

CONFIDENTIAL

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 University College Locked Bag 25 Queen Victoria Terrace Canberra ACT 2600</p>

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

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Dr Roger Jones, The Australian National University
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Section A: The Election Campaign

First, some questions about the Federal election campaign, the period between when the election was announced on 27 January and election day on Saturday 2 March.

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

- A good deal1 [106]
- Some.....2
- Not much3
- None4

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 deal1
- Some.....2
- Not much3
- 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	[108-9]
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 deal1
- Some.....2
- Not much3
- None at all.....4

A.5. Did you watch the two televised debates between Paul Keating and John Howard?

- Watched both debates.....1
- Watched one debate only.....2
- Didn't watch either debate.....3

A.6. From what you saw or what you heard or read about them, who do you think performed better in the debates-Keating or Howard?

- Keating did much better.....1
- Keating did somewhat better.....2
- About equal3
- Howard did somewhat better.....4
- Howard did much better.....5

A.7. During the election campaign, did you do any of the following things? (Circle as many as apply).

- Discuss politics with others.....1 [113]
- Talk to any people about why they should vote
for or against one of the parties or candidates?2
- Go to any political meetings or rallies3
- Contribute money to a political party
or election candidate.....4
- Do any work for a political party or
election candidate5 [117]

A.8. Are you currently a member of a political party? And if you are **not currently** a member, have you ever been a member of a political party in the past?

	Currently a member	Past member	
No.....	1	1	[118-9]
Yes, Liberal Party member	2	2	
Yes, Australian Labor Party member	3	3	
Yes, National (Country) Party member	4	4	
Yes, Australian Democrats member	5	5	
Yes, other party (please specify below).....	6	6	

A.9. And during the past 12 months, have you had any contact with a Federal politician in any way?

- Yes.....1
- No2

A.10. 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 voting2
- Favour people voting only if they want to3
- Strongly favour people voting only if they want to4

- A. II. Would you have voted in the election if voting had not been compulsory?
- Definitely would have voted1
 - Probably would have voted2
 - Might, might not3
 - Probably not4
 - Definitely not5

- A.1 2. On the whole, are you satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in Australia?
- Satisfied1
 - Fairly satisfied2
 - Not very satisfied3
 - Not at all satisfied4

Section B: Party Preference and Voting

- B.1. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as Liberal, Labor, National or what?
- Liberal1 [124]
 - Labor.....2
 - National (Country) Party.....3
 - Australian Democrats..4
 - Greens..5
 - Other party (please specify) _____ 6
 - No party..7 [GO TO B.3]

- 8.2. 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. When did you decide how you would **definitely** vote in this election?
- A long time ago.....1
 - A few months ago, before election day was announced2
 - About the time the election was announced, on 27 January.....3
 - In the first few weeks of the campaign.....4
 - A few days before election day5
 - On election day6

8.4. 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 all3

8.5. In deciding how you would vote in the election, which was **most** important to you?

- The party leaders1
- The policy issues.....2
- The candidates in your electorate..3
- The parties taken as a whole..4

B.6. 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.7. 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 job1
- Doing a good job2
- Neither a good nor bad job..3
- Doing a bad job4
- Doing a very bad job..5

8.8. 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	[131-2]
Left										Right	

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

	Left										Right	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Liberal Party	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	[133-4]
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	
Greens	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	[141-2]

B.9. In the Federal election for the House of Representatives on Saturday 2 March, 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	[143-4]
Labor Party (ALP)	2	2	
National (Country) Party.....	3	3	
Australian Democrats.....	4	4	
Greens.....	5	5	
Other (please specify party below)	6	6	
<hr/>			
Voted informal/Did not vote	9	9	

B.10. **If your first preference was for the Australian Democrats, Greens 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	[145-6]
Labor Party (ALP)	2	2	
Not sure/Don't know.....	3	3	

B.11. 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

8.12. 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

8.13. 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, another party/independent.....	7

8.14. In the last Federal election in March 1993, when Labor was led by Paul Keating and the Liberals by John Hewson, which party got your first preference then in the House of Representatives election?

