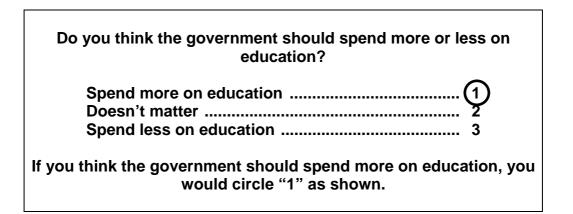
CONFIDENTIAL

# **Australian Election Study**

### HOW TO FILL OUT THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

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



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

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

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

Australian Election Study Locked Bag 8502 CANBERRA ACT 2601

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

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

# **Section A: The Election Campaign**

First, some questions about the Federal election campaign, the period between when the election was announced on Sunday 14 October and election day on Saturday 24 November.

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

A good deal	1
Some	2
Not much	3
None	4

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yes1
No2

A.7.	Did you watch the televised debate between John Howard and Kevin F October?	Rudd on Sunday 21
	Yes	
	NO 2	
A.8.	From what you saw or what you heard or read about it, who do you thir in the debate—Howard or Rudd?	nk performed better
	Howard did much better1	
	Howard did somewhat better 2	
	About equal	
	Rudd did somewhat better4 Rudd did much better5	
A.9.	Did you make use of the internet at all to get news or information about election?	t the 2007 Federal
	Yes, many times1	
	Yes, on several occasions 2	
	Yes, once or twice3	
	Have internet access but didn't use it for election information 4	
	Don't have access to the internet5	[GO TO A.11]
A.10.	During the 2007 election campaign did you visit any of the following we many as apply.)	ebsites? (Circle as
	Party site (eg, Liberals, ALP, Green etc) 1	
	Your own MP's site2	
	Individual candidate site in your electorate (that is, other	
	than that of your MP)	
	Other candidate/MPs sites outside your electorate	
	Australian Electoral Commission site	
	Mainstream news media (eg, ABC Online, SMH site etc)	
	YouTube	
	Political weblog or 'blog'9	
A.11.	Do you think that voting at Federal elections should be compulsory, or people should only have to vote if they want to?	do you think that
	Strongly favour compulsory voting1	
	Favour compulsory voting2	
	Favour people voting only if they want to	
	Strongly favour people voting only if they want to	
A.12.	Would you have voted in the election if voting had not been compulsor	y?
	Definitely would have voted1	
	Probably would have voted	
	Might, might not	
	Probably not4 Definitely not5	
A.13.	Do you know how much those who choose not to vote are fined?	
	No, I don't know 1	
	Yes, I know how much the fine is2	

A.14. Do you personally know someone who, without a good reason (such as illness), did not vote in the Federal election?

Yes1	
No2	[GO TO B.1]

A.15. In your opinion, how likely is it that this person will pay a fine for not voting?

Very likely	1
Fairly likely	2
Not very likely	3
Not at all likely	4

## **Section B: Party Preference and Voting**

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as Liberal, Labor, National or what? B.1. Liberal.....1 Other party (please specify) 5 No party ......6 [GO TO B.3] B.2. Would you call yourself a very strong, fairly strong, or not very strong supporter of that party? Very strong supporter ......1 B.3. Would you say you cared a good deal which party won the Federal election or that you did not care very much which party won? Cared a good deal .....1 Did not care very much.....2 B.4. When did you decide how you would definitely vote in this election? A long time ago.....1 A few months ago, before election day was announced ......2 About the time the election was announced, on 14 October .... 3 In the first few weeks of the campaign......4 A few days before election day.....5 On election day......6 In deciding how you would vote in the election, which was most important to you? B.5. The party leaders.....1 The parties taken as a whole.....4

B.6. And in deciding how you would vote in the election, how important were any of these considerations to you?

	Very important	Fairly important	Not very important	Not at all important
Labor's inexperience in government	1	2	3	4
Time for a change	1	2	3	4
The number of trade union leaders there would be in a Labor government	1	2	3	4
The Howard government's <i>WorkChoices</i> legislation	1	2	3	4
The prospect of Labor governments in Canberra and in all the states	1	2	3	4
Rises in interest rates	1	2	3	4

B.7. Which do you think is better—when the Federal Government has a majority in **both** the House of Representatives **and** the Senate, OR when the Federal Government in the House of Representatives **does not** control the Senate?

