

THE LOWY INSTITUTE POLL 2012



Australia and New Zealand in the World **PUBLIC OPINION AND FOREIGN POLICY**

Fergus Hanson

LOWY INSTITUTE
FOR INTERNATIONAL POLICY

Executive summary

The 2012 Lowy Institute Poll reports the results of a nationally representative opinion survey of 1,005 Australian adults conducted in Australia between 26 March and 10 April 2012 using mobile and landline telephones. It also reports the results of a parallel survey conducted in New Zealand by the Asia New Zealand Foundation.

Foreign investment in Australian farms

Foreign ownership of farmland looks set to continue as a hot political issue, with a large majority (81%) of Australians against the Australian government allowing foreign companies to buy Australian farmland to grow crops or farm livestock, with 63% saying they are strongly against.

Uranium sales to India

The Labor Party recently overturned its ban on the sale of uranium to India, but 61% of Australians say they are against Australia selling uranium to India, with 39% strongly against. Among Australians who say they always vote Labor, two-thirds (65%) are against it.

Relations with Fiji

Australia's Fiji policy – that saw ministerial-level contact cut off in response to its military coup – is at odds with public wishes: a large majority (79%) are in favour of the Australian government restarting ministerial-level contacts.

Bali bombings

Almost a decade after the 2002 Bali bombings killed 202 people including 88 Australians, only 11% of Australians say the bombers have been fully brought to justice, with most (61%) saying they have only partly been brought to justice. Twenty-two per cent say they have not been brought to justice at all.

Climate change

There was bad news for the government on climate change policy. The majority (63%) of Australians say they are against the government's legislation introducing a fixed price on carbon that will then lead to an Emissions Trading Scheme, with a high proportion (45%) strongly against. However, a third (33%) of the population oppose the legislation and agree the measures are not strict enough to result in substantial emissions reductions.

A majority of Australians (57%) are in favour of a future Coalition government removing the Emissions Trading Scheme.

A tracking question that presents Australians with three options for dealing with global warming reveals for the first

time that those favouring an intermediate approach to the problem now outnumber Australians favouring the most aggressive form of action.

War in Afghanistan

Support for the war in Afghanistan has hit a record low, with just 33% of Australians saying Australia should continue to be involved militarily in Afghanistan, down seven points since last year.

However, 55% are in favour of Australian Special Forces staying on in Afghanistan to work alongside US Special Forces in more limited counter-terrorism operations after major combat operations are scheduled to end.

Migration

Presented with six hypothetical criteria for determining which migrants should be allowed to come to Australia, those ranked as the most important are: having similar values to Australians (34%), work skills (23%), English-language skills (20%), education (11%), religion (8%) and race (4%).

US Presidential elections

Obamamania continues, with Australians preferring Barack Obama to his Republican rival Mitt Romney to become the next President of the United States by an 8 to 1 ratio (80% compared with 9%).

US military bases

After the November 2011 announcement that US Marines would be deployed to Australia, 74% of Australians say that they are in favour of up to 2,500 US soldiers being based in Darwin. Forty-six per cent are also in favour of allowing more than 2,500 soldiers to be based in Australia, and, if either China or Indonesia objected, support for increasing the number actually increased to 51% in the case of China and 54% in the case of Indonesia.

Avoiding recession

The government has struggled to sell its success helping Australia avoid recession, with 70% of Australians saying a major reason Australia managed to avoid falling into recession is demand for Australian resources from countries like China, compared with just 41% who say a major reason is good Australian government policies.

Democracy

Some Australians appear blasé about democracy. Just 60% of Australians say democracy is preferable to any other kind of government, and only 39% of 18 to 29 year olds.

A quarter (23%) of Australians say that in some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable, and 15% that for someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind of government we have.

Contents

- EXECUTIVE SUMMARY** 1
- FOREIGN POLICY** 3
 - Feelings towards other countries 3
 - Foreign companies buying Australian farmland 4
 - Uranium sales to India 4
 - Relations with Fiji 4
 - Bali bombings 5
- CLIMATE CHANGE** 5
 - Emissions Trading Scheme 5
 - Dealing with global warming 6
- WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST** 7
 - Afghanistan 7
 - Iraq 7
 - Iran 7
- MIGRATION** 8
- AUSTRALIA'S IMAGE IN ASIA** 8
- UNITED STATES** 9
 - The ANZUS alliance 9
 - Most important security partner 9
 - US Presidential elections 10
 - US bases in Australia 10
- CHINA** 12
 - China's role in Australia avoiding recession 12
 - Chinese investment 12
 - The leading power in Asia 13
 - China as a military threat 13
- AUSTRALIANS ON DEMOCRACY** 13
 - Human rights 14
- AUSTRALIA-NEW ZEALAND SURVEY** 14
 - Joint ANZAC dollar 14
 - Joining to become one country 15
 - Economic integration with New Zealand 15
 - Australia-New Zealand: similarities and partnership 15
- TABLES OF RESULTS** 16
- NOTES** 30
- ABOUT THE AUSTRALIAN LOWY INSTITUTE POLL** 31
- METHODOLOGY** 31
- ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS** 31

- FIGURES**
- Fig 1: Feelings towards other countries 3
- Fig 2: Foreign companies buying Australian farmland 4
- Fig 3: Selling uranium to India 4
- Fig 4: Restarting ministerial level contact with Fiji 4
- Fig 5: Have the Bali bombers been brought to justice? 5
- Fig 6: The Emissions Trading Scheme 5
- Fig 7: Reason for opposing the climate change legislation 5
- Fig 8: Dealing with global warming 6
- Fig 9: Military involvement in Afghanistan 7
- Fig 10: Special Forces staying on in Afghanistan 7
- Fig 11: Was Iraq worth it? 7
- Fig 12: Migration criteria 8
- Fig 13: Short-term workers 8
- Fig 14: Australia's most and second-most important security partner 9
- Fig 15: Preferred US presidential candidate 10
- Fig 16: Basing US soldiers in Australia 11
- Fig 17: Avoiding recession 12
- Fig 18: Why the government is allowing too much Chinese investment 12
- Fig 19: Attitudes towards democracy 13
- Fig 20: Economic integration between Australia and New Zealand 15

FOREIGN POLICY

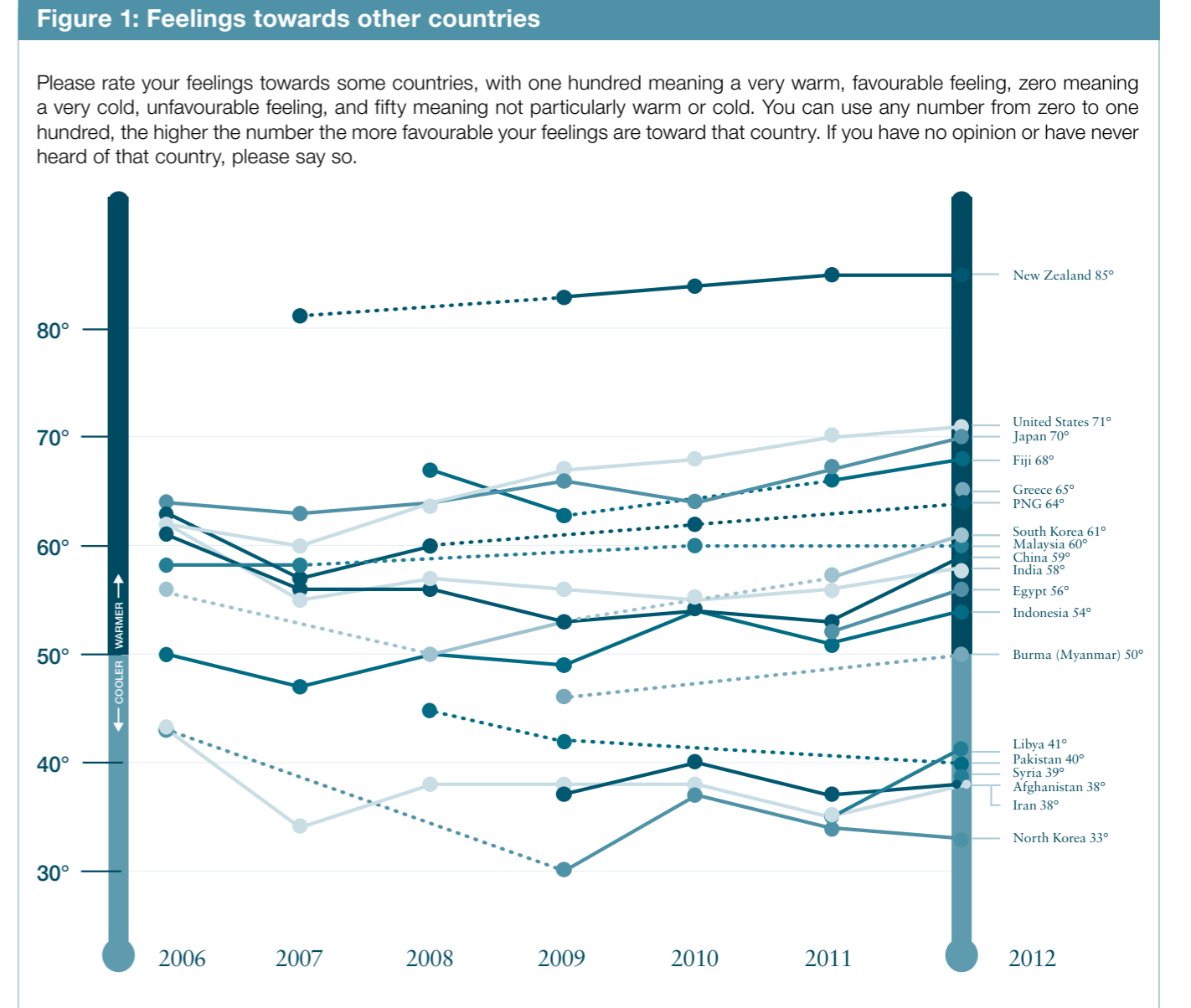
FEELINGS TOWARDS OTHER COUNTRIES

The thermometer question tracks overall feelings towards other countries on a 0 to 100 scale. Of 19 countries included in the survey, Australians feel warmest towards New Zealand (85°). The United States (71°) and Japan (70°) come in second and third. Feelings towards Japan are at an all-time high, perhaps in the wake of the devastating tsunami.