- Liberal Party1
- Labor Party (ALP)2
- National (Country) Party.....3
- Australian Democrats4
- Greens6
- Another party/independent.....7
- Did not vote9

8.15. 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 party1 [151]
- Sometimes voted Liberal2
- Sometimes voted Labor (ALP)3
- Sometimes voted National (Country)4
- Sometimes voted Australian Democrats.....5
- Sometimes voted for other party/independent6
- Did not vote before this election7 [157]

B.16. 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

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

And if 1 means that it makes a difference who is in power, and 5 means that it doesn't make a difference who is in power, where would you place your view?

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

B.17. 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					[161-2]
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					
Greens	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10					[169-70]

Section C: The Candidates

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:																
Paul Keating	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10					[206-7]
John Howard	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10					
Tim Fischer	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10					
Cheryl Kernot	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10					

c.2. Please say whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each of these statements about Federal politicians.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
Most Federal politicians make a lot of money by using public office improperly . . .	1	2	3	4	5	[214]
Most Federal politicians have a high personal moral code.....	1	2	3	4	5	
Most Federal politicians will tell lies if they feel the truth will hurt them politically.....	1	2	3	4	5	
Most Federal politicians care more about special interests than they care about the general public.....	1	2	3	4	5	
The ethical and moral standards of Federal politicians have declined in recent years....	1	2	3	4	5	

c.3. Here is a list of words and phrases people use to describe party leaders. Thinking first about **Paul Keating**, 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	
Moral.....	1	2	3	4	[219]
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	
Reliable.....	1	2	3	4	
Knowledgeable.....	1	2	3	4	
Inspiring.....	1	2	3	4	
Dependable.....	1	2	3	4	
Arrogant.....	1	2	3	4	

Now thinking 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	
Moral.....	1	2	3	4	[230]
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	
Reliable.....	1	2	3	4	
Knowledgeable.....	1	2	3	4	
Inspiring.....	1	2	3	4	
Dependable.....	1	2	3	4	
Arrogant.....	1	2	3	4	

c.4. Before the election, did you know the name of your local Federal MP in the House of Representatives, and his or her political party? (Write in name and party if you recall them, otherwise circle 9).

Name _____ Didn't know name..... 9 [241]

Party _____ Didn't know party 9 [242]

c.5. 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 thing 3
- Usually can be trusted to do the right thing 4

C.6. How important do you think it is for Federal politicians to ...?

	Extremely important	Very important	Fairly important	Not very important
...act honestly at all times	1	2	3	4
...always put the public interest ahead of their personal interests	1	2	3	4
...always behave in a dignified manner	1	2	3	4
...refuse to accept gifts of any kind	1	2	3	4
...not favour special interests	1	2	3	4
...always tell the truth to the public	1	2	3	4
...use public resources economically	1	2	3	4
...respect the dignity and privacy of members of the public	1	2	3	4

c.7. 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

And if 1 means no matter who people vote for, it won't make any difference to what happens, and 5 means that who people vote for can make a difference, where would you place your view?

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

Section D: Election Issues

D.1. Here is a list of important issues that were discussed during the **election** campaign. 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	[254]
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. Links with Asia.....	1	2	3	4	
8. Defence.....	1	2	3	4	
9. Interest rates.....	1	2	3	4	
10. Unemployment.....	1	2	3	4	
11. Privatisation.....	1	2	3	4	
12. Inflation.....	1	2	3	4	
13. State/Territory issues.....	1	2	3	4	

D.2. Still thinking about these same issues, **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	[267]
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. Links with Asia.....	1	2	3	
8. Defence.....	1	2	3	
9. Interest rates.....	1	2	3	
10. Unemployment.....	1	2	3	
11. Privatisation.....	1	2	3	
12. Inflation.....	1	2	3	
13. State/Territory issues.....	1	2	3	[279]

D.3. Still thinking about the same 13 issues, which of these issues has been **most** important to you and your family in the last 12 months? And which next? PLEASE PUT THE NUMBER OF THE ISSUES IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX BELOW.

>> Issue of most concern Second issue of concern c | [306-7/8-9]

D.4. Are you covered by private health insurance that allows you to get private hospital treatment?