Much better when Government controls both	. 1
Better when Government controls both	. 2
Neither/doesn't matter	. 3
Better when Government does not control the Senate	. 4
Much better when Government does not control the Senate	. 5

B.8. Considering everything the Labor Party and the Liberal Party stand for, would you say there is....

A good deal of difference between the parties	. 1
Some difference between the parties	. 2
Not much difference between the parties	. 3
No difference between the parties	. 4

B.9. In politics, people sometimes talk about the 'left' and the 'right'. Where would you place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means the left and 10 means the right?

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

B.10. Using the same scale, where would you place each of the Federal political parties?

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

B.11. In the Federal election for the House of Representatives on Saturday 24 November, which party did you vote for **first** in the House of Representatives? And in the Senate election?

	House of Representatives	Senate	
Liberal Party	1	1	
Labor Party (ALP)	2	2	
National Party	3	3	
Greens	4	4	
Other (please specify party below)	5	5	

B.12. If your first preference was for the Greens or other minor party:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

No	1
Yes, Liberal Party	2
Yes, Labor Party (ALP)	3
Yes, National Party	4
Yes, Greens	5
Yes, another party/independent	6

B.16. And were there any parties that you would never vote for? (Circle as many as apply.)

No	1
Yes, Liberal Party	2
Yes, Labor Party (ALP)	3
Yes, National Party	4
Yes, Greens	5
Yes, another party/independent	6

B.17. In the last Federal election in October 2004, when Labor was led by Mark Latham and the Liberals by John Howard, which party got your first preference then in the House of Representatives election?

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

B.18. Some people are quite certain that they will always vote for the same party. Others are not. For each party listed below would you indicate how probable it is that you will ever vote for that party? Please circle a number for each party, with '0' meaning 'I am certain I will never vote for this party' and '10' meaning 'I am certain I will vote for this party at some time'. Circle any of the numbers between '0' and '10', depending on how probable it is you will ever vote for that party.

	Least proba									pro	Most bable
Liberal Party	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Labor Party (ALP)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
National Party	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Greens	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

B.19. Before this current Federal election for the House of Representatives, had you always voted for the same party, or had you sometimes voted for different parties? (**Circle as many as apply.**)

Always voted for the same party	1
Sometimes voted Liberal	2
Sometimes voted Labor (ALP)	3
Sometimes voted National (Country)	4
Sometimes voted Australian Democrat	5
Sometimes voted Green	6
Sometimes voted for other party/independent	7
Did not vote before this election	8

B.20. Thinking about how elections in Australia work in practice, how well do elections ensure that the views of voters are represented by MPs?

Very well	1
Quite well	2
Not very well	3
Not well at all	4

B.21. Would you say that any of the parties in Australia represents your views reasonably well? If so, which party represents your views best? (**Circle as many as apply.**)

Liberal Party	1
Labor Party (ALP)	2
National Party	3
Greens	4
Other party	5
No party represents my views well	6

B.22. Do you feel yourself a little closer to one of the political parties than the others? If so, which one?

Liberal Party	1
Labor Party (ALP)	
National Party	3
Greens	4
Other party	5
Not close to any party	

B.23. Regardless of how you feel about the parties, would you say that any of the individual party leaders in the last election represents your views reasonably well? If so, which party leader represents your views best? (**Circle one number only.**)

John Howard	1
Kevin Rudd	2
Mark Vaile	3
Bob Brown	4
Other party leader	5
No party leader represents my views well	6

B.24. Some people say that political parties in Australia care what ordinary people think. Others say that political parties in Australia don't care what ordinary people think. Where would you place your view on this scale from 1 to 5?



B.25. Where would you place your view on this scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means that political parties are necessary to make our political system work, and 5 means that political parties are not needed in Australia?

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

B.26. Finally in this section, we would like to know what you think about each of our political parties. Please rate each party on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly **dislike** that party and 10 means that you strongly **like** that party. If you are neutral about a particular party or don't know much about them, you should give them a rating of 5.

	Stron dislik				Ν	leutral				Stro	ongly like
How do you feel abo	ut:										
Liberal Party	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Labor Party (ALP)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
National Party	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Greens	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

## **Section C: Politicians and Government**

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

	Strongly dislike				N	Neutral				Stro	Strongly like	
How do you feel abou	it:											
John Howard	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Kevin Rudd	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Mark Vaile	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Bob Brown	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Peter Costello	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Julia Gillard	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ι	Z	3	4	5
It doesn't make any difference who is in power				It makes a big difference who is in power

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

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

C.7. On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in Australia?

