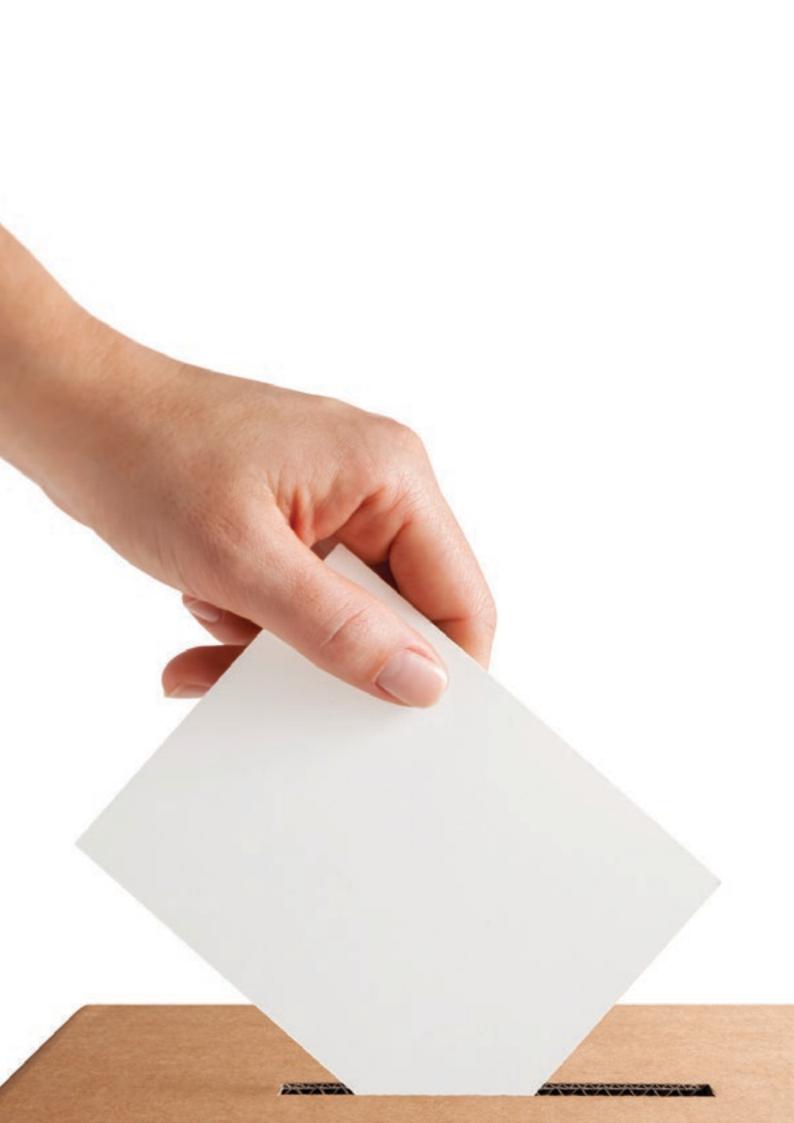




### TRENDS IN AUSTRALIAN POLITICAL OPINION:

# Results from the Australian Election Study, 1987-2013

School of
Politics & International
Relations
ANU College of
Arts & Social
Sciences



#### **Trends in Australian Political Opinion:**

Results from the Australian Election Study, 1987-2013

lan McAllister Sarah M. Cameron

School of Politics and International Relations ANU College of Arts and Social Sciences

aes.anu.edu.au

#### CONTACTS

#### Ian McAllister

School of Politics and International Relations
The Australian National University
E ian.mcallister@anu.edu.au

#### Sarah Cameron

School of Politics and International Relations The Australian National University E sarah.cameron@anu.edu.au

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### INTRODUCTION

Political opinion polls are an inescapable part of everyday life. Government or opposition policies rarely see the light of day without some poll evidence to gauge the public's response to them. Party leaders are constantly evaluated against their poll ratings, not least by their colleagues, and consistently low ratings can often spell a leader's demise. And not least, Prime Ministers call elections when they consider the polls to be most favourable to them.

Interpreting political opinion polls is sometimes difficult. On particular issues or with regard to particular personalities, opinions may change significantly in a short period of time as a result of an event or a changed circumstance. Small changes in question wordings or in sample design may cause what appear to be significant changes in public opinion when such changes are, in fact, an artefact of the survey's methodology. The most reliable way in which to monitor trends in public opinion is to examine responses over an extended period of time, using questions asked in the same way and included in surveys that use the same methodology.

This monograph presents trends in Australian public opinion on politics over an extended period of time. In most cases, our trends run from 1987 until 2013; in some cases, the same questions have been asked in surveys conducted in 1967, 1969 and 1979, allowing us to extend the time series back another two decades. The 1987 to 2013 trends are based on the Australian Election Study (AES) surveys, comprehensive post-election surveys of political opinion that have asked the same questions and used the same methodology. The 1967, 1969 and 1979 surveys are also comprehensive academic surveys of political opinion; all three surveys were conducted by Don Aitkin, who pioneered the use of the mass public opinion survey in the academic study of politics in Australia.

The AES provides the most sophisticated and exhaustive set of data ever collected in Australia on the dynamics of political behaviour. Each of the AES surveys contains questions relating to the role of media and media exposure; general political interest and knowledge; perceptions of the election campaign;

party identification and prior voting history; parents' and partner partisanship; vote in the election and the explanations given for it; party images; perceptions of the major party leaders and the content of their public images; election issues; social policy issues; and a range of socio-demographic measures including education, occupation, religious behaviour, family circumstances, and income.

In this monograph, we draw on the main recurring themes of the AES to trace long-term changes in the political opinion of the electorate. The exact question wordings and response categories, and the complete sets of responses to the questions appear in Appendix A. Appendix B provides a detailed overview of the methodology used in each survey.

For those who want to conduct their own analyses or want more information, the datafiles and full documentation are available through the Australian Data Archive, at www.ada.edu.au

More details about the AES can be found at **aes.anu.edu.au** 

The AES is also a founding member of the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems project, details of which can be found at

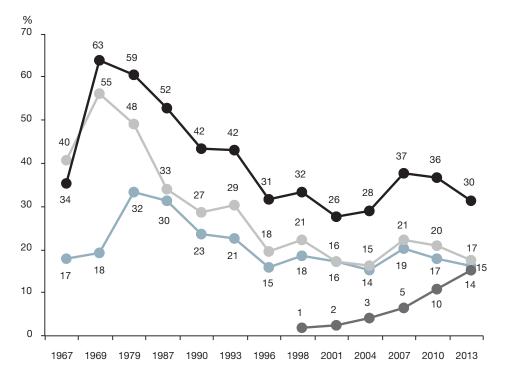
www.cses.org

A PDF of this monograph is available at **aes.anu.edu.au/publications** 

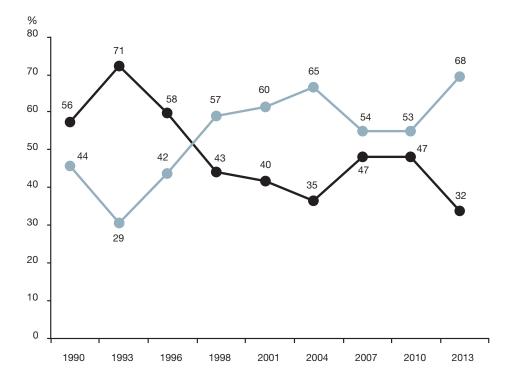
Ian McAllister
Sarah M. Cameron

Canberra, February 2014

# THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN



**Notes** 1998-2004: Estimates for internet is 'many times.' 2007-2013: Response categories for all media are 'a good deal'.



### Followed the election in the mass media

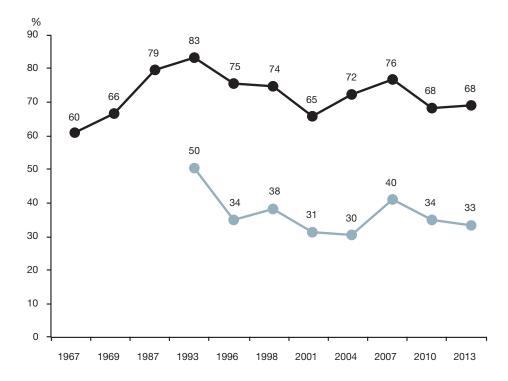
- Television
- Radio
- Newspaper
- Internet

### Watched the leaders' debates

- Watched debate
- Did not watch debate

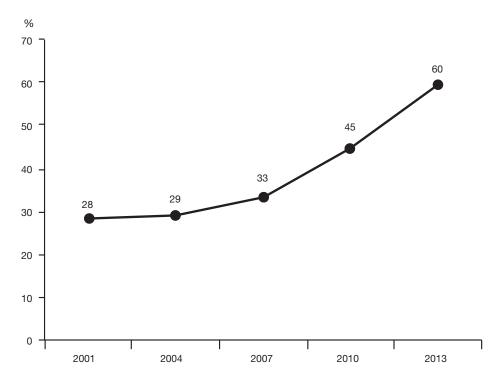
### Interest in the election

- Care a good deal who wins election
- A good deal of interest in election

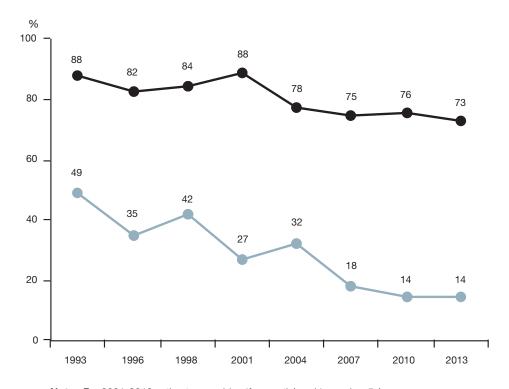


### Contacted by candidate or political party

 Contacted by a party during the campaign



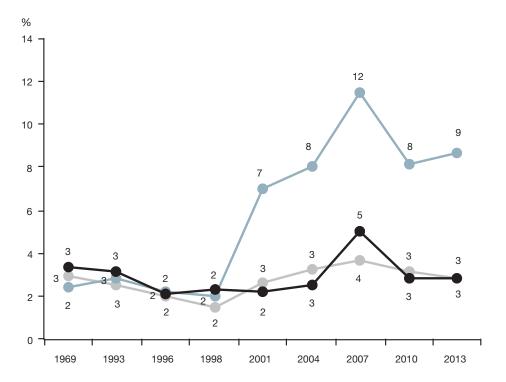
**Notes** For contacted by a party during the campaign, the response categories are (2001-2007) 'Yes', (2010) 'Yes, by telephone', 'Yes, by mail', 'Yes, by face-to-face', and 'Yes, by email or through the web', (2013) 'Yes, by telephone (your landline or mobile)', 'Yes, by mail (e.g. a leaflet posted to your home)', 'Yes, by face-to-face (e.g. in the street or at your house)', 'Yes, by text message or SMS', 'Yes, by email' and 'Yes, by social network site or other web-based method'.



#### Notes For 2001-2013 estimates combine 'frequently' and 'occasionally'.

### Discussing the election campaign with others

- Discuss politics
- Persuade others how to vote



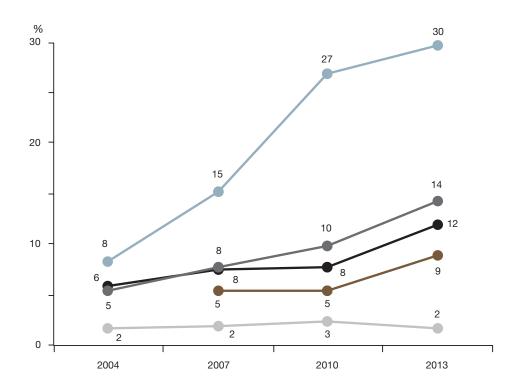
# **Notes** For attend meeting, the response categories are (1969) 'yes'; (1993-2013) 'go to any political meetings or rallies'. For work for a party or candidate, the response categories are (1969) 'yes'; (1993-1998) 'do any work for a political party or election candidate'; (2001-2013) 'show your support for a particular party or candidate by, for example, attending a meeting, putting up a poster, or in some other way'. For contribute money to a political party or election candidate, the response categories are, (1969) 'yes'; (1993-2007, 2013) 'contribute money to a political party or election candidate'; (2010) combined responses to 'contribute money to a political party or election candidate by mail or phone' and 'contribute money to a political party or election candidate using the internet'. For 2001-2013 all estimates combine 'frequently' and 'occasionally'.

### Involvement in the election campaign

- Attend meeting
- Work for party or candidate
- Contribute money to a political party or election candidate

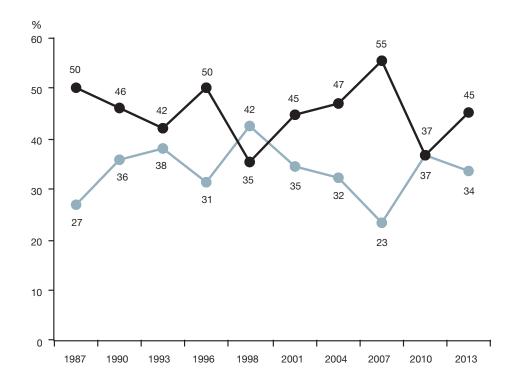
# Websites accessed during the election campaign

- Party or candidate campaign sites
- Mainstream news media
- Federal Parliament
- Australian Electoral Commission
- Unofficial online videos

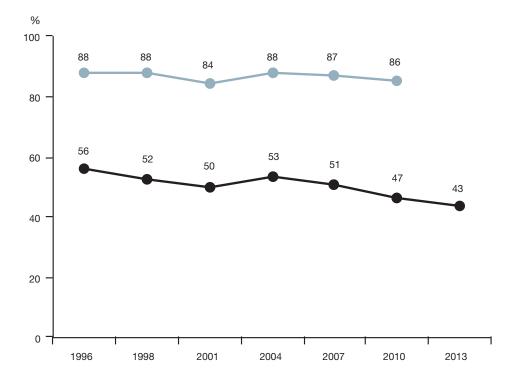


**Notes** For party or candidate campaign sites estimates, (2004-2007) combine 'party site', 'your own MP's site', 'individual candidate site in your electorate' and 'other candidate/MPs sites outside your electorate', for (2010-2013) the response category is 'party or candidate campaign sites'. For unofficial online videos, the response categories are (2007) 'YouTube; (2010-2013) 'unofficial online videos'.

### VOTING AND PARTISANSHIP



**Notes** For 1990-2013 during the election campaign combines 'in the first few weeks of the campaign', 'a few days before election day' and 'on election day'.



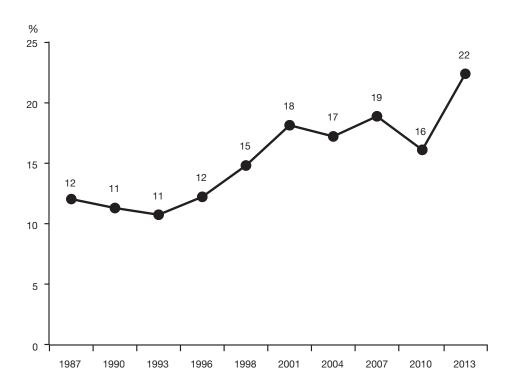
### Timing of the voting decision

- A long time ago
- During the election campaign

# The use of voter prompts on polling day

- Followed 'How to vote' card for House of Representatives
- Voted above the line for Senate

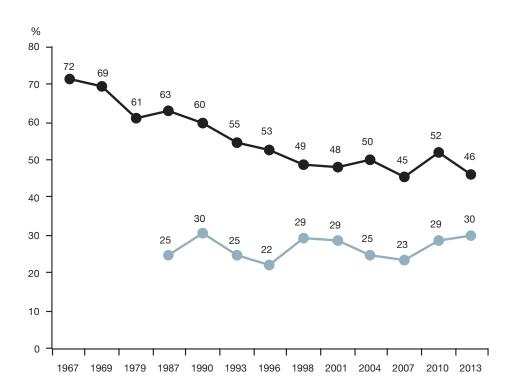
#### **Split ticket voting**

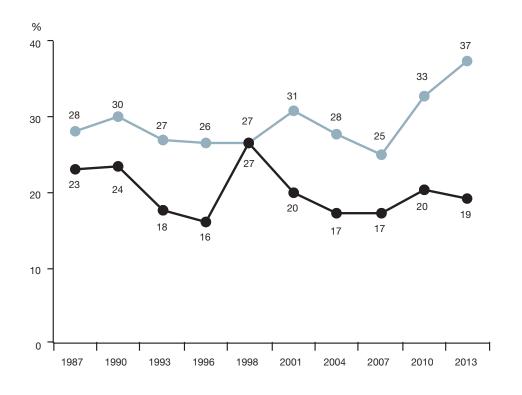


**Notes** Estimates are based on voters preferring a different party in the House of Representatives and the Senate. The Liberal and National parties are treated as a single group.

### The extent of voting volatility

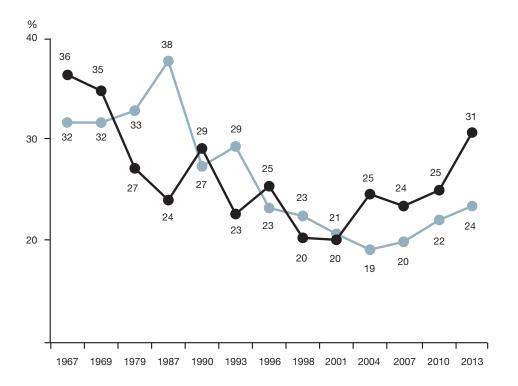
- Always voted for the same party
- Considered voting for another party





# Considered changing vote during campaign

- Liberal-National voters
- Labor voters

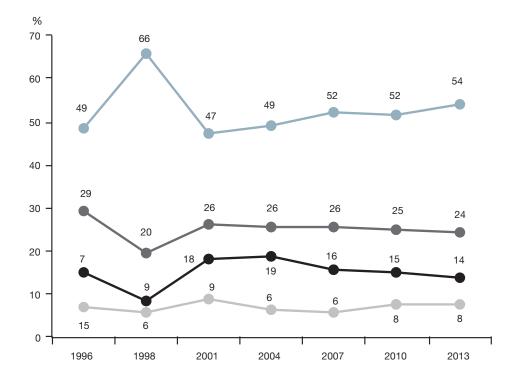


#### Lifetime voting

- Stable Liberal-National
- Stable Labor

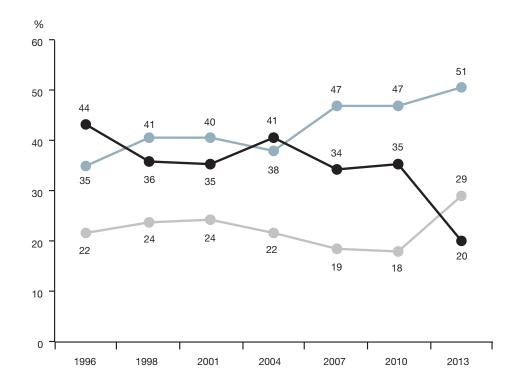
### Considerations in the voting decision

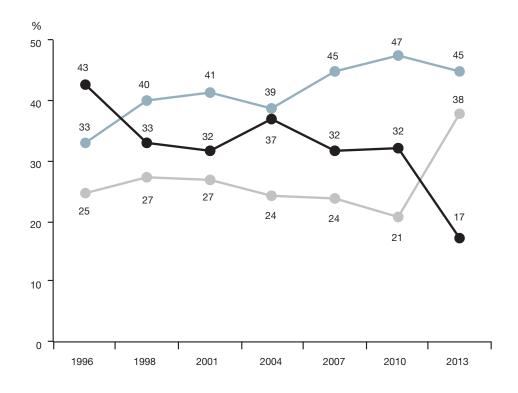
- Party leaders
- Policy issues
- Candidates in your electorate
- Parties taken as a whole



# Destination of minor party votes in the House of Representatives

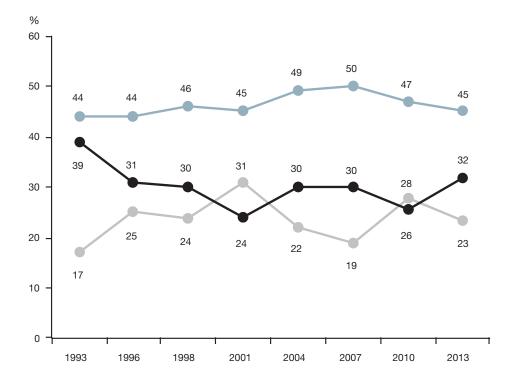
- Liberal-National
- Labor
- Not sure / don't know





### Destination of minor party votes in the Senate

- Liberal-National
- Labor
- Not sure / don't know

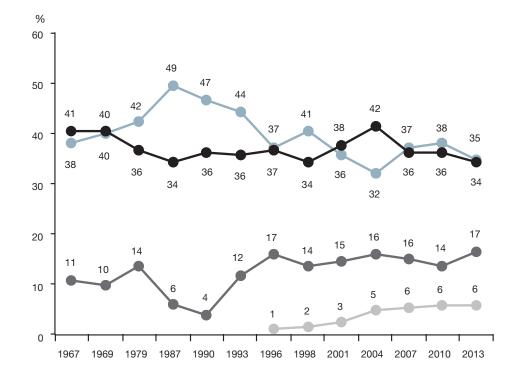


### Difference between the parties

- Good deal of difference
- Some difference
- Not much / no difference

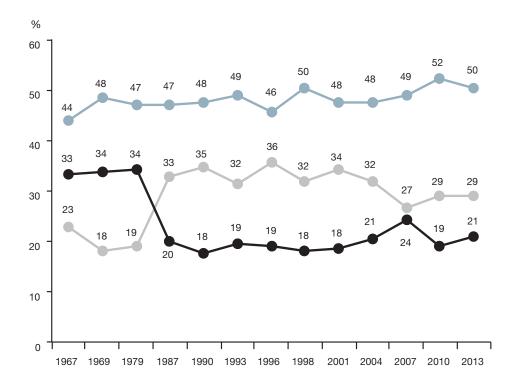
### Direction of political partisanship

- Liberal
- Labor
- Greens
- None

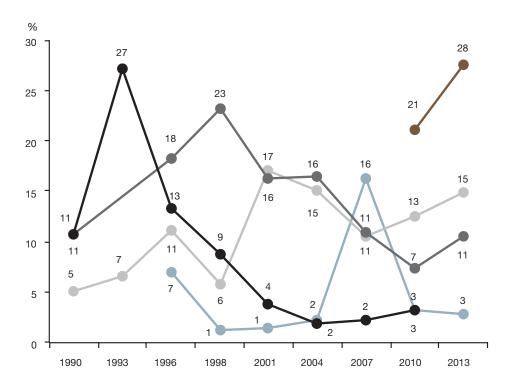


### Strength of political partisanship

- Very strong
- Fairly strong
- Not very strong



### ELECTION ISSUES



Notes 'Taxation' was not included in 1993.

#### 30 % 30 26 23 20 11 10 10 8 6 5 0 1990 2001 2004 2010 2013

**Notes** In 1996-2013 estimates for health are for 'Health and Medicare'. 'Refugees and asylum seekers' was not included in 2007.

