TRENDS IN AUSTRALIAN POLITICAL OPINION

Results from the Australian Election Study 1987–2022

Sarah Cameron & Ian McAllister

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1987–2022

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Ian McAllister

December, 2022

AES **AUSTRALIAN**
ELECTION STUDY

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australianelectionstudy.org

> Access complete data files and documentation to conduct your own analysis

> Explore interactive charts to examine differences in political attitudes by age, gender, education level and vote

> Download Australian Election Study reports

INTRODUCTION

The 2022 election was the first election where Labor won a majority in the House of Representatives in 15 years, since the 2007 election win led by Kevin Rudd. Labor achieved this win in 2022 despite a primary vote of 32.6 percent, its lowest since the 1930s. The election has thus been framed as a loss for the Liberal-National Coalition, more so than a win for Labor. The 2022 Australian federal election was unique in many respects, including the rise of 'Teal' independents, an exceptionally unpopular incumbent Prime Minister, and this being the first federal election held since the COVID-19 pandemic hit in 2020. This report situates the 2022 election in long-term comparison, drawing upon the results of the Australian Election Study.

The Australian Election Study (AES) provides the most sophisticated and comprehensive source of evidence ever collected on political attitudes and behaviour in Australia. The AES has fielded a representative public opinion survey after every federal election since 1987. The survey asks a wide range of questions to discover what shaped voters' choices at the ballot box — including considerations in the vote decision, the importance of different policy issues, and attitudes towards the political parties and leaders. This provides a wealth of information to understand voter behaviour and how that contributes to election results.

This monograph presents the long-term trends over time in voter attitudes and behaviour in Australia. Situating the 2022 election in historical context highlights unique factors in this election. Factors advantaging Labor in the 2022 election include: Labor's advantage over the Coalition in most policy areas – a major shift since the previous election (pp. 36-43), increasingly pessimistic views of the economy under the previous government (p. 55); and Scott Morrison's unpopularity, as the least popular main party leader in the history of the AES (p. 90). Although Labor won the election, the data highlights concerns for both the major parties, including declining political partisanship (p. 29) and low levels of trust in politicians (p. 101).

In most cases, our trends run from 1987 until 2022; 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 2022 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 substantially the same methodology. The appendix provides an overview of the 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 mass public opinion surveys in the academic study of politics in Australia.

In 2022 two further surveys are available to complement the AES. The first is Module 6 of the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems project (www.cses.org), which enables the election to be situated in cross-national comparison. This survey used the Social Research Centre's 'Life in Australia' panel and was fielded just after the election. The second is the 2016-2022 panel survey, which re-interviewed 1,275 respondents in 2022. This panel survey provides a unique insight into the factors influencing changes in political attitudes and behaviour between these elections.

Further details on the dynamics shaping the 2022 election are provided in our accompanying report, *The 2022 Australian Federal Election: Results from the Australian Election Study*. These reports and a range of other resources including codebooks, technical reports and an interactive tool to explore the data online, are available on the AES website: australianelectionstudy.org

Sarah Cameron
Ian McAllister

December 2022

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We acknowledge the Traditional Custodians of Country throughout Australia and pay our respect to Elders past and present.

The election campaign

Followed the election in the mass media

——— Television
——— Radio
——— Newspapers
——— Internet
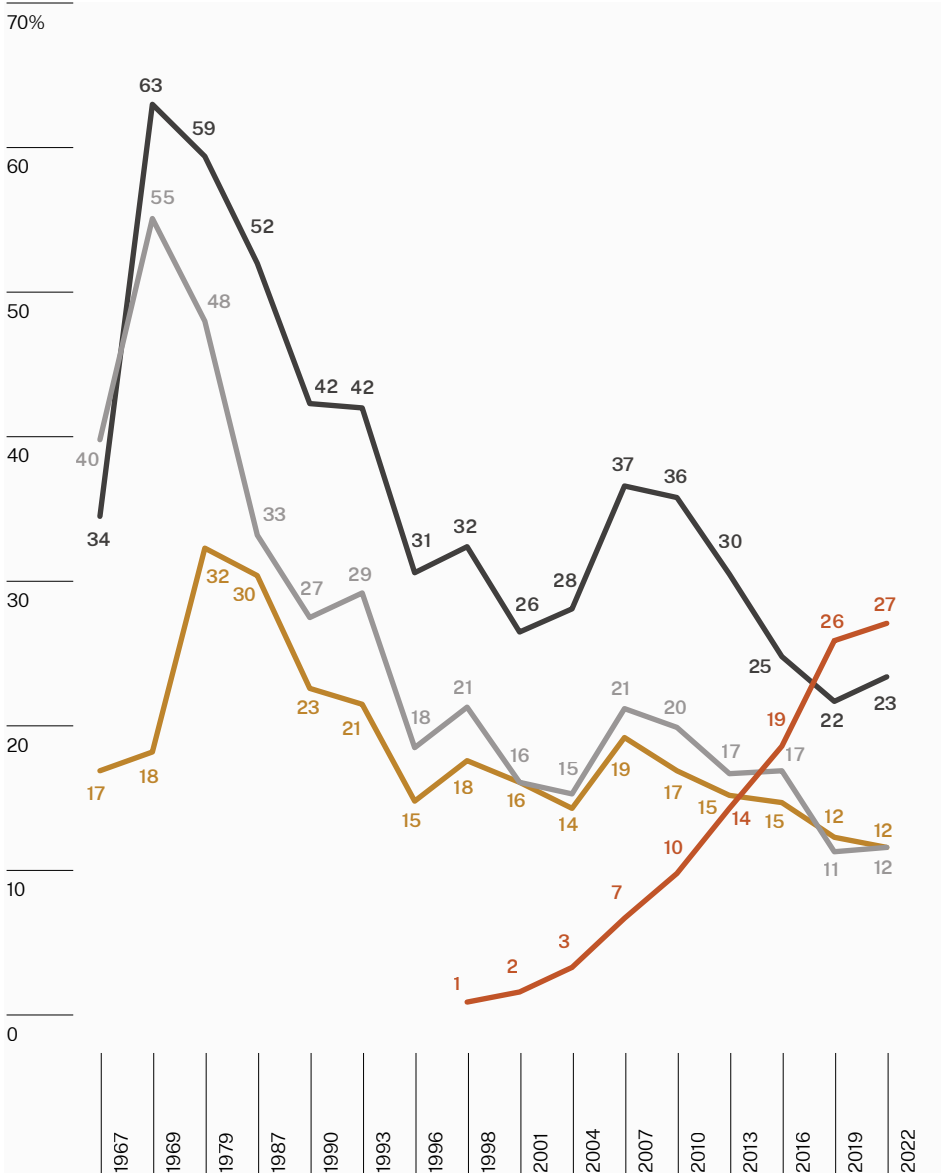
Watched the leaders' debates

— **Watched debate**
— **Did not watch debate**

Watched debate: 1990: 56, 1993: 71, 1996: 58, 1998: 43, 2001: 40, 2004: 35, 2007: 47, 2010: 47, 2013: 32, 2016: 21, 2019: 30, 2022: 34

Did not watch debate: 1990: 44, 1993: 30, 1996: 42, 1998: 57, 2001: 60, 2004: 65, 2007: 54, 2010: 53, 2013: 68, 2016: 79, 2019: 70, 2022: 66
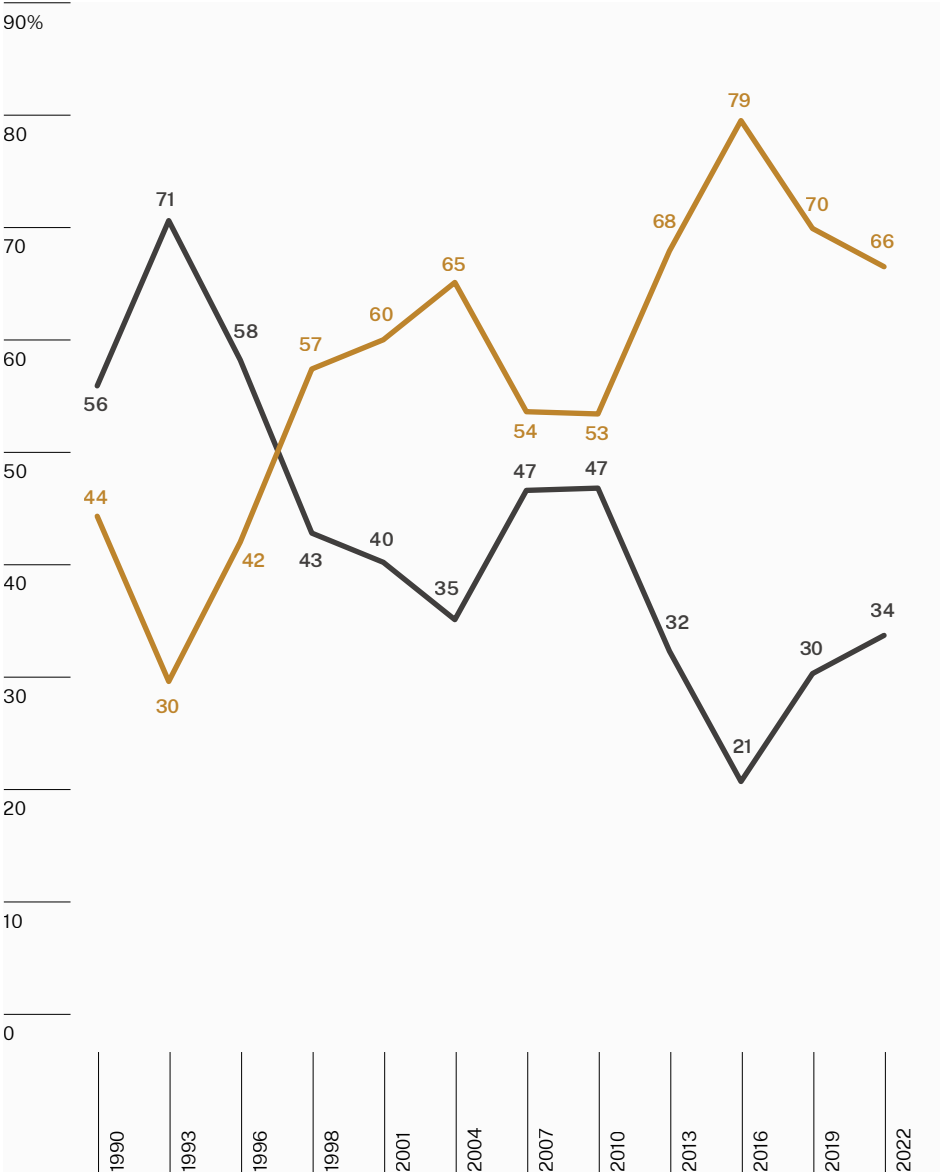
Interest in the election

——— Care a good deal who wins the election
——— A good deal of interest in the election
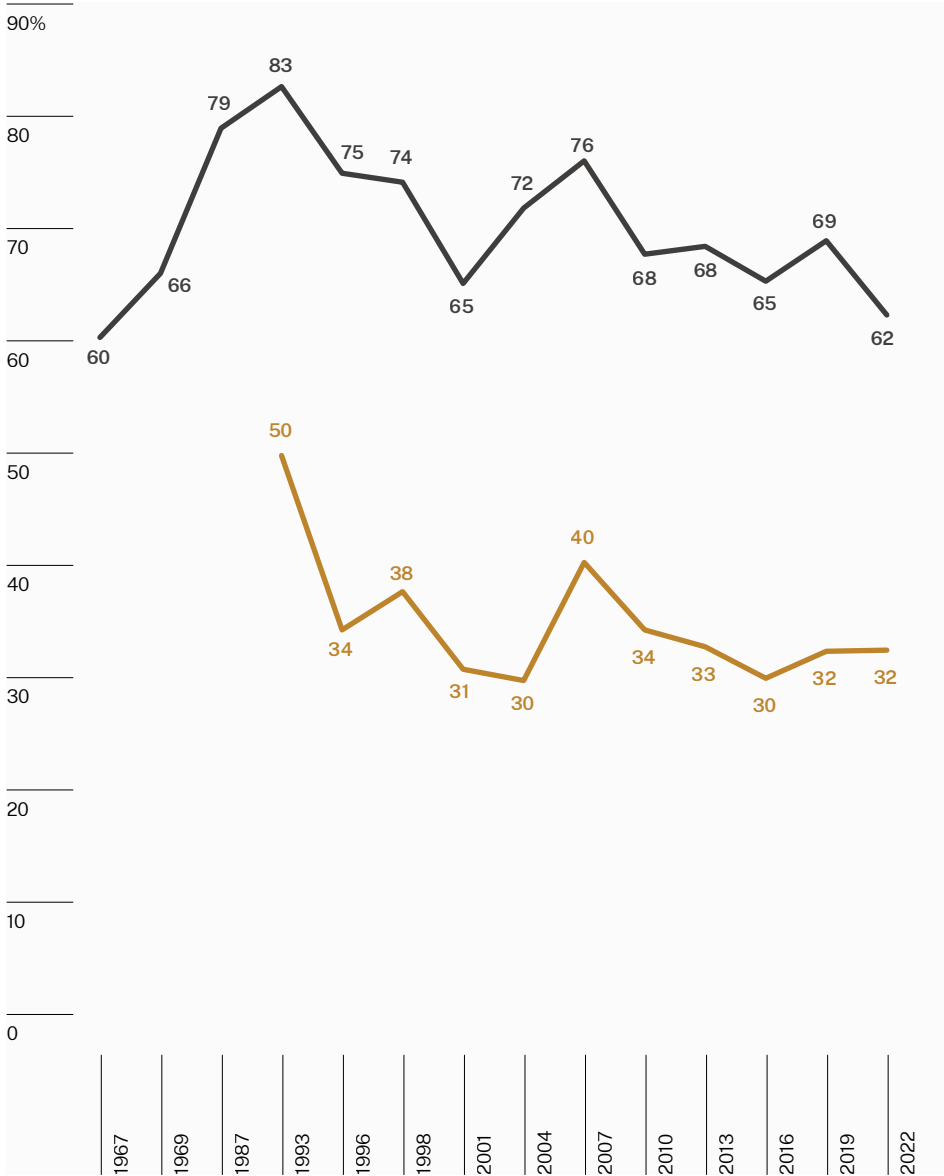
Contacted by candidate or political party

Contacted by a party during the campaign
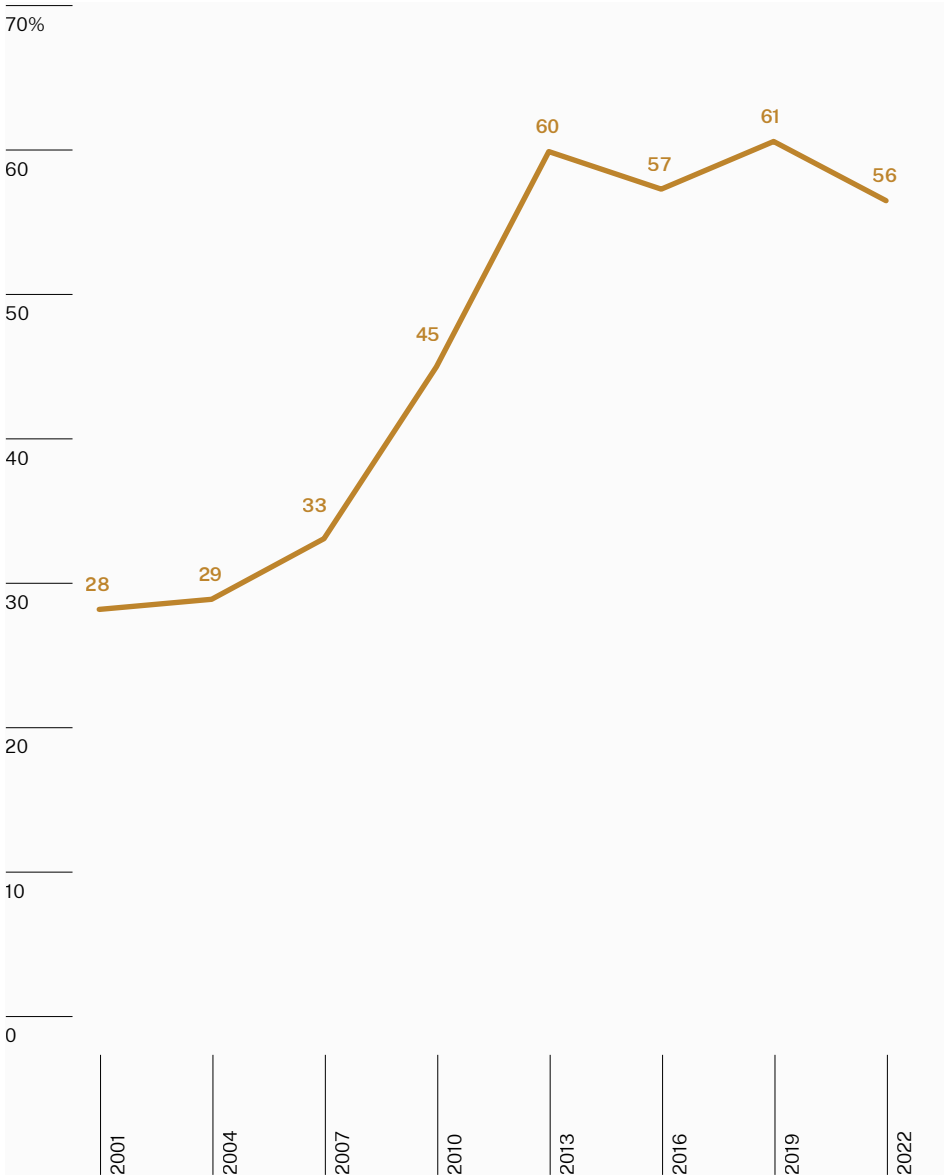
Discussing the election campaign with others

— **Discuss politics**
— **Persuade others how to vote**

Discuss politics: 88, 82, 84, 67, 68, 75, 76, 73, 72, 74, 71

Persuade others how to vote: 49, 35, 42, 11, 15, 18, 14, 14, 15, 18, 16

Years: 1993, 1996, 1998, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013, 2016, 2019, 2022
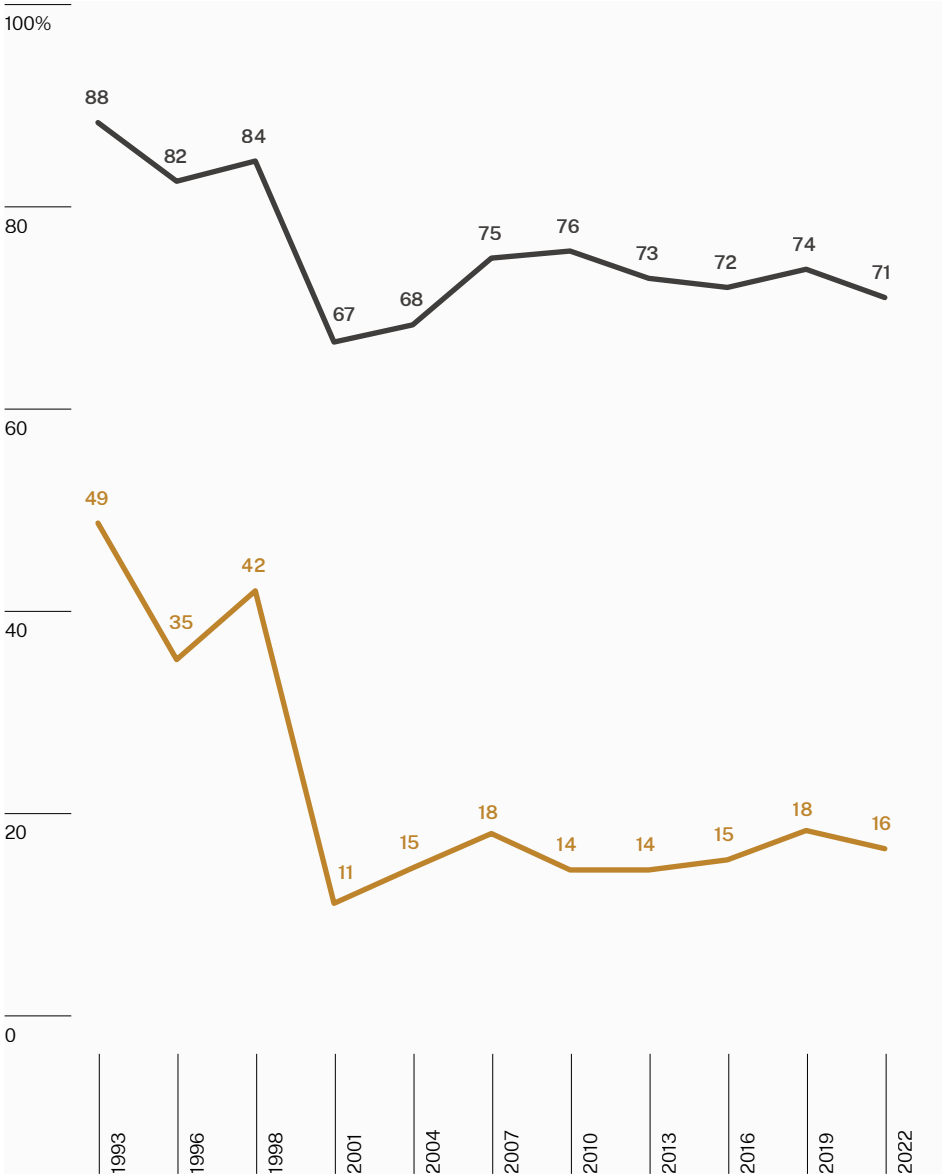
Involvement in the election campaign

— Attend meeting
— Work for party or candidate
— Contribute money to a political party or election candidate
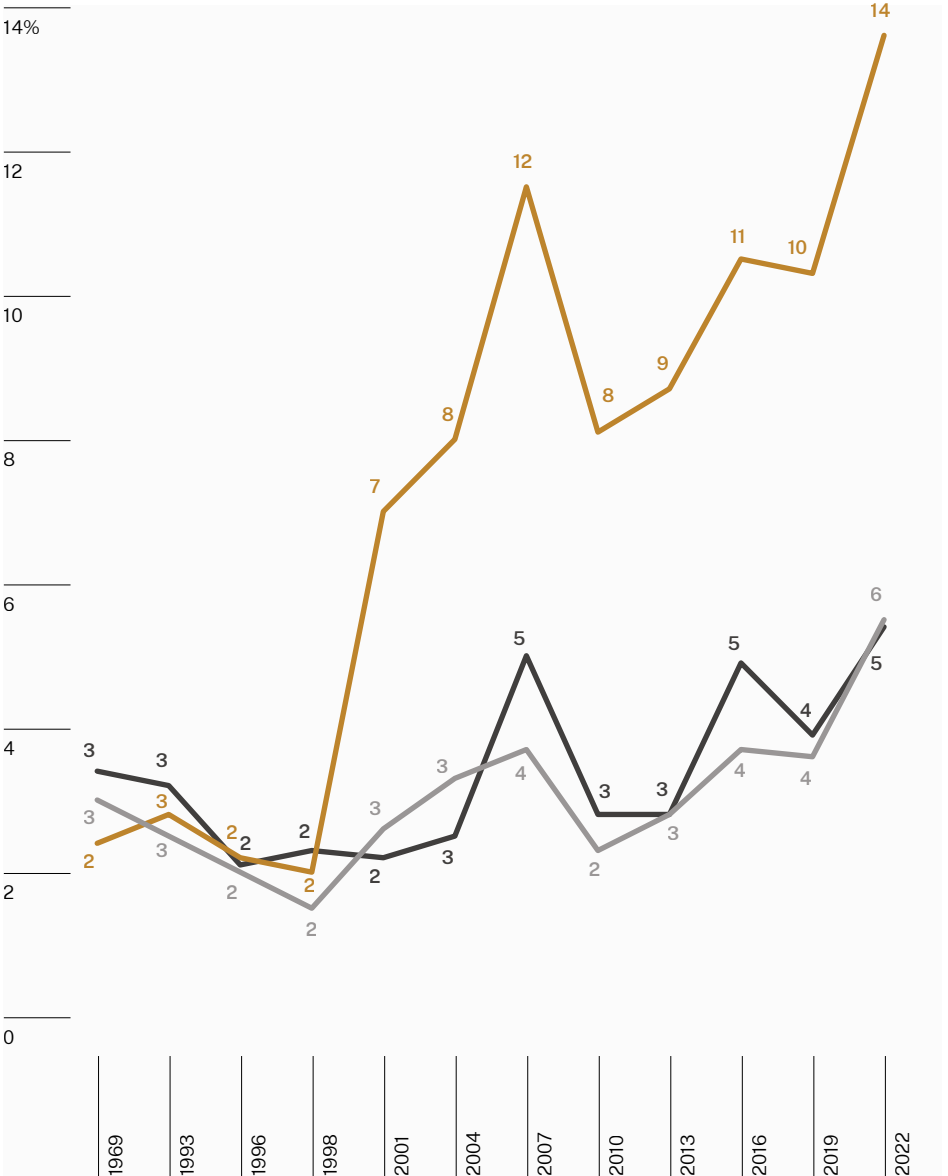
Websites accessed during the election campaign

- Party or candidate campaign sites
- Mainstream news media
- Federal Parliament
- Australian Electoral Commission
- Unofficial online videos
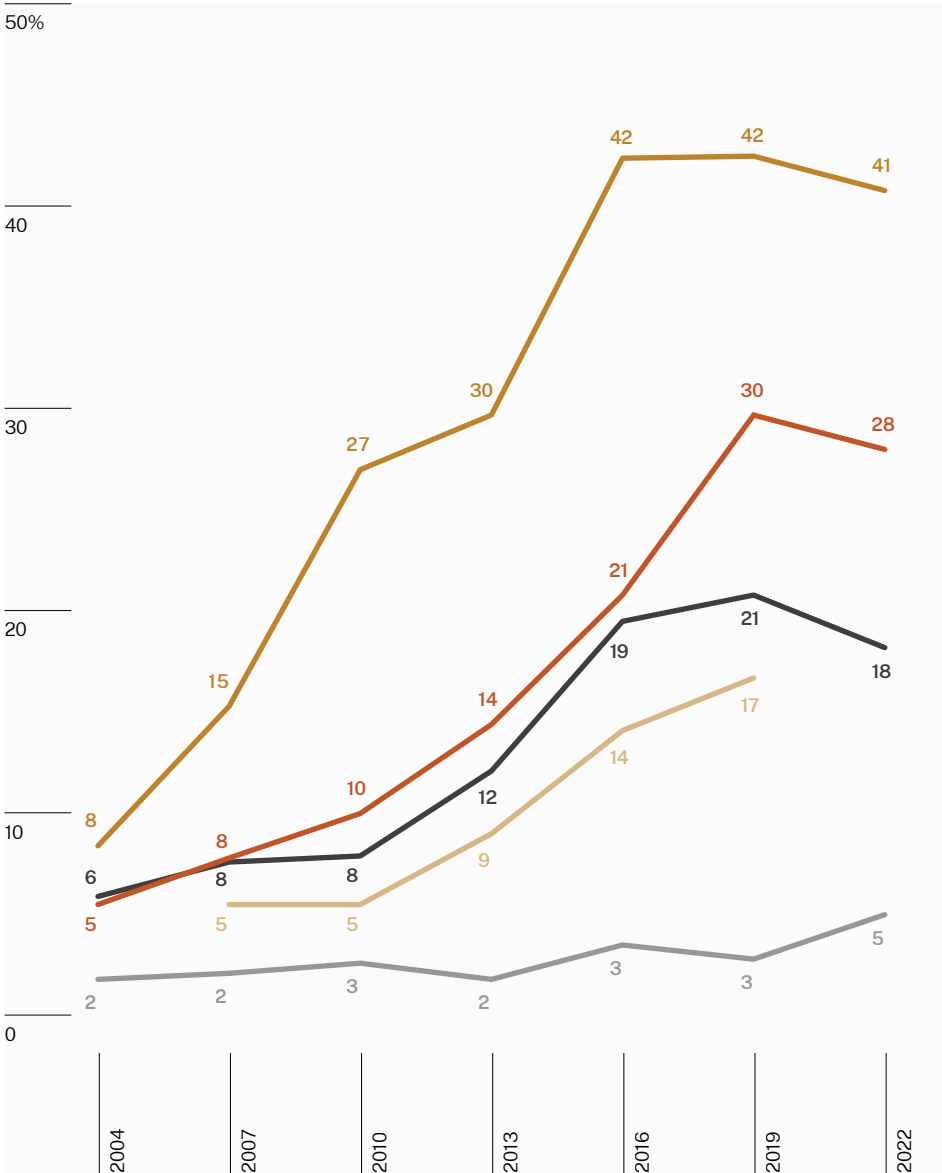
Online activity during the election campaign

——— **Shared unofficial political content online**
——— **Signed up to receive information from a party or candidate**
——— Joined a political group on a social networking site
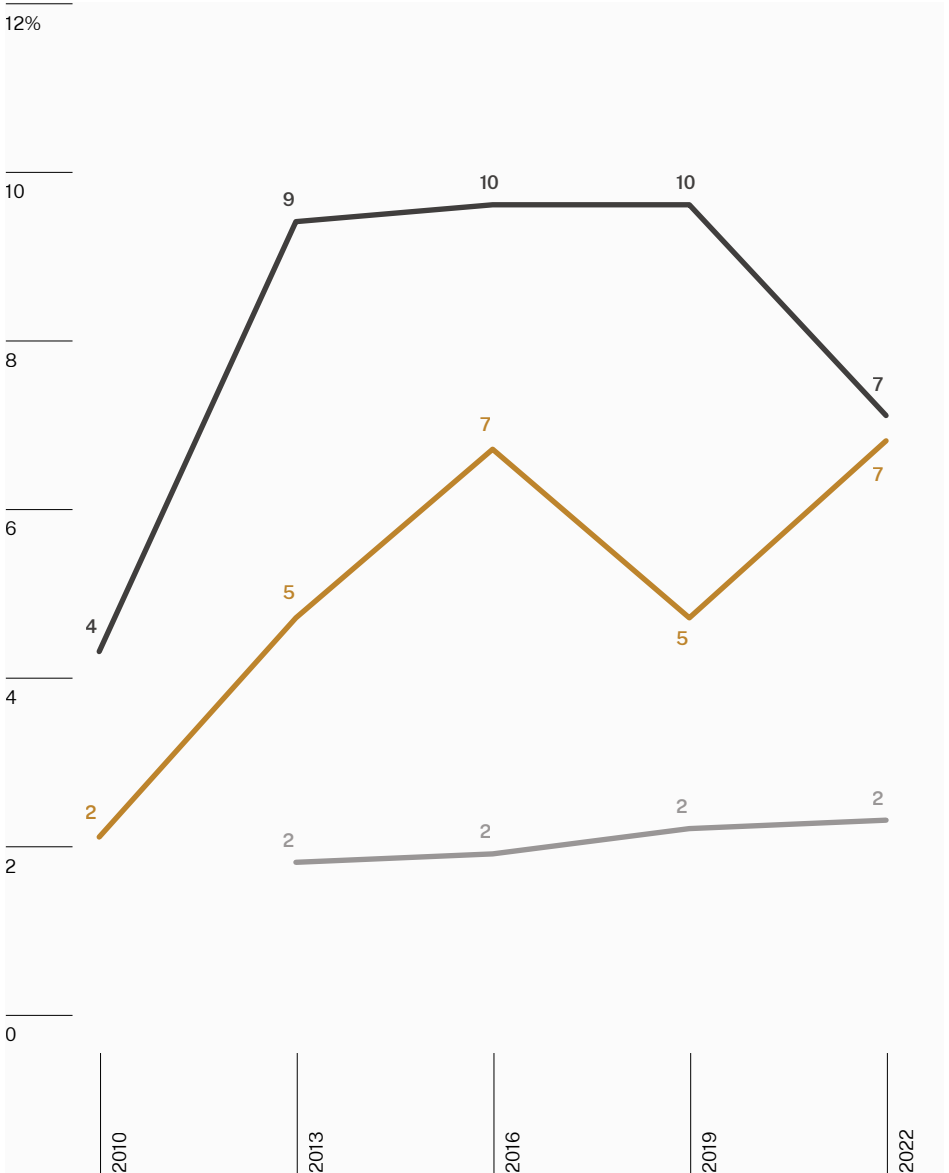
Notes

Followed the election in the mass media
Response categories for television, radio and newspapers are: (1967-1979) 'yes'; (1987-1990) 'often'; (1993-2022) 'a good deal'. Response categories for internet are: (1998-2004) 'many times'; (2007-2022) 'a good deal'.

Watched the leaders' debate
Watched debate includes respondents who watched one or more of the debates in the election campaign. Elections 1990 and 1998-2016 each had one leaders' debate, in 1993 and 1996 there were two debates, and in 2019 and 2022 there were three debates.

Contacted by candidate or political party
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'; (2013-2022) 'Yes, by telephone', 'Yes, by mail', 'Yes, (2013: by) face-to-face', 'Yes, by text message or SMS', 'Yes, by email', and 'Yes, by social network site or other web-based method'.

Discussing the election campaign with others
For 2001–2022 estimates combine 'frequently' and 'occasionally'.

Involvement in the election campaign
For attend meeting, the response categories are: (1969) 'yes'; (1993-2022) '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'; (2001-2022) 'show your support for a particular party or candidate by, for example (2019: e.g.), 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, 2013-2022) '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 2001-2022 all estimates combine 'frequently' and 'occasionally'.

Websites accessed during the election campaign
For party or candidate campaign sites the response categories are: (2004-2007) 'party site', 'your own MP's site', 'individual candidate site in your electorate' and 'other candidate/MPs sites outside your electorate'; (2010-2013) 'party or candidate campaign sites'; (2016) 'official party or candidate campaign sites'; (2019) 'official party or candidate campaign sites (e.g. home pages, blogs, official Facebook profiles, official YouTube channels)'; (2022) 'party or campaign websites'. For unofficial online videos, the response categories are (2007) 'YouTube; (2010-2013) 'unofficial online videos'; (2016) 'unofficial online content (i.e. non-party produced campaign material (e.g. YouTube))'; and (2019) 'unofficial online content (i.e. non-party campaign material e.g. YouTube)'.

Online activity during the election campaign
For 'signed up to receive information from a party or candidate' this includes registering as their follower/friend/supporter on social media.

Timing of the voting decision

— **A long time ago**
— **During the election campaign**
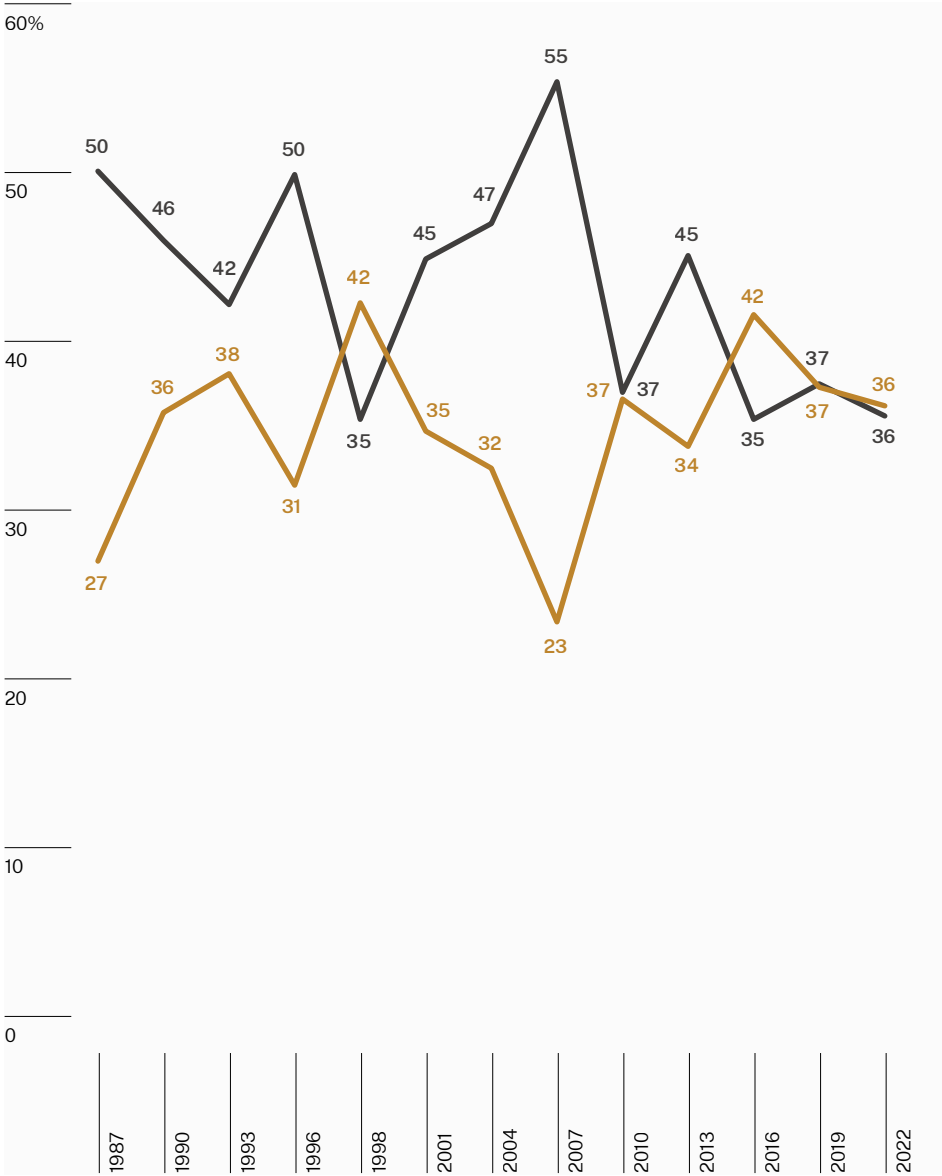
Mode of voting

In person on election day
In person before election day (pre-poll)
Postal vote before election day

80%

70 — 69
55
48

60

50

40

33   33
30   21

20   11   13   18

10

0

2016   2019   2022
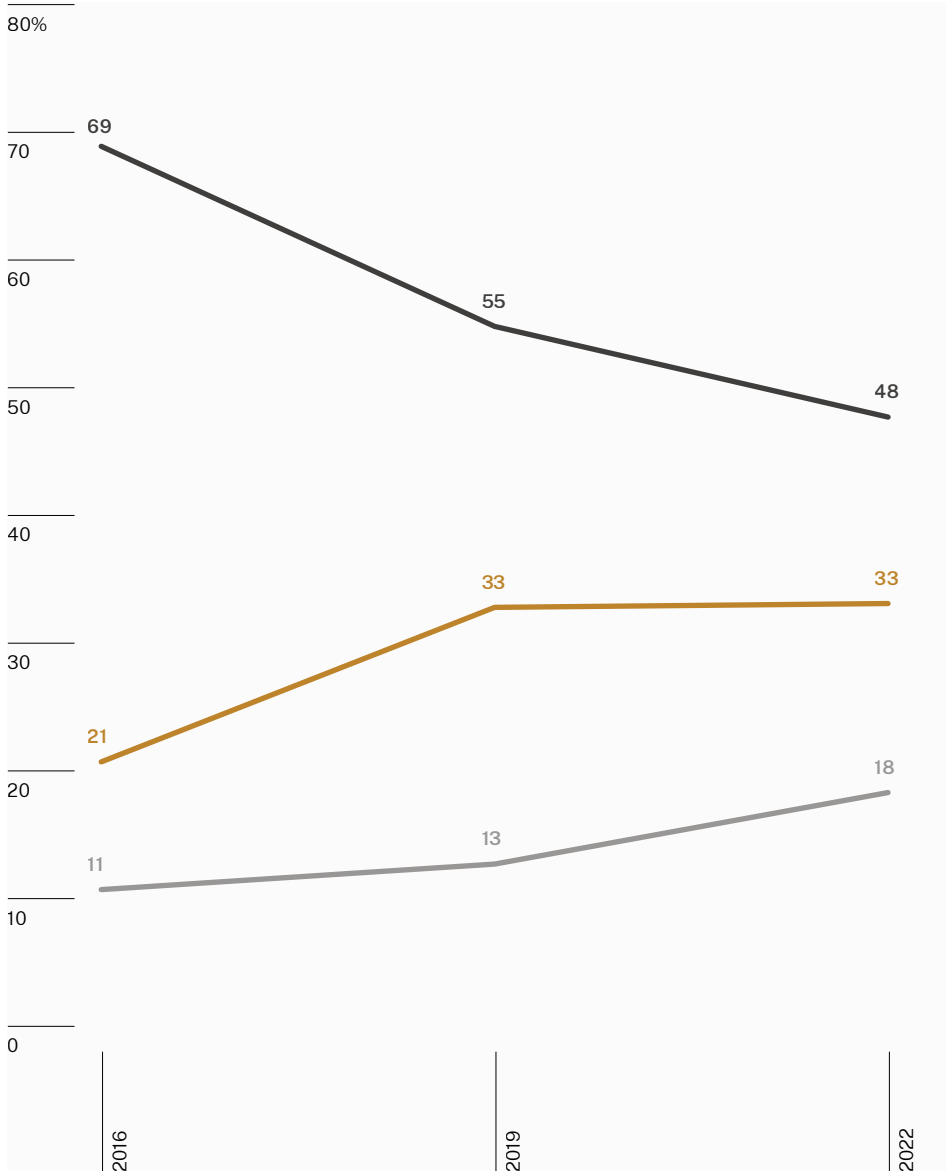
The use of voter prompts on polling day

— Followed 'How to Vote' card for House of Representatives
— Voted above the line for Senate

Year	Followed 'How to Vote' card for House of Representatives	Voted above the line for Senate
1996	56	88
1998	52	88
2001	50	84
2004	53	88
2007	51	87
2010	47	86
2013	43	
2016	34	
2019	29	
2022	31	
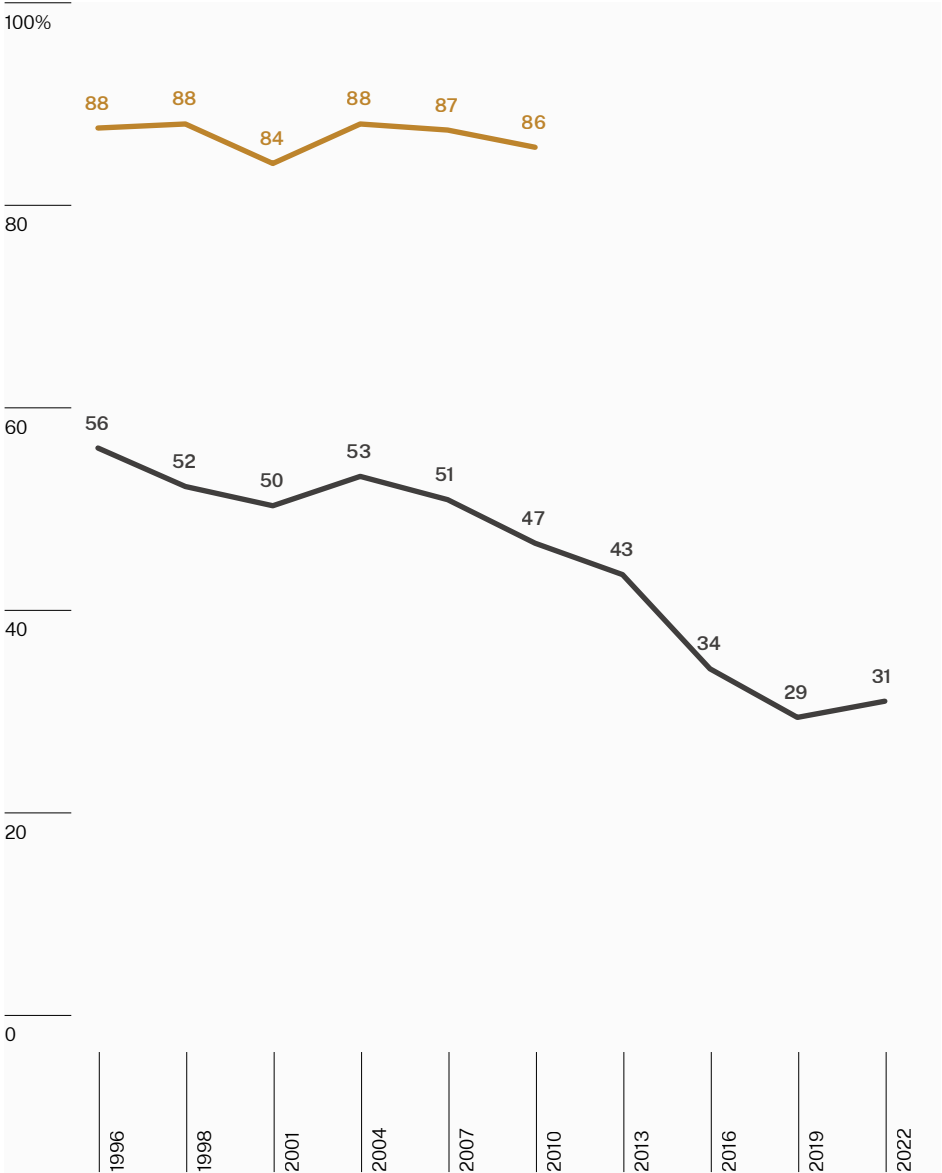
Split ticket voting — cast different vote in House of Representatives and Senate

—— Split tickets

Year	Value
1987	17
1990	16
1993	16
1996	22
1998	27
2001	29
2004	27
2007	27
2010	27
2013	30
2016	35
2019	30
2022	33
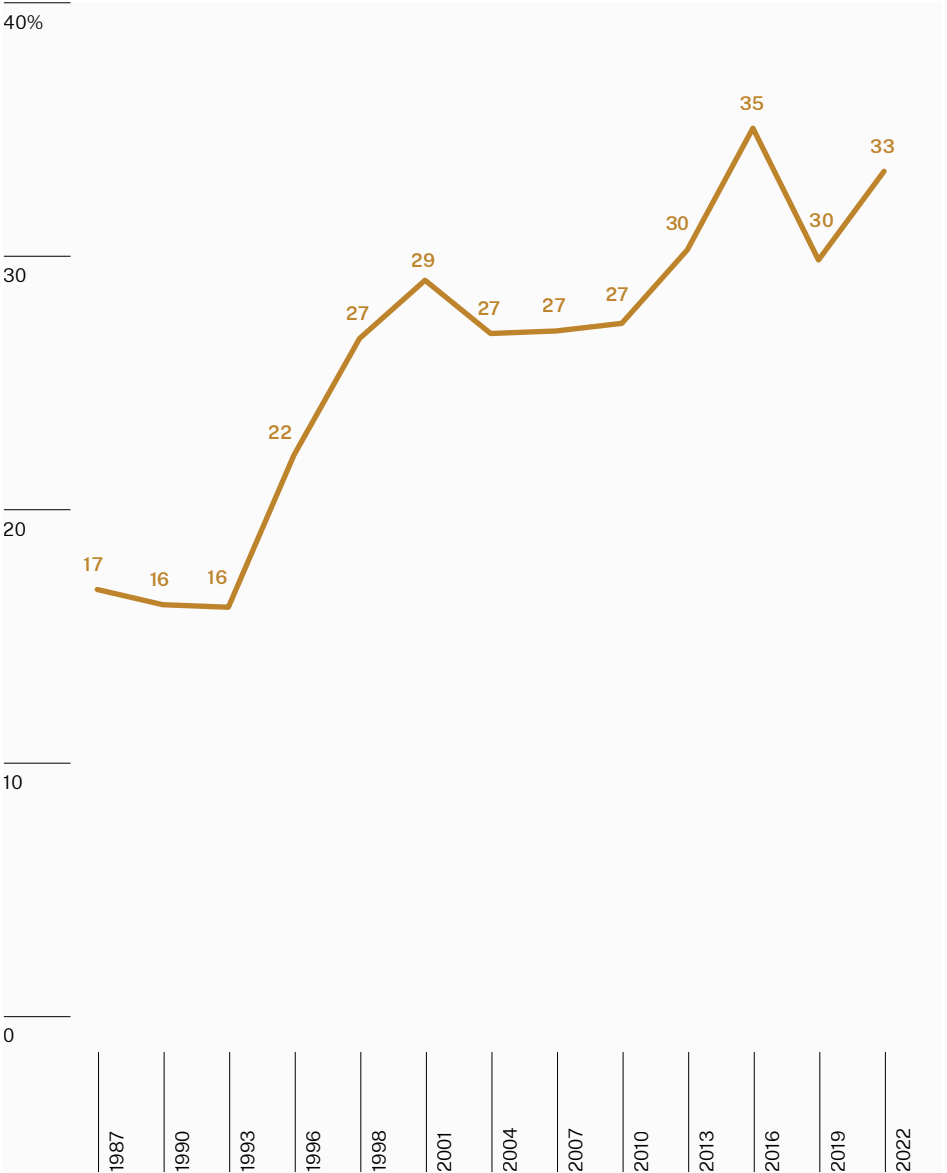
The extent of voting volatility

— Always voted for same party
— Considered voting for another party

Always voted for same party:
72, 69, 61, 63, 60, 55, 53, 49, 48, 50, 45, 52, 46, 40, 39, 37

Considered voting for another party:
25, 30, 25, 22, 29, 29, 25, 23, 29, 30, 34, 34, 36