Very satisfied	1
Fairly satisfied	2
Not very satisfied	3
Not at all satisfied	4

C.8. In general, do you feel that the people in government are too often interested in looking after themselves, or do you feel that they can be trusted to do the right thing nearly all the time?

Usually look after themselves	1
Sometimes look after themselves	2
Sometimes can be trusted to do the right thing	3
Usually can be trusted to do the right thing	4

C.9. Would you say the government is run by a few big interests looking out for themselves, or that it is run for the benefit of all the people?

Entirely run for the big interests	1
Mostly run for the big interests	2
About half and half	3
Mostly run for the benefit of all	4
Entirely run for the benefit of all	5

C.10. Now thinking about the performance of the government in Canberra in general, how good or bad a job do you think the government in Canberra has done over the past three years?

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

C.11. Over the past five years or so, have you done any of the following things to express your views about something the government should or should not be doing?

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

C.12. What do you think of each of the following types of political system as a way of governing this country?

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

## **Section D: Election Issues**

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

-	Issues	Extremely important	Quite important	Not very important
1.	Taxation	1	2	3
2.	Immigration	1	2	3
3.	Education	1	2	3
4.	The environment	1	2	3
5.	Industrial relations	1	2	3
6.	Health and Medicare	1	2	3
7.	Defence and national security	1	2	3
8.	Global warming	1	2	3
9.	Management of water	1	2	3
10.	Unemployment	1	2	3
11.	Treatment of Aborigines	1	2	3
12.	Interest rates	1	2	3
13.	The war in Iraq	1	2	3
14.	Terrorism	1	2	3

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

	Issues	Labor (ALP)	Liberal– National Coalition	No difference	Don't know
1.	Taxation	1	2	3	4
2.	Immigration	1	2	3	4
3.	Education	1	2	3	4
4.	The environment	1	2	3	4
5.	Industrial relations	1	2	3	4
6.	Health and Medicare	1	2	3	4
7.	Defence and national security	1	2	3	4
8.	Global warming	1	2	3	4
9.	Management of water	1	2	3	4
10.	Unemployment	1	2	3	4
11.	Treatment of Aborigines	1	2	3	4
12.	Interest rates	1	2	3	4
13.	The war in Iraq	1	2	3	4
14.	Terrorism	1	2	3	4

D.3. Still thinking about the same 14 issues, which of these issues was **most** important to **you** during the election campaign? And which next? PLEASE PUT THE NUMBER OF THE ISSUE IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX BELOW.

>>	Issue of most concernL	Second issue of concernL	

- D.4. And still thinking about the same 14 issues, which of these issues is the **most** important **political problem** facing Australia today? And which next? PLEASE PUT THE NUMBER OF THE ISSUE IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX BELOW.
- >> Issue of most concern ......
- D.5. Thinking of the **most** important **political problem** facing Australia today, which party do you think is best in dealing with it? And which party is best able to deal with the second most important political problem?

	Most important	Second most important
Liberal Party	1	1
Labor Party (ALP)	2	2
National Party	3	3
Greens	4	4

D.6. How does the **financial situation of your household** now compare with what it was 12 months ago? And how do you think the **general economic situation in Australia** now compares with what it was 12 months ago?

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

D.7. Compared with 12 months ago, would you say that the Federal government's policies have had a good effect, a bad effect, or that they really have not made much difference to the financial situation of your household? And what effect do you think they have had on the general economic situation in Australia as a whole?

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

D.8. Compared to now, what do you think the financial situation of your household will be in 12 months time? And what do you think the general economic situation in Australia as a whole will be in 12 months time?

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

D.9. Do you think that, **12 months from now**, the Federal government's policies will have had a good effect, a bad effect, or that they really will have not made much difference to the financial situation of your household? And what effect do you think they will have had on general economic situation in Australia as a whole?

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

D.10. How worried are you that in the next 12 months you or someone else in your household might be out of work and looking for a job for any reason—very worried, somewhat worried, or not worried at all?

Very worried	1
Somewhat worried	2
Not at all worried	3

D.11. In your community these days, how easy is it for someone who is trying to find a job to get a good job at good wages—very easy, somewhat easy, somewhat hard, or very hard?

