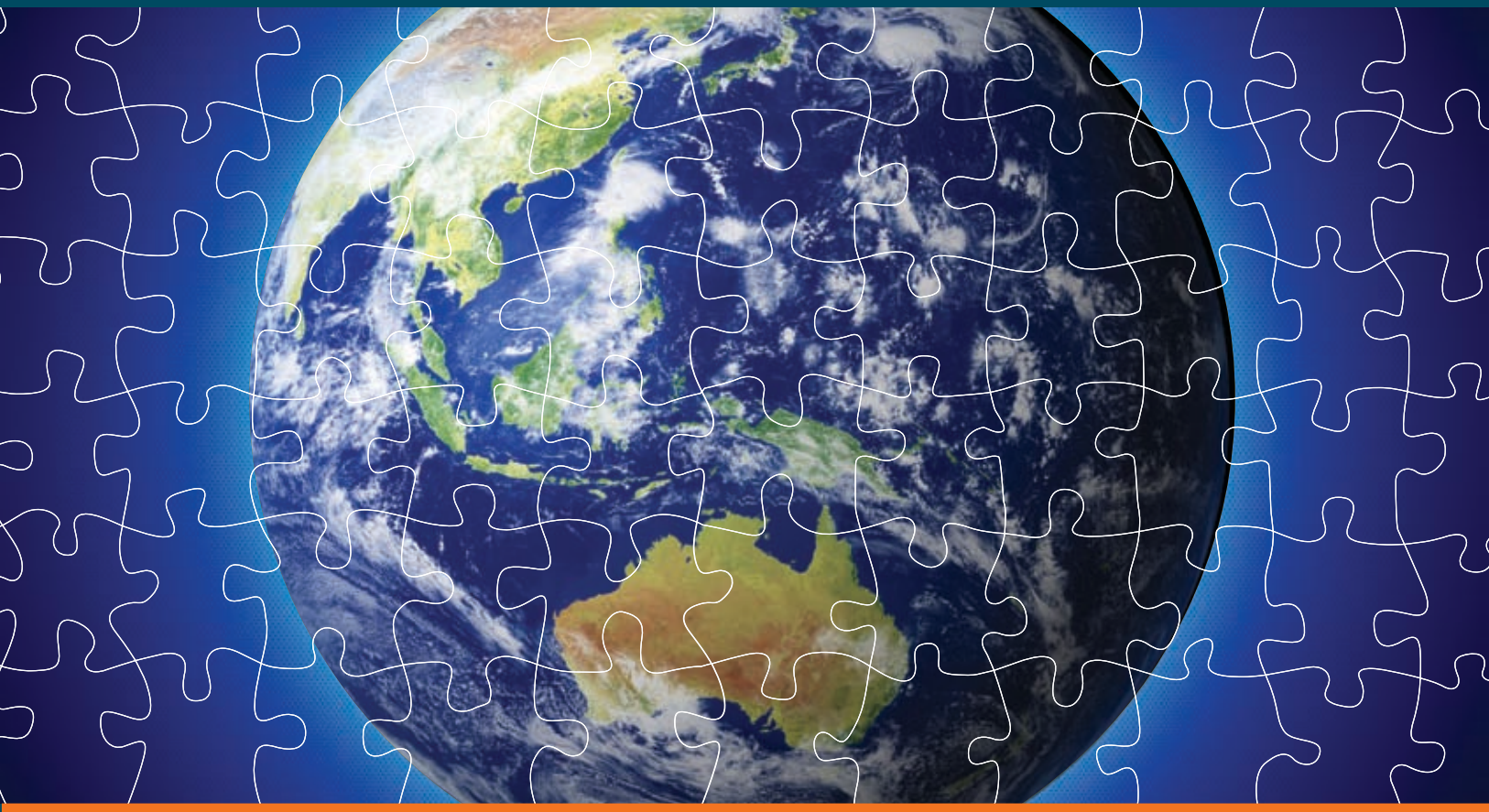
The Lowy Institute Poll 2007



Australia and the World

PUBLIC OPINION AND FOREIGN POLICY

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LOWY INSTITUTE
FOR INTERNATIONAL POLICY

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Executive summary

Australia and the World reports the results of a foreign policy public opinion survey conducted in Australia between 21 May and 2 June 2007, as well as results from a poll conducted in Australia and New Zealand between 12 and 16 April 2007 on behalf of the Australia New Zealand Leadership Forum.

Australia and the world

More than two thirds of Australians remain optimistic about Australia's economic performance in the world. Optimism about Australia's international security has increased substantially since 2005. Australians feel most warmly towards New Zealand and Great Britain, significantly less warmly but still quite favourably towards a number of countries including Singapore, Japan, the United States and Vietnam, and most unfavourably towards Iraq and Iran. Malaysia, China and India are viewed with moderate warmth.

Australia's foreign policy

Three quarters of Australians think that in dealing with international problems, Australia's democratic or humanitarian values should be considered more important than its economic or political interests. Tackling climate change and protecting the jobs of Australian workers were the two most important foreign policy goals.

Protecting Australian citizens abroad was also considered important, and most Australians said it is the government's duty to assist Australians caught up in dangerous events in another country even if they are dual citizens. Two thirds of Australians felt that temporary migrant worker schemes are a good idea, while less than half agreed that they could also yield bad outcomes.

Defence and security

When thinking about world events, almost all Australians feel safe, but they also recognise the existence of external threats, the most worrying of which were climate change and nuclear weapons proliferation. The least worrying threats were presented by China's growing power and failing countries in our region.

The ANZUS alliance was well regarded, though less so than in recent years. A clear majority of Australians felt that Australia should no longer be involved militarily in Iraq, but respondents were split equally over whether or not Australia should continue to be involved militarily in Afghanistan.

A clear majority also believe Iran is trying to produce nuclear weapons, and most of those think the best response is diplomatic efforts backed by economic sanctions.

International trade

Many Australians worried about the pitfalls of freer international trade, but they felt on average that it delivers net benefits to Australia. Most felt that freer trade opens new markets, leads to lower prices and more consumer choice, and that it helps to increase prosperity around the world and makes the world more stable.

But many also felt that freer trade can disadvantage Australia in the global market because of our high labour standards, and some felt that it costs more jobs than it creates and leads to more social and economic inequality in Australia. Few said it leads to lower quality jobs in Australia.

Australia's free trade agreements with China and Japan (both still under negotiation) were thought of positively by significant proportions, but not majorities, of Australians. A Japan FTA was substantially more popular than a China FTA, which enjoyed less support amongst Australians than it did in 2005.

Australians thought the most important economies for Australia were China, the United States and Japan in that order, though the differences were slight. But they thought that 25 years from now the differences will be greater and that the United States will be the third most important economy to Australia behind Japan, with China far in front.

The United States of America

Less than two thirds of Australians had a favourable opinion of the United States, but three quarters had a favourable opinion of Americans. Unfavourable opinions of the United States were much more likely to be caused by President Bush or US foreign policies than by American culture, and still less by Americans in person.

Three quarters of Australians thought the United States pays little heed to Australia in its foreign policies. Australians were divided on whether it would be good if American political power waned, with slightly more respondents thinking it would be a mainly positive as opposed to negative development.

Climate change

Climate change is seen as the most important threat Australians face from the outside world, and tackling it ranks equal first as Australia's most important foreign policy goal (together with protecting Australian jobs). Of all goals, international and domestic, tackling climate change is as important to Australians as improving standards in education, and more so than improving the delivery of health care, ensuring economic growth and fighting international terrorism.

Australians felt that by far the most convincing method by which carbon emissions could be reduced during energy production was by using renewable energy, followed by more efficient machinery, the use of biofuels, and hydroelectric power from new dams. Ranking well behind were nuclear energy and clean coal technology as convincing ways to reduce carbon emissions.

Australia – New Zealand relations

Australians and New Zealanders feel very positively about each other, but New Zealanders know much more about Australia than Australians know about New Zealand. Australians are more likely to think that the two countries are partners in globalisation, and both think it benefits Australia when New Zealanders migrate permanently across the Tasman.

A majority of New Zealanders are concerned about the increasing Australian ownership of New Zealand companies, but twice as many New Zealanders as Australians think economic integration has not gone far enough. Sizeable minorities in both countries support currency union, but there are fewer New Zealanders who think political union would be good for New Zealand than there are Australians who think it would be good for Australia.

Introduction

Australia and the World reports the results of two foreign policy public opinion surveys. The Lowy Institute Poll was conducted in Australia between 21 May and 2 June 2007. The Australia New Zealand Leadership Forum Poll was conducted between 12 and 16 April 2007 in Australia and New Zealand.

A number of the questions in the Lowy Institute Poll were first asked in 2005 or 2006, 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 through time, building valuable trend data on important international policy issues.

Some of our questions this year are identical to questions asked previously by other survey organisations such as the German Marshall Fund, the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, and the Chicago Council on Global Affairs. Repeating questions in different countries allows the comparison of public opinion internationally. Many of the results from the 2006 Lowy Institute Poll were included in the influential "World Public Opinion 2007" survey released in June this year, which included parallel surveys by the Chicago Council and WorldPublicOpinion.org together with 16 partner research organisations in China, India, East Asia, Europe, the United States, South America and the Middle East.

The first section of this report gives the results of the Lowy Institute Poll and the Australia New Zealand Leadership Forum Poll surveys in narrative and illustrative form and compares them, where appropriate, to responses to the same questions from earlier years. The narrative is intended to provide context but not analysis. The second section contains tables of all the questions and responses so that readers can examine the raw data for themselves.

Several questions ask for responses on a numbered scale. Where scales are used, collective responses may be given in the form of both mean figures (being the average of all responses) and median figures (being the response with an equal number of responses above and below it). Means are more affected than medians by small numbers of extreme responses. All the illustrative charts in this report use mean figures for consistency, but both mean and median figures are reported in the tables of results.

Acknowledgements

Many 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. Others were drawn from surveys by the German Marshall Fund and the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press.

The field work for the Lowy Institute Poll survey was managed by Jace Cheal of AMR Interactive. Dr Ian Watson, Visiting Senior Research Fellow at Macquarie University, provided technical support, reviewed the questionnaires and helped interpret the data. The survey was funded entirely by the Lowy Institute for International Policy.

The Australia New Zealand Leadership Forum Poll surveys were managed by Bruce Dier and Stephen Mills at UMR Research in Australia and New Zealand. They helped write the questionnaire with Ivan Cook at the Lowy Institute for International Policy and David Skilling and Chye-Ching Huang at the New Zealand Institute. The surveys were funded by UBS in Australia and Air New Zealand, Fonterra, Telecom, Telstra Clear and Westpac in New Zealand.

The Lowy Institute Poll is overseen by the Institute's Executive Director, Allan Gyngell, and was managed in 2007 by Ivan Cook and Alex Duchen. Particular thanks are due to Ivan Cook, who was the major drafter of this report.