Years: 1967, 1969, 1979, 1987, 1990, 1993, 1996, 1998, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013, 2016, 2019, 2022
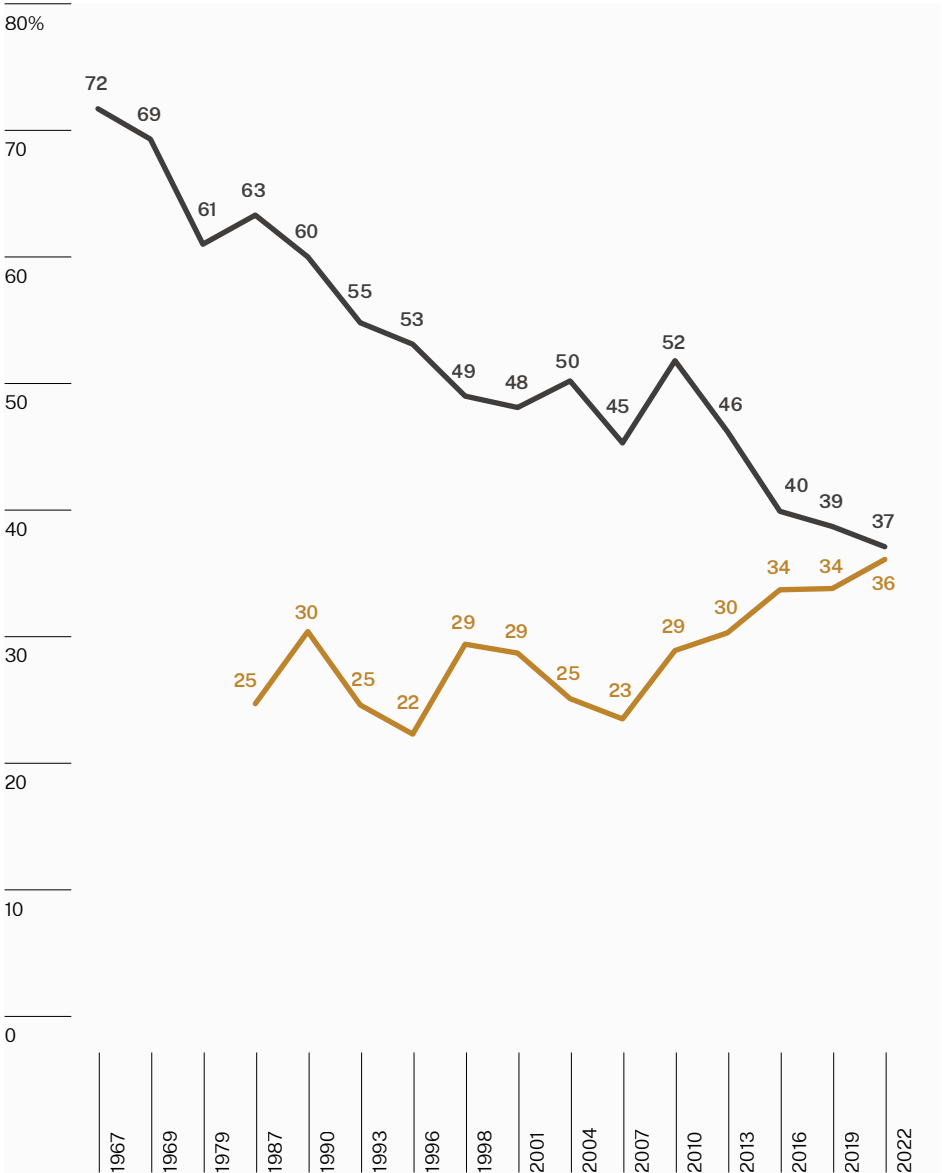
Considered changing vote during campaign

Legend:
- Liberal-National voters
- Labor voters

Liberal-National voters: 23, 24, 18, 16, 27, 20, 17, 17, 20, 19, 25, 24, 27

Labor voters: 22, 30, 27, 27, 27, 31, 28, 25, 33, 37, 36, 40, 31

Years: 1987, 1990, 1993, 1996, 1998, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013, 2016, 2019, 2022
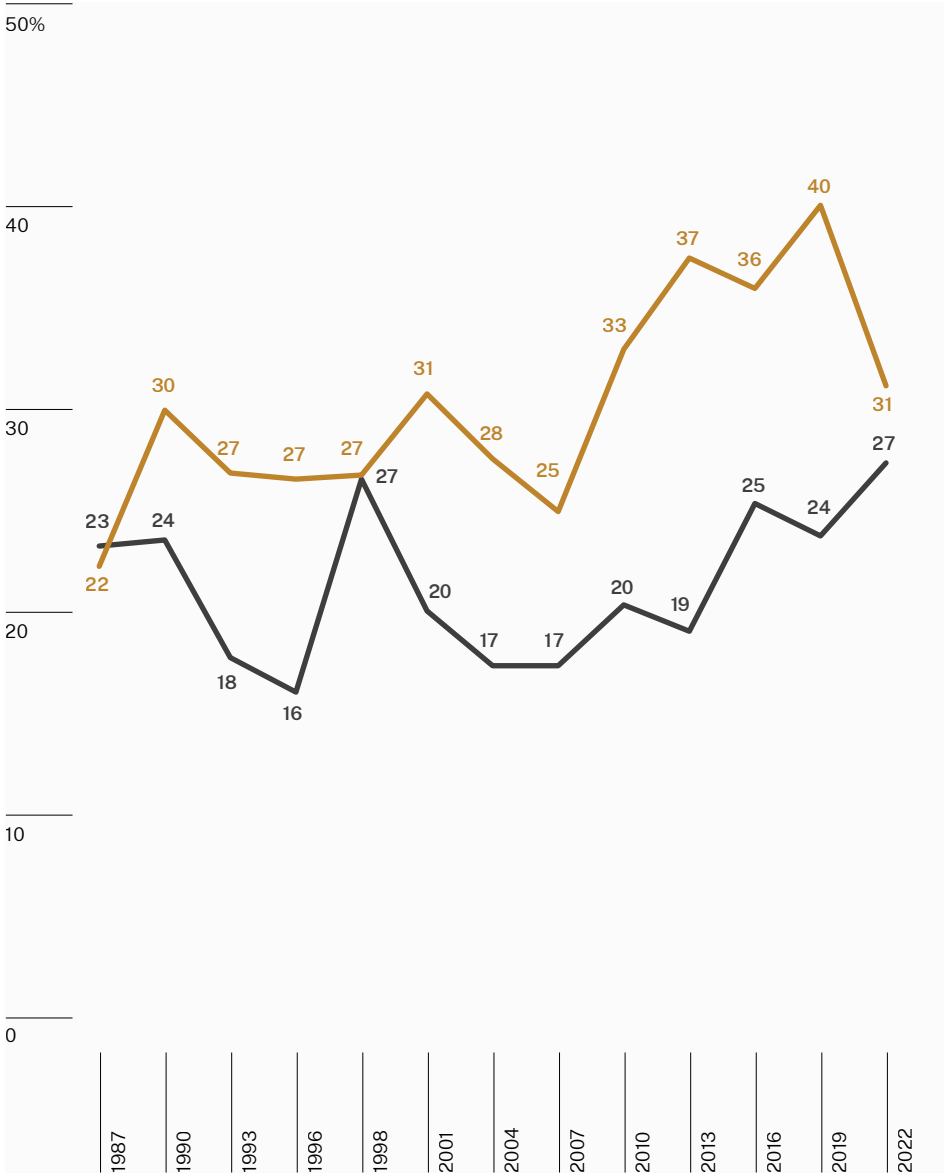
Lifetime voting

—— Stable Liberal-National
—— Stable Labor

Stable Liberal-National: 36, 35, 27, 24, 25, 23, 25, 20, 20, 25, 22, 25, 22, 19, 17, 16

Stable Labor: 32, 32, 33, 38, 27, 25, 29, 23, 23, 21, 19, 18, 22, 17, 14, 14, 12

Years: 1967, 1969, 1979, 1987, 1990, 1993, 1996, 1998, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013, 2016, 2019, 2022
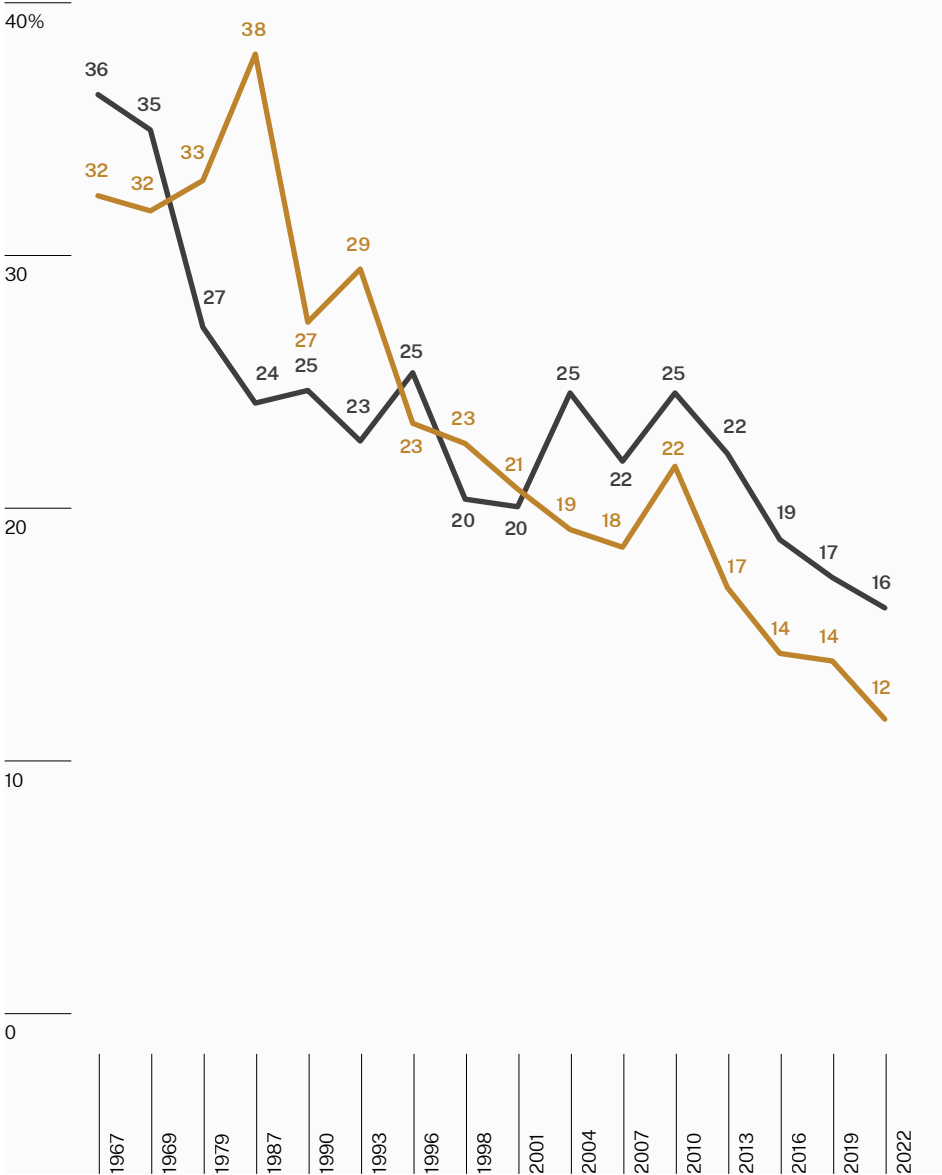
Considerations in the voting decision

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

Policy issues: 49, 66, 47, 49, 52, 52, 54, 59, 66, 53

Parties taken as a whole: 29, 20, 26, 26, 26, 25, 24, 23, 19, 26

Party leaders: 15, 9, 18, 19, 16, 15, 14, 9, 7, 11

Candidates in your electorate: 7, 6, 9, 6, 6, 8, 8, 9, 8, 11

Years: 1996, 1998, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013, 2016, 2019, 2022
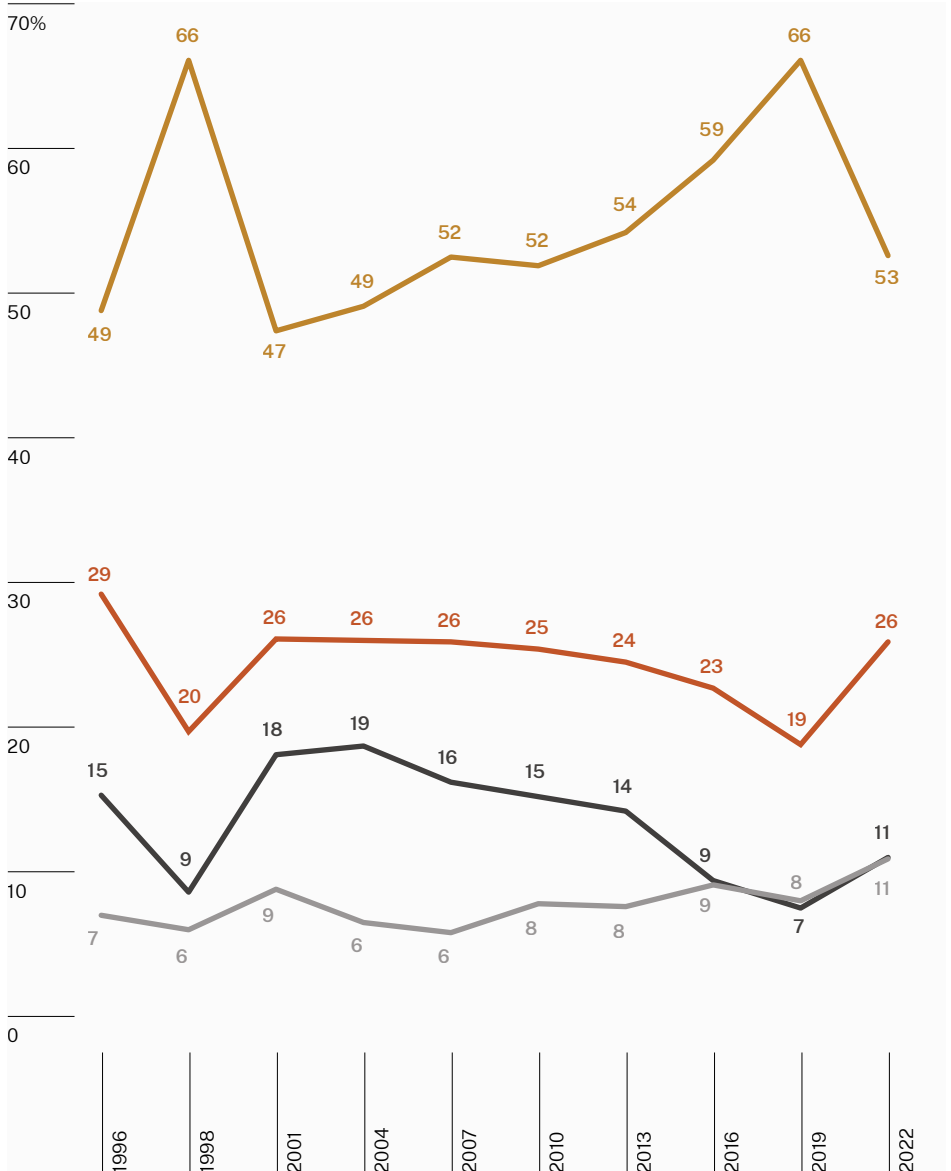
Destination of minor party votes in the House of Representatives

Legend:
— Liberal-National
— Labor
— Not sure / don't know

Liberal-National: 44, 36, 35, 41, 34, 35, 20, 26, 21, 30

Labor: 35, 41, 40, 38, 47, 47, 51, 50, 54, 51

Not sure / don't know: 22, 24, 24, 22, 19, 18, 29, 24, 25, 20

Years: 1996, 1998, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013, 2016, 2019, 2022

Destination of minor party votes in the Senate

- ▬ Liberal-National
- ▬ Labor
- ▬ Not sure / don't know
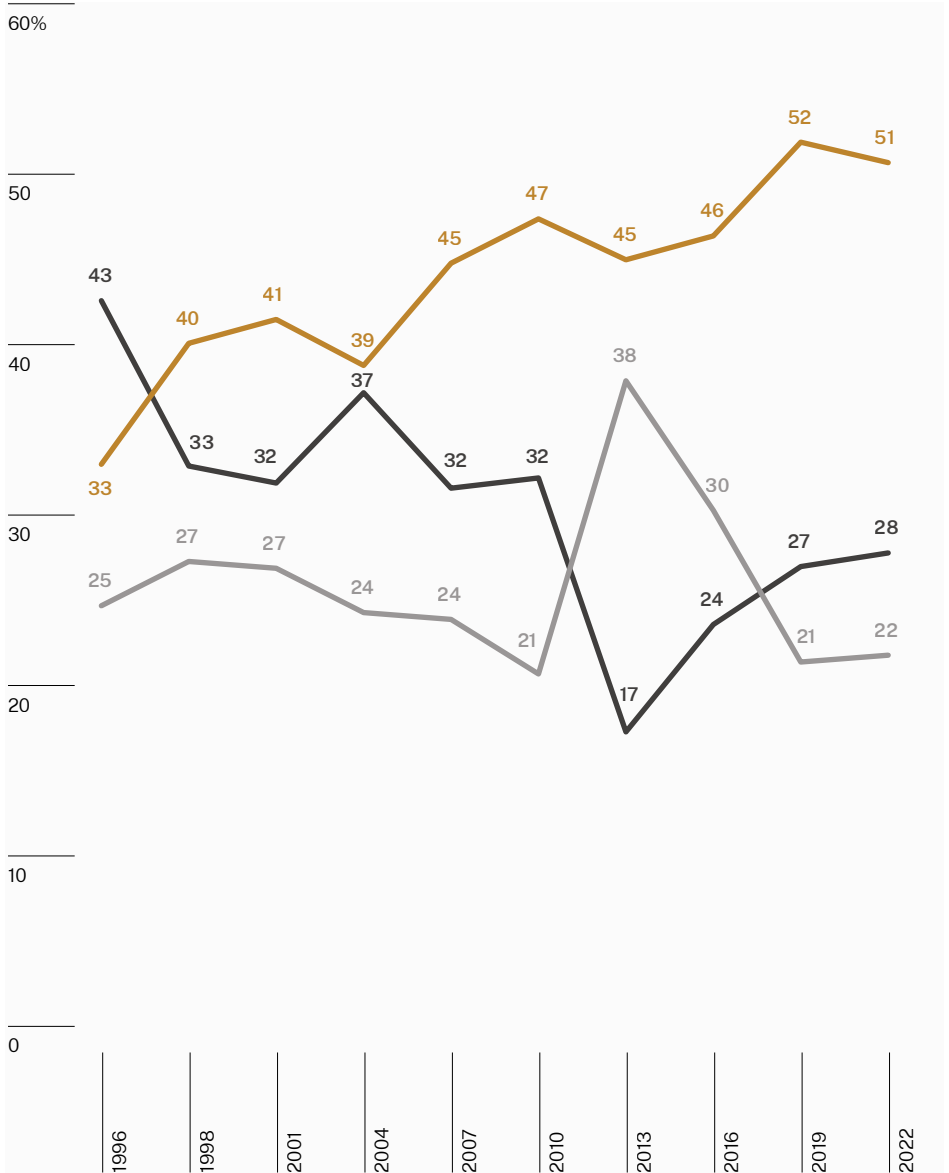
Difference between the parties

—— **Good deal of difference**

—— **Some difference**

—— Not much / no difference
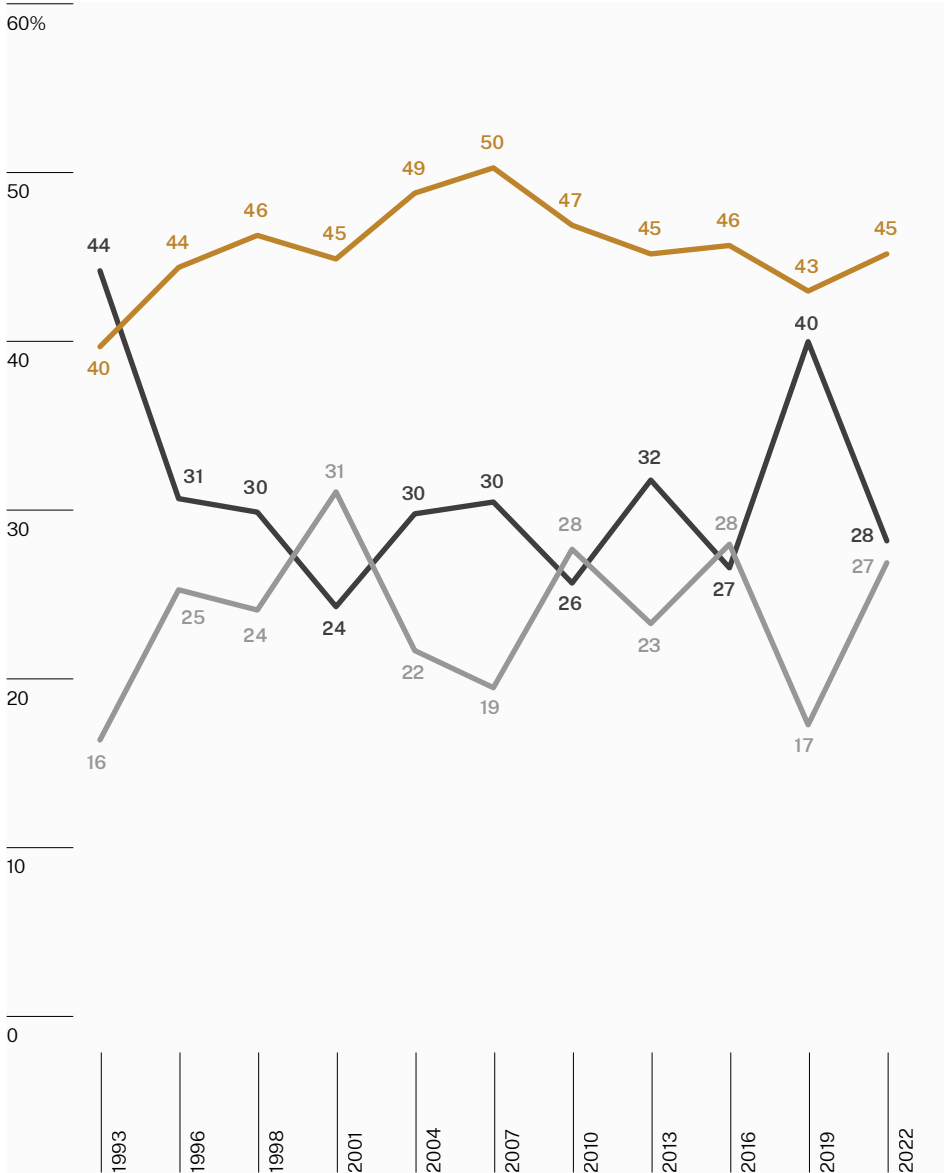
Direction of political partisanship

Legend:
- Liberal
- Labor
- Greens
- None

Liberal: 41, 40, 36, 34, 36, 36, 37, 34, 38, 42, 37, 36, 36, 34, 33, 32, 30

Labor: 38, 40, 42, 49, 47, 44, 37, 41, 36, 32, 37, 38, 35, 30, 30, 28

Greens: 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 6, 6, 9, 9, 10

None: 11, 10, 14, 6, 4, 12, 17, 14, 15, 16, 16, 14, 17, 19, 21, 24

Years: 1967, 1969, 1979, 1987, 1990, 1993, 1996, 1998, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013, 2016, 2019, 2022
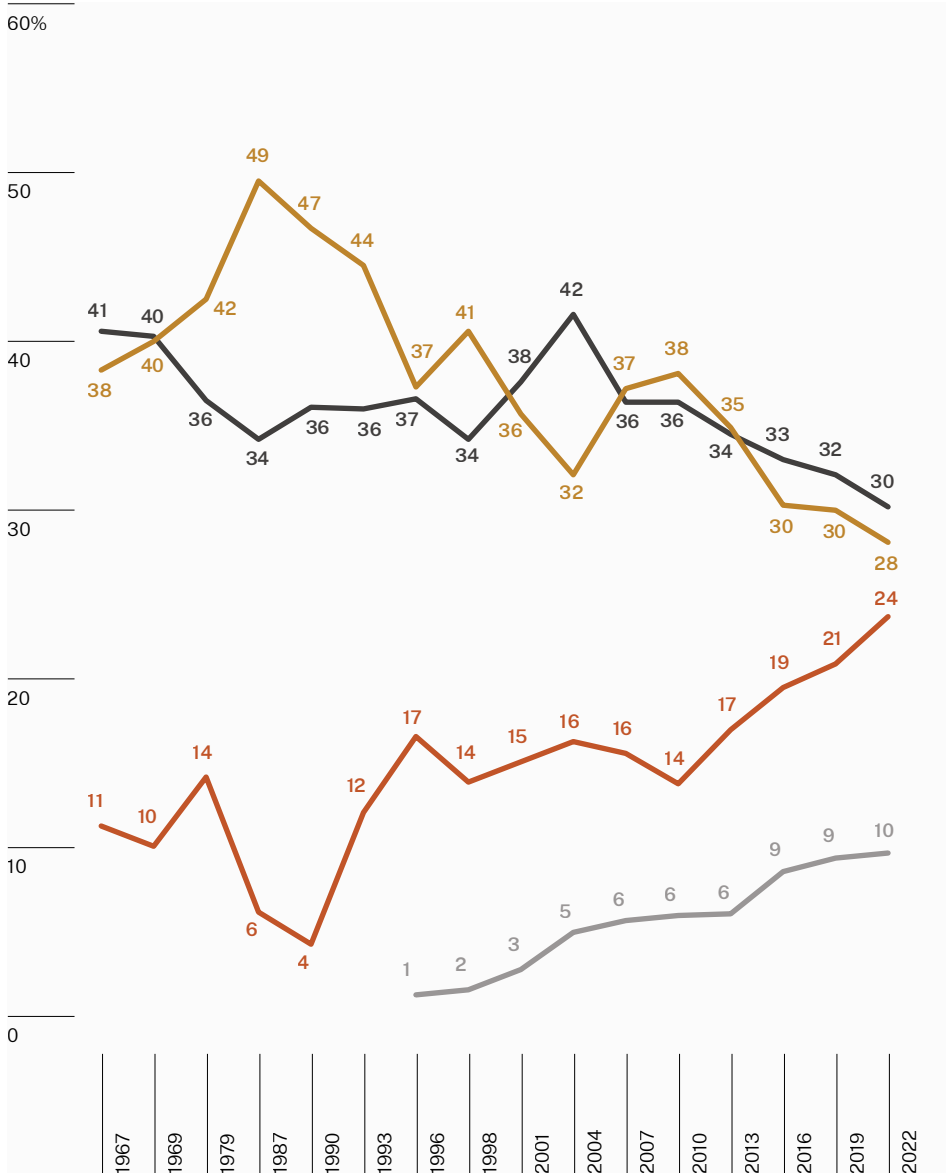
Strength of political partisanship

- **Very strong**
- **Fairly strong**
- **Not very strong**
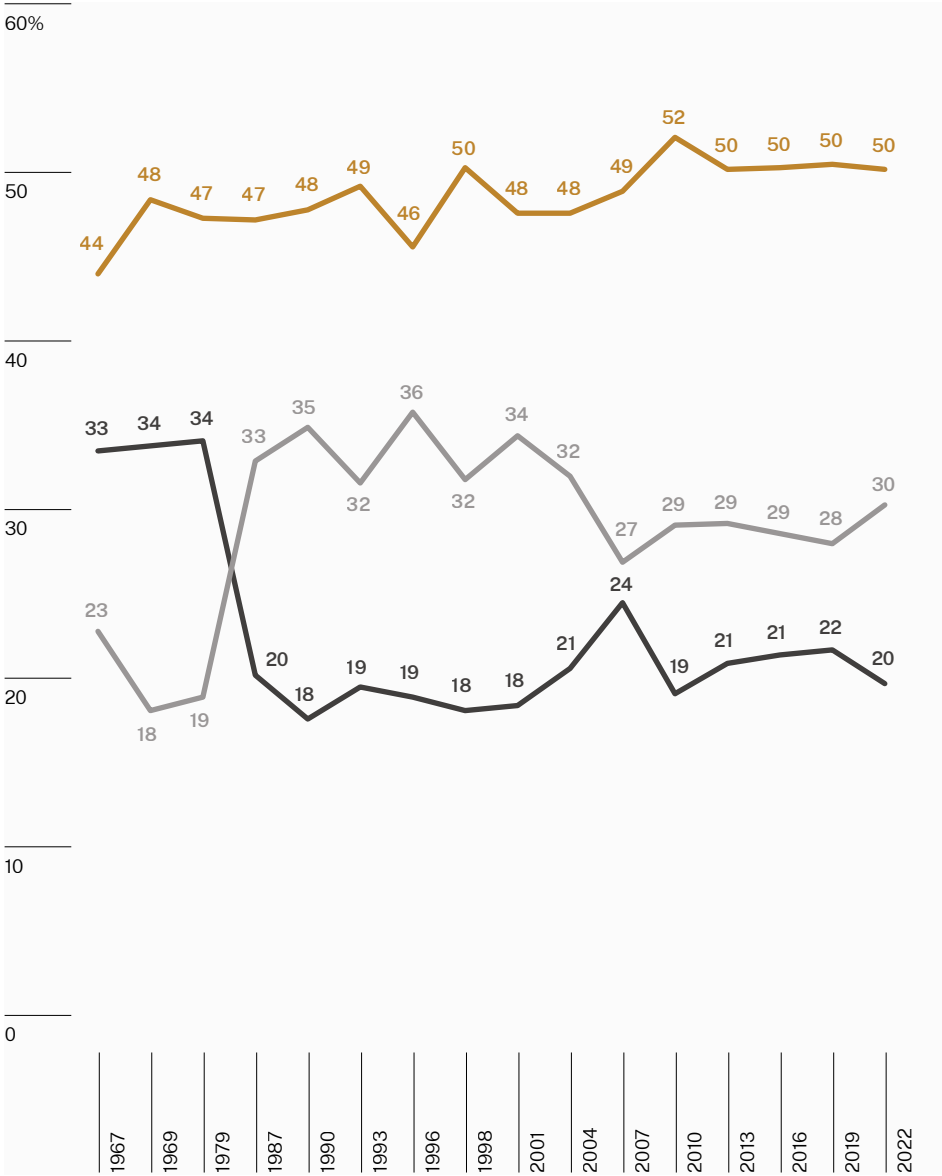
Notes

Timing of the voting decision
For 1990-2022 during the election campaign combines 'in the first few weeks of the campaign', 'a few days before election day' and 'on election day'.

Split ticket voting
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 election campaign
Voting and partisanship
Election issues
The economy
Politics and political parties
The left-right dimension
The political leaders
Democracy and institutions
Trade unions, business and wealth
Social issues
Defence and foreign affairs
References
Appendix: Methodology

Most important economic election issues

Unemployment
Industrial relations
Education
Taxation
Management of the economy
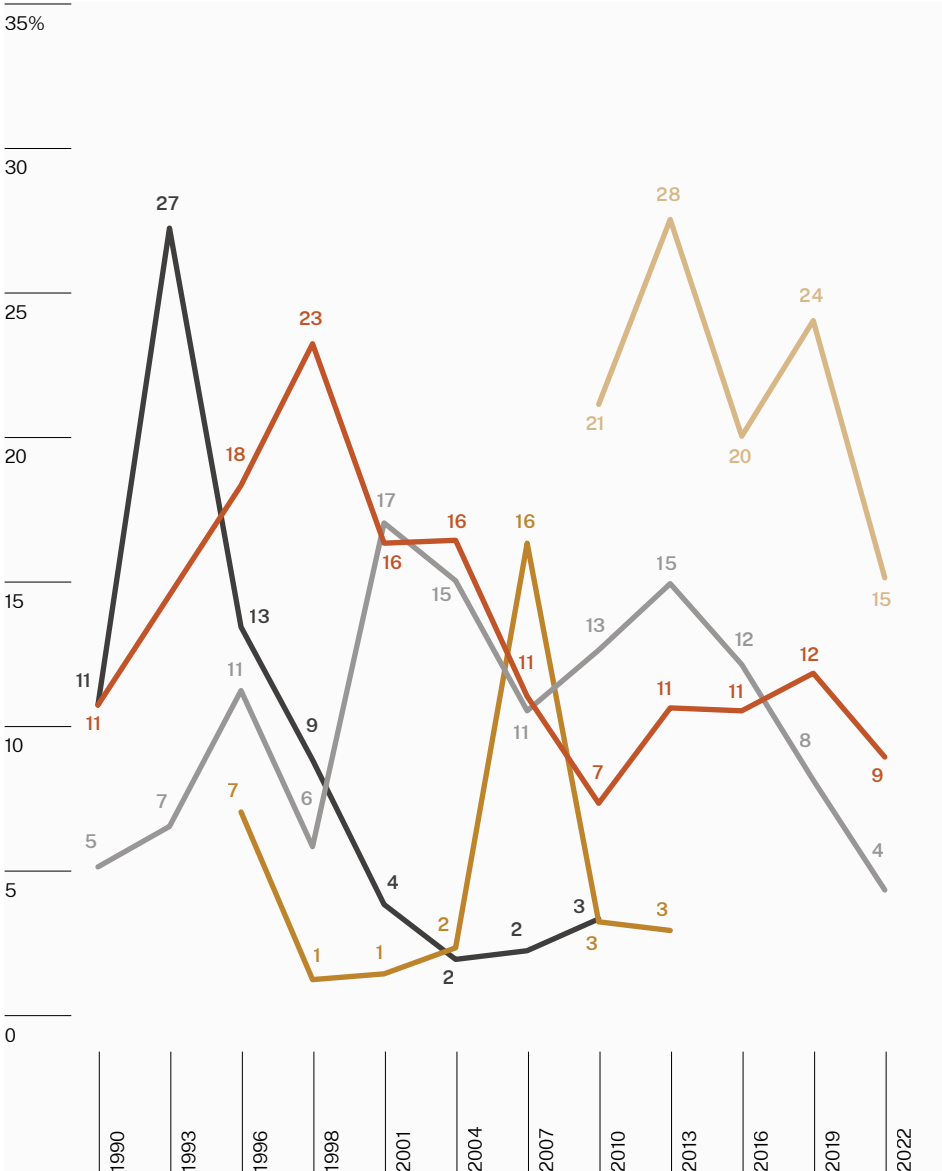
Most important non-economic election issues

Legend:
- Health (black)
- Environment (dark yellow/gold)
- Global Warming (grey)
- Refugees and asylum seekers (red)
- Immigration (light tan)

Health: 9, 6, 26, 10, 16, 30, 21, 23, 19, 24, 22, 10
Environment: 11, 4, 5, 3, 4, 6, 8, 5, 6, 6, 11, 7
Global Warming: 4, 3, 7, 8, 4, 4, 10, 10
Refugees and asylum seekers: 13, 3, 6, 10, 6, 3, 1
Immigration: 4, 3, 5, 2, 3, 2, 4, 3

Years: 1990, 1993, 1996, 1998, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013, 2016, 2019, 2022
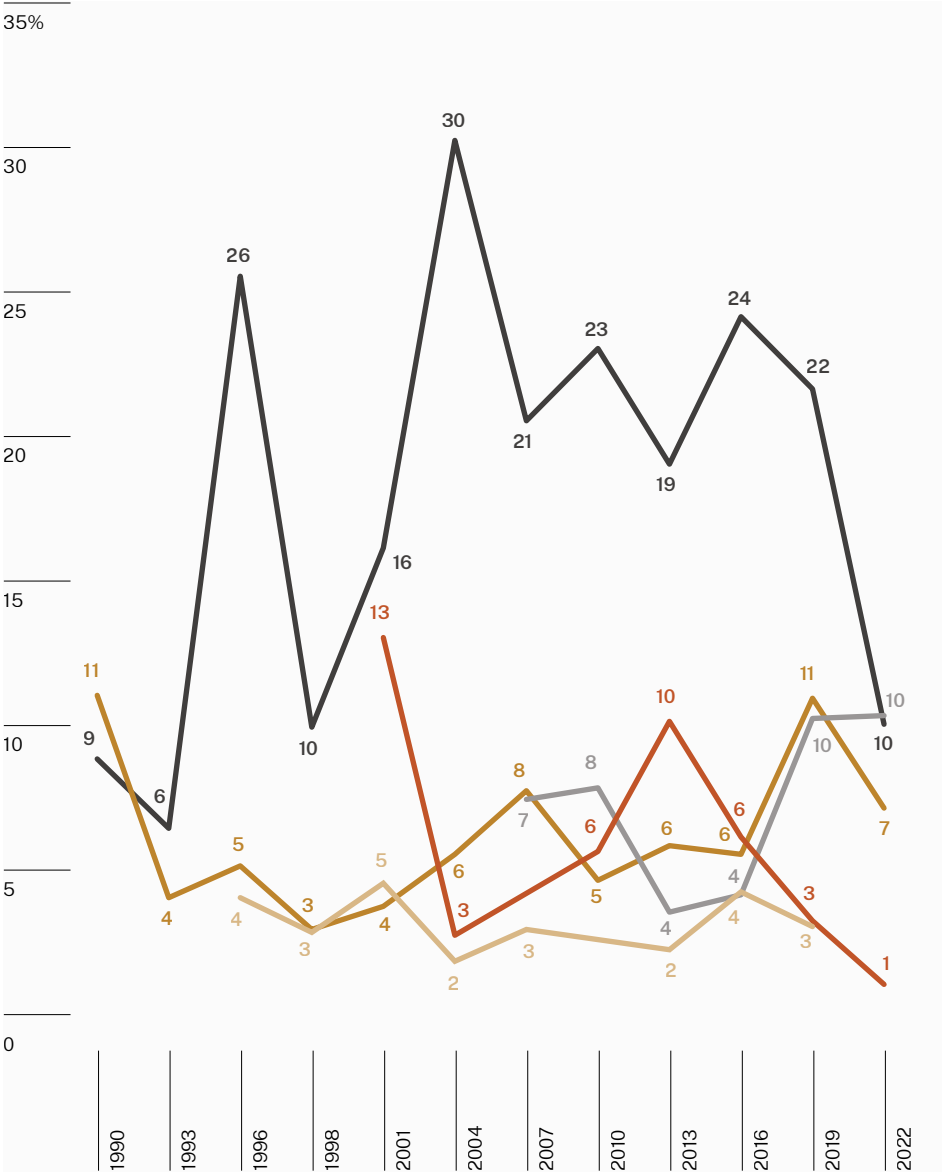
Preferred party policy on management of the economy

ALP
Coalition
No difference

50%

37

44

44

47

45

30

27

22

23

18

22

17

21

17

30

25

40

30

20

10

0

2010

2013

2016

2019

2022
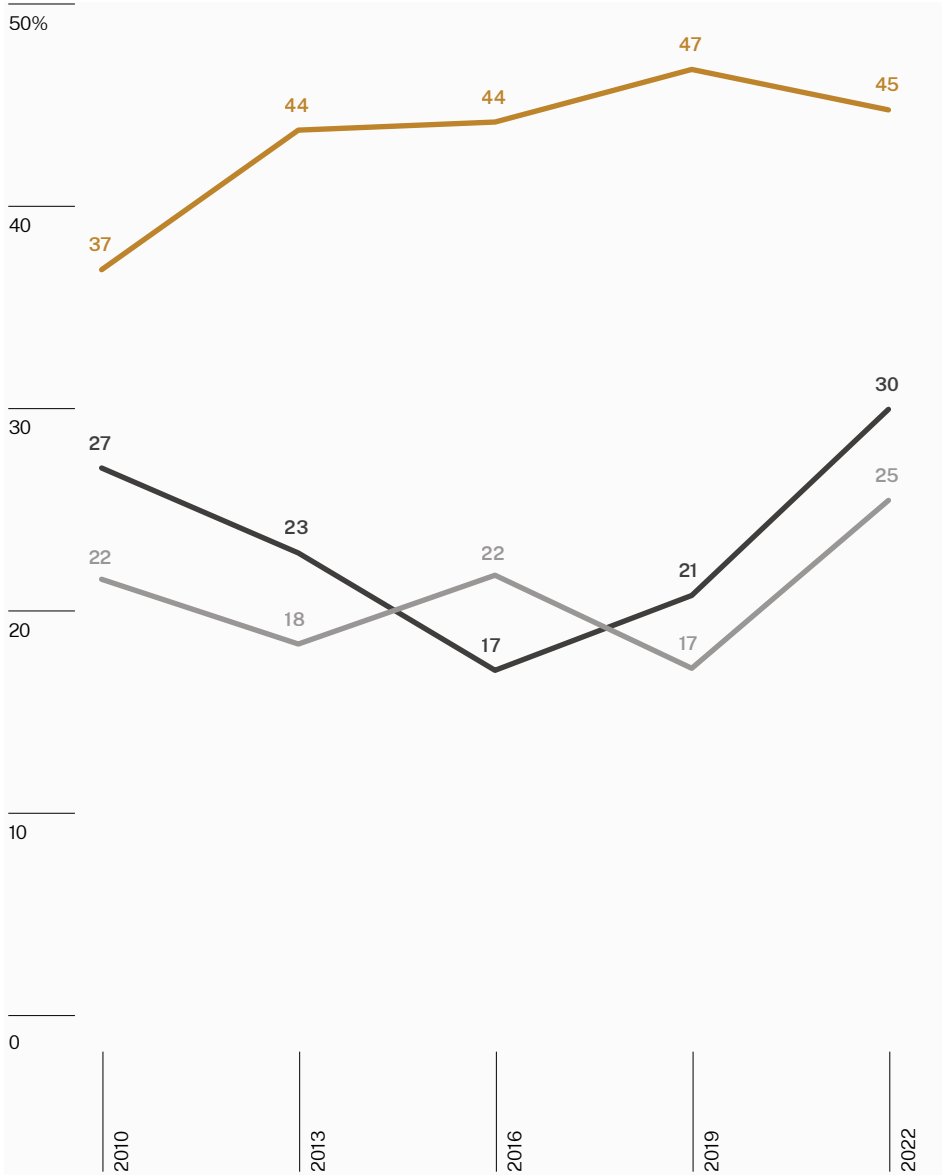
Preferred party policy on education

- **ALP** (black line)
- **Coalition** (gold line)
- **No difference** (grey line)

Year	ALP	Coalition	No difference
1990	34	23	23
1993	44	27	17
1996	29	31	24
1998	40	24	22
2001	48	27	17
2004	44	35	12
2007	58	21	15
2010	41	24	22
2013	43	25	19
2016	42	24	20
2019	40	25	19
2022	47	23	30
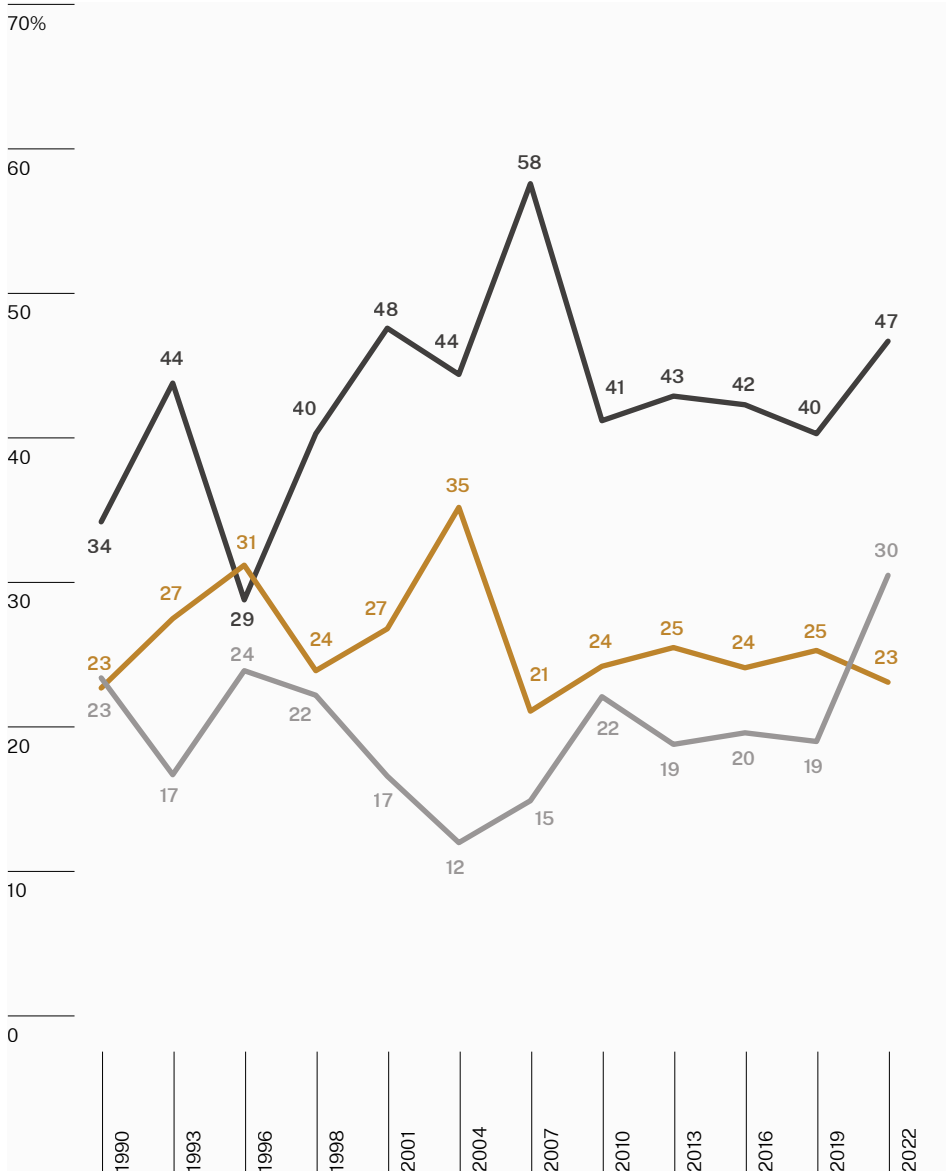
Preferred party policy on taxation

- **ALP**
- **Coalition**
- **No difference**

	1990	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	2016	2019	2022
ALP	27	21	36	33	27	30	27	25	31	28	30
Coalition	39	42	45	39	41	32	33	34	33	41	37
No difference	17	21	11	18	18	27	24	22	19	14	33
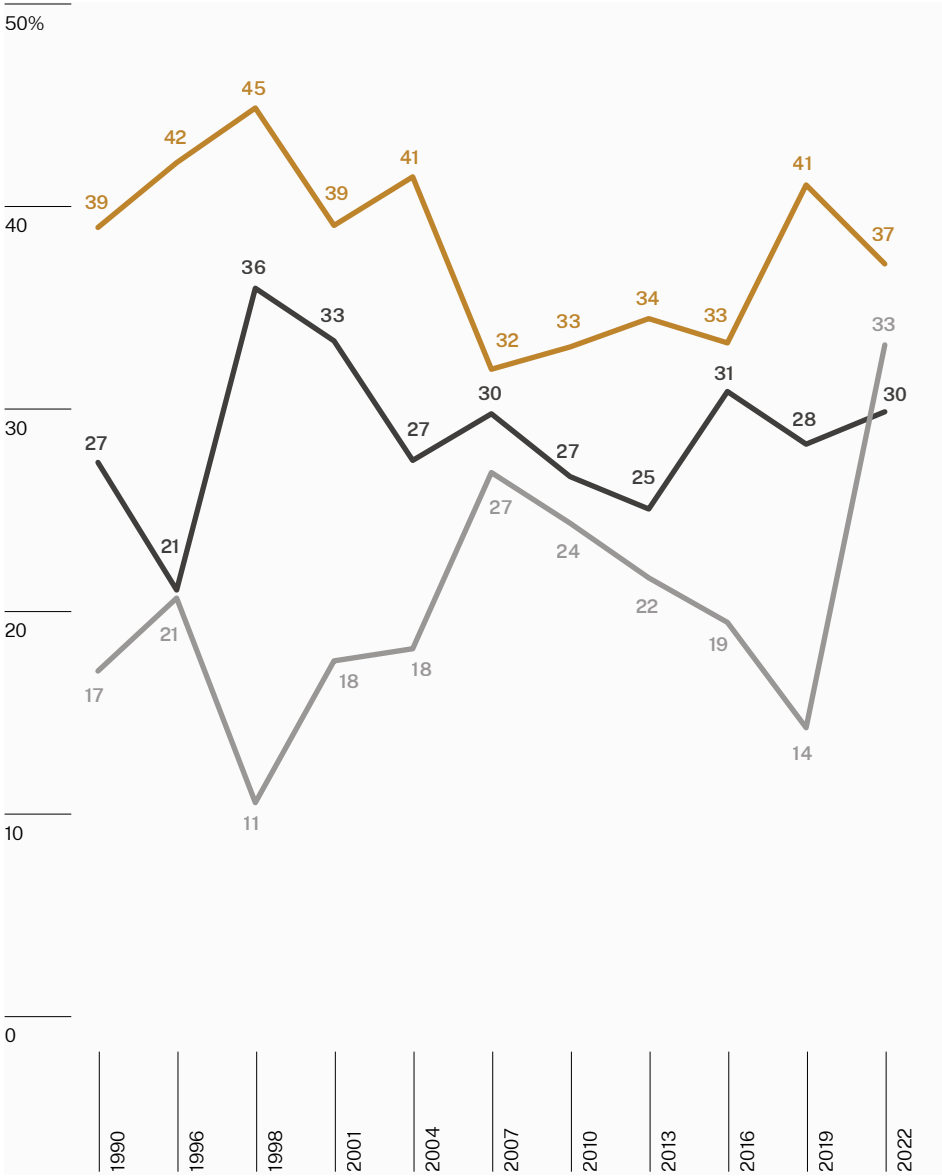
Preferred party policy on health

ALP — ALP

Coalition — Coalition

No difference — No difference

ALP values: 46, 53, 39, 41, 41, 44, 48, 37, 37, 45, 43, 51

Coalition values: 29, 32, 38, 27, 28, 37, 25, 26, 27, 26, 24, 22

No difference values: 13, 8, 14, 17, 20, 11, 18, 23, 22, 17, 18, 27

Years: 1990, 1993, 1996, 1998, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013, 2016, 2019, 2022

60%
50
40
30
20
10
0
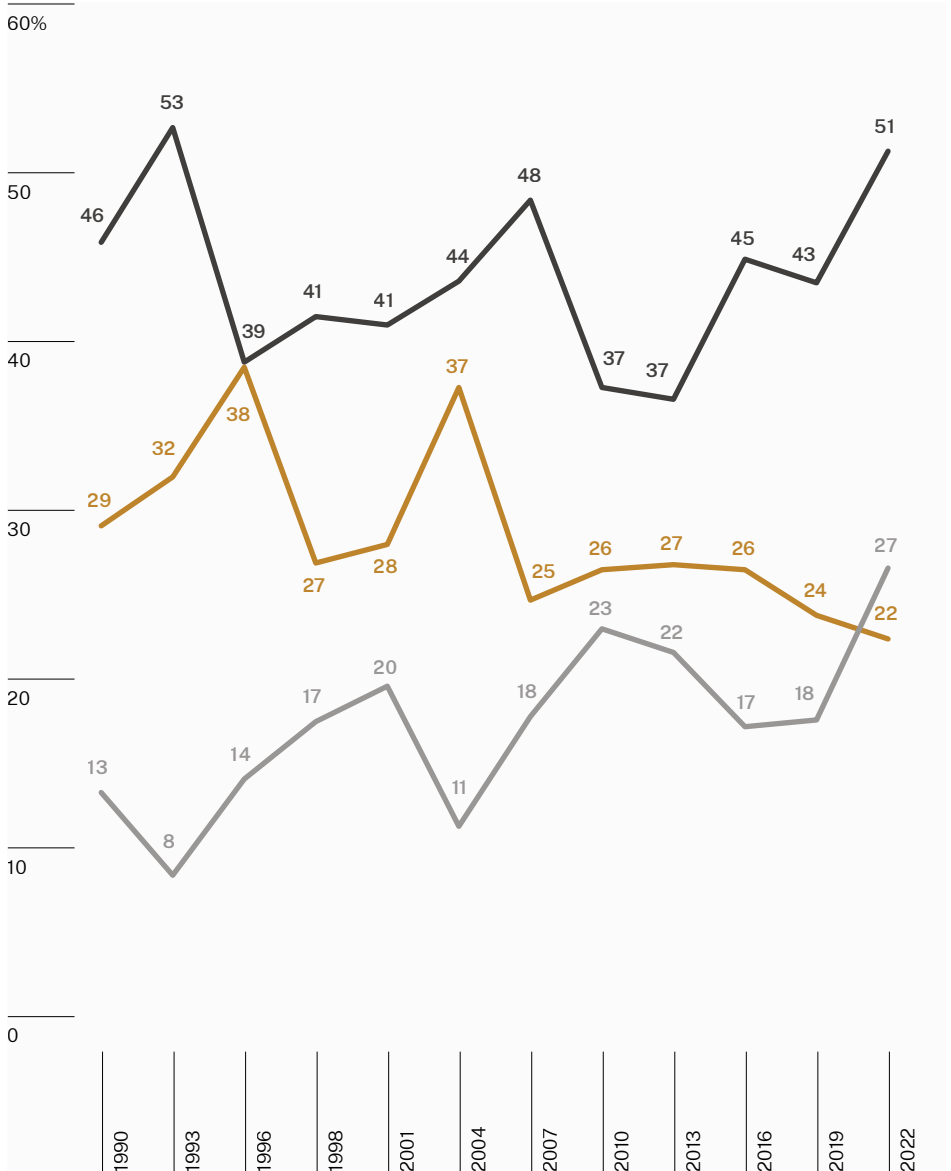
Preferred party policy on the environment