Very easy	1
Somewhat easy	2
Somewhat hard	3
Very hard	4

D.12. When it comes to the availability of good jobs for Australian workers, some say that the best years are behind us. Others say that the best years are yet to come. What do you think?

Best years definitely behind	1
Best years probably behind	2
Best years probably yet to come	3
Best years definitely yet to come	4

D.13. Thinking about interest rates on home loans and personal loans, how worried are you about increases in interest rates for your personal finances?

Very worried	1
Quite worried	2
Not very worried	3
Not worried at all	4

D.14. Thinking back to the Federal election in 2004, when John Howard won against Mark Latham, would you say that since then the following have increased or fallen?

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

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

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

D.16. The Howard government introduced changes to the Australian industrial relations system known as *WorkChoices*. How much do you feel you know about these changes?

I know a lot about the changes	.1
I know something about the changes	.2
I don't know much about the changes	.3
I don't know anything about the changes	.4

D.17. Still thinking about *WorkChoices*, how much do you approve or disapprove of these changes?

Strongly approve	1
Approve	2
Disapprove	3
Strongly disapprove	4

D.18. Based on what you know, do you think Australia should or should not participate in the Kyoto agreement to reduce global warming?

Should participate	.1
Should not participate	.2
Depends	.3

D.19. Do you think that global warming will pose a serious threat to your way of life in your lifetime?

Yes, will pose a threat1	
No, will not pose a threat2	
Depends3	

D.20. How likely are you to join any environmental groups or movements?

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

D.21. Here are some specific environmental proposals for Australia. For each one, please say if you favour or oppose it.

	Strongly favour	Favour	Depends	Oppose	Strongly oppose
Setting higher emission standards for cars	1	2	3	4	5
Building nuclear power stations	1	2	3	4	5
Setting higher emission standards for business and industry	1	2	3	4	5
Building desalination plants to provide water for cities	1	2	3	4	5
Spending more government money on developing solar and wind power	1	2	3	4	5

# **Section E: Social Policy**

E.1. If the government had a choice between reducing taxes or spending more on social services, which do you think it should do?

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

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

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

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

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

E.4. Do you think marriages between same-sex couples should or should not be recognised by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?

Should be recognised by the law	1
Should not be recognised by the law	2
Don't know	3

E.5. Here are some statements about general social concerns. Please say whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each of these statements.

. . . .

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
The death penalty should be reintroduced for murder.	1	2	3	4	5
The smoking of marijuana should NOT be a criminal offence	1	2	3	4	5
People who break the law should be given stiffer sentences	1	2	3	4	5
Stronger measures should be taken to protect the environment against pollution	1	2	3	4	5
Women should be given preferential treatment when applying for jobs and promotions	1	2	3	4	5
The government should increase opportunities for women in business and industry	1	2	3	4	5
Nuclear energy is a real necessity for the future	1	2	3	4	5
Australia should mine its uranium	1	2	3	4	5
		-	•	-	<b>U</b>

E.6. Over the last 10 years or so, the Government has reformed Australia's social welfare system. Some people say the Government has become more generous to some people and tougher on others. For each of the following groups, please say whether you think the Government has become more generous or more tough.

	Much more generous	More generous	About the same	Tougher	Much tougher
Unemployed people	1	2	3	4	5
Working couples with children	1	2	3	4	5
Single parents whose youngest child is over 6 years	1	2	3	4	5
Retired people without superannuation	1	2	3	4	5
Aboriginal people who are unemployed	1	2	3	4	5
People investing in their superannuation	1	2	3	4	5
People receiving disability payments	1	2	3	4	5
People caring for a sick relative	1	2	3	4	5
People taking out private health cover	1	2	3	4	5
New immigrants to Australia	1	2	3	4	5
People trying to buy their first home	1	2	3	4	5

E.7. Thinking now about the future of Australia's social welfare system, please say which of the following groups deserve more help from the federal government, or deserve less.