### Most important economic election issues

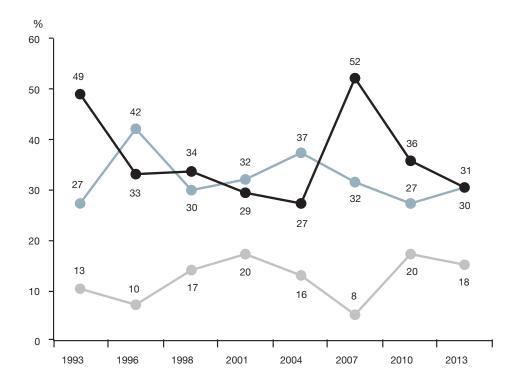
- Unemployment
- Industrial relations
- Education
- Taxation
- Management of the economy

# Most important non-economic election issues

- Health
- Environment
- Global warming
- Refugees and asylum seekers

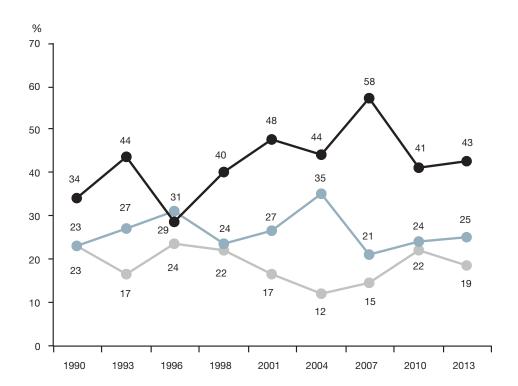
# Preferred party policy on industrial relations

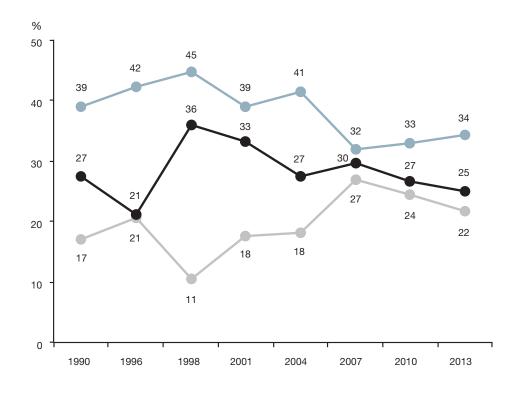
- ALP
- Coalition
- No difference



### Preferred party policy on education

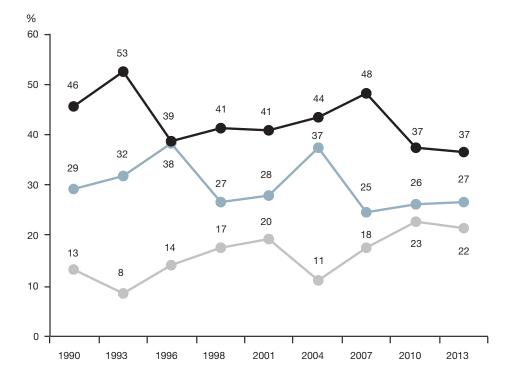
- ALP
- Coalition
- No difference





### Preferred party policy on taxation

- ALP
- Coalition
- No difference

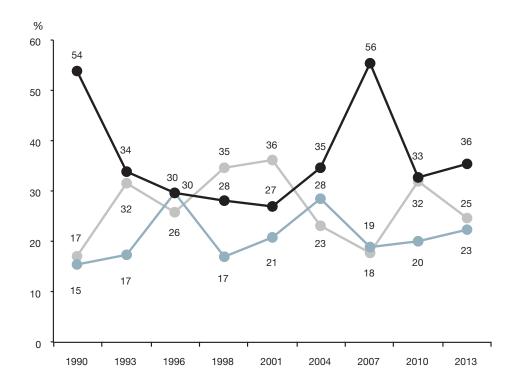


### Preferred party policy on health

- ALP
- Coalition
- No difference

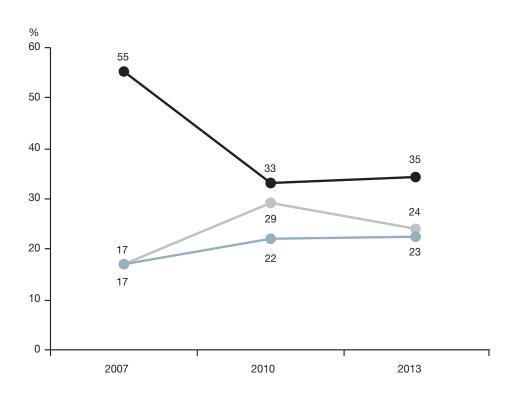
# Preferred party policy on the environment

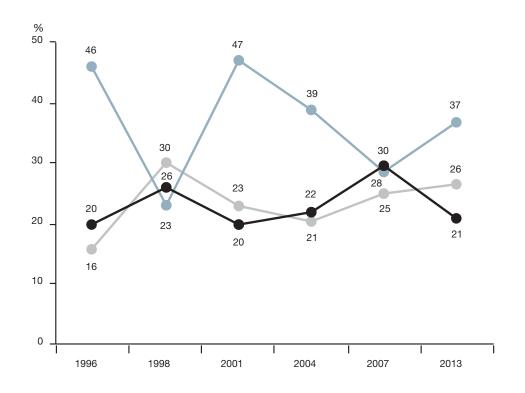
- ALP
- Coalition
- No difference



# Preferred party policy on global warming

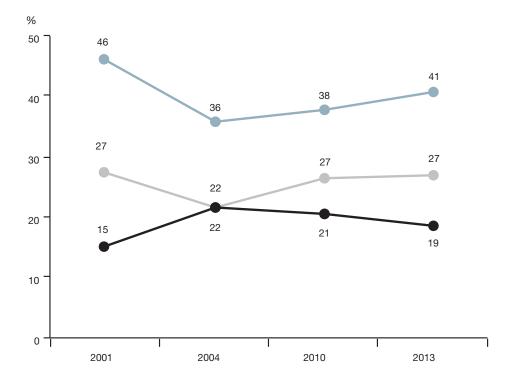
- ALP
- Coalition
- No difference





# Preferred party policy on immigration

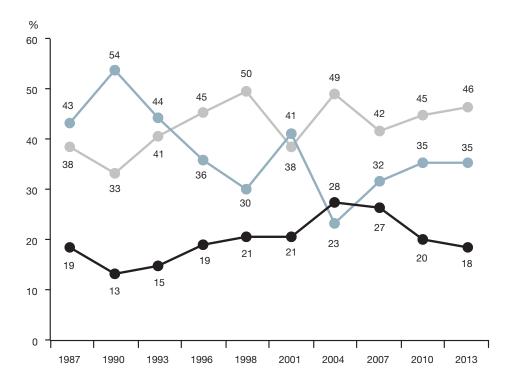
- ALP
- Coalition
- No difference



# Preferred party policy on refugees and asylum seekers

- ALP
- Coalition
- No difference

### THE ECONOMY



**Notes** For become better, estimates combine 'a lot better' and 'a little better'. For become worse, estimates combine 'a little worse' and 'a lot worse'.

#### %

**Notes** For become better, estimates combine 'a lot better' and 'a little better'. For become worse, estimates combine 'a little worse' and 'a lot worse'.

# Financial situation of household over past year

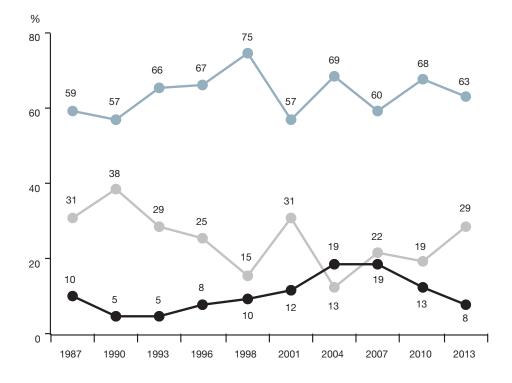
- Become better
- Become worse
- About the same

# Financial situation of country over past year

- Become better
- Become worse
- About the same

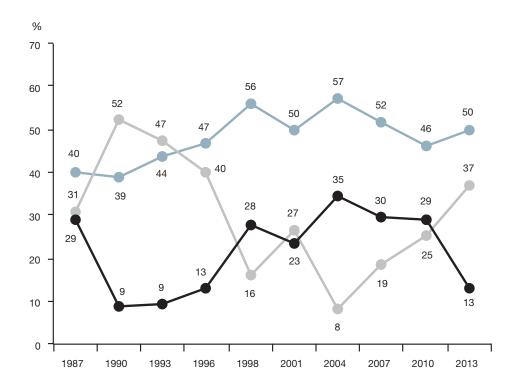
# Government effect on household finances over past year

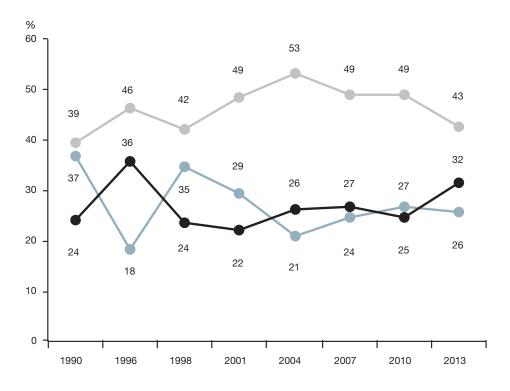
- Good effect
- Not much difference
- Bad effect



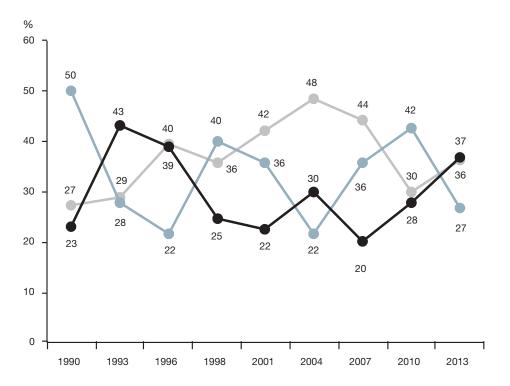
# Government effect on country's finances over past year

- Good effect
- Not much difference
- Bad effect





**Notes** For will be better, estimates combine 'a lot better' and 'a little better'. For will be worse, estimates combine 'a little worse' and 'a lot worse'.



**Notes** For will be better, estimates combine 'a lot better' and 'a little better'. For will be worse, estimates combine 'a little worse' and 'a lot worse'.

### Financial situation of household in a year's time

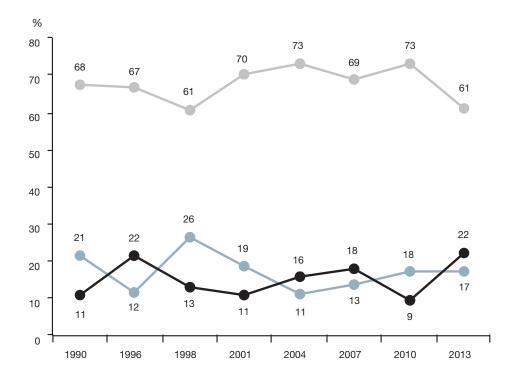
- Will be better
- Will be worse
- About the same

### Financial situation of country in a year's time

- Will be better
- Will be worse
- About the same

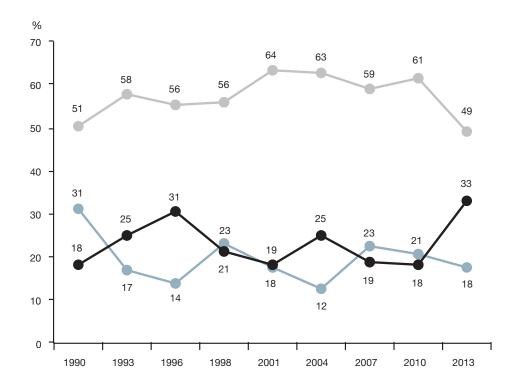
#### Government effect on household finances in a year's time

- Good effect
- Bad effect
- No difference

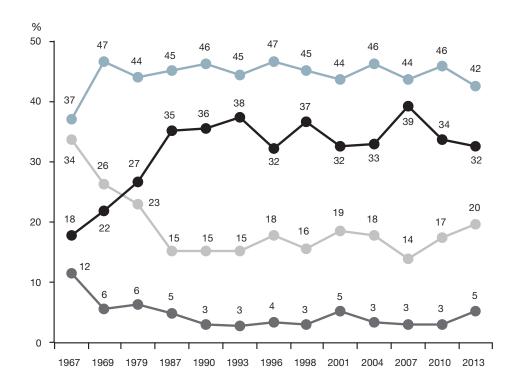


# Government effect on country's economy in a year's time

- Good effect
- Bad effect
- No difference

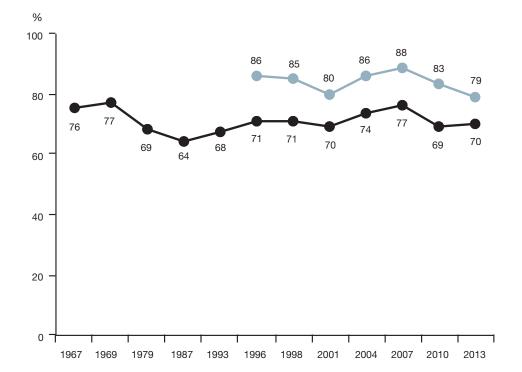


# POLITICS AND POLITICAL PARTIES



#### Interest in politics

A good dealSomeNot muchNone



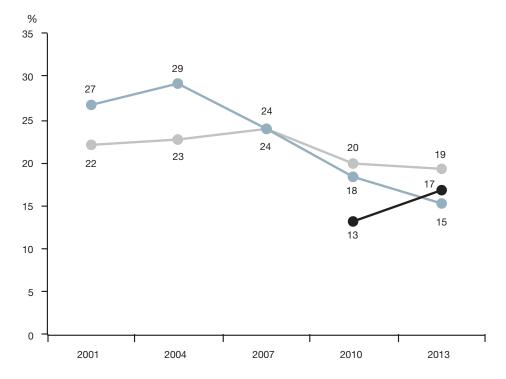
### **Notes** For supports compulsory voting, estimates are (1967-1979) 'compulsory better'; (1987-2013) 'favour compulsory voting' and 'strongly favour compulsory voting'. For would have voted if voluntary, estimates combine 'definitely would have voted' and 'probably would have voted'.

# Compulsory voting and likelihood of voting if voluntary

- Supports compulsory voting
- Would have voted if voluntary

### Political participation in the past five years

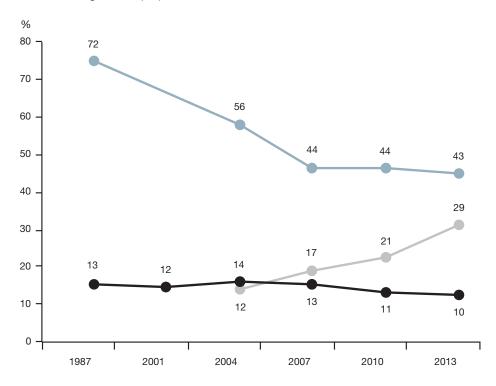
- Contacted official via email
- Contacted official in person or in writing
- Worked together with others



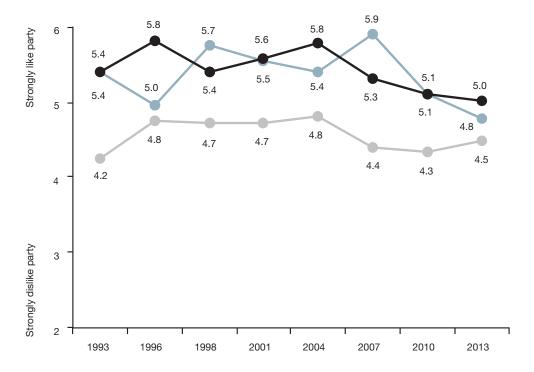
**Notes** For contacted official via email the response category is (2010-2013) 'contacted a politician or government official by email'. For contacted official in person or in writing the response categories are (2001-2007) 'contacted a politician or government official either in person, or in writing, or some other way' and (2010-2013) 'contacted a politician or government official either in person, or in writing'. For worked together with others the response category is (2001-2013) 'worked together with people who shared the same concern'.

### Political participation in the past five years

- Taken part in a protest
- Signed a written petition
- Signed an online petition



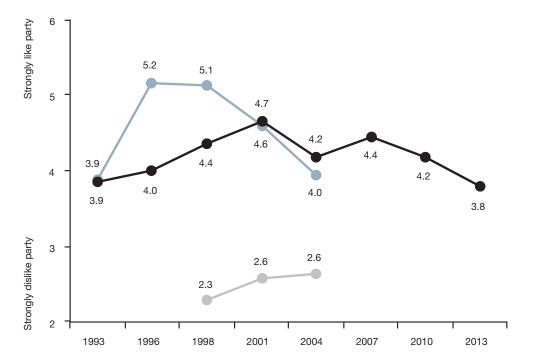
**Notes** For taken part in a protest, the response categories are (1987) 'attending lawful demonstrations', and (2001-2013) 'taken part in a protest, march or demonstration'. For signed an online petition, the response categories are (2004-2007) 'signed an electronic petition', and (2010-2013) 'signed an online or e-petition'. The response category (1987) for all forms of participation is 'have done', unlike 2001-2013, the 1987 estimate does not refer to the past five years only.



### Feelings about political parties

- Liberal
- Labor
- National

**Notes** Estimates are means. The scale runs from 0 (strongly dislike party) to 10 (strongly like party) with a designated midpoint of 5 (neither like nor dislike).



#### **Notes** Estimates are means. The scale runs from 0 (strongly dislike party) to 10 (strongly like party) with a designated midpoint of 5 (neither like nor dislike).

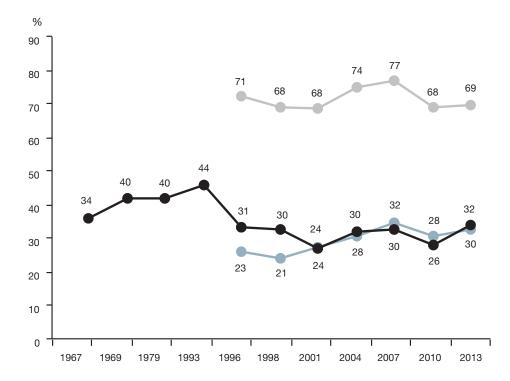
### Feelings about political parties

continued

- Greens
- Democrat
- One Nation

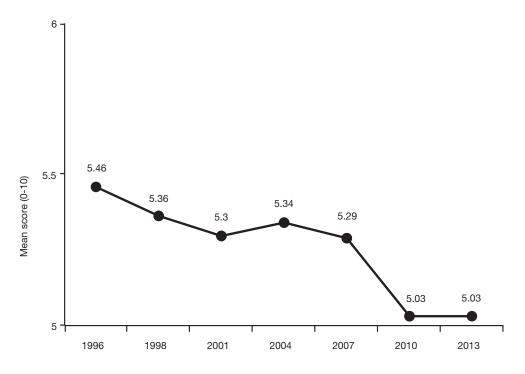
## Perceptions of the role of political parties

- Good deal of difference between parties
- Parties care what people think
- Parties necessary to make political system work



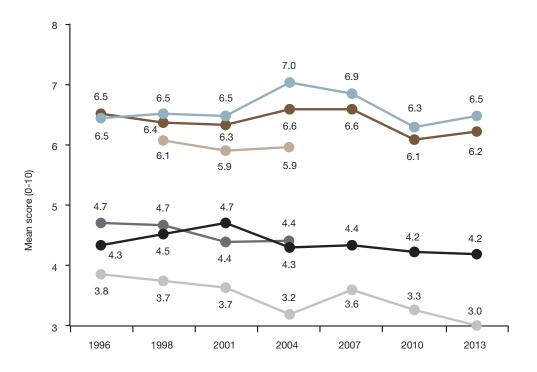
**Notes** For parties care what people think and parties necessary to make political system work, estimates combine '1' and '2' on the five point scale.

# THE LEFT-RIGHT DIMENSION



### Voters' left-right position

**Notes** Estimates are means. The political left-right scale runs from 0 (far left) to 10 (far right) with a designated midpoint of 5 (neither left nor right).

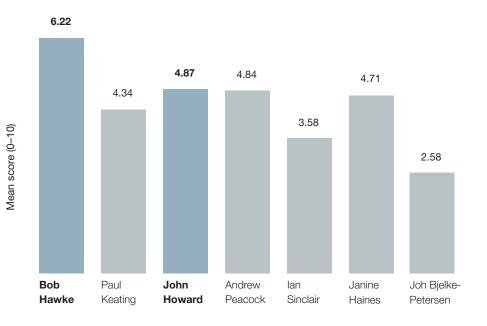


#### **Notes** Estimates are means. The political left-right scale runs from 0 (far left) to 10 (far right) with a designated midpoint of 5 (neither left nor right).

### Where voters place the parties

LaborLiberalGreensDemocratNationalOne Nation

## THE POLITICAL LEADERS



**Notes** For the graphs of politicians' ratings that follow, estimates are means. The scale runs from 0 (strongly dislike politician) to 10 (strongly like politician) with a designated midpoint of 5 (neither like nor dislike).

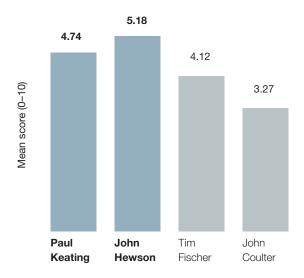
#### 5.46 5.12 4.93 4.01 3.87 3.60 Mean score (0-10) Bob Paul Andrew John Charles Janine Hawke Keating **Peacock** Howard Blunt Haines

#### 1987

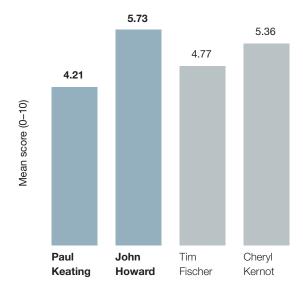
How politicians were rated (main party leaders are highlighted)

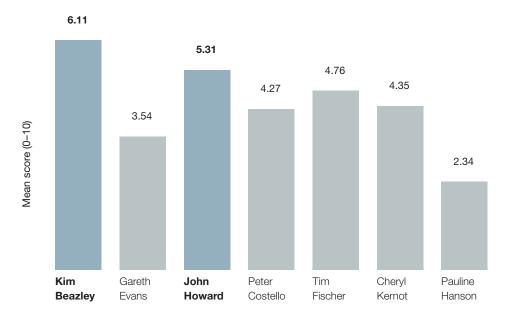
#### 1990

How politicians were rated (main party leaders are highlighted)

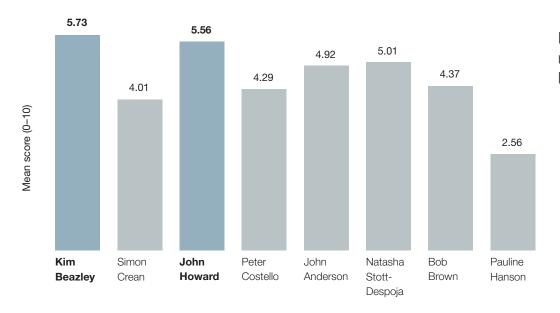


#### 1996



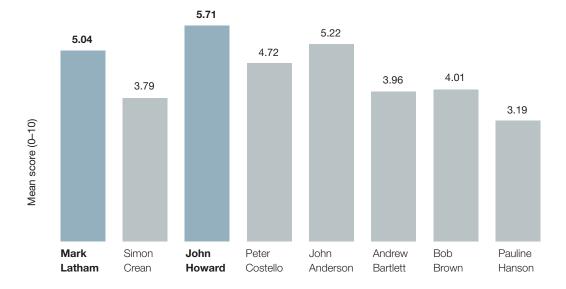


How politicians were rated (main party leaders are highlighted)

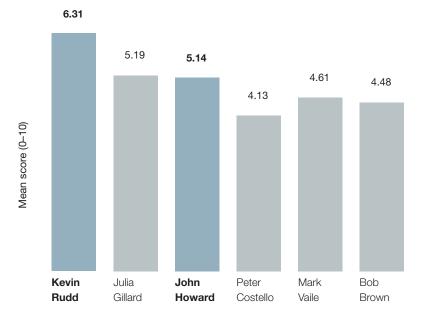


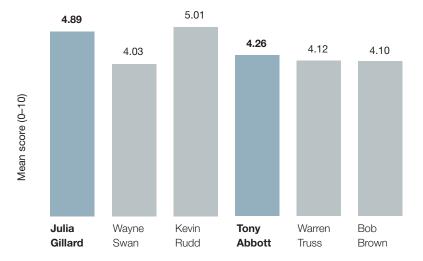
#### 2001

How politicians were rated (main party leaders are highlighted)

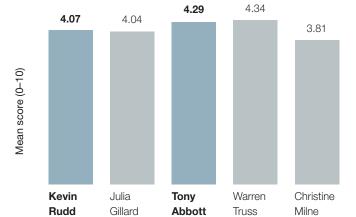


#### 2007



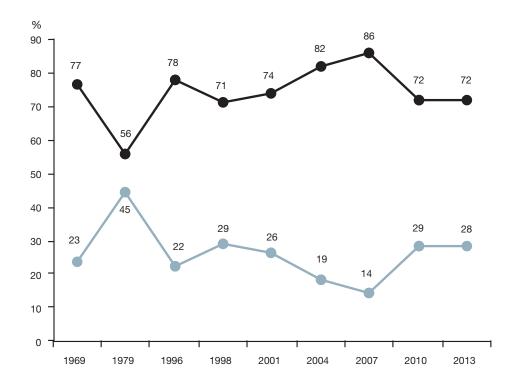


How politicians were rated (main party leaders are highlighted)

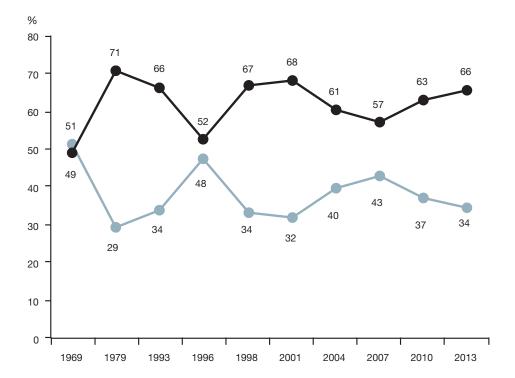


#### 2013

## DEMOCRACY AND INSTITUTIONS



**Notes** For satisfied with democracy, estimates combine (1969, 1979, 1998-2013) 'very satisfied' and 'fairly satisfied'; (1996) 'satisfied' and 'fairly satisfied'. For not satisfied with democracy, estimates for 1996-2013 combine 'not very satisfied' and 'not at all satisfied'.