ALP
Coalition
No difference

ALP: 54, 35, 30, 28, 27, 35, 56, 33, 36, 31, 40, 51

Coalition: 15, 17, 30, 17, 21, 28, 19, 20, 23, 18, 21, 19

No difference: 17, 31, 26, 35, 36, 23, 18, 32, 25, 32, 22, 30

1990 1993 1996 1998 2001 2004 2007 2010 2013 2016 2019 2022
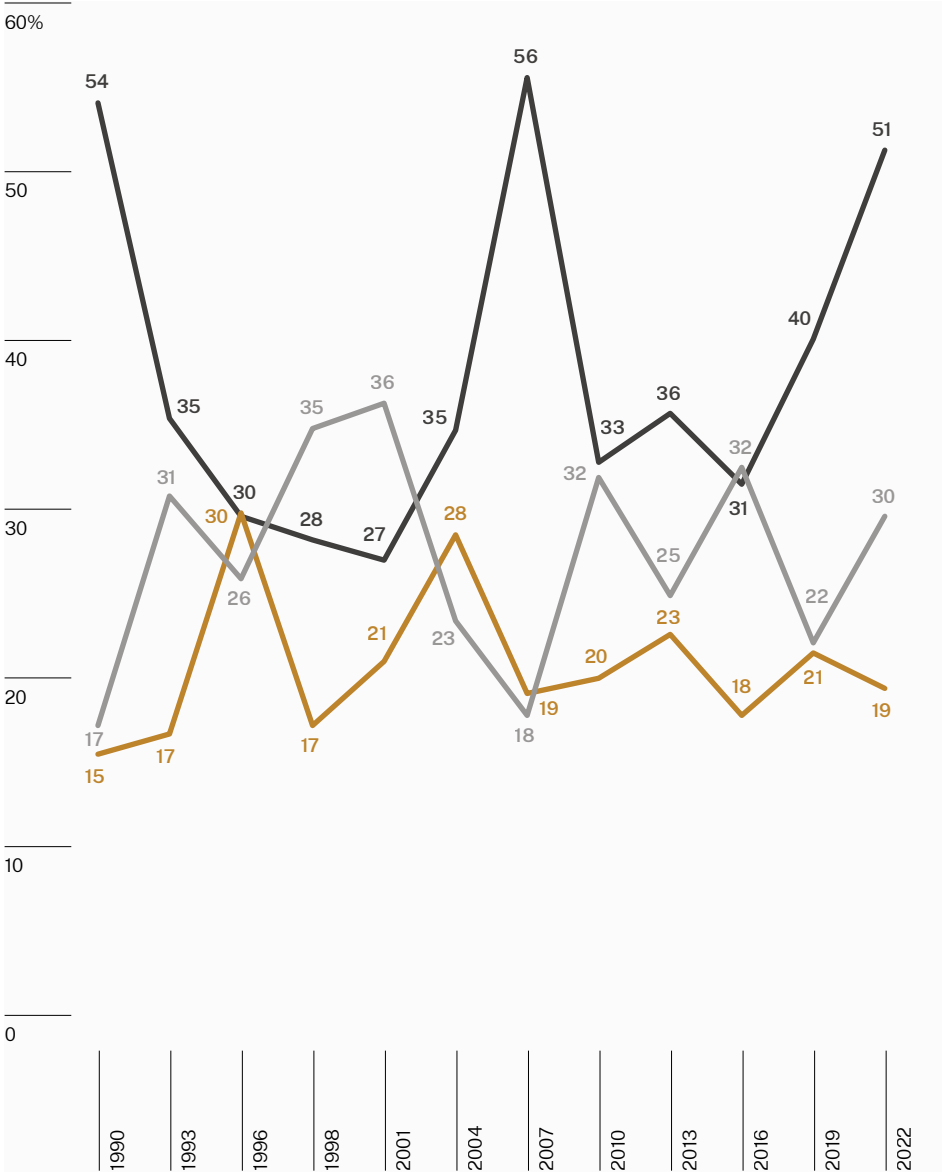
Preferred party policy on global warming

Legend:
- ALP
- Coalition
- No difference

ALP: 2007: 55, 2010: 33, 2013: 35, 2016: 28, 2019: 40, 2022: 51

Coalition: 2007: 17, 2010: 22, 2013: 23, 2016: 16, 2019: 20, 2022: 19

No difference: 2007: 17, 2010: 29, 2013: 24, 2016: 34, 2019: 22, 2022: 31
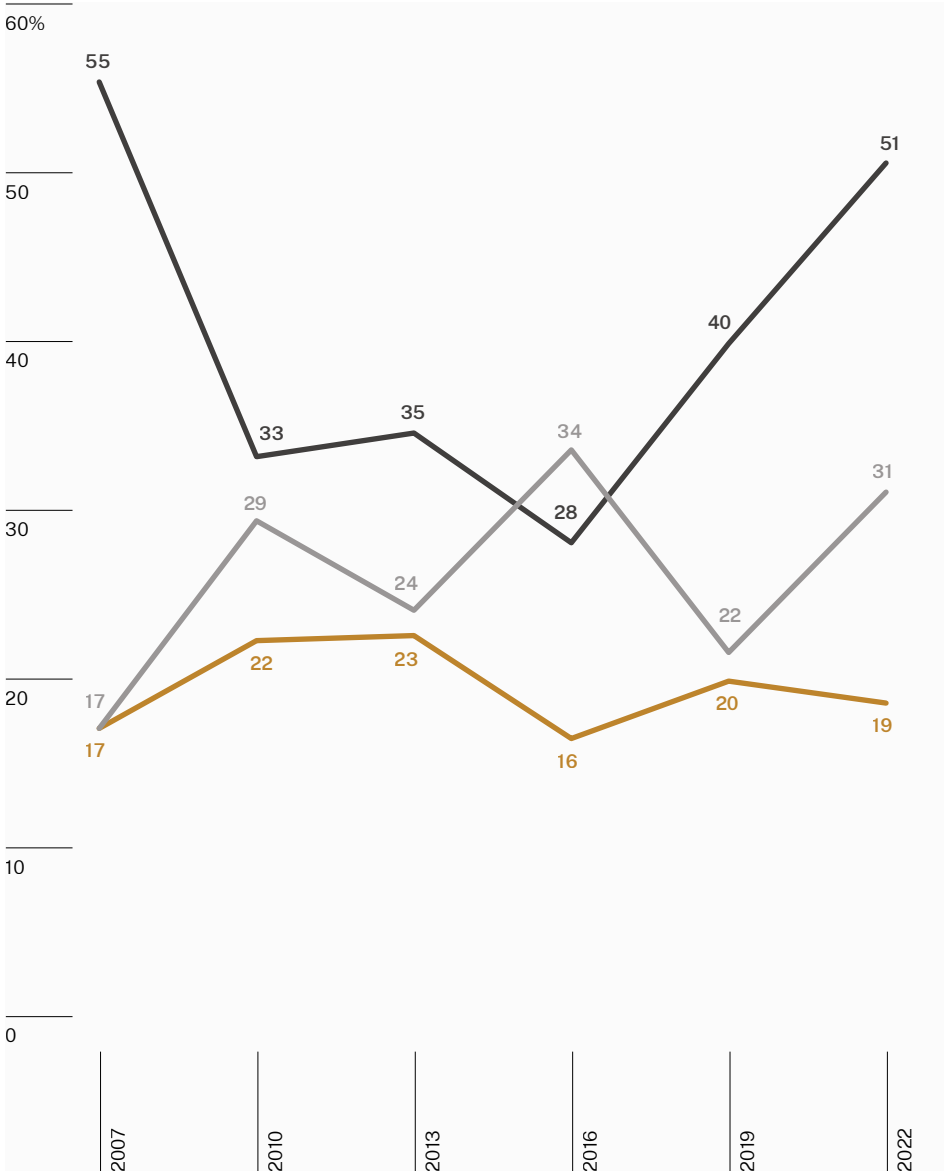
Preferred party policy on immigration

- **ALP**
- **Coalition**
- **No difference**

60%

50

46

47

40

39

37

35   35

34
33

30   30
26   30   28   25   26   26   32
23   23   24
22
21   21   23
20
20
21   21

16

10

0

1996 1998 2001 2004 2007 2013 2016 2019 2022
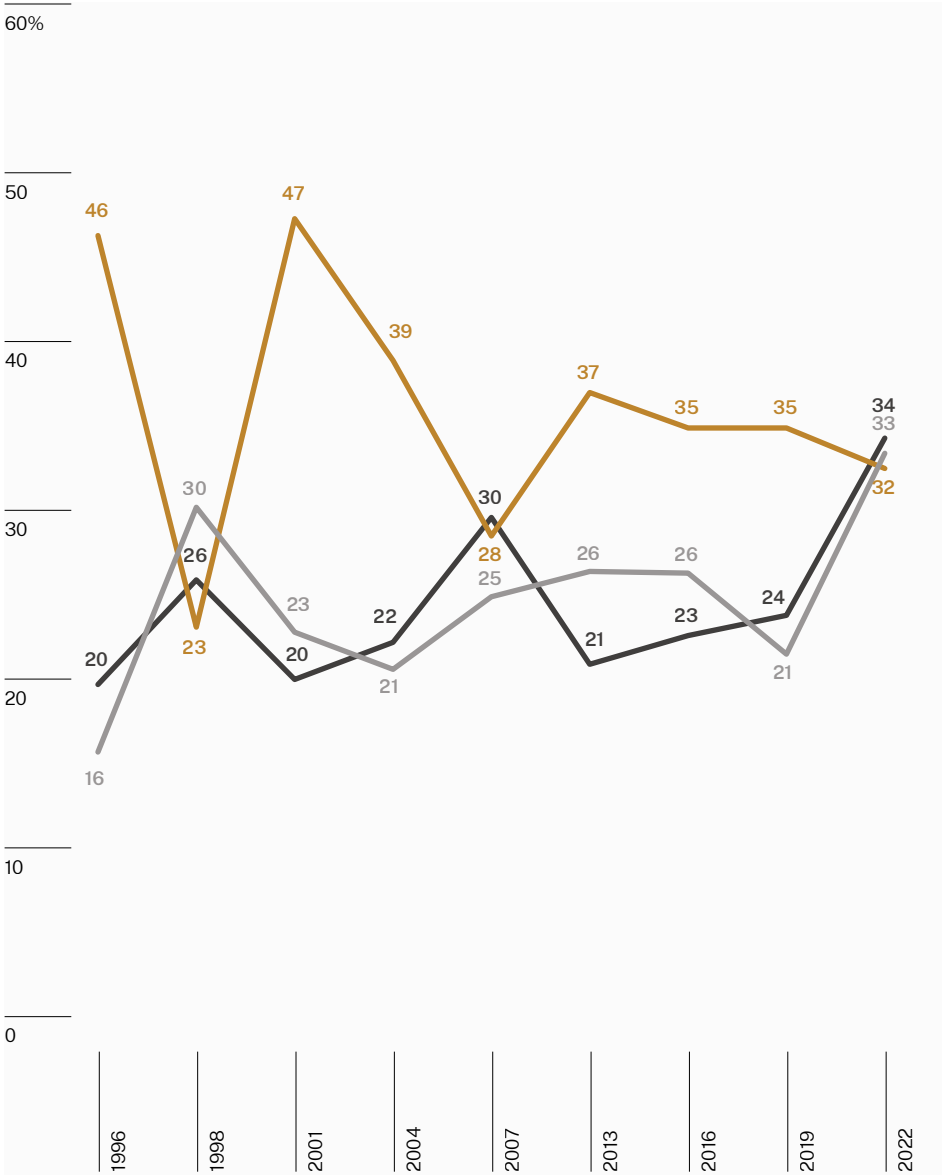
Preferred party policy on refugees and asylum seekers

ALP
Coalition
No difference

- 2001: Coalition 46, No difference 27, ALP 15
- 2004: Coalition 36, ALP 22, No difference 22
- 2010: Coalition 38, No difference 27, ALP 21
- 2013: Coalition 41, No difference 27, ALP 19
- 2016: No difference 31, Coalition 34, ALP 19
- 2019: Coalition 35, ALP 25, No difference 22
- 2022: ALP 36, Coalition 32, No difference 32
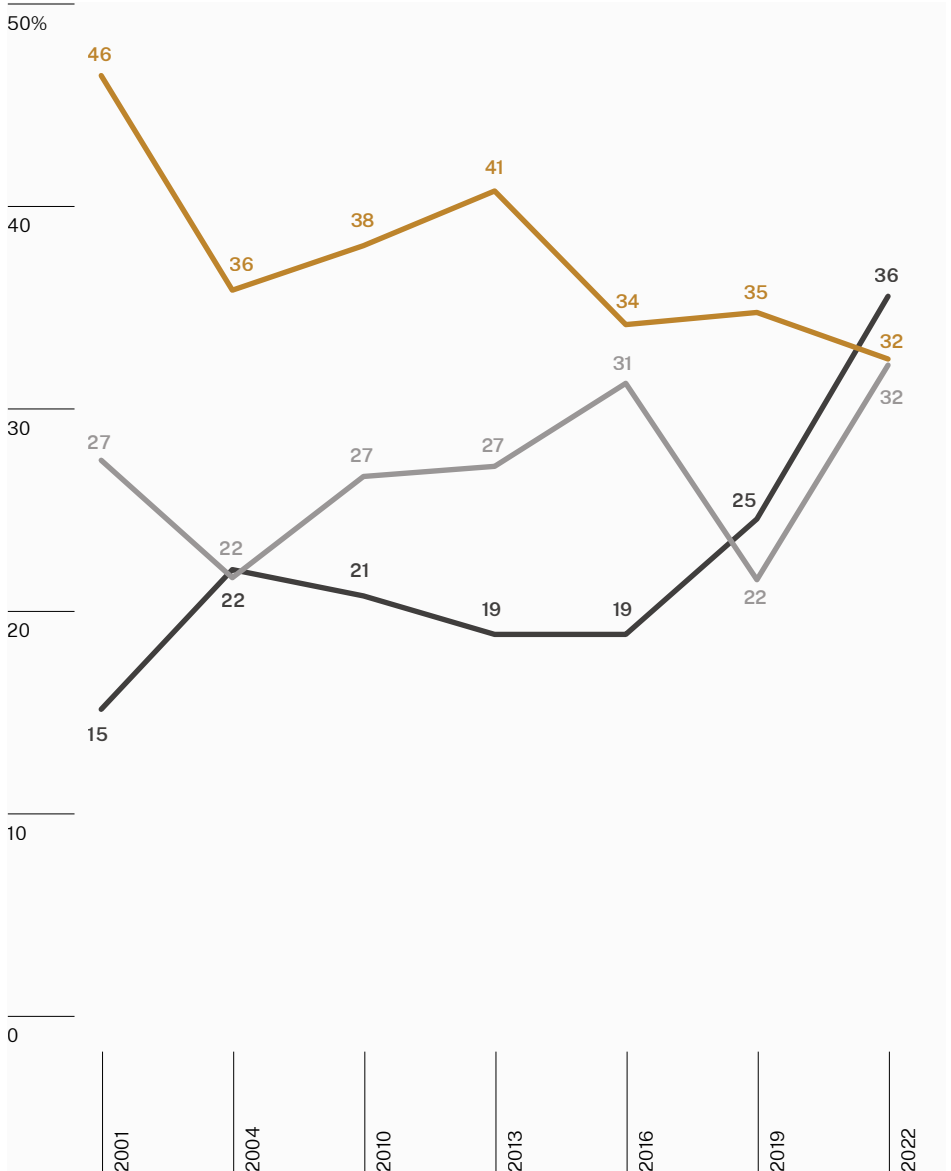
Importance of management of the economy in vote decision

— **Extremely important**
— **Quite important**
— **Not very important**
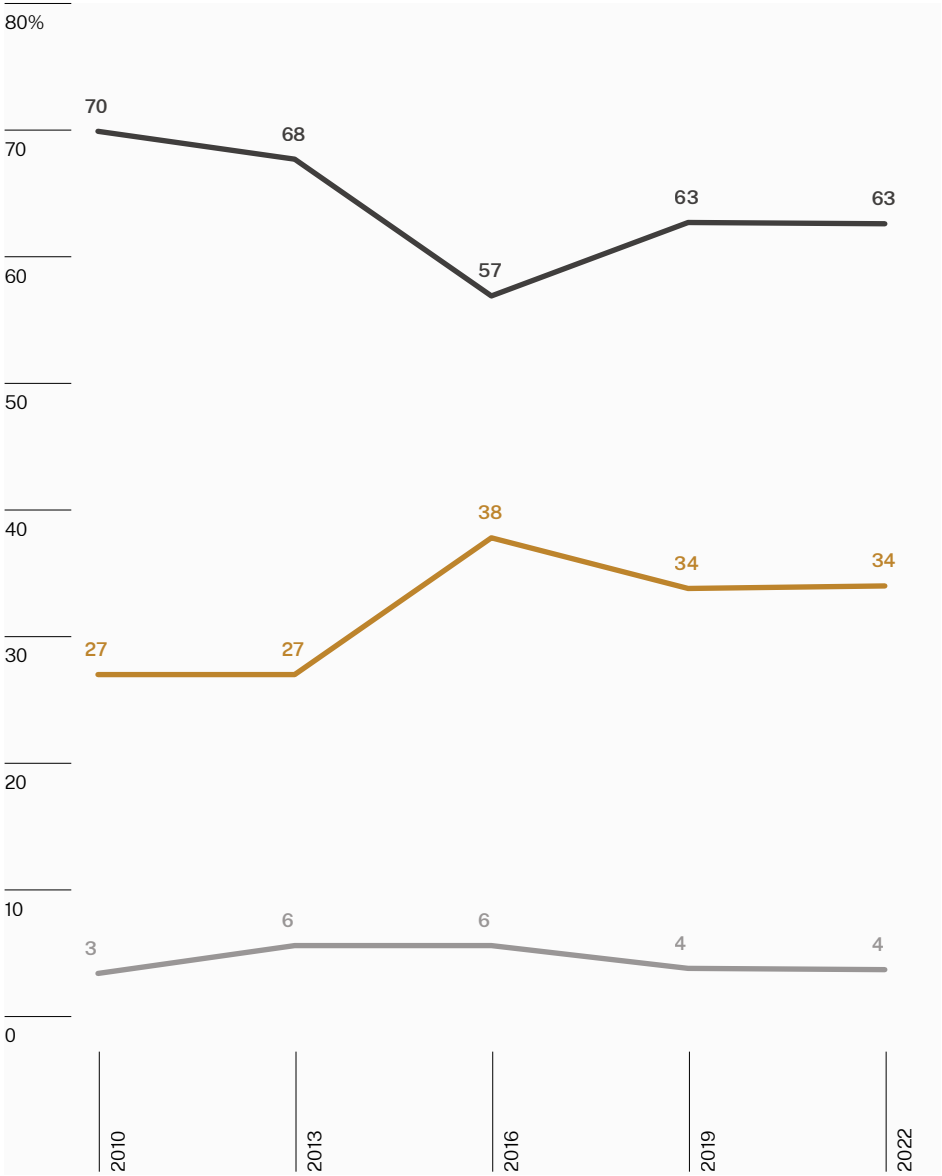
Importance of education in vote decision

Extremely important
Quite important
Not very important

80%

70

69   68

66   65   63
                         61   60   62
                                                58

50   50   50

40

33   33   33   33   33   34
      30   30
            27   29
                        26   26

21
17   17
            7   6   5   6   6   7   7   5   8

20

10

0

1990 1993 1996 1998 2001 2004 2007 2010 2013 2016 2019 2022
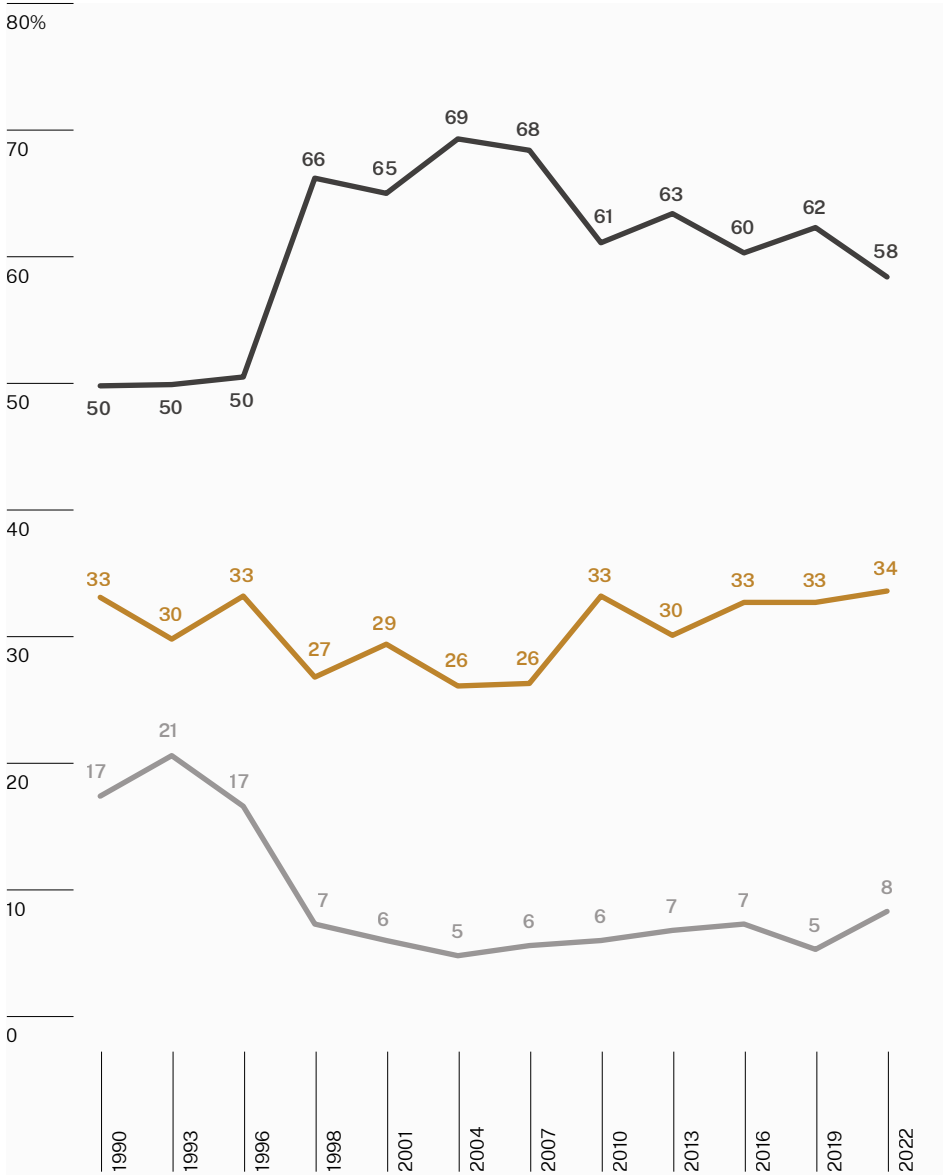
Importance of taxation in vote decision

—— **Extremely important**
—— **Quite important**
—— Not very important
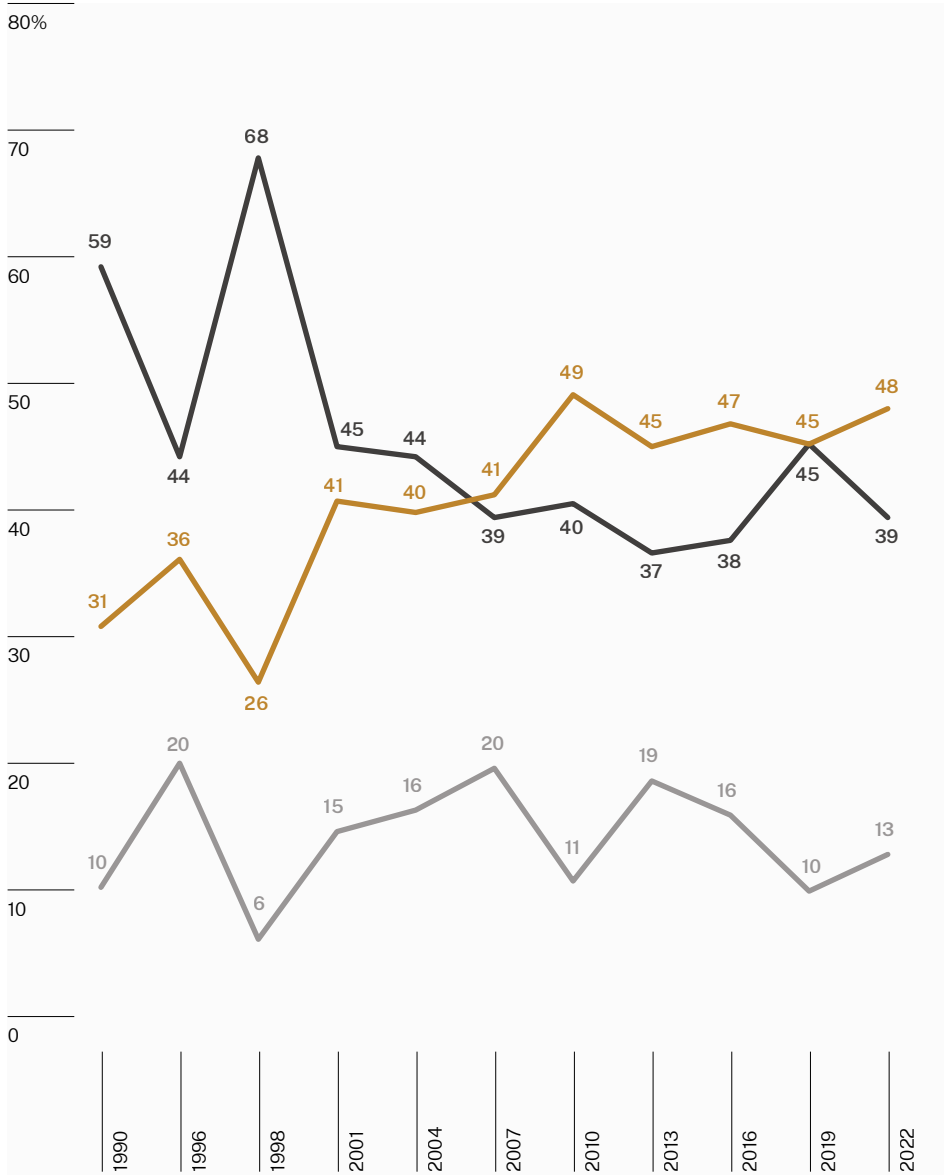
Importance of health in vote decision

- **Extremely important**
- **Quite important**
- **Not very important**
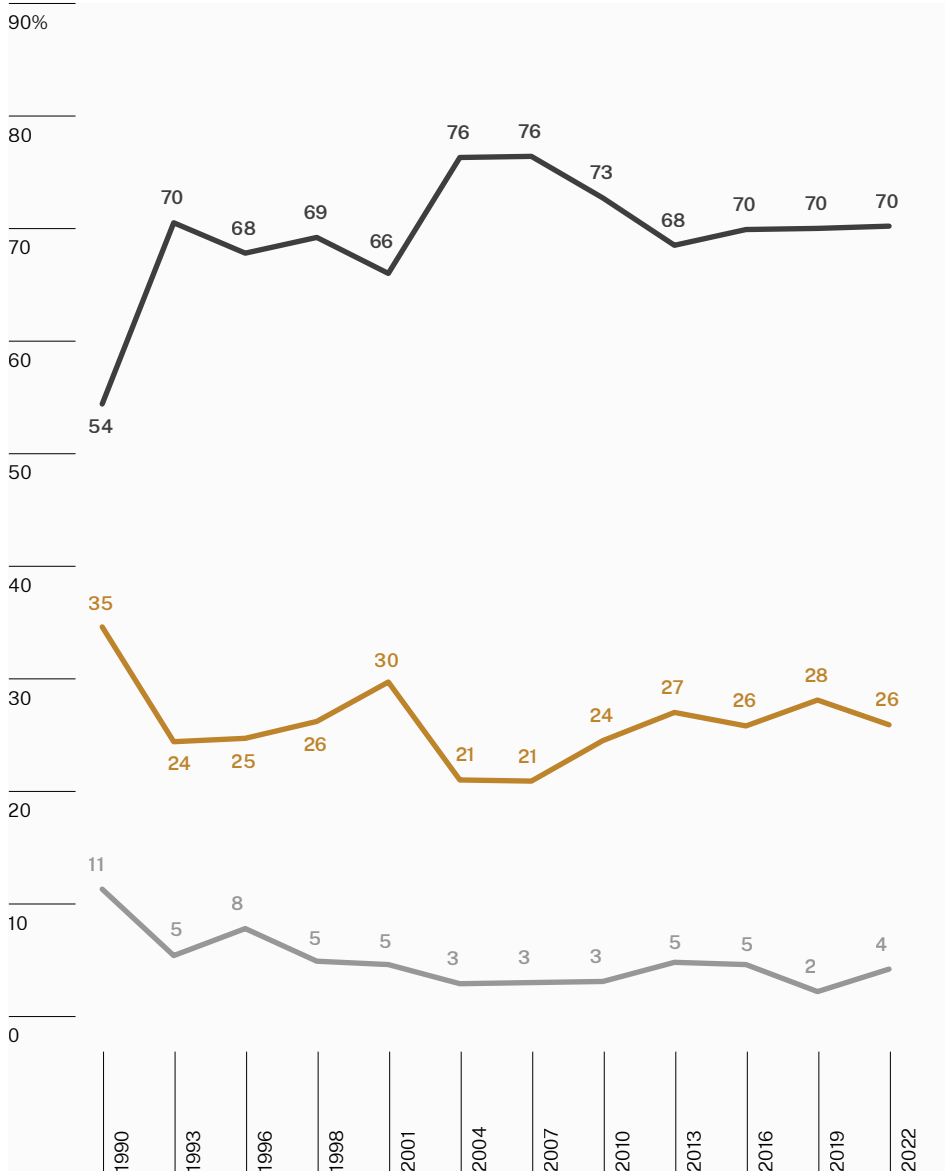
Importance of the environment in vote decision

———— Extremely important

———— Quite important
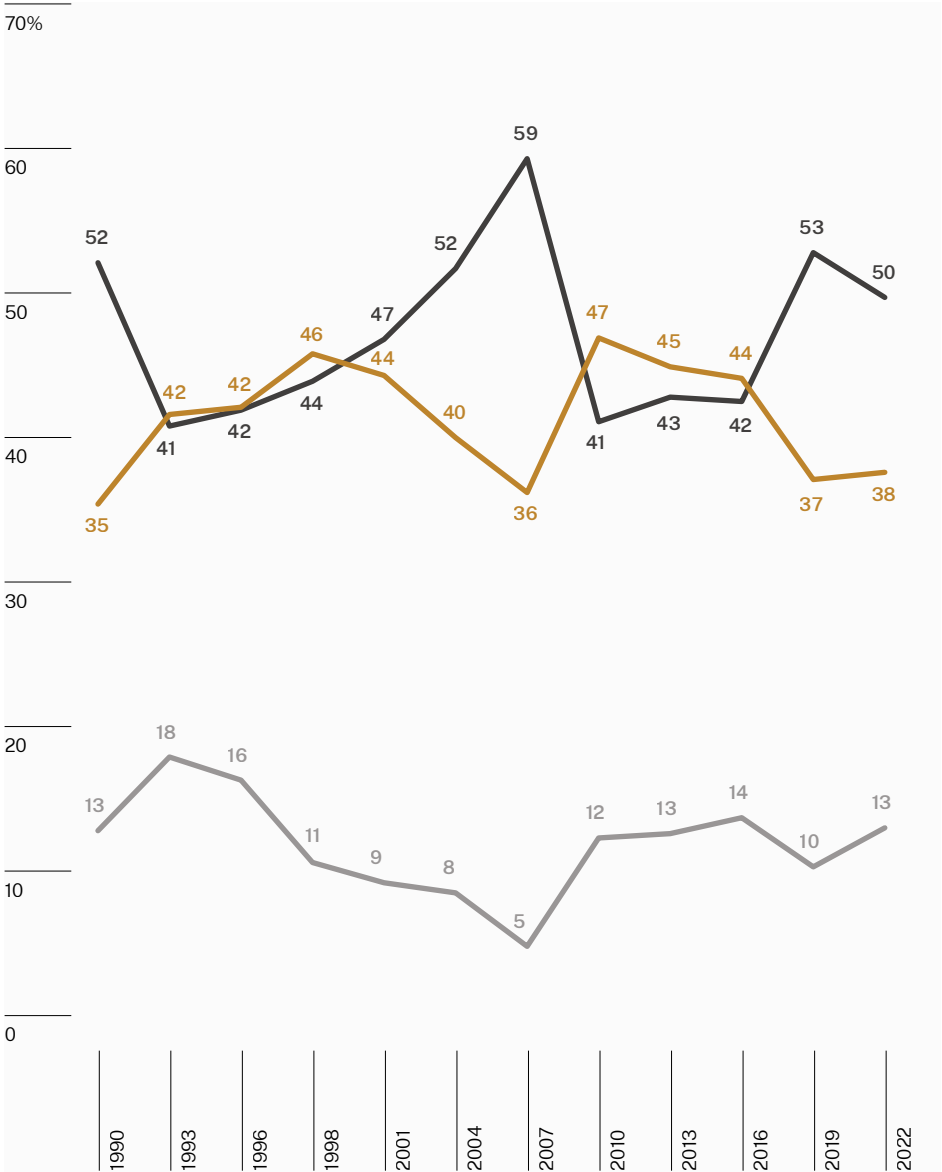
———— Not very important

Importance of global warming in vote decision

Legend:
- **Extremely important** (black line)
- **Quite important** (orange line)
- **Not very important** (grey line)

Extremely important: 52, 30, 33, 34, 47, 43
Quite important: 37, 44, 40, 42, 35, 33
Not very important: 12, 26, 26, 24, 19, 24

Years: 2007, 2010, 2013, 2016, 2019, 2022
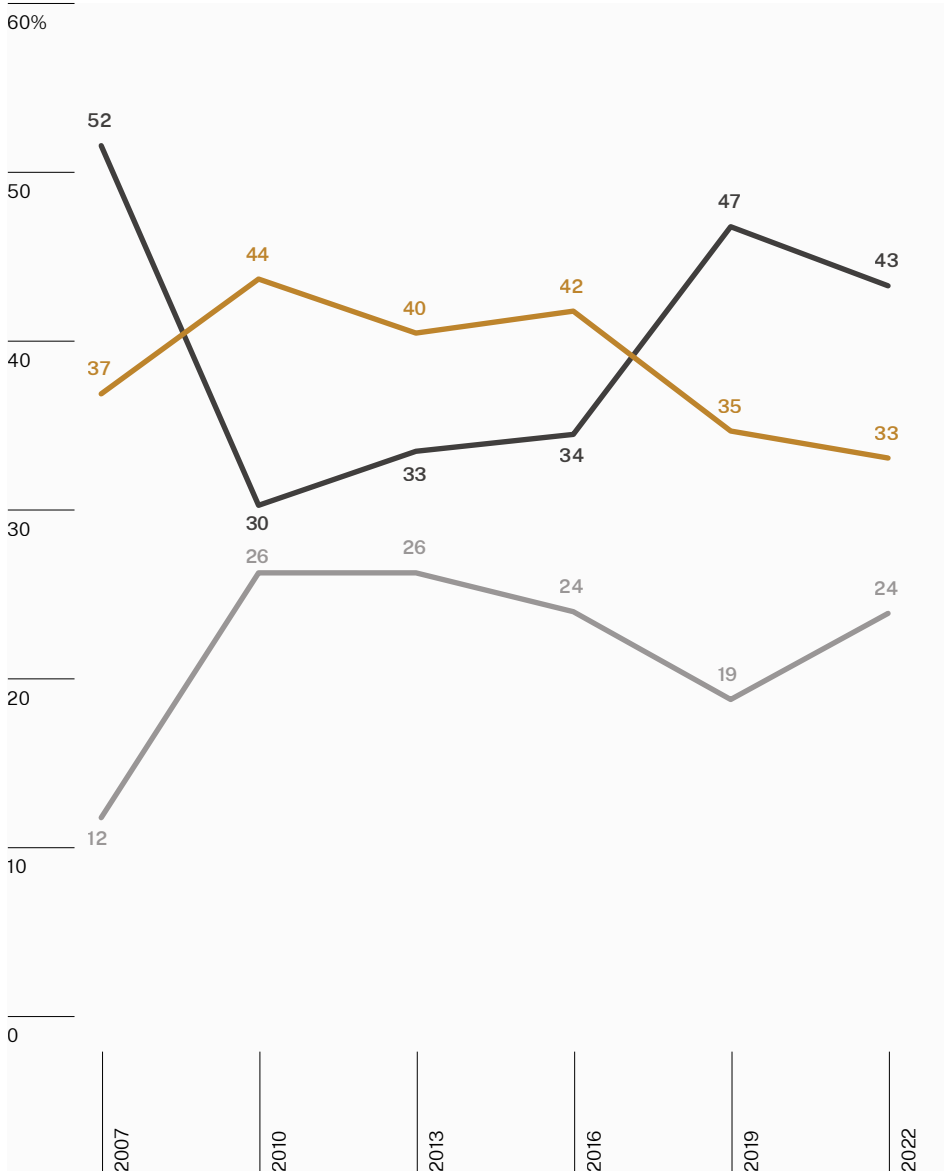
Importance of immigration in vote decision

— **Extremely important**
— **Quite important**
— **Not very important**

	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2013	2016	2019	2022
Extremely important	31	30	50	32	32	43	46	35	29
Quite important	36	41	39	46	44	39	36	44	49
Not very important	33	29	12	23	24	19	18	21	22
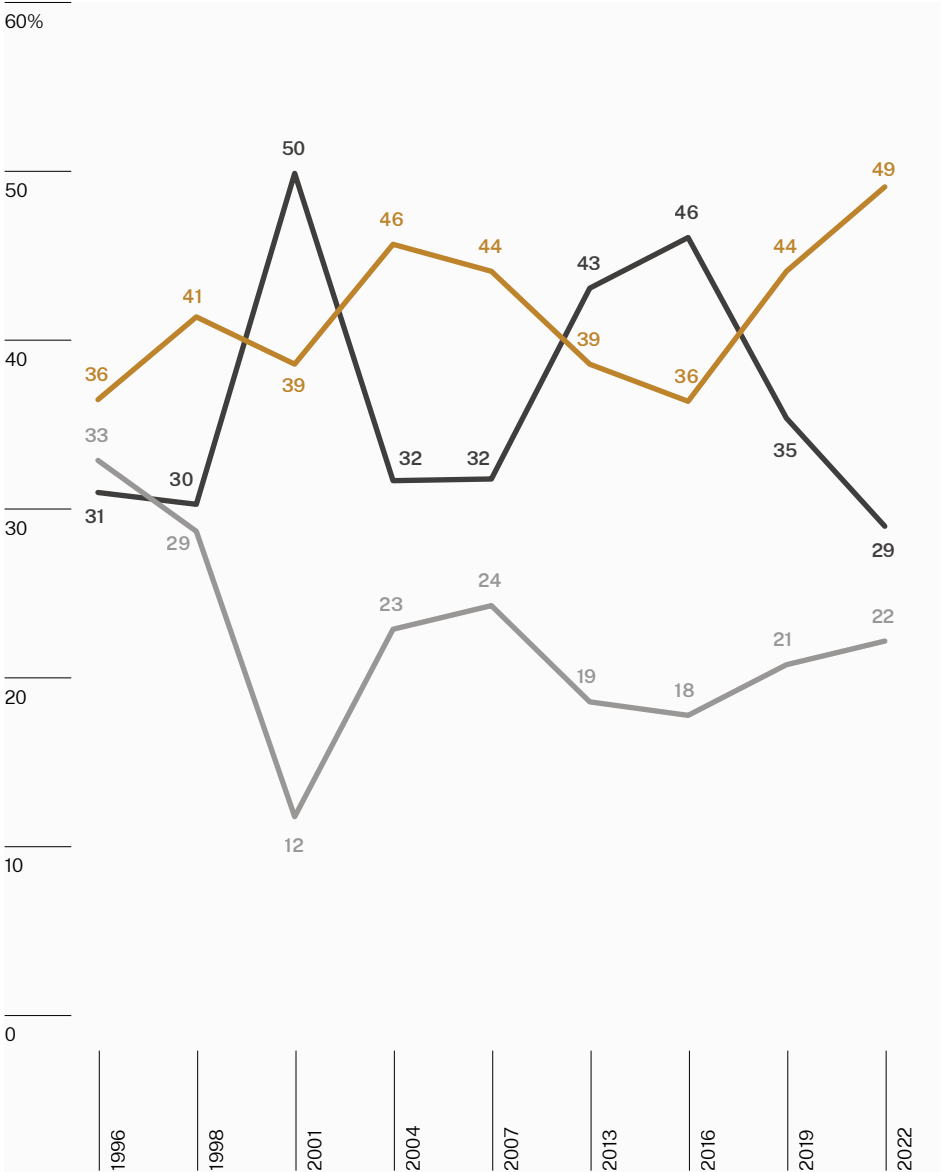
Importance of refugees and asylum seekers in vote decision

———— Extremely important
———— Quite important
———— Not very important

	2001	2004	2010	2013	2016	2019	2022
Extremely important	51	30	37	46	45	33	28
Quite important	33	40	37	35	34	42	43
Not very important	16	30	26	20	20	25	30
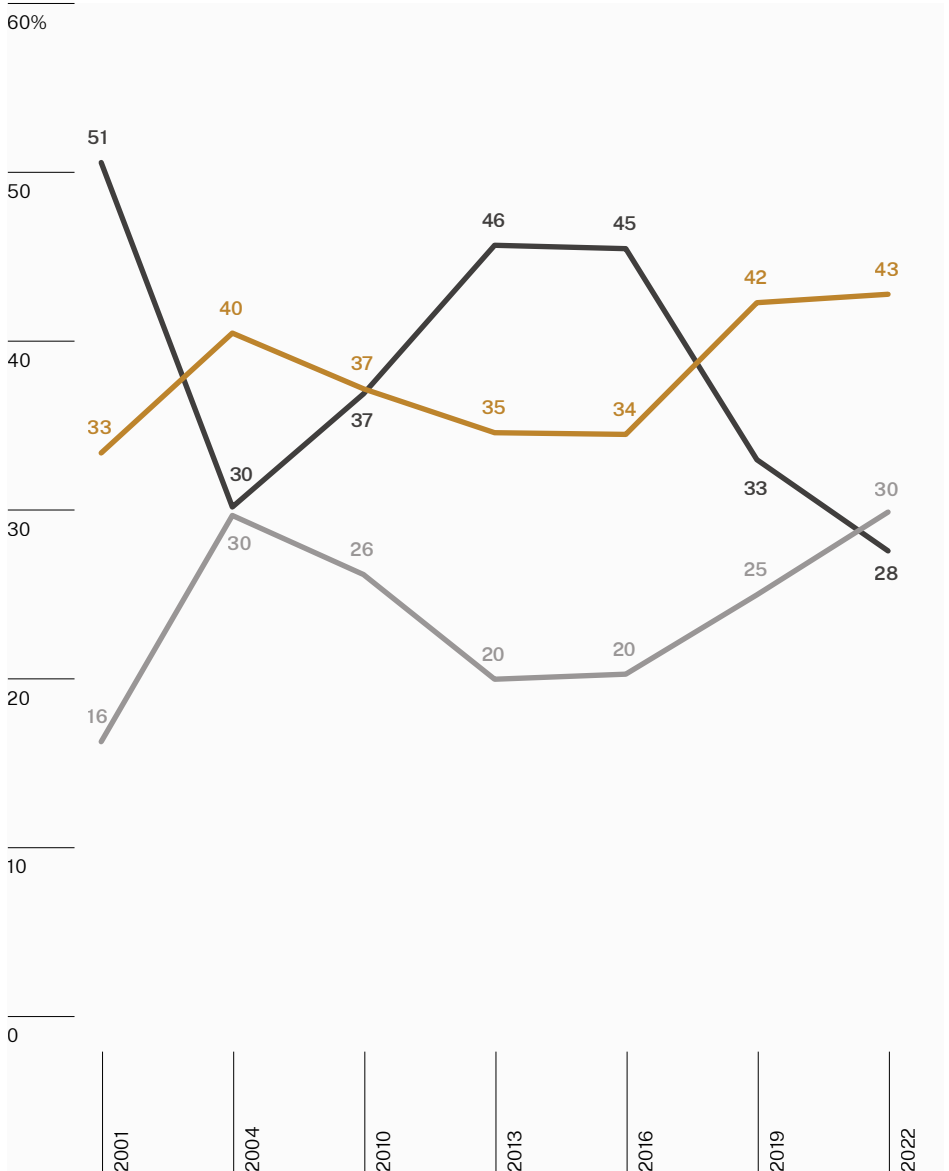
Notes

Most important economic election issues
'Taxation' was not included in 1993.

Most important non-economic election issues
In 1996-2022 estimates for health are for 'Health and Medicare'. 'Refugees and asylum seekers' was not included in 2007.