Yes 1
No 2

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	[311-2]
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 Labor 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	[313-4]
Not much difference	2	2	
A bad effect	3	3	

0.7. 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	[315-6]
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	[317-8]
Not much difference	2	2	
A bad effect	3	3	

D.9. 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
Australia would be better off without unions	1	2	3	4	5
Income and wealth should be redistributed towards ordinary working people	1	2	3	4	5
There should be stricter laws to regulate the activities of trade unions	1	2	3	4	5
Individual employment contracts are better for workers than enterprise agreements.....	1	2	3	4	5
It is more important to promote faster economic growth than to ensure that income is distributed more fairly	1	2	3	4	5
If I were totally free to choose, I would rather be in a trade union than not in one	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		[328]
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
Government help for Aborigines.....	1	2	3	4	5
Building closer relations with Asia.....	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.5. 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	[337]
The smoking of marijuana should NOT be a criminal offence.....	1	2	3	4	5	
Government policies should, above all, be based on rational economic calculation.....	1	2	3	4	5	
People who break the law should be given stiffer sentences.....	1	2	3	4	5	
Women should be given preferential treatment when applying for jobs and promotions.....	1	2	3	4	5	
In Australian society, anyone who is prepared to make the effort can succeed . . .	1	2	3	4	5	
The government should increase opportunities for women in business and industry.....	1	2	3	4	5	

E.6. And now some statements about general environmental 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	
Nuclear energy is a real necessity for the future	1	2	3	4	5	[344]
I cherish nature and preserve it as one of the most precious things in life.....	1	2	3	4	5	
Australia should mine its uranium.....	1	2	3	4	5	
Increase government spending to protect the environment.....	1	2	3	4	5	
TV coverage of environmental issues is biased in favour of the greens.....	1	2	3	4	5	
Stronger measures should be taken to protect the environment against pollution.....	1	2	3	4	5	

E.7. 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. Overpopulation.....	1	2	3	4	5	
3. Waste disposal.....	1	2	3	4	5	
4. Uranium mining.....	1	2	3	4	5	
5. Logging of forests.....	1	2	3	4	5	
6. Destruction of wildlife.....	1	2	3	4	5	
7. Soil degradation.....	1	2	3	4	5	
8. The Greenhouse effect.....	1	2	3	4	5	[357]

>> Which two of these environmental issues has worried you personally the most in the last 12 months? Which is the most urgent? And which is the second most urgent? PLEASE PUT THE NUMBER FOR EACH ISSUE IN THE BOX BELOW.

>> Most urgent Second most urgent

E.8. There are a number of environmental groups and movements seeking public support. For each of the following groups, please say whether you approve or disapprove of them.

	Strongly approve	Approve	Neither approve nor disapprove	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove	
Groups campaigning to protect the environment.....	1	2	3	4	5	[360]
Groups concerned with stopping the mining and export of uranium.....	1	2	3	4	5	
Anti-war and anti-nuclear weapons movements.....	1	2	3	4	5	

E.9. How likely are you to join any of these 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 joining3
- Would never consider joining..... 4

E.10. Which of these statements comes closer to your views:

Industry should be prevented from causing damage to the environment, even if this sometimes leads to higher prices..... 1

OR

Industry should keep prices down, even if this sometimes causes damage to the environment.....2

Don't know, haven't thought much about it.....3

E.11. Are you more worried or less worried about the environmental problems today than you were five years ago?

- More worried1
- Less worried.....2
- About the same..... 3

E.12. And which of these statements comes closer to your own views:

Governments should do more to protect the environment, even if this sometimes leads to higher taxes for everyone 1

OR

Governments should keep taxes low, even if this sometimes means that they do less for the environment.....2

Don't know, haven't thought much about it.....3

E. 13. Finally in this section, 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..... [367-8]

Section F: Foreign Affairs and Defence

F.1. Do you think that the government should spend more or spend less on defence?

Spend much more on defence	1	[406]
Spend some more on defence	3	
About right at present	3	
Spend less on defence	4	
Spend a lot less on defence	5	

F.2. 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.3. Australia has defence and security relations with many countries. How important do you think it is that we have defence and security relations with these countries?