**Notes** For people in government look after themselves, the response categories are (1969, 1979) look after self; (1993-2013) 'usually look after themsleves' and 'sometimes look after themselves'. For people in government can be trusted, the response categories are (1969, 1979) 'do the right thing'; (1993-2013) 'sometimes can be trusted to do the right thing' and 'usually can be trusted to do the right thing'.

### Satisfaction with democracy

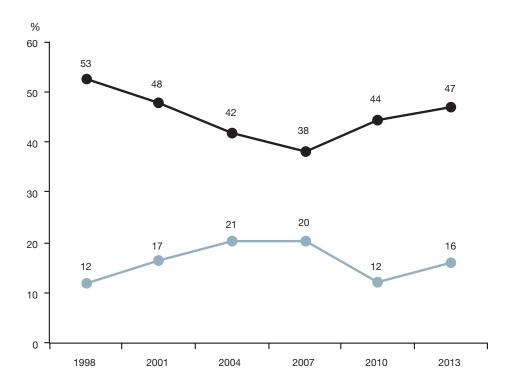
- Satisfied with democracy
- Not satisfied with democracy

#### **Trust in government**

- People in government look after themselves
- People in government can be trusted

### Who the government is run for

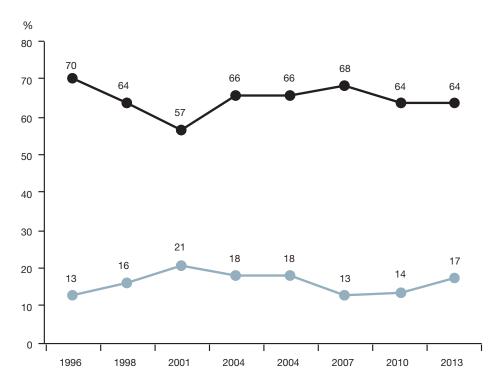
- Few big interests
- All the people



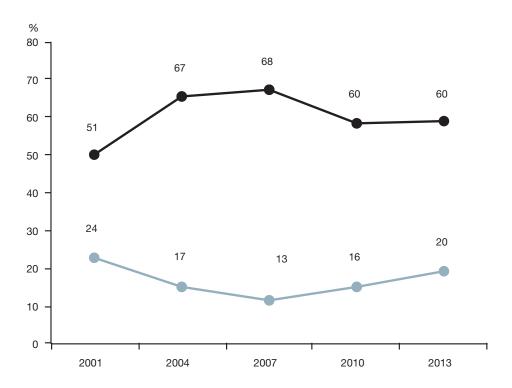
**Notes** For 'few big interests', estimates combine 'entirely run for the big interests' and 'mostly run for the big interests'. For 'all the people', estimates combine 'mostly run for the benefit of all' and 'entirely run for the benefit of all'.

### Political efficacy and the use of the vote

- Who people vote for can make a big difference
- Who people vote for won't make any difference



**Notes** For who people vote for can make a big difference, estimates combine codes '1' and '2'. For who people vote for won't make any difference, estimates combine codes '4' and '5'.



**Notes** For it makes a big difference who is in power, estimates combine codes '1' and '2'. For it doesn't make any difference who is in power, estimates combine codes '4' and '5'.

#### % 60 49 48 50 43 42 40 35 30 23 22 21 20 16 10 0 2001 2004 2007 2010 2013

**Notes** For politicians know what ordinary people think, estimates combine codes '1' and '2'. For politicians don't know what ordinary people think estimates combine codes '4' and '5'.

### Makes a difference who is in power

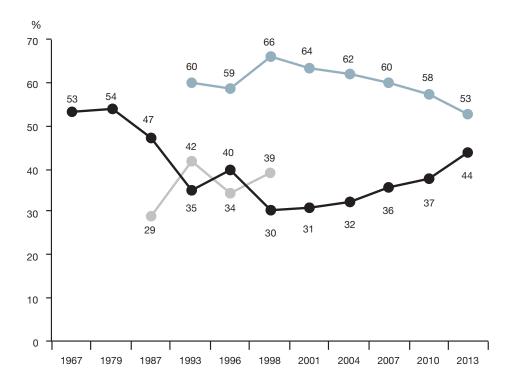
- It makes a big difference who is in power
- It doesn't make any difference who is in power

## Politicians know what ordinary people think

- Politicians know what ordinary people think
- Politicians don't know what ordinary people think

### The Queen, the flag and republicanism

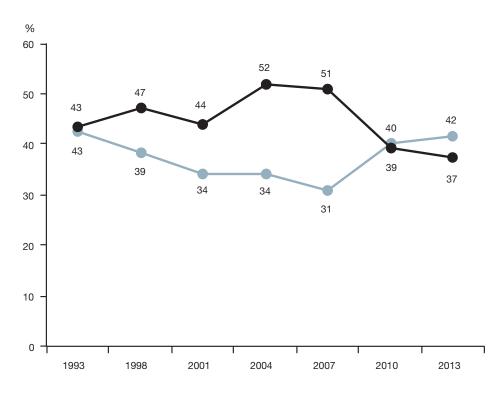
- Queen important
- Favour republic
- Favour flag change



**Notes** For Queen important, estimates combine 'very important' and 'fairly important'. For favour republic, estimates combine (1993-2013) 'strongly favour becoming republic' and 'favour becoming republic'. For favour flag change, estimates combine 'strongly for flag change' and 'for flag change'.

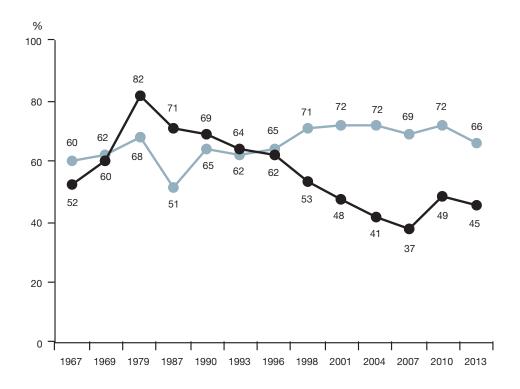
### Government control of parliament

- Better when government does not control Senate
- Better when government controls both Houses

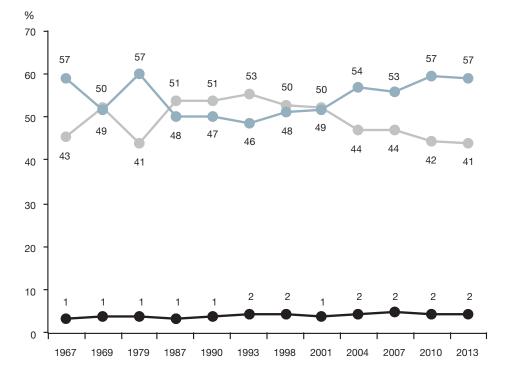


**Notes** The question was not asked in 1996. The figures for 1993 have been corrected from the previous version of this report.

## TRADE UNIONS, BUSINESS AND WEALTH



**Notes** For unions have too much power, estimates for 1990-2013 combine 'strongly agree' and 'agree'. For big business has too much power, estimates for 1990-2013 combine 'strongly agree' and 'agree'.



**Notes** In 2010 and 2013 'None' was added to the list of codes and percentages adjusted accordingly.

## The power of trade unions and big business

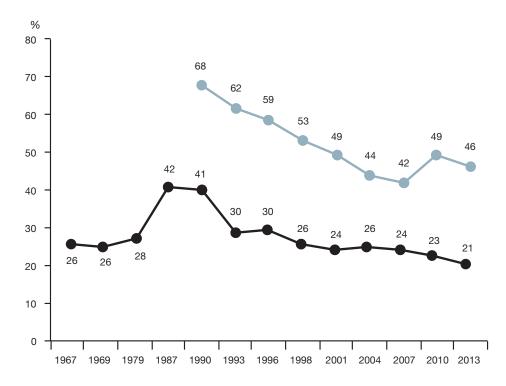
- Unions have too much power
- Big business has too much power

#### Class self-image

- Upper
- Middle
- Working

## Trade union membership and support for industrial action

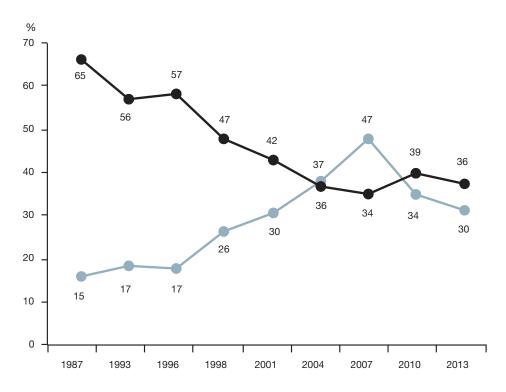
- Belong to union
- Stricter laws for unions



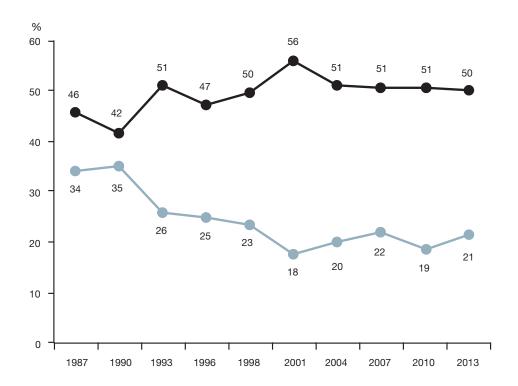
Notes Estimates for stricter laws for unions combine 'strongly agree' and 'agree'.

## Government spending: less tax or more social services

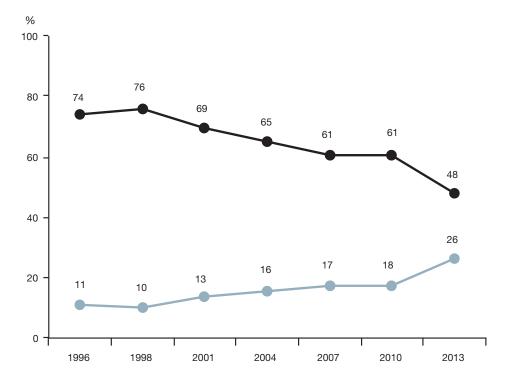
- Favours less tax
- Favours spending more on social services



**Notes** For favours less tax, the response categories are (1987-2013) 'strongly favour reducing taxes' and 'mildly favour reducing taxes'. For favours spending more on social services, the response categories are (1987-2013) 'mildly favour spending more on social services' and 'strongly favour spending more on social services'.



**Notes** For income and wealth should be redistributed, estimates combine 'strongly agree' and 'agree'. For income and wealth should not be redistributed, estimates combine 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree'.



**Notes** 'Agree' combines 'strongly agree' and 'agree'. 'Disagree' combines 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree'.

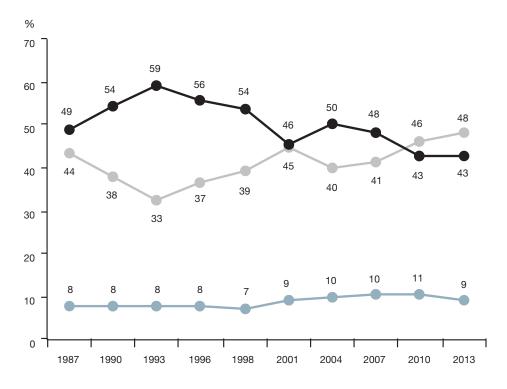
#### Redistribution of income and wealth

- Income and wealth should be redistributed
- Income and wealth should not be redistributed

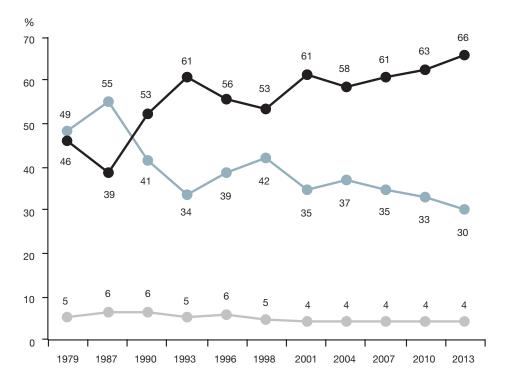
## High tax makes people unwilling to work

- Agree
- Disagree

## SOCIAL ISSUES



**Notes** For nudity and sex in films and magazines gone too far, estimates for 1990-2013 combine 'gone much too far' and 'gone too far'. For nudity and sex in films and magazines not gone far enough, estimates for 1990-2013 combine 'not gone far enough' and 'not gone nearly far enough'.



**Notes** In 2010 and 2013 'Don't know' was added to the list of codes and percentages adjusted accordingly.

#### Attitudes towards sex and nudity in films and magazines

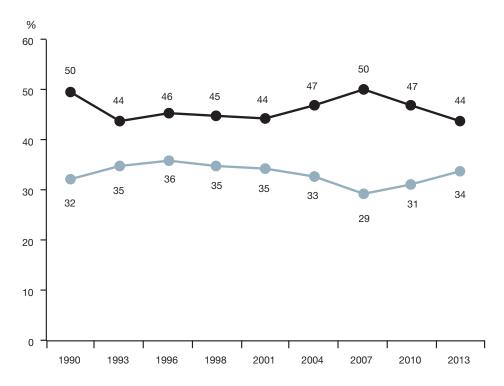
- Gone too far
- Not gone far enough
- About right

#### Attitudes towards abortion

- Obtain readily
- Special circumstances
- Banned

#### Attitudes towards the legal status of marijuana

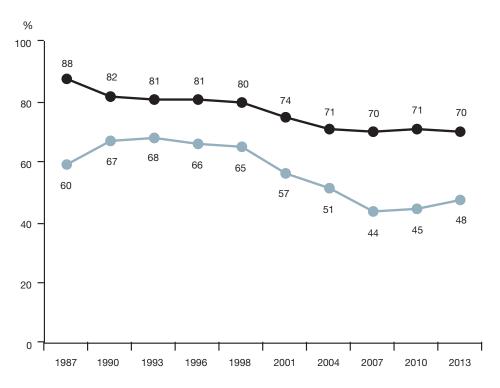
- Marijuana should be a criminal offence
- Marijuana should not be a criminal offence



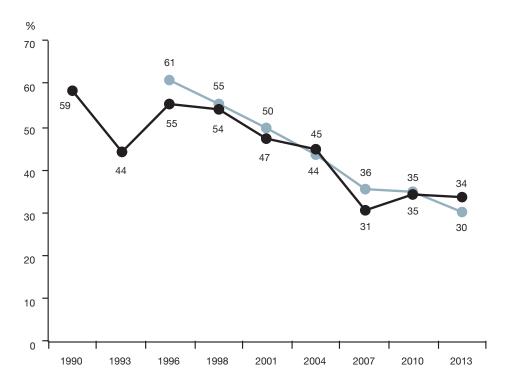
**Notes** For marijuana should not be a criminal offence, estimates combine 'strongly agree' and 'agree'. For marijuana should be a criminal offence, estimates combine 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree'.

## Attitudes towards jail sentences and capital punishment

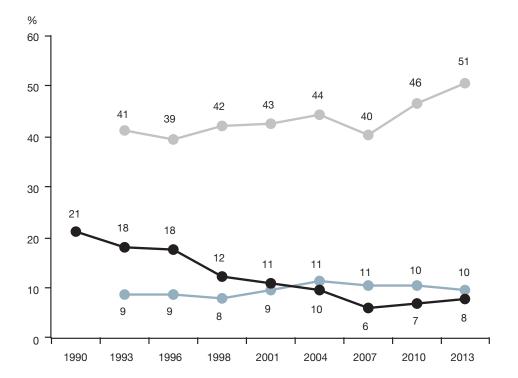
- Stiffer sentences for criminals
- Reintroduce death penalty for murder



**Notes** For stiffer sentences for criminals, estimates combine 'strongly agree' and 'agree'. For reintroduce death penalty for murder, estimates combine 'strongly agree' and 'agree'.



**Notes** For government help for Indigenous Australians gone too far, the estimates for 1993-2013 combine 'much too far' and 'too far'. For transfer of land rights to Indigenous Australians gone too far, the estimates for 1993-2013 combine 'much too far' and 'too far'.



**Notes** For equal opportunity for women gone too far, estimates combine 'much too far' and 'too far'. For women should be given preferential treatment, estimates combine 'strongly agree' and 'agree'. For should increase business opportunities for women, estimates combine 'strongly agree' and 'agree'.

#### Attitudes towards policies on Indigenous Australians

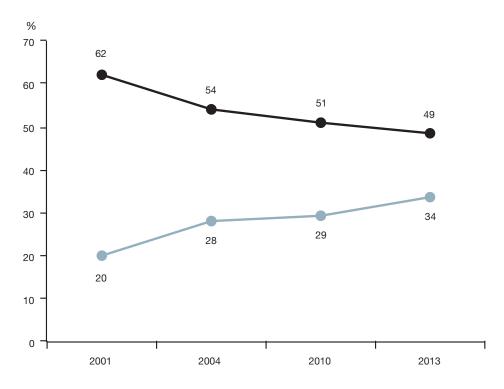
- Government help for Indigenous Australians gone too far
- Transfer of land rights to Indigenous Australians gone too far

### Attitudes towards gender equality

- Equal opportunity for women gone too far
- Women should be given preferential treatment
- Should increase business opportunities for women

## Attitudes towards asylum seeker arrivals by boat

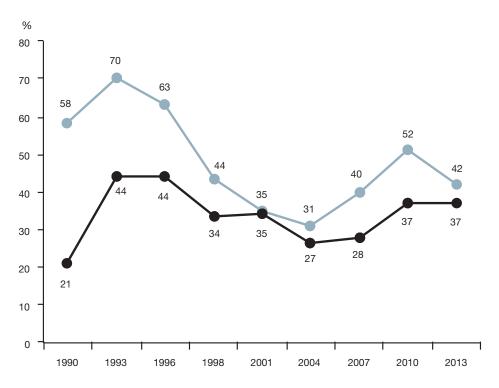
- Boats should be turned back
- Boats should not be turned back



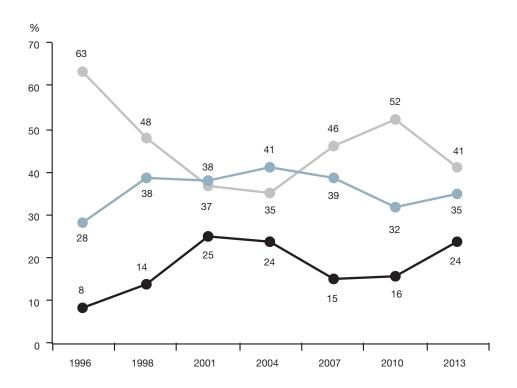
**Notes** For boats should be turned back, estimates combine 'strongly agree' and 'agree'. For boats should not be turned back, estimates combine 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree'. This question was not included in 2007.

## Attitudes towards immigrants and immigration

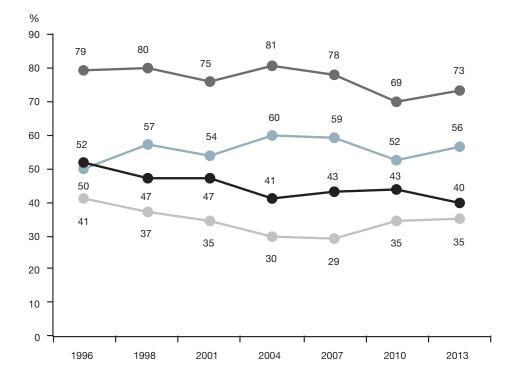
- Equal opportunity for migrants gone too far
- Number of migrants allowed into Australia gone too far



**Notes** For equal opportunity for migrants gone too far, the response categories are (1990-2013) 'much too far' and 'too far'. For number of migrants allowed into Australia gone too far, the response categories are (1990-2013) 'much too far' and 'too far'.



**Notes** For increase immigration, estimates combine 'increased a lot' and 'increased a little'. For keep immigration levels the same, estimates are for 'remain about the same'. For reduce immigration, estimates combine 'reduced a little' and 'reduced a lot'.



**Notes** For immigrants increase crime rate, immigrants good for economy, immigrants take jobs away from Australian born, immigrants make Australia more open to ideas and cultures, the response categories are (1996-2013) 'strongly agree' and 'agree'.

## Attitudes towards the level of immigration into Australia

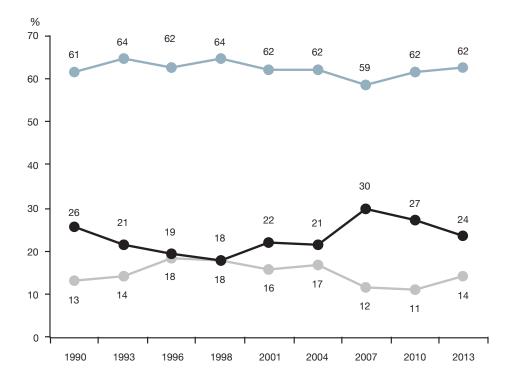
- Increase immigration
- Keep immigration levels the same
- Reduce immigration

### The consequences of immigration

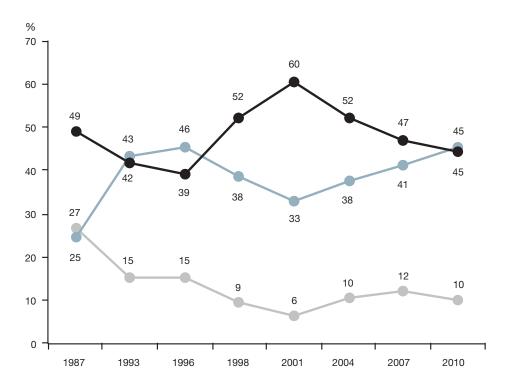
- Immigrants increase crime rate
- Immigrants good for economy
- Immigrants take jobs away from Australian born
- Immigrants make Australia more open to ideas and cultures

## Materialist and postmaterialist values

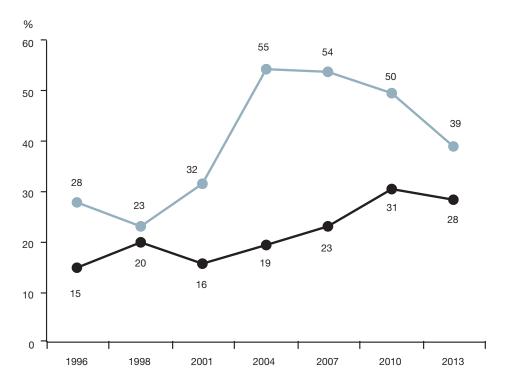
- Materialist
- Mixed
- Postmaterialist



## DEFENCE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS



**Notes** For spend more on defence, estimates combine 'spend much more on defence' and 'spend some more on defence'. For spend less on defence, estimates combine 'spend less on defence' and 'spend a lot less on defence'.