Financial situation of household over past year

Legend:
- Become better
- Become worse
- About the same

Become worse: 43, 54, 44, 36, 30, 41, 23, 32, 35, 35, 35, 28, 41

About the same: 38, 33, 41, 45, 50, 38, 49, 42, 45, 46, 48, 52, 41

Become better: 19, 13, 15, 19, 21, 21, 28, 27, 20, 18, 18, 20, 18

Years: 1987, 1990, 1993, 1996, 1998, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013, 2016, 2019, 2022

Financial situation of country over past year

Become better
Become worse
About the same
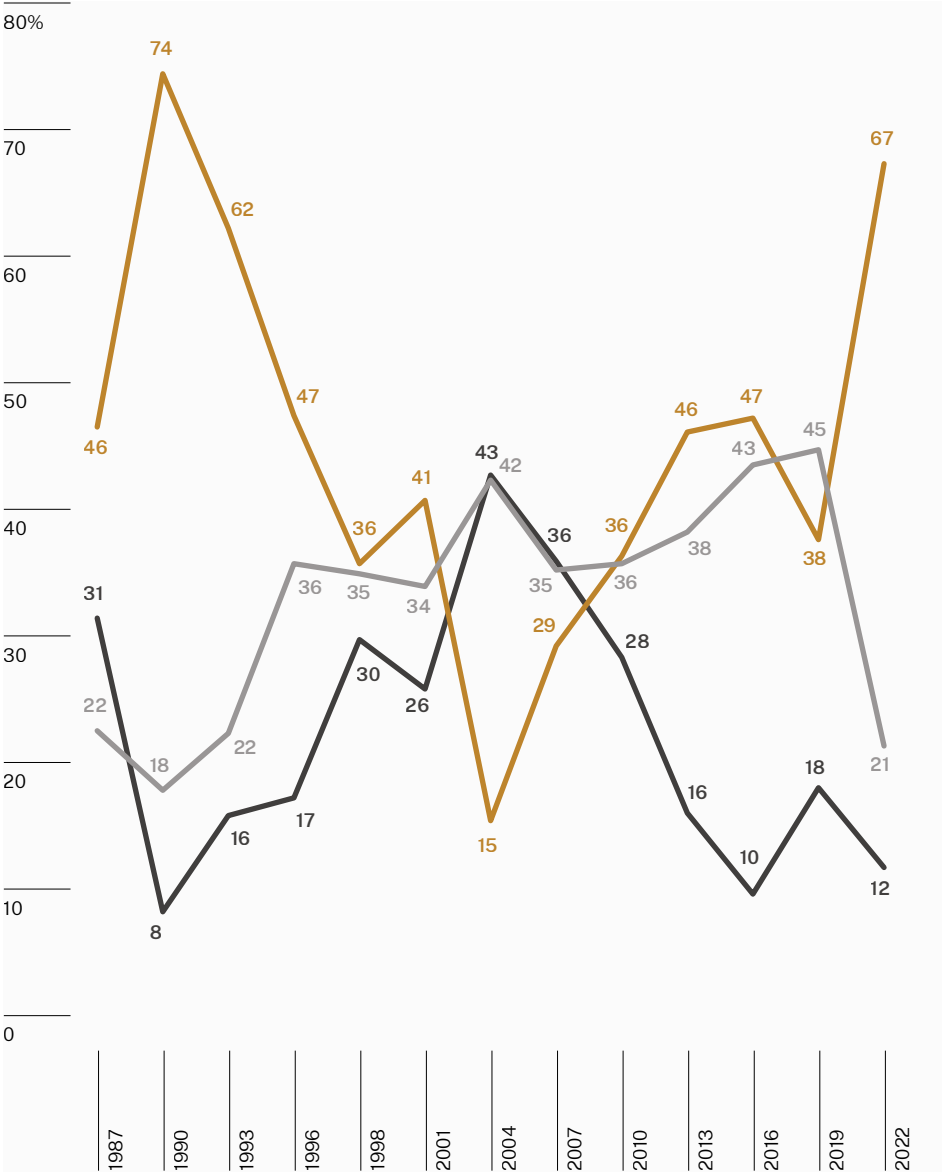
Government effect on household finances over past year

- **Good effect** (black)
- **Not much difference** (gold)
- **Bad effect** (grey)

Good effect: 1987: 10, 1990: 5, 1993: 5, 1996: 8, 1998: 10, 2001: 12, 2004: 19, 2007: 19, 2010: 13, 2013: 8, 2016: 4, 2019: 6, 2022: 9

Not much difference: 1987: 59, 1990: 57, 1993: 66, 1996: 67, 1998: 75, 2001: 57, 2004: 69, 2007: 60, 2010: 68, 2013: 63, 2016: 74, 2019: 77, 2022: 65

Bad effect: 1987: 31, 1990: 38, 1993: 29, 1996: 25, 1998: 15, 2001: 31, 2004: 13, 2007: 22, 2010: 19, 2013: 29, 2016: 22, 2019: 17, 2022: 26
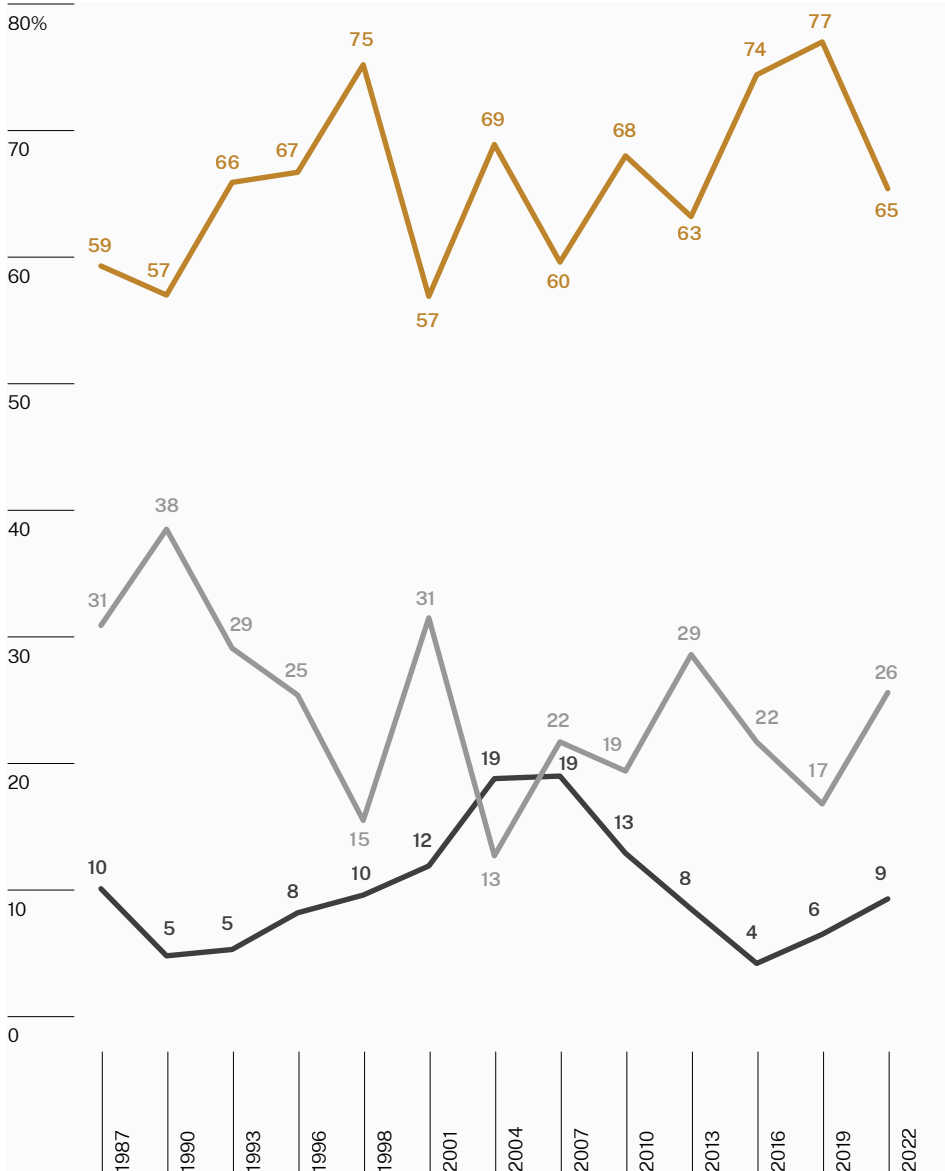
Government effect on country's finances over past year

Legend:
- Good effect (black)
- Not much difference (orange)
- Bad effect (grey)

Good effect: 29, 9, 10, 13, 28, 23, 35, 30, 29, 13, 7, 16, 14

Not much difference: 40, 39, 44, 47, 56, 50, 57, 52, 46, 50, 69, 62, 47

Bad effect: 31, 52, 47, 40, 16, 27, 8, 19, 25, 37, 25, 22, 39

Years: 1987, 1990, 1993, 1996, 1998, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013, 2016, 2019, 2022

Financial situation of household in a year's time

— Will be better
— Will be worse
— About the same

Year	Will be better	Will be worse	About the same
1990	24	37	39
1996	36	18	46
1998	24	35	42
2001	22	29	49
2004	26	21	53
2007	27	24	49
2010	25	27	49
2013	32	26	43
2016	19	31	50
2019	28	23	49
2022	21	39	40

Financial situation of country in a year's time

Legend:
- **Will be better** (black line)
- **Will be worse** (orange line)
- **About the same** (grey line)

Will be better: 1990: 23, 1993: 43, 1996: 39, 1998: 25, 2001: 22, 2004: 30, 2007: 20, 2010: 28, 2013: 37, 2016: 16, 2019: 28, 2022: 21

Will be worse: 1990: 50, 1993: 28, 1996: 22, 1998: 40, 2001: 36, 2004: 22, 2007: 36, 2010: 30, 2013: 27, 2016: 38, 2019: 33, 2022: 53

About the same: 1990: 27, 1993: 29, 1996: 40, 1998: 36, 2001: 42, 2004: 48, 2007: 44, 2010: 42, 2013: 36, 2016: 46, 2019: 39, 2022: 27

Government effect on household finances in a year's time

Good effect
Bad effect
No difference

Year	No difference	Good effect	Bad effect
1990	68	11	21
1996	67	22	12
1998	61	13	26
2001	70	11	19
2004	73	16	11
2007	69	18	13
2010	73	9	18
2013	61	22	17
2016	73	7	19
2019	66	17	17
2022	65	12	22
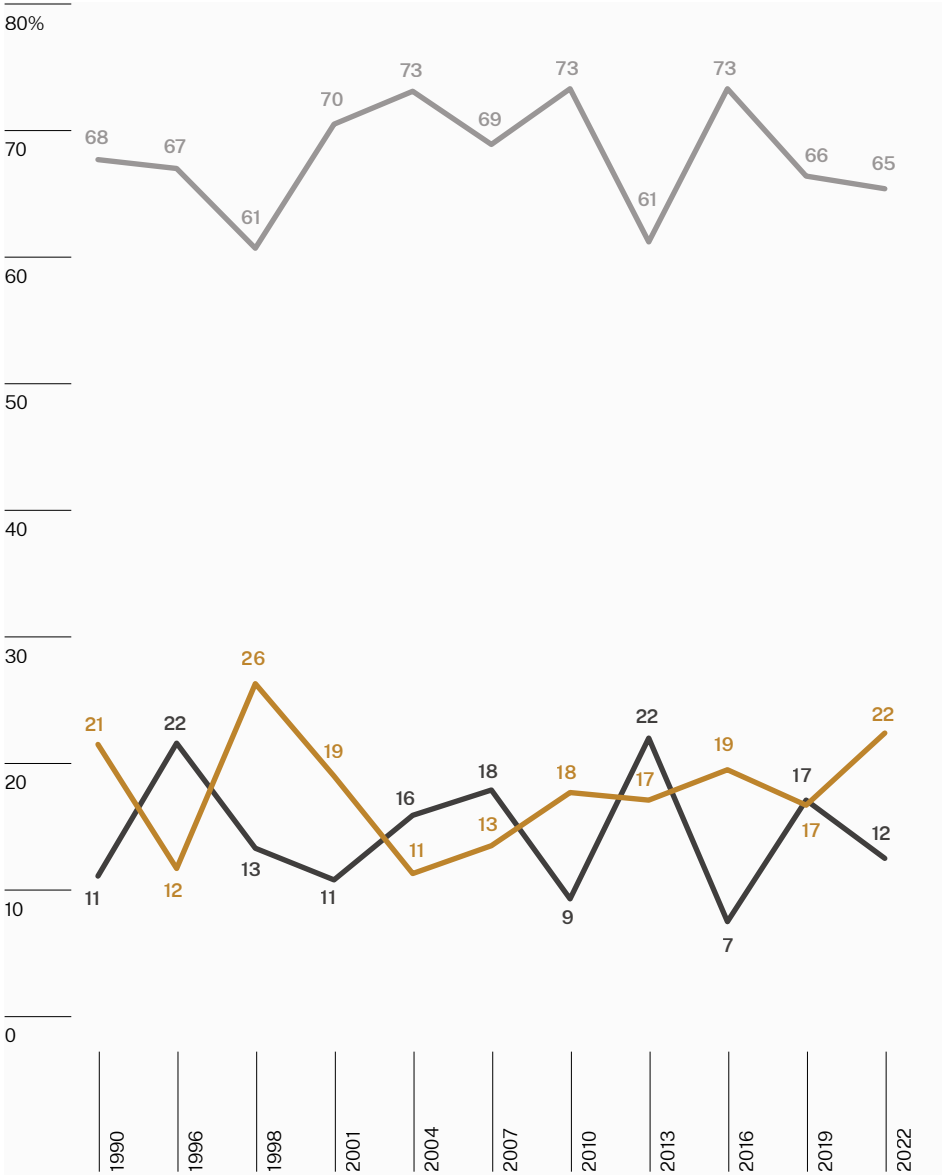
Government effect on country's economy in a year's time

Good effect
Bad effect
No difference
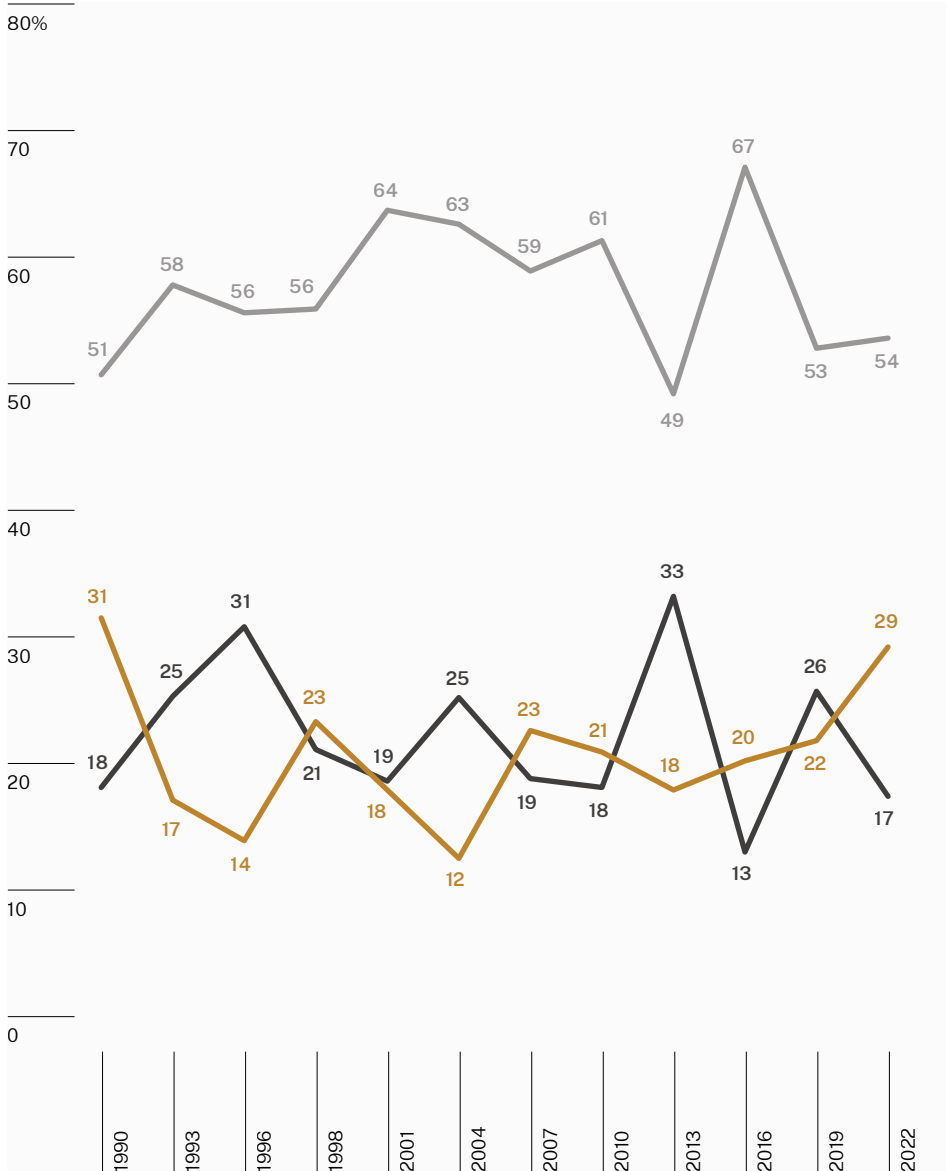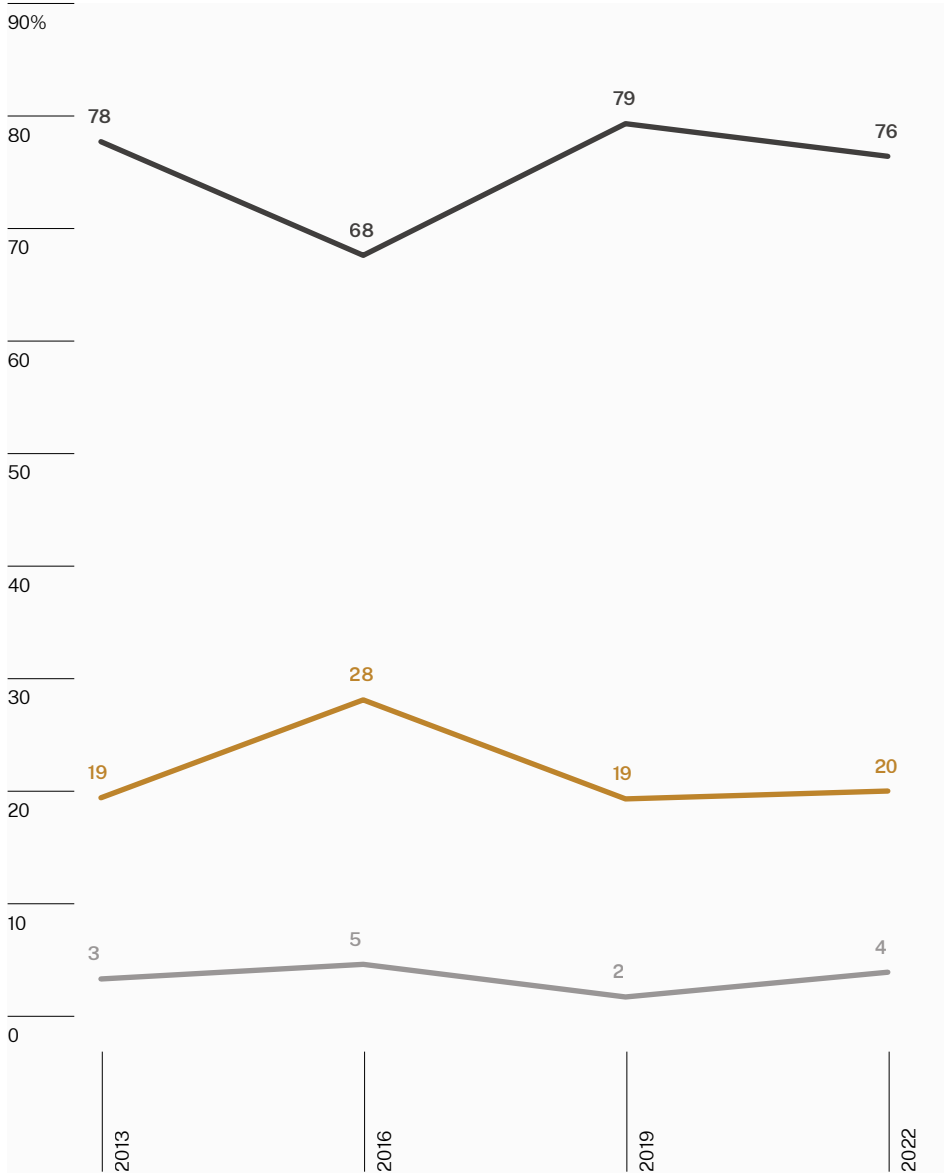
Government spending on health

- **More than now**
- **The same as now**
- **Less than now**

	2013	2016	2019	2022
More than now	78	68	79	76
The same as now	19	28	19	20
Less than now	3	5	2	4

Government spending on education

- **More than now**
- **The same as now**
- Less than now

	2013	2016	2019	2022
More than now	69	62	73	66
The same as now	27	34	25	29
Less than now	4	4	2	6
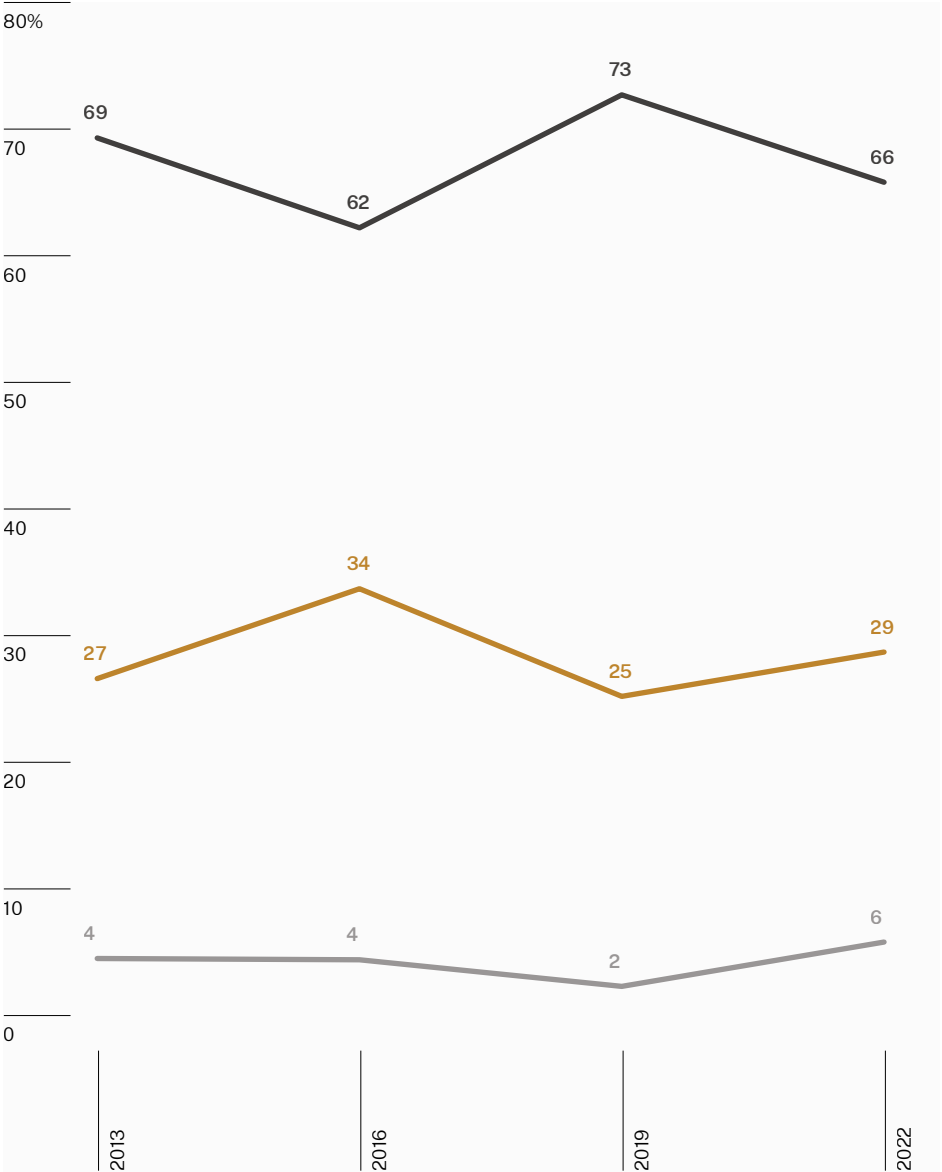
Government spending on unemployment benefits

More than now
The same as now
Less than now
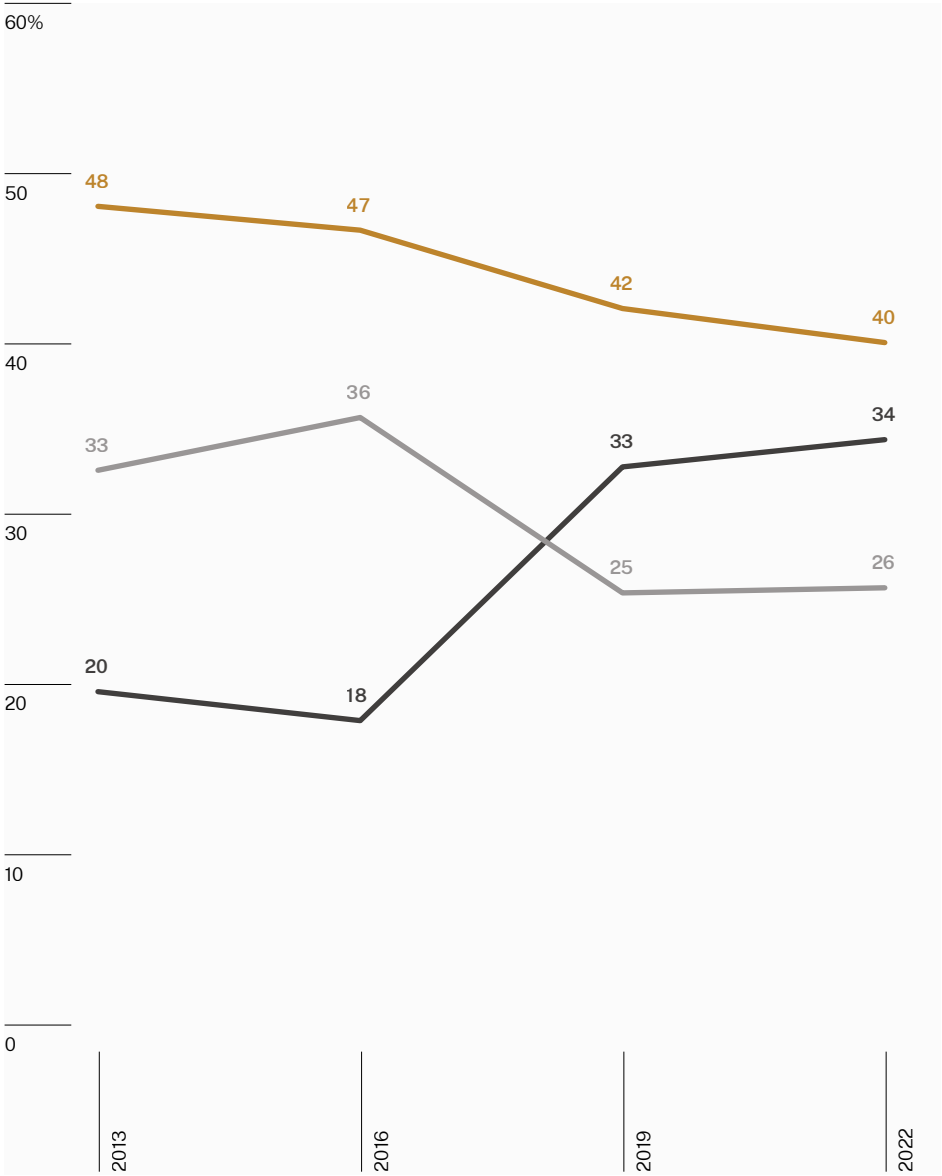
Government spending on defence

- **More than now**
- **The same as now**
- **Less than now**

	2013	2016	2019	2022
The same as now	49	49	48	42
More than now	27	24	29	41
Less than now	24	27	22	17
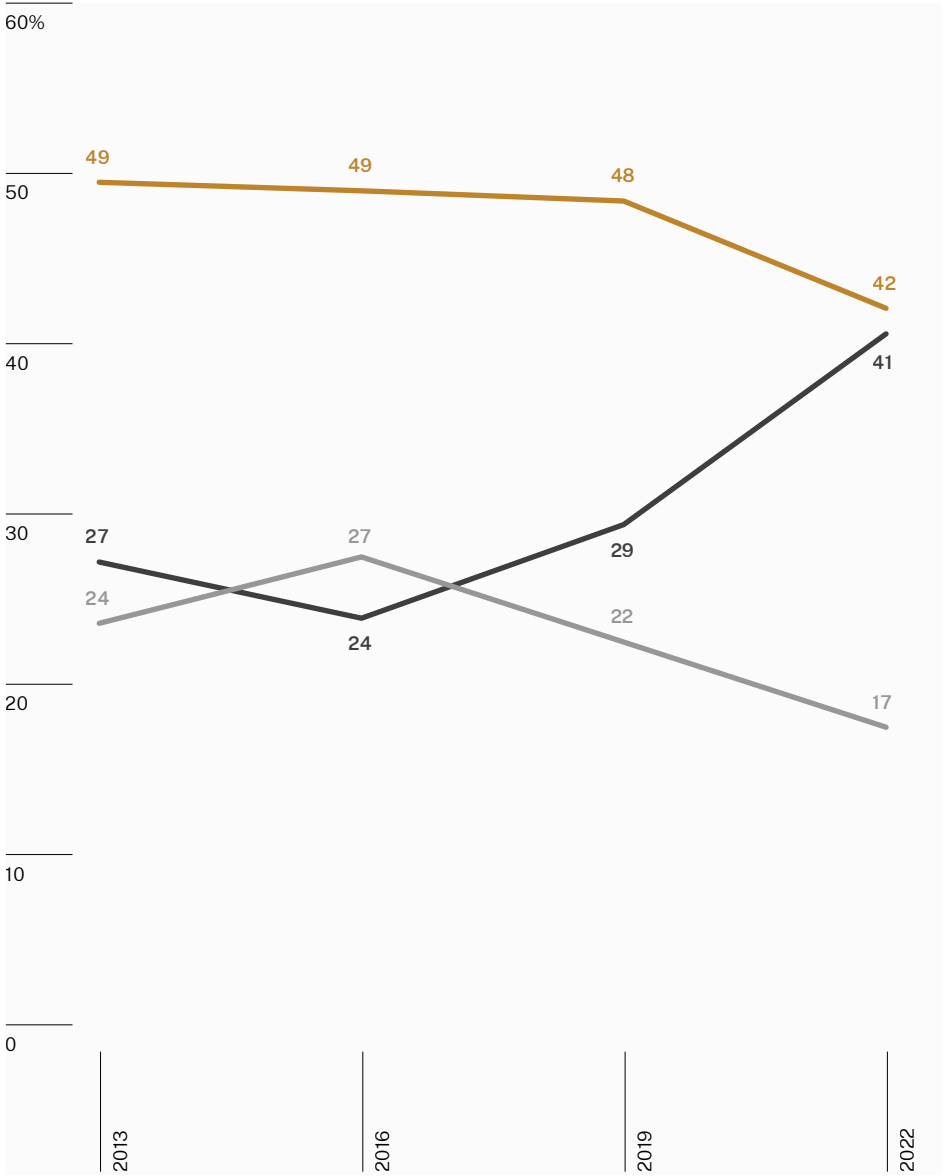
Government spending on old-age pensions

— **More than now**
— **The same as now**
— **Less than now**

65
53
68
62

31
40
28
32

4
7
4
6

2013
2016
2019
2022
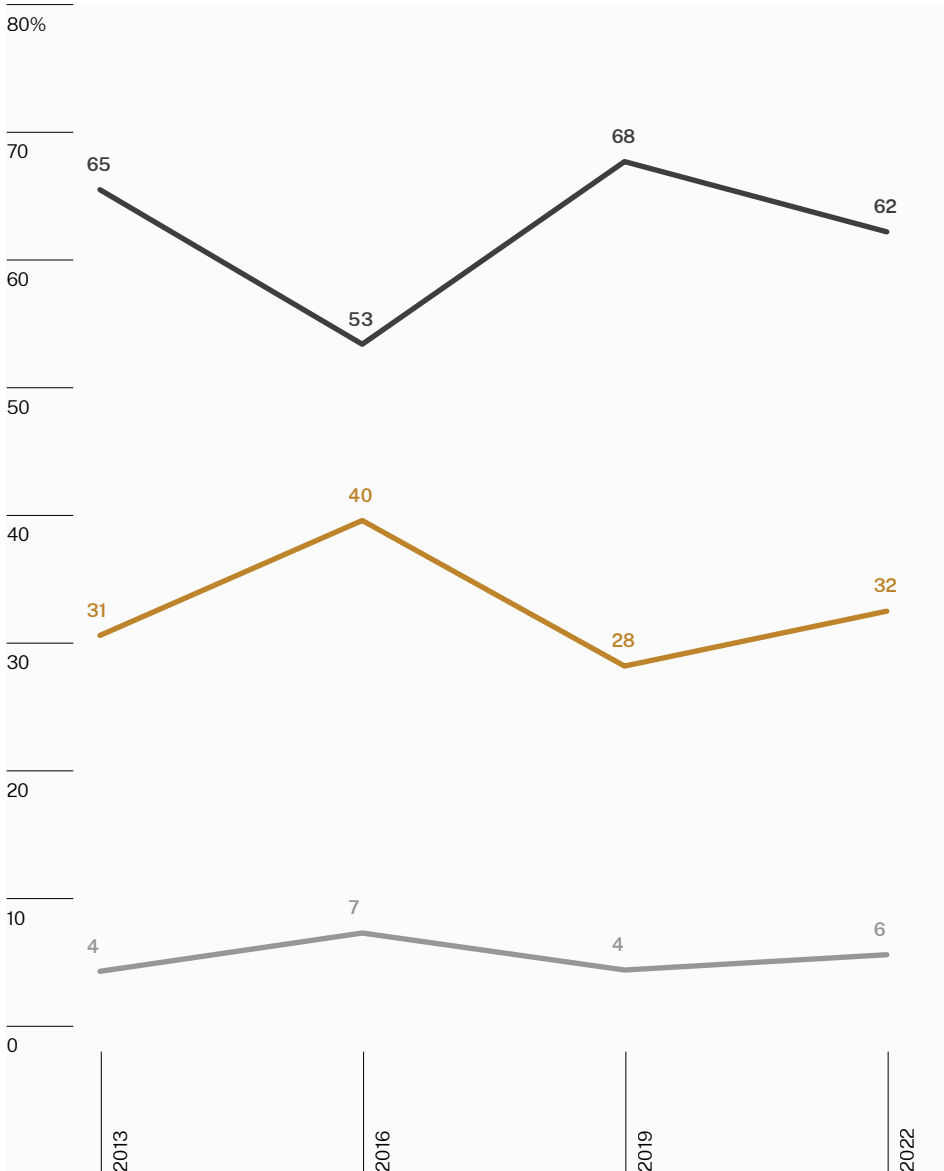
Government spending on business and industry

- **More than now**
- **The same as now**
- **Less than now**
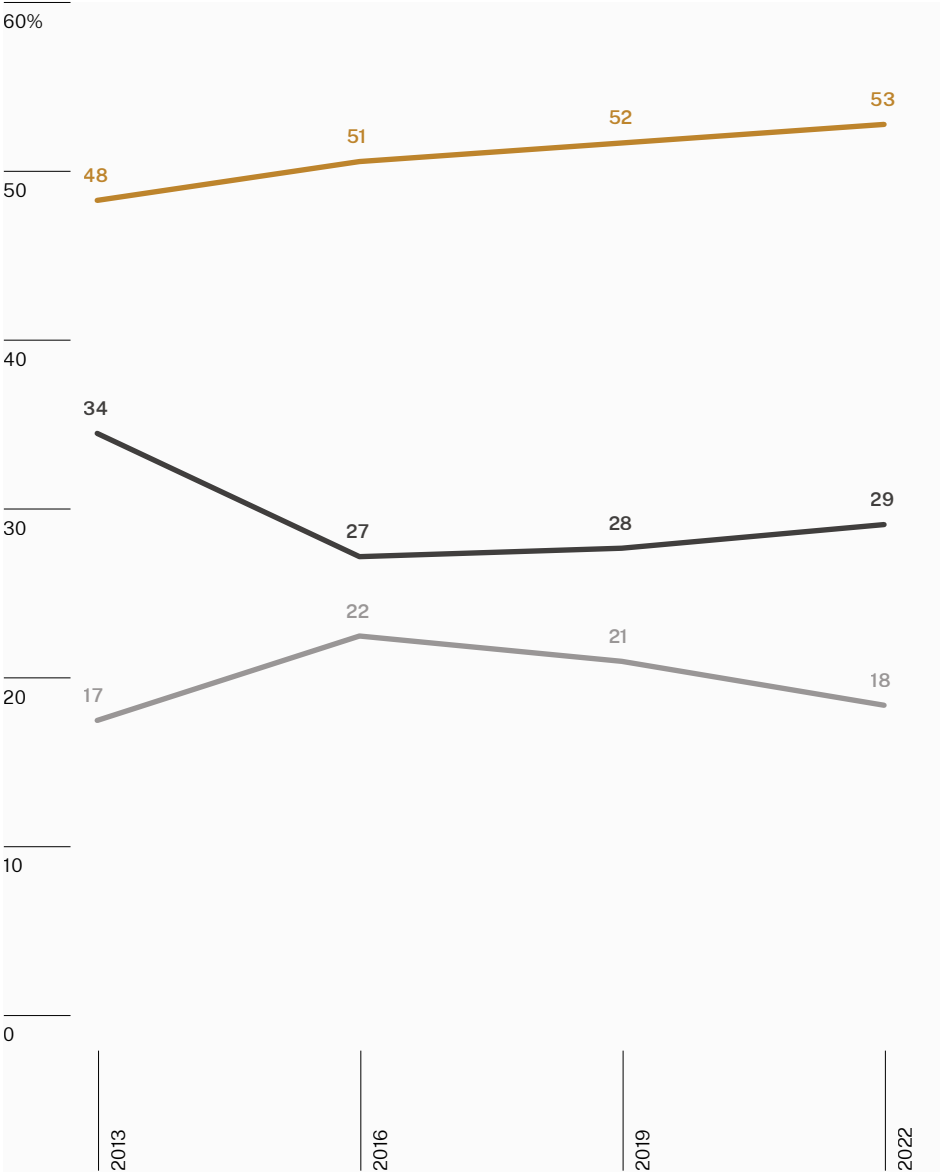
Government spending on police and law enforcement

More than now
The same as now
Less than now
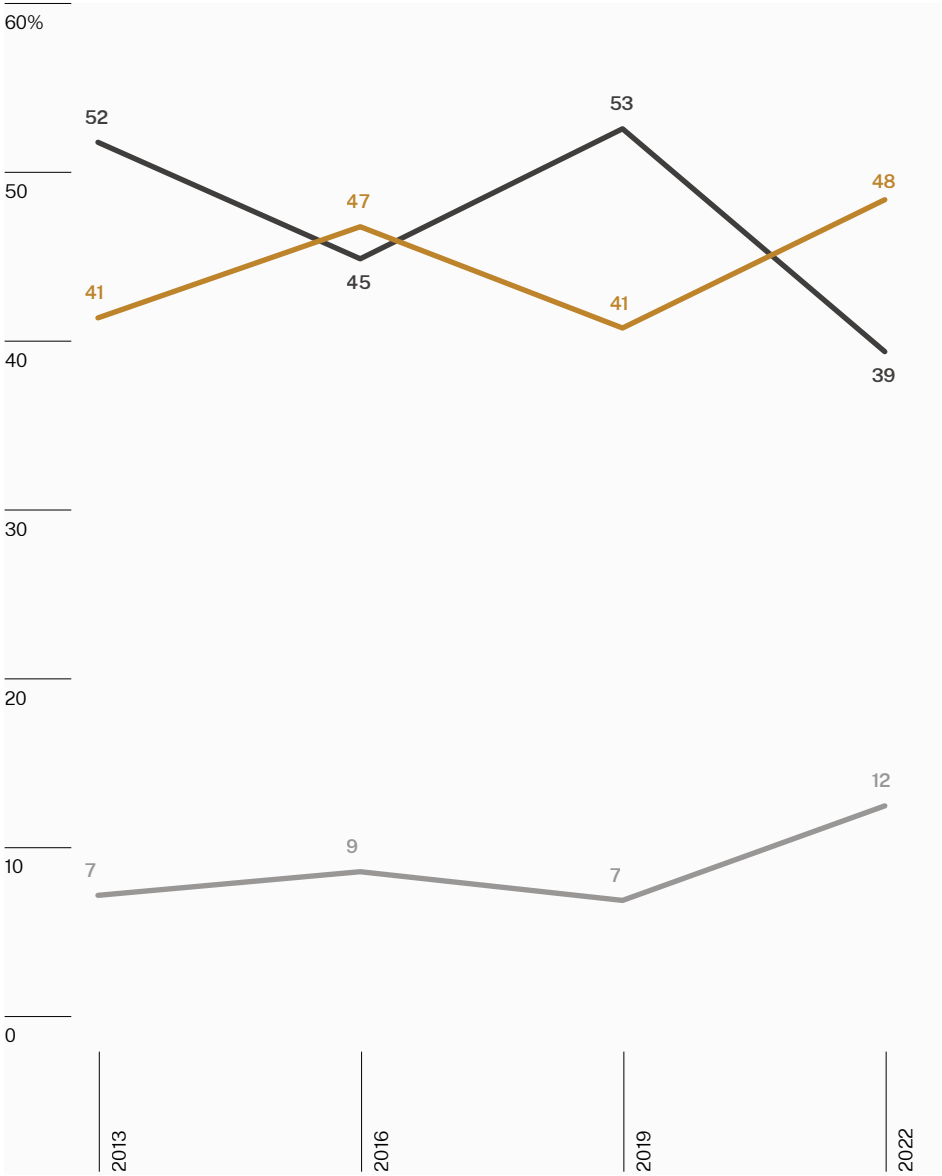
If lost job how easy to find another in 12 months

- Easy
- **Difficult**

	2013	2016	2019	2022
Difficult	65	68	56	44
Easy	36	32	44	56
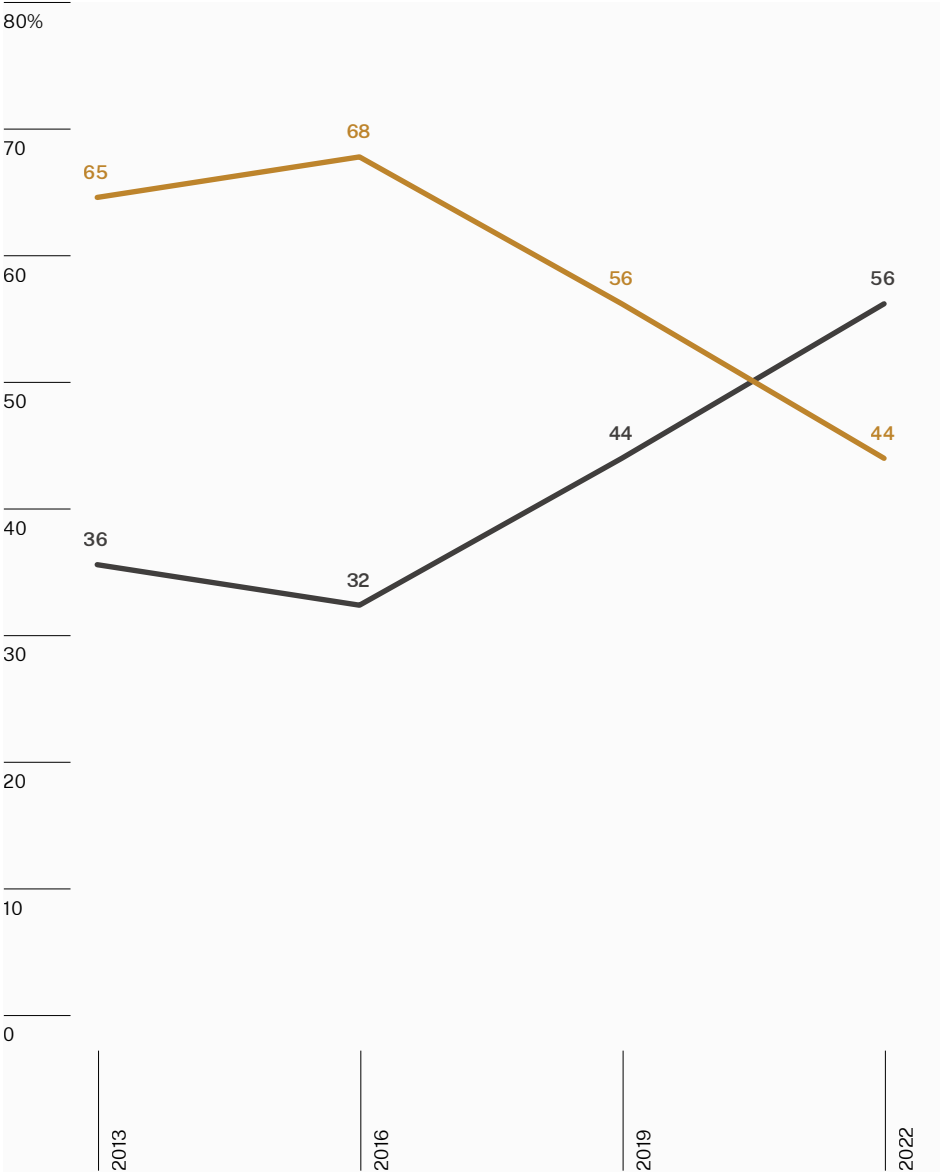
If spouse / partner lost job how easy to find another in 12 months

Easy
Difficult
Do not have a partner

60%

48   48

50   41

40   40

28   35   30

30   26   30

23   26   24

20

10

0

2013   2016   2019   2022
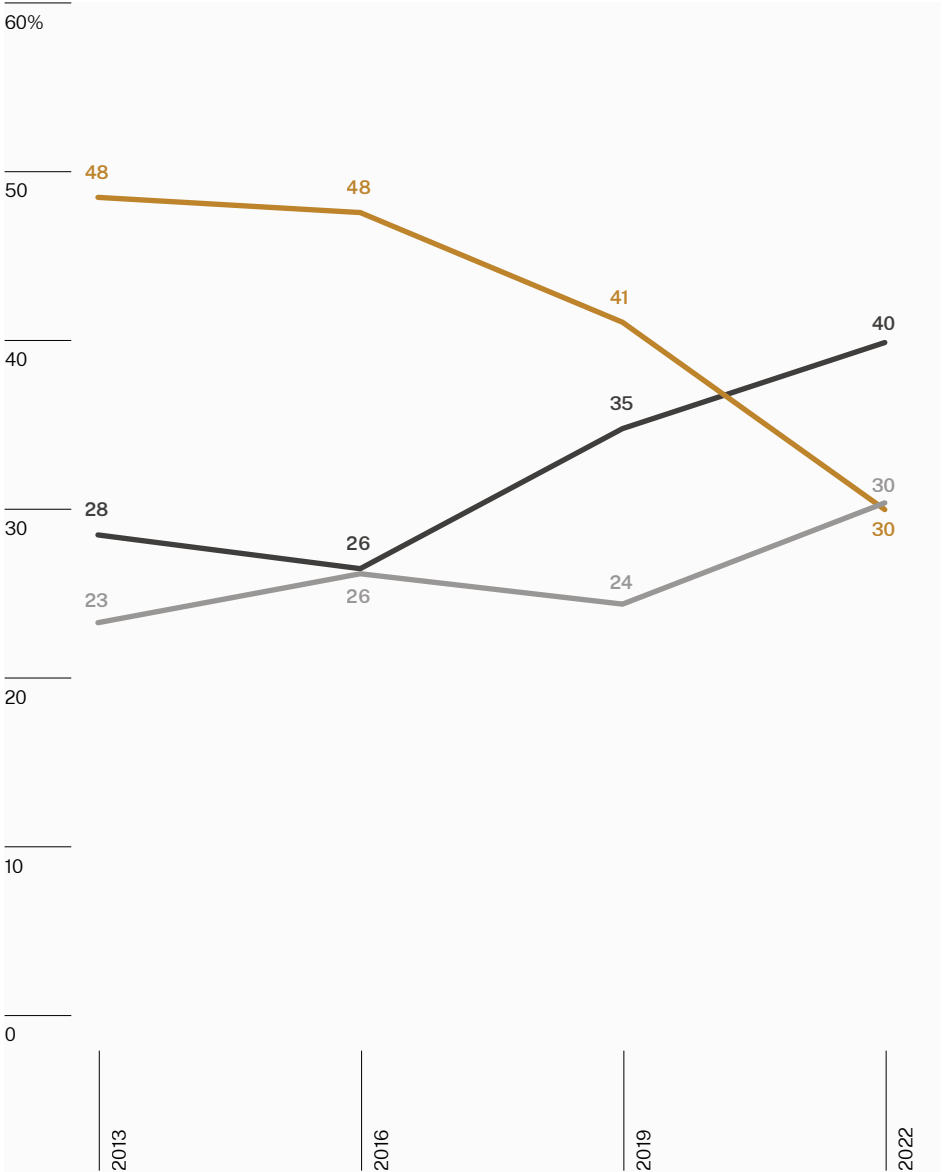
Notes

Financial situation of household over past year
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 country over past year
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 in a year's time
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 country in a year's time
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'.

Government spending
Estimates show whether respondents think there should be more or less public expenditure in various policy areas. For more than now, estimates combine 'much more than now' and 'somewhat more than now'. For less than now, estimates combine 'somewhat less than now' and 'much less than now'.

If lost job how easy to find another in 12 months
In 2019 and 2022 'Do not have a job' was included in the list of responses although was dropped from the analyses for comparability with 2013 and 2016.

If spouse / partner lost job how easy to find another in 12 months
In 2019 and 2022 'Do not have a job' was included in the list of responses although was dropped from the analyses for comparability with 2013 and 2016.

