, fairly strong, or not very strong supporter of that party?
- | | | |
|---------------------------------|---|--|
| Very strong supporter | 1 | |
| Fairly strong supporter..... | 2 | |
| Not very strong supporter | 3 | |
- B.3. 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 | |
| Did not care very much..... | 2 | |
| Did not care at all..... | 3 | |
- B.4. When did you decide how you would **definitely** vote in this election?
- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| A long time ago..... | 1 | |
| A few months ago, <u>before</u> election day was announced | 2 | |
| About the time the election was announced, on 29 August | 3 | |
| In the first few weeks of the campaign..... | 4 | |
| A few days before election day..... | 5 | |
| On election day..... | 6 | |
- B.5. In deciding how you would vote in the election, which was **most** important to you?
- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| The party leaders..... | 1 | |
| The policy issues | 2 | |
| The candidates in your electorate | 3 | |
| The parties taken as a whole..... | 4 | |
- B.6. Which do you think is better—when the Federal Government has a majority in **both** the House of Representatives **and** the Senate, OR when the Federal Government in the House of Representatives **does not** control the Senate?
- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| Much better when Government controls both | 1 | |
| Better when Government controls both | 2 | |
| Neither/doesn't matter | 3 | |
| Better when Government does not control the Senate..... | 4 | |
| Much better when Government does not control the Senate ... | 5 | |

B.7. Considering everything the Labor Party and the Liberal Party stand for, would you say there is....

- A good deal of difference between the parties 1
- Some difference between the parties2
- Not much difference between the parties3
- No difference between the parties4

B.8. In general, do you think political parties are doing a very good job, a good job, neither a good nor a bad job, a bad job or a very bad job for the people of Australia?

- Doing a very good job..... 1
- Doing a good job2
- Neither a good nor bad job3
- Doing a bad job4
- Doing a very bad job.....5

B.9. Do you think political parties observe high, medium or low standards when managing their internal affairs?

- High standards 1
- Medium standards2
- Low standards3

B.10. In politics, people sometimes talk about the 'left' and the 'right'. Where would you place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means the left and 10 means the right?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Left **Right**

Using the same scale, where would you place each of the Federal political parties?

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	Left Right										
Liberal Party	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Labor Party (ALP)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
National Party	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Australian Democrats	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
One Nation	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Greens	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

B.11. In the Federal election for the House of Representatives on Saturday 9 October, which party did you vote for **first** in the House of Representatives? And in the Senate election?

	House of Representatives	Senate
Liberal Party	1	1
Labor Party (ALP).....	2	2
National (Country) Party.....	3	3
Australian Democrats	4	4
Greens.....	5	5
One Nation	6	6
Other (please specify party below)	7	7

Voted informal/Did not vote	9	9

B.12. If your first preference was for the Australian Democrats, Greens, One Nation or other minor party:

In the end, which of the two major parties, the Liberal-National Coalition or the Labor Party, did you give your preference to in the House of Representatives? And in the Senate election?

	House of Representatives	Senate
Liberal-National Coalition	1	1
Labor Party (ALP)	2	2
Not sure/Don't know	3	3

B.13. In voting for the House of Representatives, did you follow a party 'How to Vote' card or did you decide your own preferences?

Followed a 'How to Vote' card	1
Decided my own preferences	2

B.14. And in voting for the Senate, did you vote by placing a "1" in a party box above the line or did you decide your own preferences by voting below the line?

Ticked a party box above the line	1
Decided my own preferences below the line	2

B.15. Was there any time during the election campaign when you **seriously thought you might give your **first** preference to another party in the House of Representatives? (**Circle one number only.**)**

No	1
Yes, Liberal Party	2
Yes, Labor Party (ALP)	3
Yes, National (Country) Party	4
Yes, Australian Democrats	5
Yes, Greens	6
Yes, One Nation	7
Yes, another party/independent	8

B.16. In the last Federal election in November 2001, when Labor was led by Kim Beazley and the Liberals by John Howard, which party got your first preference then in the House of Representatives election?

Liberal Party	1
Labor Party (ALP)	2
National (Country) Party	3
Australian Democrats	4
Greens	5
One Nation	6
Another party/independent	7
Did not vote	9

B.17. How well did the party you voted for then perform over the past three years? Has it done ...