Australia and the world

Australia's economic performance

Australia's economic performance in the world continues to inspire confidence among our respondents. In February 2005, 67% of our respondents were either very optimistic (14%) or optimistic (53%) 'about Australia's economic performance in the world over the next five years'. In June 2007, 71% of our respondents were very optimistic (19%) or optimistic (52%), a slightly greater proportion overall, and a 5% improvement in those feeling 'very optimistic'. Pessimism remained constant at around 10% of respondents.

Australia's international security

Australians are much more confident about Australia's international security than they were in early 2005. In June 2007, 62% of our respondents were either very optimistic (14%) or optimistic (48%) 'about Australia's international security over the next five years'. In February 2005 only half our respondents (50%) expressed optimism about Australia's international security, with many fewer (8%) saying they were 'very optimistic'. The proportion expressing pessimism in 2005 (19%) was similar to the proportion expressing pessimism in 2007 (16%).

Feelings towards other countries

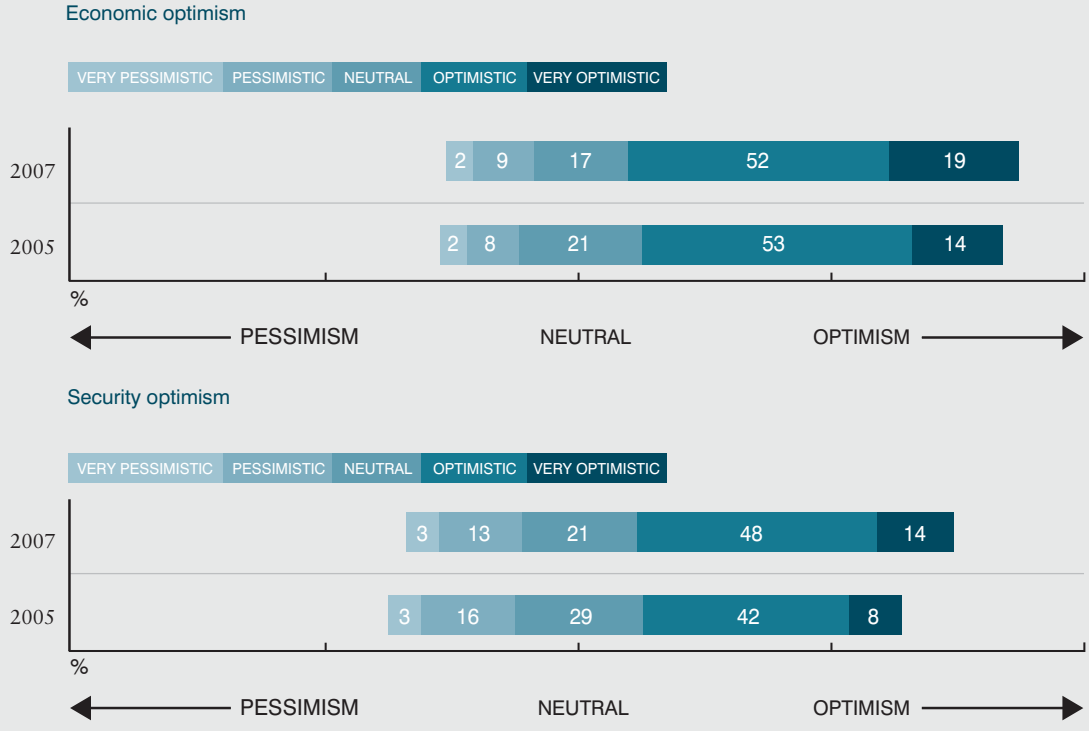
New Zealand inspired very warm feelings amongst our respondents in 2007. On average they gave New Zealand a rating of 81°. Great Britain inspired 75° of warmth, 11° more than the next most warmly regarded country.

Singapore (64°) and Japan (63°) were the most warmly regarded East Asian countries, followed by Vietnam (60°), Malaysia (58°) and China (56°). Indonesia (47°) was the only East Asian country invoking marginally cooler rather than warmer feelings.

Of the remaining countries we asked about, the United States (60°) was the next warmly regarded. Feelings about China (56°), India (55°) and East Timor (54°) were positive to similar degrees. In the troubled West Asian region, feelings about Israel (50°) were neither warm nor cool, but Iraq (36°) and Iran (34°) generated cool responses.

Fig. 1: Economic and security optimism

Overall, how optimistic are you about Australia's economic performance in the world over the next five years?
Overall, how optimistic are you about Australia's international security over the next five years?



We asked a similar 'thermometer of feelings' question in July 2006. The group of countries was slightly different and comparisons should be treated with caution. Still, some clear shifts of opinion have occurred. No country was thought of more warmly in 2007 than a year earlier, but four countries generated feelings that were cooler in 2007 by more than 5°: Iran (by 9°), Iraq (by 8°), India (by 7°) and Papua New Guinea (by 6°). Feelings about China and Israel were 5° cooler in 2007 than they were in 2006.

Australia's foreign policy

Values and interests in foreign policy

In dealing with international problems, there can sometimes be a clash between Australia's economic or political interests and Australia's democratic or humanitarian values. We asked our respondents to say whether interests or values should be considered more important when that happens. A very convincing majority (74%) thought that democratic or humanitarian values should be considered more important, with less than a fifth (18%) expressing the view that economic or political interests should be considered more important.

If attitudes to the tension between interests and values in foreign policy were tested using specific examples, responses would likely differ from those to the non-specific question described above, and we cannot infer from our result that most Australians will always choose values over interests. But we can say that for three quarters of the voting age population, the starting point in developing a view on a specific international policy problem where values and interests are in tension is that values should be privileged over interests.

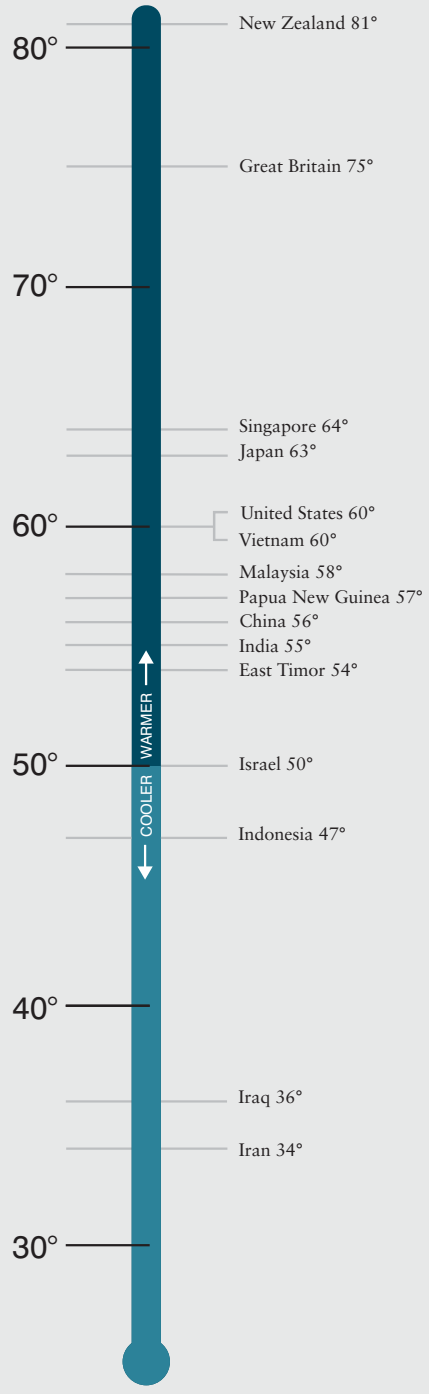
Foreign policy goals

To get a sense of the foreign policy issues that resonate with Australians, we asked our respondents to rate the importance to Australia of each one of ten possible foreign policy goals. Responses were then ranked in two different ways to show comparative interest in each issue.

Looking at the proportion of respondents ranking the respective goals as 'very important', the two goals most important to Australians in 2007 were 'protecting the jobs of Australian workers' (75%) and 'tackling climate change' (75%). By the same measure, 'combating international terrorism' (65%), 'protecting Australian citizens abroad' (63%), 'helping to prevent nuclear proliferation' (61%) and 'strengthening the Australian economy' (60%) were substantially less important. 'Controlling illegal immigration' (55%) was substantially less important again, but was still seen as very important by a majority of respondents, whereas 'strengthening

Fig 2: Feelings towards other countries

Please rate your feelings towards some countries and peoples, 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 or those people. If you have no opinion or have never heard of that country or those people, please say so.



the United Nations' (46%) and 'helping to stabilise weak nations in our region' (46%) were not. The lowest-ranked possible foreign policy goal was 'promoting democracy in other countries' (29%).

When those saying that each goal is 'very important' are combined with those saying each one is 'fairly important', the ranking is less widely dispersed. 'Protecting the jobs of Australian workers' (95%), together with 'strengthening the Australian economy' (95%) and 'tackling climate change' (94%) all assume almost equal importance on this measure. 'Protecting Australian citizens abroad' (93%) and 'combating international terrorism' (91%) were also seen as important. By this measure, 'helping to stabilise weak nations in our region' (91%) ranks ahead of 'helping to prevent nuclear proliferation' (88%). 'Controlling illegal immigration' (86%) and 'strengthening the United Nations' (84%), while still important, were seen as less critical. Even the lowest-ranked threat, 'promoting democracy in other countries' (70%) was important to a large majority of respondents.

Consular responsibilities

From time to time Australians are caught up in dangerous incidents abroad like the tsunami of 2004 or the fighting in Lebanon of 2006. Typically the Australian government expends substantial resources servicing and often repatriating Australian nationals, even if they are also citizens of the country in which the incident takes place.

To test public attitudes to this practice, we asked respondents, 'is it the duty of the Australian government to provide assistance to Australians caught up in dangerous events in another country?' An overwhelming proportion of our respondents, 81%, agreed that it is. We then asked, 'if they are citizens of the other country as well as citizens of Australia, is it still the duty of the Australian government to help them?' Agreement was not as great at 71%, but still very strong.

Migrant worker schemes

Some politicians, economists and development specialists say that admitting unskilled seasonal labour to Australia on a temporary basis would benefit the people of both Australia and the source countries, but others are not so sure. To find out where Australians stand on the issue, we asked respondents to indicate their level of agreement with either side of the case as represented by two positive and two negative statements.

We found that, overall, respondents were much more likely to think that temporary migrant worker schemes are a good idea. Around two thirds of our respondents either strongly agreed or agreed that 'migrant worker schemes are good because they fill a gap in the demand

Fig. 3: Foreign policy goals

Thinking about what Australian foreign policy should be trying to achieve, I am going to read a list of goals, and ask you to tell me how important each one is for Australia. Please say whether you think each issue is very important, fairly important, not very important or not at all important.

