### THE LOWY INSTITUTE POLL 2009



# Australia and the World PUBLIC OPINION AND FOREIGN POLICY

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FOR INTERNATIONAL POLICY

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### Executive summary

The Lowy Institute Poll 2009 reports the results of a foreign policy opinion survey conducted in Australia between 13 and 25 July 2009. It is the fifth annual Lowy Poll.

#### Global economic crisis

Despite the global economic crisis, a substantial 86% of people were optimistic about Australia's economic performance over the next five years: a 10 point increase since 2008 and the highest level of optimism recorded by a Lowy Poll.

#### **United States**

Sentiment towards the United States continues to warm. Of seven regional powers it was the most trusted with 83% of Australians trusting the United States to act responsibly in the world, up 23 points since 2006.

Support for the alliance was at new record highs. Eighty-five per cent of Australians said our alliance relationship with the United States was either very important or fairly important for Australia's security. For the first time since our polling began, a majority (55%) said it was very important. And 70% of Australians thought it was likely Australia will still be able to rely on the United States to provide this security guarantee in 20 years time.

#### China

While feelings towards the United States were warming, they cooled further towards China. China ranked a lukewarm 53° on our thermometer scale, down 8° since 2006 (the United States rated a warm 67°).

While most Australians (63%) saw China as the most important economy to Australia at the moment and 95% agreed China already is or will become the leading power in Asia, they were otherwise split about the implications of China's rise. Of the 95% of Australians who said China already is or will become the leading power in Asia, 52% were uncomfortable about this while 48% were comfortable.

Fifty-nine per cent trusted China to act responsibly in the world but 40% did not. While most Australians (91%) agreed the Australian government should undertake friendly cooperation and engagement with China, 46% also agreed that the Australian government should actively work to limit the growth of China's power (52% disagreed).

And while a majority (57%) said it was unlikely that China will become a military threat to Australia in the next 20

years a sizeable minority (41%) said it was likely and 40% now see the development of China as a world power as a critical threat to Australia's vital interests—up 15 points since 2006.

On foreign investment, 50% said the Australian government was allowing too much from China while 42% said it was allowing about the right amount.

#### Climate change

Climate change continues to drop as a priority for Australians. In 2007, Australians ranked tackling climate change as the equal most important foreign policy goal. This year it ranked 7th out of ten possible goals, down ten points since last year and 19 points since 2007. Out of 12 possibilities, global warming ranked as the 4th most critical threat facing Australia, but this was down 14 points since last year.

#### UN Security Council seat

Seventy-one per cent of Australians agreed with seeking a temporary UN Security Council seat with a majority (52%) strongly agreeing.

#### Nuclear disarmament

Seventy-five per cent of Australians agreed that global nuclear disarmament should be a top priority for the Australian government and 55% strongly agreed. Nuclear weapons also ranked as the foremost threat in the minds of the Australian public (level with international terrorism), with 69% saying the possibility of unfriendly countries becoming nuclear powers was a critical threat.

#### Asylum seekers

The Rudd Government has sought to differentiate its approach to asylum seekers, but a large majority (76%) of Australians said they were concerned about unauthorised asylum seekers coming to Australia by boat.

#### Afghanistan

Support for Australia remaining militarily involved in Afghanistan increased slightly to 46% of Australians (the same level as in 2007), while a slim majority (51%) said we should not be involved militarily. Fifty-two per cent of Australians were not confident that Australia has clear aims in Afghanistan.

# Australia and the World

#### FEELINGS TOWARDS OTHER COUNTRIES

Of the 17 countries Australians were asked to rate their feelings towards on a 0-100 scale, New Zealand was the most warmly regarded country (83°). That's the highest rating ever recorded for any country on our survey (the previous best—81°—was also held by New Zealand), but a new country to the feelings thermometer—Canada—is a close competitor. It scored a very high 80°. Another new country, Germany, was the third-highest rated country at 68°.

An emerging trend is the gradual warming in feelings towards the United States—up just 3° since last year but 7° since 2007. Feelings towards all other previously measured countries either cooled or stayed relatively stable. Feelings towards China (a lukewarm 53°) cooled by 3° compared to 2008 and were down 8° since 2006. Japan rated a warm 66°, while Fiji—despite the military takeover—again scored a warm 63°, although this was down slightly (4°) since last year.

The biggest downward movements came from North Korea, which scored the coldest ranking of 30°, down 13° since 2006 and East Timor (50°), which was down 6° since 2008.

