

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.

**Please return the completed questionnaire in the post-paid envelope provided to:**

Australian Election Study  
 Research School of Social Sciences  
 Australian National University  
 Locked Bag 8650  
 Canberra ACT 2601

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

Professor Ian McAllister, Australian National University  
 Dr David Gow, University of Queensland  
 Dr Clive Bean, Queensland University of Technology

**Section A: The Election Campaign**

First, some questions about the Federal election campaign, the period between when the election was announced on 30 August and election day on Saturday 3 October.

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

- A good deal ..... 1 [106]
- 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     | [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 deal ..... 1
- Some ..... 2
- Not much..... 3
- None at all..... 4

A.5. Did you watch the televised debate between John Howard and Kim Beazley on Sunday 13 September?

- Yes..... 1
- No ..... 2

A.6. From what you saw or what you heard or read about it, who do you think performed better in the debate—Howard or Beazley?

- Howard did much better ..... 1
- Howard did somewhat better..... 2
- About equal..... 3
- Beazley did somewhat better ..... 4
- Beazley 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 rallies..... 3
- Contribute money to a political party  
or election candidate ..... 4
- Do any work for a political party or  
election candidate..... 5 [117]

A.8. 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.9. 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

A.10. During the election campaign, how often did you follow the election campaign news on the various television channels—most nights, three or four times a week, once or twice a week, almost never or never? (**Answer for each channel and each timeslot in turn.**)

	Most nights	3-4 times a week	1-2 times a week	Almost never	Never	
<b>Channel 7:</b>						
Early evening (local news).....	1	2	3	4	5	[120]
Late evening (national news).....	1	2	3	4	5	
<b>Channel 9:</b>						
Early evening (local news).....	1	2	3	4	5	
Late evening (national news).....	1	2	3	4	5	
<b>Channel 10:</b>						
Early evening (local news).....	1	2	3	4	5	
Late evening (national news).....	1	2	3	4	5	
<b>ABC:</b>						
Early evening (local news).....	1	2	3	4	5	
Late evening (national news recap).....	1	2	3	4	5	
<b>SBS:</b>						
Early evening (world/national news).....	1	2	3	4	5	
Late evening (world/national news).....	1	2	3	4	5	
<b>Regional network TV:</b>						
Early evening.....	1	2	3	4	5	
Late evening.....	1	2	3	4	5	[131]

A.11. Did anyone from the following political parties call you by telephone, personally visit you, send a personalised letter, or give or send you a party pamphlet during the election campaign? **(Circle as many as apply.)**

	Telephoned	Personally visited	Sent letter	Gave or sent pamphlet	
Liberal Party.....	1	2	3	4	[132-5]
Labor Party.....	1	2	3	4	
National Party.....	1	2	3	4	
One Nation.....	1	2	3	4	
Australian Democrats.....	1	2	3	4	
Greens.....	1	2	3	4	
Other party..... (please specify) _____	1	2	3	4	[156-9]

A.12. Did you make use of the internet at all to get news or information about the 1998 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

**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, before election day was announced ..... 2
  - About the time the election was announced, on 30 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 parties ..... 2
  - Not much difference between the parties ..... 3
  - No difference between the parties..... 4
- 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 job..... 2
  - Neither a good nor bad job..... 3
  - Doing a bad job..... 4
  - Doing a very bad job ..... 5
- B.9. 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 [169]
  - Fairly satisfied ..... 2
  - Not very satisfied ..... 3
  - Not at all satisfied..... 4

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	[206-7]
<b>Left</b>											<b>Right</b>

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

	<b>Left</b>											<b>Right</b>
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Liberal Party												[208-9]
Labor Party (ALP)												
National Party												
Australian Democrats												
One Nation												
Greens												[218-9]

B.11. In the Federal election for the House of Representatives on Saturday 3 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	[220-1]
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?