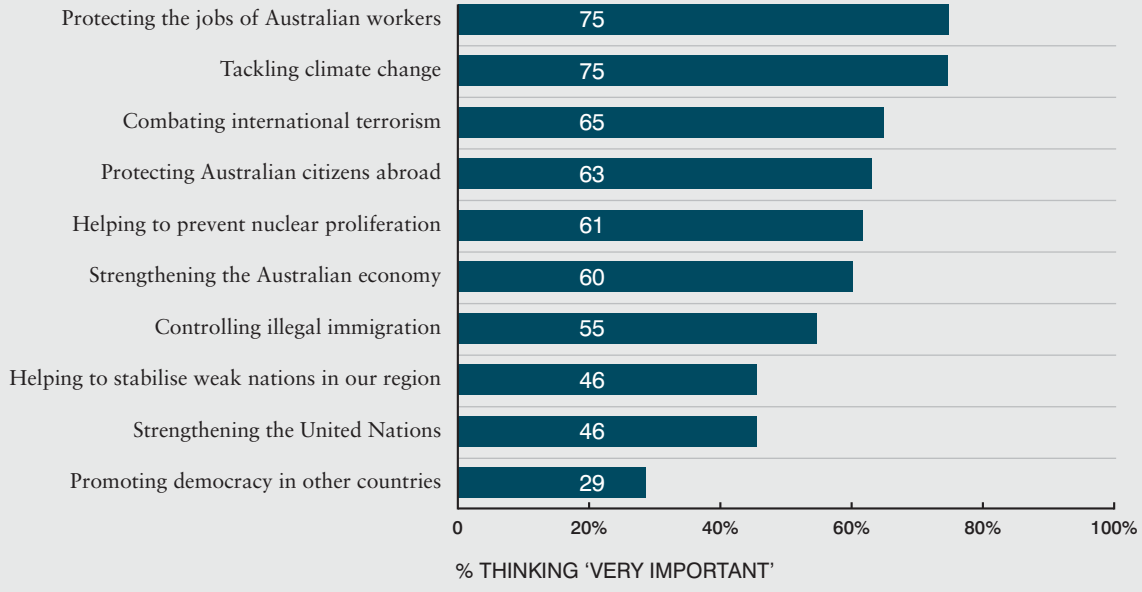
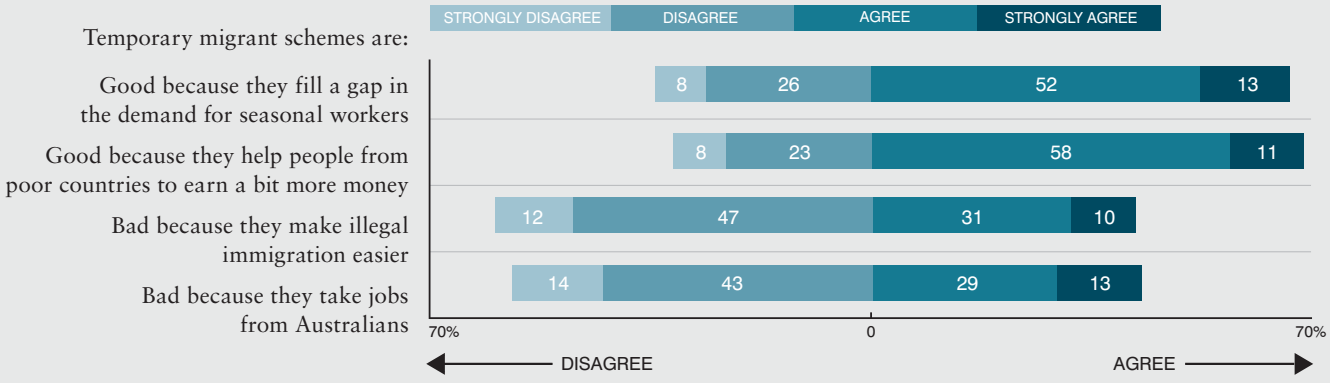


Fig. 4: Temporary migrant worker schemes

Temporary migrant worker schemes bring in foreigners to do seasonal unskilled work for limited periods. Thinking about Australia, please say whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with each of the following statements:



for seasonal labour' (65%) or 'because they help people from poor countries to earn a bit more money' (69%). In contrast, fewer than half thought 'temporary migrant worker schemes are bad because they make illegal immigration easier' (41%) or 'because they take jobs from Australians' (42%).

Defence and security

Feeling of safety

To test Australians' basic sense of security we asked our respondents how safe they feel when thinking about world events. The response was resoundingly positive, with 90% of respondents feeling either 'very safe' (40%) or 'safe' (50%). When asked the same question in February 2005, fewer people felt 'very safe' (30%) but more felt 'safe' (61%) so that aggregate feelings of safety (91%) were unchanged.

Potential threats from the outside world

Australians might feel safe, but they also recognise the existence of external threats. We asked our respondents to say how worried they were about each one of ten potential threats from the outside world, and then ranked them using two different measures.

First, we ranked the list of threats according to the proportion of respondents who said they were 'very worried' about each one. By this measure, unequivocally the most worrying threat from the outside world was 'climate change' (55%), followed by 'unfriendly countries developing nuclear weapons' (50%).

Many fewer people were 'very worried' about 'Islamic fundamentalism' (39%), 'international terrorism' (38%) or 'infectious diseases like bird flu and SARS' (34%). 'Illegal immigration' (26%), 'world population growth' (22%), and 'economic competition from low-wage countries' (21%) were very worrying to barely a quarter of our respondents. 'China's growing power' (19%) and 'failing countries in our region' (14%) were the least worrying potential threats.

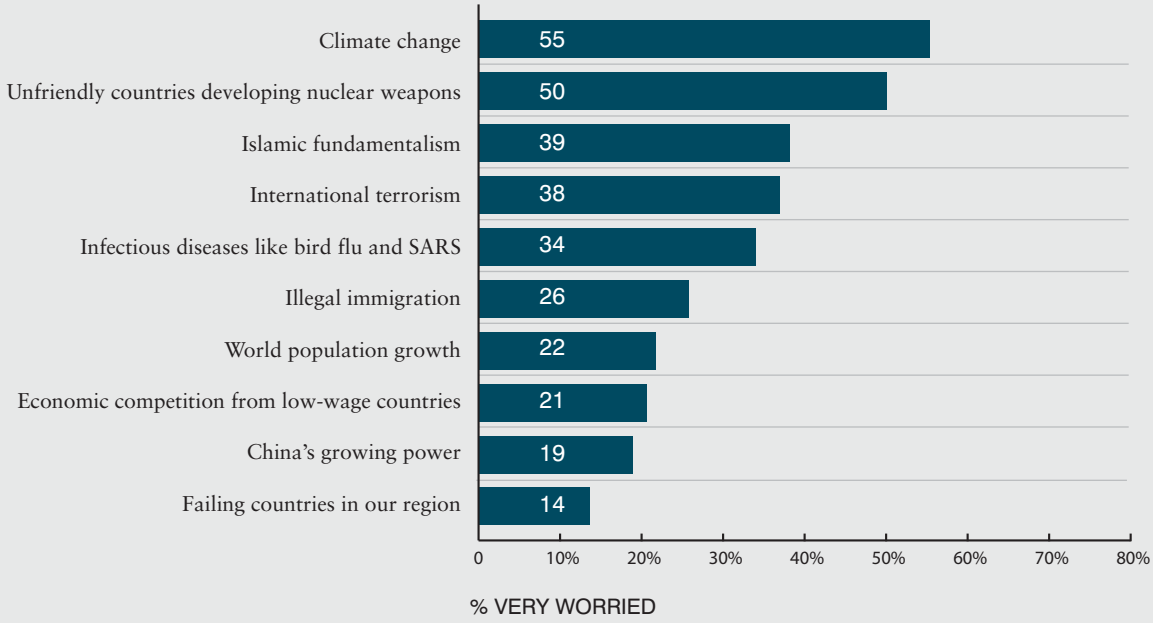
When we ranked responses by combining the proportions of respondents who were 'very worried' and 'fairly worried' about each particular threat, we found that people's concerns were largely the same. 'Climate change' (86%) was still the most worrying threat, followed again by 'unfriendly countries developing nuclear weapons' (83%), and so on. The only notable change was to China's growing power (47%), which by this measure was the least worrying potential threat.

Importance of the ANZUS alliance

University polling over decades shows that Australians have consistently regarded the ANZUS Treaty, Australia's strategic alliance with the United States, as important. The Lowy Institute Poll shows that Australians still believe the ANZUS alliance is important for Australia's security, but that over the three years since 2005, their sense of that importance has waned gradually. Three results do not make a trend, but they do appear to reflect a general deflation of global opinion on the utility of relations with the United States.

Fig. 5: Potential threats from the outside world

How worried are you about the following potential threats from the outside world? Very worried, fairly worried, not very worried, not at all worried?



In 2005, 45% of respondents said the alliance was 'very important for Australia's security', 27% said it was 'fairly important' and 20% said it was 'somewhat important', so that overall 92% of respondents expressed some sense of its importance. In 2006, the overall figure was still 92%, but slightly fewer (42%) said it was 'very important', and slightly more said it was either 'fairly important' (28%) or 'somewhat important' (22%). In 2007, substantially fewer (36%) said the alliance was 'very important', the same proportion (27%) said it was 'fairly important' and a greater number (27%) said it was 'somewhat important'. Over three years, therefore, the proportion of respondents who invested the alliance with some degree of importance remained essentially unchanged at 90%, but the proportion who said it was 'very important' slipped substantially, from 45% in 2005 to 42% in 2006 to 36% in 2007. Future editions of the Lowy Institute Poll will determine whether this slide is the beginning of a trend or merely transitory.

Fig. 6: Importance of the ANZUS alliance

How important is our alliance relationship with the United States for Australia's security?