	Deserve much more	Deserve more	About the same	Deserve less	Deserve much less
Unemployed people	1	2	3	4	5
Working couples with children	1	2	3	4	5
Single parents whose youngest child is over 6 years	1	2	3	4	5
Retired people without superannuation	1	2	3	4	5
Aboriginal people who are unemployed	1	2	3	4	5
People investing in their superannuation	1	2	3	4	5
People receiving disability payments	1	2	3	4	5
People caring for a sick relative	1	2	3	4	5
People taking out private health cover	1	2	3	4	5
New immigrants to Australia	1	2	3	4	5
People trying to buy their first home	1	2	3	4	5

E.8. In the past five years, have you or your partner received any of the following benefits from the government? (**Circle as many as apply.**)

Family payments (Family Tax Benefit A and B)	1
Unemployment benefits (eg. Newstart Allowance)	2
Age Pension	3
Disability Support Pension	4
Private Health Insurance Rebate	5
Child Care Benefit	6
Baby Bonus or Maternity Payment	7
Single parent payment (Parenting Payment - Single)	8
Parenting Payment – Partnered	9
Youth Allowance	10
First Home Owner Grant	11
Other (please specify)	12

- E.9. Next, a question about what you think the aims of Australia should be for the next ten years. Here is a list of four aims that different people would give priority.
  - 1. Maintain order in the nation
  - 2. Give people more say in important government decisions
  - 3. Fight rising prices
  - 4. Protect freedom of speech

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

>> First choice .....

Second choice .....

- E.10. Here is another list of four aims.
  - 1. Maintain a high level of economic growth
  - 2. Make sure this country has strong defence forces
  - 3. See that people have more say about how things are done at their jobs and in their communities
  - 4. Try to make our cities and countryside more beautiful

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

>>	First choice
E.11.	And here is a further list.
	1. A stable economy
	2. Progress toward a less impersonal and more humane society
	3. Progress toward a society in which ideas count more than money
	4. The fight against crime
	If you had to choose among these four aims, which would be your first choice? And which would be your second choice? PUT THE NUMBER OF THE STATEMENT IN THE

APPROPRIATE BOX.

>> First choice .....

Second choice .....

E.12. Thinking about health care, how much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
I feel overwhelmed by the precautions I need to take in order to deal with the health risks that are around today		2	3	4	5	
We can trust medical specialists to make the right decisions about health care on our behalf	1	2	3	4	5	
Globalisation has increased the number of different health risks that we face nowadays	1	2	3	4	5	
These days it is necessary for ordinary people to keep up with scientific advances in medicine in order to manage their own health care	1	2	3	4	5	
People are more anxious about health risks now than they used to be	1	2	3	4	5	
I would always try to find out as much as possible before undergoing any medical procedures	1	2	3	4	5	

### **Section F: Global Politics**

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

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

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

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

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

	Countries	Very likely	Fairly likely	Not very likely
1.	Japan	1	2	3
2.	United States	1	2	3
3.	China	1	2	3
4.	Vietnam	1	2	3
5.	Malaysia	1	2	3
6.	Indonesia	1	2	3

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

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

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

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Australia's defence is stronger now than it was 10 years ago	1	2	3	4	5
Acts of terrorism in Australia will be part of life in the future	1	2	3	4	5
The security agreement between Australia and Indonesia means that we can trust Indonesia never to be a military threat	1	2	3	4	5
Australia would be able to defend itself successfully if it were ever attacked	1	2	3	4	5
Freedom of speech should not extend to groups that are sympathetic to terrorists	1	2	3	4	5
The police should be allowed to search the houses of people who might be sympathetic					_
to terrorists without a court order	1	2	3	4	5
Australia's trading future lies in Asia	1	2	3	4	5
Australia should provide military assistance for the war on terrorism	1	2	3	4	5

F.6. Now we want to ask you about the war in Iraq. Do you approve or disapprove of the way John Howard handled the war in Iraq?

1
2
3
4

- F.8. As a result of Australia's military action in Iraq, do you think the threat of terrorism against Australia has increased, decreased, or stayed about the same?

Increased	1
Stayed about the same	2
Decreased	3

F.9. Do you think that the government is doing all it reasonably can do to prevent terrorist attacks in Australia, do you think that it could do more, or do you think that it has done too much?

Government doing all it can	1
Government could do more	2
Government done too much	3

F.10. How concerned are you personally about you yourself or a family member being the victim of a future terrorist attack in Australia?

1
2
3
4

F.11. And how concerned are you that there will be a major terrorist attack on Australian soil in the near future?

Very concerned	1
Somewhat concerned	2
Not very concerned	3
Not at all concerned	4

F.12. Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?