Interest in politics

- **A good deal** (black)
- **Some** (gold)
- **Not much** (grey)
- **None** (red)
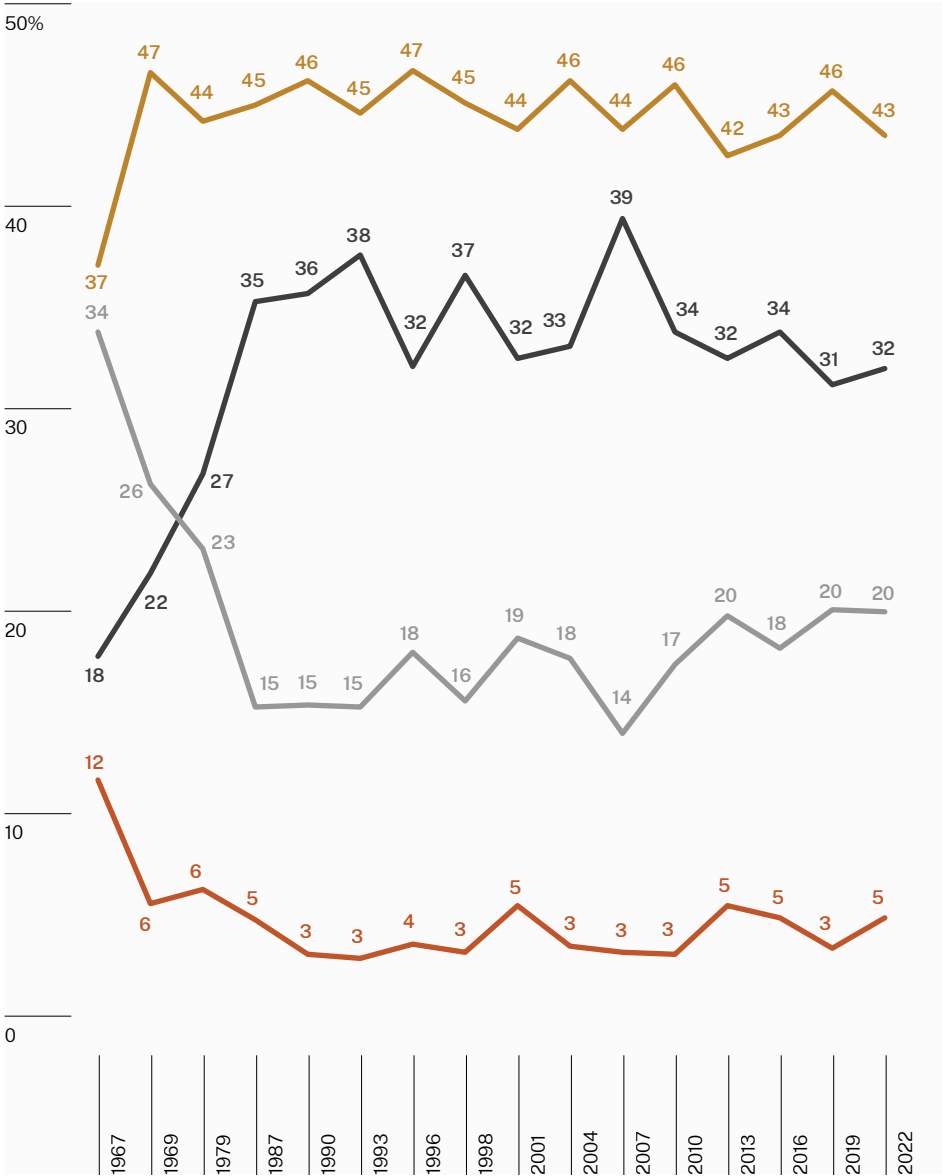
Compulsory voting and likelihood of voting if voluntary

— **Supports compulsory voting**

— **Would have voted if voluntary**

	1967	1969	1979	1987	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	2016	2019	2022
Supports compulsory voting	76	77	69	64	68	71	72	70	74	77	69	70	70	72	69
Would have voted if voluntary						86	85	80	86	89	83	79	80	80	77
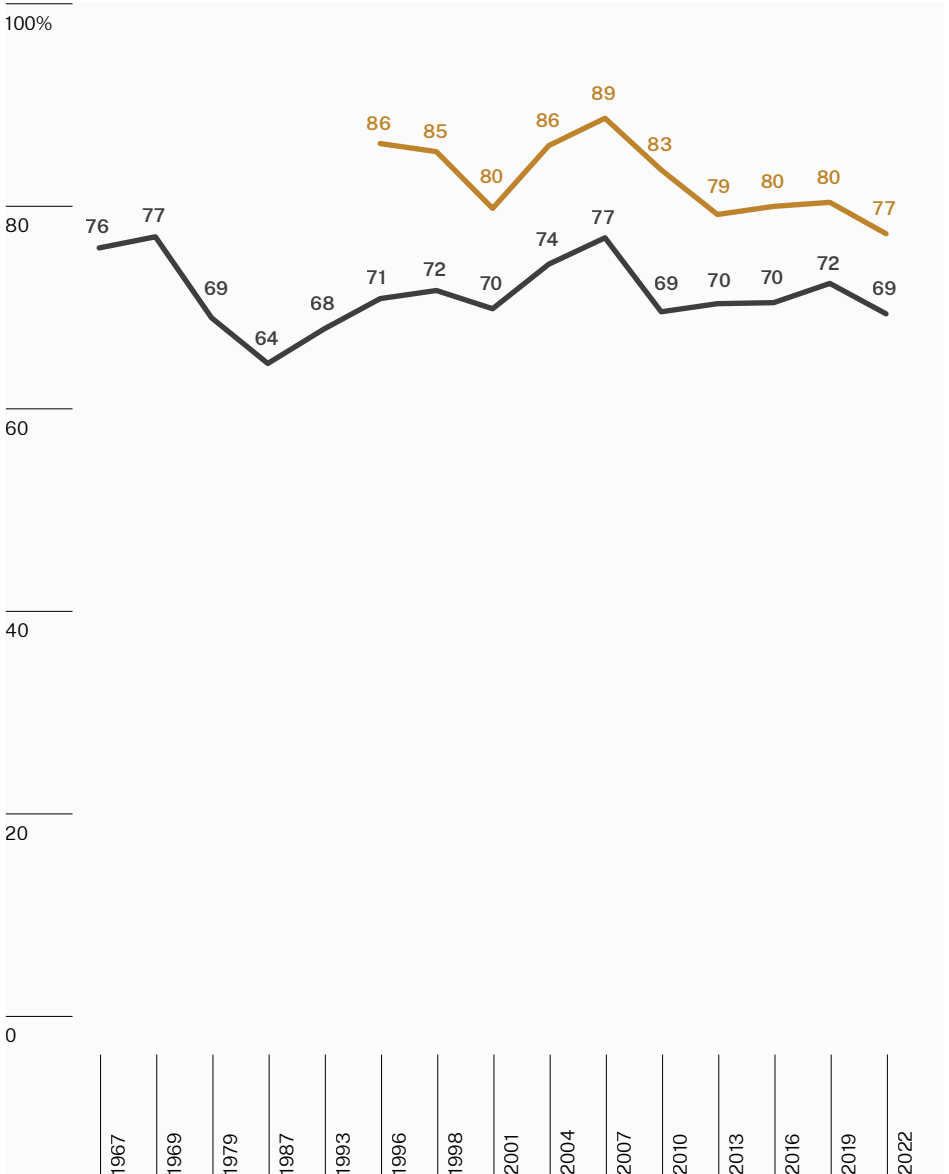
Political participation in the past five years

- **Contacted official via email**
- **Contacted official in person or in writing**
- **Worked together with others**
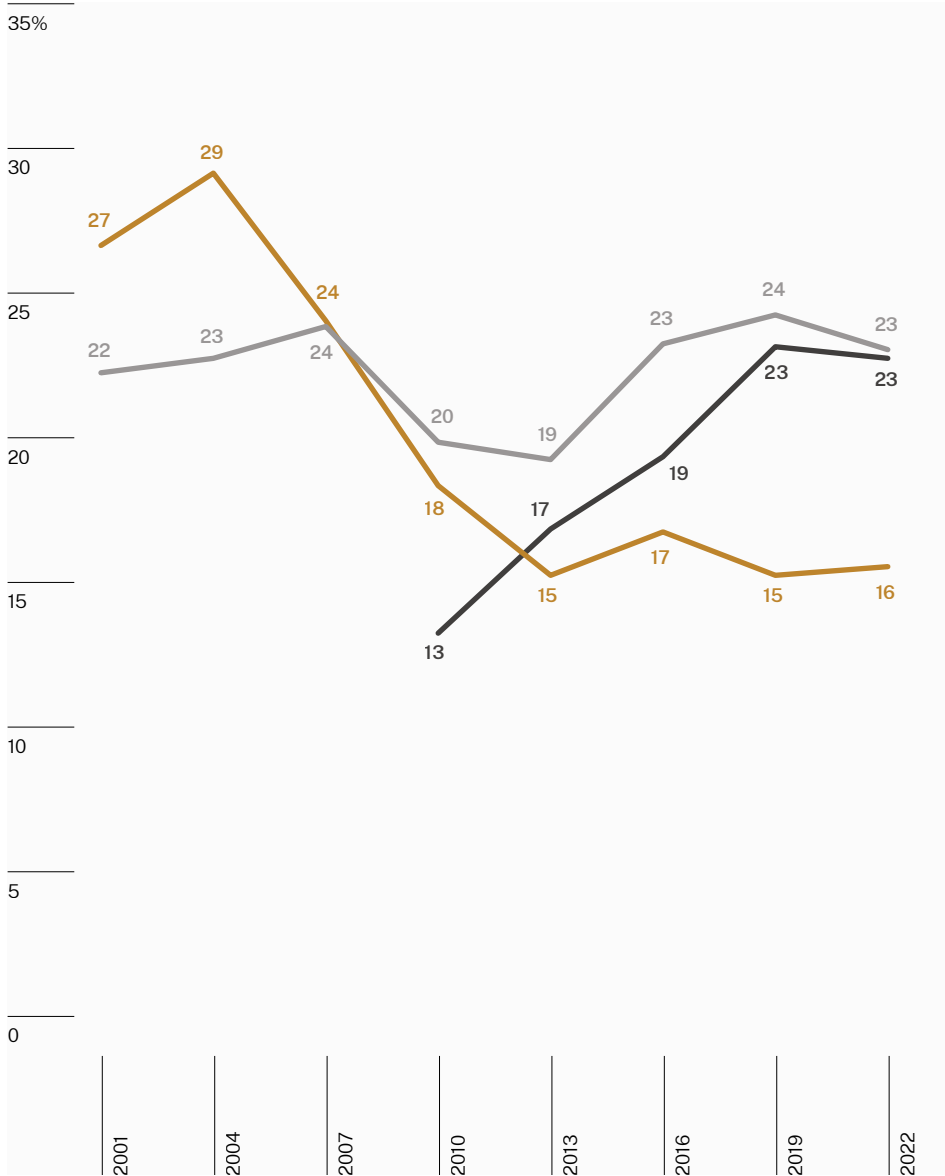
Political participation in the past five years

- **Taken part in a protest**
- **Signed a written petition**
- **Signed an online petition**
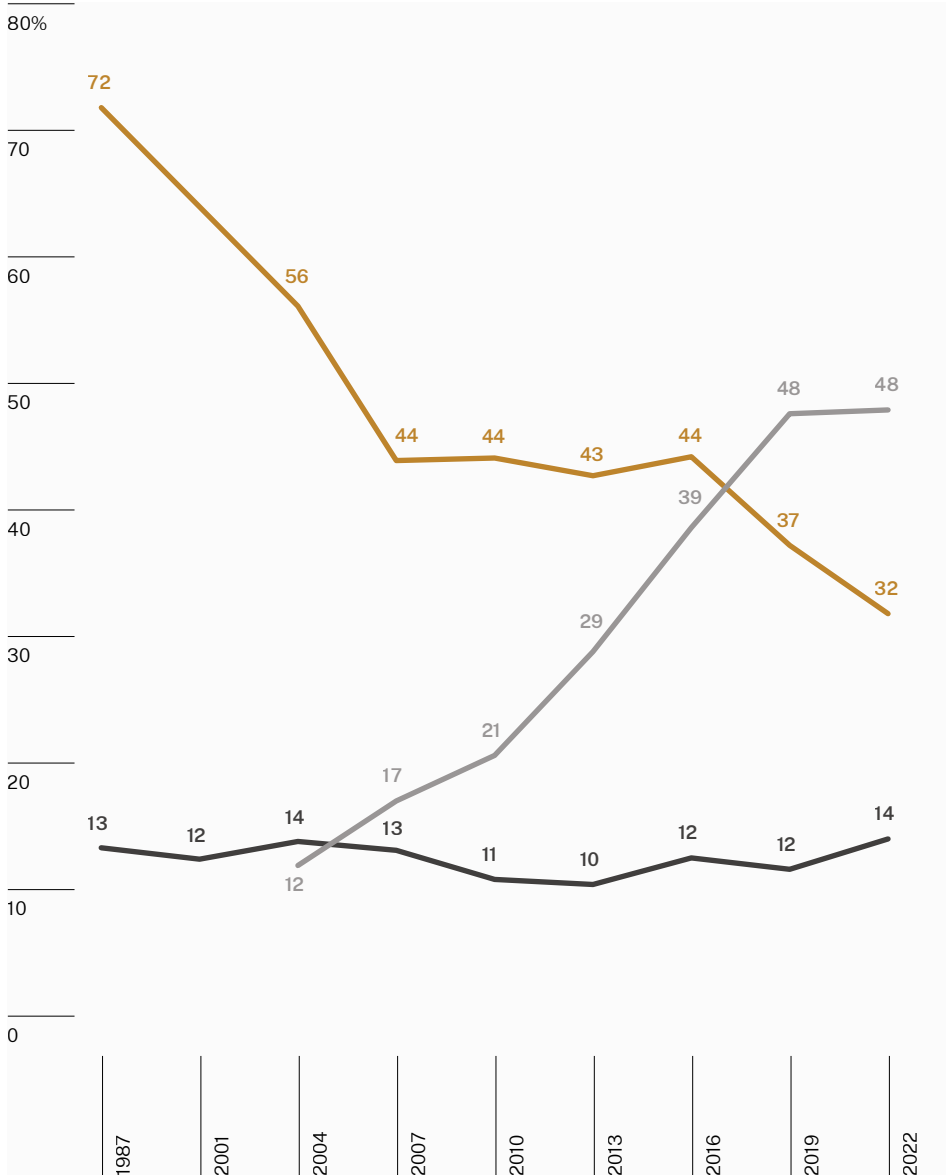
Feelings about political parties

Liberal
Labor
National

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).
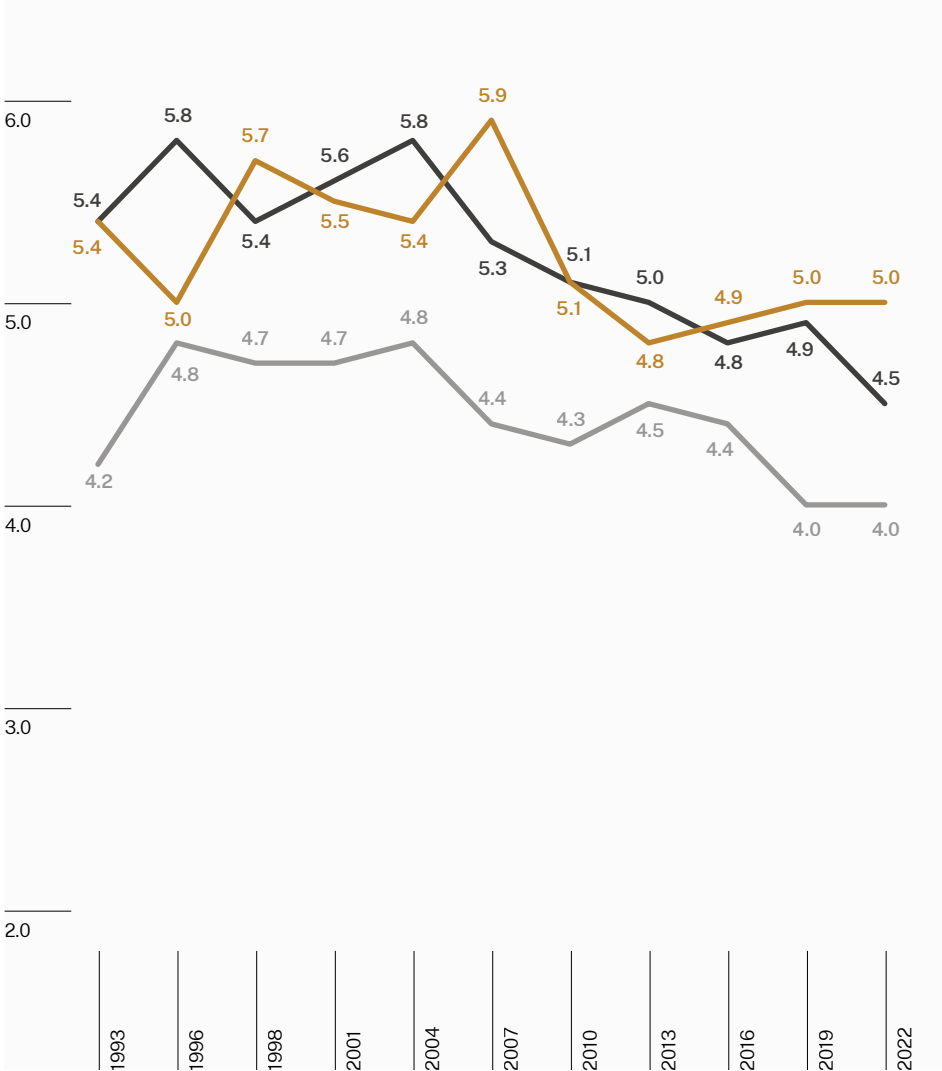
Feelings about political parties (continued)

— **Greens**
— **Democrat**
— **One Nation**

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).

6.0

5.2
5.1
4.7
4.4   4.6
5.0

4.4
4.2   4.2
4.0   3.9
3.9   4.0   4.0   3.8   3.9   3.9   4.0
4.0

2.6   2.6
2.3
3.0

2.0

1993 1996 1998 2001 2004 2007 2010 2013 2016 2019 2022

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**
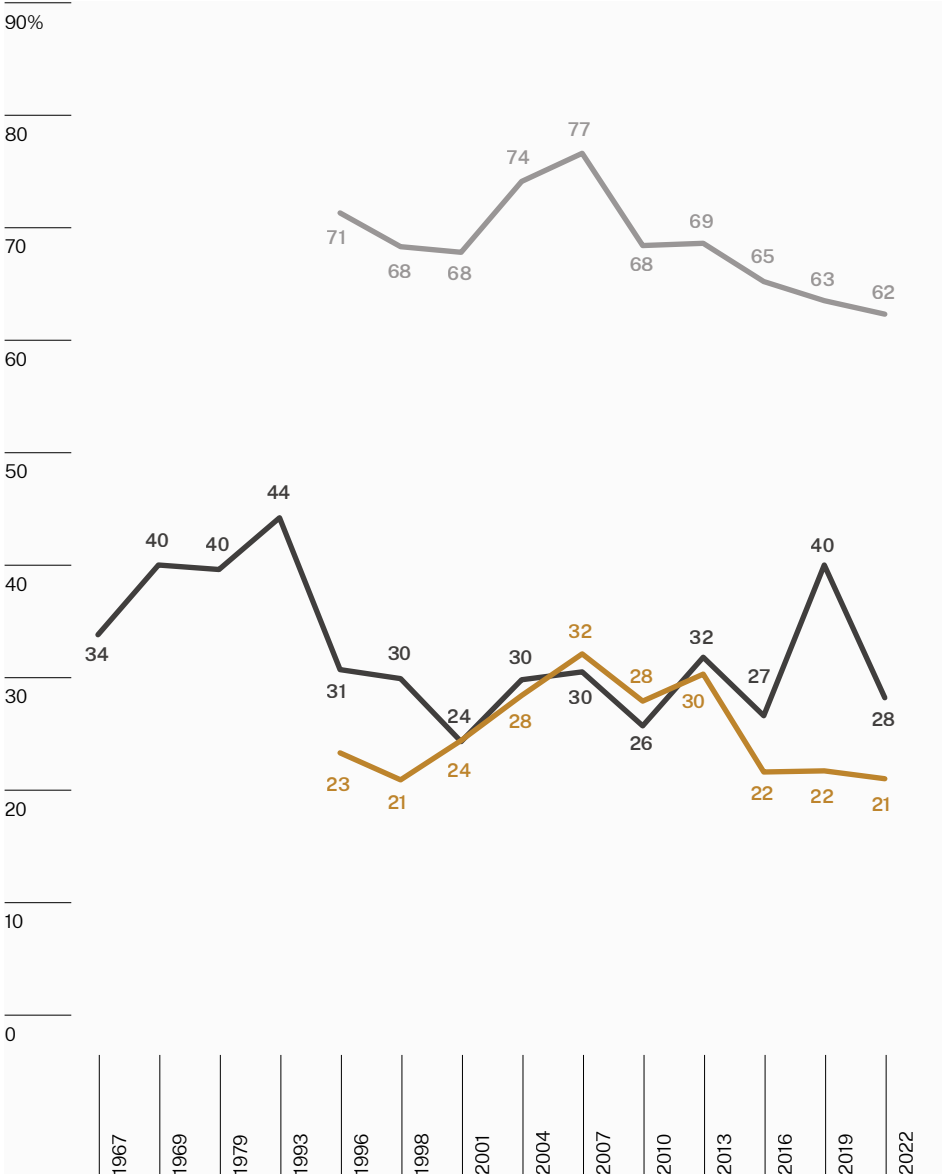
Notes

Compulsory voting and likelihood of voting if voluntary
For supports compulsory voting, estimates are: (1967-1979) 'compulsory better'; (1987-2022) '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'.

Political participation in the past five years
For contacted official via email the response category is: (2010-2022) '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'; (2010-2022) 'contacted a politician or government official either in person, or in writing'. For worked together with others the response category is: (2001-2019) 'worked together with people who shared the same concern'.

Political participation in the past five years (continued)
For taken part in a protest, the response categories are: (1987) 'attending lawful demonstrations'; (2001-2022) 'taken part in a protest, march or demonstration'. For signed an online petition, the response categories are: (2004-2007) 'signed an electronic petition'; (2010-2022) 'signed an online or e-petition'. Unlike 2001-2022, the 1987 estimate does not refer to the past five years only.

Feelings about political parties
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).
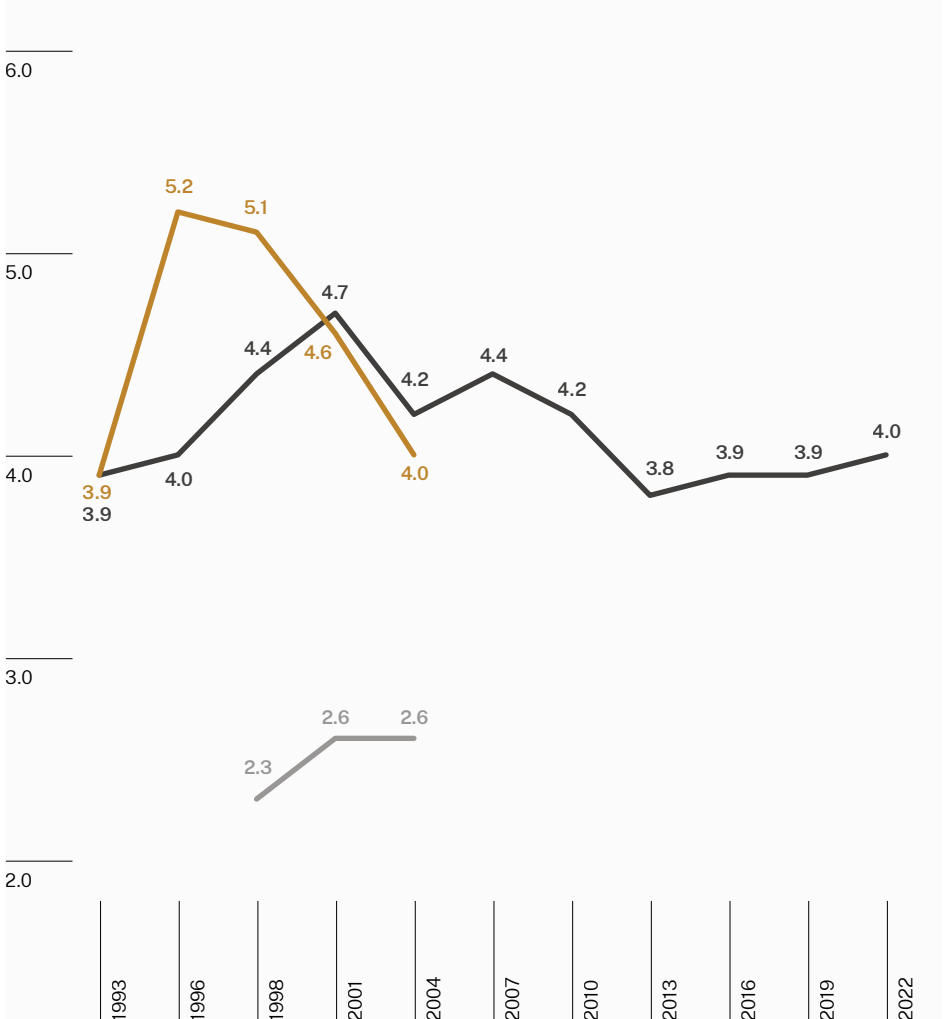
Feelings about political parties (continued)
Estimates are means. The scale runs from 0 (strongly dislike party) to 10 (strongly like party) with a designated midpoint of 5 (neither like nor dislike).

Perceptions of the role of political parties
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 election campaign
Voting and partisanship
Election issues
The economy
Politics and political parties
The left-right dimension
The political leaders
Democracy and institutions
Trade unions, business and wealth
Social issues
Defence and foreign affairs
References
Appendix: Methodology

Voters' left-right position

——— **Left-right position**

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).

5.46

5.36

5.30

5.34

5.29

5.03

5.03

4.91

4.98

5.05

5.5

5.0

4.5

4.0

1996

1998

2001

2004

2007

2010

2013

2016

2019

2022
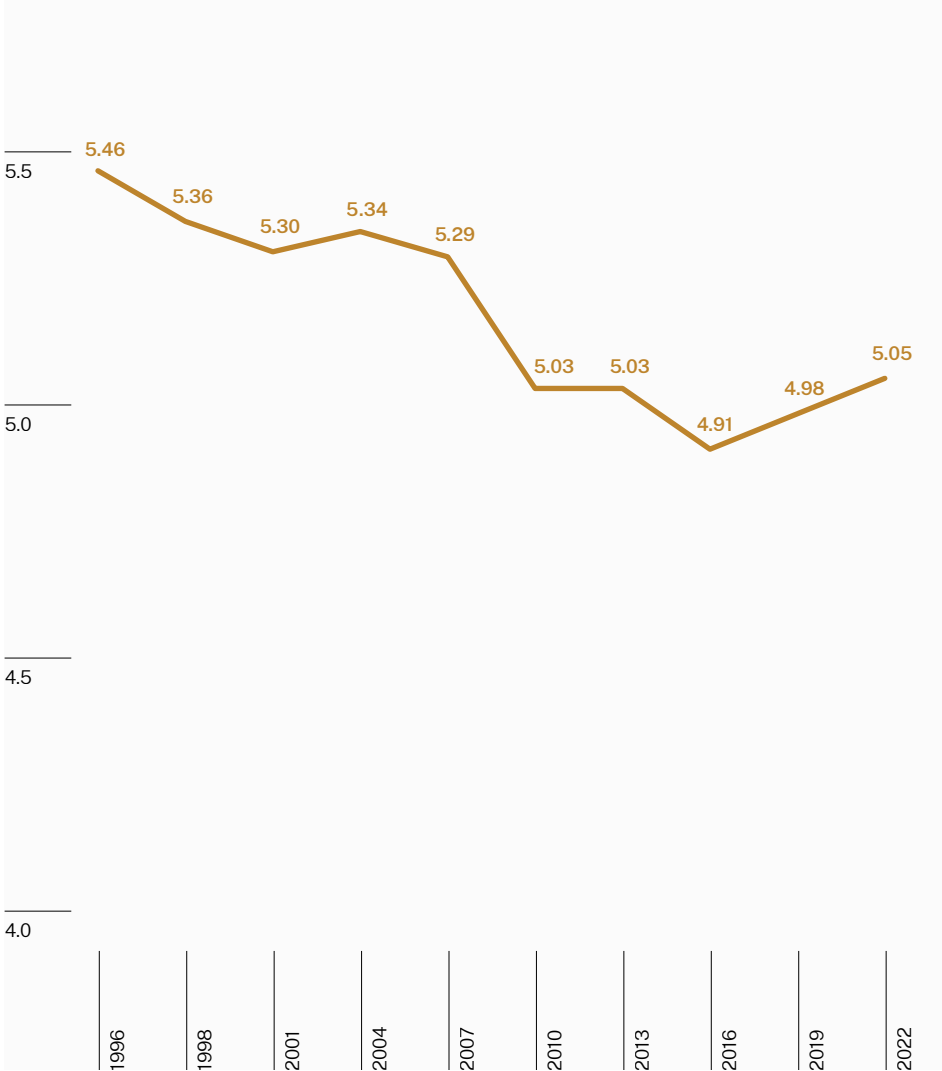
Where voters place the parties on the left-right scale

———— Labor **———— Democrat**
———— Liberal **———— National**
———— Greens **———— One Nation**

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).

How politicians were rated

Politician	Rating	Year
Bob Hawke*	6.22	**1987**
John Howard*	4.87	
Andrew Peacock	4.84	
Janine Haines	4.71	
Paul Keating	4.34	
Ian Sinclair	3.58	
Joh Bjelke-Petersen	2.58	
Bob Hawke*	5.46	**1990**
Andrew Peacock*	3.87	
Janine Haines	5.12	
John Howard	4.93	
Paul Keating	4.01	
Charles Blunt	3.60	
Paul Keating*	4.74	**1993**
John Hewson*	5.18	
Tim Fischer	4.12	
John Coulter	3.27	
John Howard*	5.73	**1996**
Paul Keating*	4.21	
Cheryl Kernot	5.36	
Tim Fischer	4.77	
John Howard*	5.31	**1998**
Kim Beazley*	6.11	
Tim Fischer	4.76	
Cheryl Kernot	4.35	
Peter Costello	4.27	
Gareth Evans	3.54	
Pauline Hanson	2.34	
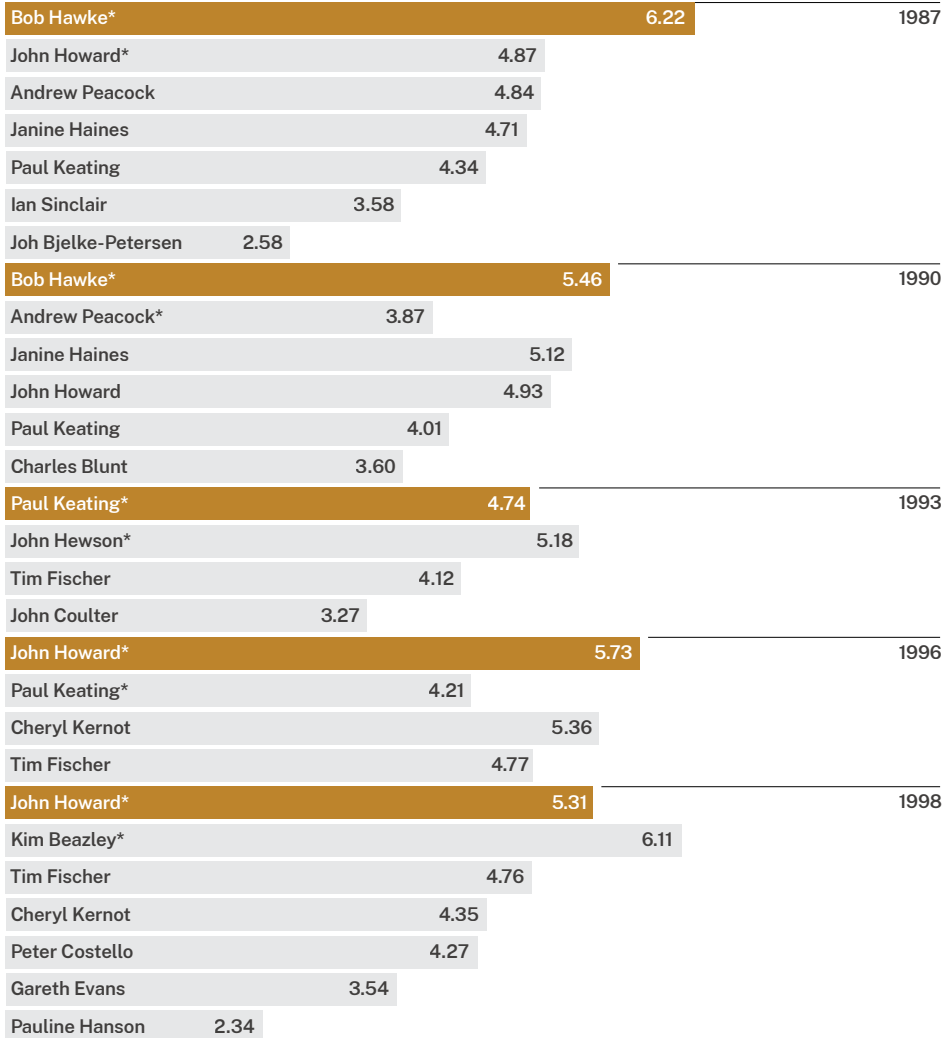
Estimates are means
The scale runs from 0 (strongly dislike politician) to 10 (strongly like politician) with a designated midpoint of 5 (neither like nor dislike).

● election winners
★ main party leaders

		2001
John Howard*	5.56	
Kim Beazley*	5.73	
Natasha Stott-Despoja	5.01	
John Anderson	4.92	
Bob Brown	4.37	
Peter Costello	4.29	
Simon Crean	4.01	
Pauline Hanson	2.56	

		2004
John Howard*	5.71	
Mark Latham*	5.04	
John Anderson	5.22	
Peter Costello	4.72	
Bob Brown	4.01	
Andrew Bartlett	3.96	
Simon Crean	3.79	
Pauline Hanson	3.19	

		2007
Kevin Rudd*	6.31	
John Howard*	5.14	
Julia Gillard	5.19	
Mark Vaile	4.61	
Bob Brown	4.48	
Peter Costello	4.13	

		2010
Julia Gillard*	4.89	
Tony Abbott*	4.26	
Kevin Rudd	5.01	
Warren Truss	4.12	
Bob Brown	4.11	
Wayne Swan	4.03	

How politicians were rated (continued)

Tony Abbott*	**4.29**	**2013**
Kevin Rudd*	4.07	
Warren Truss	4.34	
Julia Gillard	4.04	
Christine Milne	3.81	
Malcolm Turnbull*	**4.94**	**2016**
Bill Shorten*	4.22	
Barnaby Joyce	4.13	
Richard Di Natale	4.12	
Tony Abbott	3.60	
Scott Morrison*	**5.14**	**2019**
Bill Shorten*	3.97	
Malcolm Turnbull	4.76	
Michael McCormack	4.38	
Richard Di Natale	4.02	
Anthony Albanese*	**5.26**	**2022**
Scott Morrison*	3.77	
Adam Bandt	4.10	
Barnaby Joyce	3.21	

Leader characteristics

● **Paul Keating** ○ **John Hewson**

Intelligent
| Paul Keating | 86 |
| John Hewson | 86 |

Knowledgeable
| Paul Keating | 81 |
| John Hewson | 77 |

Sensible
| Paul Keating | 63 |
| John Hewson | 64 |

Strong leadership
| Paul Keating | 79 |
| John Hewson | 52 |

Compassionate
| Paul Keating | 38 |
| John Hewson | 49 |

Inspiring
| Paul Keating | 43 |
| John Hewson | 37 |

Moral
| Paul Keating | 54 |
| John Hewson | 66 |

Decent
| Paul Keating | 59 |
| John Hewson | 72 |

Reliable
| Paul Keating | 44 |
| John Hewson | 55 |

Dependable
| Paul Keating | 41 |
| John Hewson | 52 |

● **John Howard** ○ **Paul Keating**
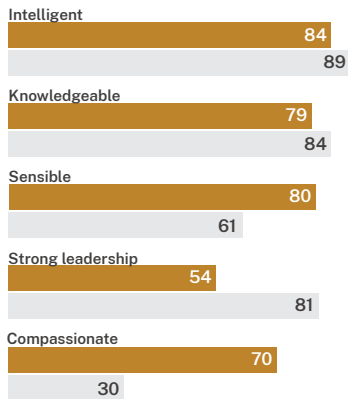
Intelligent
| John Howard | 84 |
| Paul Keating | 89 |

Knowledgeable
| John Howard | 79 |
| Paul Keating | 84 |

Sensible
| John Howard | 80 |
| Paul Keating | 61 |

Strong leadership
| John Howard | 54 |
| Paul Keating | 81 |

Compassionate
| John Howard | 70 |
| Paul Keating | 30 |

Inspiring
| John Howard | 36 |
| Paul Keating | 44 |

Moral
| John Howard | 84 |
| Paul Keating | 55 |

Reliable
| John Howard | 70 |
| Paul Keating | 44 |

Dependable
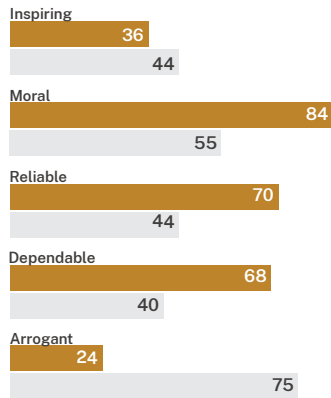| John Howard | 68 |
| Paul Keating | 40 |

Arrogant
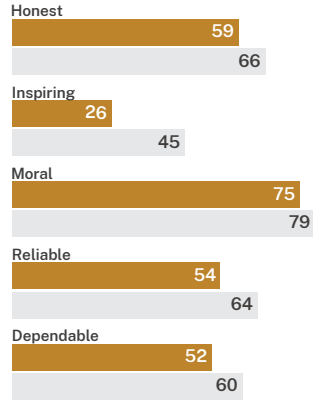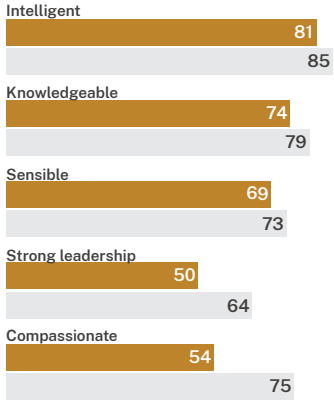| John Howard | 24 |
| Paul Keating | 75 |

Estimates are percentages
Estimates combine the percentage who
responded that the characteristic described
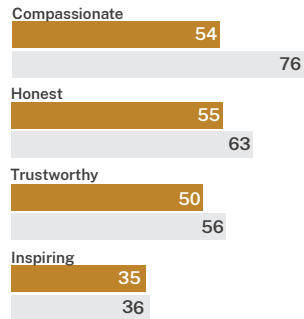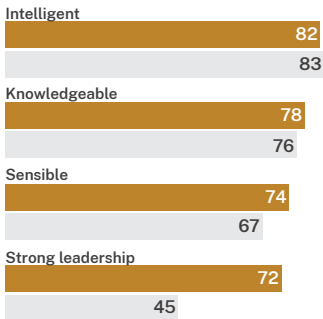the leader extremely well or quite well.

● election winners

● **John Howard**   ● **Kim Beazley**

Intelligent
81
85

Honest
59
66

Knowledgeable
74
79

Inspiring
26
45

Sensible
69
73

Moral
75
79

Strong leadership
50
64

Reliable
54
64

Compassionate
54
75

Dependable
52
60

● **John Howard**   ● **Kim Beazley**

Intelligent
82
83

Compassionate
54
76

Knowledgeable
78
76

Honest
55
63

Sensible
74
67

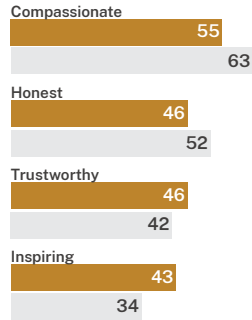**Trustworthy**
50
56

Strong leadership
72
45

Inspiring
35
36

Leader characteristics (continued)

John Howard **Mark Latham**

Intelligent
John Howard: 89
Mark Latham: 73

Knowledgeable
John Howard: 82
Mark Latham: 59

Sensible
John Howard: 75
Mark Latham: 52

Strong leadership
John Howard: 84
Mark Latham: 46

Compassionate
John Howard: 55
Mark Latham: 63

Honest
John Howard: 46
Mark Latham: 52

Trustworthy
John Howard: 46
Mark Latham: 42

Inspiring
John Howard: 43
Mark Latham: 34

Kevin Rudd **John Howard**

Intelligent
Kevin Rudd: 92
John Howard: 90

Knowledgeable
Kevin Rudd: 82
John Howard: 81

Sensible
Kevin Rudd: 82
John Howard: 73

Competent
Kevin Rudd: 77
John Howard: 80

Strong leadership
Kevin Rudd: 76
John Howard: 81

Compassionate
Kevin Rudd: 82
John Howard: 50

Honest
Kevin Rudd: 72
John Howard: 45

Trustworthy
Kevin Rudd: 66
John Howard: 41

Inspiring
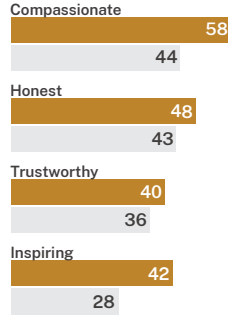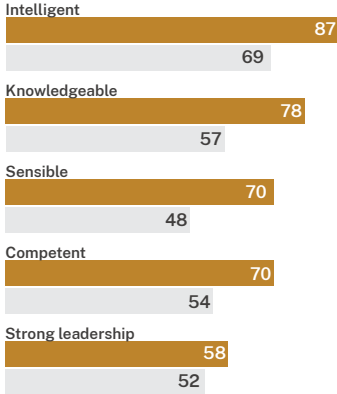Kevin Rudd: 59
John Howard: 39

Estimates are percentages
Estimates combine the percentage who
responded that the characteristic described
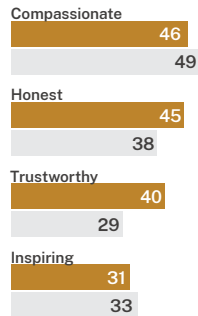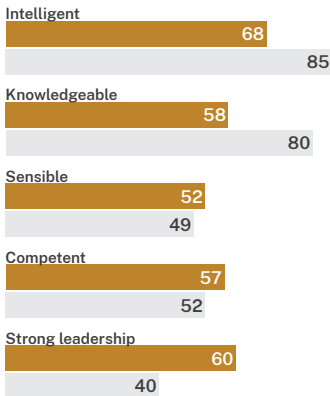the leader extremely well or quite well.

● election winners

● Julia Gillard ○ Tony Abbott

Intelligent
87
69

Knowledgeable
78
57

Sensible
70
48

Competent
70
54

Strong leadership
58
52

Compassionate
58
44

Honest
48
43

Trustworthy
40
36

Inspiring
42
28

● Tony Abbott ○ Kevin Rudd

Intelligent
68
85

Knowledgeable
58
80

Sensible
52
49

Competent
57
52

Strong leadership
60
40

Compassionate
46
49

Honest
45
38

Trustworthy
40
29

Inspiring
31
33

Leader characteristics (continued)

● Malcolm Turnbull   **○** Bill Shorten

Intelligent
- Malcolm Turnbull: 84
- Bill Shorten: 70

Knowledgeable
- Malcolm Turnbull: 78
- Bill Shorten: 64

Sensible
- Malcolm Turnbull: 64
- Bill Shorten: 56

Competent
- Malcolm Turnbull: 67
- Bill Shorten: 54

Strong leadership
- Malcolm Turnbull: 52
- Bill Shorten: 48

Compassionate
- Malcolm Turnbull: 44
- Bill Shorten: 55

Honest
- Malcolm Turnbull: 45
- Bill Shorten: 37

Trustworthy
- Malcolm Turnbull: 39
- Bill Shorten: 33

Inspiring
- Malcolm Turnbull: 38
- Bill Shorten: 24

● Scott Morrison   **○** Bill Shorten
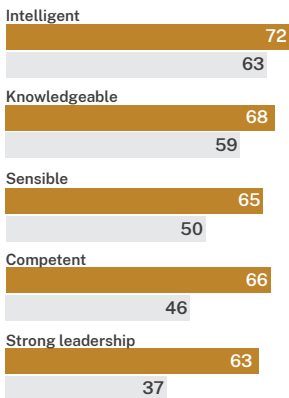
Intelligent
- Scott Morrison: 72
- Bill Shorten: 63

Knowledgeable
- Scott Morrison: 68
- Bill Shorten: 59

Sensible
- Scott Morrison: 65
- Bill Shorten: 50

Competent
- Scott Morrison: 66
- Bill Shorten: 46

Strong leadership
- Scott Morrison: 63
- Bill Shorten: 37

Compassionate
- Scott Morrison: 51
- Bill Shorten: 51

Honest
- Scott Morrison: 49
- Bill Shorten: 34

Trustworthy
- Scott Morrison: 46
- Bill Shorten: 30

Inspiring
- Scott Morrison: 40
- Bill Shorten: 21

Estimates are percentages
Estimates combine the percentage who
responded that the characteristic described
the leader extremely well or quite well.

● election winners

● Anthony Albanese   ○ Scott Morrison
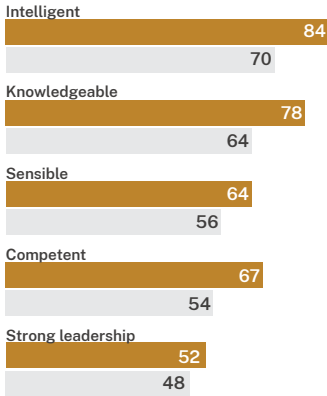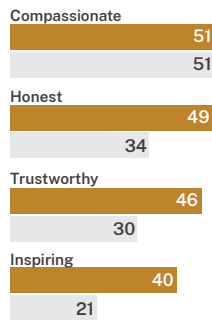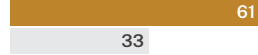
Intelligent
65
61

Knowledgeable
56
59

Sensible
68
46

Competent
59
47

Strong leadership
55
45

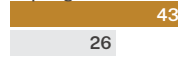**Compassionate**
73
34

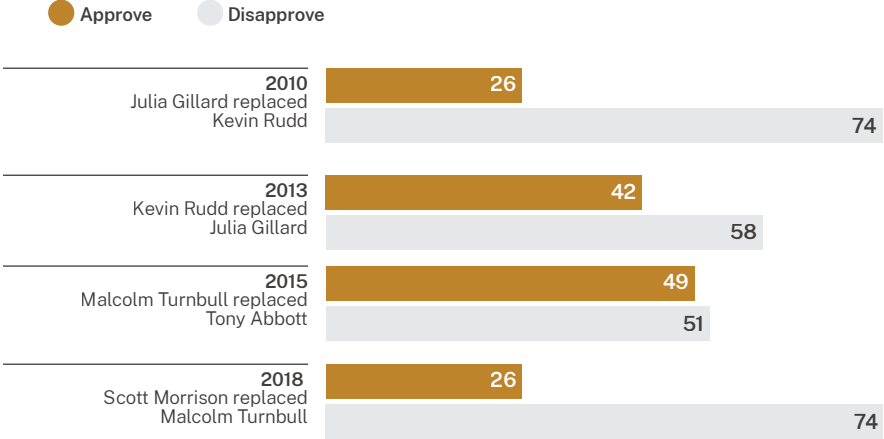**Honest**
61
33

Trustworthy
57
29
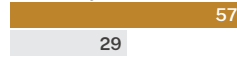
Inspiring
43
26

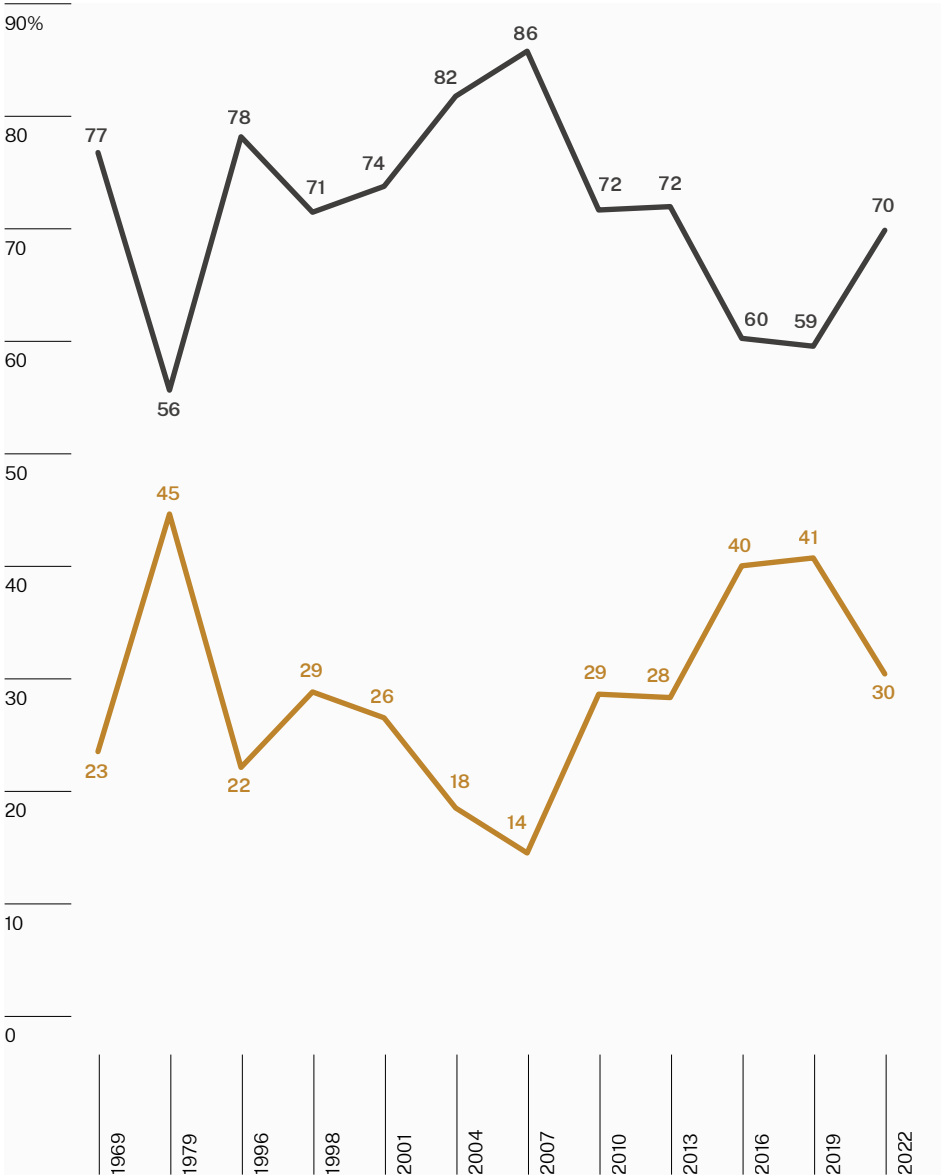## Attitudes towards the leadership changes

Estimates are percentages
Question asked whether respondents approved or
disapproved of the way the party (Labor, 2010 & 2013;
Liberal 2016 & 2019) handled the respective leadership
changes. For approve, estimates combine 'strongly
approve' and 'approve'. For disapprove, estimates combine
'disapprove' and 'strongly disapprove'.