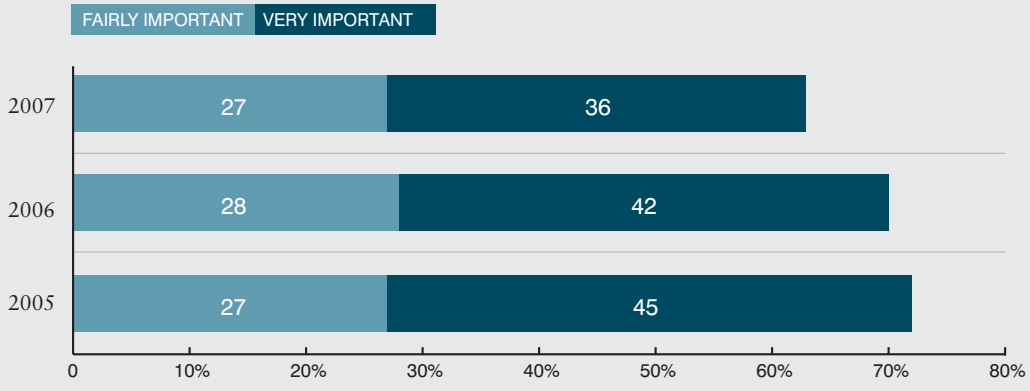
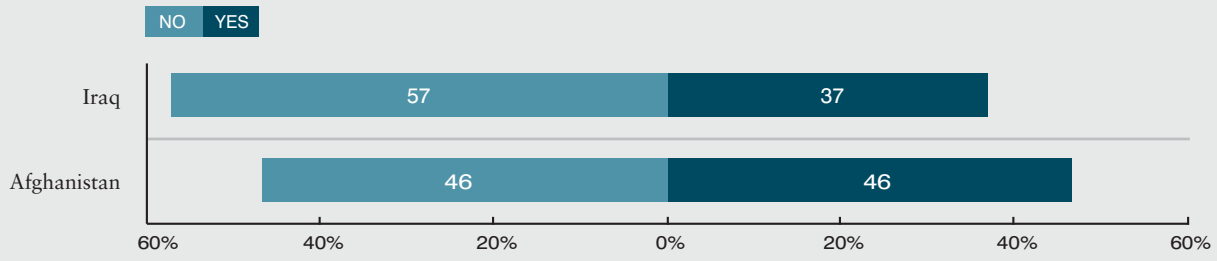


Fig 7: Military involvement in Iraq and Afghanistan

Should Australia continue to be involved militarily in Iraq?
Should Australia continue to be involved militarily in Afghanistan?



Military involvement in Iraq and Afghanistan

Australian troops have been deployed in Iraq and Afghanistan since 2003 and 2001 respectively. We asked our respondents whether Australia should continue to be involved militarily in each country, and also which of four possible reasons for Australian involvement in each country most closely reflected their own view. The differences were not great, but they show clearly that while respondents were divided over military involvement in Afghanistan, the majority think Australia should leave Iraq.

A majority of our respondents (57%) said that Australia should not 'continue to be involved militarily in Iraq', while 37% said that it should (and 6% were undecided). Of the reasons we offered for Australia's military involvement, 'to support the United States under the US alliance' (at 44%) most closely reflected the views of a clear plurality of respondents. 'To help fight international terrorism' (20%) and 'to support the democratic government' (19%) fell considerably behind this, while 13% felt the most likely reason for Australia's involvement was 'to promote western strategic interests in the region'.

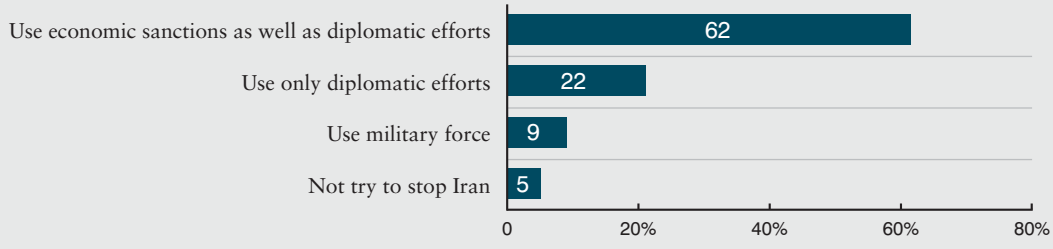
Of those respondents who said that 'Australia should continue to be involved militarily in Iraq', almost two thirds (63%) believed Australia was involved in Iraq either 'to help fight international terrorism' (31%) or 'to support the democratic government' (32%). Of those who disagreed that 'Australia should continue to be involved militarily in Iraq', a majority (56%) thought Australia was involved in Iraq 'to support the United States under the US alliance'.

Our respondents were ambivalent on average about whether Australia's military involvement in Afghanistan should continue. Equal proportions (46%) of our respondents lined up on each side of the issue. Of the reasons we offered, 'to support the United States under the US alliance' (35%) was again thought the most likely, but less strongly so than for the Iraq engagement, with almost as many (31%) agreeing that Australia is involved in Afghanistan 'to help fight international terrorism'. One fifth (20%) felt that Australia's involvement was 'to support the democratic government', and only 9% that it was 'to promote Western strategic interests in the region'.

Of those respondents who said Australia should continue to be involved militarily in Afghanistan, three quarters (75%) believed Australia was involved in Afghanistan either 'to help fight international terrorism' (46%) or 'to

Fig. 8: Response to Iran's developing nuclear weapons

You said you think that Iran is trying to develop nuclear weapons. In your opinion, what is the best response?



support the democratic government' (29%). Of those who disagreed that Australia should continue to be involved militarily in Afghanistan, more than half (54%) said Australia was involved in Afghanistan 'to support the United States under the US alliance'.

The nuclear threat from Iran

In 2006 we asked our respondents whether Iran was producing enriched uranium for energy production or nuclear weapons purposes, and found that a majority (59%) thought Iran was trying to develop nuclear weapons. We repeated the question in 2007, and found that opinions had hardened marginally over the period, so that 62% of our respondents in 2007 said they thought Iran is trying to develop nuclear weapons. It is worth noting that nearly one fifth of respondents answered this question with a 'don't know' (the same proportion that believed Iran was enriching uranium strictly for its energy needs).

We then asked the sub-group of people who believed Iran is trying to develop nuclear weapons to choose between four options for Australia in responding to Iran's nuclear weapons threat, and found the moderate options widely supported. Easily the most compelling option, chosen by 62% of the sub-group, was to 'use economic sanctions as well as diplomatic efforts to stop Iran enriching uranium'. The next most popular option, to 'use only diplomatic efforts to stop Iran enriching uranium', was supported by barely a fifth (22%) of the sub-group. The more extreme responses – to 'use military force to stop Iran enriching uranium' (9%) and to 'not try to stop Iran enriching uranium' (5%) – had only marginal support.

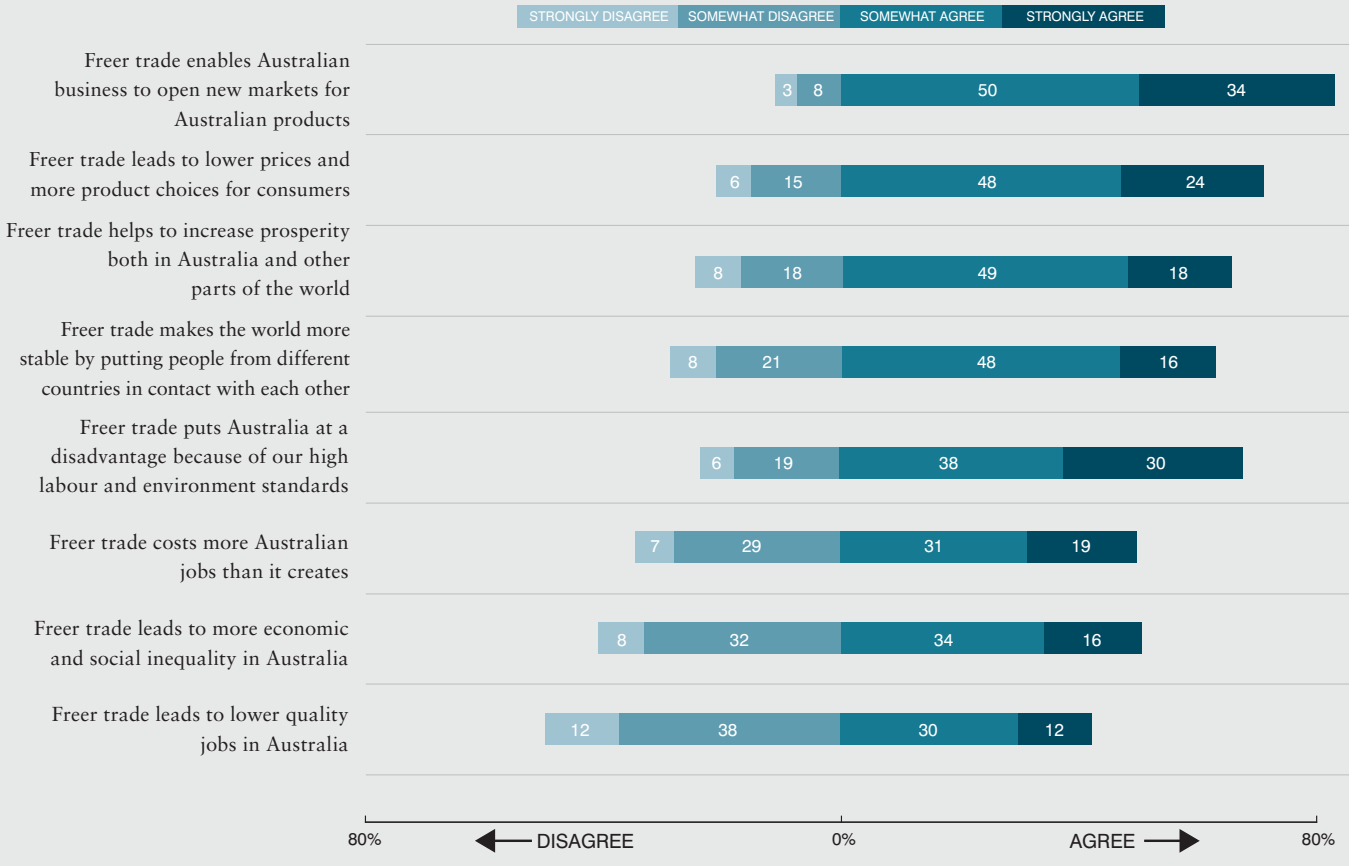
International trade

Attitudes to freer international trade

To place average Australians in the debate about open markets, we asked our respondents to indicate their level

Fig. 9: Attitudes to freer international trade

I am going to read you some statements about moving towards freer international trade. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with these statements?



of agreement with each one of eight statements about 'moving towards freer international trade', four focused on positive outcomes and four on negative outcomes. Broadly, more respondents agreed with the positive evaluations of freer trade than agreed with the negative evaluations of it, and more disagreed with the negative evaluations of freer trade than with the positive ones. The sense is that while many Australians worry about the pitfalls of freer trade, they feel on average that it delivers net benefits to Australia.

Asked whether 'freer trade enables Australian business to open new markets for Australian products', a resounding 84% of respondents either 'strongly agreed' (34%) or 'somewhat agreed' (50%). Almost as many, 72%, either 'strongly' (24%) or 'somewhat' (48%) agreed that 'freer trade leads to lower prices and more product choices for consumers'. Two thirds of respondents (64%) 'strongly' (16%) or 'somewhat' (48%) agreed that 'freer trade makes the world more stable by putting people from different countries in contact with each other', and two thirds again (65%) 'strongly' (18%) or 'somewhat' (49%) agreed that 'freer trade helps to increase prosperity, both in Australia and in other parts of the world'.