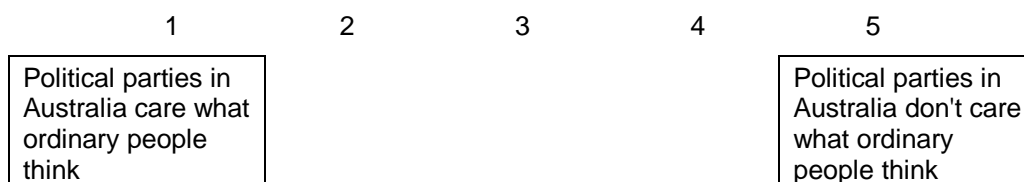
	House of Representatives	Senate	
Liberal-National Coalition .....	1	1	[222-3]
Labor Party (ALP) .....	2	2	
Not sure/Don't know.....	3	3	

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?

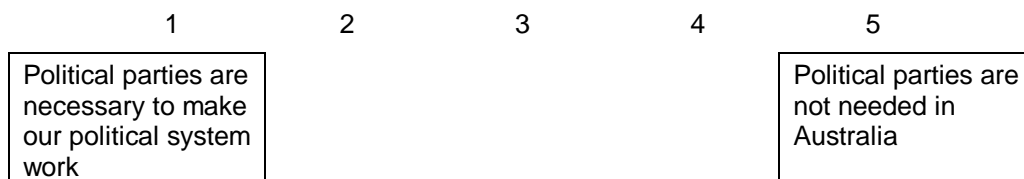
Followed a 'How to Vote' card.....	1
Decided my own preferences.....	2

- 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 March 1996, when Labor was led by Paul Keating 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
- Another party/independent..... 6
- Did not vote ..... 9
- B.17. 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 [228]
- Sometimes voted Liberal..... 2
- 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 election ..... 7 [234]
- B.18. Which party did you vote for in the last **state** 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.19. 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?



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?



B.20. 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				
<b>How do you feel about:</b>	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Liberal Party	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	[238-9]
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	[248-9]

**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				
<b>How do you feel about:</b>	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Kim Beazley	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	[250-1]
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	
Meg Lees	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Pauline Hanson	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Gareth Evans	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Peter Costello	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Cheryl Kernot	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	[264-5]

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	
Moral.....	1	2	3	4	[306]
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	

C.3. Now thinking about **Kim Beazley**, 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	[316]
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	

C.4. Now thinking about **Pauline Hanson**, in your opinion how well does each of these describe her—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	[326]
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	

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. 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. **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	[339]
2. Immigration.....	1	2	3	
3. Education.....	1	2	3	
4. The environment.....	1	2	3	
5. Goods and services tax (GST)....	1	2	3	
6. Industrial relations.....	1	2	3	
7. Health and Medicare.....	1	2	3	
8. Links with Asia.....	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. The sale of Telstra.....	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	[352]
2. Immigration.....	1	2	3	4	
3. Education.....	1	2	3	4	
4. The environment.....	1	2	3	4	
5. Goods and services tax (GST)....	1	2	3	4	
6. Industrial relations.....	1	2	3	4	
7. Health and Medicare.....	1	2	3	4	
8. Links with Asia.....	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. The sale of Telstra.....	1	2	3	4	

D.3. Still thinking about the same 13 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  [365-6/7-8]

D.4. 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	[369-70]
A little better .....	2	2	
About the same.....	3	3	
A little worse .....	4	4	
A lot worse .....	5	5	

D.5. 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	[371-2]
Not much difference .....	2	2	
A bad effect.....	3	3	

D.6. 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	[406-7]
A little better .....	2	2	
About the same .....	3	3	
A little worse.....	4	4	
A lot worse .....	5	5	

D.7. 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	[408-9]
Not much difference .....	2	2	
A bad effect.....	3	3	

D.8. 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.9. 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 easy.....	2
Somewhat hard.....	3
Very hard .....	4

D.10. 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 behind.....	2
Best years probably yet to come .....	3
Best years definitely yet to come.....	4