● Approve   ○ Disapprove

2010
Julia Gillard replaced
Kevin Rudd
26
74

2013
Kevin Rudd replaced
Julia Gillard
42
58

2015
Malcolm Turnbull replaced
Tony Abbott
49
51

2018
Scott Morrison replaced
Malcolm Turnbull
26
74

Satisfaction with democracy
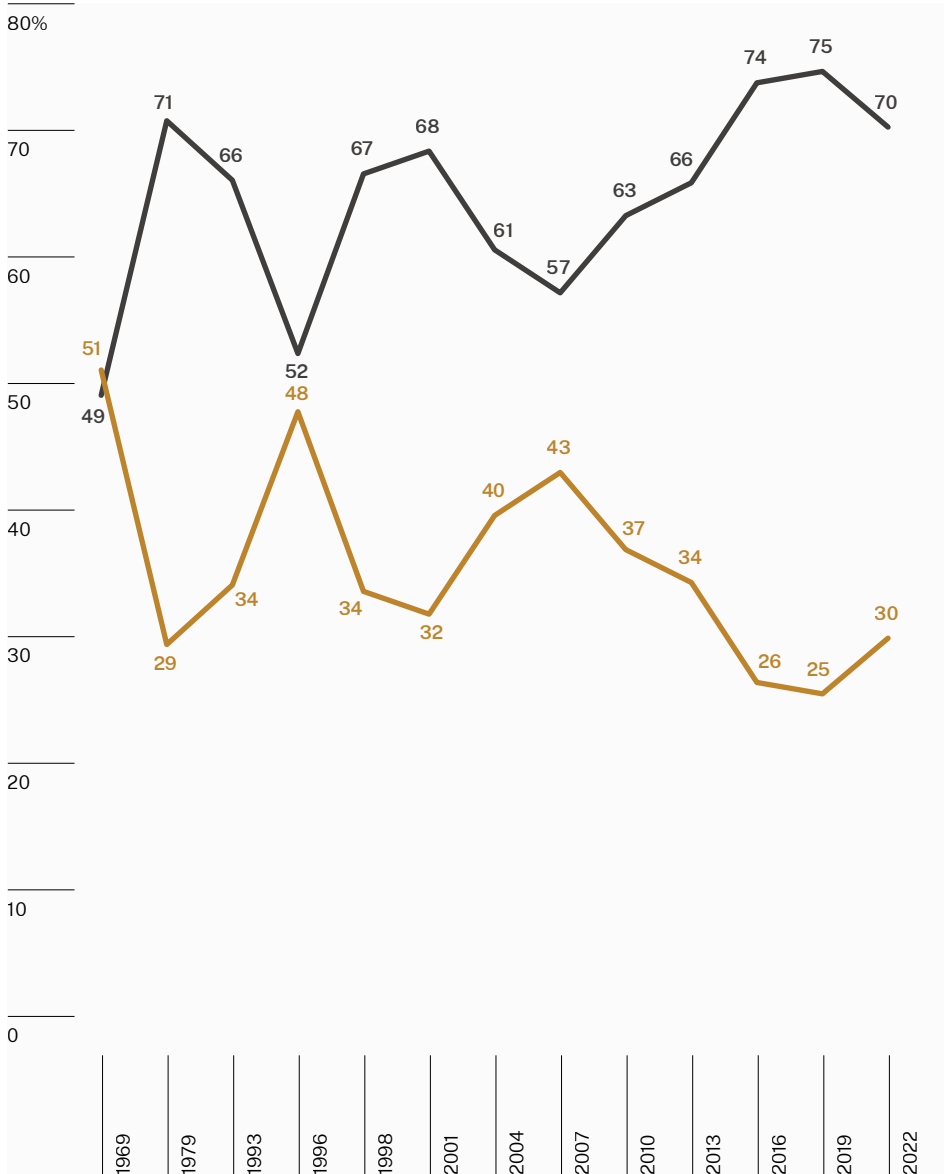
— **Satisfied with democracy**
— **Not satisfied with democracy**

Trust in government

— **People in government look after themselves**
— **People in government can be trusted**

80%

71

66

67

68

61

57

63

66

74

75

70

52

51

49

48

43

40

34

34

37

34

29

32

26

25

30

70

60

50

40

30

20

10

0

1969
1979
1993
1996
1998
2001
2004
2007
2010
2013
2016
2019
2022

Who the government is run for

—— Few big interests
—— All the people

Year	Few big interests	All the people
1998	53	12
2001	48	17
2004	42	21
2007	38	20
2010	44	12
2013	47	16
2016	56	12
2019	56	12
2022	54	12
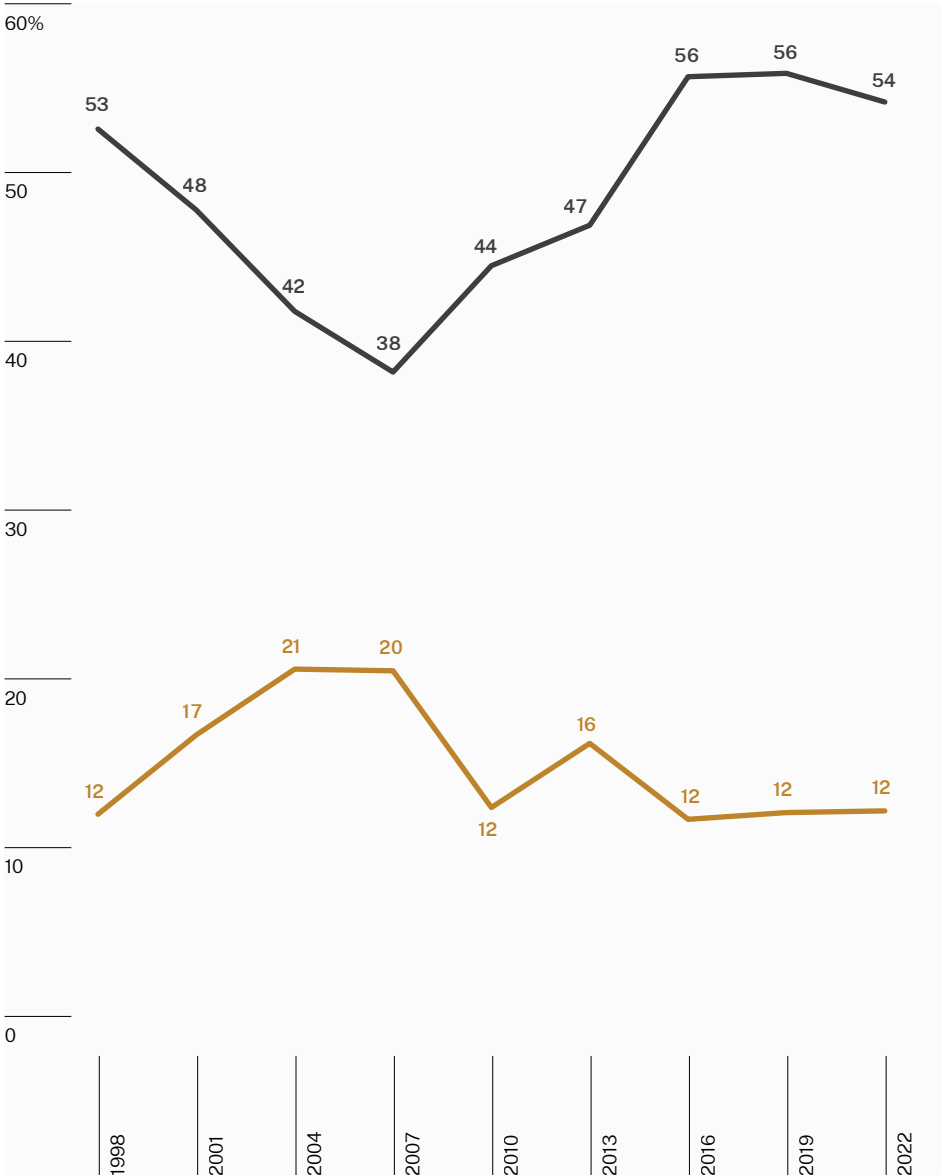
Political efficacy and the use of the vote

——— Who people vote for can make a big difference
——— Who people vote for won't make any difference
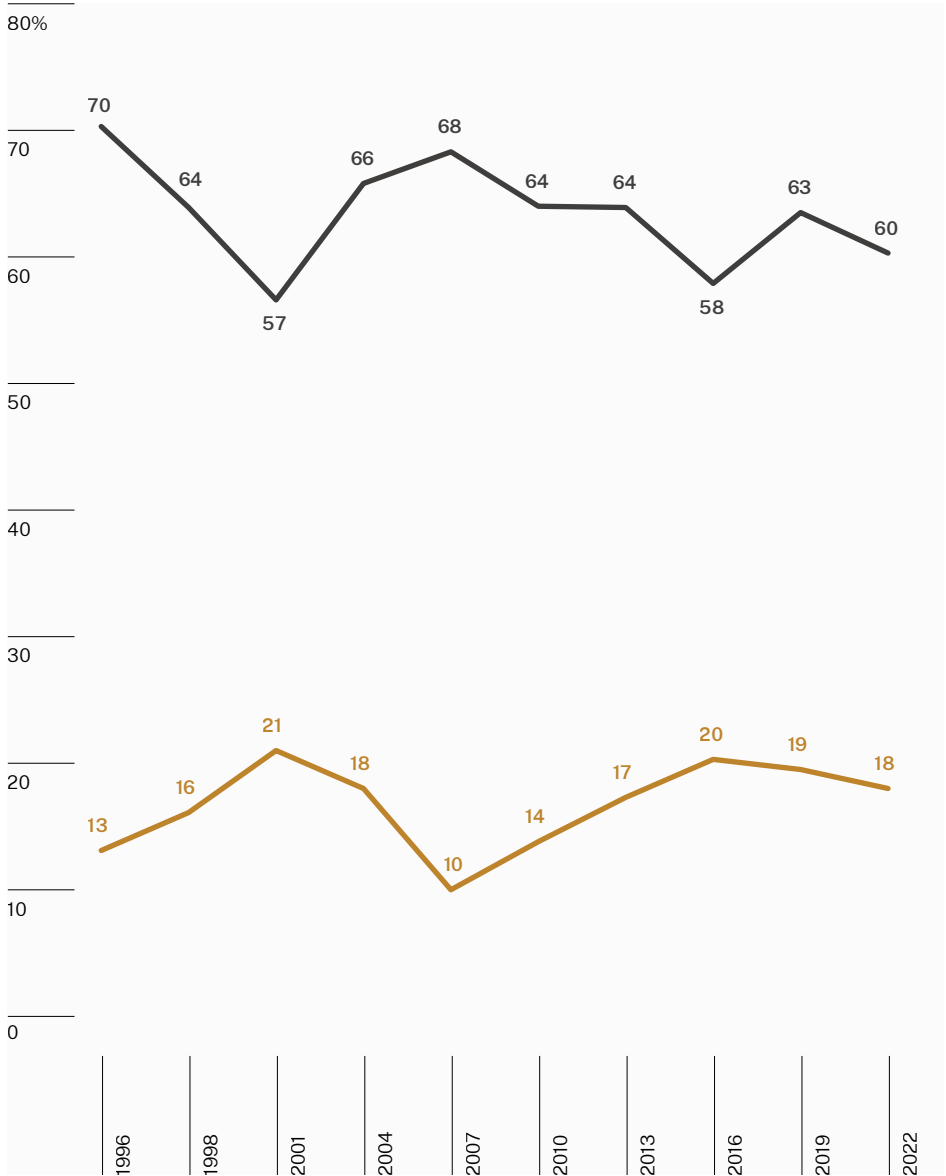
Makes a difference who is in power

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

80%		
70	68	
60	60 60	58
51	67	55 55
50		
40		
30		
24	20 22 21 21
20	17 16	
13		
10		
0		

2001 2004 2007 2010 2013 2016 2019 2022
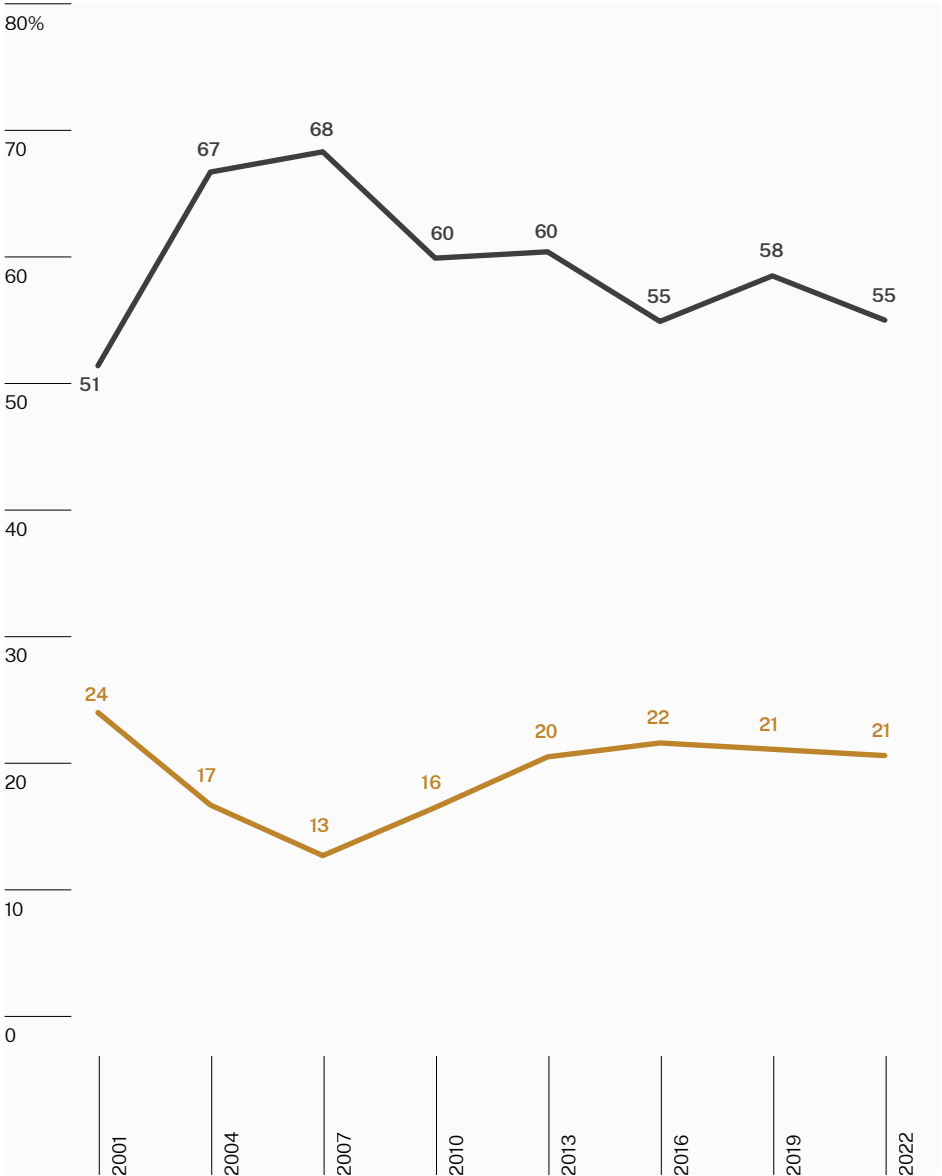
Politicians know what ordinary people think

—— Politicians know what ordinary people think
—— Politicians don't know what ordinary people think
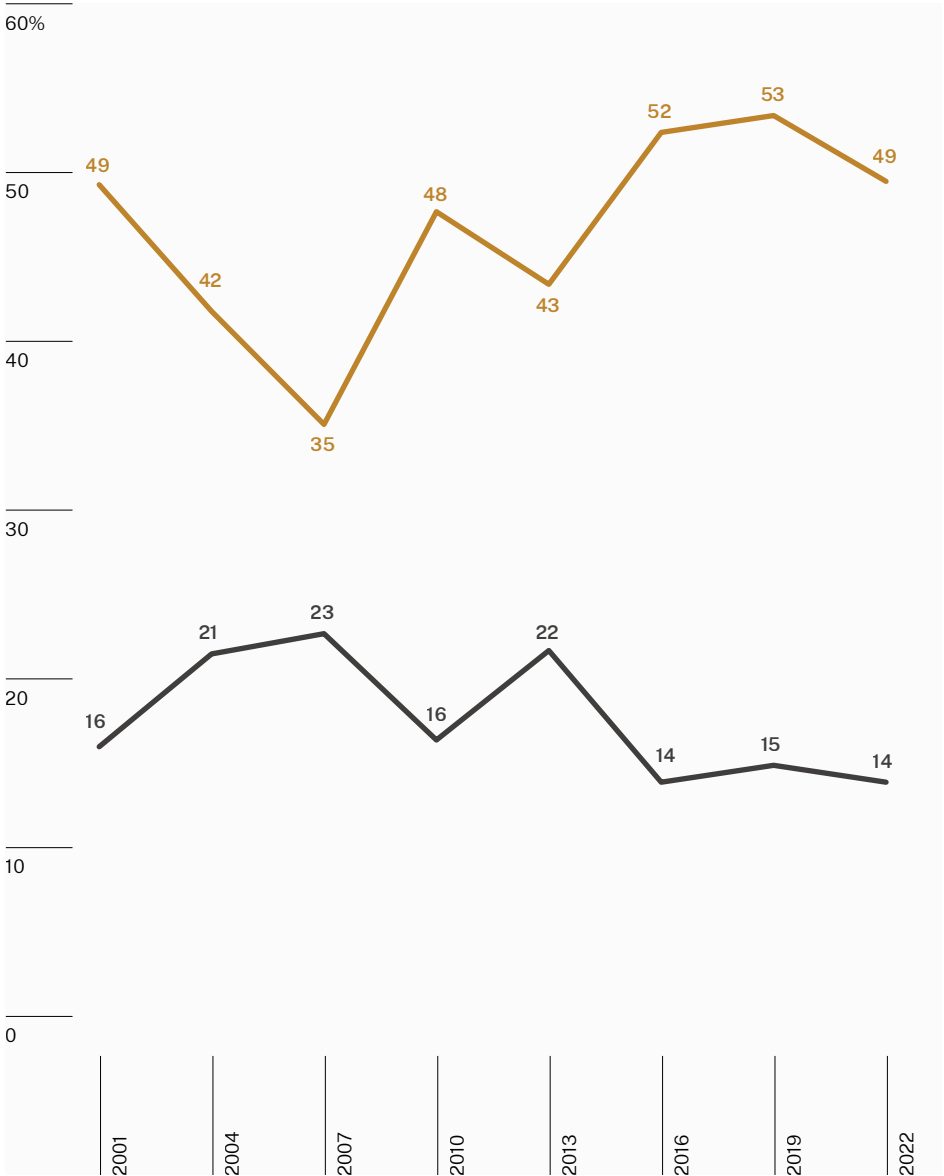
The Queen, the flag and republicanism

—— **Queen important**
—— **Favour republic**
—— **Favour flag change**

70%

66
64
62
60
60 59
58
54 53 54
53   53
53 49
47
44 43 43 42
42
40 39
42
36 37
35 34
32
31
30
29

20

10

0

1967 1979 1987 1993 1996 1998 2001 2004 2007 2010 2013 2016 2019 2022
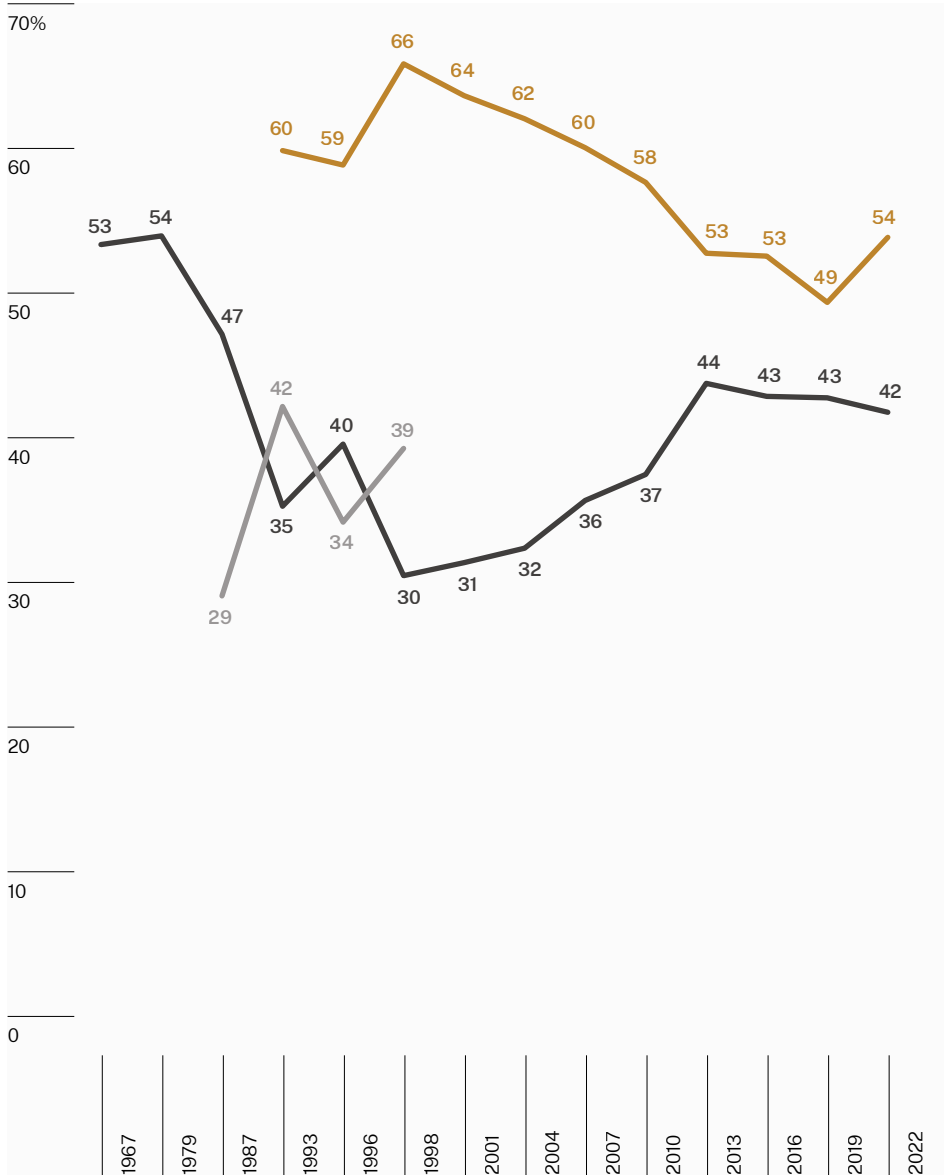
Government control of parliament

───── Better when government does not control Senate
───── Better when government controls both houses

60%

52   51

47

43   44

50

43   39   40   42   40   41   40
                                  39   36
40   34   34   37   39   33
                      31

30

20

10

0

1993 1998 2001 2004 2007 2010 2013 2016 2019 2022
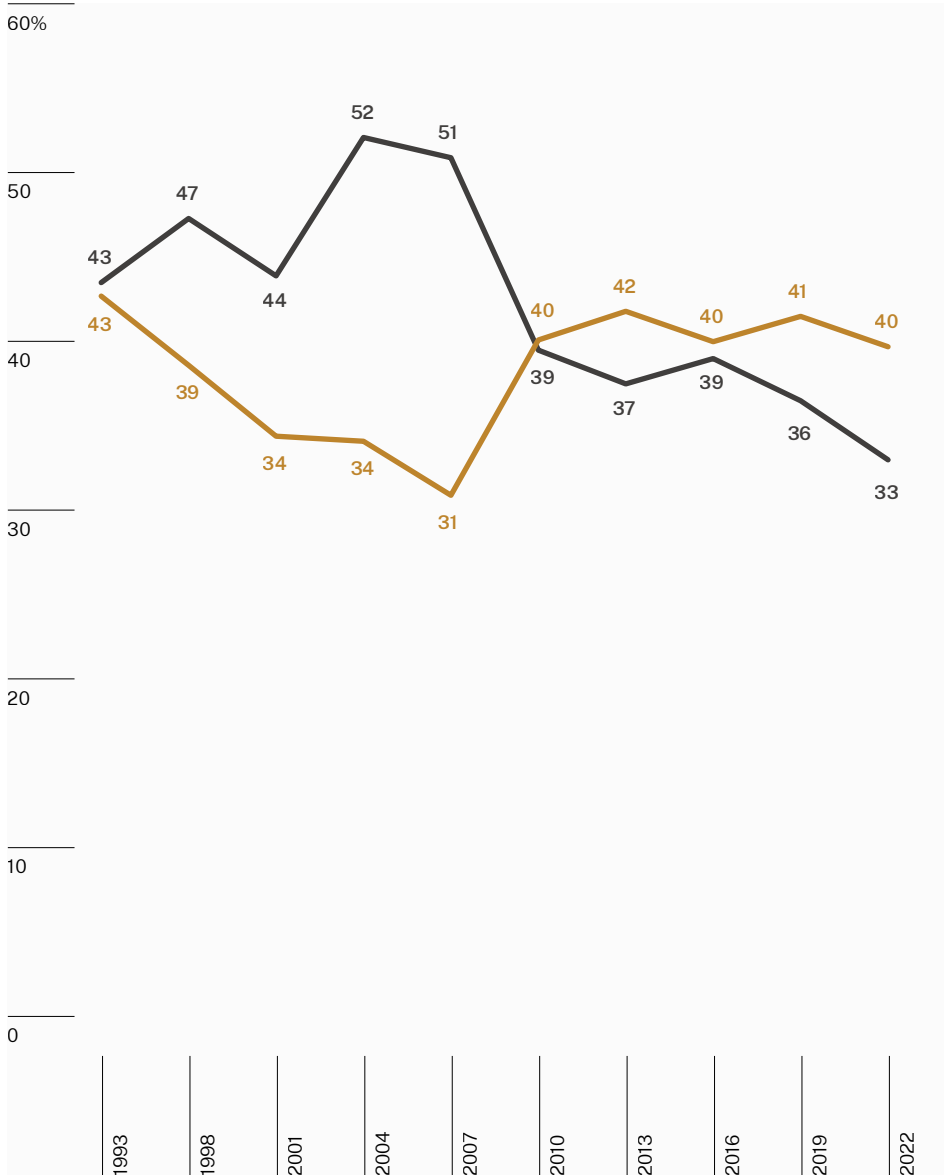
Support for Indigenous recognition in the Constitution

——— Support
——— Oppose

	2016	2019	2022
Support	80	80	80
Oppose	20	20	20
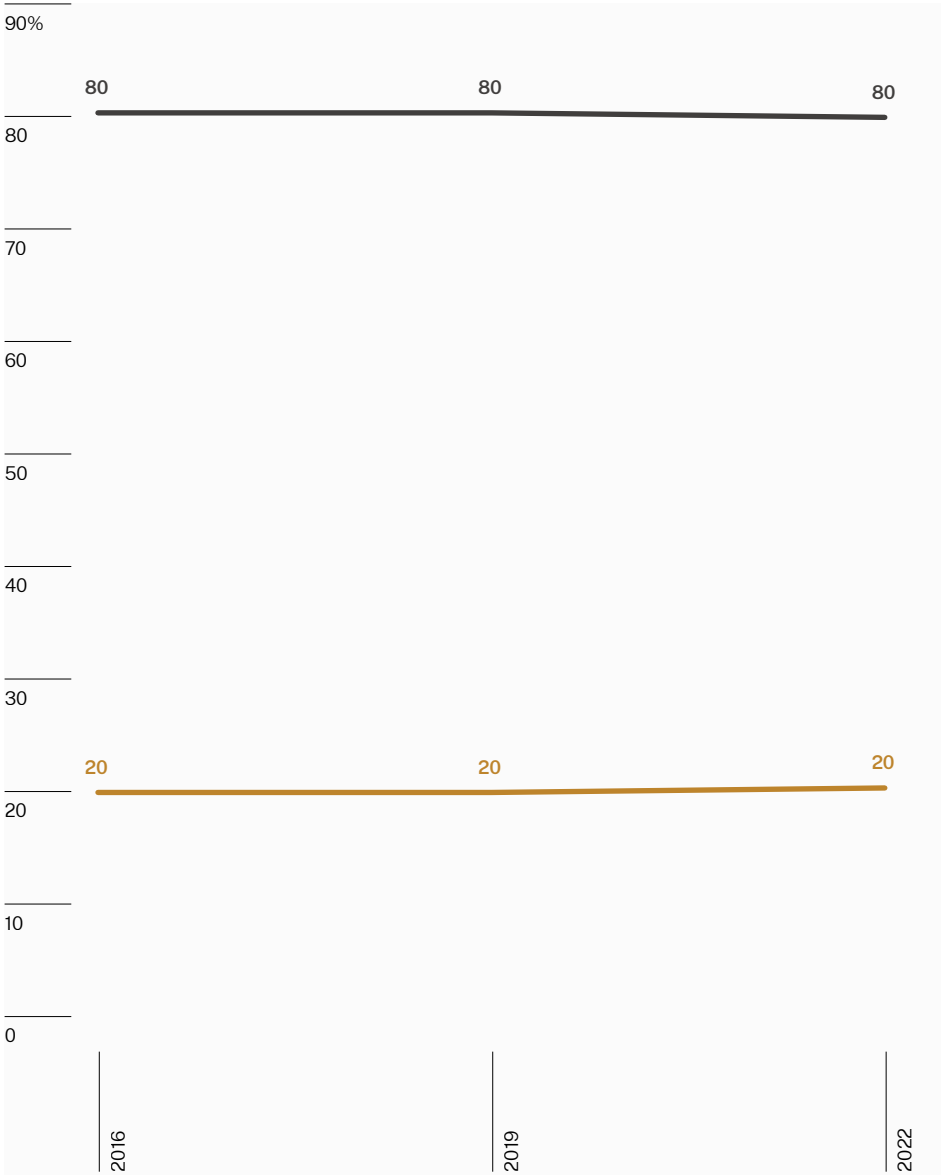
Support for lowering the voting age

— **Should lower to 16**
— **Should stay at 18**

91

85

86

15

14

9

2016

2019

2022

100%

80

60

40

20

0
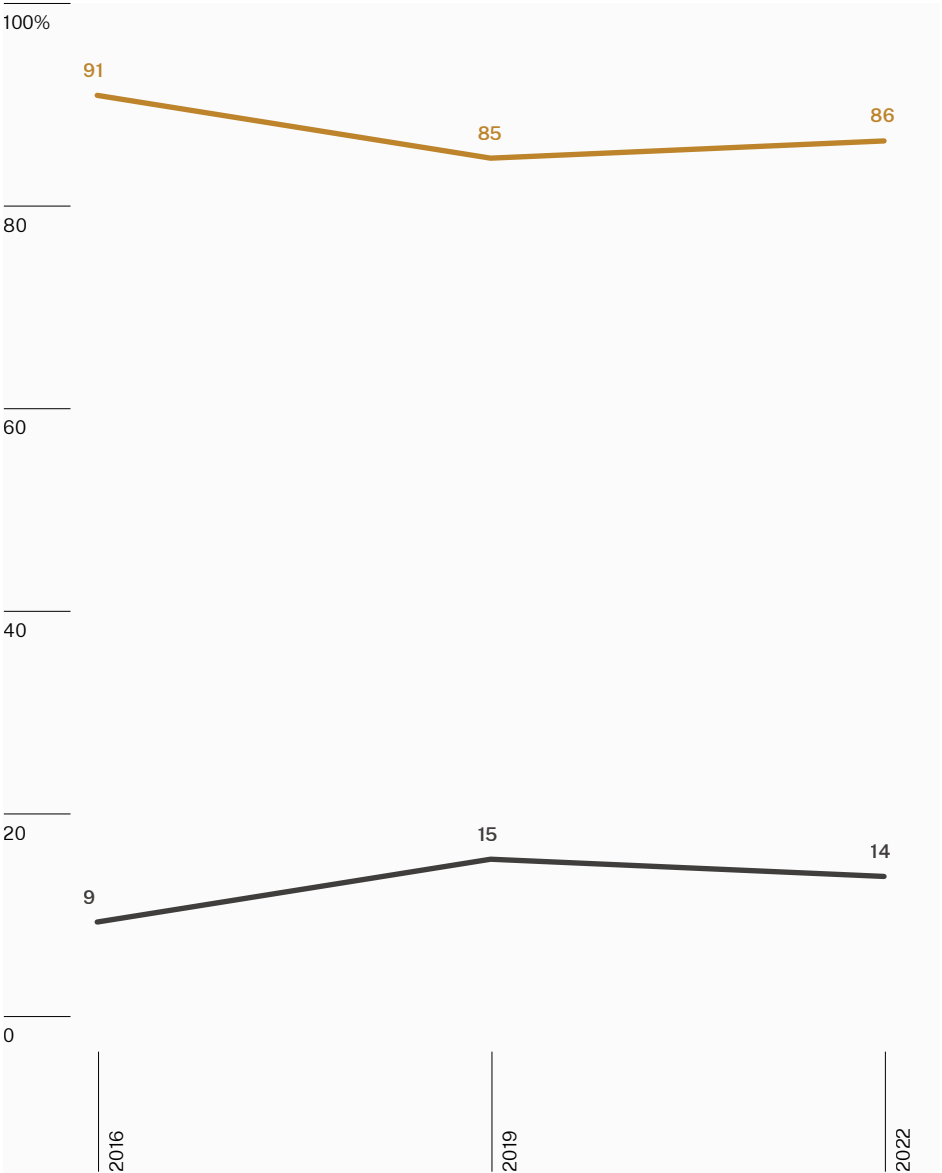
Notes

Satisfaction with democracy
For satisfied with democracy, the response categories are: (1969-1979, 1998-2022) 'very satisfied' and 'fairly satisfied' combined; (1996) 'satisfied' and 'fairly satisfied' combined. For not satisfied with democracy, the response categories are: (1969-1979) 'not satisfied'; (1996-2022) 'not very satisfied' and 'not at all satisfied' combined.

Trust in government
For people in government look after themselves, the response categories are: (1969, 1979) look after self; (1993-2022) 'usually look after themselves' and 'sometimes look after themselves' combined. For people in government can be trusted, the response categories are: (1969, 1979) 'do the right thing'; (1993-2022) 'sometimes can be trusted to do the right thing' and 'usually can be trusted to do the right thing' combined.

Who the government is run for
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
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'.

Makes a difference who is in power
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'.

Politicians know what ordinary people think
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'.

The Queen, the flag and republicanism
For Queen important, estimates combine 'very important' and 'fairly important'. For favour republic, estimates combine (1993-2022) 'strongly favour becoming republic' and 'favour becoming republic'. For favour flag change, estimates combine 'strongly for flag change' and 'for flag change'. The 2022 survey was fielded before the death of Queen Elizabeth II.

Government control of parliament
The question was not asked in 1996.

Support for Indigenous recognition in the Constitution
'Support' combines 'strongly support' and 'support'. 'Oppose' combines 'strongly oppose' and 'oppose'.
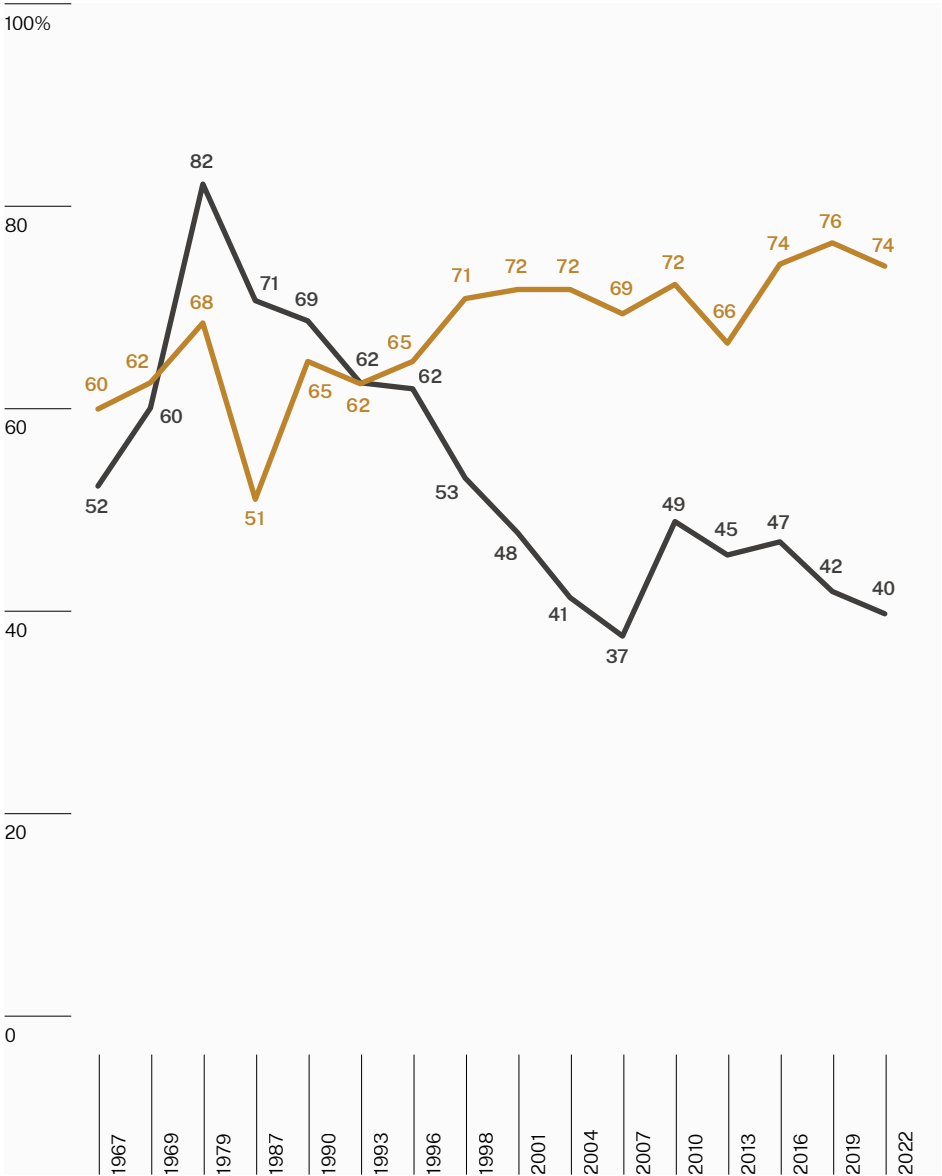
Support for lowering the voting age
'Should lower to 16' combines 'definitely lowered to 16' and 'probably lowered to 16'. 'Should stay at 18' combines 'probably stay at 18' and 'definitely stay at 18'.

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**

Upper: 1, 2, 1, 1, 1, 2, 2, 1, 2, 2, 2, 2, 2, 2, 2

Middle: 57, 49, 57, 48, 48, 46, 48, 49, 54, 53, 57, 57, 54, 50, 53

Working: 43, 50, 41, 51, 51, 53, 50, 50, 44, 44, 42, 42, 44, 48, 45

Years: 1967, 1969, 1979, 1987, 1990, 1993, 1998, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013, 2016, 2019, 2022
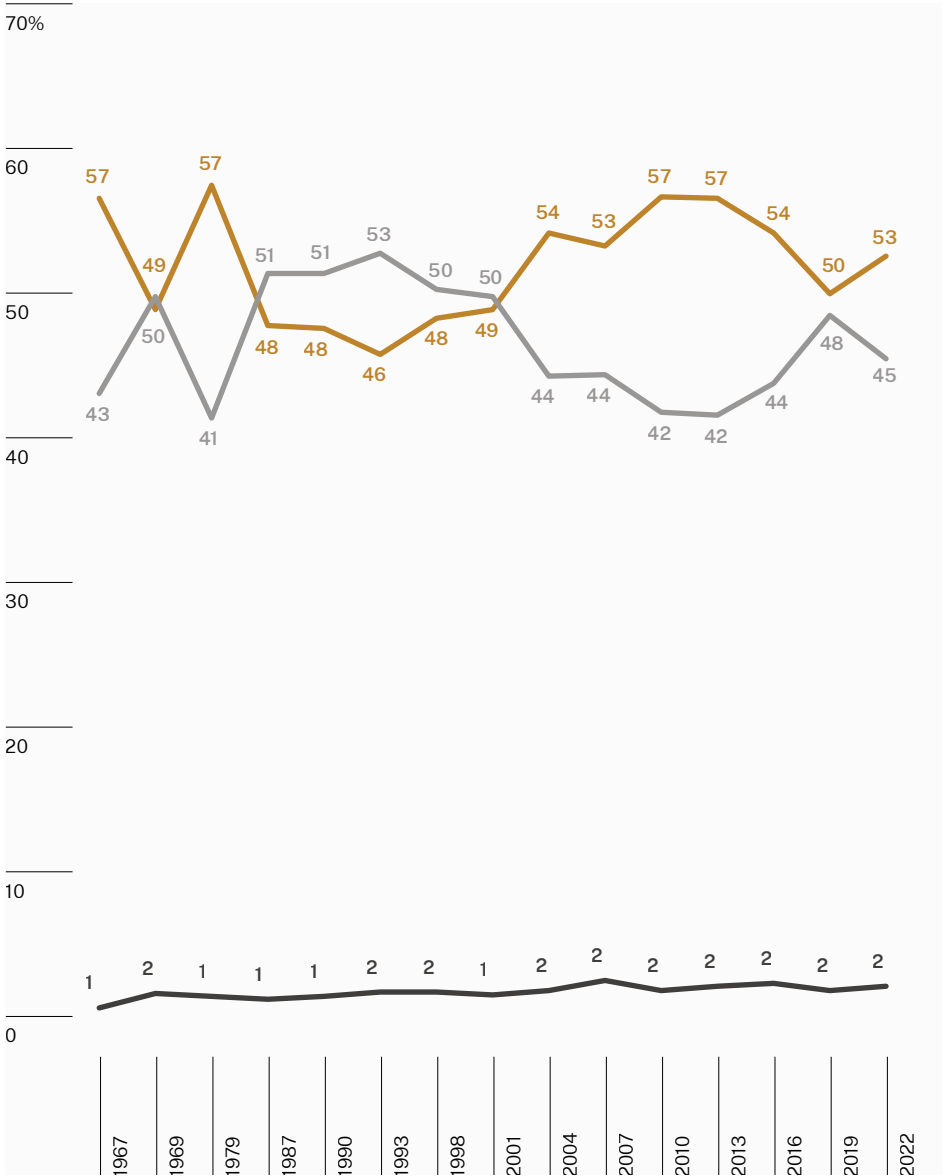
Trade union membership and support for industrial action

— **Belong to union**
— **Stricter laws for unions**

Year	Belong to union	Stricter laws for unions
1967	26	
1969	26	
1979	28	
1987	42	68
1990	41	62
1993	30	59
1996	30	53
1998	26	49
2001	24	49
2004	25	44
2007	24	42
2010	23	49
2013	21	46
2016	18	55
2019	19	46
2022	16	42
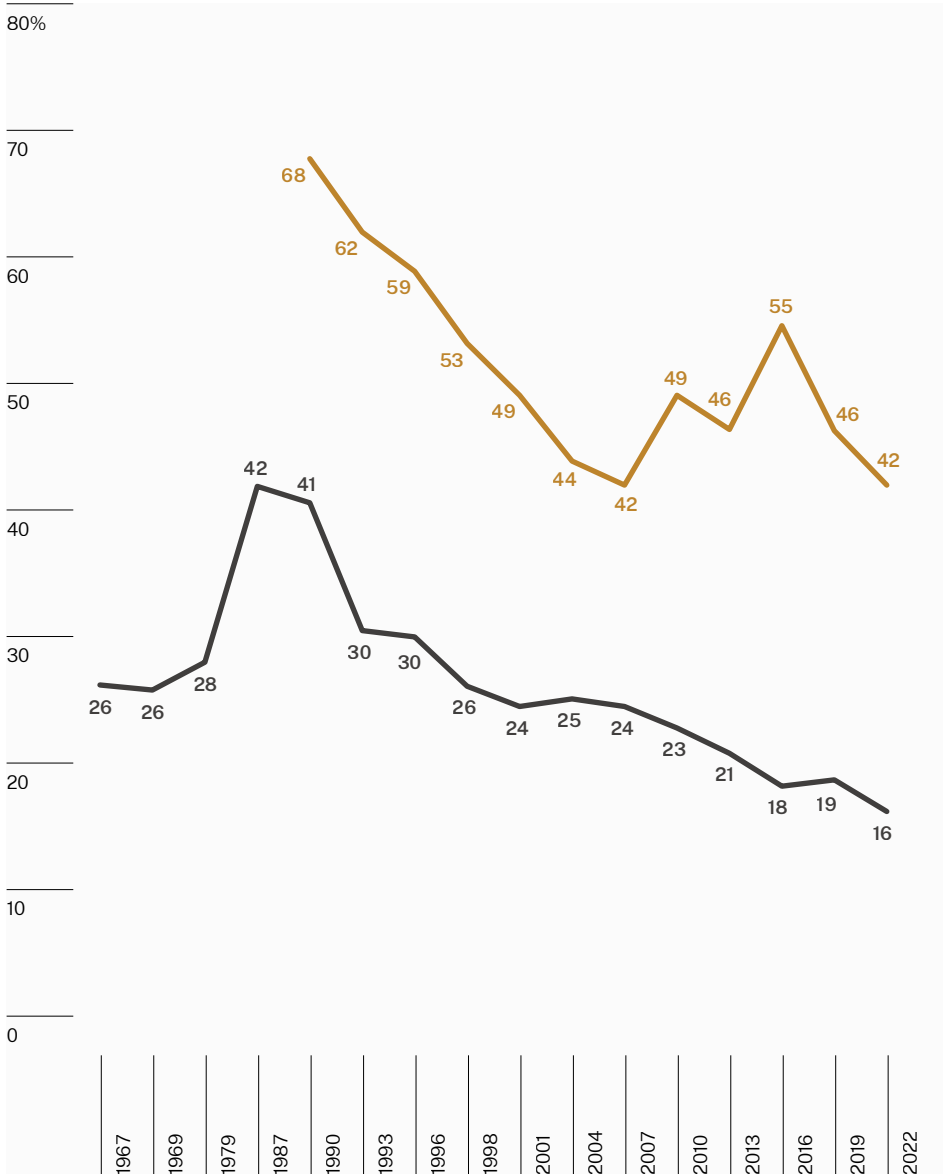
Government spending: less tax or more social services

——— Favours less tax
——— Favours spending more on social services

	1987	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	2016	2019	2022
Favours less tax	65	55	57	47	42	36	34	39	36	35	37	39
Favours spending more on social services	15	18	17	26	30	37	47	34	30	32	35	31
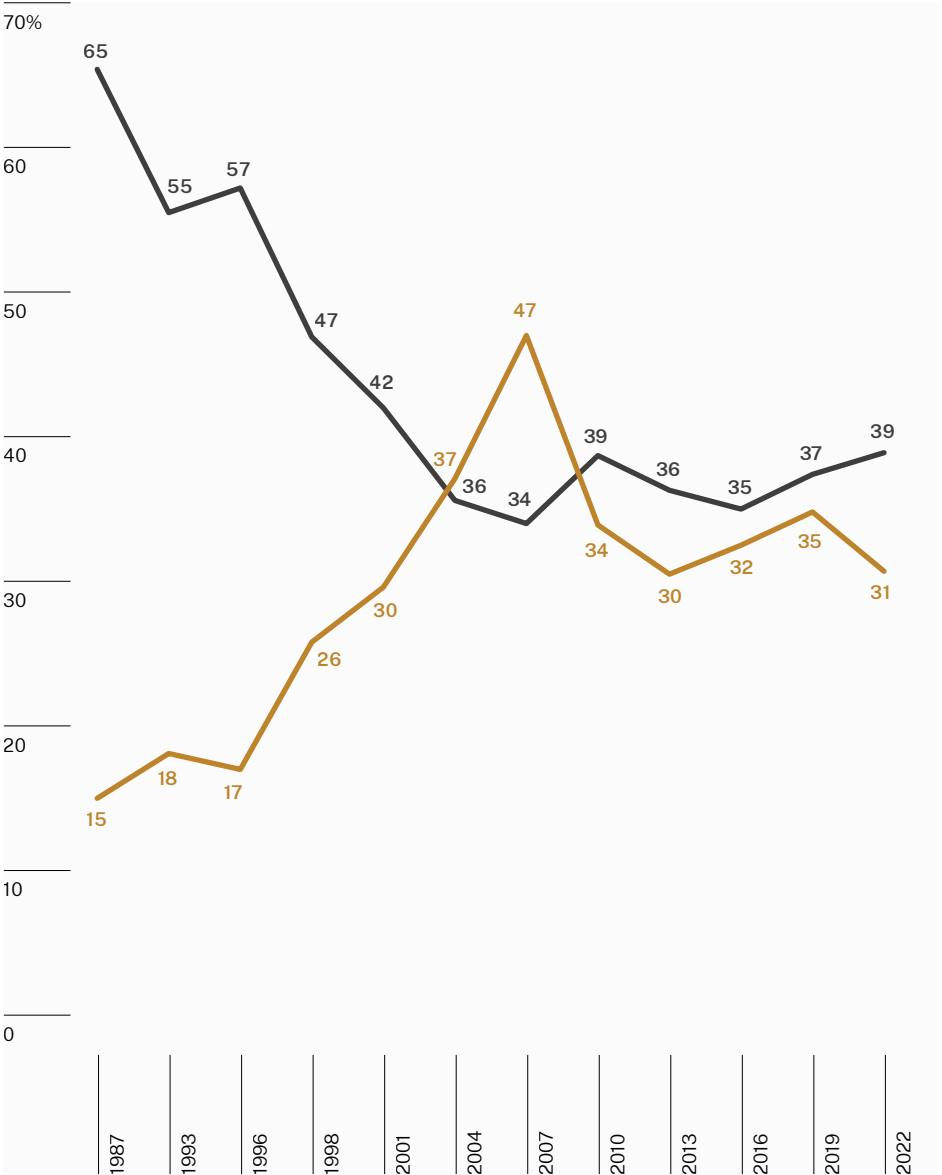
Redistribution of income and wealth

—— **Income and wealth should be redistributed**
—— **Income and wealth should not be redistributed**
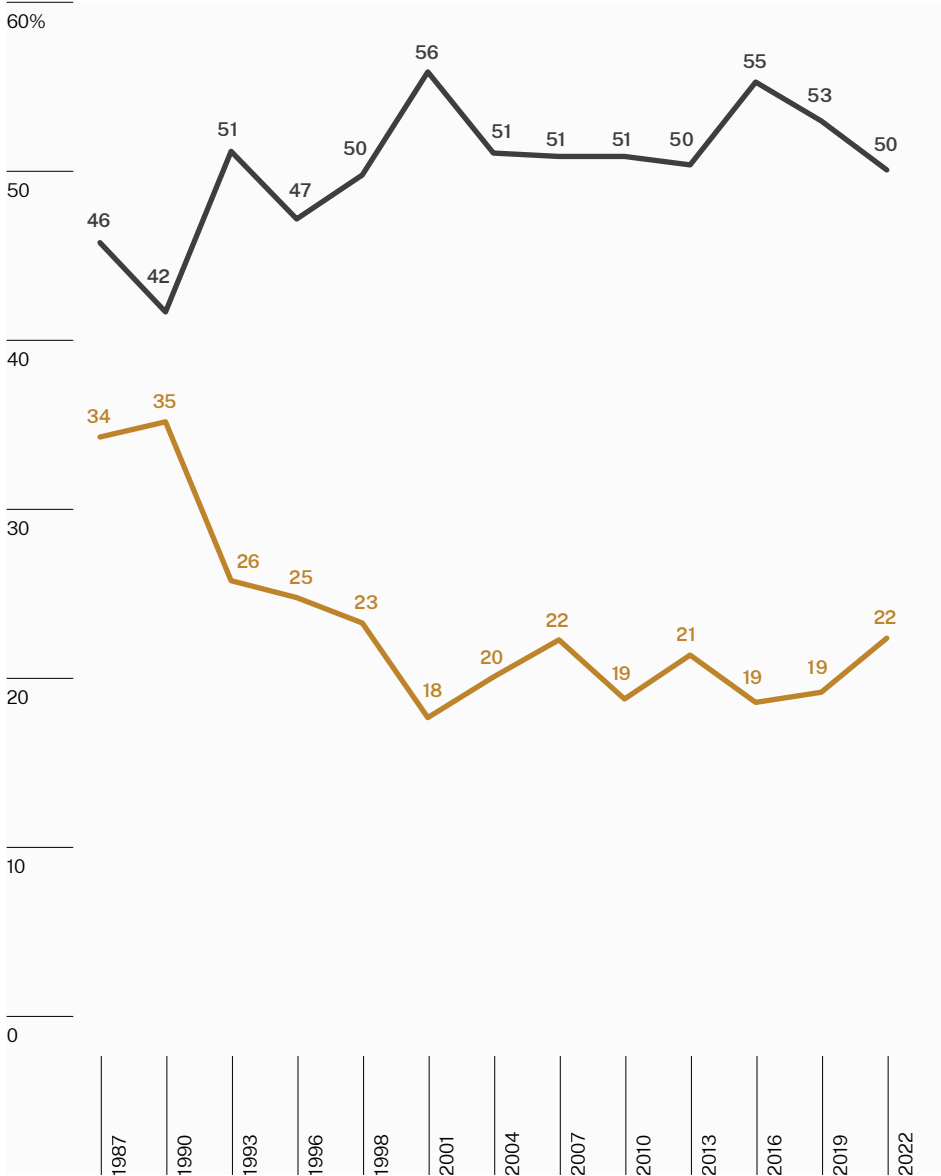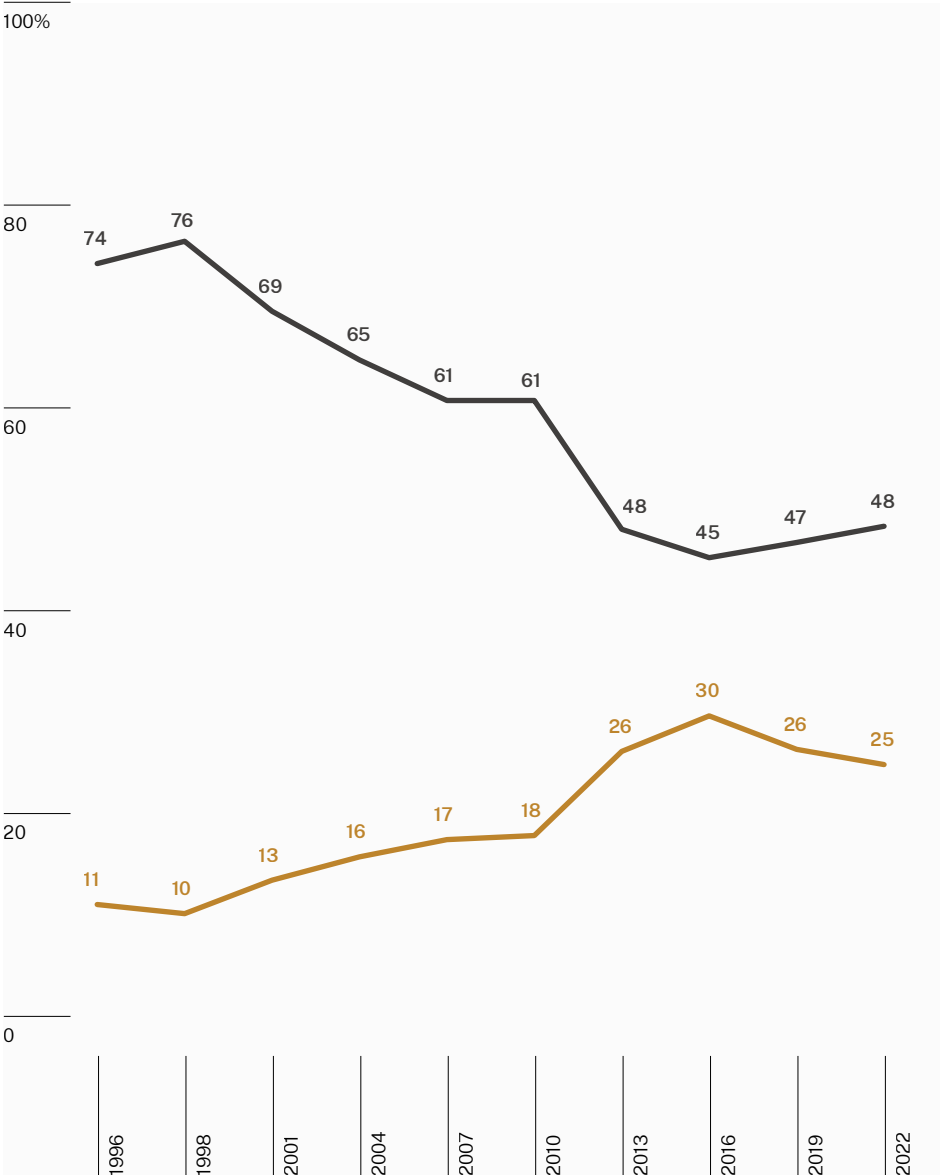
High tax makes people unwilling to work

Agree
Disagree

100%

80

74   76
69
65
61   61
48
45   47   48

60

40

30
26   26
25

20

11   10
13
16
17   18

0

1996   1998   2001   2004   2007   2010   2013   2016   2019   2022

Notes

The power of trade unions and big business
For unions have too much power, estimates for
1990-2022 combine 'strongly agree' and 'agree'.
For big business has too much power, estimates for
1990-2022 combine 'strongly agree' and 'agree'.