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

F.13. There are different opinions about the effects that immigrants have on Australia. How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

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

F.14. When it comes to immigrants fitting into Australian society, please say whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Immigrants who choose not to become citizens can still be committed to Australia	1	2	3	4	5
Immigrants don't have to speak in English in public places all of the time	1	2	3	4	5
When in the company of Australians, immigrants need to speak to each other in English, even if it's easier for them to speak in their own native language	1	2	3	4	5
Immigrants who are here illegally should not be allowed to stay for any reason	1	2	3	4	5
It's okay for immigrants to be selective about their first job in Australia even if it takes a while to find one they like	1	2	3	4	5
Immigrants should speak to each other in English even in the privacy of their own home	1	2	3	4	5
Immigrants should treat women as equals even in the privacy of their own home	1	2	3	4	5
Immigrants treating women according to their own cultural and religious beliefs	1	2	3	4	5
Immigrants who enter this country legally should be treated just like other Australians	1	2	3	4	5
Immigrants should educate themselves about the culture and customs of their new country	1	2	3	4	5

F.15. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

Most people can be trusted	1
Can't be too careful	2

F.16. How important do you feel the Queen and the Royal Family are to Australia?

Very important	1
Fairly important	2
Not very important	3

F.17. Do you think that Australia should become a republic with an Australian head of state, or should the Queen be retained as head of state?

Strongly favour becoming republic	.1
Favour becoming republic	.2
Favour retaining the Queen as head of state	.3
Strongly favour retaining the Queen as head of state	.4

F.18. If Australia becomes a republic with an Australian head of state, should the head of state be elected by the voters or elected by Parliament?

Strongly favour election by voters	1
Favour election by voters	2
Favour election by Parliament	3
Strongly favour election by Parliament	4

F.19. How proud are you to be Australian?

Very proud	1
Quite proud	
Not very proud	3
Not at all proud	4

F.20. Do you own shares in any company listed on the Australian Stock Exchange (shares registered in your name or that of your family company)?

No, don't own any shares	1
Yes, in one company	2
Yes, in two to five companies	3
Yes, in six to 10 companies	4
Yes, in more than 10 companies	.5

F.21. And finally, a quick quiz on Australian government. For each of the following statements, please say whether it is true or false. If you don't know the answer, just circle '3' and try the next one.

		True	False	Don't know
1.	Australia became a federation in 1901	1	2	3
2.	There are 75 members of the House of Representatives	1	2	3
3.	The Constitution can only be changed by the High Court	1	2	3
4.	Elections to the Senate are based on proportional representation	1	2	3
5.	No-one may stand for Federal parliament unless they pay a deposit	1	2	3
6.	The longest time allowed between Federal elections for the House of Representatives is four years	1	2	3

# Section G: Education and Work

G.1.	How old were you when you left secondary school?	
	Age	
	No formal schooling	
	Went to primary school only 97	
	Still at school	
G.2.	In all, how many years of <b>tertiary</b> study have you completed since you left secondary school?	
	If your tertiary study was part-time, give the number of years of equivalent full-time study	•
	Years of full-time tertiary study	
G.3.	Have you obtained a trade qualification, a degree or a diploma, or any other qualification since leaving school? What is your highest qualification?	
	No qualification since leaving school1	
	Qualified—circle one code for highest qualification only	
	Postgraduate Degree or Postgraduate Diploma2	
	Bachelor Degree (including Honours)	
	Undergraduate Diploma4	
	Associate Diploma5	
	Trade qualification6	
	Non-trade qualification7	
G.4.	Now some questions about the work you are doing now. Last week, what were you doing	J?
	Working full-time for pay1	
	Working part-time for pay2	
	Unemployed—looking for full-time work	
	Unemployed—looking for part-time work4	
	Retired from paid work	
	A full-time school or university student	
	Keeping house	
	Other (please specify)8	
G.5.	What type of secondary school did you attend? If you have children, please say what type of secondary school your oldest child attended or is attending now.	Э
	You Oldest child	
	Government 1 1	
	Catholic2 2	

3

9

Other non-government ...... 3

No Children.....

- G.6. What kind of work do you do? Please give your full job title, and as much detail as you can. For public servants, state official designation and occupation. For armed services personnel, state rank and occupation.
- >> If you are unemployed or retired, please describe your last regular paid job.