A very good job	1
A good job	2
A bad job	3
A very bad job	4

- B.18. Before this current Federal election for the House of Representatives, had you always voted for the same party, or had you sometimes voted for different parties? (**Circle as many as apply.**)
- Always voted for the same party..... 1
 - Sometimes voted Liberal2
 - Sometimes voted Labor (ALP).....3
 - Sometimes voted National (Country).....4
 - Sometimes voted Australian Democrats.....5
 - Sometimes voted for other party/independent.....6
 - Did not vote before this election7
- B.19. Which party did you vote for in the last **state** election?
- Liberal Party 1
 - Labor Party (ALP)2
 - National (Country) Party3
 - Australian Democrats4
 - Greens5
 - One Nation.....6
 - Another party/independent7
 - Did not vote9
- B.20. Thinking about how elections in Australia work in practice, how well do elections ensure that the views of voters are represented by MPs?
- Very well 1
 - Quite well2
 - Not very well3
 - Not well at all4
- B.21. Would you say that any of the parties in Australia represents your views reasonably well? If so, which party represents your views best? (**Circle one number only.**)
- Liberal Party 1
 - Labor Party (ALP)2
 - National (Country) Party3
 - Australian Democrats4
 - Greens5
 - One Nation.....6
 - Other party7
 - No party represents my views well8
- B.22. Regardless of how you feel about the parties, would you say that any of the individual party leaders in the last election represents your views reasonably well? If so, which party leader represents your views best? (**Circle one number only.**)
- John Howard..... 1
 - Mark Latham.....2
 - John Anderson3
 - Andrew Bartlett4
 - Bob Brown5
 - Other party leader.....7
 - No party leader represents my views well8

B.23. Some people say that political parties in Australia care what ordinary people think. Others say that political parties in Australia don't care what ordinary people think. Where would you place your view on this scale from 1 to 5?

1	2	3	4	5
Political parties in Australia care what ordinary people think				Political parties in Australia don't care what ordinary people think

B.24. Where would you place your view on this scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means that political parties are necessary to make our political system work, and 5 means that political parties are not needed in Australia?

1	2	3	4	5
Political parties are necessary to make our political system work				Political parties are not needed in Australia

B.25. Finally in this section, we would like to know what you think about each of our political parties. Please rate each party on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly **dislike** that party and 10 means that you strongly **like** that party. If you are neutral about a particular party or don't know much about them, you should give them a rating of 5.

	Strongly dislike			Neutral				Strongly like			
How do you feel about:											
Liberal Party	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Labor Party (ALP)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
National Party	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Greens	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
One Nation	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Australian Democrats	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Section C: Politicians and Government

C.1. Again using a scale from 0 to 10, please show how much you **like** or **dislike** the party leaders. Again, if you don't know much about them, you should give them a rating of 5.

	Strongly dislike			Neutral				Strongly like			
How do you feel about:											
Mark Latham	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
John Howard	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
John Anderson	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Andrew Bartlett	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Pauline Hanson	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Bob Brown	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Peter Costello	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Simon Crean	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
George W Bush	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Tony Blair	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

C.2. Here is a list of words and phrases people use to describe party leaders. Thinking first about **John Howard**, in your opinion how well does each of these describe him—extremely well, quite well, not too well or not well at all?

	Extremely well	Quite well	Not too well	Not well at all
Intelligent.....	1	2	3	4
Compassionate	1	2	3	4
Sensible	1	2	3	4
Provides strong leadership	1	2	3	4
Honest.....	1	2	3	4
Knowledgeable	1	2	3	4
Inspiring.....	1	2	3	4
Trustworthy	1	2	3	4

C.3. Now thinking about **Mark Latham**, in your opinion how well does each of these describe him—extremely well, quite well, not too well or not well at all?

	Extremely well	Quite well	Not too well	Not well at all
Intelligent.....	1	2	3	4
Compassionate	1	2	3	4
Sensible	1	2	3	4
Provides strong leadership	1	2	3	4
Honest.....	1	2	3	4
Knowledgeable	1	2	3	4
Inspiring.....	1	2	3	4
Trustworthy	1	2	3	4

C.4. Some people say that Federal politicians know what ordinary people think. Others say that Federal politicians don't know much about what ordinary people think. Where would you place your view on this scale from 1 to 5?

1	2	3	4	5
Federal politicians know what ordinary people think				Federal politicians don't know what ordinary people think

C.5. Some people say it makes a difference who is in power. Others say that it doesn't make a difference who is in power. Using the scale below, where would you place yourself?

1	2	3	4	5
It makes a difference who is in power				It doesn't make a difference who is in power

C.6. Some people say that no matter who people vote for, it won't make any difference to what happens. Others say that who people vote for can make a difference to what happens. Using the scale below, where would you place yourself?