The biggest improvement this year was in feelings towards China (59°, up six points from 2011) and newly liberated Libya (41°, also up six points since last year). Feelings

towards Arab Spring neighbour Egypt also improved (56°, up four points from 2011). South Korea also saw a modest improvement (61°, up four points since 2011) to its highest ranking since this question was first asked in 2006. Attitudes towards tentatively democratising Burma also improved to a lukewarm 50° (up four points since it was last included in 2009).

Countries included for the first time were Greece, which received a warm 65° rating, and Syria, which received a cool 39°. Australians continue to reserve their coldest feelings for North Korea (33°).



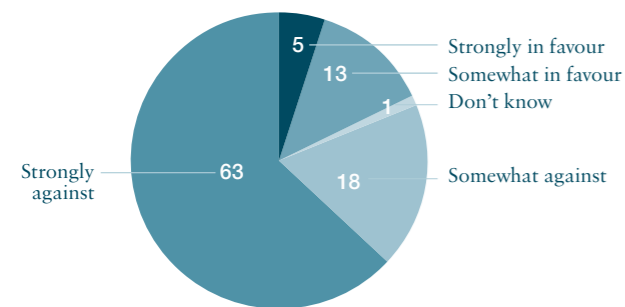
FOREIGN COMPANIES BUYING AUSTRALIAN FARMLAND

Since the last Lowy Institute Poll, a number of controversial foreign policy debates have taken place in Australia, including on foreign ownership of Australian farmland, uranium sales to India and relations with Fiji. To test Australian views on these subjects the 2012 Lowy Poll included a number of new questions.

The issue of foreign ownership of agricultural land has been a hot topic of debate in many countries around the world, including here in Australia. It is also one on which the Australian public has strong views, with a large majority (81%) saying they are against ‘the Australian government allowing foreign companies to buy Australian farmland to grow crops or farm livestock’. Showing the strength of this opinion, 63% say they are ‘strongly against’.

Figure 2: Foreign companies buying Australian farmland

Now about foreign companies buying Australian farmland to grow crops or farm livestock. Are you personally in favour or against the Australian government allowing foreign companies to buy Australian farmland to grow crops or farm livestock? And is that strongly or somewhat?

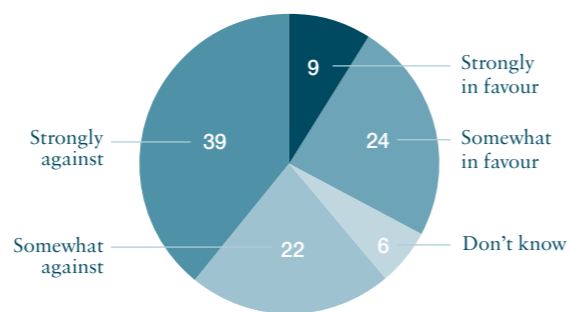


URANIUM SALES TO INDIA

In December 2011, the Australian Labor Party overturned its ban on the sale of uranium to India in a heated national conference debate that the Prime Minister said represented a ‘vibrant political party’.¹ It is a move that most Australians seem to oppose. Sixty-one per cent of Australians say they are against ‘Australia selling uranium to India’, with 39% saying they are ‘strongly against’. Women are more against it than men (71% compared with 51%) and among those saying they ‘always vote Labor’ two-thirds (65%) are against it (54% of those who ‘always vote Coalition’ are also against).

Figure 3: Selling uranium to India

Now about Australia selling uranium to India. Are you personally in favour or against Australia selling uranium to India? Is that strongly or somewhat?

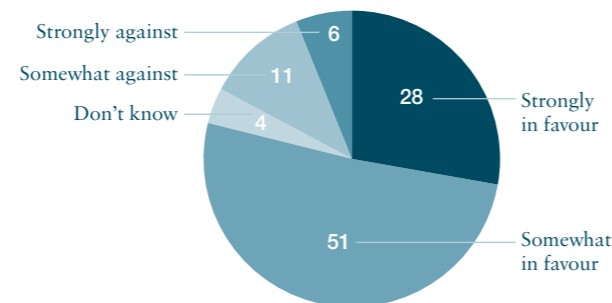


RELATIONS WITH FIJI

Australia has struggled with its policy towards Fiji after the military dictator Commodore Voreqe Bainimarama seized power in 2006. Australia’s Parliamentary Secretary for Pacific Island Affairs, Richard Marles, was particularly affronted by a 2011 Lowy Institute Poll conducted in Fiji that revealed Fijian public opinion was in some cases at odds with Australian government assumptions.² The 2012 Lowy Institute Poll reveals Australians also believe government policy settings are wrong. A large majority (79%) of Australians are in favour of ‘the Australian government restarting ministerial-level contacts’ with the government in Fiji – contacts that had been cut off as part of the response to the coup.³

Figure 4: Restarting ministerial level contact with Fiji

Now for Fiji. The Australian government cut off all ministerial contact with the Fiji government in response to the 2006 coup in Fiji. Would you now personally be in favour or against the Australian government restarting ministerial-level contacts with this government in Fiji? Is that strongly or somewhat?

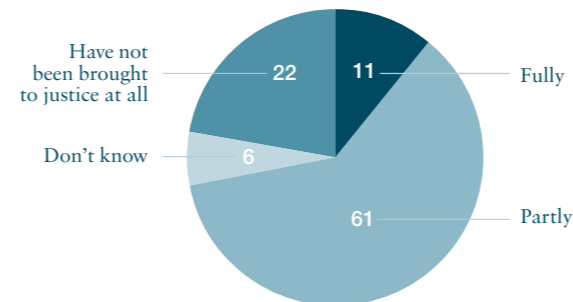


BALI BOMBINGS

The year 2012 will mark the tenth anniversary of the Bali Bombings in which 202 people died, including 88 Australians. Bringing the perpetrators to justice has naturally attracted considerable attention. Asked about the extent to which ‘the bombers have been brought to justice’, only 11% of Australians say they have been ‘fully’ brought to justice, with most (61%) saying they have ‘partly’ been brought to justice. Twenty-two per cent say they have ‘not been brought to justice at all’.

Figure 5: Have the Bali bombers been brought to justice?

Thinking now about the 2002 Bali bombings in which 88 Australians died, and the people who carried out the bombings. To what extent do you personally think the bombers have been brought to justice, do you personally think they have been fully brought to justice, partly brought to justice or have they not been brought to justice at all?



CLIMATE CHANGE

EMISSIONS TRADING SCHEME

In November 2011, the Australian government succeeded in passing climate change legislation through the federal

parliament. However, there is considerable public opposition to the government’s climate pricing system. The majority (63%) of Australians say they are against the legislation ‘introducing a fixed price on carbon that will then lead to an Emissions Trading Scheme’, with a high proportion (45%) ‘strongly against’. Just a third (35%) are ‘in favour’.

A majority (53%) of Australian men are ‘strongly against’ the legislation compared with 36% of women. By contrast, a majority (58%) of those educated with a bachelor degree or higher are either strongly or somewhat in favour.

The 63% of Australians who say they are against the legislation were presented with three statements and asked ‘whether you agree or disagree it is a reason why you personally are against the legislation’. Half the population (52%) oppose the legislation and agree it ‘it will result in job losses’. Thirty-eight per cent say ‘it is not necessary to act

Figure 6: The Emissions Trading Scheme

Thinking now about the legislation the Gillard Labor government passed last year introducing a fixed-price on carbon that will then lead to an Emissions Trading Scheme. Are you personally in favour or against this legislation? Is that strongly or somewhat?

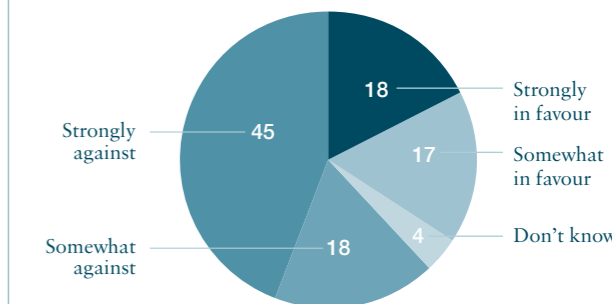
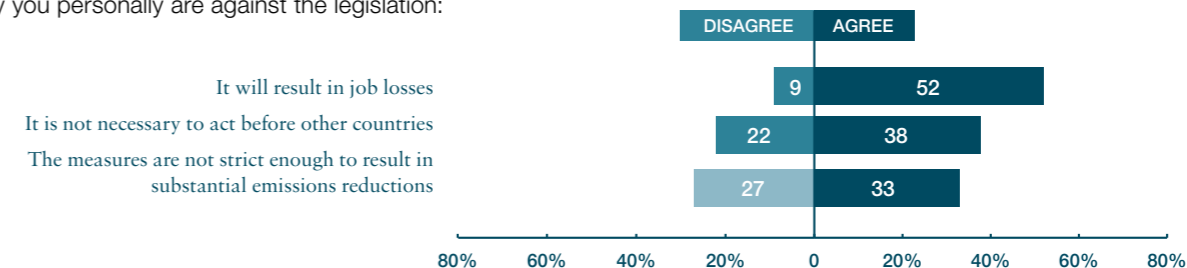


Figure 7: Reason for opposing the climate change legislation

Asked of those strongly or somewhat against the climate change legislation: 544 respondents, figure based on % of total sample.

You said you were against the legislation. For each one of the following please say whether you agree or disagree it is a reason why you personally are against the legislation:



before other countries'. However, a third of the population oppose the legislation and say it does not go far enough, with 33% agreeing 'the measures are not strict enough to result in substantial emissions reductions'.

Most Australians (57%) are also in favour of a future 'Coalition government removing the Emissions Trading Scheme' if it is elected at the next Federal election, with 38% 'strongly in favour'. However, 39% are against this, with a quarter (26%) 'strongly against'. In bad news for the government, the majority in favour of removing the legislation held across all states, age groups, both genders and across income levels. The exception is those with a bachelor degree or higher, with only 39% of these Australians in favour of removing the legislation. Even 38% of Australians who say they always or sometimes vote for the Green Party are in favour of removing the legislation.

DEALING WITH GLOBAL WARMING

A tracking question that presents Australians with three options for dealing with global warming reveals for the first time that those favouring an intermediate approach to the problem now outnumber Australians favouring the most aggressive form of action.

Only a third (36%) of Australians now support the most

aggressive form of action, down from two-thirds (68%) back in 2006 who said 'global warming is a serious and pressing problem. We should begin taking steps now even if this involves significant costs.'