**Notes** For Australia able to defend itself if attacked and Australia's defence stronger than 10 years ago, estimates combine 'strongly agree' and 'agree'.

### Attitudes towards defence spending

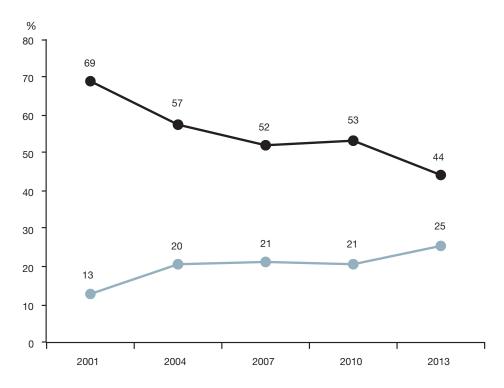
- Spend more on defence
- About right
- Spend less on defence

#### Attitudes towards Australia's defence capability

- Australia able to defend itself if attacked
- Australia's defence stronger than 10 years ago

### Support for war on terrorism

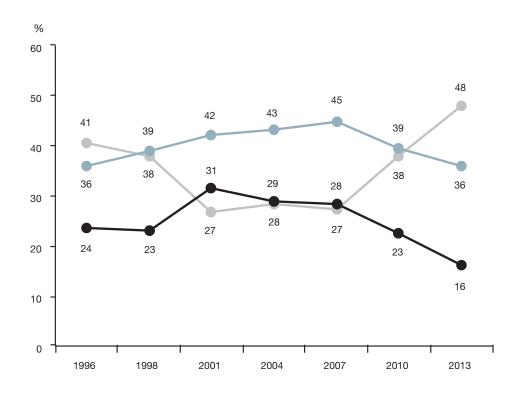
- Agree
- Disagree

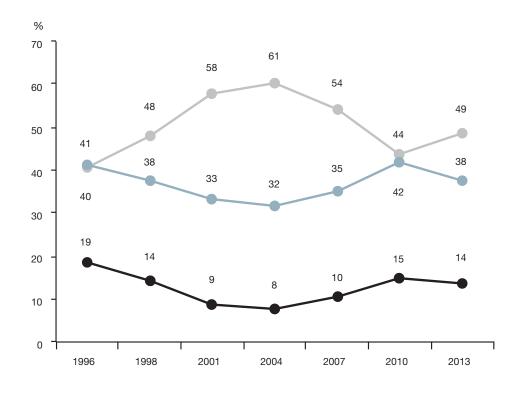


**Notes** Question asks whether 'Australia should provide military assistance for the war on terrorism'. 'Agree' combines 'strongly agree' and 'agree'. 'Disagree' combines 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree'.

## Indonesia as a security threat to Australia

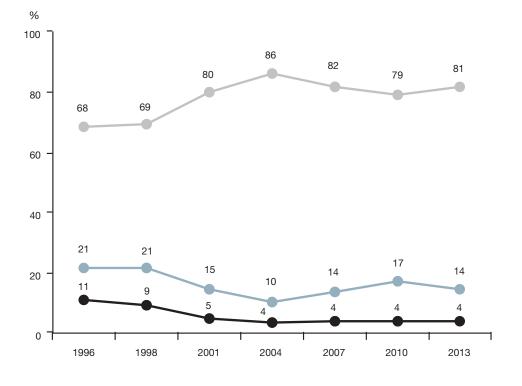
- Very likely
- Fairly likely
- Not very likely





### China as a security threat to Australia

- Very likely
- Fairly likely
- Not very likely

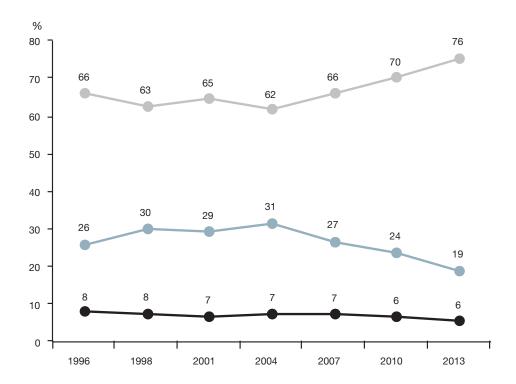


### Japan as a security threat to Australia

- Very likely
- Fairly likely
- Not very likely

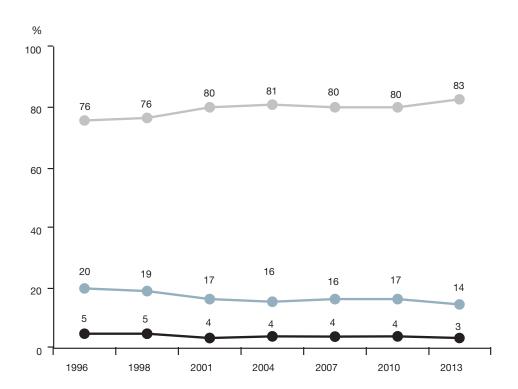
## Malaysia as a security threat to Australia

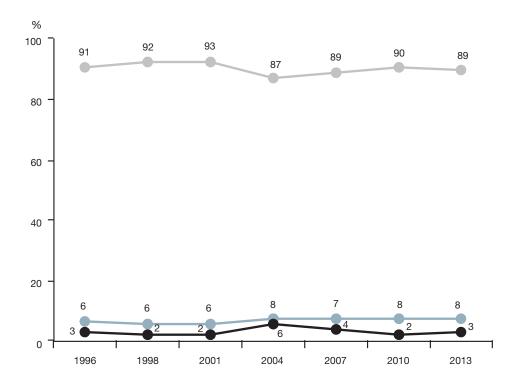
- Very likely
- Fairly likely
- Not very likely



### Vietnam as a security threat to Australia

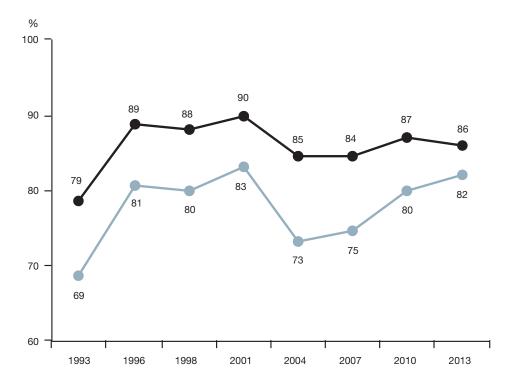
- Very likely
- Fairly likely
- Not very likely





## The United States as a security threat to Australia

- Very likely
- Fairly likely
- Not very likely



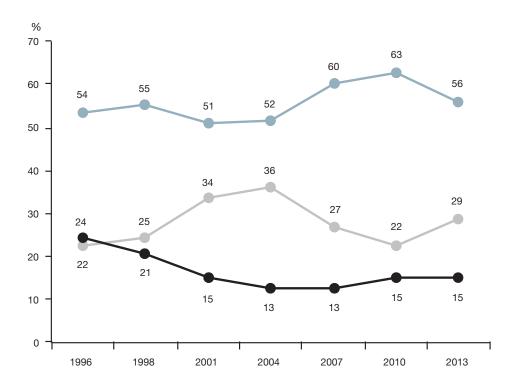
### **Notes** For United States alliance under ANZUS important, estimates combine 'very important' and 'fairly important'. For trust in the United States to come to Australia's defence, estimates combine 'a great deal' and 'a fair amount'.

## Attitudes towards defence links with the United States

- United States alliance under ANZUS important
- Trust in the United States to come to Australia's defence

## Attitudes towards closer relations with Asia

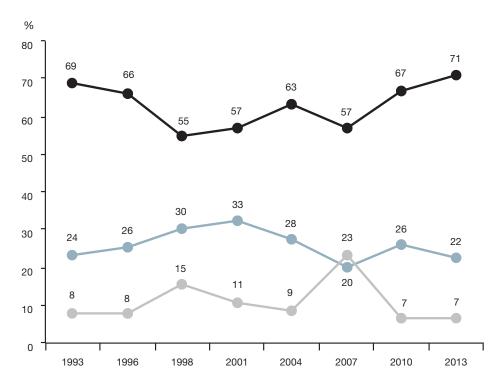
- Relations with Asia gone too far
- Relations with Asia about right
- Relations with Asia not gone far enough



**Notes** For relations with Asia gone too far, estimates combine 'gone much too far' and 'gone too far'. For relations with Asia not gone far enough, estimates for 1990-2013 combine 'not gone far enough' and 'not gone nearly far enough'.

## Attitudes towards more trade relations with Asia

- Agree
- Not sure
- Disagree



**Notes** Question asks whether 'Australia's trading future lies in Asia'. For agree, estimates combine 'strongly agree' and 'agree'. For disagree, estimates combine 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree'.

# APPENDIX A: QUESTION WORDING AND TABLES

# The election campaign

#### Followed the election in the mass media

Television

<b>1969:</b> 'First of	all, did you fc	ollow the elec	ction campai	gn on televis	ion?'			
	1969							
Yes	62.9							
No	31.1							
Don't have	5.8							
TV								
(N)	1,872							
<b>1967, 1979:</b> '[		•	ch on television	on?'				
	1967	1979						
Yes	34.4	59.3						
No	65.6	39.9						
(N)	2,032	2,015						
4007.00 (5								
<b>1987-90:</b> 'Dur did you follow	~	on campaign	i, now oπen (	aia you follo\	w the election	n news on te	levision, or	
ala you lollow	1987	1990						
Often	51.9	42.2						
Sometimes	32.1	36.9						
Rarely	10.6	14.4						
Not at all	5.4	6.5						
(N)	1,771	2,007						
<b>1993-2013:</b> 'C	id you follow	the election	campaign n	ews on telev	ision?'			
	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
A good deal	41.9	30.5	32.3	26.4	28.0	36.5	35.7	30.4
Some	38.1	39.0	44.1	42.2	41.0	40.1	41.3	39.3
Not much	15.8	23.3	18.3	22.4	23.9	17.6	17.5	20.4
None at all	4.1	7.2	5.3	9.0	7.1	5.8	5.4	9.9
(N)	2,270	1,733	1,815	1,867	1,665	1,817	2,042	3,898

 $\mathbf{Key}(N) = \text{number}$ 

#### Radio

<b>1969:</b> 'Did yo	u follow the	election cam	paign on the	radio?'				
	1969							
Yes	18.1							
No	81.9							
(N)	1,855							
1967, 1979: '	-		ich on the ra	dio?'				
	1967	1979						
Yes	16.8	32.2						
No	83.2	66.9						
(N)	2,038	2,012						
1993-2013: 1					the radio?'			
	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
A good deal	21.4	14.7	17.5	16.0	14.2	19.1	16.8	15.1
Some	33.4	31.1	32.6	27.2	29.9	30.8	31.2	29.8
Not much	25.9	30.4	26.2	29.2	30.7	26.8	29.3	26.4
None at all	19.3	23.8	23.7	27.7	25.2	23.3	22.7	28.6
(N)	2,102	1,642	1,686	1,818	1,622	1,664	1,874	3,534
<b>1987-90:</b> 'An			w the election	n news on th	ne radio?'			
	1987	1990						
Often	30.2	22.5						
Sometimes	27.7	29.2						
Rarely	20.3	24.6						
Not at all	21.7	23.6						
(N)	1,594	1,916						

Newspaper

<b>1969:</b> 'Did you f	ollow the ele	ction campa	ign in the (fi	rst newspap	er mentione	d)?'		
	1969							
Yes	55.0							
No	40.7							
Don't read	4.3							
newspapers								
(N)	1,866							
<b>1967, 1979:</b> 'Do			oolitics mucl	h in (first nev	vspaper mer	ntioned)?'		
	1967	1979						
Yes	39.7	47.9						
No	53.4	46.5						
Don't read	6.9	5.6						
newspapers								
(N)	2,054	2,011						
<b>1987-90:</b> 'And h			now often di	d you follow	the election	news there	?'	
	1987	1990						
Often	33.1	27.4						
Sometimes	32.3	32.2						
Rarely	19.0	23.3						
Not at all	15.6	16.9						
(N)	1,622	1,924						
<b>1993-2013:</b> 'Ho	w much atte		u pay to rep	orts about th	ne election c		the newspap	
	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
A good deal	29.1	18.4	21.1	16.0	15.2	21.1	19.8	16.6
Some	38.4	40.2	41.6	37.4	41.7	40.0	41.8	33.6
Not much	23.5	29.1	26.2	30.9	30.1	26.7	28.7	30.3
None at all	8.9	12.3	11.1	15.6	13.0	12.2	9.6	19.5
(N)	2,359	1,787	1,876	1,998	1,744	1,836	2,059	3,941

# Talkback radio

#### **2001-04:** '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?' 2001 2004 5.9 4.8 Every day Most days 9.0 10.3 Once or twice a week 8.7 8.9 Only occasionally 25.6 29.4 Not at all 50.8 46.7 (N) 2,000 1,751

#### Internet

<b>1998-2013:</b> 'Did you make use of			ws or informa	ation about		
the (1998/2001/2004/2007/2010/	2013) Federa	l election?'				
	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Don't have access	72.6	40.7	33.3	25.2	17.1	13.1
Have access but didn't use	22.9	49.8	54.7	54.9	46.6	45.7
Once or twice	2.7	5.8	5.6	8.8	14.0	15.2
On several occasions	0.9	2.6	3.1	5.8	12.4	11.8
Many times	0.8	1.5	3.2	5.3	9.8	14.2
(N)	1,826	1,763	1,998	1,834	2,034	3,897
<b>2007-2013:</b> 'And how about the ir	nternet-did yo	u follow the e	lection camp	aign news		
on the internet?'						
	2007	2010	2013			
A good deal	6.6	9.7	14.2			
Some	8.9	19.7	19.4			
Not much	13.0	19.9	20.5			
None at all	71.4	50.7	46.0			
(N)	1,520	1,740	3,368			

#### Watched the leaders' debates

1990: 'Did you watch the televi	sed debate between Bob Haw	ke and Andre	ew Peacock o	on	
Sunday 25 February?'					
		1990			
Yes		55.8			
No		44.2			
(N)		2,024			
<b>1993, 1996:</b> 'Did you watch the 1996: John Howard)?'	e two televised debates betwe	een Paul Keat	ting and (199	3: John Hews	on;
		1993	1996		
Watched both		39.7	32.2		
Watched one only		30.8	25.8		
Didn't watch either		29.5	42.0		
(N)		2,359	1,784		
1998-2007: 'Did you watch the					
2004: Mark Latham, 2007: Key		3 September;	; 2001: Sunda	ay 14 Octobe	r;
2004: Sunday 12 September; 2	2007: Sunday 21 October)?'		2221		
		1998	2001	2004	2007
Yes		42.7	40.1	35.0	46.5
No		57.3	59.9	65.0	53.5
(N)		1,871	1,957	1,752	1,850
		-	-		
<b>2010-2013:</b> 'Did you watch the Rudd) on (2010: Sunday 25 Ju			d (2010: Julia	a Gillard; 2013	3: Kevin
			d (2010: Julia <b>2013</b>	a Gillard; 2013	3: Kevin
		, -	`	a Gillard; 2013	3: Kevin
Rudd) on (2010: Sunday 25 Ju		2010	2013	a Gillard; 2013	3: Kevin

#### Interest in the election

<b>1993-2013:</b> 'And h	ow much int	terest would	l you say yo	u took in the	e election ca	ampaign ove	erall?'	
	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
A good deal	49.1	34.2	37.6	30.7	29.7	40.2	34.2	32.7
Some	34.9	40.7	41.7	39.7	44.4	40.8	43.5	38.6
Not much	13.8	21.1	17.1	23.3	20.7	15.2	18.8	22.6
None at all	2.2	4.0	3.7	6.3	5.1	3.8	3.5	6.0
(N)	3,004	1,785	1,877	1,975	1,735	1,830	2,047	3,922
<b>1967-1969:</b> 'Would			ly care a go	od deal whic	ch party win	s a general	election or t	hat you
don't care very mu								
	1967	1969						
Care a good deal	60.2	65.9						
Don't care very much	39.8	34.1						
(N)	1,957	1,843						
1987-2013: 'Would very much which pa		u cared a go	ood deal wh	nich party wo	on the feder	al election o	r that you d	id not care
	1987							
Cared a good deal	78.8							
Didn't care very much	21.2							
(N)	1,782							
	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Cared a good deal	82.3	74.8	74.0	65.0	71.7	75.9	67.6	68.3
Didn't care much	15.4	21.6	22.3	28.2	24.9	21.3	27.4	25.8
Didn't care at all	2.2	3.7	3.7	6.8	3.4	2.8	5.0	5.9
(N)	3,002	1,776	1,875	1,977	1,977	1,835	2,056	3,940

## Contacted by a candidate or political party

<b>2001-2007:</b> 'During the election campaign, did a candidate persuade you to vote for them?'	or anyone from a	political party con	tact you to
	2001	2004	2007
Yes	28.1	28.8	33.0
No	71.9	71.2	67.0
(N)	1,985	1,720	1,826
<b>2010:</b> 'During the election campaign, did a candidate or any you to vote for them? Please cross all that apply'	one from a politica	al party contact yo	ou to persuade
	2010		
No	55.1		
Yes, by telephone	4.2		
Yes, by mail	38.3		
Yes, by face-to-face	3.7		
Yes, by email or through the web	1.9		
(N)	2,061		
2013: 'During the election campaign, did a candidate or any you to vote for them? Please cross all that apply'	one from a politica	al party contact yo	ou to persuade
	2013		
No	40.2		
Yes, by telephone (your landline or mobile)	13.9		
Yes, by mail (e.g. a leaflet posted to your home)	50.2		
Yes, by face-to-face (e.g. in the street or at your house)	4.1		
Yes, by text message or SMS	1.4		
Yes, by email	4.5		
Yes, by social network site or other web-based method	3.7		
(N)	3,955		

## Involvement in the campaign

1969: 'Did you attend any political meetings during the campa	ign?'				
	1969				
Yes	3.4				
No	96.6				
(N)	1,869				
1969: 'Did you do any work for any party or candidate during	the campa	ign?'			
	1969				
Yes	2.4				
No	97.6				
(N)	1,866				
1969: 'Did you make any donation to any of the parties or to a	candidate	?'			
	1969				
Yes	3.0				
No	97.0				
(N)	1,873				
1993-1998: 'During the election campaign, did you do any of	the followir	ng things?	,		
	1993	1996	1998		
Discuss politics with others	88.2	82.4	84.4		
Talk to any people about why they should vote for or against one of the parties or candidates?	48.6	35.1	41.9		
Go to any political meetings or rallies	3.2	2.1	2.3		
Contribute money to a political party or election candidate	2.5	2.0	1.5		
Do any work for a political party or election candidate	2.8	2.2	2.0		
(N)	2,376	1,756	1,896		
2001-2013: 'Here is a list of things some people do during ele during the recent election?'	ctions. Ho	w often die	d you do a	ny of these	e things
Discuss politics with others (2010-2013: Discuss politics with the phone))	others in p	erson (i.e.	face to fac	ce or over	
the phone;;	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Frequently	19.6	21.2	28.1	28.3	27.3
Occasionally	46.9	47.0	46.7	47.3	45.4
Rarely	21.8	22.5	18.4	17.8	18.3
Not at all	11.7	9.3	6.8	6.7	8.9
(N)	1,975	1,740	1,834	2,058	3,922
Discuss politics with others online 2010: (i.e. through email or on a social network site like Facebook or Twitter)	in a discus	sion group	o) 2013: (i.e	e. through	email or
on a social notwork site like racebook of twitter)	2010	2013			
Frequently	1.9	3.2			
Occasionally	6.1	7.7			
Rarely	11.0	14.0			
Not at all	81.0	75.1			
(N)	2,015	3,835			
. ,	_,	-,			

Talk to other people to persuade them to vote for a particular p	oarty or ca	ndidate			
	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Frequently	2.3	3.9	4.2	2.5	2.5
Occasionally	8.7	10.6	13.7	11.9	11.8
Rarely	15.6	17.9	19.6	19.7	17.5
Not at all	73.4	67.6	62.5	66.0	68.1
(N)	1,893	1,700	1,768	2,029	3,856
Go to any political meetings or rallies					
	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Frequently	0.5	0.9	1.6	0.9	0.7
Occasionally	1.7	1.6	3.4	1.9	2.1
Rarely	2.9	4.5	4.6	4.7	4.6
Not at all	94.8	92.9	90.4	92.5	92.6
(N)	1,880	1,702	1,767	2,023	3,856
Show your support for a particular party or candidate by, for ex	xample, at	tending a r	meeting, p	utting up a	poster,
or in some other way.					
	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Frequently	2.0	2.8	4.5	2.8	2.6
Occasionally	5.0	5.1	7.1	5.3	6.1
Rarely	7.0	8.3	8.7	8.5	9.1
Not at all	85.9	83.7	79.8	83.4	82.1
(N)	1,889	1,769	1,873	2,028	3,865
Contribute money to a political party or election candidate (20				2010	2010
	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Frequently	0.9	1.4	1.1	0.7	0.7
Occasionally	1.7	1.9	2.5	1.2	2.1
Rarely	1.9	2.4	2.6	3.1	2.4
Not at all	95.5	94.3	93.7	95.0	94.8
(N)	1,888	1,709	1,771	2,026	3,840
Contribute money to a political party or election candidate using		net			
Frequently	<b>2010</b> 0.3				
Frequently	1.0				
Occasionally					
Rarely Not at all	2.0 96.8				
	2,026				
(N)	2,020				

## Websites accessed during the election campaign

2004-2013: 'During the (2004, 2007, 2010, 2013) election campaign did websites? Please cross all that apply'	d you read	or access	any of the	following
	2004	2007	2010	2013
Party site (e.g. Liberals, ALP, Green etc)	3.6	5.9		
Your own MP's site	1.8	1.8		
Individual candidate site in your electorate (that is, other than that of your MP)	1.3	1.5		
Other candidate/MPs sites outside your electorate	1.1	1.3		
Party or candidate campaign sites (e.g. home pages, (2013: blogs), official Facebook profiles, official YouTube channels)			7.8	12.0
Federal Parliament site	1.7	2.0	2.5	1.7
Australian Electoral Commission site	5.4	7.7	9.9	14.3
Fun/political humour site	3.6			
Online opinion poll (e.g. Channel9/Bulletin poll)	3.6			
Mainstream news media (e.g. ABC Online, (2004: CNN), SMH site etc)	8.3	15.2	26.9	29.6
Unofficial online videos (i.e. non-party produced) with campaign or political content (e.g. YouTube) (2007: YouTube)		5.4	5.4	8.9
Political weblog or 'blog' (2010: Political blog)	0.7	2.7	3.9	
(N)	1,769	1,873	2,061	3,955

# **Voting and partisanship**

## Timing of the voting decision

1987: 'How long ago did you decide that you would definitely vote the way you did?'									
	1987								
A long time ago	50.0								
Sometime last year	6.3								
Sometime this year	16.8								
During the election campaign	26.9								
(N)	1,800								
1990-2013: 'When did you ded	cide how y	ou would	d definitel	y vote in t	this electi	on?'			
	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
A long time ago	45.9	42.1	49.9	35.2	44.8	46.9	55.3	36.9	45.0
A few months ago, before election day	10.7	13.2	12.1	13.6	13.8	14.3	16.1	15.9	14.0
About the time the election was announced	7.7	6.8	6.6	9.0	6.8	6.5	5.4	10.7	7.3
In the first few weeks of the campaign	9.5	14.5	8.0	13.6	8.9	9.6	6.5	10.0	6.8
A few days before election day	16.4	16.0	12.7	17.3	13.4	14.2	8.9	15.7	14.3
On election day	9.9	7.5	10.7	11.4	12.3	8.6	7.9	10.8	12.5
(N)	2,026	2,355	1,768	1,885	1,978	1,750	1,838	2,059	3,932

## The use of voter prompts

1996-2013: 'In voting for the House of Representatives, did you follow a party 'How to Vote' card or did you decide your										
own preferences?'										
	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013			
Followed a 'How to Vote' card	56.0	52.2	50.2	53.1	50.8	46.5	43.4			
Decided my own preferences	44.0	47.8	49.8	46.9	49.2	53.5	56.6			
(N)	1,762	1,846	1,955	1,726	1,816	2,035	3,601			
1996-2010: 'And in voting for the Senate, dic	I you vote by	placing a '1'	in a party box	above the lir	ne or did you	decide your c	wn			
preferences by voting below the line?'										
	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010				
Ticked a party box above the line	87.5	88.0	84.0	87.9	87.3	85.6				
Decided my own preferences below the line	12.5	12.0	16.0	12.1	12.7	14.4				
(N)	1,747	1,839	1,943	1,722	1,811	2,025				

## Split ticket voting

<b>1987-2013:</b> Estimates are based on vote National parties are treated as a single gr		ng a differ	ent party	in the Ho	use of Re <sub>l</sub>	oresentati	ves and th	ne Senate	e. The Libe	eral and
	1987	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Split tickets	12.0	11.3	10.7	12.2	14.8	18.1	17.2	18.8	16.0	22.3

## Voting volatility

<b>1967-1979:</b> 'Since you have been voting parties? (Which one was that?)'	in Federal	elections	, have yo	u always v	oted for	the same	party of h	ave you v	oted for c	lifferent
	1967	1969	1979							
Same, Liberal	33.0	31.5	25.8							
Same, Labor	33.2	32.4	33.3							
Same, Country Party	4.2	4.1	1.6							
Same, D.L.P	1.0	0.8								
Same, Other	0.2	0.4	0.1							
Different	28.4	30.8	39.1							
(N)	1,873	1,699	1,712							
1987: 'Since you have been voting in Fed	leral electi	ons, have	you alwa	ys voted t	or the sa	me party,	or have y	ou voted	for	
different parties?'	1987									
Always Liberal	20.5									
Always Labor	37.9									
Always National	3.6									
Always Democrat	1.2									
Liberal and Labor	21.8									
Liberal and National	6.4									
Labor and National	2.3									
Other	6.3									
(N)	1,728									

**1990:** Before this current election, have you always voted for the same party in Federal elections for the House of Representatives, or have you voted for different parties?