1	2	3	4	5
Who people vote for won't make a difference				Who people vote for can make a difference

- C.7. On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in Australia?
- Very satisfied 1
 Fairly satisfied.....2
 Not very satisfied3
 Not at all satisfied4
- C.8. In general, do you feel that the people in government are too often interested in looking after themselves, or do you feel that they can be trusted to do the right thing nearly all the time?
- Usually look after themselves 1
 Sometimes look after themselves.....2
 Sometimes can be trusted to do the right thing3
 Usually can be trusted to do the right thing4
- C.9. Would you say the government is run by a few big interests looking out for themselves, or that it is run for the benefit of all the people?
- Entirely run for the big interests 1
 Mostly run for the big interests2
 About half and half.....3
 Mostly run for the benefit of all4
 Entirely run for the benefit of all.....5
- C.10. Now thinking about the performance of the government in Canberra in general, how good or bad a job do you think the government in Canberra has done over the past three years?
- A very good job..... 1
 A good job2
 A bad job3
 A very bad job.....4
- C.11. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Democracy may have problems but it's better than any other form of government?
- Agree strongly 1
 Agree2
 Disagree3
 Disagree strongly.....4
- C.12. As you know, voting is compulsory in Australia. Do you know how much those who choose not to vote are fined?
- No, I don't know 1
 Yes, I know how much the fine is2
- C.13. What proportion of those who do not vote and have no good reason for not voting (like illness) do you think actually pay the fine?
- Almost everyone 1
 Most.....2
 Some3
 Only a few.....4
 Almost none.....5
 No idea6

C.14. How strongly do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
It makes sense to vote for small parties or independent candidates sometimes	1	2	3	4	5
There should be bans on companies such as big developers giving money to political parties.....	1	2	3	4	5
Politicians commonly rot the system for their own benefit	1	2	3	4	5
I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing Australia.....	1	2	3	4	5
I feel that I could do as good a job in public office as most other people	1	2	3	4	5
If a person doesn't care how an election comes out he or she shouldn't vote in it.....	1	2	3	4	5
If I did not vote I would feel guilty	1	2	3	4	5

C.15. What do you think of each of the following types of political system as a way of governing this country?

	Very good	Fairly good	Fairly bad	Very bad
Having a strong leader who does not have to bother with parliament and elections.....	1	2	3	4
Having experts, not government, make decisions according to what they think is best for the country	1	2	3	4
Having the army rule	1	2	3	4
Having a democratic political system	1	2	3	4

C.16. How widespread do you think corruption such as bribe taking is amongst politicians in Australia?

- Very widespread..... 1
- Quite widespread..... 2
- Not very widespread..... 3
- It hardly happens at all 4

C.17. How widespread do you think corruption such as bribe taking is amongst public servants in Australia?

- Very widespread..... 1
- Quite widespread..... 2
- Not very widespread..... 3
- It hardly happens at all 4

C.18. Over the past five years or so, have you done any of the following things to express your views about something the government should or should not be doing?

	Yes	No
Contacted a politician or government official either in person, or in writing, or some other way	1	2
Taken part in a protest, march or demonstration.....	1	2
Worked together with people who shared the same concern	1	2
Signed a written petition.....	1	2
Signed an electronic petition.....	1	2

Section D: Election Issues

D.1. Here is a list of important issues that were discussed during the election campaign. **When you were deciding about how to vote**, how important was each of these issues to you personally?

Issues	Extremely important	Quite important	Not very important
1. Taxation.....	1	2	3
2. Immigration.....	1	2	3
3. Education	1	2	3
4. The environment	1	2	3
5. Industrial relations	1	2	3
6. Health and Medicare	1	2	3
7. Refugees and asylum seekers....	1	2	3
8. Defence and national security.....	1	2	3
9. The war in Iraq	1	2	3
10. Unemployment	1	2	3
11. Interest rates	1	2	3
12. Terrorism	1	2	3

D.2. Still thinking about these same issues, whose policies—the Labor Party’s or the Liberal–National Coalition’s—would you say **come closer** to your own views on each of these issues?

Issues	Labor (ALP)	Liberal–National Coalition	No difference	Don’t know
1. Taxation	1	2	3	4
2. Immigration	1	2	3	4
3. Education	1	2	3	4
4. The environment	1	2	3	4
5. Industrial relations.....	1	2	3	4
6. Health and Medicare.....	1	2	3	4
7. Refugees and asylum seekers ...	1	2	3	4
8. Defence and national security	1	2	3	4
9. The war in Iraq	1	2	3	4
10. Unemployment.....	1	2	3	4
11. Interest rates	1	2	3	4
12. Terrorism.....	1	2	3	4

D.3. Still thinking about the same 12 issues, which of these issues was **most** important to you and your family during the election campaign? And which next? PLEASE PUT THE NUMBER OF THE ISSUE IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX BELOW.

>> Issue of most concern Second issue of concern

D.4. And thinking about the most important issue, how good or bad a job do you think the government in Canberra has done over the past three years?