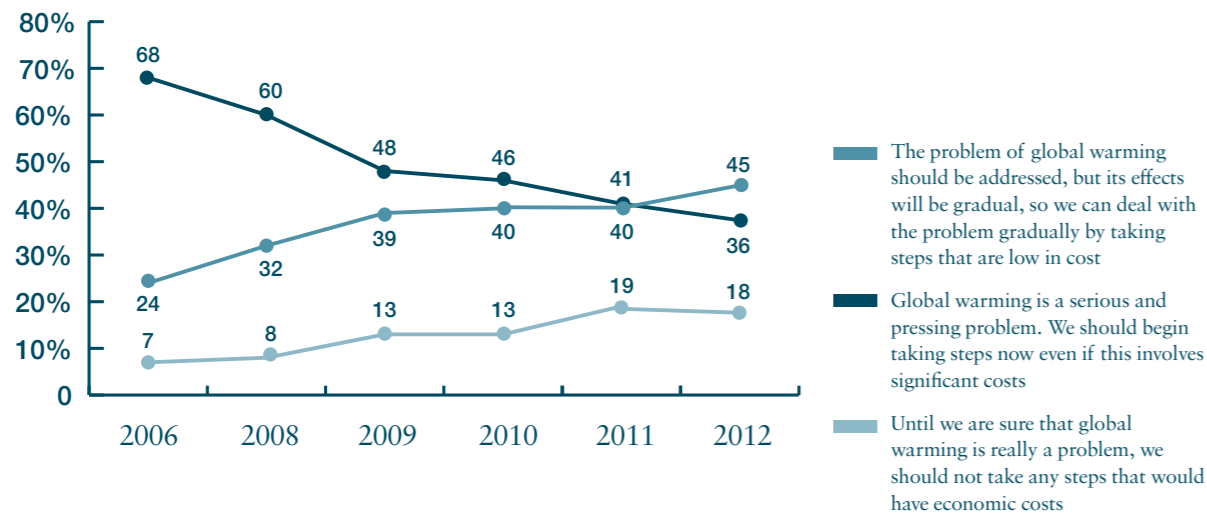
The largest proportion (45%) of Australians now support the intermediate proposition that 'the problem of global warming should be addressed, but its effects will be gradual, so we can deal with the problem gradually by taking steps that are low in cost'. Support for this option is up five points since last year. Interestingly, it is 18 to 29 year olds who are most likely to favour this option (56% compared with 42% of those 30 years and older).

Support for the most sceptical position that 'until we are sure that global warming is really a problem, we should not take any steps that would have economic costs' is steady compared with last year, with 18% of Australians saying this, but still up from 7% in 2006.

Intriguingly, despite the long-term moderation of Australian views, only a small proportion (7%) of Australians say they have become 'less concerned about climate change' 'since the climate change debate began in Australia'. Most (55%) say they have not changed their mind, while 38% say they have become 'more concerned'.

Figure 8: Dealing with global warming

Now about global warming. There is a controversy over what the countries of the world, including Australia, should do about the problem of global warming. I'm going to read you three statements. Please tell me which statement comes closest to your own point of view.



WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST

AFGHANISTAN

In April 2012, Prime Minister Gillard announced plans to bring forward the Australian withdrawal from Afghanistan from 2014 to 2013, while simultaneously being prepared to consider an ongoing, yet more limited, role for Special Forces.

This is likely to be a popular move, given public support for the war has continued to erode. Just a third (33%) of Australians say Australia should 'continue to be involved militarily in Afghanistan', down seven points since last year and from 46% in 2007.

Two-thirds (65%) of Australians now oppose Australian military involvement, with opposition increasing with age from 58% opposition among 18 to 29 year olds rising to 74% among those 60 years and older. Women are also more likely to oppose Australian military involvement than men (69% compared with 60%).

However, the issue may be more about perceptions. Asked if they are 'in favour or against Australian Special Forces staying on in Afghanistan to work alongside US Special Forces in more limited counter-terrorism operations' after major combat operations are scheduled to end, most (55%) Australians are in favour. The results suggest a quite striking distinction the public seems to make between the more traditional deployment of Australian 'soldiers' and Special Forces.

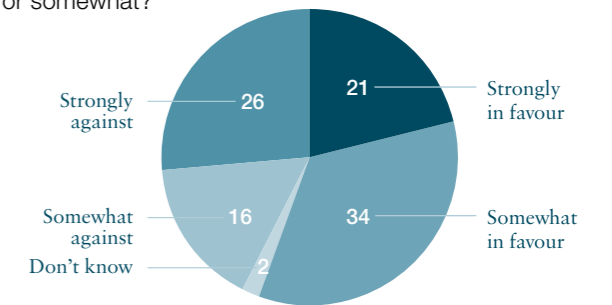
Figure 9: Military involvement in Afghanistan

Now about Afghanistan. Should Australia continue to be involved militarily in Afghanistan?



Figure 10: Special Forces staying on in Afghanistan

Major combat operations are scheduled to end in Afghanistan in 2014. After this, would you personally be in favour or against Australian Special Forces staying on in Afghanistan to work alongside US Special Forces in more limited counter-terrorism operations? And is that strongly or somewhat?

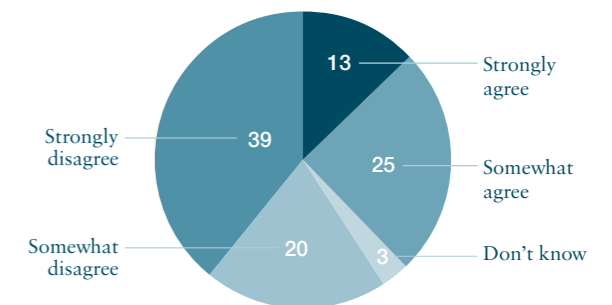


IRAQ

In the wake of the US decision to pull out militarily from Iraq, the 2012 Lowy Institute Poll asked Australians if 'in overall terms...the war in Iraq was worth the costs for Australia'. A majority (59%) disagree it was worth the costs, with 39% saying they 'strongly disagree'.

Figure 11: Was Iraq worth it?

Thinking now about Australia's involvement in the war in Iraq. In overall terms, do you personally agree or disagree that the war in Iraq was worth the costs for Australia? Is that strongly or somewhat?



IRAN

Looking ahead to a potential future conflict zone, Iran, asked if they are 'in favour or against the use of military air strikes on Iran to stop its attempts to develop nuclear weapons', 54% of Australians are against, a third (34%) strongly. A substantial 42%, however, are in favour.

MIGRATION

Migration is a perennially controversial topic in countries around the world. In Australia it has featured during debates on population growth, worker shortages and in rare outbursts like the Cronulla Riots. This year's Lowy Institute Poll included several new questions on migration, revealing strikingly pragmatic views on the topic.

Presented with six hypothetical criteria 'for determining which migrants should be allowed to come to Australia to live', Australians are extremely practical in their preferences. 'Work skills' is the criterion most (65%) say is 'very important', followed by 'English language skills' (60%), 'having similar values to Australians' (57%) and 'education' (47%). Just 15% say 'religion' is 'very important' and only 10% 'race'.

There are some generational differences in opinion on selection criteria. Australians 60 years or older are three times

more likely than Australians 18 to 29 years old to say 'race' is a 'very important' criterion (15% compared with 5%). They are also twice as likely to say 'having similar values' is a 'very important' criterion (72% compared with 36%). Similarly with 'religion', 20% of those 60 years old and older say it is 'very important' compared with 8% of 18 to 29 year olds.

Asked to choose just one criterion as the 'most important', the ranking was: 'having similar values' (34%), 'work skills' (23%), 'English language skills' (20%), 'education' (11%), 'religion' (8%) and 'race' (4%).

Australians also recognised the need for short-term migration to address worker shortages. Sixty-two per cent of Australians say they are in favour of 'the government allowing in extra workers from foreign countries' when 'there are shortages of workers in Australia and companies in Australia cannot find enough skilled workers'.

Figure 12: Migration criteria

Thinking about how the Australian government determines which migrants can come to Australia to live. Please say whether you personally think each of the following is an important criteria or not an important criteria for determining which migrants should be allowed to come to Australia to live?

And of [Read out] which one is the most important criteria for determining which migrants should be allowed to come to Australia to live?

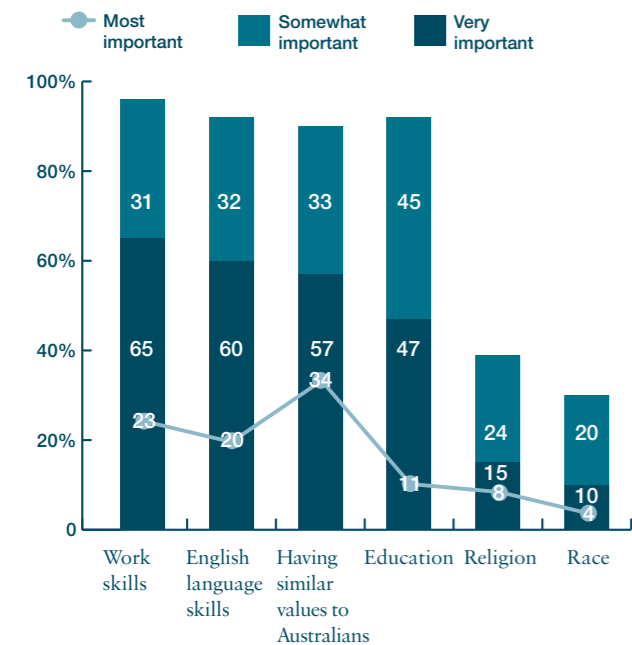
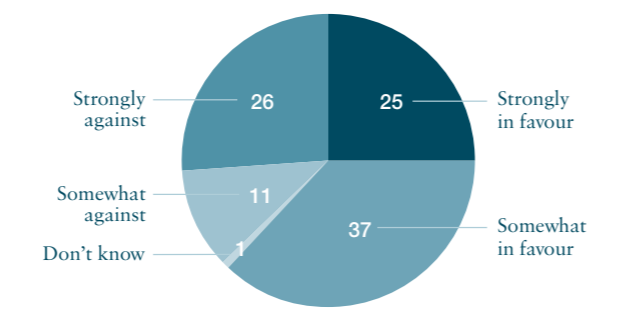


Figure 13: Short-term workers

When there are shortages of workers in Australia and companies in Australia cannot find enough skilled workers, are you personally in favour or against the government allowing in extra workers from foreign countries to come to Australia and fill those positions on short-term visas? Is that strongly or somewhat?