**1993:** 'In previous Federal elections for the House of Representatives, had you always voted for the same party, or had you sometimes voted for different parties?' 1) Sometimes voted Liberal 2) Sometimes voted Labor (ALP) 3) Sometimes voted National (Country) 4) Sometimes voted Australian Democrats 5) Did not vote before this election'

**1996-2013:** '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? Please cross all that apply'

	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Always voted for the same party	59.9	54.7	52.9	48.9	48.0	50.1	45.2	51.7	46.1
Sometimes voted Liberal	10.5	20.7	21.6	21.1	19.2	20.6	31.1	17.1	15.8
Sometimes voted Labor (ALP)	10.6	19.2	22.9	22.7	23.9	24.1	33.0	16.5	18.8
Sometimes voted National (Country)	2.2	5.1	6.4	4.7	5.2	3.9	6.9	3.0	3.2
Sometimes voted Australian Democrats	4.2	9.3	9.9	10.6	11.4	10.9	12.9	-	-
Sometimes voted Greens							16.5	11.0	10.2
Sometimes voted for other party/independent	12.7	10.5	11.4	11.6	16.2	17.6	15.9	15.1	15.8
Did not vote before this election	3.5	4.5	5.0	4.8	4.4	3.5	3.6	3.6	6.2
(N)	1,979	1,665	1,795	1,897	1,967	1,724	1,873	2,061	3,955

**1987-1990:** 'Was there any time during the election campaign when you seriously thought you might vote for another party in the House of Representatives?'

**1993-2013:** '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? Please cross one box only'

	1987	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
No	75.4	69.7	75.5	77.9	70.6	71.4	75.0	76.6	71.2	69.8
Yes	24.6	30.3	24.5	22.1	29.4	28.6	25.0	23.4	28.8	30.2
(Liberal Party)	9.4	5.7	10.2	6.0	6.3	5.5	5.5	3.9	5.6	5.9
(Labor Party (ALP))	6.0	6.4	6.6	4.6	8.0	7.5	7.7	8.1	6.9	7.1
(National (Country) Party)	4.4	1.1	1.1	1.1	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.8	1.3	1.0
(Australian Democrats)	3.8	12.9	4.1	5.7	5.5	4.9	1.4	-	-	-
(Greens)				1.8	2.0	4.0	5.7	5.7	8.5	6.5
(One Nation)				-	5.0	2.5	1.3	-	-	-
(Another party/independent)	0.7	3.9	2.5	2.9	1.8	3.4	2.7	4.8	6.6	9.7
(N)	1,779	2,006	2,337	1,767	1,853	1,964	1,730	1,819	2,052	3,589
1987-2013: Considered changing vote d	uring elect	ion camp	aign, Lab	or and Lib	eral-Natio	onal voters	3			
	1987	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Labor	28.2	29.9	26.9	26.4	26.7	30.7	27.5	24.9	32.8	37.3
Liberal-National	23.2	23.5	17.7	16.0	26.5	20.0	17.3	17.3	20.3	19.1
1967-1979: 'In the past did you ever pref	fer a differe	ent party?	,							
	1967	1969	1979							
Yes	20.7	22.9	27.9							
No	79.3	77.1	72.1							
(N)	1,738	1,643	1,677							
<b>1967-1979:</b> 'Which was that?'										
	1967	1969	1979							
Liberal	29.1	37.8	34.8							
Labor	59.9	48.8	45.7							
(National) Country Party	5.2	5.5	6.8							
D.L.P.	2.9	3.5								
Australian Democrats			6.8							
Other	2.9	4.5	5.9							
(N)	353	376	446							

## Lifetime voting

<b>1967-2013</b> : Proportion of the electorate who are Li and National parties are treated as a single group.											
	1967	1969	1979	1987	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001		
	36.3	34.9	27.1	24.1	29.2	22.6	25.3	20.3	20.0		
Stable Liberal-National	36.3	34.9	27.1	24.1	29.2	22.6	25.3	20.3	20.0		
Stable Labor	32.3	31.7	32.9	37.8	27.3	29.4	23.3	22.5	20.7		
	2004	2007	2010	2013							
Stable Liberal-National	24.5	23.5	24.6	30.7							
Stable Labor	19.1	19.8	21.6	23.5							

## Considerations in voting decision

1996-2013: 'In deciding how you would vote in the election, which was most important to you?'												
	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013					
The party leaders	15.3	8.5	18.0	18.6	16.1	15.1	14.1					
The policy issues	48.6	66.0	47.3	49.0	52.4	51.8	54.1					
The candidates in your electorate	6.9	5.9	8.7	6.4	5.7	7.7	7.5					
The parties taken as a whole	29.2	19.6	26.0	25.9	25.8	25.3	24.4					
(N)	1,698	1,861	1,971	1,738	1,823	2,053	3,918					

## Two party preferences

<b>1996-2013:</b> 'If your first prefe	ranga waa far th	22 (1006: A	ustralian Da	maakata C	raana, 1000	2004. Aug	tralian Dama	acrata Cras	na Ona
Nation; 2007-2013: Greens) (									
Party, did you give your prefer					riajor partio	o, 1110 <u>2</u> 10010	ar racional c		
	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013		
Liberal-National	43.5	35.8	35.2	40.7	34.3	35.4	20.1		
Labor	35.0	40.5	40.4	37.9	47.2	46.7	50.8		
Not sure/Don't know	21.6	23.7	24.4	21.5	18.5	17.8	29.1		
(N)	858	991	1,162	1,006	1,089	901	658		
<b>1996-2013:</b> 'And in the Sena	te election?'								
	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013		
Liberal-National	42.5	32.8	31.8	37.1	31.5	32.1	17.2		
Labor	32.9	40.0	41.4	38.7	44.7	47.3	44.9		
Not sure/Don't know	24.6	27.2	26.8	24.2	23.8	20.6	37.8		
(N)	833	918	1,095	803	1,067	905	879		
<b>1993-2013:</b> 'Considering eve									
between the parties, some di parties?'	fference betwee	n the partie	es, not much	n difference	between th	e parties, oi	r no differen	ce between	the
odi (103 :	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	
Good deal of difference	43.8	30.6	29.8	24.2	29.7	30.4	25.6	31.7	
Some difference	39.3	44.3	46.2	44.8	48.7	50.2	46.8	45.1	
Not much difference	15.2	22.0	20.8	26.2	19.1	17.7	24.3	19.1	
No difference	1.7	3.2	3.2	4.7	2.5	1.6	3.3	4.1	
(N)	2,995	1,767	1,873	1,981	1,751	1,831	2,056	3,918	

#### The direction of political partisanship

1967-1969: 'Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Liberal, Labor, Country Party or D.L.P.?'

1979: 'Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as Liberal, Labor, National Country Party or Australian Democrat?'

1987-2013: 'Generally speaking, do you usually thi	ink of your	self as Lik	oeral, Labo	or, Nation	al, or wha	t?'			
	1967	1969	1979	1987	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001
Liberal	40.5	40.2	36.4	34.1	36.0	35.9	36.5	34.1	37.5
National	7.1	6.6	4.1	6.3	5.0	4.4	4.8	4.4	3.5
Labor	38.2	39.9	42.4	49.4	46.6	44.4	37.2	40.5	35.6
D.L.P	2.8	2.6							
Democrats			2.6	2.2	5.4	1.1	3.2	2.4	2.6
New Nat-Joh Party				1.0					
Greens					0.9		1.2	1.5	2.7
One Nation								2.5	2.5
Other	0.3	0.6	0.3	0.7		1.6	0.6	0.8	0.6
Independent				0.1	1.2				
None	11.2	10.0	14.1	6.1	4.2	12.0	16.5	13.8	15.0
(N)	2,054	1,873	2,016	1,787	1,960	2,346	1,738	1,857	1,956
	2004	2007	2010	2013					
Liberal	41.5	36.3	36.3	34.4					
National	3.1	3.7	3.2	3.7					
Labor	32.0	37.1	38.0	34.8					
D.L.P									
Democrats	0.7	0.4							
New Nat-Joh Party									
Greens	4.9	5.6	5.9	6.0					
One Nation	0.6	0.2							
Other	0.9	1.0	2.9	4.2					
Independent		0.2							
None	16.2	15.5	13.7	16.9					
(N)	1,719	1,830	2,058	3,951					

#### The strength of partisanship

**1967-1979:** 'Now thinking of the Federal parties, how strongly (name of federal party preferred) do you feel, very strongly, fairly strongly, or not very strongly?'

1097 2012: '\/\ould vou	i call vourself a very strong.	fairly atrana	or not your strong	aupportar of that party?
190/-2013: VVOIDIO VOI	i cali vouiseli a verv sirono.	. Tairiv Sironu.	OF HOLVERY SHORIC	Suddoner of mai darry?

	1967	1969	1979	1987	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001
Very strongly	33.4	33.7	34.0	20.1	17.5	19.9	18.8	18.0	18.3
Fairly strongly	43.9	48.3	47.2	47.1	47.7	49.0	45.5	50.2	47.5
Not very strongly	22.7	18.0	18.8	32.8	34.8	31.1	35.7	31.8	34.3
(N)	1,758	1,656	1,677	1,776	1,875	2,556	1,558	1,640	1,681
	2004	2007	2010	2013					
Very strongly	20.5	24.4	19.0	20.8					
Fairly strongly	47.5	48.8	52.0	50.1					
Not very strongly	31.9	26.8	29.0	29.1					
(N)	1,466	1,528	1,758	3,227					

## Strength of partisanship by party identification

		Lal	oor			Liberal-	National	
	Very	Fairly	Not very		Very	Fairly	Not very	
	strong	strong	strong	(N)	strong	strong	strong	(N)
1967	38.5	39.3	22.3	754	29.1	48.0	22.9	943
1969	41.3	43.4	15.3	733	27.1	53.0	19.9	864
1979	37.0	46.4	16.7	828	31.8	47.5	20.7	796
1987	28.2	51.1	20.7	833	34.5	46.8	18.7	722
1990	16.8	49.0	34.2	912	18.7	47.6	33.7	818
1993	19.1	51.3	29.6	1,004	20.0	46.8	33.2	930
1996	18.3	44.2	37.5	640	20.1	50.8	29.1	707
1998	22.5	51.4	26.1	733	14.1	53.5	32.4	701
2001	22.0	46.8	31.1	681	16.6	50.9	32.5	782
2004	22.3	45.8	31.9	530	20.8	50.5	28.8	751
2007	26.4	50.4	23.2	647	23.8	49.9	26.3	688
2010	16.2	54.0	29.8	778	20.6	52.4	27.0	805
2013	16.3	51.1	32.6	1,347	24.1	50.0	25.9	1,482

## **Election issues**

#### Most important election issues

1990: 'Which of these issues has worried you and your family most in the last 12 months?'

1993: 'Still thinking about the same 14 issues, which of these has worried you and your family most in the last 12 months?'

1996: 'Still thinking about these 13 issues, which of these issues has been most important to you and your family?'

**1998-2013:** 'Still thinking about these 13 (2007: 14, 2010: 12, 2013: 10) issues, which of these issues has been most important to you and your family during the election campaign?'

and your family during the election campaign?'									
	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Unemployment	10.7	27.2	13.4	8.8	3.8	1.9	2.2	3.3	
Inflation	17.6	2.8	2.1	0.7					
Wages	5.1								
Interest rates	29.2	6.0	9.8	1.5		9.4	7.0	7.2	
Education	5.1	6.5	11.2	5.8	17.0	15.0	10.5	12.6	14.9
The environment	11.0	4.0	5.1	2.9	3.7	5.5	7.7	4.6	5.8
Taxation	10.7		18.3	23.2	16.3	16.4	11.0	7.3	10.6
Cuts in government spending	1.8								
Privatisation			1.8	0.4					
Links with Asia			0.7	0.4					
Business taxes		6.3							
Child care		1.5							
Enterprise bargaining		1.5							
GST		22.6		42.0	12.8				
Employment contracts		4.0							
Medicare		6.2							
Social security		3.9							
Tariffs		1.1							
Immigration			4.0	2.8	4.5	1.8	2.9		2.2
Industrial relations			7.0	1.2	1.4	2.3	16.3	3.2	2.9
Health and Medicare	8.8	6.4	25.5	9.9	16.1	30.2	20.5	23.0	19.0
Defence and national security			0.6		5.8	5.7	2.7		
Sale of Telstra				0.3					
State and Territory Issues			0.3						
Refugees, asylum seekers					13.0	2.7		5.6	10.1
Worker entitlements					0.8				
Terrorism					4.8	4.8	1.8		
The war in Iraq						4.3	2.4		
Global warming							7.4	7.8	3.5
Management of water							6.6		
Treatment of Indigenous Australians							0.9		
The resources tax								3.2	
Population policy								1.0	
Management of the economy								21.1	27.5
The carbon tax									3.6
(N)	1,915	2,208	1,622	1,765	1,849	1,677	1,796	1,911	3,619

#### **Preferred party policies**

**1990-1996:** 'Here is a list of important issues that were discussed during the election campaign. Which of the Party's views—the Labor Party or the Liberal-Coalition—would you say came closest to your own views on each of these issues?'

**1998-2007:** '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?'

**2010-2013:** '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?'

Unemployment									
	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	
ALP	35.3	30.1	23.6	38.7	30.6	25.6	26.4	29.8	
Coalition	38.4	39.7	47.4	28.7	28.7	35.7	33.9	22.5	
No difference	16.0	19.8	16.9	19.8	25.6	23.0	25.3	29.2	
Don't know	10.3	10.3	12.1	12.8	15.0	15.7	14.4	18.5	
(N)	1,882	2,248	1,707	1,778	1,939	1,709	1,789	2,014	
Industrial Relations									
		1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
ALP		49.1	33.3	33.5	29.2	27.1	52.3	35.6	30.7
Coalition		27.1	41.9	29.9	32.2	37.3	31.6	27.1	30.3
No difference		12.8	10.0	16.7	20.1	15.5	7.8	20.0	17.9
Don't know		11.0	14.9	19.8	18.5	20.1	8.3	17.4	21.1
(N)		2,226	1,693	1,759	1,876	1,696	1,815	2,001	3,777
Interest rates									
	1990	1993	1996	1998		2004	2007	2010	
ALP	25.1	36.4	20.2	17.7		17.5	25.3	19.4	
Coalition	37.6	24.3	31.0	35.2		46.2	31.2	28.7	
No difference	23.3	22.2	24.7	26.6		22.7	30.8	33.9	
Don't know	14.0	17.1	24.1	20.5		13.6	12.7	18.0	
(N)	1,885	2,183	1,696	1,762		1,707	1,798	2,006	
Education									
Education	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
ALP	34.1	43.7	28.7	40.2	47.5	44.3	57.5	41.1	42.8
Coalition	22.6	27.4	31.1	23.8	26.7	35.1	21.0	24.1	25.8
No difference	23.3	16.6	23.8	22.1	16.5	11.9	14.8	22.0	18.7
Don't know	20.0	12.3	16.4	13.9	9.4	8.7	6.8	12.8	13.2
(N)	1,843	2,209	1,705	1,776	1,903	1, <b>691</b>	1,810	2,009	3,788
(14)	1,043	2,209	1,703	1,770	1,900	1,001	1,010	2,009	5,700

Taxation									
	1990		1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
ALP	27.3		21.0	35.9	33.3	27.4	29.7	26.6	25.0
Coalition	38.9		42.1	44.8	3.0	41.4	31.9	33.0	34.4
No difference	17.0		20.6	10.5	17.5	18.1	26.8	24.3	21.6
Don't know	16.8		16.4	8.8	10.2	13.1	11.6	16.1	19.0
(N)	1,856		1,693	1,803	1,899	1,689	1,815	2,007	3,774
Health					<u> </u>	<u> </u>			
	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
ALP	45.8	52.6	38.7	41.4	40.9	43.5	48.3	37.2	36.5
Coalition	29.0	31.9	38.4	26.8	27.9	37.2	24.6	26.4	26.7
No difference	13.2	8.3	14.0	17.4	19.5	11.2	17.7	22.9	21.5
Don't know	12.0	7.2	8.9	14.4	11.6	8.1	9.4	13.5	15.4
(N)	1,863	2,230	1,710	1,783	1,903	1,724	1,816	2,013	3,793
Environment				,	'	•		,	
	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
ALP	54.0	33.9	29.5	28.1	26.9	34.6	55.5	32.7	35.6
Coalition	15.4	17.3	29.7	17.1	20.9	28.4	19.0	19.9	22.5
No difference	17.1	31.7	25.8	34.7	36.2	23.3	17.7	31.8	24.8
Don't know	13.5	17.0	15.0	20.0	16.1	13.7	7.9	15.6	17.0
(N)	1,858	2,751	1,696	1,756	1,879	1,673	1,796	2,004	3,767
Global warming									
							2007	2010	2013
ALP							55.3	33.1	34.5
Coalition							17.0	22.2	22.5
No difference							17.0	29.3	24.0
Don't know							10.6	15.5	19.0
(N)							1,797	2,017	3,763
Immigration					<u>'</u>	<u>'</u>		<u>'</u>	
			1996	1998	2001	2004	2007		2013
ALP			19.6	25.8	19.9	22.1	29.5		20.8
Coalition			46.2	23.0	47.2	38.8	28.4		36.9
No difference			15.6	30.1	22.7	20.5	24.8		26.3
Don't know			18.6	21.2	10.2	18.7	17.3		16.0
(N)			1,700	1,773	1,888	1,659	1,789		3,779

Refugees and asylum seekers						
		2001	2004		2010	2013
ALP		15.1	22.0		20.7	18.8
Coalition		46.4	35.8		38.0	40.7
No difference		27.4	21.6		26.6	27.1
Don't know		11.2	20.6		14.7	13.4
(N)		1,889	1,657		2,010	3,783
Management of the economy						
					2010	2013
ALP					27.0	22.8
Coalition					36.8	43.7
No difference					21.5	18.3
Don't know					14.7	15.1
(N)					2,010	3,791
Defence and national security						
	1996	2001	2004	2007		
ALP	15.8	18.1	21.2	26		
Coalition	24.5	41.1	48.5	34.1		
No difference	27.2	27.9	18.6	25.5		
Don't know	32.5	12.9	11.7	14.4		
(N)	1,693	1,885	1,679	1,790		
Terrorism						
		2001	2004	2007		
ALP		12.9	19.5	23.6		
Coalition		41.7	44.8	29.1		
No difference		31.3	22.7	29.1		
Don't know		14.1	13.0	18.1		
(N)		1,892	1,683	1,802		

## The economy

#### Finances over past year

<b>1987-2013:</b> 'How does	1987-2013: 'How does the financial situation of your household now compare with what it was 12 months ago?'												
	1987	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013			
A lot better	5.6	2.9	3.8	4.2	5.5	4.7	6.5	10.1	4.0	4.3			
A little better	12.9	10.2	11.3	14.9	15.0	16.0	21.2	16.5	16.0	14.1			
About the same	38.3	33.2	40.8	45.2	49.7	38.3	49.0	41.6	44.7	46.3			
A little worse	28.6	32.4	26.8	23.5	20.6	25.6	17.1	20.6	23.9	23.4			
A lot worse	14.6	21.4	17.3	12.2	9.3	15.5	6.2	11.2	11.4	11.9			
(N)	1,817	2,015	2,342	1,747	1,851	1,952	1,717	1,809	2,047	3,843			

1987: 'How do you think the general economic situation in this country has changed over the last 12 months?'

**1990, 1993:** 'And how do you think the general economic situation in the country (1993: in Australia) now compares with what it was a year ago?'

1996-2013: 'And how do you think the general economic situation in Australia now compares with what it was 12 months ago?'

	1987	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
A lot better	5.1	0.8	1.3	1.7	6.7	6.8	11.7	13.9	5.6	2.4
A little better	26.2	7.3	14.4	15.4	22.9	18.9	30.9	21.9	22.6	13.5
About the same	22.4	17.7	22.2	35.6	34.8	33.8	42.2	35.1	35.6	38.1
A little worse	27.0	28.0	24.6	25.3	23.3	25.2	11.7	21.9	23.8	28.7
A lot worse	19.4	46.3	37.5	21.9	12.3	15.4	3.6	7.2	12.4	17.3
(N)	1,816	1,978	2,251	1,674	1,782	1,892	1,653	1,732	1,986	3,792

#### Government effect on economy over past year

**1987:** 'Compared with a year ago, would you say that the government's policies have had a good effect, a bad effect, or that they really have not made much difference with regard to the financial situation of your household?'

**1990-1993:** 'Compared with a year 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?'

**1996:** '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?'

**1998-2013:** '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?'

	1987	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Good effect	10.0	4.7	5.2	8.1	9.5	11.8	18.7	18.9	12.8	8.4
Not much difference	59.2	56.9	65.8	66.6	75.1	56.8	68.8	59.5	67.9	63.1
Bad effect	30.8	38.4	29.0	25.3	15.4	31.4	12.6	21.6	19.3	28.5
(N)	1,788	2,007	2,340	1,750	1,853	1,950	1,720	1,804	2,044	3,866

1987: 'And how about the country's general economic situation?'

1990-2013: 'And what effect do you think they have had on the general economic situation in Australia as a whole?'