- A very good job..... 1
- A good job 2
- A bad job 3
- A very bad job..... 4

- D.5. How does the **financial situation of your household** now compare with what it was 12 months ago? And how do you think the **general economic situation in Australia** now compares with what it was 12 months ago?

	Financial situation of your household	Economic situation in Australia
A lot better	1	1
A little better.....	2	2
About the same	3	3
A little worse	4	4
A lot worse.....	5	5

- D.6. Compared with 12 months ago, would you say that the Federal government's policies have had a good effect, a bad effect, or that they really have not made much difference to the financial situation of your household?
And what effect do you think they have had on the general economic situation in Australia as a whole?

	Financial situation of your household	Economic situation in Australia
A good effect	1	1
Not much difference	2	2
A bad effect	3	3

- D.7. Compared to now, what do you think the financial situation of your household will be **in 12 months time**?
And what do you think the general economic situation in Australia as a whole will be in 12 months time?

	Financial situation of your household	Economic situation in Australia
A lot better	1	1
A little better.....	2	2
About the same	3	3
A little worse	4	4
A lot worse.....	5	5

- D.8. Do you think that, **12 months from now**, the Federal government's policies will have had a good effect, a bad effect, or that they really will have not made much difference to the financial situation of your household?
And what effect do you think they will have had on general economic situation in Australia as a whole?

	Financial situation of your household	Economic situation in Australia
A good effect	1	1
Not much difference	2	2
A bad effect	3	3

- D.9. How worried are you that in the next 12 months you or someone else in your household might be out of work and looking for a job for any reason—very worried, somewhat worried, or not worried at all?

Very worried.....	1
Somewhat worried.....	2
Not at all worried.....	3

D.10. In your community these days, how easy is it for someone who is trying to find a job to get a good job at good wages—very easy, somewhat easy, somewhat hard, or very hard?

- Very easy..... 1
 Somewhat easy2
 Somewhat hard.....3
 Very hard4

D.11. When it comes to the availability of good jobs for Australian workers, some say that the best years are behind us. Others say that the best years are yet to come. What do you think?

- Best years definitely behind..... 1
 Best years probably behind2
 Best years probably yet to come3
 Best years definitely yet to come4

D.12. Thinking about interest rates on home loans and personal loans, how worried are you about increases in interest rates for your personal finances?

- Very worried..... 1
 Quite worried2
 Not very worried.....3
 Not worried at all.....4

D.13. If you had to choose, which of the following would be closest to your views?

- Cutting my income tax would mean the government has less money to waste on spending that doesn't benefit me 1
 Cutting my income tax would mean the government has less money to spend on public services I really need2

D.14. Thinking back to the Federal election in 2001, when John Howard won against Kim Beazley, would you say that since then the following have increased or fallen?

	Increased a lot	Increased a little	Stayed the same	Fallen a little	Fallen a lot
Unemployment.....	1	2	3	4	5
Prices.....	1	2	3	4	5
Taxes.....	1	2	3	4	5
The standard of health services...	1	2	3	4	5
The quality of education.....	1	2	3	4	5
The quality of industrial relations..	1	2	3	4	5
Your own standard of living.....	1	2	3	4	5
The general standard of living.....	1	2	3	4	5

D.15. Please say whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each of these statements.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
High income tax makes people less willing to work hard.	1	2	3	4	5
The trade unions in this country have too much power....	1	2	3	4	5
Big business in this country has too much power.....	1	2	3	4	5
Income and wealth should be redistributed towards ordinary working people.....	1	2	3	4	5
Private schools offer better education than public schools.....	1	2	3	4	5
There should be stricter laws to regulate the activities of trade unions.....	1	2	3	4	5

Section E: Social Policy

E.1. If the government had a choice between 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
- Depends 3
- Mildly favour spending more on social services 4
- Strongly favour spending more on social services 5

E.2. The statements below indicate some of the changes that have been happening in Australia over the years. For each one, please say whether you think the change has gone too far, not gone far enough, or is it about right?

	Gone much too far	Gone too far	About right	Not gone far enough	Not gone nearly far enough
Equal opportunities for migrants.....	1	2	3	4	5
The right to show nudity and sex in films and magazines...	1	2	3	4	5
Aboriginal land rights	1	2	3	4	5
Equal opportunities for women.....	1	2	3	4	5
The number of migrants allowed into Australia at the present time	1	2	3	4	5
Equal opportunities for people with disabilities.....	1	2	3	4	5
Government help for Aborigines.....	1	2	3	4	5
Building closer relations with Asia	1	2	3	4	5
Government controls on firearms	1	2	3	4	5
Australia's support for the fight against terrorism.....	1	2	3	4	5

E.3. Which one of these statements comes closest to how you feel about abortion in Australia?