AUSTRALIA'S IMAGE IN ASIA

In the context of the Australia Network tender and the Australia in the Asian Century White Paper, the 2012 poll included several new questions about Australia's image and engagement with our neighbourhood.

Australians believe it is important to be liked by our neighbours. Two-thirds (68%) say it is 'very important' for 'Australia to be seen in a positive light by people from countries in our region', with another 26% saying it is 'somewhat important'. Just 6% say it is 'not important'.

They also support government efforts to communicate with countries in our region. Eighty-two per cent say they are in favour of 'the Australian government funding broadcast services or other programs to communicate with people from countries in our region, with the aim of improving relations with those countries', with 38% saying they are 'strongly in favour'.

In the context of the Australia in the Asian Century White Paper, the poll presented Australians with six possible responses from the Australian government 'as the Asian region grows and becomes more significant'.

There is strongest support for doing more to get 'Australia included in Asian political forums' (37% saying it is 'very important'), increasing 'defence spending' (32%) and encouraging 'Australians to learn more Asian languages' (31%). A quarter (24%) say the government should 'increase the number of Australian diplomats we send to Asia', but there is less support for doing 'more to attract Asian investment into Australia' (16%) or increasing 'the number of migrants Australia accepts from Asia' (13%).

There are some generational differences. Australians 60 years or older are twice as likely as Australians 18 to 29 years old to say increasing 'defence spending' is 'very important' (40% compared with 20%). They are also more likely to say encouraging 'Australians to learn more Asian languages' is 'very important' (32% compared with 23%). Australians 18 to 29 years old are the most likely age group to say it is 'very important' the government 'increase the number of Australian diplomats we send to Asia' (32%).

UNITED STATES

THE ANZUS ALLIANCE

As mentioned, Australians hold warm feelings towards the United States giving it a high 71° rating on the thermometer scale, steady with last year's 70°. Consistent with this, support for the US alliance is at its highest levels since the Lowy Institute Poll began in 2005, with 87% of Australians saying 'Australia's alliance relationship with the United States' is either 'very important' (59%) or 'fairly important' (28%) for Australia's security.

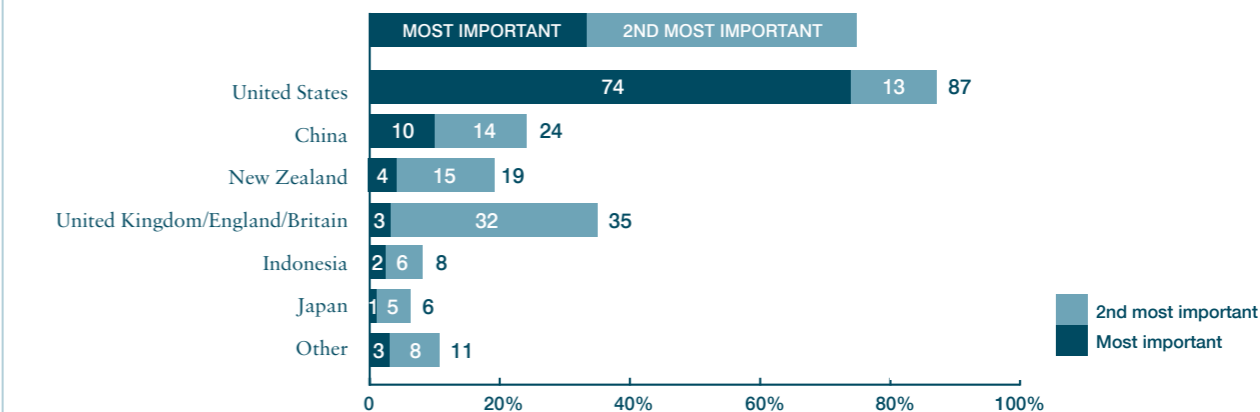
Australians 18 to 29 years old are the least likely age group to say the alliance relationship is 'very important' (43%), while those 60 and older are the most likely (71%). Men are also more likely than women to say this (63% compared with 54%).

MOST IMPORTANT SECURITY PARTNER

In an open-ended question, asked to say which country 'will be Australia's most important security partner over the next 10 years', 74% of Australians choose the United States. Interestingly, 10% say it will be China. Just 4% say New Zealand and 3% Great Britain. Australians 18 to 29 years old are the least likely (62%) to say the United States will be the 'most important security partner', while those 60 and older are the most likely (83%). Conversely, Australians 18 to 29 years old are the most likely to say China will be Australia's 'most important security partner', with 19% saying this compared with 2% of those 60 and older.

Figure 14: Australia's most and second-most important security partner

Thinking now about Australia's security over the next 10 years. Which country do you personally think will be Australia's most important security partner over the next 10 years? And which will be the second-most important?



When those nominating Australia's 'second-most important' security partner are combined with the country chosen as the 'most important', the top five ranking is: the United States (87%), Great Britain (35%), China (24%), New Zealand (19%) and Indonesia (8%).

US PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

In the 2008 Lowy Institute Poll, Australians expressed a strong preference for then-US presidential candidate Barack Obama (73%) over his then-rival John McCain (16%). Since then Obamamania has only increased. Asked 'which candidate would you prefer to see become President of the United States', Australians choose President Obama over his Republican rival Mitt Romney by an 8 to 1 ratio (80% compared with 9%). Women are slightly more favourable towards Obama than men (85% compared with 74%).

US BASES IN AUSTRALIA

The 2011 Lowy Institute Poll surprised policy-makers with the result that 55% of Australians were in favour of allowing the United States to base US military forces in Australia, an idea previously ruled out as unlikely by then-US Secretary of Defense Robert Gates because the US had no wish to create 'political difficulties' in Australia.⁴ In November 2011, during President Obama's visit to Australia, it was announced US Marines would in

fact be deployed to northern Australia on a rotating but permanent basis, with a cap on the number of troops set at 2,500.⁵

In the wake of this announcement, the 2012 Lowy Institute Poll asked Australians if they are 'in favour or against up to 2,500 US soldiers being based in Darwin' and found 74% of Australians in favour. Younger Australians (18 to 29 years old) are least supportive (66%).

The 74% in favour were then asked about 'allowing more US soldiers to be based in Australia above the 2,500 limit set at the moment'. These results showed that 46% of Australians are in favour of allowing more than 2,500 soldiers to be based in Australia. A majority (55%) of men are in favour of this greater number of troops, compared with only 38% of women. A majority (51%) of those 60 and older are also in favour compared with 37% of 18 to 29 year olds.

Showing how diplomatic protests can sometimes backfire, when those in favour of allowing more than 2,500 soldiers to be based in Australia were asked if their opinion would change if either China or Indonesia objected, support for increasing the number of soldiers actually increased, with 51% of Australians in favour of allowing more than 2,500 soldiers to be deployed to Australia if China objected and 54% if Indonesia objected.

Figure 15: Preferred US presidential candidate

The United States' Presidential election will be held in November this year. Which candidate would you prefer to see become President of the United States?

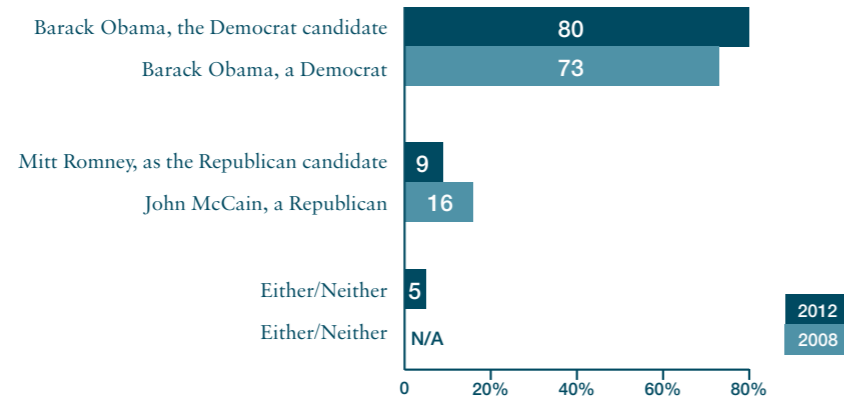
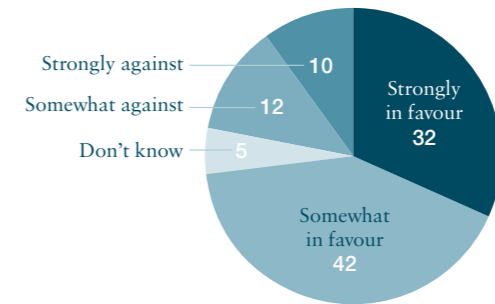


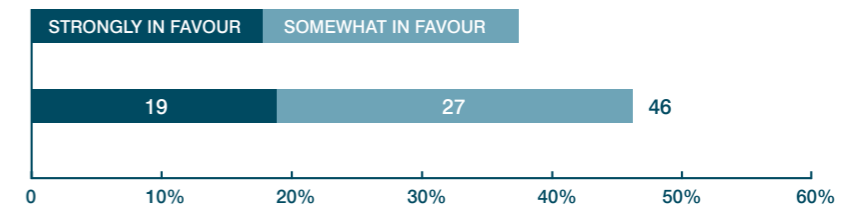
Figure 16: Basing US soldiers in Australia

In November 2011, the Australian Prime Minister and US President announced that up to 2,500 US soldiers would be based in Darwin and Northern Australia on a rotating, but permanent basis. Are you personally in favour or against up to 2,500 US soldiers being based in Darwin? Is that strongly or somewhat?



Asked of those strongly or somewhat in favour of 2,500 soldiers being based in Darwin; figure based on % of total sample

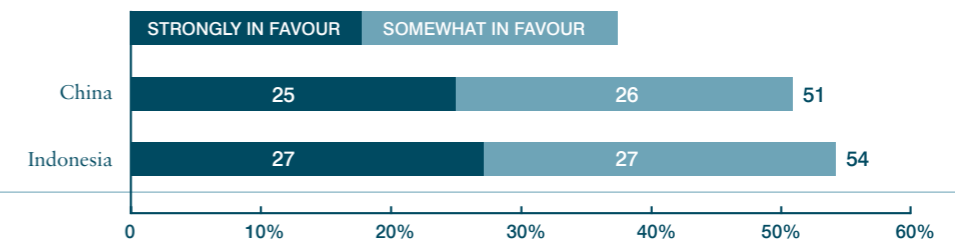
And would you personally be in favour or against the Australian government allowing more US soldiers to be based in Australia above the 2,500 limit set at the moment? Is that strongly or somewhat?