	1987	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Good effect	29.0	8.8	9.1	13.2	27.7	23.4	34.6	29.9	28.7	13.3
Not much difference	40.2	38.9	43.6	46.5	56.0	50.1	57.2	51.6	46.3	50.0
Bad effect	30.9	52.3	47.3	40.3	16.3	26.5	8.2	18.5	25.0	36.7
(N)	1,758	1,981	2,896	1,690	1,896	1,894	1,667	1,752	2,014	3,823

#### Finances in a year's time

1990-2013: 'Compared to now, what do you think the financial situation of your household will be in 12 months time?'											
	1990	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013			
A lot better	4.3	6.1	4.8	3.8	4.7	5.1	3.5	4.7			
A little better	19.8	29.8	18.7	18.3	21.5	21.6	21.0	27.0			
About the same	39.3	46.1	42.0	48.7	53.0	48.9	48.9	42.7			
A little worse	23.1	13.1	23.6	19.0	15.7	19.1	19.1	17.7			
A lot worse	13.5	4.9	11.0	10.2	5.1	5.3	7.5	8.0			
(N)	1,996	1,745	1,851	1,952	1,712	1,795	2,035	3,867			

**1990-2013:** 'And what do you think the general economic situation in Australia (1990: this country) as a whole will be in 12 months time? (1990: compared to now)'

1993: 'Compared to now, what do you think the general economic situation in the country will be in 12 months time?'

	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	
A lot better	3.0	5.7	4.7	4.7	4.2	6.1	3.7	4.0	7.1	
A little better	20.1	37.6	34.0	19.8	18.2	23.9	16.4	23.5	29.9	
About the same	27.0	29.1	39.6	35.7	42.0	48.4	44.0	42.4	36.4	
A little worse	22.6	14.4	14.5	25.7	23.8	17.0	26.7	20.9	17.6	
A lot worse	27.3	13.2	7.2	14.1	11.8	4.6	9.2	9.1	9.0	
(N)	1,983	2,359	1,700	1,812	1,910	1,676	1,747	1,999	3,832	

#### Government effect on economy in year's time

**1990-2013:** 'Do you think that, a year from now (1996-2013: 12 months from now), the Federal government's policies will have had a good effect, a bad effect, or that they really will not make (1996-2013: will have not made) much difference to the financial situation of your household?'

•									
	1990	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	
Good effect	11.0	21.5	13.2	10.7	15.8	17.8	9.2	21.9	
Not much difference	67.6	66.9	60.6	70.4	73.0	68.8	73.2	61.1	
Bad effect	21.4	11.6	26.2	18.9	11.2	13.4	17.6	17.0	
(N)	1,991	1,737	1,844	1,949	1,704	1,781	2,014	3,850	

1990: 'And how about the country's general economic situation?'

**1993:** 'Do you think that, a year 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 general economic situation in the country as a whole?'

1996-2013: 'And what effect do you think they will have had on general economic situation in Australia as a whole?

	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	
Good effect	18.0	25.2	30.7	21.0	18.5	25.1	18.7	18.0	33.1	
Not much difference	50.6	57.7	55.5	55.8	63.6	62.5	58.8	61.2	49.1	
Bad effect	31.4	17.0	13.8	23.2	17.8	12.4	22.5	20.8	17.8	
(N)	1,976	2,349	1,702	1,796	1,905	1,666	1,742	1,986	3,809	

# Politics and political parties

#### Interest in politics

<b>1967-2013:</b> '(1993-20	)13: General	lly speaking,	) how much	n interest do	you usuall	y have in wł	nat's going o	on in politics	?'	
	1967	1969	1979	1987	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004
A good deal	17.7	21.8	26.7	35.2	35.6	37.5	32.0	36.5	32.4	33.0
Some	37.0	46.5	44.1	44.9	46.1	44.5	46.6	45.0	43.7	46.1
Not much	33.7	26.2	23.0	15.2	15.3	15.2	17.9	15.5	18.6	17.6
None	11.6	5.5	6.2	4.7	3.0	2.8	3.5	3.1	5.4	3.4
(N)	2,044	1,870	2,004	1,815	2,027	2,359	1,789	1,876	1,999	1,748
	2007	2010	2013							
A good deal	39.3	33.7	32.4							
Some	43.7	45.9	42.4							
Not much	13.9	17.3	19.7							
None	3.1	3.0	5.4							
(N)	1,845	2,059	3,944							

#### Compulsory and voluntary voting

1967-1979: 'Do you think that compulsory v	oting should	ha rataina	d or do y	ou think that	naanla aha	uld only boy	to voto at F	adoral
and State elections if they want to?'	oung should	be retaine	a, or ao y	/ou think that	beoble silo	uid Only Have	e lo vole al F	euerai
,	1967	7	1969	1979				
Vote if want to	24.3	3	23.2	31.2				
Compulsory better	75.7	7	76.8	68.8				
(N)	1,998	3	1,833	1,985				
<b>1987:</b> 'Do you think that compulsory voting State elections if they want to?'	should be reta	ained, or c	do you thi	nk that people	e should on	ly have to vo	te at Federal	and
	1987	7						
Strongly favour voting only if they want to	19.7	7						
Favour voting only if they want to	13.4	1						
Doesn't matter	2.6	3						
Favour compulsory voting	31.2	2						
Strongly favour compulsory voting	33.							
(N)	1,812	2						
<b>1993-2013:</b> 'Do you think that voting at Fed if they want to?'	leral elections	should be	e compuls	sory, or do you	u think that	people shou	ld only have	to vote
	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Strongly favour compulsory voting	39.9	42.4	43.7	7 46.9	46.9	50.6	42.4	45.0
Favour compulsory voting	27.8	28.3	27.7	7 22.7	27.2	26.1	27.0	25.2
Favour people voting only if they want to	18.2	17.5	18.3	3 17.1	14.9	14.6	17.7	16.9
Strongly favour people voting only if they want to	14.1	11.8	10.2	13.2	10.9	8.6	12.8	12.8
(N)	2,357	1,781	1,879	1,987	1,748	1,851	2,054	3,926

<b>1996-2013:</b> 'Would yo	1996-2013: 'Would you have voted in the election if voting had not been compulsory?'											
	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013					
Definitely would have voted	67.5	67.3	62.4	68.4	72.7	64.2	60.1					
Probably would have voted	18.6	17.9	17.2	17.4	15.7	19.2	18.9					
Might, might not	5.6	6.0	8.2	6.1	5.7	6.8	7.2					
Probably not	5.1	6.1	7.4	5.5	3.8	5.8	8.8					
Definitely not	3.3	2.7	4.8	2.6	2.1	4.0	5.1					
(N)	1,780	1,865	1,983	1,748	1,849	2,054	3,927					

## **Political participation**

1987: 'There are various forms of political act				have actually c	done any of
these things, whether you would do it, or wor	uld never, under any circumstances,	do any of ther	n.'		
Signing a petition					
	1987				
Have done	72.3				
Might do	22.3				
Would never do	5.4				
(N)	1,797				
Attending lawful demonstrations					
	1987				
Have done	13.2				
Might do	43.9				
Would never do	42.9				
(N)	1,763				
2001-2013: 'Over the past five years or so, h	ave you done any of the following th	ings to expres	s your views a	bout somethin	g the
government should or should not be doing?'					
Contacted a politician or government offici	ial either in person, or in writing (20	01-2007: or	some other w	ay)	
	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Yes	26.6	29.1	24.0	18.3	15.2
No	73.4	70.9	76.0	81.7	84.8
(N)	1,869	1,651	1,730	1,981	3,693
2010-2013: Contacted a politician or gov	ernment official by email				
	2010	2013			
Yes	13.2	16.8			
No	86.8	83.2			
(N)	1,974	3,710			

Taken part in a protest, march or demonst	ration				
	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Yes	12.3	13.7	13.0	10.7	10.3
No	87.7	86.3	87.0	89.3	89.7
(N)	1,776	1,624	1,659	1,967	3,677
Worked together with people who shared	the same concern				
	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Yes	22.2	22.7	23.8	19.8	19.2
No	77.8	77.3	76.2	80.2	80.8
(N)	1,804	1,627	1,681	1,975	3,687
2004-2013: Signed a written petition					
	2004	2007	2010	2013	
Yes	56.0	43.8	44.0	42.6	
No	44.0	56.2	56.0	57.4	
(N)	1,670	1,750	2,003	3,757	
Signed an online or e-petition (2004-2007:	Signed an electronic petition)				
	2004	2007	2010	2013	
Yes	11.8	16.9	20.5	28.7	
No	88.2	83.1	79.5	71.3	
(N)	1,615	1,648	1,963	3,686	

#### Feelings about political parties

**1993:** 'We would like to know your feelings about the political parties. Please show how you feel about them by circling a number from 0 to 10. 10 is the highest rating, if you feel very favourable about a party, and 0 is the lowest rating, for parties you feel very unfavourable about. If you are neutral about a party or don't know much about them, you should give them a rating of 5. How do you feel about:'

**1996-2013:** '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. How do you feel about:'

Mean Scores								
	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Liberal	5.35	5.80	5.39	5.59	5.79	5.31	5.09	5.01
Labor	5.39	4.97	5.74	5.54	5.41	5.89	5.10	4.77
Green	3.86	3.99	4.36	4.66	4.17	4.44	4.19	3.79
Democrat	3.87	5.15	5.13	4.60	3.95			
One Nation			2.29	2.57	2.62			
National	4.24	4.76	4.73	4.72	4.8	4.40	4.33	4.48

## The role of political parties

1967-1979: 'In general, would you say there is a	good deal d	of difference	e between	the parties,	some diffe	rence, or n	ot much diff	ference?'
	1967	1969	1979					
Good deal of difference	33.7	39.9	39.5					
Some difference	24.0	28.6	27.1					
Not much difference	42.3	31.4	33.4					
(N)	1,789	1,748	1,946					
1993-2013: 'Considering everything the Labor Pa	arty and the	Liberal Pa	rty stand fo	r, would yo	u say there	is'		
	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
A good deal of difference between the parties	44.1	30.6	29.8	24.2	29.7	30.4	25.6	31.7
Some difference between the parties	39.6	44.3	46.2	44.8	48.7	50.2	46.8	45.1
Not much difference between the parties	14.7	21.9	20.8	26.2	19.1	17.8	24.3	19.1
No difference between the parties	1.6	3.2	3.1	4.7	2.5	1.6	3.3	4.1
(N)	2,351	1,769	1,874	1,981	1,751	1,831	2,056	3,918
1996-2013: 'Some people say that political partie							tical parties	in
Australia don't care what ordinary people think. V	here would	l you place	your view		e from 1 to	5?'		
	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	
1 Care what ordinary people think	5.0	4.6	5.4	5.4	7.2	6.5	7.3	
2	18.2	16.2	18.9	22.9	24.8	21.3	22.9	
3	36.9	33.5	34.7	34.6	39.6	34.2	31.4	
4	23.2	26.2	23.8	23.9	18.6	23.3	22.2	
5 Don't care what ordinary people think	16.6	19.6	17.2	13.2	9.8	14.7	16.3	
(N)	1,770	1,823	1,960	1,733	1,845	2,036	3,883	
1996-2013: 'Where would you place your view or					t political pa	arties are ne	ecessary to	make
our political system work, and 5 means that politi								
	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	
1 Necessary to make our political system work	43.6	43.0	40.5	46.2	49.0	40.5	41.3	
2	27.6	25.2	27.2	27.8	27.5	27.8	27.3	
3	19.5	20.5	22.3	18.0	16.4	21.3	20.4	
4	5.0	6.2	5.9	5.0	4.4	6.5	6.0	
5 Not needed in Australia	4.4	5.1	4.0	3.0	2.7	3.9	5.0	
(N)	1,768	1,816	1,952	1,733	1,840	2,042	3,879	

# The left-right dimension

#### Voters' left-right position

1996-2013: '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?' **Mean Scores** 1996 1998 2001 2004 2007 2010 2013 Self 5.46 5.36 5.30 5.34 5.29 5.03 5.03 (N) 1,548 1,597 1,588 1,454 1,705 1,878 3,444

#### Where voters place the parties

1996-2013: 'Using the same scale, where would you place each of the Federal political parties?'											
Mean Scores											
	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013				
Labor	4.33	4.52	4.71	4.31	4.35	4.23	4.17				
Liberal	6.45	6.50	6.49	7.04	6.85	6.28	6.49				
Green	3.84	3.74	3.65	3.21	3.61	3.27	2.99				
Democrat	4.69	4.65	4.39	4.41							
National	6.50	6.36	6.31	6.59	6.57	6.08	6.20				
One Nation		6.05	5.90	5.94							

## The political leaders

#### How the political leaders are rated

**1987-1990:** 'We would like to know your feelings about the party leaders you hear about in the news today. We would like you to show your feelings by rating them 0 to 10. You may use any number from 0 to 10. 10 is the highest rating for people you feel very favourable about, and 0 is the lowest rating for people you feel very strongly against. If you are neutral about a particular person, you should give them a rating of 5. How do you feel about:'

**1996-2013:** '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. How do you feel about:'

Mean Scores										
	1987	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
John Howard	4.87	4.93		5.73	5.30	5.57	5.71	5.14		
Bob Hawke	6.23	5.46								
Paul Keating	4.33	4.01	4.73	4.22						
Andrew Peacock	4.84	3.87								
Ian Sinclair	3.58									
Janine Haines	4.71	5.12								
John Bjelke-Petersen	2.58									
Charles Blunt		3.60								
John Hewson			5.18							
Tim Fischer			4.12	4.77	4.76					
John Coulter			3.27	5.36						
Cheryl Kernot					4.35					
Kim Beazley					6.11	5.73				
Gareth Evans					3.54					
Pauline Hanson					2.34	2.56	3.19			
Simon Crean						4.01	3.79			
John Anderson						4.92	5.22			
Natasha Stott-Despoja						5.01				
Mark Latham							5.05			
Andrew Bartlett							3.96			
Kevin Rudd								6.31	5.01	4.07
Mark Vaile								4.60		
Bob Brown						4.37	4.01	4.48	4.10	
Peter Costello					4.27	4.29	4.72	4.13		
Julia Gillard								5.19	4.89	4.04
Tony Abbott									4.26	4.29
Wayne Swan									4.03	
Warren Truss									4.12	4.34
Christine Milne										3.81

#### Perceived qualities of political leaders

1993-2013: '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?' Estimates are the percent who responded 'extremely well'.

The 2010 figures have been corrected from the previous version of this report

The 2010 ligures have been corrected from the	previous ve	1993	Тероп.	1996		1998	200	
	Keating	Hewson	Keating	Howard	Howard	Beazley	Howard	Beazley
Moral	13.4	19.1	9.2	31.6	28.8	22.4	Howard	Deaziey
Intelligent	44.6	42.8	47.7	29.6	29.6	28.2	30.4	28.3
Compassionate	7.8	11.9	4.4	17.9	14.4	24.2	13.7	20.0
Sensible	15.9	18.0	13.5	22.9	21.2	17.2	25.1	13.1
Strong Leadership	43.3	15.6	43.4	11.5	12.3	17.8	31.2	9.9
Decent	16.9	24.1					02	0.0
Reliable	10.9	16.0	8.9	21.7	16.1	12.6		
Knowledgeable	36.7	33.9	39.4	25.2	23.3	22.9	27.6	22.0
Inspiring	15.7	10.0	14.4	7.2	4.4	11.2	7.0	7.7
Dependable	10.4	15.0	8.2	20.1	13.4	12.5		
Honest			6.5	31.1	23.4	18.0	21.5	17.8
Arrogant			54.7	7.6				
Trustworthy							16.1	14.0
Competent								
	'	2004		2007		2010		2013
	Howard	Latham	Howard	Rudd	Gillard	Abbott	Rudd	Abbott
Moral								
Intelligent	42.4	16.5	42.3	46.4	33.7	16.5	30.9	20.0
Compassionate	16.3	11.3	13.4	19.8	9.4	6.2	8.7	8.7
Sensible	29.0	6.3	27.8	24.1	18.6	6.9	9.3	12.1
Strong Leadership	46.6	10.3	42.6	28.3	15.3	11.6	10.6	17.3
Decent								
Reliable								
Knowledgeable	35.1	9.9	35.3	29.5	23.4	10.1	26.3	14.0
Inspiring	10.9	7.4	10.6	18.4	10.2	3.7	7.8	7.0
Dependable								
Honest	14.5	9.7	15.1	20.1	9.0	8.7	6.7	12.5
Arrogant								
Trustworthy	13.7	7.6	12.6	16.3	6.1	6.3	5.5	11.5
Competent			33.4	20.1	17.2	7.8	10.5	10.6

# **Democracy and institutions**

## Satisfaction with democracy

1969, 1979: 'On the whole, how do you feel about the state of government and politics in Australia? Would you say that you were very										
satisfied, fairly satisfied, or not satisfied?'										
	1969	1979								
Very satisfied	6.7	3.7								
Fairly Satisfied	69.9	51.8								
Not satisfied	23.4	44.5								
(N)	1,820	1,944								
1996: 'On the whole, are you satisfied, fa	irly satisfied, no	ot very satisfie	d or not at all	satisfied with t	he way demo	cracy works ir	Australia?'			
<b>1998-2013:</b> 'On the whole are you very s	satisfied fairly (	satisfied not v	verv satisfied o	or not at all sat	tisfied with the	way democra	acy works			
in Australia?'	ationoa, rainy t	sationoa, riot	ory canonica c	or riot at all oar		way domoore	acy works			
	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013			
Very satisfied	30.9	14.2	16.1	20.9	22.9	11.2	14.0			
Fairly satisfied	47.1	57.0	57.5	60.7	62.7	60.3	57.7			
Not very satisfied	17.2	22.6	21.8	14.5	11.9	23.4	22.2			
Not at all satisfied	4.9	6.1	4.6	4.0	2.5	5.1	6.0			
(N)	1,765	1,878	1,977	1,729	1,857	2,049	3,863			

## **Trust in government**

1969, 1979: 'In general, do you feel the that they can be trusted to do the right		~	nt are too of	ften intereste	ed in looking	after themse	elves, or do	you feel
that they earl be trusted to do the right	1969	1979						
Do right thing	51.0	29.3						
Look after self	49.0	70.7						
(N)	1,727	1,883						
<b>1993-2013:</b> 'In general, do you feel that they can be trusted to do the right		~	nt are too of	ten intereste	d in looking	after themse	elves, or do y	ou feel
1) Usually look after themselves 2) Sor can be trusted to do the right thing.'	netimes look a	ıfter themsel	ves 3) Some	etimes can b	e trusted to	do the right	thing and 4)	Usually
	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Usually themselves	42.4	29.8	44.6	40.3	33.8	28.6	36.7	37.9
Sometimes themselves	23.6	22.5	21.9	28.1	26.7	28.5	26.4	27.8
Sometimes trusted	25.9	32.8	23.8	20.7	24.7	27.6	28.5	23.1
Usually trusted	8.1	14.9	9.7	11.0	14.8	15.3	8.4	11.1
(N)	2,326	1,727	1,864	1,960	1,706	1,819	2,051	3,871
1987, 1993: 'Would you say the Feder	~		uch run for a	a few big gro	ups (1993: i	nterests) loo	king out for	
themselves, or that it is run for the ben								
	1987	1993						
Few big groups	65.2	71.6						
All the people	34.8	28.4						
(N) 1998-2013: 'Would you say the gover	1,773	2,299	ntaraata laal	dina out for t	hamaal (aa	or that it is r	un for the he	enofit of
all people?'	ninent is run b	y a lew big i	nieresis 1001	king out for t	.nemseives, 	or that it is n	un for the be	rielli oi
	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013		
Entirely run for big interests	15.0	13.6	10.5	7.8	9.3	11.3		
Mostly run for big interests	37.5	34.1	31.2	30.2	35.1	35.6		
About half and half	35.6	35.7	37.8	41.6	43.3	37.0		
Mostly run for benefit of all	11.1	15.8	18.8	19.1	11.5	15.2		
Entirely run for benefit of all	0.8	0.8	1.7	1.3	0.8	0.9		
(N)	1,849	1,979	1,727	1,849	2,050	3,862		

#### **Political efficacy**

**1996-1998:** '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?' (values presented in opposite direction)

**2001-2013:** '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 big difference to what happens. Using the scale below, where would you place yourself?'

	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
1 Who people vote for can make a big difference	39.8	30.4	24.1	33.5	35.9	31.1	31.2
2	30.4	33.3	32.4	32.2	35.5	32.8	32.6
3	16.9	20.2	22.6	16.5	18.7	22.4	19.0
4	6.0	9.2	12.1	10.9	6.4	7.6	9.5
5 Who people vote for won't make any difference	6.9	6.8	8.8	7.0	3.5	6.1	7.7
(N)	1,773	1,846	1,976	1,750	1,854	2,049	3,864

**2001-2013:** 'Some people say it makes a big difference who is in power. Others say that it doesn't make any difference who is in power. Using the scale below, where would you place yourself?'

ie in perion comig into come serent, intere memor jour place journel.										
	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	2010	2013			
1 It makes a big difference who is in power	22.6	35.7	34.3	27.2	29.2	31.1	29.2			
2	28.7	30.9	33.9	32.6	31.1	32.8	31.1			
3	24.8	16.8	19.2	23.8	19.3	22.4	19.3			
4	14.0	9.3	8.4	8.5	11.6	7.6	11.6			
5 It doesn't make any difference who is in power	9.9	7.2	4.2	7.9	8.8	6.1	8.8			
(N)	1,976	1,752	1,854	2,049	3,864	2,049	3,864			

**2001-2013:** '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?'

	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	
1 Federal politicians know what ordinary people think	2.4	3.2	3.2	3.7	3.5	
2	13.5	18.2	19.4	12.6	18.1	
3	34.9	36.9	42.4	36.1	35.0	
4	27.9	25.3	22.8	29.8	25.6	
5 Federal politicians don't know what ordinary people think	21.3	16.4	12.2	17.8	17.7	
(N)	1,978	1,743	1,849	2,050	3,843	

#### The head of state

important?'											
<b>1987-2013:</b> 'How import											
	1967	1979	1987	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Very Important	27.5	24.7	18.1	13.4	12.4	9.9	10.2	9.5	10.6	12.7	16.2
Fairly Important	25.8	29.2	29.0	21.8	27.1	20.5	21.1	22.8	25.0	24.7	27.5
Not very Important	46.7	46.1	52.9	64.7	60.5	69.6	68.7	67.7	64.4	62.6	56.3
(N)	2,004	1,994	1,805	2,376	1,757	1,856	1,980	1,731	1,850	2,055	3,865
<b>1993-2013:</b> 'Do you thin	k that Aust	tralia shoul	ld become	a republic	with an A	ustralian h	ead of stat	te, or shoul	ld the Que	en be retai	ned as
head of state?'											
	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013			
Strongly favour republic	27.1	29.2	34.3	38.2	33.0	30.9	26.9	26.0			
Favour republic	32.6	29.7	31.5	25.5	28.9	29.1	30.7	26.7			
Favour retain Queen	26.4	28.8	25.2	25.3	27.4	30.3	30.3	32.6			
Strongly favour retain	13.8	12.4	9.0	11.1	10.6	9.7	12.1	14.7			
Queen											
(N)	2,376	1,730	1,833	1,960	1,722	1,830	2,047	3,841			
<b>1987-1998:</b> 'On the issu	e of the Au	ıstralian fla	.g, do you	1) Strongly	y favour ch	anging the	flag 2) Fa	vour chanç	ging the fla	g 3) Favou	r
retaining the flag 4) Stron	ngly favour	retaining t	he flag.'								
	1987	1993	1996	1998							
Strongly for flag	12.6	17.0	15.5	15.1							
change											
For flag change	16.4	25.1	18.6	24.1							
For retaining flag	28.5	25.2	27.4	27.7							
Strongly for retaining flag	42.6	32.7	38.5	33.0							
(N)	1,792	2,346	1,752	1,835							

## Government control of parliament

1993-2013: '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?'										
1993 1998 2001 2004 2007 2010 20										
Much better when Government controls both	22.0	19.9	18.0	17.0	14.2	19.1	19.7			
Better when Government controls both	20.6	18.6	16.3	16.9	16.6	20.8	22.0			
Neither/doesn't matter	14.0	14.3	21.9	14.1	18.4	20.6	20.9			
Better when Government does not control the Senate	34.9	37.7	32.8	35.2	38.4	32.4	29.6			
Much better when Government does not control the Senate	8.5	9.5	11.0	16.8	12.4	7.0	7.8			
(N)	2,278	1,830	1,935	1,714	1,808	2,034	3,892			

# Trade unions, business and wealth

## The power of trade unions and big business

1967-1979: 'Do you think that the trade unions in this country have too much power or not too much?'									
	1967	1969	1979						
Too Much	52.2	59.9	82.0						
Not too much	46.8	40.1	18.0						
(N)	1,740	1,658	1,903						
1967-1979: 'Do you think big business in this country ha	as too much power or not too much power	?'							
ion ion be you amin't signature in the country in	1967	1969	1979						
Too Much	59.8	62.4	68.3						
Not too much	40.2	37.6	31.7						
(N)	1,764	1,644	1,859						
4007. (Do you think that treeds you in this government have	a tan ann all ann an								
1987: 'Do you think that trade unions in this country hav	e too much power or not enough power?								
Too much power	70.5								
Not too much	13.9								
It depends	15.5								
(N)	1,802								
1987: 'And how about big business? Do you think they	nave too much power or not enough powe	r?'							
	1987								
Too much power	50.9								
Not too much	18.5								
It depends	30.6								
(N)	1,765								

1990, 1996-2013: 'Please say whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each of these statements.'