- Women should be able to obtain an abortion readily when they want one..... 1
- Abortion should be allowed only in special circumstances 2
- Abortion should not be allowed under any circumstances 3
- Don't know 4

E.4. Here are some statements about general social concerns. Please say whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each of these statements.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
The death penalty should be reintroduced for murder.....	1	2	3	4	5
The smoking of marijuana should NOT be a criminal offence.....	1	2	3	4	5
People who break the law should be given stiffer sentences	1	2	3	4	5
All boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back..	1	2	3	4	5
Stronger measures should be taken to protect the environment against pollution	1	2	3	4	5
Public schools don't receive their fair share of the education budget.....	1	2	3	4	5
Women should be given preferential treatment when applying for jobs and promotions	1	2	3	4	5
The government should increase opportunities for women in business and industry.....	1	2	3	4	5

E.5. In your opinion, how urgent are each of the following environmental concerns in this country?

	Not urgent		Fairly urgent		Very urgent
1. Pollution	1	2	3	4	5
2. Waste disposal.....	1	2	3	4	5
3. Logging of forests	1	2	3	4	5
4. Destruction of wildlife	1	2	3	4	5
5. Soil degradation	1	2	3	4	5
6. The Greenhouse effect	1	2	3	4	5
7. Genetically modified crops/food....	1	2	3	4	5
8. Cloning human tissue	1	2	3	4	5

E.6. How likely are you to join any environmental groups or movements?

- I'm already a member 1
- Not a member, but have considered joining 2
- Not a member, and have not considered joining 3
- Would never consider joining 4

E.7. Next, a question about what you think the aims of Australia should be for the next ten years. Here is a list of four aims that different people would give priority.

- 1. Maintain order in the nation
- 2. Give people more say in important government decisions
- 3. Fight rising prices
- 4. Protect freedom of speech

If you had to choose among these four aims, which would be your first choice? And which would be your second choice? PUT THE NUMBER OF THE STATEMENT IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX.

>> First choice Second choice

E.8. Here is another list of four aims.

- 1. Maintain a high level of economic growth
- 2. Make sure this country has strong defence forces
- 3. See that people have more say about how things are done at their jobs and in their communities
- 4. Try to make our cities and countryside more beautiful

If you had to choose among these four aims, which would be your first choice? And which would be your second choice? PUT THE NUMBER OF THE STATEMENT IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX.

>> First choice Second choice

E.9. And here is a further list.

- 1. A stable economy
- 2. Progress toward a less impersonal and more humane society
- 3. Progress toward a society in which ideas count more than money
- 4. The fight against crime

If you had to choose among these four aims, which would be your first choice? And which would be your second choice? PUT THE NUMBER OF THE STATEMENT IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX.

>> First choice Second choice

Section F: Relations with Other Countries

F.1. How important do you think the Australian alliance with the United States under the ANZUS treaty is for protecting Australia's security?

- Very important 1
 Fairly important 2
 Not very important 3
 Not at all important 4

F.2. If Australia's security were threatened by some other country, how much trust do you feel Australia can have in the United States to come to Australia's defence?

- A great deal 1
 A fair amount 2
 Not very much 3
 None at all 4

F.3. In your opinion, are any of the following countries likely to pose a threat to Australia's security?

Countries	Very likely	Fairly likely	Not very likely
1. Japan.....	1	2	3
2. United States.....	1	2	3
3. China.....	1	2	3
4. Papua New Guinea.....	1	2	3
5. Vietnam.....	1	2	3
6. Malaysia.....	1	2	3
7. Singapore.....	1	2	3
8. Indonesia.....	1	2	3
9. New Zealand.....	1	2	3
10. India.....	1	2	3

F.4. Do you think that the government should spend more or spend less on defence?

- Spend much more on defence..... 1
 Spend some more on defence..... 2
 About right at present 3
 Spend less on defence 4
 Spend a lot less on defence 5

F.5. Please say whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each of the following statements.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Australia's defence is stronger now than it was 10 years ago.....	1	2	3	4	5
The security agreement between Australia and Indonesia means that we can trust Indonesia never to be a military threat.....	1	2	3	4	5
Australia would be able to defend itself successfully if it were ever attacked.....	1	2	3	4	5
Australia's trading future lies in Asia.....	1	2	3	4	5
Australia should provide military assistance for the war on terrorism.....	1	2	3	4	5