Asked only of those strongly or somewhat in favour of 2,500 soldiers being based in Darwin; figure based on % of total sample

Now what if an individual country objected to Australia allowing more than the current limit of 2,500 US soldiers to be based in Australia? Would you personally then be in favour or against the Australian government increasing the limit to the number of US soldiers based in Australia above 2,500? Firstly...

If [China/Indonesia] objected would you personally be in favour or against increasing the limit above 2,500? And is that strongly or somewhat?



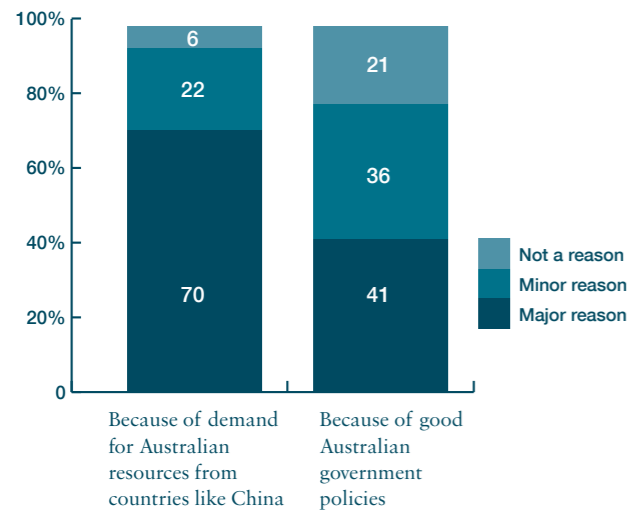
CHINA

CHINA'S ROLE IN AUSTRALIA AVOIDING RECESSION

The Australian government has claimed a major role in preventing Australia from falling into recession during

Figure 17: Avoiding recession

Thinking now about the current global economic crisis. For each of the following do you personally think it was a major reason, a minor reason or not a reason why Australia managed to avoid falling into recession?



the recent global economic crisis. However, it has been hard-pressed selling its message and more Australians credit demand for resources rather than astute policymaking. Seventy per cent of Australians say 'a major reason' Australia managed to avoid falling into recession is 'because of demand for Australian resources from countries like China', compared with just 41% of Australians who say 'a major reason' is 'because of good Australian government policies'.

CHINESE INVESTMENT

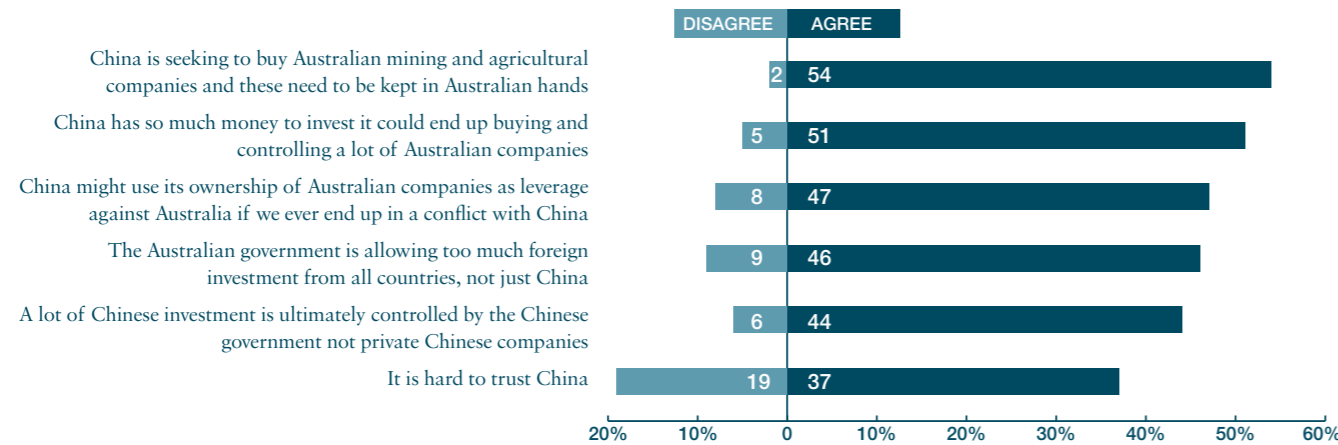
The Lowy Institute Poll has for several years picked up public opposition to Chinese investment. This year a majority (56%) of Australians again say 'the Australian government is allowing too much investment from China', with support for this view increasing with age (40% of 18 to 29 year olds hold this view compared with 66% of those 45 years and older). However, this year the poll tried to get at the reasons underlying this sentiment.

Those saying the government is allowing too much investment were presented with six statements and asked to say if they 'agree or disagree it is a reason why you personally think the Australian government is allowing too much investment from China'. The two reasons gaining the most support and majority agreement across the Australian population are 'China is seeking to buy Australian mining and agricultural companies and these need to be kept in

Figure 18: Why the government is allowing too much Chinese investment

Asked of those saying 'the Australian government is allowing too much investment from China', 532 respondents, figure based on % of total sample.

I am going to read out some reasons other people have given as to why the Australian government is allowing too much investment from China. For each one please say whether you agree or disagree it is a reason why you personally think the Australian government is allowing too much investment from China.



Australian hands' (54%) and 'China has so much money to invest it could end up buying and controlling a lot of Australian companies' (51%).

However, perceptions about too much Chinese investment may be part of a more general aversion to foreign investment, with 46% of Australians agreeing 'the Australian government is allowing too much foreign investment from all countries, not just China'.

Of the six possible reasons, the one gaining least agreement is 'it is hard to trust China' (37%).

THE LEADING POWER IN ASIA

Australians have firm impressions about Chinese power. Repeating a tracking question asking Australians if they 'agree or disagree that China will become the leading power in Asia or, do you think it already is the leading power in Asia?', 95% say either it 'already is the leading power' (79%) or 'will become the leading power' (16%), the exact same overall proportion who said this when the question was last asked in 2009.

Of the 95% who say China 'is the leading power' or 'will become the leading power', 52% say they are either 'very uncomfortable' (15%) or 'somewhat uncomfortable' (37%) about this. Discomfort with China's rise has not changed since the question was last asked in 2009.

CHINA AS A MILITARY THREAT

After a brief period of assertiveness, China has recently returned to a more steady approach to its international relations. As noted, Australians warmed in their views towards China from 53° in 2011 to 59°. This year they are also slightly less likely to say 'China will become a military threat to Australia in the next 20 years', dropping from 44% in 2011 to 40% in 2012. A majority (58%) continues to say it is 'unlikely'.

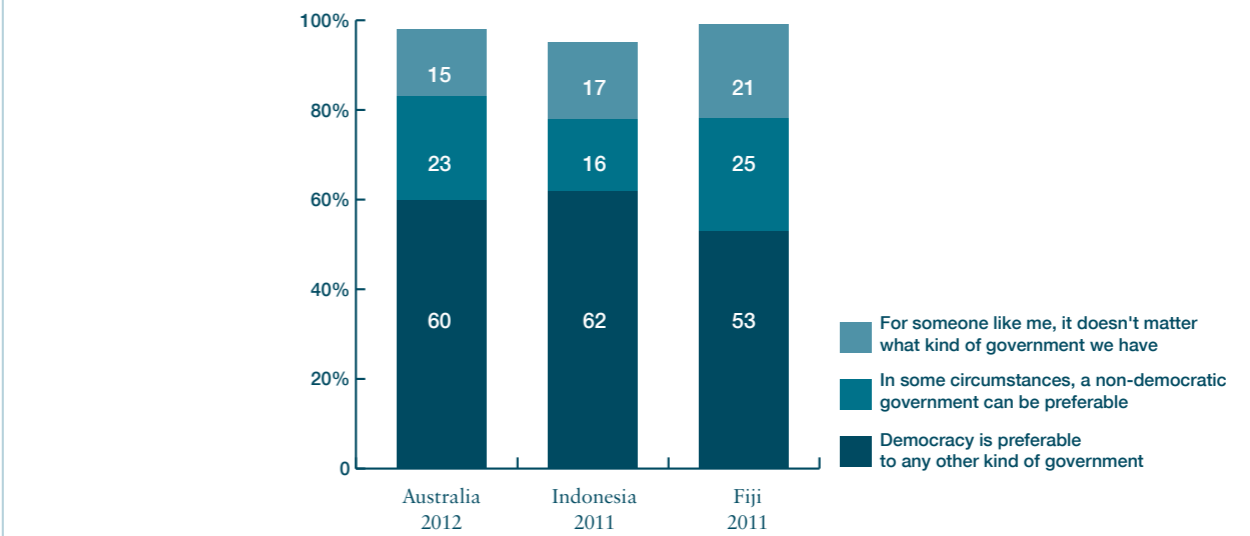
AUSTRALIANS ON DEMOCRACY

In 2011, the Lowy Institute conducted opinion polls in Indonesia and Fiji, which included questions on democracy and human rights. To see how views in these countries compare with those in Australia we repeated some of the questions in the 2012 Lowy Institute Poll.

Results suggest some Australians are quite blasé about democracy. Presented with three statements about democracy and asked to say 'which one of the three statements comes closest to your own personal views about democracy', just 60% of Australians say 'democracy is preferable to any other kind of government', similar to the proportion of Indonesians (62%) and Fijians (53%) who say this. Interestingly, only 39% of Australians 18 to 29 years

Figure 19: Attitudes towards democracy

I am going to read you three statements about democracy. Please say which one of the three statements comes closest to your own personal views about democracy.



old hold this view, with support increasing with age to 74% for those 60 years and older.

A quarter (23%) of Australians say ‘in some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable’, more than Indonesians (16%) but a similar proportion as in Fiji (25%), which is currently under military dictatorship.

Fifteen per cent of Australians say ‘for someone like me, it doesn’t matter what kind of government we have’, with a quarter (23%) of 18 to 29 year olds holding this view. Seventeen per cent of Indonesians say this and 21% of people in Fiji.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Australians have stronger views about human rights, particularly those directly affecting themselves. An overwhelming majority (95%) ‘strongly agree’ ‘the right to a fair trial’ is important for them here in Australia. Ninety per cent ‘strongly agree’ ‘the right to vote in national elections’ is important and 84% ‘the right to freely express yourself’. Support is weakest for ‘the right to a media free from censorship’, with 64% saying they ‘strongly agree’ it is important.