However, two thirds of respondents (68%) also agreed 'strongly' (30%) or 'somewhat' (38%) with the notion that 'freer trade puts Australia at a disadvantage because of our high labour and environmental standards'. Half our respondents (50%) either 'strongly' (19%) or 'somewhat' (31%) agreed that 'freer trade costs more jobs than it creates', and half again (50%) felt that 'freer trade leads to more economic and social inequality in Australia' with 16% saying they 'strongly agreed' and 34% that they agreed 'somewhat'. The only statement critical of freer trade that more respondents disagreed with was that 'freer trade leads to lower quality jobs in Australia'. While 42% either 'strongly' (12%) or 'somewhat' (30%) agreed, 50% said they 'strongly disagreed' (12%) or 'disagreed' (38%).

Free trade agreements

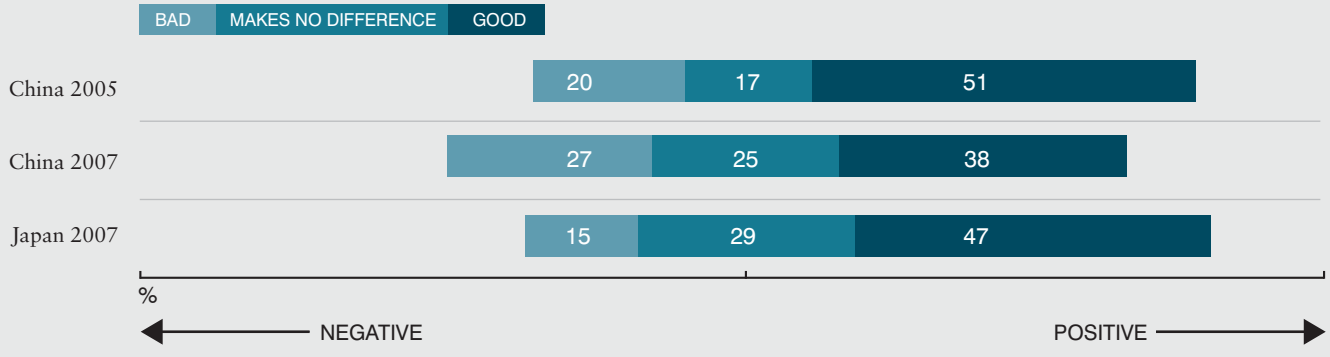
Australia is currently negotiating free trade agreements with both China and Japan. For each country, we asked our respondents to say whether they thought 'signing a free trade agreement would be good or bad for Australia, or would it make no difference?' In both cases significant proportions of respondents said that a free trade agreement would be good for Australia, but many more (47%) thought so in the case of Japan than thought so in the case of China (38%), and almost twice as many (27%) thought a free trade agreement with China would be bad for Australia as thought so in the case of Japan (15%).

Attitudes to a free trade agreement with China cooled significantly over the 27 months to June 2007. In February 2005, 51% of Lowy Institute Poll respondents thought a free trade agreement with China would be good for Australia, but in June 2007 only 38% thought so.

Fig. 10: Free trade agreements

We are in the process of negotiating a free trade agreement with China. On balance, do you think signing a free trade agreement with China would be good or bad for Australia or would it make no difference?

We are in the process of negotiating a free trade agreement with Japan. On balance, do you think signing a free trade agreement with Japan would be good or bad for Australia or would it make no difference?



Economies of importance to Australia

China's economic importance to Australia is widely acknowledged, but how does it rate against the world's other big economic powers? We asked respondents to rate the importance for Australia of five economies on a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is least important and 10 is most important. China (7.17), the United States (6.99) and Japan (6.91) were felt to be of almost equal importance to Australia, while the European Union (6.09) and India (5.67) trailed substantially.

The importance with which China, the United States and Japan are regarded is not surprising. China is now Australia's second largest trading partner after Japan, and may soon overtake it with the continuing resources boom. The United States, Australia's third largest trading partner, is also the country with which Australia has its most high-profile free trade agreement.

Still, some analysts say that the power of the great western economies is fading while those of Asia steadily rise.

To test how well Australians agree with that analysis, we asked respondents to predict the importance of the same five economic powers for Australia twenty-five years from now. China (7.76) again topped the list, but this time by a substantial margin. Japan (7.01) was regarded as second most important, with the United States (6.72) close behind. Respondents felt that India (6.54) would be much more important in 2032 than it is now, and almost as important for Australia as the United States. And while respondents thought the European Union (6.11) will be just as important to Australia in twenty-five years, they thought it will be the least important of the five powers we asked about.

The United States of America

Opinions of the United States

In past editions of the Lowy Institute Poll our respondents' complex and sometimes polarised attitudes to the United States have generated much attention. We asked more questions in 2007 to tease out the subtleties in opinions of the United States by differentiating between the country, its people and its leadership.

First we asked how favourable our respondents' opinions were of the United States. Half as many again (60%) were either 'very' (14%) or 'somewhat' (46%) favourable than were unfavourable (39%), with 26% saying they were 'somewhat unfavourable' and 13% that they were 'very unfavourable'. Next, we asked how favourable our respondents' opinions were of Americans using the same scale. Attitudes were substantially more favourable overall, with 76% saying they were either 'very' (19%) or 'somewhat' (57%) favourable, and only 22% expressing 'somewhat' (17%) or 'very' much (5%) disfavour.

Although attitudes in general were more favourable than not, there was still a substantial body of negative opinion. To find out why, we asked our respondents whether any of four central factors caused them to have an unfavourable opinion of the United States. Topping the list was the country's leadership and direction. More than two thirds (69%) of respondents said that 'President George W. Bush' caused them to feel unfavourably towards the United States, and almost as many (63%) said that 'US foreign policies' had the same effect. But the more long-standing characteristics of America in general did not. 'American culture' engendered disfavour amongst less than half (41%) our respondents, and 'Americans you have met' caused only one fifth (20%) to hold an unfavourable opinion of the Untied States.

Fig. 11: Opinions of the United States

Do any of the following factors cause you to have an unfavourable opinion of the United States?

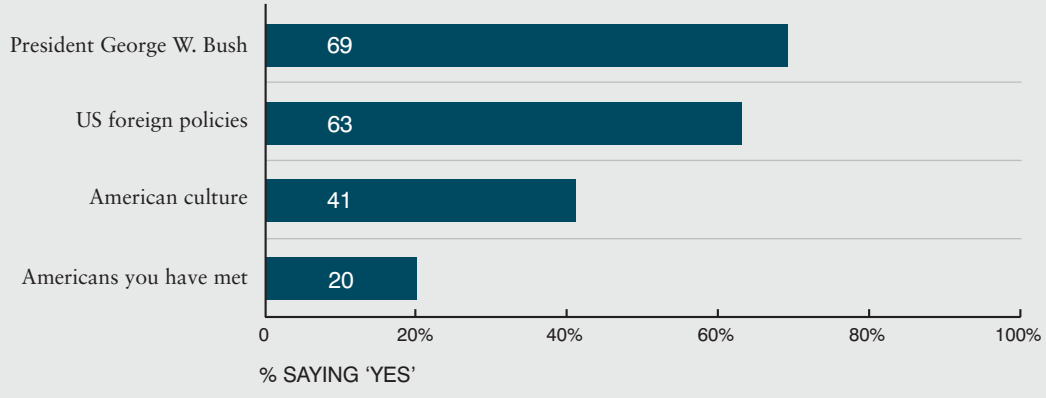
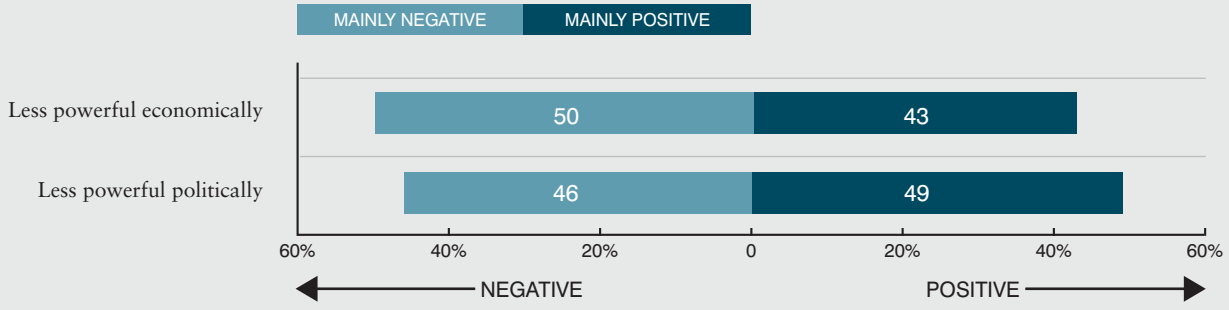


Fig. 12: The value of American power

Would it be mainly positive or mainly negative if the United States becomes significantly less powerful economically?
Would it be mainly positive or mainly negative if the United States becomes significantly less powerful politically?



US attention to Australian interests

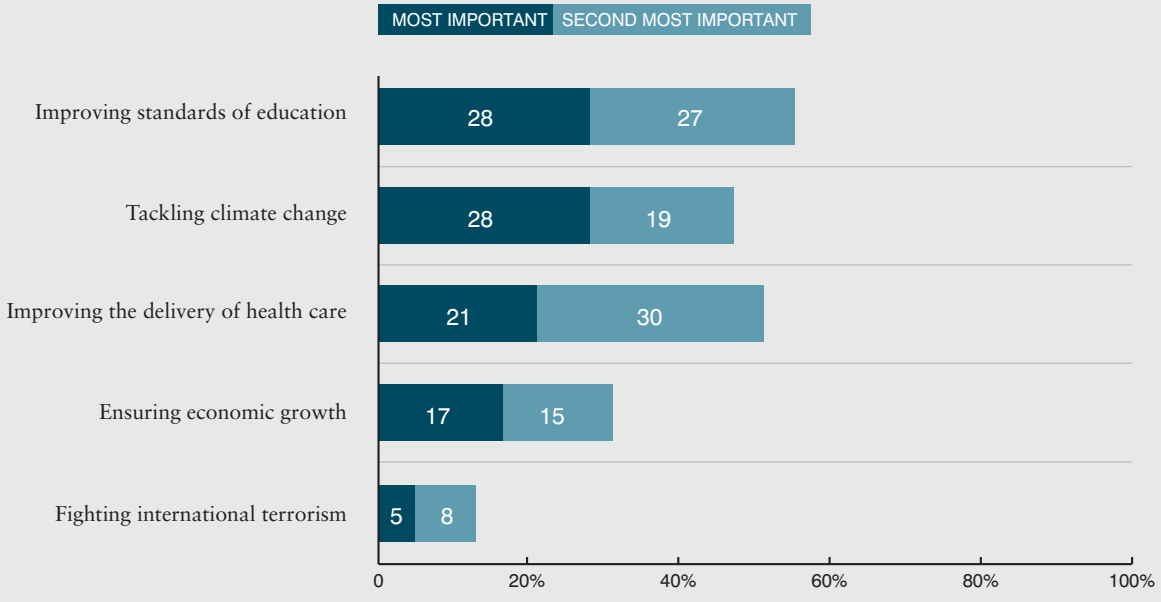
Do our respondents display displeasure at America's leadership because they feel that Australia's interests are too often ignored? It could be a contributing factor. Only a quarter (25%) thought that 'in making international policy decisions … the United States takes into account the interests of countries like Australia' either 'a great deal' (6%) or 'a fair amount' (19%), whereas three quarters (74%) said that it did so either 'not too much' (52%) or 'not at all' (22%).