- F.6. Now we want to ask you about the current war in Iraq. Do you approve or disapprove of the way John Howard handled the war in Iraq?
- Approve strongly..... 1
 - Approve - not strongly2
 - Disapprove - not strongly.....3
 - Disapprove strongly4
- F.7. Taking everything into account, do you think the war in Iraq has been worth the cost or not?
- Worth it 1
 - Not worth it.....2
- F.8. As a result of Australia’s military action in Iraq, do you think the threat of terrorism against Australia has increased, decreased, or stayed about the same?
- Increased..... 1
 - Stayed about the same.....2
 - Decreased3
- F.9. Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?
- Increased a lot 1
 - Increased a little2
 - Remain about the same as it is3
 - Reduced a little4
 - Reduced a lot5
- F.10. There are different opinions about the effects that immigrants have on Australia. How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Immigrants increase the crime rate...	1	2	3	4	5
Immigrants are generally good for Australia's economy	1	2	3	4	5
Immigrants take jobs away from people who are born in Australia.....	1	2	3	4	5
Immigrants make Australia more open to new ideas and cultures	1	2	3	4	5

<h2 style="margin: 0;">Section G: Political and Global Issues</h2>
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- G.1. How much respect is there for individual freedom and human rights nowadays in Australia?
- A lot of respect for individual freedom 1
 - Some respect.....2
 - Not much respect.....3
 - No respect at all.....4
- G.2. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?
- Most people can be trusted 1
 - Can't be too careful2

- G.3. How important do you feel the Queen and the Royal Family are to Australia?
 Very important 1
 Fairly important 2
 Not very important 3
- G.4. Do you think that Australia should become a republic with an Australian head of state, or should the Queen be retained as head of state?
 Strongly favour becoming republic 1
 Favour becoming republic 2
 Favour retaining the Queen as head of state 3
 Strongly favour retaining the Queen as head of state 4
- G.5. If Australia becomes a republic with an Australian head of state, should the head of state be elected by the voters or elected by Parliament?
 Strongly favour election by voters 1
 Favour election by voters 2
 Favour election by Parliament 3
 Strongly favour election by Parliament 4

G.6. How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I would rather be a citizen of Australia than of any other country in the world.....	1	2	3	4	5
If you start trying to change things very much, you usually make things worse	1	2	3	4	5
I distrust people who try to be different from the rest of us.....	1	2	3	4	5
People who come to live in Australia should try harder to be more like other Australians	1	2	3	4	5
I regard myself as a citizen of the world as well as an Australian citizen	1	2	3	4	5
It should be up to each country how it deals with its environment – international bodies should not tell countries what to do.....	1	2	3	4	5
Most of those people seeking asylum in Australia are political refugees fleeing persecution in their homeland.....	1	2	3	4	5
It is more important for new migrants to learn what it is to be Australian than to cling to their old ways	1	2	3	4	5
Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn	1	2	3	4	5
A person who has bad manners and habits can hardly expect to get along with people.....	1	2	3	4	5
People can be divided into two distinct groups: the weak and the strong.....	1	2	3	4	5
There is hardly anything lower than a person who does not feel a great love and respect for his or her parents	1	2	3	4	5
An insult to your honour should always be punished.....	1	2	3	4	5
What young people need is strict discipline and the will to work for family and country	1	2	3	4	5

- G.12. How recently have you travelled to a destination outside Australia?
- Never travelled outside Australia 1
 - More than five years ago 2
 - In the last three to five years 3
 - In the last two years 4
 - Several times in the last two years 5
- G.13. Which one of the following do you rely on most as your primary source of news?
- Public TV (eg, ABC, SBS) 1
 - Commercial TV (eg, Channel 7, 9, 10) 2
 - Newspapers 3
 - News magazines 4
 - Radio 5
 - The internet 6
 - Other 7
- G.14. Now some questions about share ownership. Do you own shares in any company listed on the Australian Stock Exchange (shares registered in your name or that of your family company)?
- No, don't own any shares 1
 - Yes, in one company 2
 - Yes, in two to five companies 3
 - Yes, in six to 10 companies 4
 - Yes, in more than 10 companies 5
- G.15. If you own shares, in about what year did you first acquire them? Year _____
- G.16. Do you own shares in the company for which you work?
- Yes 1
 - No 2
- G.17. Do you own 'new technology' shares (for example, shares in an e-commerce or biotechnology company)?
- Yes 1
 - No 2
- G.18. Now a few questions about your interest in and knowledge of politics. If you don't know the answer, just indicate that and move on to the next one. First, looking at the list below, can you give the name of the Federal Treasurer before the 2004 Federal election?
- Alexander Downer 1
 - Peter Costello 2
 - Brendan Nelson 3
 - Simon Crean 4
 - Don't know 5
- G.19. Can you say which political party has the **second** largest number of seats in the House of Representatives, following the 2004 Federal election?
- The National Party 1
 - The Labor Party 2
 - The Liberal Party 3
 - The Australian Democrats 4
 - Don't know 5