D.11. Thinking back to the Federal election in 1996, when John Howard won against Paul Keating, 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	[413]
Prices.....	1	2	3	4	5	
Taxes.....	1	2	3	4	5	
The standard of health services....	1	2	3	4	5	
Crime.....	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 <b>own</b> standard of living.....	1	2	3	4	5	
The <b>general</b> standard of living.....	1	2	3	4	5	
The standard of politicians' behaviour.....	1	2	3	4	5	

D.12. 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 interests ..... 2
- About half and half ..... 3
- Most run for the benefit of all..... 4
- Entirely run for the benefit of all..... 5

D.13. 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 with a more socialist economy.....	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
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

D.14. There are several ways people or organisations can protest against government action they strongly oppose. Please tell me whether you think these actions should be allowed or should not be allowed.

	Definitely should be allowed	Probably allowed	Probably not allowed	Definitely should not be allowed
Organising public meetings to protest against the government.....	1	2	3	4
Publishing pamphlets to protest against the government.....	1	2	3	4
Protest marches and demonstrations.....	1	2	3	4
Occupying a government office and stopping work there for several days.....	1	2	3	4

<b>Section E: Social Policy</b>
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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 [436]
- 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
Government controls on firearms...	1	2	3	4	5

E.3. Suppose a person has a painful, incurable disease. Do you think that doctors should, or should not, be allowed by law to end the patient's life, if the patient requests it?

- Should..... 1
- It depends ..... 2
- Should not..... 3

E.4. And if a person is not incurably sick, but simply tired of living, do you think that doctors should, or should not, be allowed by law to end the patient's life, if the patient requests it?

- Should ..... 1
- It depends ..... 2
- Should not..... 3

E.5. 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.6. 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	[448]
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	
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.7. In a fair economic system ...

- People with more ability should earn higher salaries ..... 1
- All people should earn about the same ..... 2
- Neither, undecided ..... 3

E.8. Competition, whether in school, work or business ...

- Leads to better performance and desire for excellence ..... 1
- Is often wasteful and destructive ..... 2
- Neither, undecided ..... 3

E.9. Getting ahead in the world is mostly a matter of ...

- Ability and hard work..... 1
- Getting the breaks..... 2
- Neither, undecided..... 3

- E.10. People who have made a lot of money ...  
 Are proof of what you get if you are willing to work and  
 take advantage of the opportunities all of us have ..... 1  
 Usually have done so at the expense of other people ..... 2  
 Neither, undecided ..... 3
- E.11. The profit system ...  
 Usually teaches people the value of hard work  
 and personal achievement..... 1  
 Often brings out the worst in human nature..... 2  
 Neither, undecided ..... 3
- E.12. Do you think there should, or should not, be laws protecting people from sexual  
 discrimination?  
 Should..... 1  
 Should not..... 2
- E.13. Should companies in industries such as iron and steel be allowed to employ only  
 men for certain jobs, or should all jobs be open to qualified men and women  
 equally?  
 Only men for certain jobs ..... 1  
 All jobs open to men and women equally ..... 2
- E.14. 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	[460]
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	
Stronger measures should be taken to protect the environment against pollution.....	1	2	3	4	5	

- E.15. 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	[465]
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.16. 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.....  [468-9]

E.17. The next few questions are about things some people consider **important** in life. We would like to know how important they are to you. How important is it ...?

	Very important	Somewhat important	Not important
To strengthen respect and obedience for authority.....	1	2	3
To have equal employment opportunity in hiring and promotion.....	1	2	3
To make a special effort to protect ethnic and racial minorities.....	1	2	3
To guarantee equality between men and women in all aspects of life?.....	1	2	3
How important is preserving traditional ideas of right and wrong.....	1	2	3

E.18. Ideally, Australian society should be ...

- A unified body pursuing a common goal..... 1
- A collection of people independently pursuing their own goals ..... 2
- Neither, undecided ..... 3

E.19. Government by its nature ...