Comparing Australian views to those in Fiji and Indonesia, there were a few differences. Indonesians (83%) and Fijians (85%) are slightly less likely than Australians (95%) to ‘strongly agree’ ‘the right to a fair trial’ is important. Australians (90%) and Fijians (87%) are quite a bit more likely than Indonesians (67%) to ‘strongly agree’ ‘the right to vote in national elections’ is important. Australians (84%) and Fijians (85%) are also more likely than Indonesians (71%) to ‘strongly agree’ ‘the right to freely express yourself’ is important. Fijians (70%) are more likely than both Australians (64%) and Indonesians (24%) to ‘strongly agree’ ‘the right to a media free from censorship’ is important.

AUSTRALIA-NEW ZEALAND SURVEY

In 2007, the Lowy Institute along with the New Zealand Institute conducted a parallel opinion survey in Australia and New Zealand. This year we repeated some of the questions from that first survey in conjunction with the Asia New Zealand Foundation, which ran a parallel poll in New Zealand (see methodology for details).

JOINT ANZAC DOLLAR

Since 2007, Australians have increased in their opposition to a joint currency with New Zealand, with a majority (54%)

now opposing ‘the New Zealand and Australian dollars being replaced by a joint ANZAC dollar’, up from 42% in 2007. Support for an ANZAC dollar is strongest among 18 to 29 year olds (47%) and weakest among those 60 years and older (29%).

In New Zealand, opposition has also increased slightly, rising from 42% in 2007 to 46% in 2012. Forty-three per cent of New Zealanders support a joint currency and a majority of men (52%).

JOINING TO BECOME ONE COUNTRY

Presented with a hypothetical ‘if Australia and New Zealand joined to become a single country’ and asked who the beneficiaries would be, 35% of Australians say it would be ‘good for both countries’, similar to the 2007 result (33%). There is an increase in the proportion saying it would be ‘good for New Zealand, but bad for Australia’ (17%, and up eight points from 2007). Seven per cent say it would be ‘good for Australia, but bad for New Zealand’ (10% said this in 2007). Thirty-seven per cent say it would be ‘bad for both countries’ compared with 40% in 2007.

Fewer New Zealanders than Australians say joining to become a single country would be ‘good for both’ (24%) similar to the result in 2007 (23%). There was a slight increase in those saying it would be ‘good for New Zealand, but bad for Australia’ (12%, up from 8%). Just 15% say it would be ‘good for Australia, but bad for New Zealand’, down from 22% in 2007 and 43% say it would be ‘bad for both’ up slightly from 2007 (39%).

ECONOMIC INTEGRATION WITH NEW ZEALAND

On the issue of economic integration with New Zealand, Australians’ views have not changed much since 2007. Most (68%) Australians say ‘economic integration between Australia and New Zealand’ is ‘about right’, up 10 points since 2007. Just 6% say it has ‘gone too far’, similar to the 5% saying this in 2007 and 17% say it has gone ‘not far enough’ also consistent with 2007 results (16%).

Younger Australians are more likely to say economic integration has gone ‘not far enough’ (20% of 18 to 44 year olds compared with 12% of those 60 years and older). Men are also twice as likely as women to hold this view (23% compared with 12%).

On this issue, New Zealanders have somewhat different views from Australians. There has been an 11-point increase in those saying economic integration has gone ‘not far enough’ (42% up from 31% in 2007) and significantly higher

than the 17% of Australians who currently hold this view. And whereas 68% of Australians say economic integration is ‘about right’, just 39% of New Zealanders say this.

AUSTRALIA-NEW ZEALAND: SIMILARITIES AND PARTNERSHIP

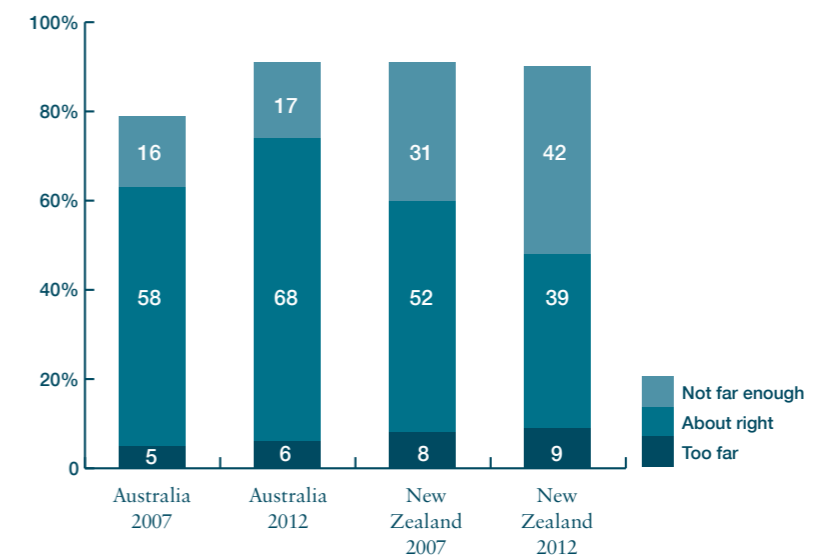
Two extra questions were fielded in New Zealand but not in Australia. The first asked whether over the last 10 years ‘Australia and New Zealand have become more like each other, less like each other or have the differences stayed

about the same’. A fifth (20%) of New Zealanders say ‘more’ (down slightly from 26% in 2007), 49% ‘about the same’ (the exact same result as 2007) and a quarter (25%) ‘less’, similar to the 22% in 2007.

The other question asked ‘over the past 10 years do you personally think Australia has been a good partner or a poor partner of New Zealand’s’. A large majority (80%) say Australia has been either a ‘very good’ (26%) or ‘somewhat good’ (54%) partner of New Zealand’s.

Figure 20: Economic integration between Australia and New Zealand

In your opinion, has economic integration between Australia and New Zealand gone too far, not far enough or is it about right?
(Parallel results are reported from the 2012 Asia New Zealand Foundation Poll fielded in New Zealand and the results from the 2007 Lowy Institute Australia New Zealand Leadership Forum Poll fielded in both countries)



Thank you for reading the Lowy Institute Poll. We try to make sure the poll gives Australians a voice in foreign policy. With a view to doing this we aim to strike a balance in our questionnaires between including previously asked tracking questions and new questions touching on contemporary debates. If you have ideas for improving the poll, its format or suggestions for new questions related to Australian foreign policy, please send them to the Program Director for Polling, Fergus Hanson, at fhanson@lowyinstitute.org

Tables of results

Please note that totals may not add to 100% due to rounding. Each response option has been rounded individually and grouped responses (e.g. those who 'somewhat agree' plus 'strongly agree') have not been rounded at the group level.

Throughout the tables an '**' represents a response given by less than 0.5% of people.

Table 1: Please rate your feelings towards some countries, with one hundred meaning a very warm, favourable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavourable feeling, and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from zero to one hundred, the higher the number the more favourable your feelings are toward that country. If you have no opinion or have never heard of that country, please say so.

Country	2012 Mean°	2011 Mean°	2010 Mean°	2009 Mean°	2008 Mean°	2007 Mean°	2006 Mean°
New Zealand	85	85	84	83	N/A	81	N/A
United States	71	70	68	67	64	60	62
Japan	70	67	64	66	64	63	64
Fiji	68	66	N/A	63	67	N/A	N/A
Greece	65	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Papua New Guinea	64	N/A	62	N/A	60	57	63
South Korea	61	57	N/A	53	50	N/A	56
Malaysia	60	N/A	60	N/A	N/A	58	58
China	59	53	54	53	56	56	61
India	58	56	55	56	57	55	62
Egypt	56	52	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Indonesia	54	51	54	49	50	47	50
Burma (Myanmar)	50	N/A	N/A	46	N/A	N/A	N/A
Libya	41	35	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Pakistan	40	N/A	N/A	42	46	N/A	N/A
Syria	39	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Afghanistan	38	37	40	37	N/A	N/A	N/A
Iran	38	35	38	38	38	34	43
North Korea	33	34	37	30	N/A	N/A	43

In 2006, this question asked respondents about their feelings towards 'countries and peoples'.

Table 2: Now about foreign companies buying Australian farmland to grow crops or farm livestock. Are you personally in favour or against the Australian government allowing foreign companies to buy Australian farmland to grow crops or farm livestock? And is that strongly or somewhat?

Strongly in favour	5%
Somewhat in favour	13%
Total in favour	18%
Somewhat against	18%
Strongly against	63%
Total against	81%
Don't know	1%

Table 3: Now about Australia selling uranium to India. Are you personally in favour or against Australia selling uranium to India? Is that strongly or somewhat?

Strongly in favour	9%
Somewhat in favour	24%
Total in favour	33%
Somewhat against	22%
Strongly against	39%
Total against	61%
Don't know	6%

Table 4: Now for Fiji. The Australian government cut off all ministerial contact with the Fiji government in response to the 2006 coup in Fiji. Would you now personally be in favour or against the Australian government restarting ministerial-level contacts with this government in Fiji? Is that strongly or somewhat?

Strongly in favour	28%
Somewhat in favour	51%
Total in favour	79%
Somewhat against	11%
Strongly against	6%
Total against	17%
Don't know	4%

Table 5: Thinking now about the 2002 Bali bombings in which 88 Australians died, and the people who carried out the bombings. To what extent do you personally think the bombers have been brought to justice, do you personally think they have been fully brought to justice, partly brought to justice or have they not been brought to justice at all?

Fully	11%
Partly	61%
Have not been brought to justice at all	22%
Don't know	6%

Table 6a: Thinking now about the legislation the Gillard Labor government passed last year introducing a fixed price on carbon that will then lead to an Emissions Trading Scheme. Are you personally in favour or against this legislation? Is that strongly or somewhat?

Strongly in favour	18%
Somewhat in favour	17%
Total in favour	35%
Somewhat against	18%
Strongly against	45%
Total against	63%
Don't know	4%

Table 6b: (Asked only of those strongly or somewhat against in 6a above: 544 respondents)

You said you were against the legislation. For each one of the following please say whether you agree or disagree it is a reason why you personally are against the legislation:

	Reported as a % of the total sample		
	It will result in job losses	It is not necessary to act before other countries	The measures are not strict enough to result in substantial emissions reductions
Agree	52%	38%	33%
Disagree	9%	22%	27%
Don't know	2%	1%	2%
Those in favour of legislation/ Don't know	39%		

Table 7: And if a Liberal Nationals Coalition government is elected at the next Federal election, would you personally be in favour or against that Coalition government removing the Emissions Trading Scheme set up by the Gillard Labor Government? Is that strongly or somewhat?