- G.20. Obviously, a person on a low income will pay less total money in income tax than someone on a high income. But do you think that a person on a **low** income pays ...
- A bigger *proportion* of their earnings in income tax than someone on a high income 1
 - The same *proportion*.....2
 - Or a smaller *proportion* of their earnings in income tax3
 - Don't know4
- G.21. Five countries have permanent seats on the Security Council of the United Nations. Can you give the names of any of these five countries?
- Please write in as many as you can _____
- _____
- G.22. Which of the following best describes who is entitled to vote in elections for the House of Representatives?
- Residents..... 1
 - Taxpayers.....2
 - Legal residents3
 - Citizens.....4
 - Don't know5
- G.23. What is the maximum number of years allowed between elections for the House of Representatives?
- Two years 1
 - Three years2
 - Four years3
 - Five years4
 - Don't know5
- G.24. A prominent Australian politician was given the nickname 'Pig-iron Bob'. Who was the politician?
- Bob Menzies 1
 - Bob Hawke2
 - Bob Carr3
 - Bob Brown4
 - Don't know5
- G.25. Which political party was formed by a former Liberal Party minister?
- The Australian Labor Party 1
 - The Democratic Labor Party.....2
 - The Australian Democrats3
 - The Australian Greens.....4
 - Don't know5
- G.26. Prior to the 2004 Federal election, who was the most recent Australian Labor Party Prime Minister?
- Gough Whitlam 1
 - Bob Hawke2
 - Paul Keating3
 - Kim Beazley.....4
 - Don't know5

Section H: Education and Work

H.1. How old were you when you left secondary school?

- Age _____
- No formal schooling..... 96
- Went to primary school only..... 97
- Still at school..... 98

H.2. In all, how many years of **tertiary** study have you completed since you left secondary school?

If your tertiary study was part-time, give the number of years of equivalent full-time study .

Years of full-time tertiary study _____

H.3. 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** since leaving school 1
- Qualified—circle one code for highest qualification only**
- Postgraduate Degree or Postgraduate Diploma2
- Bachelor Degree (including Honours).....3
- Undergraduate Diploma.....4
- Associate Diploma5
- Trade qualification.....6
- Non-trade qualification7

H.4. 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 pay2
- Unemployed—looking for full-time work.....3
- Unemployed—looking for part-time work4
- Retired from paid work.....5
- A full-time school or university student6
- Keeping house.....7
- Other (please specify) _____ 8

H.5. What type of secondary school did you attend? If you have children, please say what type of secondary school your oldest child attended or is attending now.

- | | You | Oldest Child |
|----------------------------|-----|--------------|
| Government..... | 1 | 1 |
| Catholic..... | 2 | 2 |
| Other non-government | 3 | 3 |
| No Children..... | | 9 |

H.6. What kind of work do you do? Please give your full job title, and as much detail as you can. For public servants, state official designation and occupation. For armed services personnel, state rank and occupation.

>> **If you are unemployed or retired, please describe your last regular paid job.**

>> **If you have never worked for pay, please skip this section and go to Section I.**

a. Job title _____

b. What are (or were) the **main tasks** that you usually perform? Please give full details.

Main tasks _____

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

Kind of industry _____

d. Which of the following best describes the position that you hold (or held)?

Upper managerial 1

Middle managerial 2

Lower managerial 3

Supervisory 4

Non-supervisory 5

e. Whom do (or did) you work for?

Self-employed 1

Employee in private company or business 2

Employee of Federal/State/Local Government 3

Employee in family business or farm 4

f. As an official part of your job, do (or did) you directly supervise the work of other employees or tell other employees what work to do?

Yes 1

No 2

H.7. Do you belong to a trade union?

Yes 1

No 2

Section I: Personal Background

This final section includes questions about yourself and your family background. These characteristics are very important to our research on how people in different circumstances feel about the issues covered earlier. **The information you provide is totally confidential and will be used only for this research.**

I.1. Firstly, what is your sex?

Male 1
 Female..... 2

I.2. When were you born? Just the year will do. Year 19_____

I.3. Where were you born? And where were your mother and father born?

Country of birth	Yourself	Mother	Father
Australia.....	1	1	1
New Zealand	2	2	2
United Kingdom.....	3	3	3
Republic of Ireland	4	4	4
Italy	5	5	5
Germany.....	6	6	6
Greece.....	7	7	7
China	8	8	8
Netherlands	9	9	9
Vietnam	10	10	10
Yugoslavia (former)	11	11	11
Other (please specify below)	12	12	12

Yourself _____

Mother _____

Father _____

I.4. **[If born overseas only]** In what year did you come to Australia? Year _____

I.5. Did your father have any particular preference for one of the political parties when you were young, say about 14 years old? And how about your mother?