- Is the best instrument for promoting the general interests of society ..... 1
- Threatens the rights of people and must not be trusted..... 2
- Neither, undecided ..... 3

E.20. In our society today, too much emphasis is placed on ...

- Freedom ..... 1
- Conformity ..... 2
- Neither, undecided ..... 3

E.21. Our laws should aim to ...

- Enforce the community's standards of right and wrong ..... 1 [478]
- Protect a citizen's right to live by any moral standards he or she chooses ..... 2
- Neither, undecided ..... 3

- E.22. In society today, too little emphasis is placed on ...
- Respect for established institutions ..... 1 [479]
  - The rights of the individual ..... 2
  - Neither, undecided ..... 3

**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 [506]
  - 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?

<b>Countries</b>	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 [518]
  - 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 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
Australia should limit the import of foreign products in order to protect its national economy.....	1	2	3	4	5
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

F.6. Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?

- Increased a lot ..... 1
- Increased a little..... 2
- Remain about the same as it is ..... 3
- Reduced a little ..... 4
- Reduced a lot..... 5

F.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

[531]

**Section G: The Constitution, Rights and Minorities**

- G.1. 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.2. 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.3. 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 [537]
  - Favour election by voters ..... 2
  - Favour election by Parliament ..... 3
  - Strongly favour election by Parliament ..... 4
- G.4. On the issue of the Australian flag, do you ...
- ...strongly favour changing the flag..... 1
  - ...favour changing the flag ..... 2
  - ...favour retaining the flag ..... 3
  - ...strongly favour retaining the flag..... 4
- G.5. Now, thinking about how you would actually vote in a referendum, if a referendum were held today on whether Australia should become a republic, how would you vote?
- Definitely vote for a republic ..... 1
  - Probably vote for a republic..... 2
  - Undecided one way or the other..... 3
  - Probably vote against becoming a republic ..... 4
  - Definitely vote against becoming a republic..... 5
- G.6. **If undecided one way or the other:** At the moment would you be more inclined to vote for a republic or more inclined to vote against a republic?
- More inclined to vote for a republic..... 1
  - More inclined to vote against a republic..... 2
  - I really can't say ..... 3

G.7. How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
When it comes to things that count most, all races are certainly equal...	1	2	3	4	5
Just as it is true of a fine horse, some breeds of people are better than others.....	1	2	3	4	5
We have to teach children that all people are created equal but almost everyone knows that some are better than others.....	1	2	3	4	5
Respect for authority is one of the most important things that children should learn.....	1	2	3	4	5

G.8. Now some questions about racial prejudice in Australia. First, thinking of the **Asian** migrants who now live in Australia. Do you think there is a **lot** of prejudice against them in Australia today, a **little** prejudice, or **hardly any** prejudice against them?

- A lot of prejudice ..... 1
- A little prejudice..... 2
- Hardly any prejudice ..... 3

G.9. And Australia's **Aboriginal** people—do you think there is a **lot** of prejudice against them in Australia today, a **little** prejudice, or **hardly any** prejudice against them?

- A lot of prejudice ..... 1
- A little prejudice..... 2
- Hardly any prejudice ..... 3

G.10. Do you think there is generally **more** racial prejudice in Australia now than there was 5 years ago, **less** than there was 5 years ago, or **about the same**?

- More..... 1
- Less ..... 2
- About the same..... 3

G.11. How would you describe yourself—not prejudiced against other races **at all**, a **little** prejudiced, or **quite** prejudiced?

- Not prejudiced against other races at all ..... 1
- A little prejudiced..... 2
- Quite prejudiced..... 3

G.12. Do you think most people in Australia would mind a **lot**, a **little**, or **not at all** if a suitably qualified person of Asian background was appointed as their boss? And how about someone of Aboriginal background?

	Asian boss	Aboriginal boss	
Mind a lot .....	1	1	[549-50]
Mind a little.....	2	2	
Not mind at all.....	3	3	

G.13. Do you think most people in Australia would mind a **lot**, a **little**, or **not at all** if one of their close relatives were to marry a person of Asian background?  
And how about someone of Aboriginal background?