1993: 'Here are some statements about economic issues. Please say whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each statement.'

The trade unions in this country have too much power									
	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Strongly agree	35.4	38.0	37.6	24.2	19.4	15.5	14.6	19.4	17.9
Agree	33.1	24.4	24.2	28.8	28.2	25.7	22.8	29.2	27.5
Neither agree nor disagree	19.3	18.0	19.0	23.0	29.0	31.1	29.8	30.6	31.7
Disagree	10.7	14.8	14.0	18.2	18.2	22.2	25.3	17.2	18.5
Strongly disagree	1.4	4.8	5.2	5.9	5.2	5.8	7.5	3.6	4.4
(N)	2,004	2,314	1,749	1,842	1,940	1,702	1,834	2,039	3,815
Big business in this co	untry has to	o much po	wer						
	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Strongly agree	22.1	27.7	29.0	31.1	31.8	27.1	25.3	27.2	25.0
Agree	42.4	34.6	35.5	39.7	39.8	44.5	43.9	44.9	41.3
Neither agree nor disagree	25.4	25.4	25.1	23.1	21.9	22.0	22.6	22.2	25.6
Disagree	9.2	10.6	9.0	5.4	5.2	4.9	7.1	5.1	7.2
Strongly disagree	0.9	1.7	1.4	0.8	1.3	1.5	1.2	0.6	0.9
(N)	1,998	2,300	1,736	1,829	1,939	1,697	1,817	2,039	3,815

#### Class self-image

1967: 'To which class would you belong?'

1969-1979: '(1979: Now I would like to talk for a moment about social classes in Australia) First of all, to what class would you say you belonged?'

1987: 'To what social class would you say you belong?'

1990-2013: 'Which social class would you say you belong to?'

	1967	1969	1979	1987	1990	1993	1998	2001	2004
Upper	0.5	1.5	1.3	1.0	1.2	1.6	1.6	1.5	1.7
Middle	56.5	48.8	57.4	47.7	47.5	45.7	48.3	48.8	54.1
Working	43.0	49.7	41.3	51.3	51.3	52.7	50.2	49.8	44.2
None									
(N)	1,516	1,792	1,933	1,476	1,649	2,139	1,626	1,737	1,532
	2007	2010	2013						
Upper	2.4	1.6	1.8						
Middle	53.2	52.6	51.6						
Working	44.4	38.7	37.9						
None		7.2	8.7						
(N)	1,633	2,043	3,826						

### Trade union membership and support for industrial action

1967-1979, 1987, 1996	<b>-2013:</b> 'Do y	ou belong to	a trade unic	on?'					
<b>1990, 1993:</b> 'Do you be	long to a trac	de union or s	taff associati	on?'					
	1967	1969	1979	1987	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001
Yes	26.1	25.7	27.9	41.8	40.5	30.4	29.9	26.0	24.4
No	73.9	74.3	72.1	58.2	59.5	69.6	70.1	74.0	75.6
(N)	1,962	1,869	2,011	1,437	1,816	2,296	1,586	1,703	1,807
	2004	2007	2010	2013					
Yes	25.0	24.4	22.7	20.7					
No	75.0	75.6	77.3	79.3					
(N)	1,603	1,698	1,937	3,610					

1990, 1996-2013: 'Please say whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each of these statements.'

**1993:** 'Here are some statements about economic issues. Please say whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each statement.'

There should be strict	There should be stricter laws to regulate the activities of trade unions												
	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013				
Strongly agree	28.0	32.9	26.0	19.7	17.6	14.6	15.1	17.6	15.9				
Agree	39.7	29.0	32.8	33.4	31.4	29.3	26.8	31.4	30.4				
Neither agree nor disagree	20.2	19.5	23.1	27.3	31.4	34.2	32.6	34.2	36.9				
Disagree	10.6	13.9	13.1	14.9	15.0	15.7	19.1	13.1	13.1				
Strongly disagree	1.5	4.7	5.1	4.7	4.6	6.3	6.4	3.7	3.7				
(N)	1,995	2,304	1,739	1,827	1,950	1,709	1,820	2,041	3,816				

## **Priorities for government spending**

<b>1987-2013:</b> 'If the govern	nment had a	choice betv	ween reduci	ng taxes or	spending m	nore on soci	al services, <sup>,</sup>	which do yc	u think it sho	ould do?'
	1987	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	
Strongly favour reducing taxes	43.7	37.4	40.8	33.4	27.1	21.7	21.4	24.6	20.4	
Mildly favour reducing taxes	21.6	18.0	16.3	13.5	14.8	13.8	12.6	13.9	15.8	
Depends	19.8	26.6	26.1	27.5	28.5	27.5	19.2	27.6	33.4	
Mildly favour spending more on social services	7.6	10.7	9.4	12.4	14.5	16.5	20.3	18.1	17.1	
Strongly favour spending on more social services	7.2	7.3	7.4	13.2	15.0	20.5	26.6	15.7	13.3	
(N)	1,740	2,312	1,797	1,804	1,951	1,711	1,816	2,047	3,850	
<b>1987-2013:</b> 'Please say	whether yo	u strongly :	agree, agre	e, disagree	or strongly	/ disagree v	vith each o	f these state	ements.'	
Income and wealth s	hould be re	edistribute	ed towards	ordinary	working p	eople				
	1987	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Strongly agree	17.3	16.3	24.1	18.2	17.0	20.9	17.6	19.2	17.1	16.2
Agree	28.4	25.3	27.0	28.9	32.6	34.9	33.4	31.6	33.8	34.1
Neither agree nor disagree	20.1	23.3	23.2	28.2	27.2	26.6	28.9	27.0	30.4	28.5
Disagree	24.9	24.5	19.0	19.4	17.3	13.5	16.0	17.3	14.8	16.1
Strongly disagree	9.3	10.6	6.7	5.3	5.9	4.1	4.0	4.9	3.9	5.2
(N)	1,778	1,977	2,324	1,727	1,826	1,949	1,701	1,807	2,042	3,818
<b>1996-2013:</b> 'Please say	whether yo	u strongly	agree, agre	e, disagree	or strongly	/ disagree v	vith each o	f these state	ements.'	
High income tax make			g to work							
	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013			
Strongly agree	36.8	38.2	29.8	25.3	25.1	24.4	14.8			
Agree	37.2	38.1	39.6	39.3	35.5	36.2	33.1			
Neither agree nor disagree	15.0	13.7	17.2	19.8	22.1	21.7	26.1			
Disagree	9.0	8.9	10.8	12.8	14.8	14.8	21.6			
Strongly disagree	1.9	1.1	2.5	2.8	2.5	2.9	4.4			
(N)	1,735	1,836	1,948	1,699	1,835	2,038	3,815			

## Changes in economic conditions since previous election

1998-2010: 'Thinking back to the Federal Election of (1996/1998/2001/2004/2007) when (John Howard/Kevin Rudd) won against (Paul Keating/Kim Beazley/Mark Latham/John Howard) would you say that since then the following have increased or fallen?'

Keating/Kim Beazley/N	Mark Latham/Jo	hn Howard)	would you s	ay that since	then the fol	lowing have increased	d or fallen?'	0 ,
Unemployment								
	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010			
Increased a lot	15.4	14.1	4.9	4.6	5.8			
Increased a little	25.1	30.4	14.9	8.5	29.4			
Stayed the same	23.1	22.8	23.2	17.5	34.5			
Fallen a little	32.0	27.0	46.4	42.3	26.4			
Fallen a lot	4.4	5.8	10.6	27.2	3.8			
(N)	1,813	1,907	1,668	1,771	2,021			
Prices	4000				2010			
	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010			
Increased a lot	23.1	45.0	35.4	16.1	33.7			
Increased a little	50.0	42.2	48.8	25.6	48.3			
Stayed the same	21.6	8.8	11.5	26.4	14.2			
Fallen a little	4.8	3.2	3.3	28.3	2.7			
Fallen a lot	0.5	0.8	0.9	3.6	1.1			
(N)	1,795	1,921	1,687	1,744	2,033			
Quality of Industrial	Relations							
	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010			
Increased a lot	3.4	2.8	3.2	6.1	9.2			
Increased a little	14.9	14.3	15.3	15.5	21.6			
Stayed the same	35.2	42.4	49.7	21.2	45.9			
Fallen a little	26.9	25.2	19.8	21.4	17.2			
Fallen a lot	19.6	15.3	12.1	35.7	6.1			
(N)	1,755	1,867	1,633	1,746	2,022			
Your own standard o	of living							
Tour Own Standard C	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010			
Increased a lot	3.5	3.9	3.9	5.3	3.1			
Increased a little	16.2	17.7	21.2	21.9	17.7			
Stayed the same	48.7	41.9	48.4	44.9	48.9			
Fallen a little	24.2	26.8	19.9	20.1	23.6			
Fallen a lot	7.3	9.7	6.6	7.7	6.7			
(N)	1,793	1,923	1,697	1,787	2,042			
(14)	1,793	1,323	1,097	1,707	2,042			

General standard of liv	ving						
	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010		
Increased a lot	2.4	2.3	3.4	4.5	2.5		
Increased a little	11.9	14.5	23.5	23.0	15.9		
Stayed the same	41.8	34.5	42.3	33.7	42.4		
Fallen a little	35.8	36.9	24.3	29.7	31.2		
Fallen a lot	8.1	11.9	6.5	9.1	8.1		
(N)	1,767	1,923	1,686	1,786	2,036		
Taxes							
	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010		
Increased a lot	13.5	28.5	20.2	16.1	11.9		
Increased a little	33.5	31.3	37.6	25.6	32.1		
Stayed the same	47.8	20.3	28.0	26.4	42.5		
Fallen a little	4.4	18.0	12.8	28.3	12.8		
Fallen a lot	0.9	1.9	1.4	3.6	0.7		
(N)	1,742	1,876	1,637	1,744	2,005		
The standard of health	n services						
	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010		
Increased a lot	5.1	3.5	3.8	3.1	3.6		
Increased a little	7.0	9.4	8.1	6.9	16.6		
Stayed the same	25.2	32.9	28.3	29.7	44.7		
Fallen a little	34.2	31.6	35.1	33.0	24.7		
Fallen a lot	28.6	22.6	24.8	27.4	10.3		
(N)	1,780	1,913	1,677	1,775	2,037		
Quality of education							
		2001	2004	2007	2010		
Increased a lot		2.1	2.3	2.2	3.8		
Increased a little		9.5	10.1	7.8	20.9		
Stayed the same		40.9	44.3	43.3	51.5		
Fallen a little		29.3	27.6	30.3	18.3		
Fallen a lot		18.1	15.8	16.4	5.4		
(N)		1,896	1,669	1,761	2,027		

### Social issues

### Censorship

**1987-2013:** '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?'

	1987	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Gone much too far		23.8	29.1	27.8	25.1	20.4	21.2	19.8	17.5	16.7
Gone too far	48.8	30.5	29.3	27.7	28.7	25.4	28.8	28.4	25.4	26.1
About right	43.5	37.8	33.3	36.8	39.0	44.8	40.0	41.4	46.3	48.1
Not gone far enough	7.7	6.0	5.1	5.0	4.9	6.6	6.9	6.8	7.7	6.5
Not nearly far enough		1.9	3.1	2.7	2.3	2.8	3.2	3.6	3.0	2.6
(N)	1,787	2,002	2,290	1,768	1,813	1,951	1,706	1,827	2,037	3,820

### **Abortion**

**1979, 1987:** 'Do you think women should be able to obtain an abortion easily when they want one, or do you think abortion should be allowed only in special circumstances?'

**1990-2013:** 'Which one of these statements comes closest to how you feel about abortion in Australia? 1) Women should be able to obtain an abortion readily when they want one 2) Abortion should be allowed only in special circumstances 3) Abortion should not be allowed under any circumstances (2010-2013 4) Don't know.)'

	1979	1987	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Obtain readily	46.2	38.6	52.5	60.9	55.7	53.1	61.1	58.5	60.8	58.6	61.2
Special circumstances	48.5	55.0	41.2	33.8	38.5	42.0	34.5	37.2	34.9	30.9	27.9
Banned	5.3	6.4	6.3	5.2	5.7	4.9	4.4	4.3	4.3	4.0	4.0
Don't know										6.5	6.9
(N)	1,939	1,793	1,937	2,227	1,706	1,741	1,854	1,595	1,748	2,045	3,861

### Marijuana

**1990:** 'Here are some statements about some legal issues and about some more general social concerns. Please say whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each of these statements.'

**1993-2013:** 'Here are some statements about general social concerns. Please say whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each of these statements.'

The smoking of marijuana sl	hould NOT I	oe a crimir	nal offence						
	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Strongly agree	10.6	11.1	13.3	12.0	11.7	8.9	9.2	9.4	11.8
Agree	21.6	23.6	22.5	23.0	22.8	24.0	20.1	22.0	22.2
Neither agree nor disagree	18.1	21.6	18.5	20.2	21.4	20.3	20.5	21.9	22.1
Disagree	29.9	23.7	22.8	25.6	27.1	28.8	29.3	28.8	25.5
Strongly disagree	19.7	20.0	22.8	19.1	17.0	18.0	20.9	17.9	18.4
(N)	2,012	2,315	1,775	1,833	1,967	1,714	1,829	2,048	3,838

### Crime

1987: 'Please say whether you agree or disagree with the following statements.'

1990: 'Here are some statements about some legal issues and about some more general social concerns. Please say whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each of these statements.'

Decode who break the law should be	ements.'									
People who break the law should be	1	1		1000	1000	0004	0004	0007	0010	0040
01	1987	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Strongly agree	56.5	39.0	42.2	43.9	40.0	33.3	30.0	29.2	31.6	29.5
Agree	31.3	43.1	38.7	36.9	39.9	41.0	40.5	40.8	39.5	40.8
Neither agree nor disagree	9.1	13.4	14.9	14.4	15.8	17.3	20.9	21.6	21.5	21.1
Disagree	2.4	3.2	3.1	3.4	3.7	5.7	6.0	5.9	5.2	6.2
Strongly disagree	0.7	1.3	1.1	1.4	1.6	2.7	2.6	2.5	2.2	2.5
(N)	1,775	2,016	2,313	1,771	1,822	1,956	1,708	1,815	2,053	3,835
The death penalty should be reintro	luced for r	nurder (1	987: Brin	g back the	e death pe	enalty)				
	1987	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Strongly agree	40.8	39.7	40.8	38.8	38.6	29.9	24.0	19.5	20.9	22.5
Agree	18.7	26.8	26.8	27.5	26.6	26.6	27.1	24.1	23.6	25.3
Neither agree nor disagree	17.1	11.9	11.7	12.7	13.8	16.7	16.2	18.0	19.0	17.2
Disagree	11.2	12.9	12.2	11.5	12.1	15.0	16.4	18.8	18.8	17.1
Strongly disagree	12.3	8.7	8.5	9.5	8.9	11.9	16.3	19.6	17.7	17.9
(N)	1,774	2,015	2,328	1,781	1,833	1,965	1,718	1,833	2,050	3,843
1998-2007: 'The statements below indi	cate some o	of the cha	nges that	have bee	n happeni	ing in Aus	tralia over	the years	s. For eac	n one,
please say whether you think the chang			~			•				
Government controls on firearms										
	1998	2001	2004	2007						
Gone much too far	11.1	8.6	6.9	5.0						
Gone too far	10.8	10.2	10.2	8.4						
About right	33.3	41.7	35.9	39.8						
Not gone far enough	23.8	23.7	28.6	28.7						
Not gone nearly far enough	21.0	15.7	18.4	18.1						
	2 1.5		. 0. 1							

## **Indigenous Australians**

<b>1990:</b> 'On the whole, do you think present arrangements are about ri	_	enous Aust	tralians get	too little c	r too mucl	h help from	n the gove	rnment, or	do you think that
	1990								
Too little help	16.4								
About right	25.2								
Too much help	58.4								
(N)	1,774								
1993-2013: 'The statements below please say whether you think the concernment help for Indigenous	change has	gone too	_			_		ver the yea	rs. For each one,
	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	
Much too far	21.4	29.6	24.0	19.6	19.8	10.8	13.1	12.5	
Too far	23.0	25.8	30.2	27.6	24.9	19.8	21.5	21.3	
About right	29.5	27.8	26.5	31.1	29.7	33.3	35.8	37.4	
Not far enough	17.5	12.7	13.8	15.4	18.9	26.7	22.3	22.1	
Not nearly far enough	8.5	4.2	5.4	6.3	6.7	9.4	7.4	6.7	
(N)	2,293	1,758	1,802	1,934	1,689	1,812	2,034	3,827	
1987-2013: 'The statements below please say whether you think the complex says and rights (1987: True statements).	change has	gone too	far, not go	ne far eno	ugh, or is i			ver the yea	rs. For each one,
Much too far	1307	32.7	25.8	22.0	19.7	13.2	13.1	11.8	
Too far	59.0	27.9	29.2	27.8	24.0	22.3	22.1	18.5	
About right	28.6	26.2	24.3	30.3	31.8	39.3	45.3	45.7	
Not far enough	12.4	10.0	14.5	13.3	17.0	17.7	15.5	18.0	
Not nearly far enough		3.1	6.2	6.6	7.5	7.5	4.0	6.1	
(N)	1,775	1,755	1,799	1,930	1,679	1,822	2,029	3,823	

## **Gender equality**

<b>1990-2013:</b> 'The stateme				~				over the ye	ars. For ea	ch one,
please say whether you the	nink the chan	ge has gon	e too far, n	ot gone far	enough, or	is it about	right.'			
Equal opportunities for	women									
	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	
Much too far	7.1	6.2	5.9	3.8	3.1	3.0	2.0	1.9	2.3	
Too far	14.1	11.9	11.7	8.3	7.9	6.5	4.0	5.2	5.3	
About right	52.3	47.4	50.7	56.3	51.1	50.4	52.3	52.7	45.0	
Not far enough	21.4	24.4	23.1	23.6	29.0	30.3	31.6	33.0	36.7	
Not nearly far enough	5.2	10.1	8.6	8.0	8.9	9.9	10.1	7.2	10.7	
(N)	1,998	2,281	1,759	1,811	1,921	1,685	1,805	2,020	3,822	
<b>1993-2013:</b> 'Here are sor			neral social	concerns.	Please say	whether y	ou strongly	agree, agre	ee, disagree	e or
strongly disagree with each										
Women should be give	n preferentia	al treatmer			-	promotion				
	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013		
Strongly agree	3.0	3.9	2.7	3.5	4.1	3.3	3.2	3.0		
Agree	5.0	4.8	5.2	5.9	7.1	7.3	7.0	6.7		
Neither agree nor disagree	22.6	20.7	23.3	26.3	27.1	28.6	28.5	29.2		
Disagree	48.6	48.8	48.1	45.2	45.7	46.1	45.8	41.9		
Strongly disagree	20.7	21.7	20.8	19.1	16.0	14.7	15.5	19.3		
(N)	2,309	1,777	1,831	1,970	1,721	1,826	2,051	3,836		
The government should	d increase o	pportunitie	es for won	nen in bus	iness and	industry				
	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013		
Strongly agree	8.9	9.8	9.5	10.7	10.7	8.9	10.7	12.2		
Agree	32.1	29.5	32.4	31.8	33.7	31.3	35.7	38.3		
Neither agree nor disagree	35.5	37.9	35.6	37.3	35.9	39.3	38.4	36.0		
Disagree	18.2	17.4	16.4	15.1	14.8	16.1	12.3	10.2		
Strongly disagree	5.3	5.4	6.2	5.1	4.9	4.4	2.9	3.3		

(N)

2,302

1,778

1,833

1,971

1,725

1,818

2,051

3,826

### Materialist and post-materialist values

**1990-2013:** '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?'

rising prices 4) Protect freedom of spe	ecn. If you	nad to cho	ose among	, these four	aims, whic	h would be	your first c	hoice'?'	
	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Maintain order	26.4	37.5	36.1	37.2	37.9	37.5	34.4	35.1	35.1
Give people more say	30.4	32.6	31.7	33.0	26.1	26.0	18.2	24.0	24.9
Fight rising prices	34.6	18.7	17.7	15.7	20.7	19.6	33.6	28.7	26.9
Protect free speech	8.6	11.3	14.5	14.1	15.3	16.9	13.8	12.2	13.1
(N)	2,003	2,322	1,743	1,841	1,937	1,713	1,832	2,036	3,780
1990-2013: 'And which would be you	r second ch	noice?'							
	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Maintain order	21.3	21.2	19.4	19.4	18.9	18.7	20.6	22.6	21.2
Give people more say	28.0	25.5	27.9	25.4	27.9	26.2	27.2	28.0	27.7
Fight rising prices	30.6	29.9	27.7	27.8	28.6	28.6	29.4	29.9	26.5
Protect free speech	20.1	23.4	25.0	27.4	24.6	26.4	22.8	19.6	24.7
(N)	1,986	2,306	1,718	1,832	1,920	1,703	1,802	2,030	3,749

### Threat of global warming

2007: 'Do you think that global wa	arming will pose a	a serious threat to	your way of life in	n your lifetime?'		
,	2007					
Yes, will pose a threat	52.9					
No, will not pose a threat	21.9					
Depends	25.1					
(N)	1,851					
2010-2013: 'How serious a threa	t do you think glol	bal warming will p	oose to you or you	ur way of life in yo	ur lifetime?'	
	2010	2013				
Very serious	18.6	18.9				
Fairly serious	36.8	36.8				
Not very serious	33.3	32.5				
Not at all serious	11.2	11.8				
(N)	2,053	3,864				

### **Environment group membership**

**1990:** 'For each of these groups and movements could you indicate how likely you are to join each of them, or are you already a member? Groups campaigning to protect the environment.'

**1993:** 'How likely are you to join a group campaigning to protect the environment?' **1996:** 'How likely are you to join any of these environmental groups or movements?' **2001-07:** 'How likely are you to join any environmental groups or movements?'