	Countries	Very important	Fairly important	Not important
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. 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 important2
- Not very important3
- Not at all important.....4

F.5. 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 all4

F.6. 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
The end of the Cold War has made the Asia-Pacific region less safe.....	1	2	3	4	5
Australia would be able to defend itself successfully if it were ever attacked.....	1	2	3	4	5
Australia should concentrate on defence co-operation with our Asian neighbours rather than with the United States.....	1	2	3	4	5

F.7. And please say whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each of the following statements about Australia's trade with other countries.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Australia's trading future lies in Asia.....	1	2	3	4	5
Australia should continue to use tariffs to protect its industry.....	1	2	3	4	5
Australia should side with Japan and not the United States on economic matters	1	2	3	4	5
Japanese economic influence is too great in Australia.....	1	2	3	4	5

Section G: National Identity

G.1. Some people say the following things are important for being **truly** Australian. Others say they are not important. How important do you think each thing is?

	Very important	Fairly important	Not very important	Not at all important	
Being born in Australia.....	1	2	3	4	[438]
Having Australian citizenship.....	1	2	3	4	
Living in Australia most of one's life.....	1	2	3	4	
Being able to speak English.....	1	2	3	4	
Being Christian.. ..	1	2	3	4	
Respecting Australia's political institutions and laws.....	1	2	3	4	
Feeling Australian.....	1	2	3	4	

G.2. How proud are you of Australia in each of the following?

	Very proud	Fairly proud	Not very proud	Not proud at all	
The way democracy works.....	1	2	3	4	
Its political influence in the world.....	1	2	3	4	
Australia's economic achievements.....	1	2	3	4	
Its social security system.....	1	2	3	4	
Its scientific and technological achievements.....	1	2	3	4	
Its history.. ..	1	2	3	4	
Australia's armed forces.. ..	1	2	3	4	
Its achievements in sports.....	1	2	3	4	
Its achievements in the arts and literature.. ..	1	2	3	4	

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 voters1 [456]
- Favour election by voters2
- Favour election by Parliament3
- Strongly favour election by Parliament4

G.6. On the issue of the Australian flag, do you...

- ...strongly favour changing the flag..1
- ...favour changing the flag2
- ...favour retaining the flag3
- ...strongly favour retaining the flag4

G.7. 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

G.8. 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 little.....4
- Reduced a lot5

G.9. How important do you think it is for permanent residents in Australia to take out Australian citizenship?

- Very important..... 1
- Fairly important.....2
- Not very important.....3

G. 10. How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about relations between Australia and other countries?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
Australia should limit the import of foreign products in order to protect its national economy.....	1	2	3	4	5	[464]
Australian schools should make much more effort to teach foreign languages properly.....	1	2	3	4	5	
Australia should follow its own interests even if this leads to conflict with other nations.....	1	2	3	4	5	
Foreigners should not be allowed to buy land in Australia.....	1	2	3	4	5	

G. 11. And 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
When Australia does well in international sports it makes me proud to be Australian	1	2	3	4	5
The world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like Australians.....	1	2	3	4	5
Generally speaking, Australia is a much better country than most other countries..	1	2	3	4	5

G. 12. And finally, a quick quiz on Australian government. For each of the following statements, please say whether it is true or false. If you don't know the answer, just circle '3' and try the next one.

	True	False	Don't know	
1. John Howard is the leader of the Liberal party	1	2	3	
2. There are 75 members of the House of Representatives	1	2	3	
3. Australia became a federation in 1901	1	2	3	
4. The Constitution can only be changed by the High Court	1	2	3	
5. Senators may not be members of the Cabinet	1	2	3	
6. No-one may stand for Federal parliament unless they pay a deposit	1	2	3	
7. The longest time allowed between Federal elections for the House of Representatives is four years	1	2	3	
8. Parliament must be consulted before Australia signs a treaty	1	2	3	
9. The Senate election is based on proportional representation	1	2	3	[480]

Section H: Education and Work

H.1. How old were you when you left secondary school?
 Age _____ [506-7]

H.2. 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 [GOTO H.4]

Qualified-circle one code for highest qualification only

- Postgraduate Degree or Diploma.....2
- Bachelor Degree3
- Undergraduate Diploma.....4
- Associate Diploma.....5
- Trade qualification.....6
- Non-trade qualification.....7

H.3. 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 _____ [509]

H.4. Now some questions about the work you are doing now. Last week, what were you doing?