	Marry an Asian	Marry an Aborigine	
Mind a lot .....	1	1	[551-2]
Mind a little.....	2	2	
Not mind at all .....	3	3	

G.14. How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
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
There is something wrong with a woman who doesn't want to have children.....	1	2	3	4	5
It is having to compete with others that keeps a person on their toes....	1	2	3	4	5
While it is good to celebrate one's heritage, 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
People who come to live in Australia should try harder to be more like other Australians.....	1	2	3	4	5
As the first Australians, Aborigines should have special cultural protection that other groups don't have.....	1	2	3	4	5
It is important for the well-being of Australian society that the aspirations of Aborigines be recognised.....	1	2	3	4	5
The constitution should specifically recognise the right of Aborigines to self-government.....	1	2	3	4	5

G.15. Do you approve or disapprove of allowing homosexuals to teach in schools?

Strongly approve .....	1
Approve .....	2
Disapprove.....	3
Strongly disapprove .....	4

G.16. And do you approve or disapprove of homosexuals holding responsible positions in public life?

Strongly approve .....	1
Approve .....	2
Disapprove.....	3
Strongly disapprove .....	4

G.17. How important are the following characteristics in describing how you see yourself?

	Very important	Fairly important	Not very important	Not at all important	
Your job or occupation.....	1	2	3	4	
Your town or district.....	1	2	3	4	
Your social class.....	1	2	3	4	
Being Australian.....	1	2	3	4	
Your political party.....	1	2	3	4	
Your state.....	1	2	3	4	
Your ethnic or racial background.....	1	2	3	4	
Your religion.....	1	2	3	4	
Your gender—being a man or a woman.....	1	2	3	4	
Your sports team.....	1	2	3	4	
Your ideas being seen as equal to others.....	1	2	3	4	
Your freedom—being able to do what you want.....	1	2	3	4	
Your feeling good—having a sense of happiness and self-esteem.....	1	2	3	4	
Your looking good—appearing stylish or fashionable.....	1	2	3	4	[577]

<b>Section H: Education and Work</b>
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H.1. How old were you when you left secondary school?

- Age \_\_\_\_\_ [606-7]
- 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\_\_\_\_\_ [608]

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 Diploma ..... 2
- Bachelor Degree (including Honours)..... 3
- Undergraduate Diploma ..... 4
- Associate Diploma..... 5
- Trade qualification ..... 6
- Non-trade qualification..... 7

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 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

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 I.**

a. Job title \_\_\_\_\_

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

Main tasks \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ [611-4]

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..... 2

H.6. 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\_\_\_\_\_ [620-1]

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

Yourself \_\_\_\_\_ [622-3]

Mother \_\_\_\_\_ [624-5]

Father \_\_\_\_\_ [626-7]

I.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	[628-9]
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.5. 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.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 month .....2
  - Several times a year.....3
  - At least once a year .....4
  - Less than once a year .....5
  - Never .....6
- I.7. What is your current marital status?
- Never married ..... 1 [632]
  - Now married (including de facto relationships) .....2
  - Widowed .....3
  - Divorced or separated .....4
- I.8. 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.9. Do you, or anyone in your household, own a personal computer?
- Yes..... 1
  - No .....2
- I.10. Do you, or anyone in your household, own a motor cycle?
- Yes..... 1
  - No .....2
- I.11. Do you, or anyone in your household, own a firearm?
- Yes..... 1
  - No .....2

I.12. Which social class would you say you belong to?

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

I.13. 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.14. 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  |

[639-40]

**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.15. 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.16. 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 \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ [642-5]

I.17. Whom does (or did) your partner 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

I.18. 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
- No ..... 2

I.19. Does your partner belong to a trade union?

- Yes ..... 1
- No ..... 2

I.20. Generally speaking, does your partner usually think of himself or herself 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

[649]

**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.**