The value of American power

From these results, we see that it is more America's leadership and direction than its culture and people that provokes disfavour amongst Australians, but what are the practical implications, and do they extend to economic as well as political behaviour? We asked 'would it be mainly positive or mainly negative if the United States becomes significantly less powerful politically?' Opinions were more moderate than those towards the country's leadership and policies. Half our respondents (49%) said it would be 'mainly positive', but almost as many (46%) said it would be mainly negative. When we asked the

Fig. 13: The importance of climate change

In coming years, which one of the following goals should be most important to Australia?
Which one should be second most important?



same question about America's economic power, fewer (43%) said it would 'mainly positive' if the United States becomes significantly less powerful than said it would be 'mainly negative' (50%). Overall, more of our respondents thought it would be mainly positive if America was less powerful politically but not economically.

Climate change

The importance of climate change

In a relatively short time, climate change has become one of the central issues of our age. Not only does it take centre stage in national politics, but our polling shows that Australians now rate climate change as the most important external threat we face, and believe that tackling it should be one of our most important foreign policy goals (see page 7). But how important is climate change on the domestic front compared with the bread-and-butter issues that have dominated the concerns of average Australians for decades?

To place climate change in context, we asked our respondents to say which one of five goals should be most important to Australia, a list which also included education, health care and economic growth. We found that the threat from climate change is now lodged deep in the national psyche: tackling climate change ranks equally with improving education as Australia's most important domestic challenge.

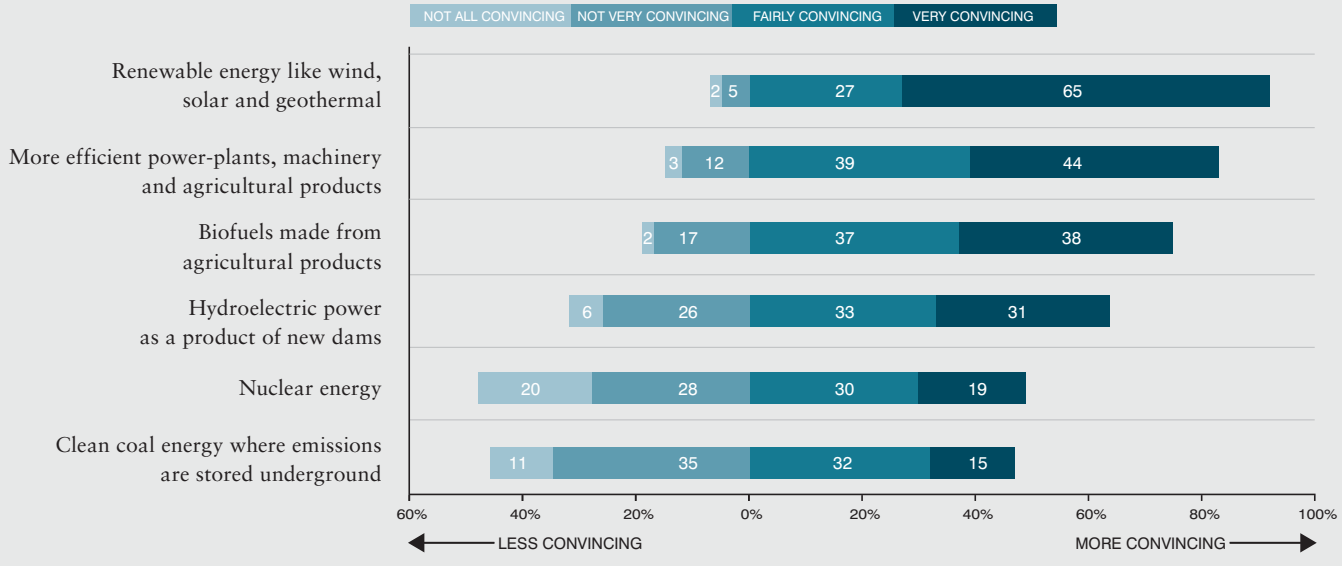
More than a quarter of respondents (28%) thought 'tackling climate change' should be the goal 'most important to Australia … in coming years'. The same number (28%) thought 'improving standards in education' should be most important, while 21% and 17% respectively thought that 'improving the delivery of health care' and 'ensuring economic growth' should be. We also asked which goal should be second most important. This time, more respondents (27%) chose 'improving standards in education' than chose 'tackling climate change' (19%), with 30% of the opinion that 'improving the delivery of health care' – third on the list of most important goals – should be the second most important goal. The small proportion of people who thought that 'fighting international terrorism' should be either the most (5%) or second most (8%) important national goal shows how strongly climate change holds up against domestic concerns.

Ways to reduce carbon emissions

The threat of climate change is clearly one that Australians feel is central to their lives, but agreement has not been reached on the best way to tackle the problem. Its elements are many and complex, but one central concern is how we might best reduce the carbon emissions from energy

Fig. 14: Ways to reduce carbon emissions

On the issue of climate change, scientists have warned that we need to reduce the amount of carbon emitted while producing energy. People are now debating which methods should be followed to pursue these reductions. Thinking about the next 25 years in Australia, please say how convincing you find the case for each of the following methods:



production. A number of serious proposals are being debated by interested parties and policy-makers. To test the public's reaction to them, we listed six methods of reducing the amount of carbon emitted while producing energy and asked respondents to say how convincing they found the case for each one.

Our respondents were broadly enthusiastic about the potential of four of the six proposed methods of pursuing reductions in carbon emissions from energy production. Easily the most compelling method (convincing 92% of respondents) was 'renewable energy like wind, solar and geothermal', with two thirds (65%) saying it is 'very convincing', and 27% that it is 'fairly convincing'. The next most convincing method was 'more efficient power-plants, machinery and vehicles', which was convincing to 83% of our respondents in total: 44% said it was 'very convincing' and 39% said it was 'fairly convincing'. 'Biofuels made from agricultural products' convinced three quarters (75%) of our respondents, with equal numbers 'very' (38%) and 'fairly' (37%) convinced by it. Even 'hydroelectric power as a product of new dams' convinced a majority (64%) of our respondents, with responses again split evenly between those who were 'very' (31%) or 'fairly' (33%) convinced.

The remaining two methods of pursuing reductions in carbon emissions from energy production failed to secure majority support from our respondents. 'Nuclear energy' was 'very convincing' to 19% of respondents and 'fairly convincing' to 30%, so that overall 49% felt it was a convincing way to reduce carbon emissions. Despite the importance to Australia's economy of coal-fired power, the least convincing method of reducing emissions was 'clean coal energy where emissions are stored underground'. Only 47% of our respondents felt that was either a 'very convincing' (15%) or 'fairly convincing' (32%) method of reducing carbon emissions from energy production.

Australia – New Zealand relations

Along with the New Zealand Institute, the Lowy Institute contributed to a separate opinion poll on trans-Tasman relations undertaken by the Australia New Zealand Leadership Forum in April 2007. The results, released on 22 April in Sydney, show that while Australians and New Zealanders are firm friends, Australians seem more laid-back about the relationship. New Zealanders tend to see trans-Tasman imbalances as negative. They are more likely to want closer economic integration, but they are less likely to want closer political union.

Views of each other

Most New Zealanders (70%) are either 'very positive' (34%) or 'positive' (36%) about Australia. The great majority (82%) have travelled to Australia, and almost as many (77%) are able to name Australia's prime minister. By the same measure, Australia is much better thought of by New Zealanders (with 70% holding either 'very positive' or 'positive' views of it) than Great Britain (52%), the United States (31%), China (22%) or Indonesia (17%). Australians are just as positive about New Zealand. A slightly lower proportion of Australians (30%) are 'very positive' and slightly higher (40%) are

Fig. 15: Knowledge of each other

Have you ever been to Australia in your lifetime? Have you ever been to New Zealand in your lifetime?
Who is Australia's prime minister? What is their name? Who is New Zealand's prime minister? What is their name?

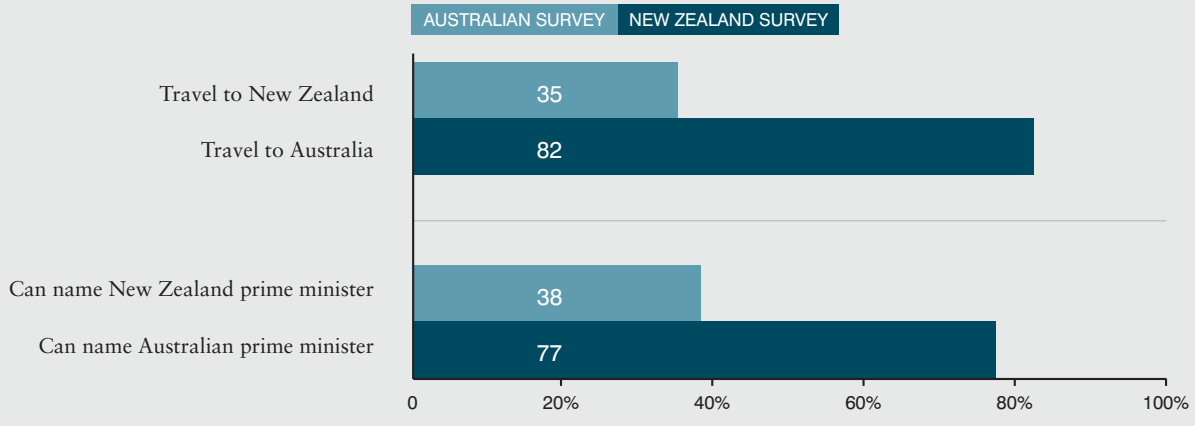
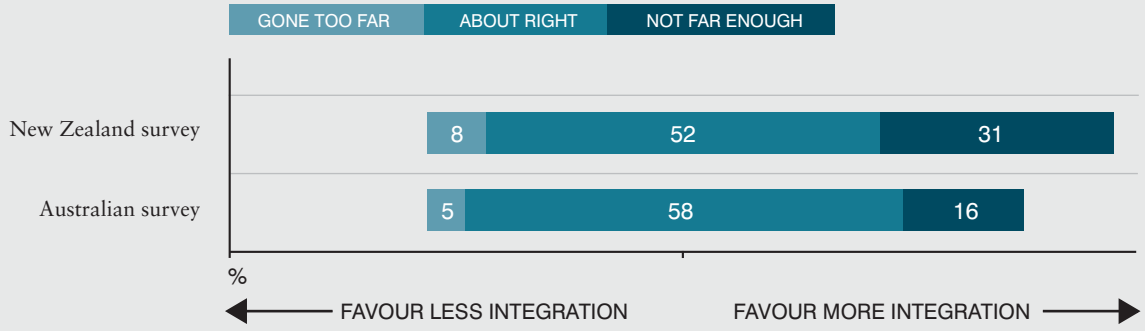


Fig. 16: Economic integration

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



'positive', so that overall the same proportion (70%) of our respondents on either side of the Tasman think well of each other. Australians also hold more positive views of New Zealand (70% either 'very positive' or 'positive') than of Great Britain (55%), the United States (30%), China (25%) or Indonesia (15%).