Class self-image
From 2010-2022 'None' was included in the list of
responses and percentages adjusted accordingly.

**Trade union membership and support for
industrial action**
Estimates for stricter laws for unions combine
'strongly agree' and 'agree'.

**Government spending:
less tax or more social services**
For favours less tax, estimates combine 'strongly
favour reducing taxes' and 'mildly favour
reducing taxes'. For favours spending more on
social services, estimates combine 'mildly favour
spending more on social services' and 'strongly
favour spending more on social services'.

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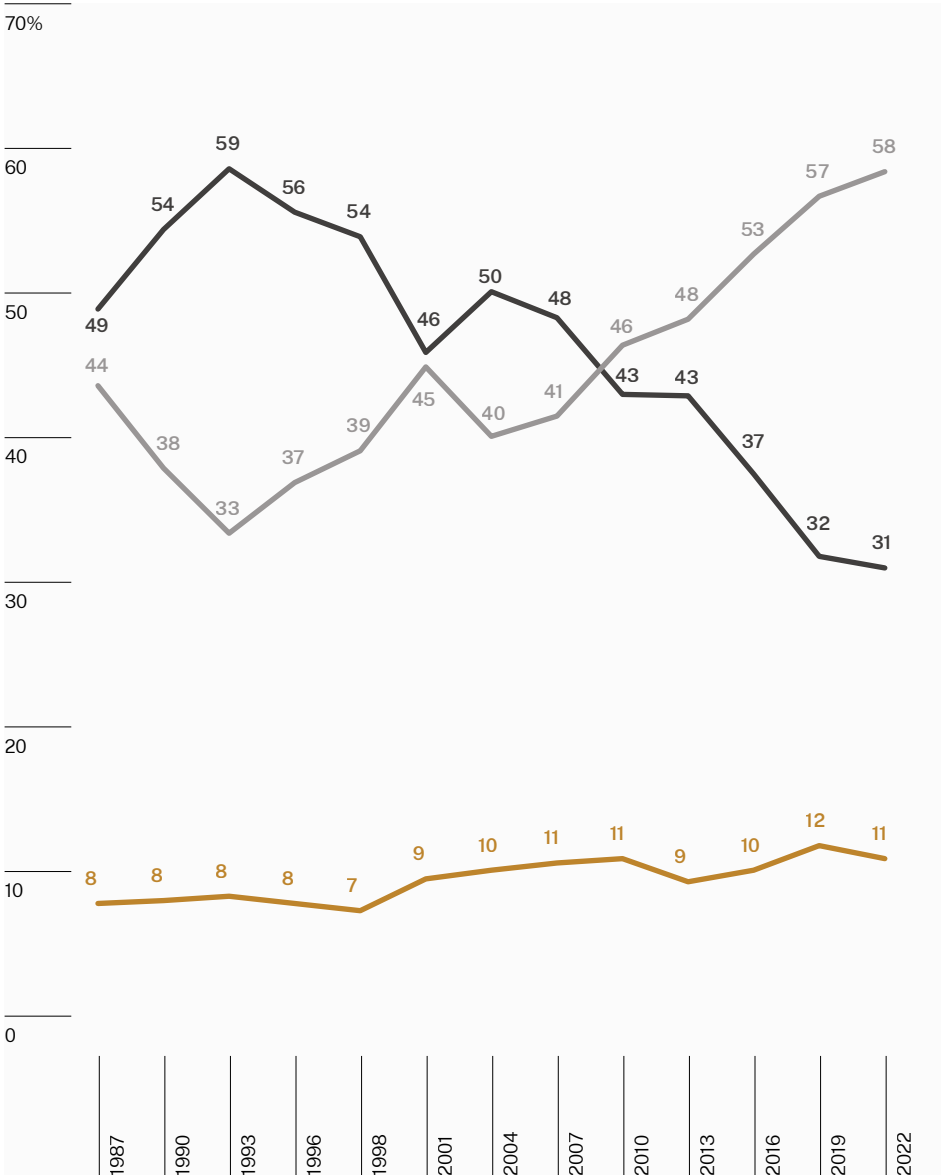estimates combine 'disagree' and 'strongly
disagree'.

High tax makes people unwilling to work
'Agree' combines 'strongly agree' and 'agree'.
'Disagree' combines 'strongly disagree' and
'disagree'.

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

	1979	1987	1990	1993	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	2016	2019	2022
Obtain readily	46	39	53	61	56	53	61	59	61	63	66	69	73	73
Special circumstances	49	55	41	34	39	42	35	37	35	33	30	27	23	22
Banned	5	6	6	5	6	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	5
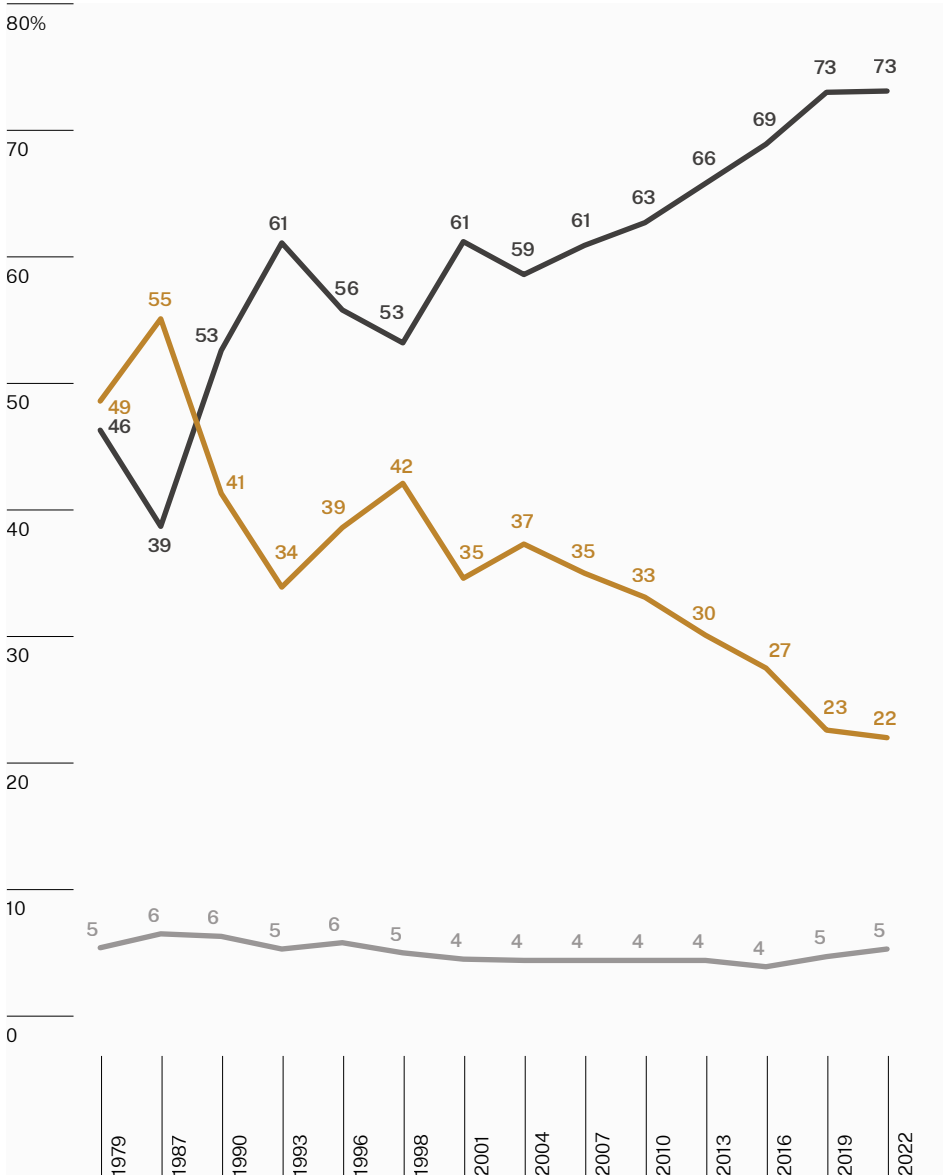
Attitudes towards the legal status of marijuana

—— Marijuana should be a criminal offence
—— Marijuana should not be a criminal offence
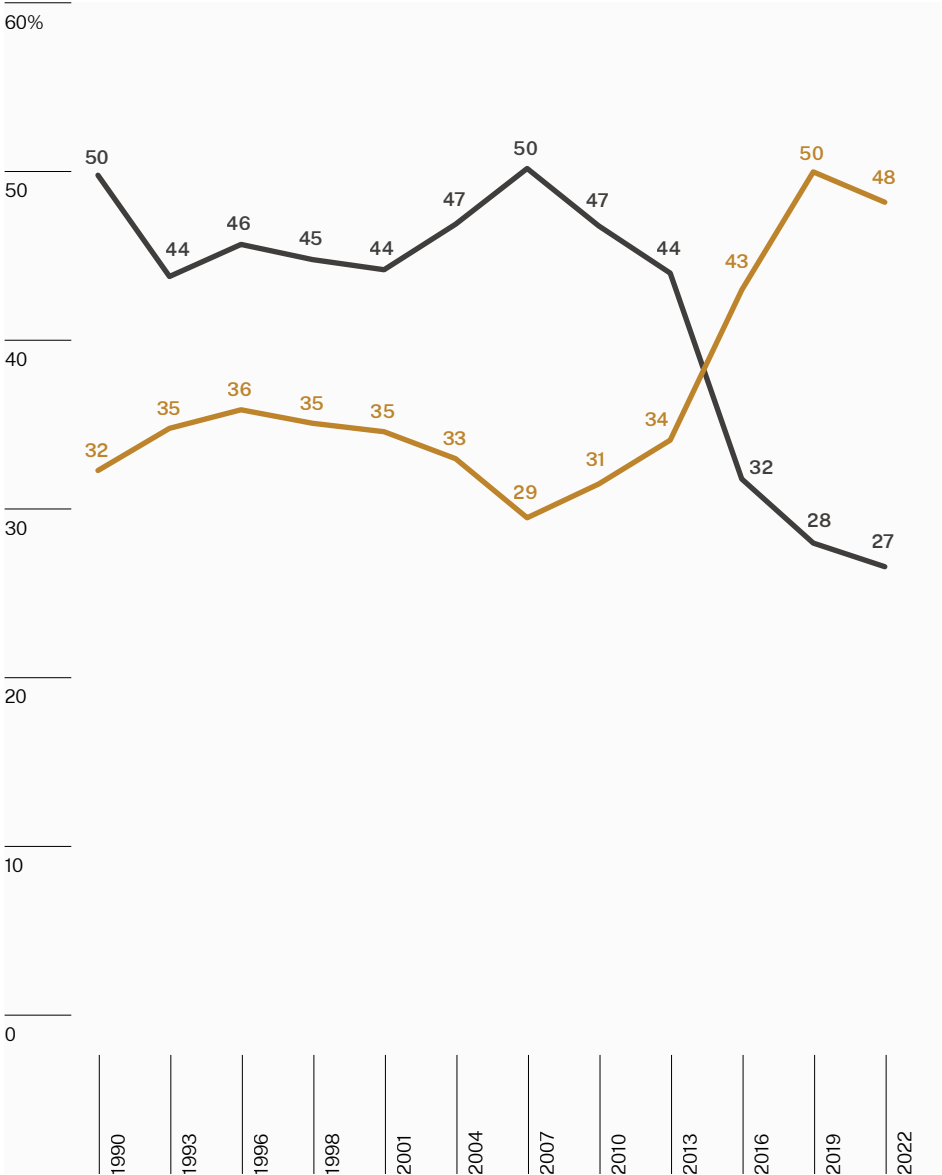
Attitudes towards jail sentences and capital punishment

—— **Stiffer sentences for criminals**
—— **Reintroduce death penalty for murder**
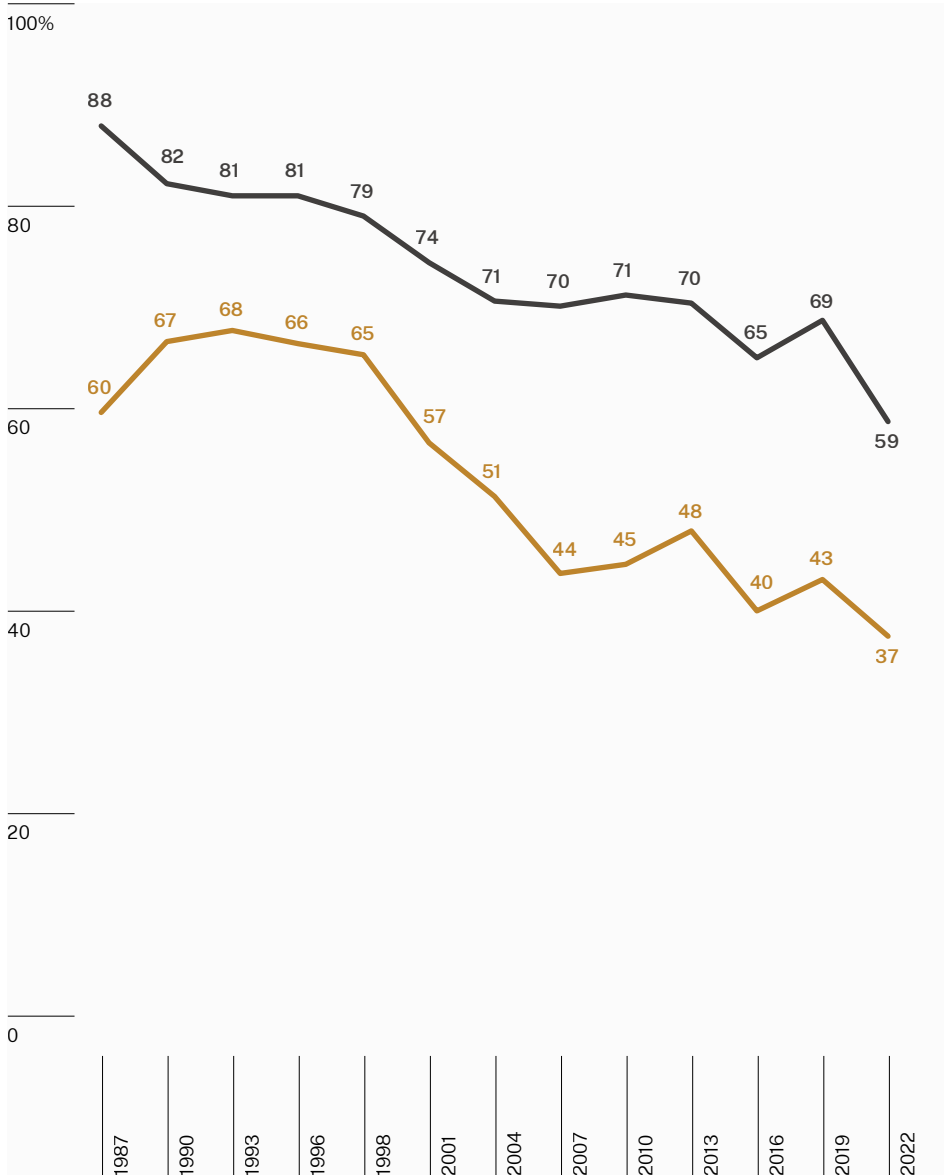
Attitudes towards policies on Indigenous Australians

- **Government help for Indigenous Australians not gone far enough**
- **Government help for Indigenous Australians gone too far**
- **Transfer of land rights to Indigenous Australians not gone far enough**
- **Transfer of land rights to Indigenous Australians gone too far**
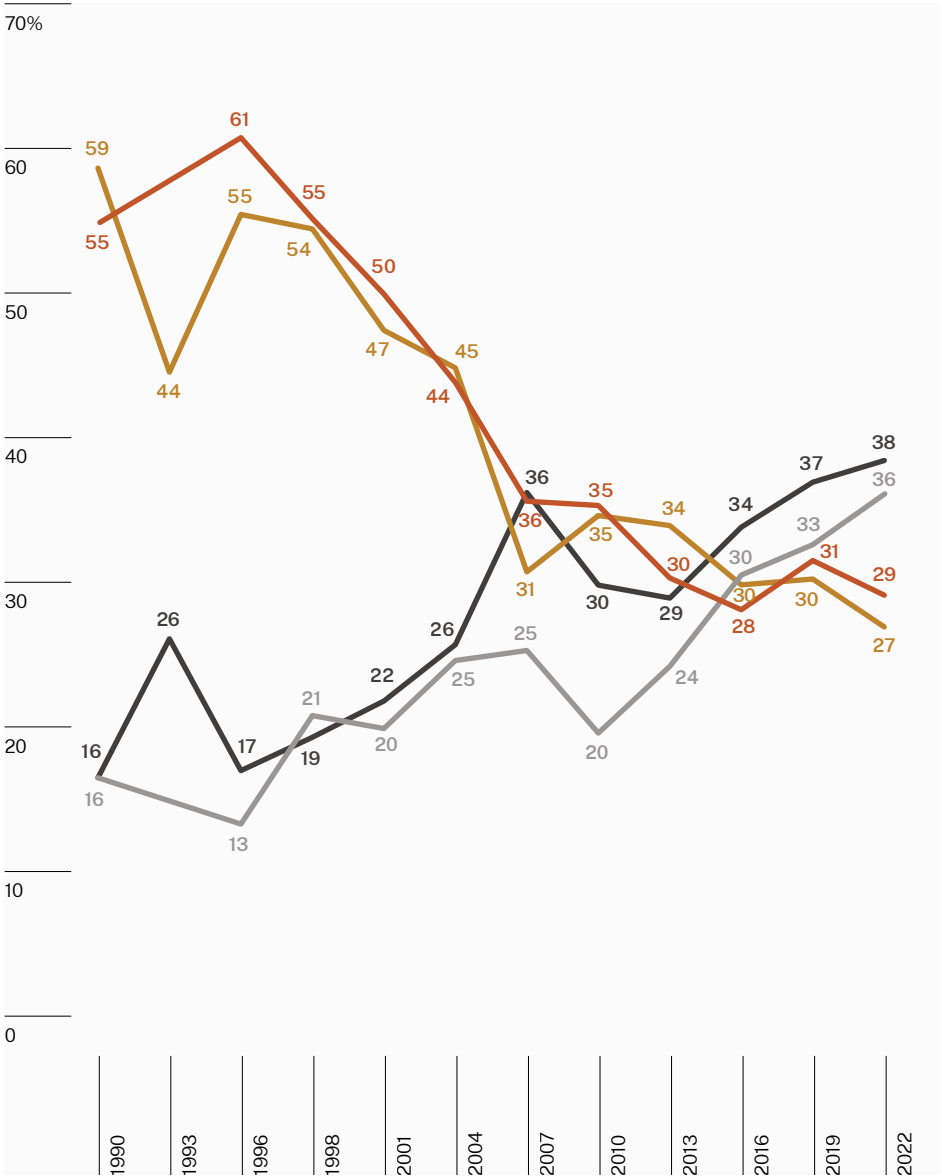
Attitudes towards gender equality

——— Equal opportunity for women gone too far
——— Women should be given preferential treatment
——— Should increase business opportunities for women
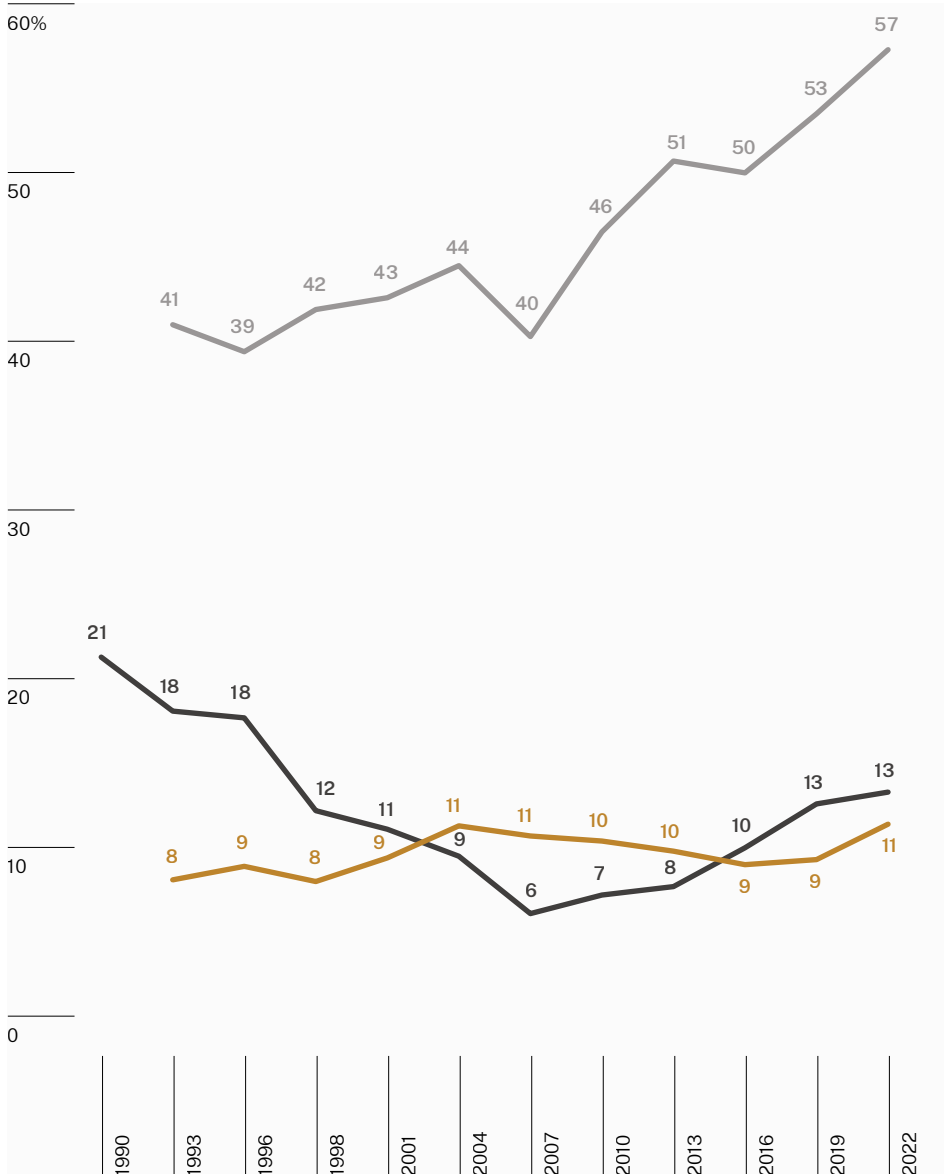
Attitudes towards asylum seeker arrivals by boat

— **Boats should be turned back**
— **Boats should not be turned back**

Year	Boats should be turned back	Boats should not be turned back
2001	62	20
2004	54	28
2010	51	29
2013	49	34
2016	48	33
2019	50	28
2022	44	29
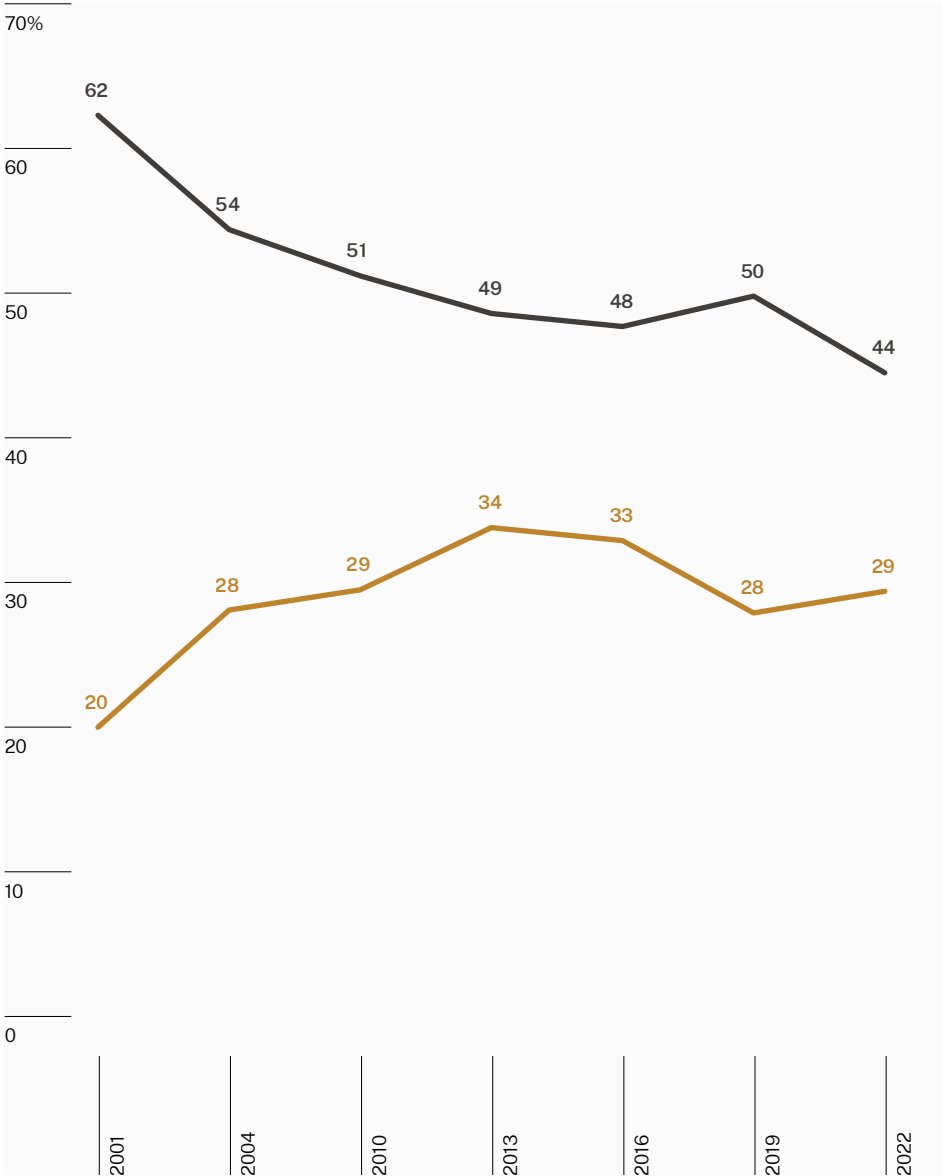
Attitudes towards immigrants and immigration

— **Equal opportunity for migrants gone too far**
— **Number of migrants allowed into Australia gone too far**
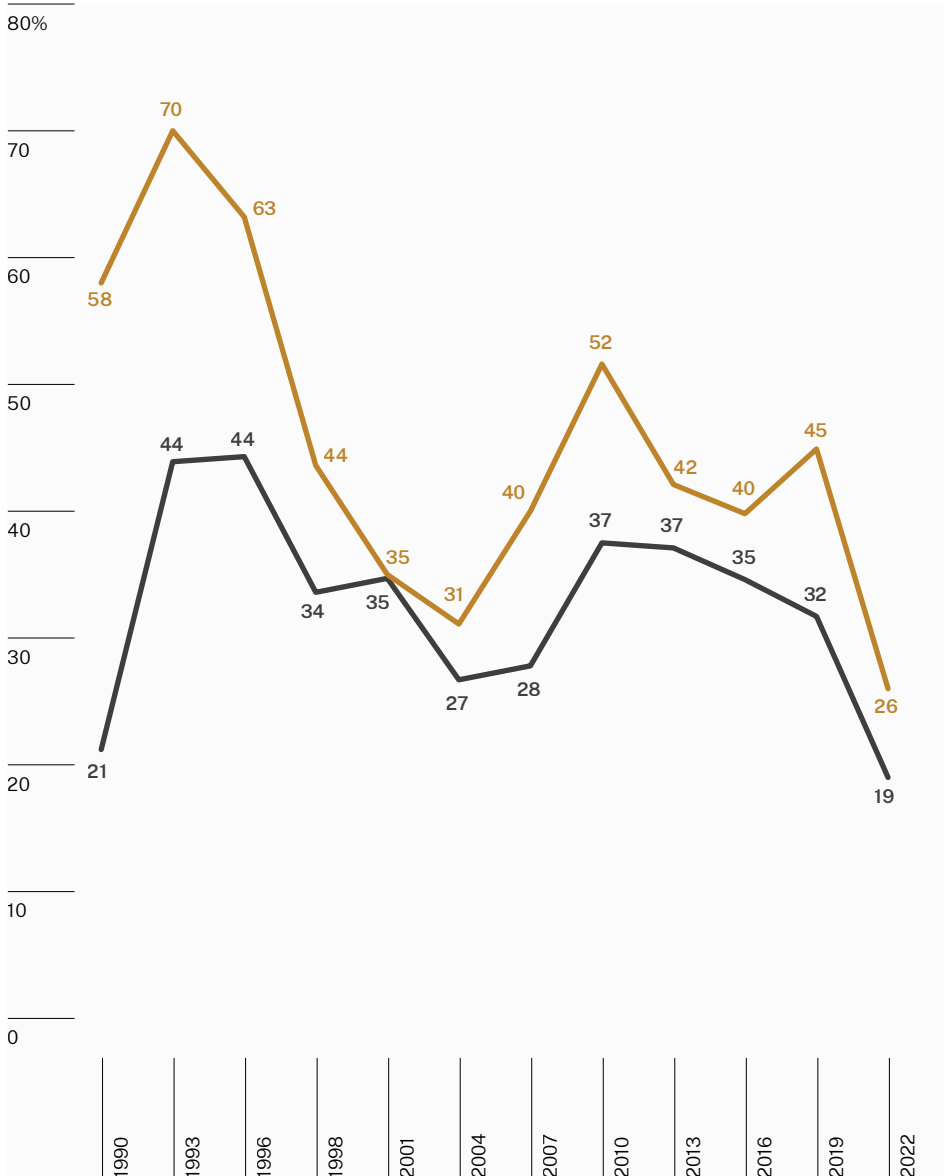
Attitudes towards the level of immigration into Australia

- **Increase immigration**
- **Keep immigration levels the same**
- Reduce immigration
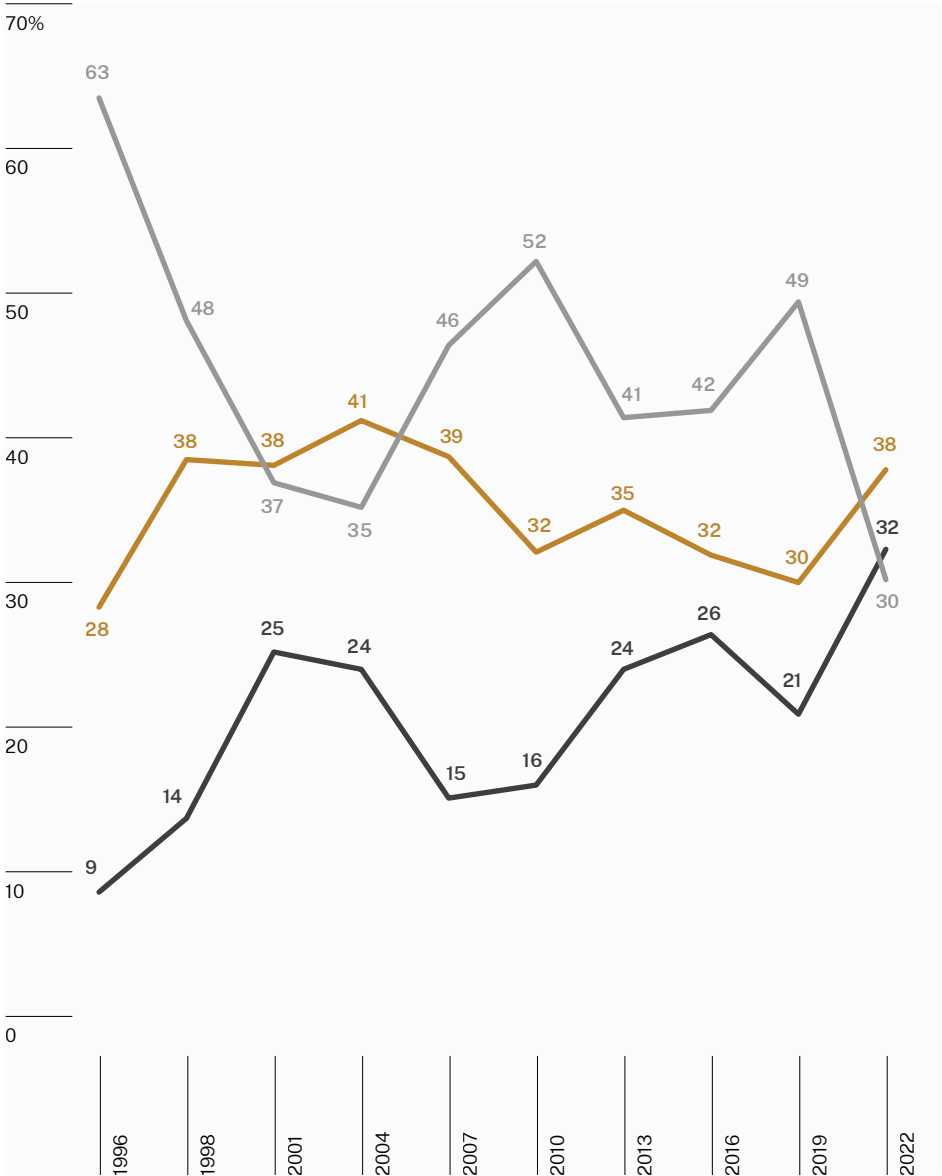
The consequences of immigration

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

Year	Immigrants make Australia more open to ideas and cultures	Immigrants good for economy	Immigrants increase crime rate	Immigrants take jobs away from Australian born
1996	79	50	52	41
1998	80	57	47	37
2001	75	54	47	35
2004	81	60	41	30
2007	78	59	43	29
2010	69	52	43	35
2013	73	56	40	35
2016	70	54	37	30
2019	72	54	36	31
2022	76	65	30	23
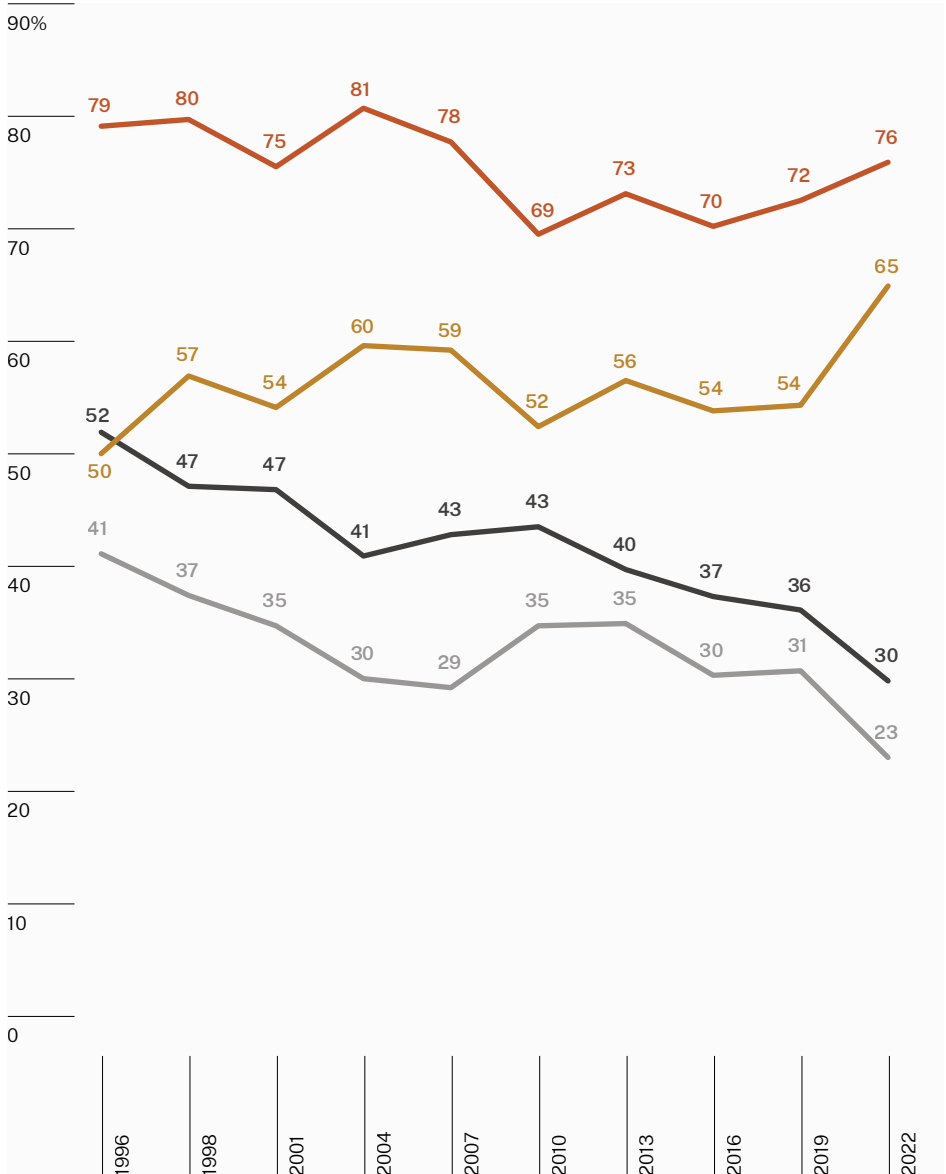
Materialist and postmaterialist values

―――― Materialist
―――― Mixed
―――― Postmaterialist

Threat of global warming

— Serious threat
— Not a serious threat

	2010	2013	2016	2019	2022
Serious threat	55	56	62	68	66
Not a serious threat	45	44	38	33	34
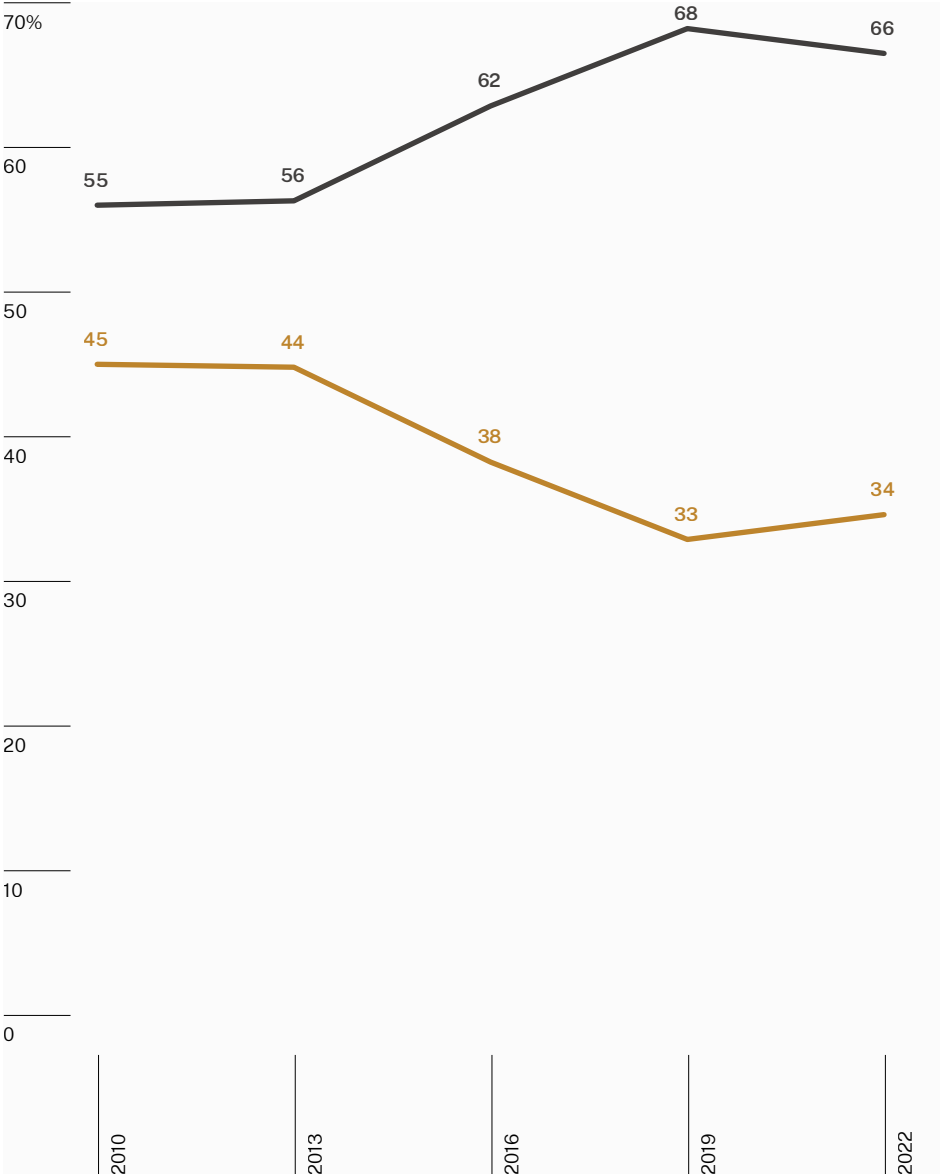
Attitudes towards same-sex marriage

— Favour
— **Oppose**
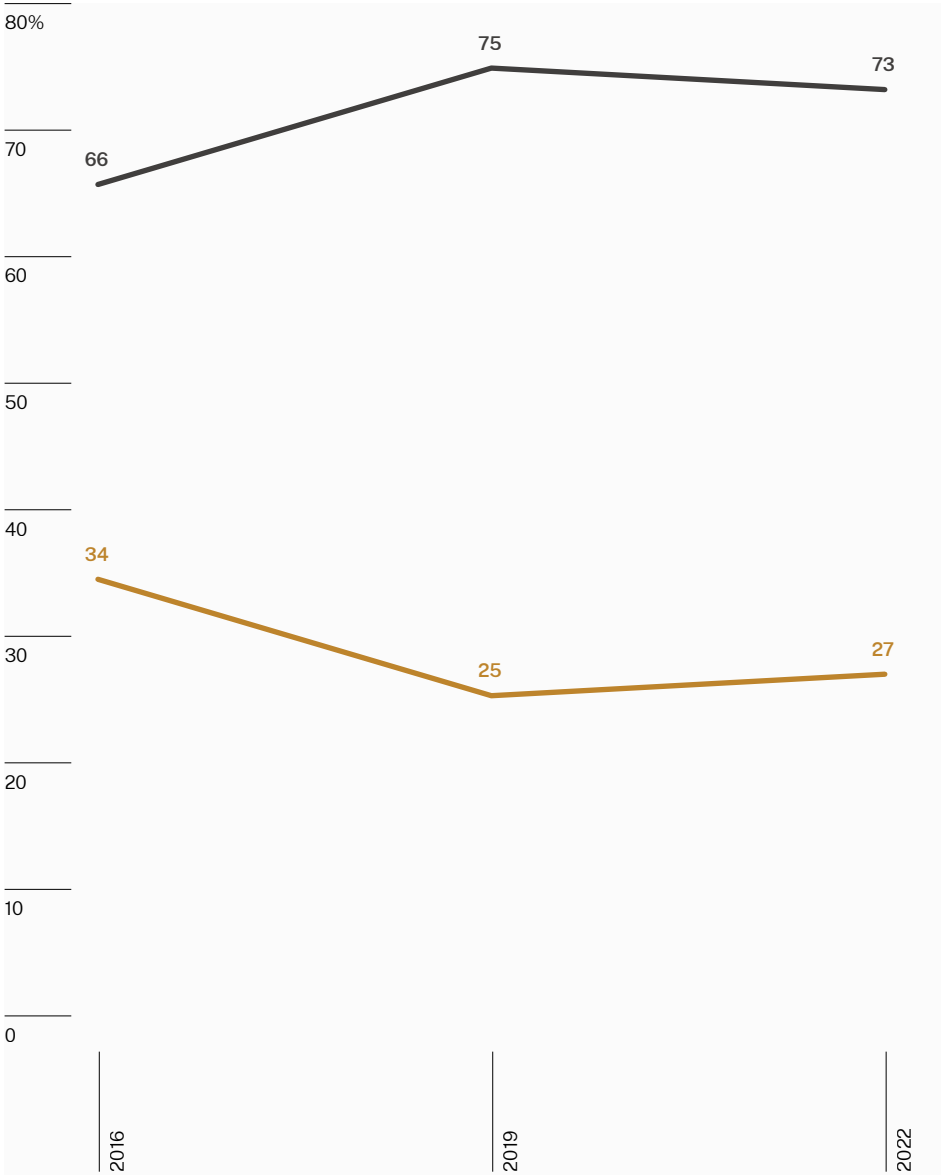
Support for voluntary assisted dying

——— Agree
——— Disagree

90%

82

78   78
80

70

60

50

40

30

20

10   10   8   11

0

2016   2019   2022
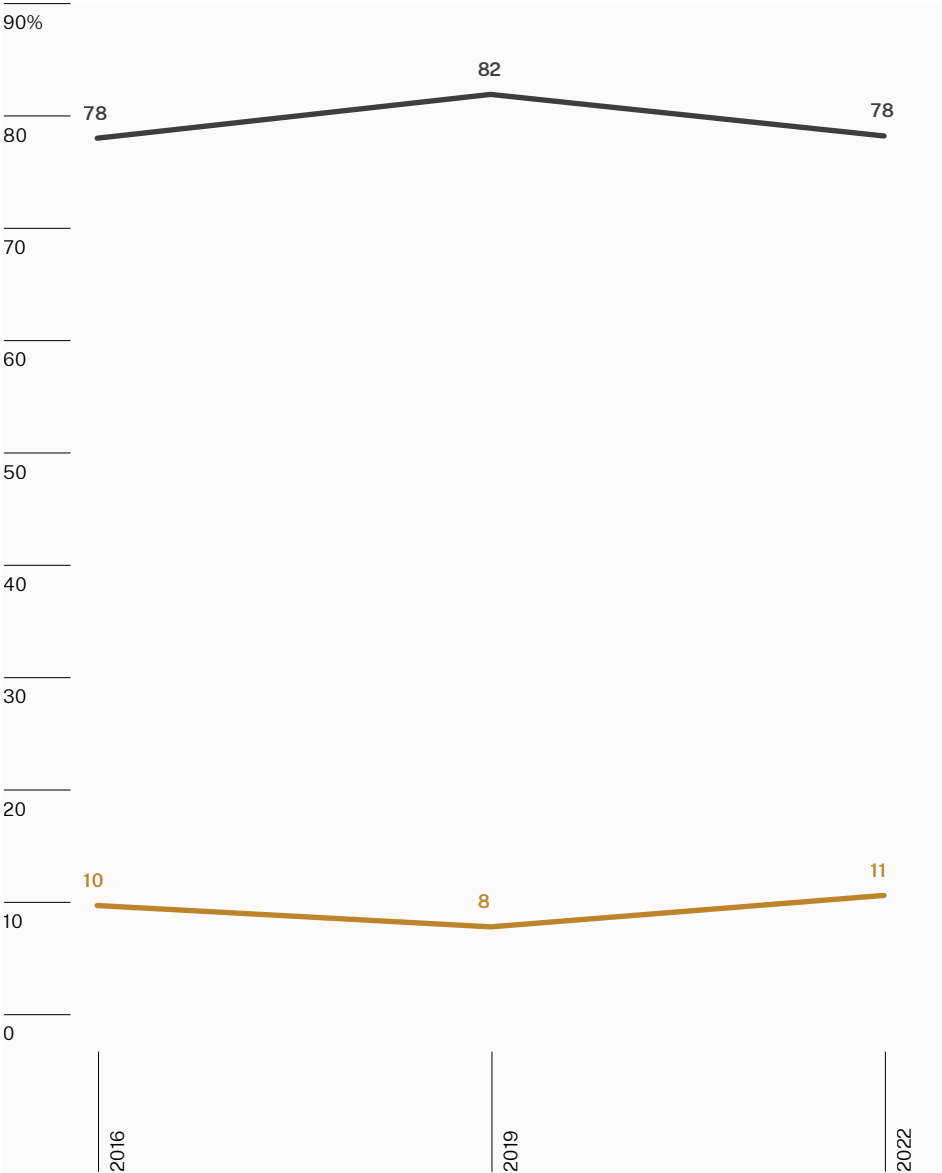
Notes

Attitudes towards nudity and sex in films and magazines
For nudity and sex in films and magazines gone too far, estimates for 1990-2022 combine 'gone much too far' and 'gone too far'. For nudity and sex in films and magazines not gone far enough, estimates for 1990-2022 combine 'not gone far enough' and 'not gone nearly far enough'.

Attitudes towards abortion
From 2010–2019 'Don't know' was included in the list of responses and percentages adjusted accordingly.

Attitudes towards the legal status of marijuana
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
For stiffer sentences for criminals, estimates combine 'strongly agree' and 'agree'. For reintroduce death penalty for murder, estimates combine 'strongly agree' and 'agree'.

Attitudes towards policies on Indigenous Australians
For government help for Indigenous Australians gone too far, the estimates for 1993-2022 combine 'much too far' and 'too far'. For transfer of land rights to Indigenous Australians gone too far, the estimates for 1993-2022 combine 'much too far' and 'too far'.