Strongly in favour	38%
Somewhat in favour	19%
Total in favour	57%
Somewhat against	13%
Strongly against	26%
Total against	39%
Don't know	4%

Table 8: Now about global warming. There is a controversy over what the countries of the world, including Australia, should do about the problem of global warming. I'm going to read you three statements. Please tell me which statement comes closest to your own point of view.

	2012	2011	2010	2009	2008	2006
Global warming is a serious and pressing problem. We should begin taking steps now even if this involves significant costs	36%	41%	46%	48%	60%	68%
The problem of global warming should be addressed, but its effects will be gradual, so we can deal with the problem gradually by taking steps that are low in cost	45%	40%	40%	39%	32%	24%
Until we are sure that global warming is really a problem, we should not take any steps that would have economic costs	18%	19%	13%	13%	8%	7%
Don't know/Refused	1%	1%	1%	1%	*	1%

Table 9: Since the climate change debate began in Australia, have you personally become more concerned or less concerned about climate change than you were when the debate began in Australia, or, have you not changed your mind at all?

More concerned	38%
Have not changed	55%
Less concerned	7%
Don't know	*

Table 10: Now about Afghanistan. Should Australia continue to be involved militarily in Afghanistan?

	2012	2011	2010	2009	2008	2007
Yes	33%	40%	43%	46%	42%	46%
No	65%	59%	54%	51%	56%	46%
Don't know	2%	2%	4%	3%	2%	8%
Refused	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	1%

Table 11: Major combat operations are scheduled to end in Afghanistan in 2014. After this, would you personally be in favour or against Australian Special Forces staying on in Afghanistan to work alongside US Special Forces in more limited counter-terrorism operations? And is that strongly or somewhat?

Strongly in favour	21%
Somewhat in favour	34%
Total in favour	55%
Somewhat against	16%
Strongly against	26%
Total against	42%
Don't know	2%

Table 12: Thinking now about Australia's involvement in the war in Iraq. In overall terms, do you personally agree or disagree that the war in Iraq was worth the costs for Australia? Is that strongly or somewhat?

Strongly agree	13%
Somewhat agree	25%
Total agree	38%
Somewhat disagree	20%
Strongly disagree	39%
Total disagree	59%
Don't know	3%

Table 13: Now on Iran and its attempts to develop nuclear weapons. Are you personally in favour or against the use of military air strikes on Iran to stop its attempts to develop nuclear weapons? Is that strongly or somewhat?

Strongly in favour	21%
Somewhat in favour	21%
Total in favour	42%
Somewhat against	20%
Strongly against	34%
Total against	54%
Don't know	4%

Table 14a: Thinking about how the Australian government determines which migrants can come to Australia to live. Please say whether you personally think each of the following is an important criteria or not an important criteria for determining which migrants should be allowed to come to Australia to live?

IF IMPORTANT: Is that a very important criteria or a somewhat important criteria?

	Their work skills	English language skills	Having similar values to Australians	Their education	Their religion	Their race
Very important	65%	60%	57%	47%	15%	10%
Somewhat important	31%	32%	33%	45%	24%	20%
Not important	4%	8%	10%	7%	61%	70%
Don't know	*	*	1%	1%	*	1%

Table 14b: And of [READ OUT CRITERIA] which one is the most important criteria for determining which migrants should be allowed to come to Australia to live?

	Having similar values to Australians	Their work skills	English language skills	Their education	Their religion	Their race	Don't know
Most important	34%	23%	20%	11%	8%	4%	1%

Table 15: When there are shortages of workers in Australia and companies in Australia cannot find enough skilled workers, are you personally in favour or against the government allowing in extra workers from foreign countries to come to Australia and fill those positions on short-term visas? Is that strongly or somewhat?

Strongly in favour	25%
Somewhat in favour	37%
Total in favour	62%
Somewhat against	11%
Strongly against	26%
Total against	37%
Don't know	1%

Table 16: And now about Australia's relationships with people from other countries in our region. Do you personally think it is important or not important for Australia to be seen in a positive light by people from countries in our region?

IF IMPORTANT: Is that very or somewhat important?

Very important	68%
Somewhat important	26%
Not important	6%
Don't know	*

Table 17: And are you personally in favour or against the Australian government funding broadcast services or other programs to communicate with people from countries in our region, with the aim of improving relations with those countries? And is that strongly or somewhat?

Strongly in favour	38%
Somewhat in favour	44%
Total in favour	82%
Somewhat against	10%
Strongly against	7%
Total against	17%
Don't know	2%

Table 18: Now about what the Australian government is doing about the Asian region. As the Asian region grows and becomes more significant, do you personally think it is very important, somewhat important or not important for the Australian government to do each of the following in response?

	Do more to get Australia included in Asian political forums	Increase defence spending	Encourage Australians to learn more Asian languages	Increase the number of Australian diplomats we send to Asia	Do more to attract Asian investment into Australia	Increase the number of migrants Australia accepts from Asia
Very important	37%	32%	31%	24%	16%	13%
Somewhat important	43%	47%	39%	46%	44%	40%
Not important	20%	20%	31%	28%	39%	46%
Don't know	1%	1%	*	2%	1%	1%

Table 19: And now about Australia's alliance relationship with the United States. How important is our alliance relationship with the United States for Australia's security?

	2012	2011	2010	2009	2008	2007	2006	2005
Very important	59%	59%	56%	55%	42%	36%	42%	45%
Fairly important	28%	23%	30%	30%	34%	27%	28%	27%
Total: very and fairly important	87%	82%	86%	85%	76%	63%	70%	72%
Somewhat important	12%	15%	12%	12%	20%	27%	22%	20%
Not at all important	1%	3%	2%	2%	4%	9%	8%	7%
Don't know	*	*	*	*	-	1%	1%	1%

Table 20: Thinking now about Australia's security over the next 10 years. Which country do you personally think will be Australia's most important security partner over the next 10 years? And which one will be the second-most important?

	Most important	Second-most important (reported as % of total sample)	Most and second-most important (reported as a % of total sample)
United States	74%	13%	87%
China	10%	14%	24%
New Zealand	4%	15%	19%
United Kingdom/England/Britain	3%	32%	35%
Indonesia	2%	6%	8%
Japan	1%	5%	6%
Other	3%	8%	11%
Don't know/None	2%	8%	2%

Table 21: The United States' Presidential election will be held in November this year. Which candidate would you prefer to see become President of the United States?

	2012	2008	
Barack Obama, the Democrat candidate	80%	Barack Obama, a Democrat	73%
Mitt Romney, as the Republican candidate	9%	John McCain, a Republican	16%
Either/Neither	5%	Either/Neither	N/A
Don't know	7%	Refused	11%

Table 22a: In November 2011, the Australian Prime Minister and US President announced that up to 2,500 US soldiers would be based in Darwin and Northern Australia on a rotating, but permanent basis. Are you personally in favour or against up to 2,500 US soldiers being based in Darwin? Is that strongly or somewhat?

Strongly in favour	32%
Somewhat in favour	42%
Total in favour	74%
Somewhat against	12%
Strongly against	10%
Total against	22%
Don't know	5%

Table 22b: [Asked only of those strongly or somewhat in favour in 22a above: 709 respondents]

And would you personally be in favour or against the Australian government allowing more US soldiers to be based in Australia above the 2,500 limit set at the moment? Is that strongly or somewhat?

	Reported as a % of total sample
Strongly in favour	19%
Somewhat in favour	27%
Total in favour	46%
Somewhat against	20%
Strongly against	5%
Total against	25%
Don't know	2%
Against 2,500 limit/ don't know	27%

Table 22c: [Asked only of those strongly or somewhat in favour in 22a above: 709 respondents]

Now what if an individual country objected to Australia allowing more than the current limit of 2,500 US soldiers to be based in Australia? Would you personally then be in favour or against the Australian government increasing the limit to the number of US soldiers based in Australia above 2,500? Firstly...

If [China/Indonesia] objected would you personally be in favour or against increasing the limit above 2,500? And is that strongly or somewhat?

	Reported as a % of total sample	
	China	Indonesia
Strongly in favour	25%	27%
Somewhat in favour	26%	27%
Total in favour	51%	54%
Somewhat against	15%	13%
Strongly against	4%	3%
Total against	19%	16%
Don't know	3%	3%
Against 2,500 limit/ don't know	27%	27%

Table 23: Thinking now about the current global economic crisis. For each of the following do you personally think it was a major reason, a minor reason or not a reason why Australia managed to avoid falling into recession?

	Because of demand for Australian resources from countries like China	Because of good Australian government policies
Major reason	70%	41%
Minor reason	22%	36%
Not a reason	6%	21%
Don't know	3%	2%

Table 24a: And now about Chinese investment in Australia. Overall, do you think the Australian government is:

	2012	2011	2010	2009
Allowing too much investment from China	56%	57%	57%	50%
Allowing about the right amount of investment from China	37%	35%	34%	42%
Not allowing enough investment from China	3%	3%	3%	3%
Don't know	4%	5%	6%	5%

Table 24b: [Asked only of those saying 'the Australian government is allowing too much investment from China' in 24a above: 532 respondents]

I am going to read out some reasons other people have given as to why the Australian government is allowing too much investment from China. For each one please say whether you agree or disagree it is a reason why you personally think the Australian government is allowing too much investment from China.

	Reported as a % of the total sample					
	China is seeking to buy Australian mining and agricultural companies and these need to be kept in Australian hands	China has so much money to invest it could end up buying and controlling a lot of Australian companies	China might use its ownership of Australian companies as leverage against Australia if we ever end up in a conflict with China	The Australian government is allowing too much foreign investment from all countries, not just China	A lot of Chinese investment is ultimately controlled by the Chinese government not private Chinese companies	It is hard to trust China
Agree	54%	51%	47%	46%	44%	37%
Disagree	2%	5%	8%	9%	6%	19%
Don't know	1%	*	1%	1%	6%	1%
Allowing about the right amount of investment from China/ Not allowing enough investment from China/Don't know	44%					

Table 25a: Please say whether you agree or disagree that China will become the leading power in Asia or, do you think it already is the leading power in Asia?

	2012	2009	2008
Agree, will become the leading power	16%	#	#
Already is the leading power	79%	#	#
Total: agree with become the leading power and already is the leading power	95%	95%	86%
Disagree	3%	4%	12%
Don't know	2%	1%	3%

In 2008, this question and the one following only asked whether 'China will become the leading power in Asia'. In 2009 'or, do you think it already is the leading power in Asia?' was added to the question, but results were not collected separately from those agreeing it 'will become the leading power'.