	Father	Mother
Liberal (includes UAP)	1	1
Labor	2	2
National/Country (includes Progressive Party) ...	3	3
Democratic Labor (DLP)	4	4
Australian Democrats	5	5
Other parties	6	6
Don't know	7	7

I.6. What is your religion or faith?

Roman Catholic 1
 Anglican/Church of England 2
 Uniting Church/Methodist 3
 Orthodox Church 4
 Presbyterian 5
 Other (please specify) _____ 6
 No religion 9

- I.7. Apart from weddings, funerals and baptisms, about how often do you attend religious services?
- At least once a week 1
 - At least once a month 2
 - Several times a year 3
 - At least once a year 4
 - Less than once a year 5
 - Never 6
- I.8. What is your current marital status?
- Never married 1
 - Now married (including de facto relationships) 2
 - Widowed 3
 - Divorced or separated 4
- I.9. Do you own outright, are you buying or renting the dwelling in which you now live?
- Own outright 1
 - Own, paying off mortgage 2
 - Rent from private landlord 3
 - Rent from public housing authority 4
 - Other (boarding, living at home, etc) 5
- I.10. Do you, or anyone in your household, own a firearm?
- Yes 1
 - No 2
- I.11. Do you, or anyone in your household, own a personal computer?
- Yes 1
 - No 2
- I.12. In general, how often do you use the internet?
- Several times a day 1
 - About once a day 2
 - Three to five days a week 3
 - One to two days a week 4
 - Every few weeks 5
 - Less often 6
 - Do not use the internet 7
- I.13. When did you first start using the internet?
- Do not use the internet 1
 - Within the last six months 2
 - About a year ago 3
 - Two or three years ago 4
 - More than three years ago 5
- I.14. Do you get either cable or satellite television?
- Yes, either cable or satellite or both 1
 - No, neither 2

I.15. Are you an active member of any of the following organisations, an inactive member or not a member?

	Active member	Inactive member	Don't belong
Business or employers' association.....	1	2	3
Farmers' association	1	2	3
Professional association	1	2	3
Charitable organisation	1	2	3
Sport or recreation organisation.....	1	2	3

I.16. Which social class would you say you belong to?

Upper class.....	1
Middle class	2
Working class	3
None	4

I.17. Would you say you now live in ...

A rural area or village	1
A small country town (under 10,000 people)	2
A larger country town (over 10,000 people).....	3
A large town (over 25,000 people).....	4
A major city (over 100,000 people).....	5

I.18. What is the gross annual income, before tax or other deductions, for you and your family living with you from all sources? Please include any pensions and allowances, and income from interest or dividends.

Less than \$5000 per year	1	\$40001 to \$45000 per year	9
\$5001 to \$10000 per year	2	\$45001 to \$50000 per year	10
\$10001 to \$15000 per year.....	3	\$50001 to \$60000 per year	11
\$15001 to \$20000 per year.....	4	\$60001 to \$70000 per year	12
\$20001 to \$25000 per year.....	5	\$70001 to \$80000 per year	13
\$25001 to \$30000 per year.....	6	\$80001 to \$90000 per year	14
\$30001 to \$35000 per year.....	7	\$90001 to \$100000 per year.....	15
\$35001 to \$40000 per year.....	8	More than \$100000 per year.....	16

**For those who are NOT now married or living in a de facto relationship, that is the end of the questionnaire. Please put the questionnaire in the pre-paid reply envelope and post it back to us.
Thank you again for your cooperation.**

YOUR HUSBAND, WIFE OR DE FACTO

I.19. Is your husband or wife working now?

Working full-time for pay	1
Working part-time for pay	2
Unemployed—looking for full-time work.....	3
Unemployed—looking for part-time work	4
Retired from paid work.....	5
A full-time school or university student	6
Keeping house.....	7
Other (please specify) _____	8

I.20. What kind of work does (or did) your husband or wife do? Please give their full job title, and as much detail as you can. For public servants, state official designation and occupation. For armed services personnel, state rank and occupation.

>> **If not working for pay now, please describe his or her last regular paid job.**

a. Job title _____

b. What are (or were) the **main tasks** that he or she usually performs? Please give full details.

Main tasks _____

I.21. Whom does (or did) your partner work for?

Self-employed..... 1

Employee in private company or business2

Employee of Federal/State/Local Government.....3

Employee in family business or farm4

I.22. As an official part of their job, does (or did) your partner directly supervise the work of other employees or tell other employees what work to do?

Yes 1

No2

I.23. Does your partner belong to a trade union?

Yes 1

No2

I.24. Generally speaking, does your partner usually think of himself or herself as Liberal, Labor, National or what?

Liberal..... 1

Labor2

National (Country) Party3

Australian Democrats4

Greens.....5

One Nation.....6

Other party (please specify) _____ 7

No party8

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