Attitudes towards gender equality
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 asylum seeker arrivals by boat
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
For equal opportunity for migrants gone too far, the response categories are 'much too far' and 'too far'. For number of migrants allowed into Australia gone too far, the response categories are 'much too far' and 'too far'.

Attitudes towards the level of immigration into Australia
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'.
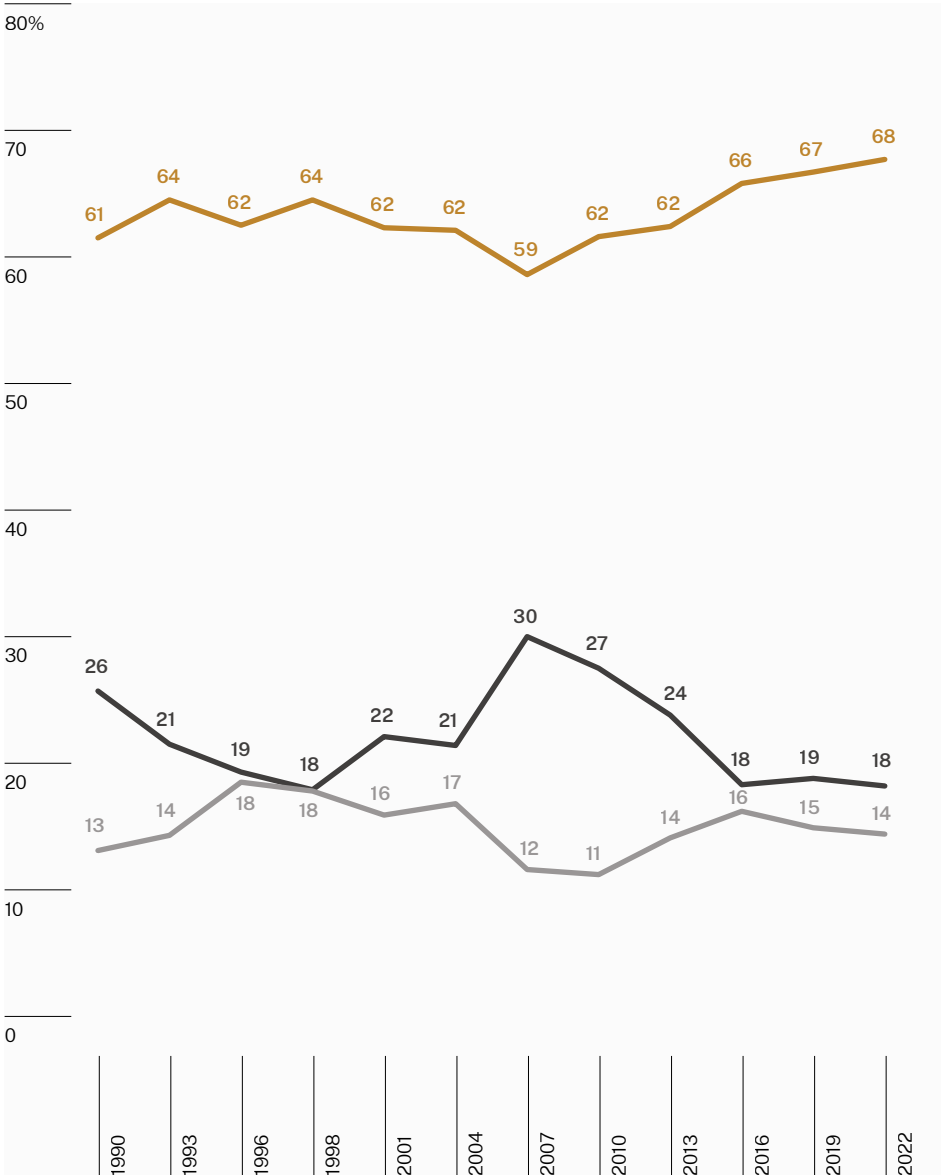
The consequences of immigration
For immigrants increase crime rate, immigrants good for economy, immigrants take jobs away from Australian born, immigrants make Australia more open to ideas and cultures, the response categories are (1996-2022) 'strongly agree' and 'agree'.

Materialist and postmaterialist values
Based on four-item postmaterialism index.

Threat of global warming
Question asks 'How serious a threat do you think global warming will pose to you or your way of life in your lifetime?' 'Serious threat' combines 'very serious' and 'fairly serious'. 'Not a serious threat' combines 'not very serious' and 'not at all serious'.

Attitudes towards same-sex marriage
'Favour' combines 'strongly favour' and 'favour'. 'Oppose' combines 'strongly oppose' and 'oppose'.

Support for voluntary assisted dying
'Agree' combines 'strongly agree' and 'agree'. 'Disagree' combines 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree'.

Attitudes towards Australia's defence capability

━━━ Australia able to defend itself if attacked
━━━ Australia's defence stronger than 10 years ago
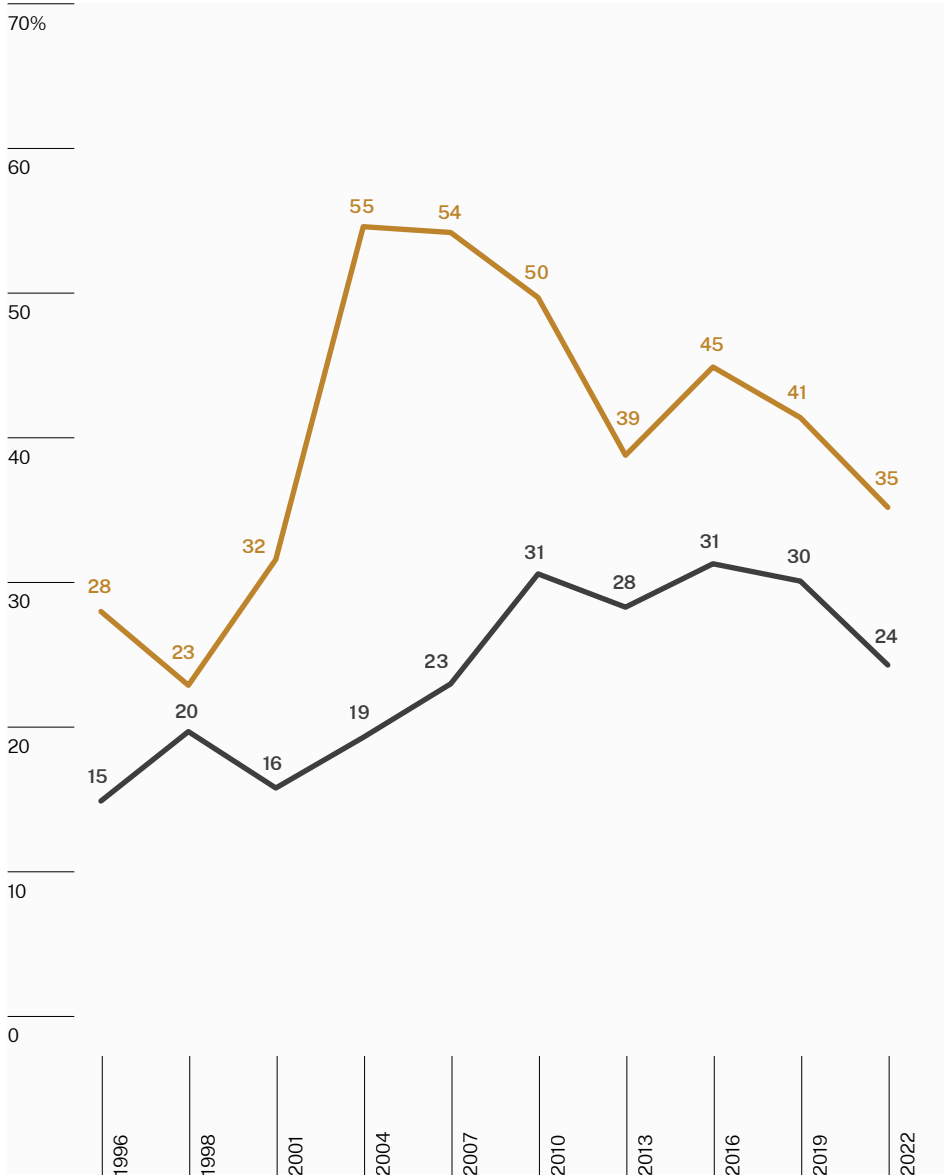
Support for war on terrorism

—— Agree
—— **Disagree**

80%

70 · **69**

57

60 · **52** · **53**

50 · **44** · **52** · **52** · **44**

40

30 · **25**

20 · **21** · **21** · **20** · **21** · **20**

20 · **13**

10

0

2001 2004 2007 2010 2013 2016 2019 2022
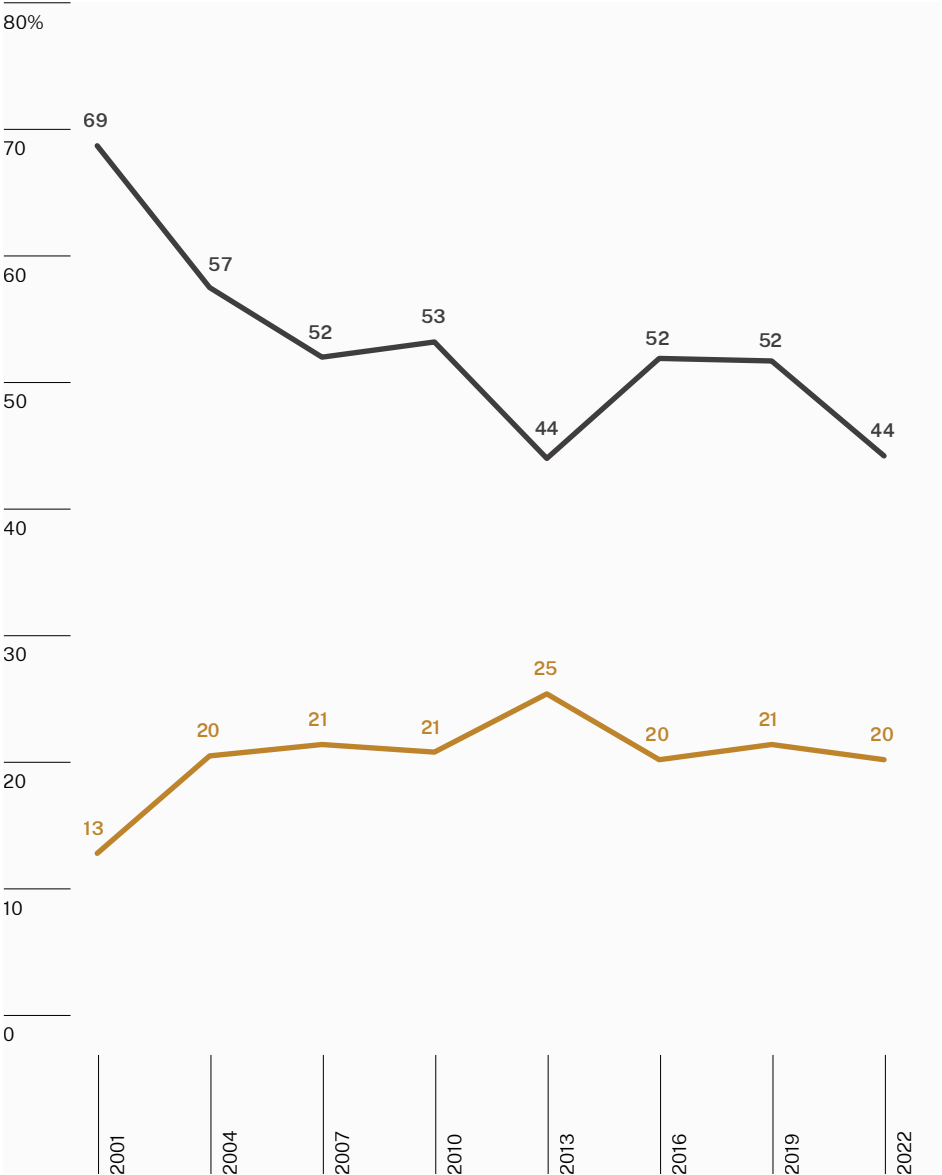
Indonesia as a security threat to Australia
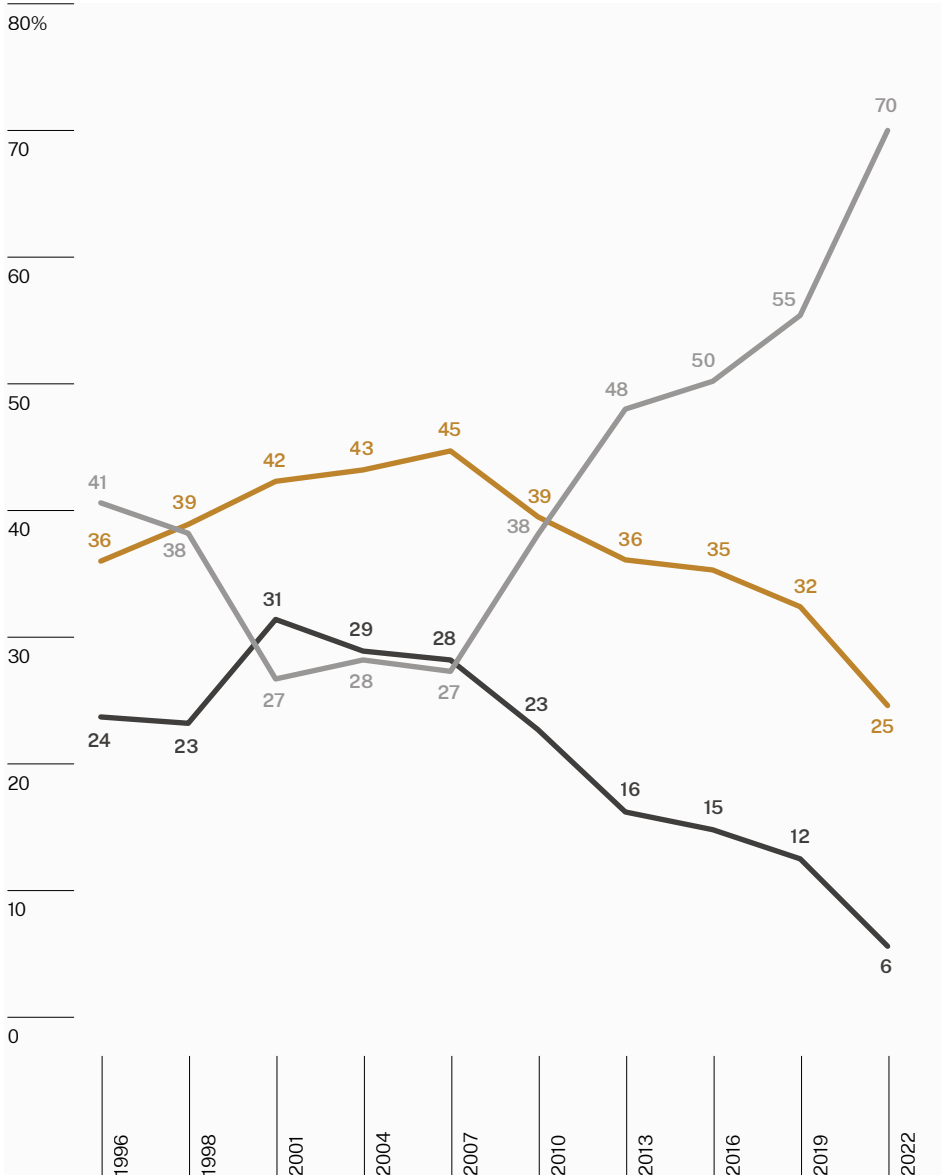
- **Very likely**
- **Fairly likely**
- **Not very likely**

	1996	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2013	2016	2019	2022
Very likely	24	23	31	29	28	23	16	15	12	6
Fairly likely	36	39	42	43	45	39	36	35	32	25
Not very likely	41	38	27	28	27	38	48	50	55	70

China as a security threat to Australia

- **Very likely** (black)
- **Fairly likely** (gold)
- **Not very likely** (grey)

Very likely: 19 (1996), 14 (1998), 9 (2001), 8 (2004), 10 (2007), 15 (2010), 14 (2013), 18 (2016), 32 (2019), 55 (2022)

Fairly likely: 41 (1996), 38 (1998), 33 (2001), 32 (2004), 35 (2007), 42 (2010), 38 (2013), 42 (2016), 43 (2019), 35 (2022)

Not very likely: 40 (1996), 48 (1998), 58 (2001), 61 (2004), 54 (2007), 44 (2010), 49 (2013), 41 (2016), 26 (2019), 10 (2022)

Japan as a security threat to Australia

Very likely ―
Fairly likely ―
Not very likely ―
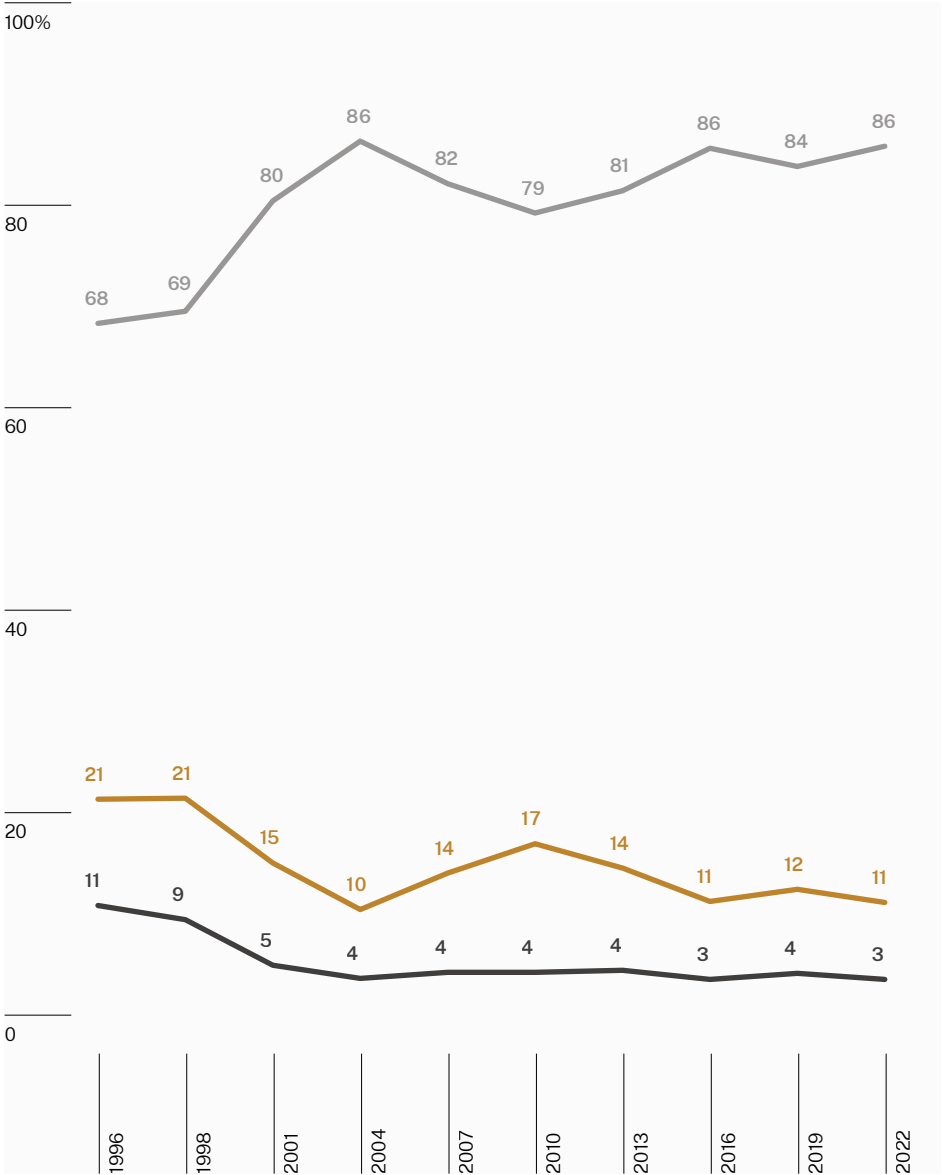
Malaysia as a security threat to Australia

Very likely
Fairly likely
Not very likely
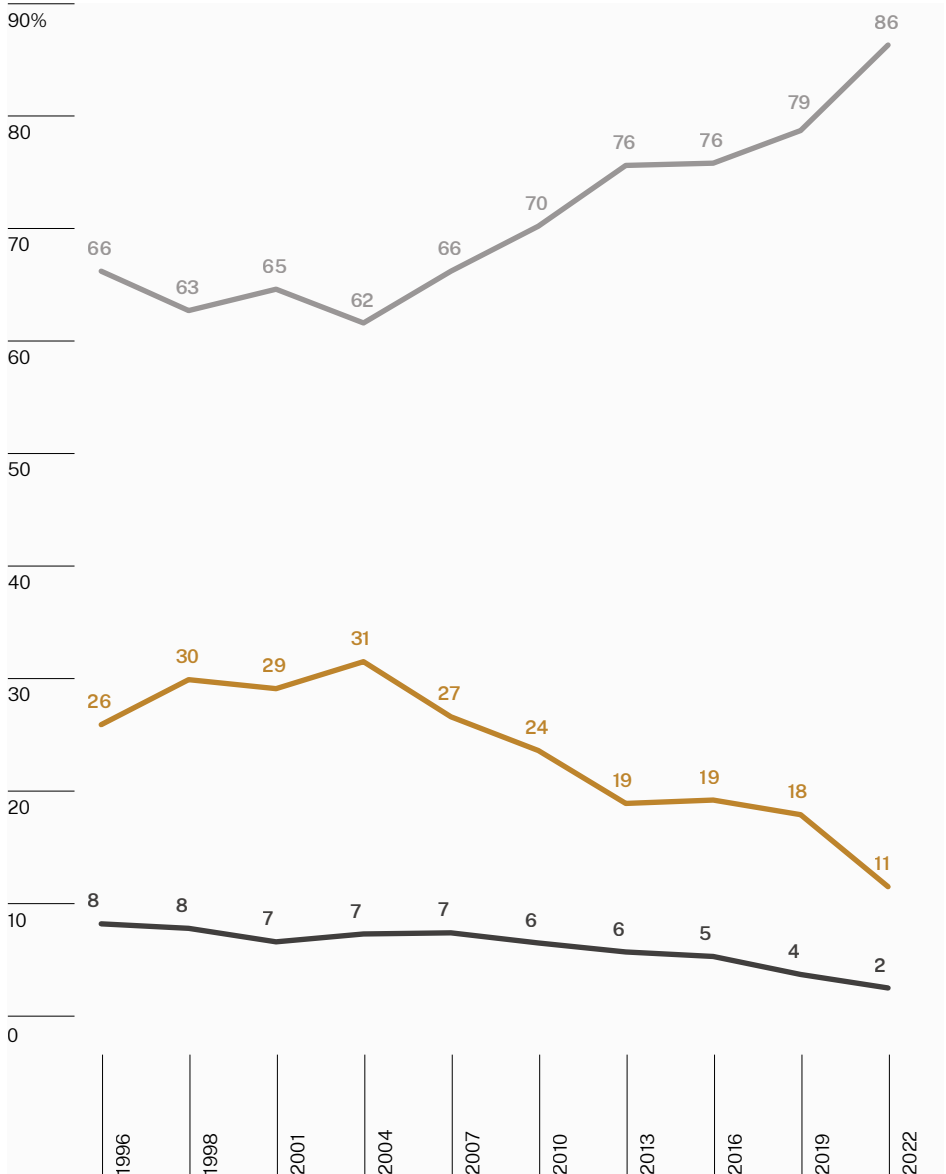
Vietnam as a security threat to Australia

Very likely
Fairly likely
Not very likely

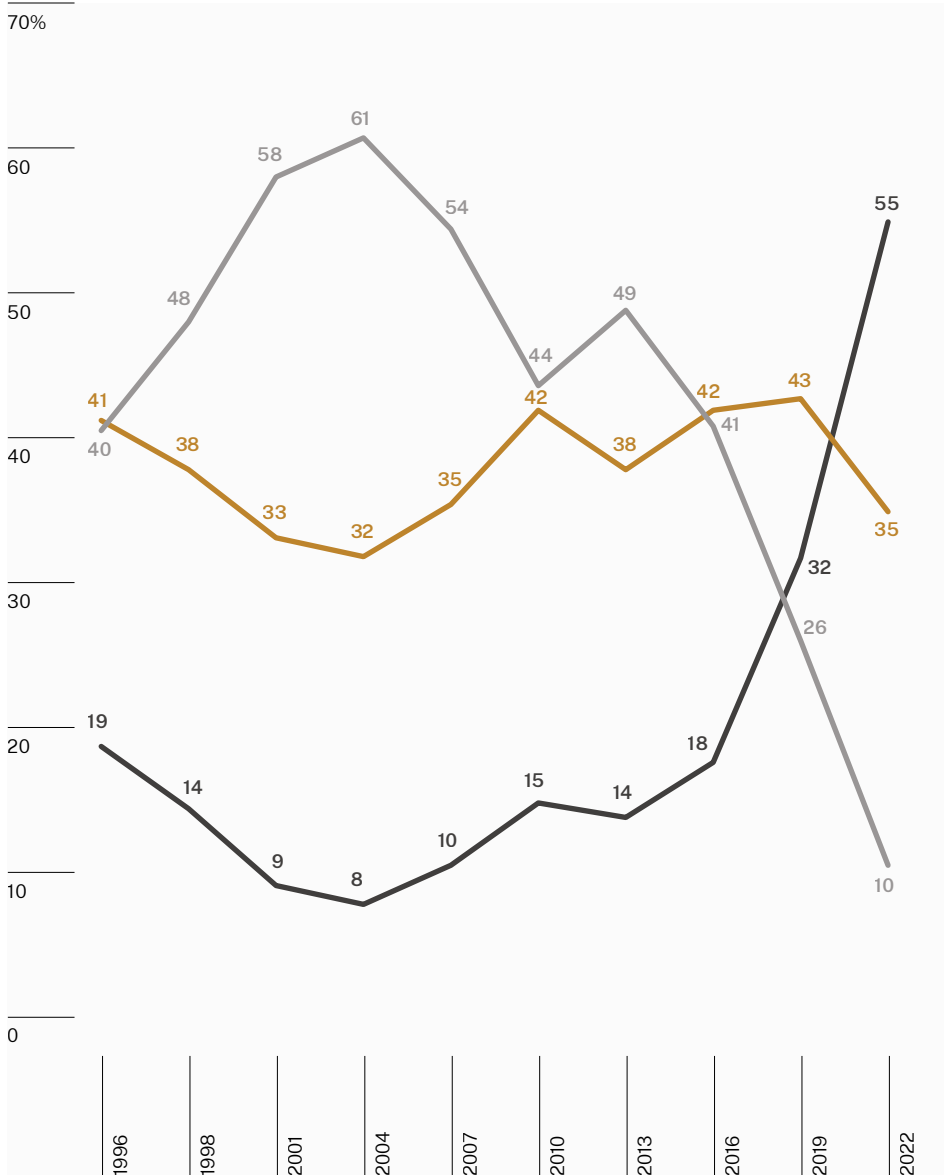| Year	Not very likely	Fairly likely	Very likely
1996	75	20	5
1998	76	19	5
2001	80	17	4
2004	81	16	4
2007	80	16	4
2010	80	17	4
2013	83	14	3
2016	83	13	4
2019	88	10	3
2022	90	9	2
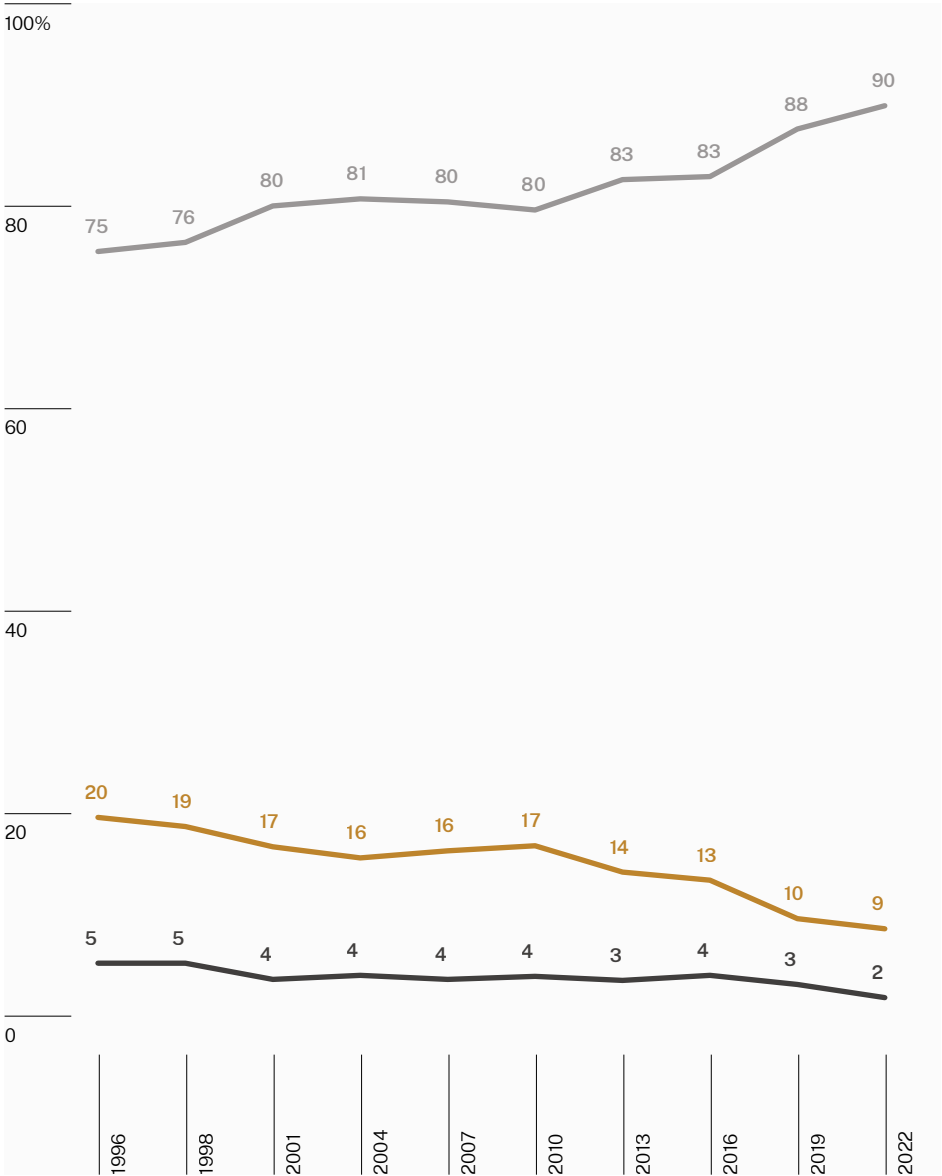
The United States as a security threat to Australia

- **Very likely** (black)
- **Fairly likely** (orange)
- **Not very likely** (grey)

Not very likely: 91, 92, 93, 87, 89, 90, 89, 88, 78, 85

Fairly likely: 6, 6, 6, 8, 7, 8, 8, 10, 16, 12

Very likely: 3, 2, 2, 6, 4, 2, 3, 2, 7, 3

Years: 1996, 1998, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013, 2016, 2019, 2022
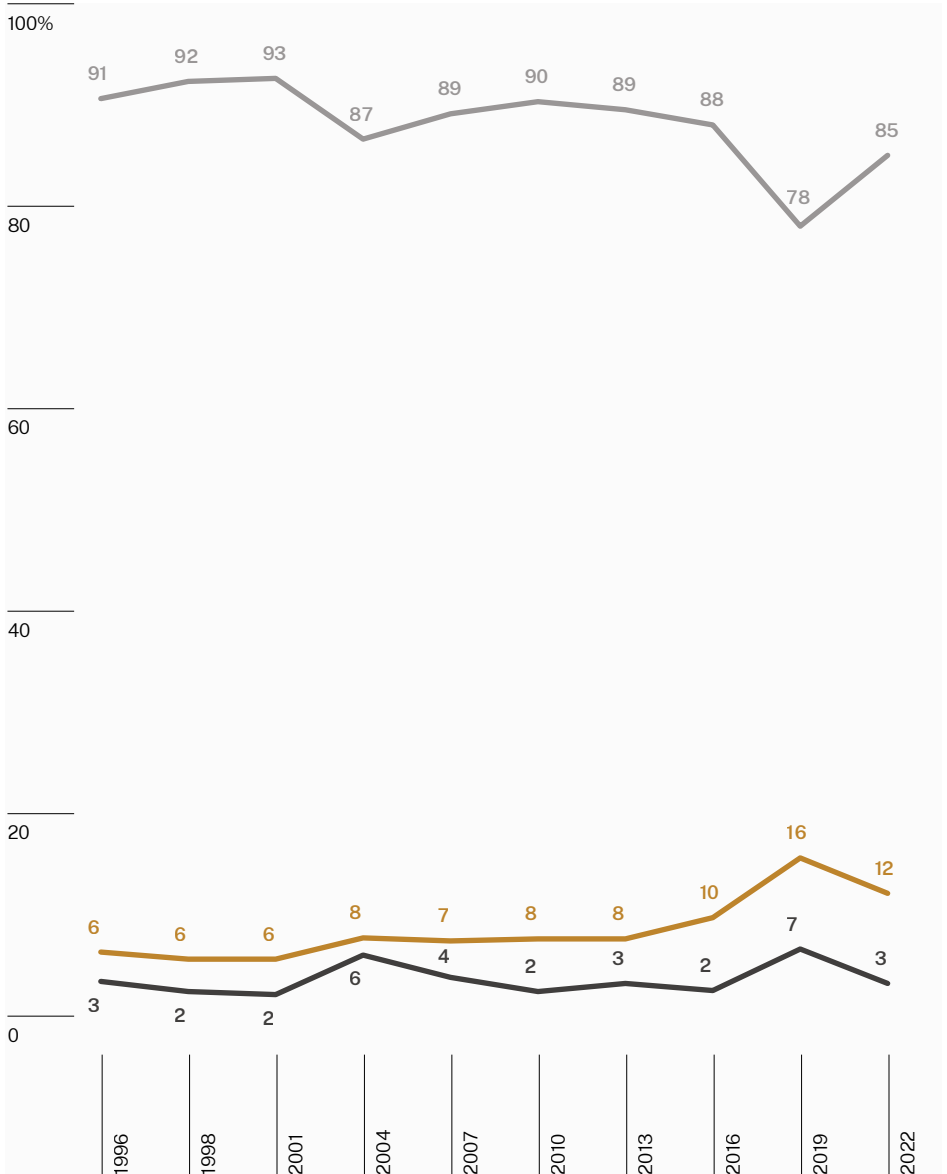
Attitudes towards defence links with the United States

—— United States alliance under ANZUS important
—— Trust in the United States to come to Australia's defence
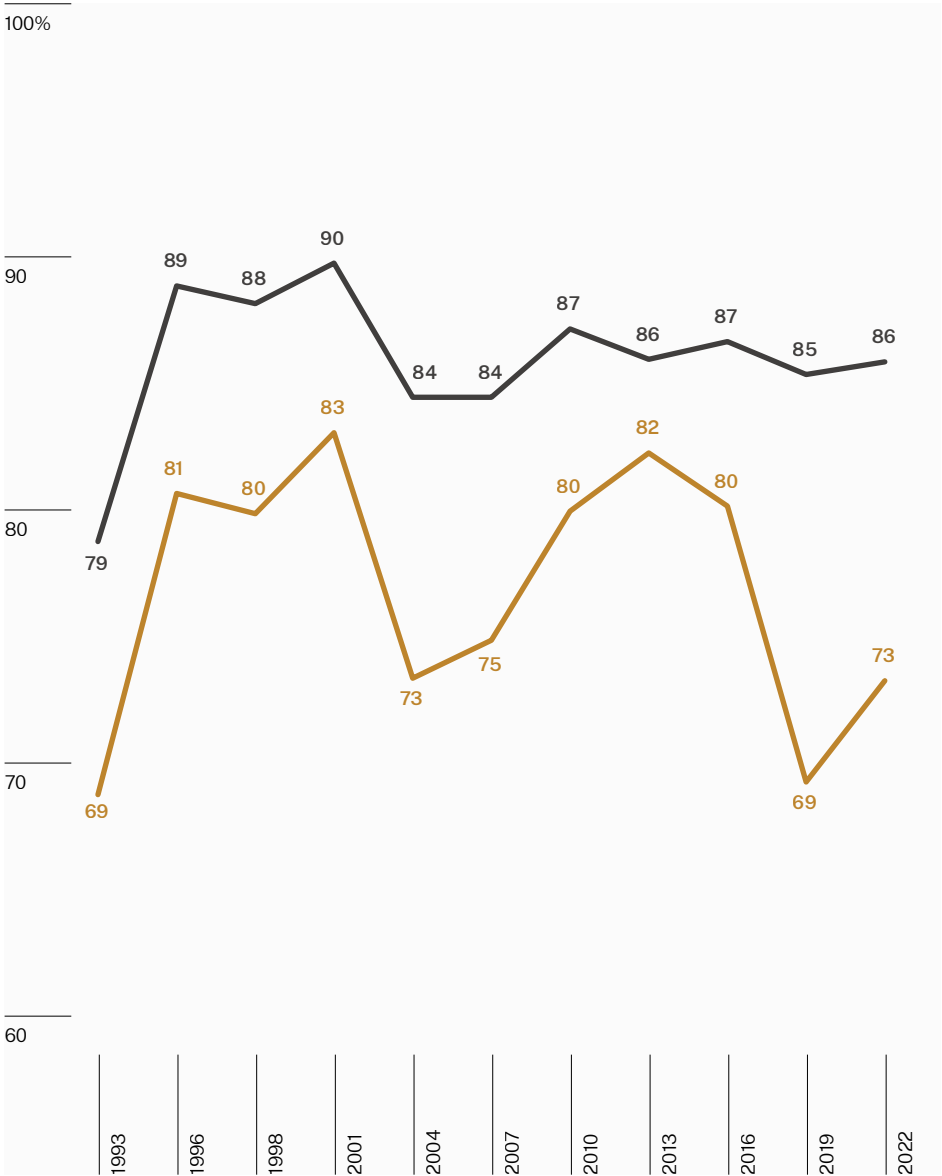
Attitudes towards closer relations with Asia

Legend:
- **Relations with Asia gone too far** (black)
- **Relations with Asia about right** (orange)
- **Relations with Asia not gone far enough** (grey)

Relations with Asia about right (orange): 54, 55, 51, 52, 60, 63, 56, 58, 56, 45

Relations with Asia not gone far enough (grey): 22, 25, 34, 36, 27, 22, 29, 25, 23, 39

Relations with Asia gone too far (black): 24, 21, 15, 13, 13, 15, 15, 16, 21, 16

Years: 1996, 1998, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013, 2016, 2019, 2022
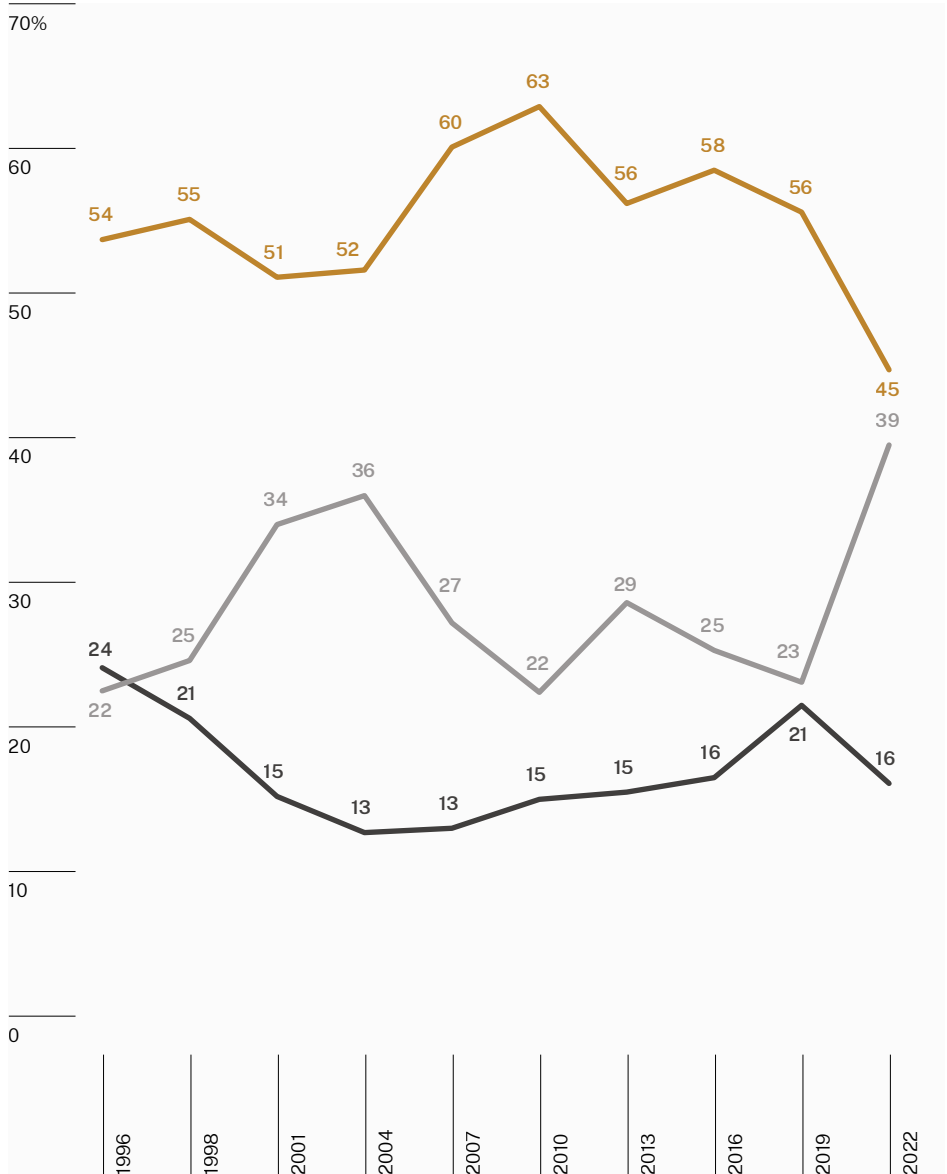
Attitudes towards more trade relations with Asia

— Agree
— Not sure
— Disagree

80%

Year	Agree	Not sure	Disagree
1993	69	24	8
1996	66	26	8
1998	55	30	15
2001	57	33	11
2004	63	28	9
2007	65	29	6
2010	67	26	7
2013	71	22	7
2016	62	29	9
2019	66	25	9
2022	57	32	12
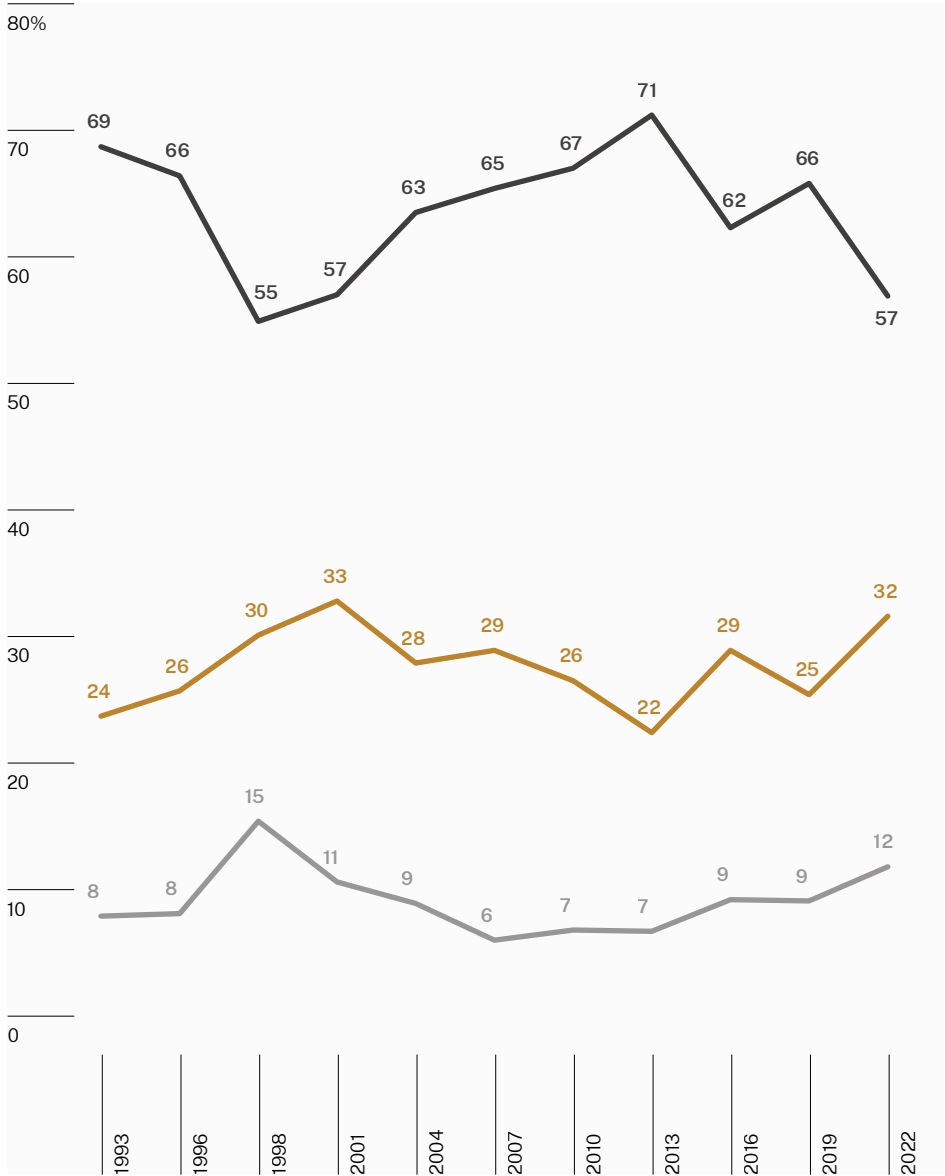
Notes

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

Support for war on terrorism
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'.

Attitudes towards defence links with the United States
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 closer relations with Asia
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 combine 'not gone far enough' and 'not gone nearly far enough'.

Attitudes towards more trade relations with Asia
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'.

References

To cite data from the Australian Election Study or the Australian National Political Attitudes Survey please use the following references:

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McAllister, I., Sheppard, J., Bean, C., Gibson, R., Makkai, T., Cameron, S. (2019). Australian Election Study 2019 [computer file], December 2019.

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Appendix: Methodology

The Australian Election Study (AES) surveys are designed to collect data following federal elections for academic research on Australian electoral behaviour and public opinion. The AES commenced operation in 1987 and has fielded surveys after every federal election since. Since 1998 the AES has been a member of the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES) group (see www.cses. org). Prior to the AES, three academic surveys of political behaviour were collected by Don Aitkin in 1967, 1969 and 1979, respectively, but they are not strictly speaking election surveys. Where comparable measures exist from these studies, they have been incorporated in the trends in this report. Details on the earlier surveys are available on the Australian National Political Attitudes Survey Dataverse.

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 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

2016-2019
Political engagement among the young

2022
Political trust and satisfaction with democracy

Australian Election Study Overview, 1987–2019

Year	Principal investigators	Funder	Study Number
1987	Ian McAllister, Anthony Mughan	University of NSW, ANU	ASSDA 445
1990	Ian 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, David Gow, Ian McAllister	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, David Gow	ACPSPRI/ACSR	ASSDA 1120
2010	Ian McAllister, Clive Bean, Rachel Gibson, Juliet Pietsch	ARC/DP1094626	ASSDA 1228
2013	Ian McAllister, Juliet Pietsch, Clive Bean, Rachel Gibson	ARC/ DP120103941	ADA 1259
2016	Ian McAllister, Juliet Pietsch, Clive Bean, Rachel Gibson, Toni Makkai	ARC/ DP160101501	ADA 01365
2019	Ian McAllister, Jill Sheppard, Clive Bean, Rachel Gibson, Toni Makkai	ARC/ DP160101501	ADA 01446
2022	Ian McAllister, Jill Sheppard, Sarah Cameron, Simon Jackman	ARC/ DP210101517	ADA 100114

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australianelectionstudy.org

All of the data are publicly available from australianelectionstudy.org and from Dataverse (dataverse.ada. edu.au/dataverse/aes).

Voters

All the Australian Election Study (AES) surveys are national, post-election self-completion surveys. The 1987–2013 surveys were based on samples drawn randomly from the electoral register. The 2016 survey used a split sample method, with half of the sample coming from the electoral register, and half from the Geo-Coded National Address File (G-NAF). The 2019 and 2022 surveys were based solely on samples drawn from the G-NAF. 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 are listed below. In 2001 and 2004 an online survey was conducted in parallel with the regular AES. In 2010, 2013, and 2016 an online option was available to the survey respondents. In 2013 and 2022 an additional sample was collected online in order to correct for an under-representation of younger voters. In 2019 and 2022 a 'push-to-web' methodology was used, with a hard copy completion being available to respondents who opted for it. The 1993 and post 2010 surveys are weighted to reflect the characteristics of the national electorate. The 2022 AES also included a panel component, based on respondents who were interviewed in both 2016, 2019 and 2022.

Australian Election Study voter response rates, 1987–2022

Year	Total sample	Valid response	Effective response (%)
1987	3,061	1,825	62.8
1990	3,606	2,020	58.0
1993	4,950	3,023	62.8
1996	3,000	1,795	61.8
1998	3,502	1,896	57.7
2001	4,000	2,010	55.4
2004	4,250	1,769	44.5
2007	5,000	1,873	40.2
2010	4,999	2,003	40.1
2013	12,200	3,955	33.9
2016	12,497	2,818	22.5
2019	5,175	2,179	42.1
2022	5,640	2,436	43.1

Candidates

The Australian Candidates Study (ACS) surveys are conducted in parallel with most of the surveys of voters. In 1987 all candidates for the House of Representatives and Senate were surveyed. Between 1990 and 2016 the surveys were restricted to 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 non-major party candidates whom it was anticipated would obtain more than 10 per cent of the first preference vote. In 2019 all candidates were contacted if they supplied a valid email address on their nomination papers.

>

Full technical details of the sampling methodology and question wording is available in the survey codebooks, available at www.australianelectionstudy.org.

Australian Candidate Survey response rates, 1987–2019

	Election candidates			Australian Candidate Study		
Year	House of Representatives	Senate	Total	Total contacted	Valid response	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
2016	994	631	1,625	591	182	30.8
2019	1,056	458	1,514	1,278	482	37.7

The 1987 and 2016 elections were double dissolution elections for the Senate. Other elections are half-Senate.
The response rate is estimated as valid responses / total contacted.

>

australianelectionstudy.org

> Access complete data files and documentation to conduct your own analysis

> Explore interactive charts to examine differences in political attitudes by age, gender, education level and vote

> Download Australian Election Study reports

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