Table 25b: [Asked only of those agreeing in 25a above: 958 respondents]

You think China [will become the leading power in Asia/already is the leading power in Asia]. Please say whether you are very comfortable, somewhat comfortable, somewhat uncomfortable or very uncomfortable about this.

	2012	2009	2008
Very comfortable	6%	6%	6%
Somewhat comfortable	41%	42%	34%
Total comfortable	47%	48%	40%
Somewhat uncomfortable	37%	37%	42%
Very uncomfortable	15%	15%	17%
Total uncomfortable	52%	52%	59%
Don't know	1%	*	1%

Table 26: Do you think it is likely or unlikely that China will become a military threat to Australia in the next 20 years?

IF LIKELY - Is that very likely or somewhat likely?

IF UNLIKELY - Is that very unlikely or somewhat unlikely?

	2012	2011	2010	2009
Very likely	14%	18%	19%	15%
Somewhat likely	26%	26%	27%	26%
Total likely	40%	44%	46%	41%
Somewhat unlikely	39%	35%	36%	38%
Very unlikely	19%	20%	16%	19%
Total unlikely	58%	55%	52%	57%
Don't know	3%	1%	2%	3%

Table 27: Now a question about democracy. I am going to read you three statements about democracy. Please say which one of the three statements comes closest to your own personal views about democracy.

[Parallel results are reported for the 2011 Lowy Institute Indonesia Poll fielded in Indonesia with a sample size of 1,289 and the 2011 Lowy Institute Fiji Poll, fielded in Fiji with a sample size of 1,032].

	Australia 2012	Indonesia 2011	Fiji 2011
Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government	60%	62%	53%
In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable	23%	16%	25%
For someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind of government we have	15%	17%	21%
Don't know/Refused	1%	6%	1%

Table 28: And now I will ask you about the United Nations and human rights. The United Nations has set out a number of human rights that it says apply to all people throughout the world. I am going to read you a few of these. For each one, please say whether you personally agree or disagree that it is important for you here in Australia. And is that strongly or partly?

[Parallel results are reported for the 2011 Lowy Institute Indonesia Poll fielded in Indonesia with a sample size of 1,289 and the 2011 Lowy Institute Fiji Poll, fielded in Fiji with a sample size of 1,032].

	The right to a fair trial			The right to vote in national elections			The right to freely express yourself			The right to a media free from censorship		
	Aus 2012	Indo 2011	Fiji 2011	Aus 2012	Indo 2011	Fiji 2011	Aus 2012	Indo 2011	Fiji 2011	Aus 2012	Indo 2011	Fiji 2011
Strongly agree	95%	83%	85%	90%	67%	87%	84%	71%	85%	64%	24%	70%
Partly agree	4%	14%	13%	8%	28%	11%	14%	25%	13%	21%	28%	26%
Total agree	99%	97%	98%	98%	95%	98%	98%	96%	98%	85%	52%	96%
Partly disagree	*	1%	1%	2%	3%	2%	1%	2%	1%	7%	21%	3%
Strongly disagree	1%	-	1%	1%	*	-	1%	-	-	5%	22%	1%
Total disagree	1%	1%	2%	3%	3%	2%	2%	2%	1%	12%	43%	4%
Don't know/refused	*	2%	*	*	2%	*	1%	2%	*	3%	4%	*

NEW ZEALAND AND AUSTRALIA

Parallel surveys were conducted in Australia and New Zealand, repeating questions from a similar survey conducted in both countries in 2007. The 2007 Lowy Institute Australia New Zealand Poll was conducted in Australia with a sample size of 1,000 and in New Zealand with a sample size of 750. The 2012 New Zealand survey was conducted in New Zealand with a sample of 1,000 by the Asia New Zealand Foundation.

Table 29: Do you support or oppose the New Zealand and Australian dollars being replaced by a joint ANZAC dollar?

	Australia 2012	New Zealand 2012	Australia 2007	New Zealand 2007
Support	37%	43%	41%	49%
Oppose	54%	46%	42%	42%
Neither	6%	4%	10%	*
Don't know [#]	4%	7%	7%	9%

[#] In the 2007 survey, this was an unsure/depends response.

Table 30: If Australia and New Zealand joined to become a single country, do you think this would be good for both countries, good for Australia but bad for New Zealand, good for New Zealand but bad for Australia, or bad for both countries?

	Australia 2012	New Zealand 2012	Australia 2007	New Zealand 2007
Good for both	35%	24%	33%	23%
Good for New Zealand, bad for Australia	17%	12%	9%	8%
Good for Australia, bad for New Zealand	7%	15%	10%	22%
Bad for both	37%	43%	40%	39%
Don't know [#]	5%	6%	8%	8%

[#] In the 2007 survey, this was an unsure/depends response.

Table 31: In your opinion, has economic integration between Australia and New Zealand gone too far, not far enough or is it about right?

	Australia 2012	New Zealand 2012	Australia 2007	New Zealand 2007
Too far	6%	9%	5%	8%
About right	68%	39%	58%	52%
Not far enough	17%	42%	16%	31%
Don't know [#]	9%	9%	21%	9%

[#] In the 2007 survey, this was an unsure/depends response.

Table 32: Thinking about the last ten years, do you think Australia and New Zealand have become more like each other, less like each other or have the differences stayed about the same?

	Australia 2012	New Zealand 2012	Australia 2007	New Zealand 2007
More	N/A	20%	24%	26%
Stayed about the same	N/A	49%	51%	49%
Less	N/A	25%	15%	22%
Don't know [#]	N/A	6%	10%	3%

[#] In the 2007 survey, this was an unsure/depends response.

Table 33: Still thinking about Australia, over the past 10 years do you personally think Australia has been a good partner or a poor partner of New Zealand's?

	New Zealand 2012
Very good	26%
Somewhat good	54%
Total good	80%
Somewhat poor	10%
Very poor	1%
Total poor	11%
Neither	3%
Don't know	5%

Notes

¹ Paul Osborne, 'Labor backs uranium sale to India', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 December 2011, <http://news.smh.com.au/breaking-news-national/labor-backs-uranium-sale-to-india-20111204-1od16.html>.

² Fergus Hanson, 'Marles blind to Fiji poll benefits', *Lowy Interpreter*, 6 October 2011, <http://www.lowyinterpreter.org/post/2011/10/06/Marles-blind-to-fiji-poll-benefits.aspx>.

³ DFAT, Republic of Fiji country brief, Political situation, http://www.dfat.gov.au/geo/fiji/fiji_brief.html.

⁴ Paul Kelly, 'Deeper US alliance in response to strident China', *The Australian*, 10 November 2010, <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/opinion/deeper-us-alliance-inresponse-to-strident-china/story-e6frg6zo-1225950377275>.

⁵ Prime Minister of Australia, Media release, Australia-United States force posture initiatives, 16 November 2011, <http://www.pm.gov.au/press-office/australia-united-states-force-posture-initiatives>.

About the Australian Lowy Institute Poll

The Lowy Institute Poll was conducted in Australia between 26 March and 10 April. A number of the questions in the poll were first asked in previous Lowy Institute polls, or have been adapted from questions asked in those years. Repeating questions in successive years allows us to compare public opinion on a single issue over time, building trend data on important international policy issues.

Some of our questions this year are identical to questions asked previously by other survey organisations, which has allowed for the comparison of public opinion internationally.

Please note the order of questions in the questionnaire was different to the order of questions presented in this report.

Methodology – Australian Survey

For this opinion poll, Field Works Market Research conducted a total of 1,005 interviews. All but one of these interviews were conducted between 26 March and 5 April 2012, before the Easter break, with one final interview conducted on 10 April, after the Easter break. Survey interviews were conducted by fixed and mobile telephone. The sample was designed to be nationally representative of all Australians 18 years and older. Quotas were set for each state and territory, with broad age-group and gender quotas. Interviewers continued making calls until each quota was filled. Within each geographic area, telephone numbers were randomly selected from a regularly updated active residential and mobile phone number database. The results were then weighted to reflect the demographic profile of the Australian population aged 18 years and over, using data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics.

These weights were used in the production of all the tables for this report. On a truly random sample of 1,005 the margin of error is 3.1%, which means there is a 95% chance that responses from the sample fall within a range of 3.1% either side of the notional collective response of the whole population. Since this sample was stratified (by state/territory, age-group and sex), the error figure is a guide only. Where the results for a sub-sample are reported, the margin of error is greater.

Methodology – New Zealand Survey

The New Zealand survey was conducted by Colmar Brunton on behalf of the Asia New Zealand Foundation. It employed Random Digit Dialing (RDD) to survey 1,000 New Zealanders aged 18 years and over from 2 April to 19 April 2012. An RDD sample frame includes all New Zealand households with a landline telephone, including those with unlisted numbers. Upon calling each household interviewers asked to speak with the person aged 18 years or over with the next birthday. A stratified random probability sample design was employed to ensure the correct proportions of New Zealanders aged 18 years and over within each of New Zealand's main urban and rural areas.

A sampling scheme which selects only one person per household is subject to a household size bias, where people from large households have a different chance of being included than people from small households. To correct for this, data were weighted by household size (defined as the number of eligible respondents who live in the household). The data were also weighted to reflect the age and gender profile of New Zealanders aged 18 years and over, using data from Statistics New Zealand. On a truly random sample of 1,000, the maximum margin of error is plus or minus 3.1 percentage points at the 95% confidence level.

Acknowledgements

Several of the questions in this survey were modelled on those developed over the last thirty years by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs, a world leader in foreign policy opinion polling. Other questions in this year's survey were derived from Pew and WorldPublicOpinion.org. The fieldwork for the Lowy Institute Poll was managed by Tamara de Silva of Field Works Market Research. Sol Lebovic, Research Consultant, provided technical support, reviewed the questionnaire and helped interpret the data.

The Australian survey was funded entirely by the Lowy Institute for International Policy. The New Zealand survey was funded entirely by the Asia New Zealand Foundation.

The 2007 New Zealand opinion survey was undertaken on behalf of the Australia New Zealand Leadership Forum.

CONTACT US
31 BLIGH STREET SYDNEY NSW 2000
TEL: +61 2 8238 9000 FAX: +61 2 8238 9005
PO BOX H-159 AUSTRALIA SQUARE NSW 1215
ABN 40 102 792 174
TWITTER: @LOWYINSTITUTE
WWW.LOWYINSTITUTE.ORG

LOWY INSTITUTE

FOR INTERNATIONAL POLICY