	1990	1993	1996	2001	2004	2007
Already a member	1.2	4.4	2.4	5.4	6.5	7.2
Not a member, but have considered joining	10.2	18.9	12.2	20.8	19.1	22.6
Not a member and have not considered joining	61.0	50.9	48.2	46.9	45.8	48.0
Would never consider joining	27.6	25.6	37.2	26.9	28.6	22.2
(N)	1,995	2,366	1,763	1,966	1,735	1,855

## Immigrants and immigration

Equal opportunities for	migrants								
	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Much too far	8.2	19.3	19.8	13.0	13.0	9.3	10.0	16.9	15.4
Too far	12.9	24.5	24.4	20.5	21.5	17.4	17.8	20.5	21.7
About right	59.6	45.1	45.7	53.6	53.5	56.3	55.3	49.7	45.9
Not far enough	15.3	8.7	8.4	10.8	9.2	13.6	13.5	11.0	13.8
Not nearly far enough	3.9	2.4	1.8	2.1	2.7	3.4	3.4	2.0	3.2
(N)	1,981	2,274	1,755	1,797	1,936	1,685	1,820	2,022	3,819
The number of migrant	s allowed int	o Australia	at the pres	ent time					
	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Much too far	29.1	40.2	33.5	20.3	15.8	13.2	16.6	24.5	20.0
Too far	28.9	29.7	29.5	23.3	19.1	17.8	23.3	27.0	21.9
About right	33.8	23.3	30.4	45.8	46.5	49.0	46.4	35.0	38.8
Not far enough	6.6	4.4	4.8	8.2	14.3	15.6	10.3	10.4	13.9
Not nearly far enough	1.7	2.4	1.8	2.4	4.3	4.4	3.4	3.1	5.3
(N)	1,999	2,291	1,765	1,802	1,933	1,695	1,815	2,042	3,834
Immigrants increase th									
	1996	1998	2001	2004	0007	0040	0040		
Strongly parco					2007	2010	2013		
Strongly agree	21.4	16.9	15.8	12.2	12.8	14.7	11.7		
Agree	30.4	30.1	30.9	28.6	12.8 29.9	14.7 28.7	11.7 27.9		
					12.8	14.7	11.7		
Agree Neither agree nor	30.4	30.1	30.9	28.6	12.8 29.9	14.7 28.7	11.7 27.9		
Agree Neither agree nor disagree	30.4 26.1	30.1 27.3	30.9 29.5	28.6 30.5	12.8 29.9 30.8	14.7 28.7 30.8	11.7 27.9 29.2		
Agree Neither agree nor disagree Disagree	30.4 26.1 16.4	30.1 27.3 20.5	30.9 29.5	28.6 30.5 21.5	12.8 29.9 30.8	14.7 28.7 30.8	11.7 27.9 29.2 23.0		
Agree Neither agree nor disagree Disagree Strongly disagree	30.4 26.1 16.4 5.7 <b>1,765</b>	30.1 27.3 20.5 5.2 1,855 he Australia	30.9 29.5 18.4 5.4 1,957	28.6 30.5 21.5 7.2 1,709	12.8 29.9 30.8 20.8 5.7 <b>1,818</b>	14.7 28.7 30.8 19.2 6.7 <b>2,044</b>	11.7 27.9 29.2 23.0 8.2 <b>3,837</b>		
Agree Neither agree nor disagree Disagree Strongly disagree (N) Immigrants are genera	30.4 26.1 16.4 5.7 1,765 Ily good for t	30.1 27.3 20.5 5.2 1,855 he Australia	30.9 29.5 18.4 5.4 1,957 an economy	28.6 30.5 21.5 7.2 1,709	12.8 29.9 30.8 20.8 5.7 1,818	14.7 28.7 30.8 19.2 6.7 <b>2,044</b>	11.7 27.9 29.2 23.0 8.2 3,837		
Agree Neither agree nor disagree Disagree Strongly disagree (N) Immigrants are genera	30.4 26.1 16.4 5.7 1,765 Illy good for t 1996 8.0	30.1 27.3 20.5 5.2 1,855 he Australia 1998 6.9	30.9 29.5 18.4 5.4 1,957 an economy 2001 7.4	28.6 30.5 21.5 7.2 1,709 7 2004 10.0	12.8 29.9 30.8 20.8 5.7 <b>1,818</b>	14.7 28.7 30.8 19.2 6.7 <b>2,044</b>	11.7 27.9 29.2 23.0 8.2 <b>3,837</b> <b>2013</b> 8.2		
Agree Neither agree nor disagree Disagree Strongly disagree (N) Immigrants are genera Strongly agree Agree	30.4 26.1 16.4 5.7 1,765 Ily good for t 1996 8.0 41.8	30.1 27.3 20.5 5.2 1,855 he Australia 1998 6.9 49.9	30.9 29.5 18.4 5.4 1,957 an economy 2001 7.4 46.5	28.6 30.5 21.5 7.2 1,709 7 2004 10.0 49.6	12.8 29.9 30.8 20.8 5.7 <b>1,818</b> <b>2007</b> 6.9 52.2	14.7 28.7 30.8 19.2 6.7 <b>2,044</b> 2010 6.2 46.0	11.7 27.9 29.2 23.0 8.2 3,837 2013 8.2 48.2		
Agree Neither agree nor disagree Disagree Strongly disagree (N) Immigrants are genera	30.4 26.1 16.4 5.7 1,765 Illy good for t 1996 8.0	30.1 27.3 20.5 5.2 1,855 he Australia 1998 6.9	30.9 29.5 18.4 5.4 1,957 an economy 2001 7.4	28.6 30.5 21.5 7.2 1,709 7 2004 10.0	12.8 29.9 30.8 20.8 5.7 <b>1,818</b>	14.7 28.7 30.8 19.2 6.7 <b>2,044</b>	11.7 27.9 29.2 23.0 8.2 <b>3,837</b> <b>2013</b> 8.2		
Agree Neither agree nor disagree Disagree Strongly disagree (N) Immigrants are genera Strongly agree Agree Neither agree nor	30.4 26.1 16.4 5.7 1,765 Ily good for t 1996 8.0 41.8	30.1 27.3 20.5 5.2 1,855 he Australia 1998 6.9 49.9	30.9 29.5 18.4 5.4 1,957 an economy 2001 7.4 46.5	28.6 30.5 21.5 7.2 1,709 7 2004 10.0 49.6	12.8 29.9 30.8 20.8 5.7 <b>1,818</b> <b>2007</b> 6.9 52.2	14.7 28.7 30.8 19.2 6.7 <b>2,044</b> 2010 6.2 46.0	11.7 27.9 29.2 23.0 8.2 3,837 2013 8.2 48.2		
Agree Neither agree nor disagree Disagree Strongly disagree (N) Immigrants are genera Strongly agree Agree Neither agree nor disagree	30.4 26.1 16.4 5.7 1,765 Illy good for t 1996 8.0 41.8 30.5	30.1 27.3 20.5 5.2 1,855 he Australia 1998 6.9 49.9 29.4	30.9 29.5 18.4 5.4 1,957 2001 7.4 46.5 30.7	28.6 30.5 21.5 7.2 1,709 7 2004 10.0 49.6 29.6	12.8 29.9 30.8 20.8 5.7 <b>1,818</b> <b>2007</b> 6.9 52.2 29.9	14.7 28.7 30.8 19.2 6.7 <b>2,044</b> <b>2010</b> 6.2 46.0 30.9	11.7 27.9 29.2 23.0 8.2 3,837 2013 8.2 48.2 28.8		

Immigrants take jobs	away from po	eople who a	are born in	Australia					
	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013		
Strongly agree	14.4	12.6	11.8	8.5	8.1	11.0	10.6		
Agree	26.6	24.7	22.8	21.4	21.0	23.6	24.2		
Neither agree nor disagree	27.8	25.7	28.2	29.6	29.1	31.2	27.6		
Disagree	23.6	29.8	28.7	31.2	34.2	26.3	27.7		
Strongly disagree	7.6	7.2	8.5	9.4	7.6	7.9	9.9		
(N)	1,758	1,853	1,959	1,711	1,824	2,045	3,834		
Immigrants make Aus	stralia more o	pen to idea	s and cultu	res					
	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013		
Strongly agree	26.8	22.0	21.0	24.0	20.2	17.8	19.5		
Agree	52.2	57.6	54.4	56.6	57.4	51.6	53.5		
Neither agree nor disagree	13.7	14.5	17.1	13.7	16.2	20.5	17.1		
Disagree	4.6	4.0	5.2	3.9	4.3	7.5	6.4		
Strongly disagree	2.7	1.8	2.3	1.8	1.9	2.5	3.5		
(N)	1,760	1,855	1,957	1,716	1,832	2,042	3,836		
<b>1996-2013:</b> 'Do you thi		of immigran		Australia no				sed?'	
	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013		
Increased a lot	3.0	3.6	7.6	6.5	4.3	3.9	6.8		
Increased a little	5.4	10.0	17.6	17.3	10.7	12.0	17.1		
Remain about the same	28.2	38.4	38.0	41.1	38.7	32.0	34.9		
Reduced a little	29.6	25.7	16.7	18.5	25.1	25.6	20.1		
Reduced a lot	33.7	22.3	20.1	16.6	21.2	26.6	21.1		
(N)	1,775	1,863	1,973	1,727	1,843	2,053	3,845		
2001-2013: 'Here are s strongly disagree with e			eral social co	oncerns. Plea	ase say whe	ther you stro	ongly agree, a	agree, disagree or	
All boats carrying asy	lum seekers		urned back						
	2001	2004	2010	2013					
Strongly agree	37.1	28.7	29.6	28.8					
Agree	25.2	25.7	21.5	19.7					
Neither agree nor disagree	17.9	17.7	19.5	17.8					
Disagree	100	477	17.1	17.6					
Disagree	12.3	17.7	17.1	17.0					
Strongly disagree	7.6	10.3	12.3	16.1					

## **Defence and foreign affairs**

## **Defence spending**

1987: 'Do you think the gove	rnment should s	spend more or I	ess money on o	defence?'			
	1987						
Spend more	48.9						
Doesn't matter	24.5						
Spend less	26.6						
(N)	1,780						
<b>1993-2010:</b> 'Do you think tha	at the governme	ent should spen	d more or spen	d less on defen	ce?'		
	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010
Spend much more on defence	14.1	10.2	18.5	20.6	15.5	14.9	15.1
Spend some more on defence	27.5	28.8	33.6	39.7	36.4	31.9	29.4
About right at present	43.3	45.7	38.4	33.2	37.7	41.2	45.3
Spend less on defence	11.3	11.2	7.5	4.7	8.0	8.4	7.7
Spend a lot less on defence	3.8	4.1	1.9	1.7	2.4	3.6	2.4
(N)	2,311	1,751	1,849	1,968	1,730	1,842	2,049

## **Defence capability**

<b>1996-2013:</b> 'Please say whether y	ou stronaly aar	ee. agree. disa	agree or stronal	v disagree with	n the following:	statements.'	
Australia would be able to defend				, aleagies iii.			
	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Strongly agree	3.4	5.2	3.9	3.1	3.7	5.2	3.6
Agree	11.4	14.5	11.8	16.1	19.2	25.3	24.6
Neither agree nor disagree	20.3	20.2	22.2	24.5	28.9	30.1	29.1
Disagree	40.1	40.2	42.0	41.9	37.2	31.4	32.4
Strongly disagree	24.8	20.0	20.1	14.4	11.0	8.0	10.2
(N)	1,712	1,843	1,942	1,711	1,801	2,041	3,827
Australia's defence is stronger nov	v than it was 10	years ago					
	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Strongly agree	4.5	3.3	5.4	10.4	9.0	8.8	6.1
Agree	23.4	19.5	26.1	44.1	45.0	40.8	32.6
Neither agree nor disagree	43.1	42.2	40.1	30.7	33.2	42.1	43.6
Disagree	21.9	26.1	21.8	12.1	11.2	7.2	14.0
Strongly disagree	7.1	8.9	6.5	2.7	1.6	1.2	3.7
(N)	1,722	1,833	1,960	1,719	1,834	2,045	3,837

## Military assistance to war on terror

2001-2013: 'Please say whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each of the following statements.'  Australia should provide military assistance for the war on terrorism.											
	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013						
Strongly agree	20.2	13.9	11.8	11.0	8.2						
Agree	48.3	43.6	40.1	42.1	35.6						
Neither agree nor disagree	18.7	22.1	26.8	26.1	30.8						
Disagree	8.2	14.1	14.4	14.2	16.6						
Strongly disagree	4.5	6.3	6.9	6.5	8.7						
(N)	1,953	1,717	1,835	2,040	3,822						

## **Security threats to Australia**

Indonesia								
Illuollesia	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	
Very likely	23.6	23.1	31.3	28.8	28.1	22.6	16.1	
Fairly likely	35.9	38.8	42.2	43.1	44.7	39.4	36.0	
Not very likely	40.5	38.1	26.6	28.1	27.2	38.0	47.9	
(N)	1,674	1,731	1,888	1,562	1,781	2,022	3,785	
China								
	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	
Very likely	18.6	14.3	9.0	7.7	10.4	14.7	13.7	
Fairly likely	41.1	37.7	33.0	31.7	35.3	41.8	37.7	
Not very likely	40.4	47.9	57.9	60.6	54.3	43.5	48.7	
(N)	1,643	1,709	1,792	1,577	1,680	2,012	3,764	
Japan								
	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	
Very likely	10.7	9.3	4.8	3.5	4.1	4.1	4.3	
Fairly likely	21.2	21.3	14.9	10.3	13.9	16.8	14.4	
Not very likely	68.2	69.4	80.3	86.2	82	79.1	81.3	
(N)	1,629	1,682	1,788	1,562	1,659	1,990	3,714	
Malaysia								
	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	
Very likely	8.1	7.7	6.5	7.2	7.3	6.4	5.6	
Fairly likely	25.8	29.8	29.0	31.4	26.6	23.5	18.8	
Not very likely	66.1	62.6	64.5	61.5	66.1	70.1	75.5	
(N)	1,606	1,667	1,779	1,565	1,654	1,988	3,710	

United States								
	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	
Very likely	3.3	2.3	2.2	5.8	3.7	2.3	3.4	
Fairly likely	6.2	5.5	5.5	7.6	7.3	7.5	14.1	
Not very likely	90.5	92.2	92.5	86.5	89.0	90.2	82.5	
(N)	1,598	1,672	1,791	1,576	1,640	1,999	3,695	
Vietnam		·	,					
	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	
Very likely	5.0	5.1	3.5	3.9	3.5	3.8	3.1	
Fairly likely	19.5	18.6	16.6	15.5	16.2	16.7	7.5	
Not very likely	75.5	76.3	79.9	80.6	80.3	79.5	89.4	
(N)	1,601	1,655	1,777	1,553	1,627	1,991	3,713	

### **Defence links with the United States**

1993: 'As you may know, Australia is allied with the United States in the ANZUS Treaty. How important do you think the United States alliance under ANZUS is for protecting Australia's security?'

1996-2013: 'How important do you think the Australian alliance with the United States under the ANZUS treaty is for protecting Australia's security?'

	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Very important	36.5	55.4	47.0	57.9	45.3	41.5	45.8	45.8
Fairly important	42.1	33.4	41.1	31.9	39.2	42.9	41.3	40.1
Not very important	18.2	9.0	9.6	8.3	12.2	12.1	9.4	11.1
Not at all important	3.1	2.2	2.3	1.9	3.3	3.5	3.5	3.0
(N)	2,325	1,730	1,848	1,970	1,736	1,841	2,046	3,860

1996-2013: '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?'

	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
A great deal	25.4	35.5	33.1	38.5	33.4	31.3	32.6	36.1
A fair amount	43.3	45.1	46.7	44.5	39.9	43.5	47.2	46.0
Not very much	27.0	16.2	17.7	14.4	22.5	20.7	16.3	15.4
None at all	4.3	3.2	2.5	2.6	4.2	4.5	3.9	2.4
(N)	2,329	1,736	1,857	1,973	1,733	1,842	2,047	3,865

### **Relations with Asia**

**1996-2013:** '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?'

Building closer relations with Asia								
	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	
Much too far	10.9	8.7	5.1	4.5	4.4	5.3	5.5	
Too far	13.2	11.8	10.0	8.1	8.5	9.6	9.9	
About right	53.6	55.0	51.0	51.5	60.0	62.8	56.1	
Not far enough	17.7	20.2	26.7	29.0	22.0	20.1	23.4	
Not nearly far enough	4.7	4.3	7.1	6.9	5.1	2.2	5.1	
(N)	1,759	1,806	1,917	1,686	1,814	2,037	3,828	

**1993:** 'During the election campaign, there was a lot of discussion about Australia's trade with other countries. Please say whether you agree or disagree with the following statements.'

**1996:** 'Please say whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each of the following statements about Australia's trade with other countries.'

1998-2013: 'Please say whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each of the following statements.'

Australia's trading future lies with Asia								
	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013
Strongly agree	23.1	20.9	11.1	10.8	14.4	25.9	15.4	19.6
Agree	45.5	45.4	43.7	46.0	49.0	30.8	51.5	51.5
Neither agree nor disagree	23.6	25.6	30	32.7	27.8	20.1	26.4	22.3
Disagree	6.0	6.5	11.9	8.4	6.6	16.5	5.3	4.7
Strongly disagree	1.8	1.5	3.4	2.1	2.2	6.7	1.4	1.9
(N)	2,277	1,715	1,836	1,938	1,717	1,816	2,041	3,824

# APPENDIX B: THE AUSTRALIAN ELECTION STUDY

The Australian Election Study (AES) surveys are designed to collect data during federal elections for academic research on Australian electoral behaviour and public opinion. Since 1998 the AES has been a member of the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES) group (see www.cses. org). The AES commenced operation in 1987 (although three academic surveys of political behaviour were collected in 1967, 1969 and 1979, respectively, but they are not strictly speaking election surveys).

The AES routinely collects data among a nationally representative sample of voters and among major party candidates standing for election. Both the voter and candidate instruments combine a common set of questions. The AES is mounted as a collaborative exercise between several Australian universities. The 1987 and 1990 surveys were funded by a consortium of universities and the 2007 survey by ANU; all of the intervening and subsequent surveys have been funded by the Australian Research Council. Each of the eleven surveys conducted to date has had a central theme:

- > 1987: The economy
- > 1990: The environment and environmentalism
- > 1993: Political culture
- > 1996: National identity and citizenship
- > 1998: Constitution, rights and minorities
- > 1999: Constitutional referendum
- > 2001: Challenges to governance
- > 2004: The decline of political parties
- > 2007: Democracy and representation
- > 2010: The dynamics of political choice.
- > 2013: Volatility and electoral change

Year	Principal investigators	Funder	Study number
1987	lan McAllister, Anthony Mughan	University of NSW, ANU	ASSDA 445
1990	lan McAllister, Roger Jones, David Gow	University of NSW, ANU	ASSDA 570
1993	Roger Jones, Ian McAllister, David Denemark, David Gow	ARC/ A79131812	ASSDA 763
1996	Roger Jones, Ian McAllister, David Gow	ARC/ A79530652	ASSDA 943
1998	Clive Bean, David Gow, Ian McAllister	ARC/A79804144	ASSDA 1001
1999	David Gow, Clive Bean, Ian McAllister	ARC/ A79937265	ASSDA 1018
2001	Clive Bean, David Gow, Ian McAllister	ARC/ A00106341	ASSDA 1048
2004	Clive Bean, Ian McAllister, Rachel Gibson, David Gow	ARC/ DP0452898	ASSDA 1079
2007	Clive Bean, Ian McAllister, Rachel Gibson, David Gow	ACPSPRI/ACSR	ASSDA 1120
2010	Clive Bean, Ian McAllister, Rachel Gibson, Juliet Pietsch	ARC/DP1094626	ASSDA 1228
2013	Clive Bean, Ian McAllister, Juliet Pietsch, Rachel Gibson	ARC/ DP120103941	ADA 1259

**Notes** All of the data are publicly available from the Australian Data Archive at the Australian National University (see www.ada.edu.au). In the case of the candidate data, demographic variables are removed so that individual respondents cannot be identified.

### Methodology

**Voters.** All the studies are national, post-election selfcompletion surveys with the sample drawn randomly from the electoral register. The 1993 AES oversampled in some of the smaller states and because of this the sample was weighted down to a national sample of 2,388 respondents. The overall response rates have varied, the most recent survey producing a response rate of 33.9 per cent. In 2001 and 2004 an online survey was conducted in parallel with the regular AES. In 2010 and 2013 an online option was available to the survey respondents, and in 2010 an additional sample was collected online in order to correct for an under-representation of younger voters. The 2010 and 2013 surveys are weighted to reflect the national electorate.

#### Australian Election Study voter response rates, 1987-2013

	Total sample	Moved/gone away	Refusals/ non- responses	Valid responses	Effective response (%)
1987	3,061	156	1,080	1,825	62.8
1990	3,606	125	1,461	2,020	58.0
1993	4,950	137	1,790	3,023	62.8
1996	3,000	95	1,110	1,795	61.8
1998	3,502	215	1,391	1,896	57.7
2001	4,000	369	1,621	2,010	55.4
2004	4,250	275	2,206	1,769	44.5
2007	5,000	337	2,790	1,873	40.2
2010	5,200	282	2,714	2,061	41.9
2013	12,200	522	7,723	3,955	33.9

The response rate is estimated as: valid responses/(total sample-moved or gone away). The 2010 response rate is the figure for the initial self-completion sample.

The sample is drawn by the Australian Electoral Commission from its computerised rolls (with the exception of one state, where the sample had to be manually drawn in 1987 and 1990). Respondents were then mailed on the Monday following the federal election (which is held on a Saturday). The envelopes contain an individually addressed and signed letter explaining the purposes of the study and a guarantee of confidentiality, the questionnaire, and return postagepaid envelope. One week later all respondents are mailed a thank you/ reminder postcard; this postcard has a considerable impact on the response rate.

About three weeks following Wave 2, a second follow-up is mailed to all respondents who had by that time not returned questionnaires or had not indicated that they wish to be excluded from the study. The follow-up envelope consists, once again, of an individually addressed and signed letter re-stating

the purposes of the study and emphasising confidentiality, another questionnaire, and a return postage-paid envelope. In the 1987 survey a fourth and final wave was used, consisting of a letter. However, this elicited comparatively few extra responses and was not considered cost-effective; it has not been used in the post-1987 surveys.

These extensive follow-ups, summarised below, account for the comparatively high response rates of the AES surveys, bearing in mind the self-completion methodology. The survey remains in the field for about eight weeks; the bulk of the responses are received following Waves 1 and 2.

- > Wave 1 Questionnaire, letter Week 1> Wave 2 Thank you/reminder
- postcard Week 2
- > Wave 3 Questionnaire, letter Week 5
- > Wave 4 Final letter Week 7

**Candidates.** The Australian Candidates Study (ACS) surveys are conducted in parallel with the surveys of voters. In 1987 all candidates for the House of Representatives and Senate were sampled. Since 1990 the surveys have been restricted to samples of all major party candidates, plus identifiable Greens and other environmental candidates. This restriction was designed to cut costs, since about half of the total number of candidates were minor party or independent candidates, almost all of whom lost their deposits. In 1993 the criteria were broadened to include other candidates whom it was anticipated would obtain more than 10 per cent of the first preference vote.

### Australian Candidate Survey response rates, 1987-2013

	Election candidates				Australian Candidate Study			
	House of Representatives	Senate	Total		Total	Valid responses	Effective response (%)	
1987	613	255	868		868	612	70.5	
1990	782	223	1,005		631	410	65.0	
1993	943	266	1,209		593	415	70.0	
1996	908	255	1,163		672	427	63.5	
2001	1,039	285	1,324		840	477	56.8	
2004	1,091	330	1,421		998	535	53.6	
2007	1,054	367	1,421		952	470	49.9	
2010	849	349	1,198		543	247	45.5	
2013	1,188	529	1,717		556	192	34.5	

The 1987 election was a double dissolution election for the Senate. Other elections are half-Senate. The response rate is estimated as valid responses/total contacted.

The survey instruments are mailed to candidates about one week after the election. As in the voters' survey, the envelopes contain an individually addressed and signed letter explaining the purposes of the study and a guarantee of confidentiality, the questionnaire, and a return postage-paid envelope. In addition, a letter of introduction from the candidate's political party is usually included. Approximately one week later a thank you/reminder postcard is mailed to all those included in the survey. A follow-up of all survey respondents who do not return questionnaires or who do not indicate that they wish to be excluded from the study is conducted about six weeks after the election. The followup envelope consists of an individually addressed and signed letter re-stating the purposes of the study and emphasizing confidentiality, another questionnaire, and return post-paid envelope.

The ACS surveys are concerned with political background such as electoral history, party political involvement and membership of community organisations, questions relating to the role of the elected representative, the conduct of the election campaign and the party selection process, the deciding factors that resulted in them standing for election, and the support they received from family, friends and various subgroups. A major component of the candidate survey is to replicate questions asked of the voters. This enables us to bring a unique perspective to bear on the election, by examining not only how voters evaluated election issues, but the perspectives that party elites brought to bear on them and, most important of all for public policy outcomes, the views of federal elected representatives.

## CONTACT US

### **School of Politics and International Relations**

Haydon Allen Building #22 The Australian National University Canberra ACT 0200 Australia

T +61 2 6125 5491 W socpol.anu.edu.au

General Enquiries: admin.spirsocy@anu.edu.au

CRICOS #001200