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

a. Job title b. What are (or were) the **main tasks** that you usually perform? Please give full details. Main tasks What kind of business or industry is (or was) that in? What do they do or make at the C. place where you work (or used to work)? Kind of industry d. Which of the following best describes the position that you hold (or held)? Upper managerial .....1 Middle managerial ......2 Supervisory......4 e. Whom do (or did) you work for? Self-employed.....1 Employee in private company or business ......2 Employee in family business or farm ......4 As an official part of your job, do (or did) you directly supervise the work of other f. employees or tell other employees what work to do? Yes ......1 No......2 Do you belong to a trade union? Yes ......1 

G.7.

### **Section H: Personal Background**

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

- H.1. Firstly, what is your sex? Male......1 Female.....2 When were you born? Just the year will do. H.2. Year 19
- H.3. Where were you born? And where were your mother and father born?

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

H.4. [If born overseas only] In what year did you come to Australia?

Year

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

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

H.6. What is your religion or faith?

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

H.7. Apart from weddings, funerals and baptisms, about how often do you attend religious services?

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

H.8. What is your current marital status?

Never married	1
Now married (including de facto relationships)	2
Widowed	3
Divorced or separated	4

H.9. Do you own outright, are you buying or renting the dwelling in which you now live?

Own outright	1
Own, paying off mortgage	2
Rent from private landlord	3
Rent from public housing authority	4
Other (boarding, living at home, etc)	5

### H.10. In general, how often do you use the internet?

Several times a day1	
About once a day2	
Three to five days a week	
One to two days a week4	
Every few weeks5	
Less often6	
Do not use the internet7	[GO TO H.14]

### H.11. When did you first start using the internet?

Within the last six months	1
About a year ago	2
Two or three years ago	3
More than three years ago	4

H.12. Thinking about the time you spend using the Internet, can you say how much it has helped you do each of the following things?

	A lot	Some	Only a little	Not at all
Become more involved with groups and organizations you already belong to	1	2	3	4
Interact with people or groups who share your hobbies or interests	1	2	3	4
Interact with people or groups who share your religious beliefs	1	2	3	4
Interact with people or groups who share your political views	1	2	3	4
Interact with people from different ethnic backgrounds	1	2	3	4
Interact with people of different ages or generations	1	2	3	4
Interact with people from other countries	1	2	3	4
Interact more with the people I feel really close to such as family and very close friends	1	2	3	4

H.13. In the last month, about how often did you communicate with any of your close friends by e-mail or Internet?

Every day	1
A few times a week	2
A few times	3
Once only	4
Not in the last month	

H.14. Which social class would you say you belong to?

Upper class	1
Middle class	2
Working class	3
None	4

H.15. Would you say you now live in ...

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

H.16. What is the gross annual income, before tax or other deductions, for you and your family living with you from all sources? Please include any pensions and allowances, and income from interest or dividends.

\$45,001 to \$50,000 per year ...... 10 Less than \$5,000 per year ..... 1 \$5,001 to \$10,000 per year ..... 2 \$50,001 to \$60,000 per year ..... 11 \$10,001 to \$15,000 per year..... 3 \$60,001 to \$70,000 per year ..... 12 \$15,001 to \$20,000 per year..... 4 \$70,001 to \$80,000 per year ..... 13 \$20,001 to \$25,000 per year..... 5 \$80,001 to \$90,000 per year ..... 14 \$25,001 to \$30,000 per year..... 6 \$90,001 to \$100,000 per year.... 15 \$30,001 to \$35,000 per year..... 7 \$100,001 to \$120,000 per year... 16 \$35,001 to \$40,000 per year..... 8 \$120,001 to \$140,000 per year... 17 \$40,001 to \$45,000 per year..... 9 More than \$140,000 per year ..... 18

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

### YOUR HUSBAND, WIFE OR DE FACTO

### H.17. Is your husband or wife working now?

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

H.18. What kind of work does (or did) your husband or wife do? Please give their full job title, and as much detail as you can. For public servants, state official designation and occupation. For armed services personnel, state rank and occupation.

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

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

Kind of industry	/

H.19. Whom does (or did) your partner work for?

Self-employed	1
Employee in private company or business	2
Employee of Federal/State/Local Government	3
Employee in family business or farm	4

# H.20. As an official part of their job, does (or did) your partner directly supervise the work of other employees or tell other employees what work to do?

Yes	1
No	2

H.21. Does your partner belong to a trade union?

Yes	.1
No	2

H.22. Generally speaking, does your partner usually think of himself or herself as Liberal, Labor, National or what?

Liberal	1
Labor	2
National Party	3
Greens	4
Other party (please specify)	
No party	6

### That is the end of the questionnaire.

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