- Working full-time for pay1
- Working part-time for pay2
- 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 student6
- Keeping house7
- Other (please specify)_____8

H.5. 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 J.**

a. Job title _____

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

Main tasks _____

_____ [511-4]

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

H.6. Do you belong to a trade union?

- Yes..... 1
- No

H.7. In your job, which of the following statements on trade union membership applies?

- I can freely choose whether or not I belong to a union 1
- I have to belong to a union to stay in my job..... 2
- My employer would not like me to join a union.. 3
- There is no union around for me to join 4

H.8. How are your wages and conditions of employment set? And if you were free to choose, how would you prefer your wages and conditions of employment to be set?

	How set now	Preferred
An award..	1	1 [520-1]
An enterprise agreement between a union and your employer.....	2	2
An enterprise agreement between a group of employees and your employer	3	3
An individual employment contract between you and your employer.....	4	4

Section J: 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.**

J.1. Firstly, what is your sex?

- Male 1
 Female 2

J.2. When were you born? Just the year will do Year 19_____ [523-4]

J.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
Malta.....	8	8	8
Netherlands.....	9	9	9
Poland.....	10	10	10
Yugoslavia.....	11	11	11
Vietnam.....	12	12	12
Other (Please specify below).....	13	13	13

Yourself _____ [525-6]

Mother _____ [527-8]

Father _____ [529-30]

J.4. 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	[531-2]
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	

- J.5. What is your religion or faith?
- Roman Catholic 1
 - Anglican/Church of England..2
 - Uniting Church/Methodist3
 - Orthodox Church.....4
 - Presbyterian5
 - Other (please specify) _____ 6
 - No religion.....9
- J.6. Apart from weddings, funerals and baptisms, about how often do you attend religious services?
- At least once a week.. 1
 - At least once a month2
 - Several times a year..3
 - At least once a year4
 - Less than once a year5
 - Never..6
- J.7. Which social class would you say you belong to?
- Upper class.....1
 - Middle class..2
 - Working class..3
 - None4
- J.8. What is your current marital status?
- Never married..... 1
 - Now married (including de facto relationships)2
 - Widowed3
 - Divorced or separated4
- J.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 landlord3
 - Rent from public housing authority.....4
 - Other (boarding, living at home, etc).....5
- J.10. **If paying off mortgage only:** How are you (and your household) coping with your mortgage payments these days?
- Having great difficulty 1
 - Having some difficulty..2
 - Having little or no difficulty..3

- J.11.** Would you say you now live in
- A rural area or village1
 - 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
- J.12.** 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 \$3000 per year1
 - \$3001 to \$5000 per year2
 - \$5001 to \$8000 per year3
 - \$8001 to \$12000 per year4
 - \$12001 to \$16000 per year5
 - \$16001 to \$20000 per year6
 - \$20001 to \$25000 per year7
 - \$25001 to \$30000 per year.....8
 - \$30001 to \$35000 per year.....9
 - \$35001 to \$40000 per year10
 - \$40001 to \$50000 per year11
 - \$50001 to \$60000 per year12
 - \$60001 to \$70000 per year.....13
 - More than \$70000 per year14

[540-1]

For those who are NOT now married or living in a defacto 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

- J.13.** 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

J.14. 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 _____

[543-6]

J.15. Whom does (or did) your partner work for?

Self-employed1

Employee in private company or business.....2

Employee of Federal/State/Local Government3

Employee in family business or farm4

J.16. 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

J.17. Does your partner belong to a trade union?

Yes1

No2

J.18. Generally speaking, does your partner usually think of himself or herself as Liberal, Labor, National or what?

Liberal1

Labor2

National (Country) Party.....3

Australian Democrats4

Greens.....5

Other party (please specify) _____ 6

No party.....7[550]

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.