Knowledge, experience and economic relations

Australians' positive feelings about New Zealand are much less likely to be based on direct experience, and their knowledge of New Zealand is significantly less than New Zealanders' knowledge of Australia. Only 35% of our Australian respondents have travelled to New Zealand, and only 38% could name New Zealand's prime minister. In contrast, 82% of New Zealanders have been to Australia, and 77% could name Australia's prime minister.

This imbalance of direct experience contributes to a sense that Australia looms much larger for New Zealanders than New Zealand does for Australians. Majorities of respondents in both countries see the other more as a partner than a competitor in engaging in a globalised world, but Australians (85%) are much more likely than New Zealanders (62%) to hold this benign view.

Trans-Tasman imbalances

It could be that the large numbers of New Zealanders moving permanently to Australia have qualified New Zealanders' view of Australia as a partner in globalisation. A majority of our New Zealand respondents (57%) feel that the permanent movement of New Zealanders to Australia is bad for New Zealand. Only 32% of Australians see that movement as a gain for Australia, and 59% think that permanent migration of New Zealanders to Australia 'makes no difference'.

The trans-Tasman imbalance in investment also gives New Zealanders cause to worry. Half our New Zealand respondents (52%) said that the increasing Australian ownership of New Zealand companies is a bad thing, though a third (32%) think it makes no difference. Australians are less concerned, with almost half (46%) saying it makes no difference and only 29% saying it is good thing for Australia.

Economic integration

One way to ensure that Australia and New Zealand work together – rather than in competition – might be to integrate them more closely. Although roughly half our respondents in both countries think the current degree of economic integration is about right, New Zealanders (31%) are twice as likely as Australians (16%) to think that economic integration has not gone far enough.

Furthermore, New Zealanders (49%) exhibit more support than Australians (41%) for entering a currency union, though the difference is not great. New Zealand has undergone a dramatic softening in its attitude to a currency union since the year 2000, when only 29% of New Zealanders supported a joint currency.

Political union

But if closer economic integration and an ANZAC dollar have their attractions for New Zealanders, they are much less sure than Australians about the benefits of full political union. Only 31% of New Zealanders think political union would be good for New Zealand, whereas 43% of Australians think it would be good for Australia. An equal proportion of respondents in both countries (around 40%) think political union would be bad for both countries.

Tables of results

Australian survey

Please note that totals may not add to 100% due to rounding.

Feelings Thermometer*

Please rate your feelings towards some countries and peoples, 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 or those people. If you have no opinion or have never heard of that country or those people, please say so.

Country	2007 Mean°	2006 Mean°	2007 Median°	2006 Median°
East Timor	**54**	**57**	**50**	**60**
Papua New Guinea	**57**	**63**	**55**	**65**
Singapore	**64**	**65**	**70**	**70**
Israel	**50**	**55**	**50**	**50**
Great Britain	**75**	**74**	**80**	**80**
Malaysia	**58**	**58**	**60**	**60**
China	**56**	**61**	**50**	**60**
India	**55**	**62**	**50**	**60**
Japan	**63**	**64**	**70**	**70**
United States of America	**60**	**62**	**65**	**70**
Indonesia	**47**	**50**	**50**	**50**
Iraq	**36**	**44**	**40**	**50**
Iran	**34**	**43**	**30**	**50**
New Zealand	**81**	**NA**	**80**	**NA**
Vietnam	**60**	**NA**	**60**	**NA**

* Note that in 2006 the question was asked with a slightly different set of countries

Economic optimism

Overall, how optimistic are you about Australia's economic performance in the world over the next five years?

	2007	2005
Very optimistic	**19%**	**14%**
Optimistic	**52%**	**53%**
Neutral	**17%**	**21%**
Pessimistic	**9%**	**8%**
Very pessimistic	**2%**	**2%**
Don't know/unsure	**2%**	**2%**

Security optimism

Overall, how optimistic are you about Australia's international security over the next five years?

	2007	2005
Very optimistic	**14%**	**8%**
Optimistic	**48%**	**42%**
Neutral	**21%**	**29%**
Pessimistic	**13%**	**16%**
Very pessimistic	**3%**	**3%**
Don't know	**2%**	**2%**

Foreign policy goals

Thinking about what Australian foreign policy should be trying to achieve, I am going to read a list of goals, and ask you to tell me how important each one is for Australia. Please say whether you think each issue is very important, fairly important, not very important or not at all important.

Goals	Very important	Fairly important	Not very important	Not at all important
Protecting the jobs of Australian workers	**75%**	**20%**	**4%**	**1%**
Helping to prevent nuclear proliferation	**61%**	**27%**	**9%**	**2%**
Combating international terrorism	**65%**	**26%**	**7%**	**2%**
Controlling illegal immigration	**55%**	**31%**	**10%**	**3%**
Tackling climate change	**75%**	**19%**	**5%**	**1%**
Strengthening the Australian economy	**60%**	**35%**	**4%**	**1%**
Strengthening the United Nations	**46%**	**38%**	**13%**	**3%**
Helping to stabilise weak nations in our region	**46%**	**45%**	**7%**	**2%**
Protecting Australian citizens abroad	**63%**	**30%**	**5%**	**1%**
Promoting democracy in other countries	**29%**	**41%**	**24%**	**6%**

Consular responsibilities

Is it the duty of the Australian government to provide assistance to Australians caught up in dangerous events in another country?

If they are citizens of the other country as well as citizens of Australia, is it still the duty of the Australian government to help them?

	Yes	No	Don't know
Australian government should provide assistance	**81%**	**16%**	**4%**
Australian government should provide assistance if dual citizen	**71%**	**26%**	**3%**

Values and interests in foreign policy

In dealing with international problems, there can sometimes be a clash between Australia's economic or political interests and Australia's democratic or humanitarian values. When that happens, should interests or values be considered more important?

Australia's economic or political interests are more important	**18%**
Australia's democratic or humanitarian values are more important	**74%**
Don't know/can't say	**8%**
Refused	**0%**

Temporary migrant worker schemes

Temporary migrant worker schemes bring in foreigners to do seasonal unskilled work for limited periods. Thinking about Australia, please say whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with each of the following statements:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Temporary migrant worker schemes are good because:				
They fill a gap in the demand for seasonal labour	**13%**	**52%**	**26%**	**8%**
They help people from poor countries to earn a bit more money	**11%**	**58%**	**23%**	**8%**
Temporary migrant worker schemes are bad because:				
They make illegal immigration easier	**10%**	**31%**	**47%**	**12%**
They take jobs from Australians	**13%**	**29%**	**43%**	**14%**

Feeling of safety

Thinking about world events, how safe do you feel?

	2007	2006	2005
Very safe	**40%**	**30%**	**30%**
Safe	**50%**	**56%**	**61%**
Unsafe	**8%**	**10%**	**7%**
Very unsafe	**1%**	**3%**	**1%**
Don't know	**1%**	**0%**	**1%**

Potential threats from the outside world

How worried are you about the following potential threats from the outside world?

	Very worried	Fairly worried	Not very worried	Not at all worried	Don't know
International terrorism	**38%**	**30%**	**24%**	**8%**	**0%**
Unfriendly countries developing nuclear weapons	**50%**	**33%**	**13%**	**4%**	**0%**
Infectious diseases like bird flu and SARS	**34%**	**34%**	**26%**	**6%**	**0%**
Failing countries in our region	**14%**	**38%**	**34%**	**7%**	**7%**
World population growth	**22%**	**34%**	**31%**	**11%**	**1%**
Illegal immigration	**26%**	**33%**	**30%**	**10%**	**1%**
Islamic fundamentalism	**39%**	**30%**	**22%**	**6%**	**3%**
Climate change	**55%**	**31%**	**11%**	**3%**	**0%**
China's growing power	**19%**	**28%**	**39%**	**12%**	**2%**
Economic competition from low-wage countries	**21%**	**38%**	**31%**	**10%**	**1%**

Importance of the ANZUS alliance

How important is our alliance relationship with the United States for Australia's security?

	2007	2006	2005
Very important	**36%**	**42%**	**45%**
Fairly important	**27%**	**28%**	**27%**
Somewhat important	**27%**	**22%**	**20%**
Not at all important	**9%**	**8%**	**7%**
Don't know	**1%**	**1%**	**1%**

Military involvement in Iraq

Should Australia continue to be involved militarily in Iraq?

	2007	2005
Yes	**37%**	**46%**
No	**57%**	**51%**
Don't know/unsure	**6%**	**3%**
Refused	**1%**	**-**

Thinking about Australia's military involvement in Iraq, please say which of the following statements most closely reflects your own view. Australia is involved militarily in Iraq …

To help fight international terrorism	**20%**
To support the United States under the US alliance	**44%**
To promote western strategic interests in the region	**13%**
To support the democratic government	**19%**
Don't know	**4%**

Military involvement in Afghanistan

Should Australia continue to be involved militarily in Afghanistan?

Yes	**46%**
No	**46%**
Don't know	**8%**
Refused	**1%**

Thinking about Australia's military involvement in Afghanistan, please say which of the following statements most closely reflects your own view. Australia is involved militarily in Afghanistan …

To help fight international terrorism	**31%**
To support the United States under the US alliance	**35%**
To promote western strategic interests in the region	**9%**
To support the democratic government	**20%**
Don't know	**5%**

Cross-tabulations of support for being in Iraq or Afghanistan by reasons for being involved

	Continue in Iraq			
Why Australia is involved in Iraq	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Refused %
To help fight international terrorism	**31**	**12**	**21**	**23**
To support the United States under the US alliance	**27**	**56**	**36**	**13**
To promote western strategic interests in the region	**7**	**18**	**7**	**28**
To support the democratic government	**32**	**10**	**23**	**0**
Don't know	**3**	**4**	**14**	**36**

	Continue in Afghanistan			
Why Australia is involved in Afghanistan	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Refused %
To help fight international terrorism	**46**	**17**	**30**	**24**
To support the United States under the US alliance	**17**	**54**	**24**	**20**
To promote western strategic interests in the region	**6**	**13**	**2**	**18**
To support the democratic government	**29**	**11**	**13**	**0**
Don't know	**2**	**4**	**31**	**38**

Iran and the nuclear issue

As you may know, Iran has recently announced that it has successfully enriched uranium. Do you think that Iran is producing enriched uranium strictly to fuel its energy needs or do you think it is trying to develop nuclear weapons?

	2007	2006
Energy needs	**19%**	**22%**
Nuclear weapons	**62%**	**59%**
Don't know	**19%**	**19%**

You said you think that Iran is trying to develop nuclear weapons. In your opinion, what is the best response?

Use only diplomatic efforts to stop Iran enriching uranium	**22%**
Use economic sanctions as well as diplomatic efforts to stop Iran enriching uranium	**62%**
Use military force to stop Iran enriching uranium	**9%**
Not try to stop Iran enriching uranium	**5%**
Don't know	**2%**

Attitudes to international free trade and Australia's trading partners

I am going to read you some statements about moving towards freer international trade. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with these statements?

Freer trade…	Strongly agree %	Somewhat agree %	Somewhat disagree %	Strongly disagree %	Don't know %
Enables Australian business to open new markets for Australian products	**34**	**50**	**8**	**3**	**4**
Costs more Australian jobs than it creates	**19**	**31**	**29**	**7**	**13**
Leads to lower prices and more product choices for consumers	**24**	**48**	**15**	**6**	**7**
Puts Australia at a disadvantage because of our high labour and environmental standards	**30**	**38**	**19**	**6**	**6**
Leads to more economic and social inequality in Australia	**16**	**34**	**32**	**8**	**9**
Makes the world more stable by putting people from different countries in contact with each other	**16**	**48**	**21**	**8**	**6**
Leads to lower quality jobs in Australia	**12**	**30**	**38**	**12**	**7**
Helps to increase prosperity, both in Australia and in other parts of the world	**18**	**49**	**18**	**8**	**6**

Free trade with China

We are in the process of negotiating a free trade agreement with China. On balance, do you think signing a free trade agreement with China would be good or bad for Australia or would it make no difference?

	2007	2005
Good	**38%**	**51%**
Bad	**27%**	**20%**
Makes no difference	**25%**	**17%**
Don't know	**10%**	**12%**

Free trade with Japan

We are in the process of negotiating a free trade agreement with Japan. On balance, do you think signing a free trade agreement with Japan would be good or bad for Australia or would it make no difference?

Good	**47%**
Bad	**15%**
Makes no difference	**29%**
Don't know	**9%**

Economies of importance to Australia

How important are the following economies for Australia at the moment?

	Mean	Median	Don't know/ refused
China	**7.17**	**8**	**2%**
United States	**6.99**	**7**	**2%**
Japan	**6.91**	**7**	**3%**
European Union	**6.09**	**6**	**5%**
India	**5.67**	**5**	**2%**

Using the same scale, how important will these economies be for Australia in 25 years time?

	Mean	Median	Don't know/ refused
China	**7.76**	**8**	**6%**
Japan	**7.01**	**7**	**7%**
United States	**6.72**	**7**	**6%**
India	**6.54**	**7**	**7%**
European Union	**6.11**	**6**	**9%**

Opinions of the United States

Please tell me if you have a very favourable, somewhat favourable, somewhat unfavourable or very unfavourable opinion of the United States.

Very favourable	**14%**
Somewhat favourable	**46%**
Somewhat unfavourable	**26%**
Very unfavourable	**13%**
Don't know	**1%**

Please tell me if you have a very favourable, somewhat favourable, somewhat unfavourable or very unfavourable opinion of Americans.

Very favourable	**19%**
Somewhat favourable	**57%**
Somewhat unfavourable	**17%**
Very unfavourable	**5%**
Don't know	**2%**

Do any of the following factors cause you to have an unfavourable opinion of the United States?

	Yes	No	Don't know/ refused
President George W. Bush	**69%**	**27%**	**4%**
American culture	**41%**	**55%**	**4%**
US foreign policies	**63%**	**30%**	**7%**
Americans you have met	**20%**	**76%**	**4%**

US attention to Australian interests

In making international policy decisions, to what extent do you think the United States takes into account the interests of countries like Australia?

A great deal	**6%**
A fair amount	**19%**
Not too much	**52%**
Not at all	**22%**
Don't know	**1%**

The value of American power

Would it be mainly positive or mainly negative if the United States becomes significantly less powerful economically?

Mainly positive	**43%**
Mainly negative	**50%**
Don't know	**7%**
Refused	**0%**

Would it be mainly positive or mainly negative if the United States becomes significantly less powerful politically?

Mainly positive	**49%**
Mainly negative	**46%**
Don't know	**5%**
Refused	**0%**

Climate change

On the issue of climate change, scientists have warned that we need to reduce the amount of carbon emitted while producing energy. People are now debating which methods should be followed to pursue these reductions. Thinking about the next 25 years in Australia, please say how convincing you find the case for each of the following methods:

How convincing the case for:	Very %	Fairly %	Not very %	Not at all %	Don't know %
Nuclear energy	**19**	**30**	**28**	**20**	**3**
Clean coal energy where emissions are stored underground	**15**	**32**	**35**	**11**	**6**
Renewable energy like wind, solar and geothermal	**65**	**27**	**5**	**2**	**1**
Biofuels made from agricultural products	**38**	**37**	**17**	**2**	**6**
Hydroelectric power as a product of new dams	**31**	**33**	**26**	**6**	**3**
More efficient power-plants, machinery and vehicles	**44**	**39**	**12**	**3**	**2**

The importance of climate change amongst other goals for Australia

In coming years, which one of the following goals should be most important to Australia?

Improving standards in education	**28%**
Tackling climate change	**28%**
Improving the delivery of health care	**21%**
Ensuring economic growth	**17%**
Fighting international terrorism	**5%**
Other	**1%**

Which one should be second most important?

Improving the delivery of health care	**30%**
Improving standards in education	**27%**
Tackling climate change	**19%**
Ensuring economic growth	**15%**
Fighting international terrorism	**8%**
Other	**1%**

Australia New Zealand Leadership Forum Poll

Travel between the countries

Have you ever been to Australia in your lifetime?

Have you ever been to New Zealand in your lifetime?

	Been to Australia	Been to New Zealand
Yes	**82%**	**35%**
No/Unsure	**18%**	**65%**

Knowledge of the other country's prime minister

Who is Australia's prime minister? What is their name?

Who is New Zealand's prime minister? What is their name?

AUSTRALIA'S PRIME MINISTER	%	NEW ZEALAND'S PRIME MINISTER	%
John Howard	**77%**	Helen Clark	**38%**
Other	**2%**	Other	**4%**
Can't remember	**14%**	Can't remember	**-**
Unsure	**7%**	Unsure	**58%**

Views of other countries

Using a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 means you have a very positive view and 5 a very negative view, what is your view of the following countries?

New Zealand survey	1 (very positive)	2	3	4	5 (very negative)
Australia	**34%**	**36%**	**18%**	**8%**	**3%**
Great Britain	**20%**	**32%**	**33%**	**9%**	**3%**
United States	**10%**	**21%**	**28%**	**22%**	**17%**
China	**5%**	**17%**	**40%**	**18%**	**15%**
Indonesia	**4%**	**13%**	**33%**	**22%**	**19%**

Australian survey	1 (very positive)	2	3	4	5 (very negative)
New Zealand	**30%**	**40%**	**18%**	**6%**	**4%**
Great Britain	**16%**	**39%**	**30%**	**10%**	**4%**
United States	**8%**	**22%**	**32%**	**19%**	**18%**
China	**5%**	**20%**	**43%**	**18%**	**11%**
Indonesia	**3%**	**12%**	**31%**	**27%**	**25%**

Similarity of the countries

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?

	New Zealanders' views of similarity	Australians' views of similarity
More similar	**26%**	**24%**
Less similar	**22%**	**15%**
Stayed about the same	**49%**	**51%**
Unsure/depends	**3%**	**10%**

Partners or competitors

In your opinion, do you see Australia more as a competitor or more as a partner in engaging in a globalised world?

In your opinion, do you see New Zealand more as a competitor or more as a partner in engaging in a globalised world?

	Views of Australia	Views of New Zealand
Competitor	**31%**	**10%**
Partner	**62%**	**85%**
Unsure/depends	**7%**	**5%**

Effect of migration between the countries

When people from New Zealand move permanently to Australia, do you see that as a loss for New Zealand, a gain for New Zealand, or does it make no real difference?

When people from New Zealand move permanently to Australia, do you see that as a gain for Australia, a bad thing for Australia, or does it make no difference?

New Zealanders' views	%	Australians' views	%
A gain for NZ	**3%**	A gain for Australia	**32%**
A loss for NZ	**57%**	A bad thing for Australia	**7%**
Makes no difference	**36%**	Makes no difference	**59%**
Unsure/depends	**4%**	Unsure/depends	**2%**

How do you view the increasing Australian ownership of New Zealand companies?

Do you regard the increasing Australian ownership of New Zealand companies as a good thing, a bad thing, or not making any difference?

	New Zealanders' views	Australians' views
A good thing	**13%**	**29%**
A bad thing	**52%**	**17%**
No difference	**32%**	**46%**
Unsure/depends	**3%**	**8%**

Economic integration

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

	New Zealanders' views	Australians' views
Gone too far	**8%**	**5%**
Not far enough	**31%**	**16%**
About right	**52%**	**58%**
Unsure/depends	**9%**	**21%**

Support for joint currency

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

	New Zealanders' views		Australians' views 2007
	2000	2007	
Support	**29%**	**49%**	**41%**
Oppose	**59%**	**42%**	**42%**
Neither support nor oppose	**0%**	**0%**	**10%**
Unsure/depends	**12%**	**9%**	**7%**

Political union

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?

	New Zealanders' views	Australians' views
Good for both	**23%**	**33%**
Good for Australia, bad for NZ	**22%**	**10%**
Good for NZ, bad for Australia	**8%**	**9%**
Bad for both	**39%**	**40%**
Unsure/depends	**8%**	**8%**

Methodology

The Lowy Institute Poll

In Australia, AMR Interactive conducted 1003 interviews between 21 May and 2 June 2007. Survey interviews were conducted by telephone, the most cost-effective method currently available. The sample was designed to be nationally representative of all Australians of 18 years and over. Quotas were set for each state, age group and sex. Within each geographic area, telephone numbers were selected at random from the electronic white pages. Interviewers continued making calls until each quota was filled. The results were then weighted to reflect the demographic profile of the Australian population of voting age, 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 1000 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, 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.

The Australia New Zealand Leadership Forum Poll

In Australia, UMR Research undertook a telephone survey of a nationally representative sample of 1000 Australians aged 18 years and over between 13 and 15 April 2007. The results have a notional margin of error of 3.1%. In New Zealand, UMR Research undertook a telephone survey of a nationally representative sample of 750 New Zealanders aged 18 years and over between 12 and 16 April 2007. The results have a notional margin of error of 3.6%.

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