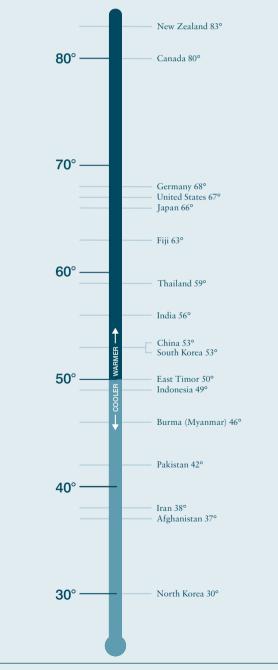
#### THE GLOBAL ECONOMIC CRISIS AND AUSTRALIA

Despite the global economic crisis, Australians were remarkably upbeat about the economic outlook. A large majority (86%)—or the equivalent of almost 13 million adult Australians—were either 'very optimistic' or 'optimistic' 'about Australia's economic performance in the world over the next five years'. This is a 10 point increase since 2008 and the highest level of optimism recorded since our polling began. Sixteen per cent of Australians were 'very optimistic', the second-highest recording by this measure after the 19% recorded in 2007. Australians were also upbeat about globalisation. Seventy-nine per cent said it was 'mostly good' for Australia, up seven points since 2008.

However, Australians still think the economic crisis will have a substantial impact globally. Asked whether they thought China, India and the United States would be 'more powerful', 'less powerful' or 'just as powerful' as they were before the economic crisis, 72% of Australians said China would be 'more powerful', 40% that India would be 'more powerful' and just 19% that the United States would be 'more powerful'. A third (33%) said the United States would be 'less powerful', while 48% said it would be 'just as powerful'.

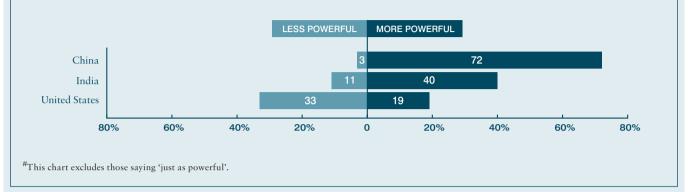
#### Fig. 1: Feelings towards other countries

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.



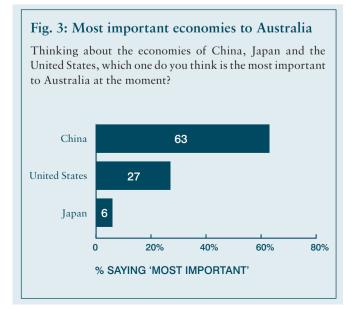
#### Fig. 2: Power shifts after the global economic crisis

As you may know the world is currently going through a severe economic crisis. When the world recovers from this economic crisis do you think each of the following countries will be more powerful, less powerful or will they be just as powerful as they were before the crisis?#



Australians have clear views about which major economies matter most to them, but tend significantly to underrate the importance of Japan. In 2008, Japan was Australia's largest trading partner, followed by China and the United States.<sup>1</sup> The United States and Japan were respectively Australia's largest and third-largest sources of cumulative foreign direct investment in 2008; mainland China was still only a modest, but growing, source of FDI.<sup>2</sup>

Asked which of these three economies was 'the most important to Australia at the moment' a sizeable majority (63%) said China. Only 27% said the United States and just 6% Japan. Overall, 85%—or the equivalent of almost 13 million Australians—said China was the first or second most important economy to Australia at the moment; 69% said the United States was and just 38% Japan.



#### Australian Foreign Policy

A majority of Australians (57%) either 'partly' (35%) or 'strongly' (22%) agreed that the Rudd Government 'has been successful in giving Australia more influence in the world', although 40% disagreed.

#### UN SECURITY COUNCIL SEAT

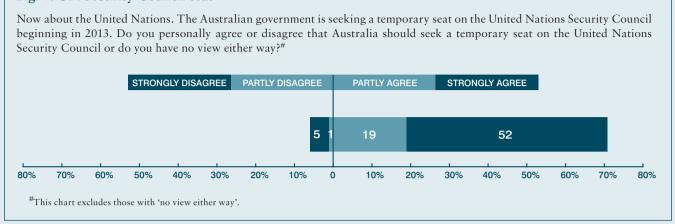
Some of the government's foreign policy initiatives appear to have gained broad public support. There were very high levels of support for seeking a temporary seat on the United Nations Security Council beginning in 2013, with 71% of Australians 'partly' or 'strongly' agreeing we should seek a seat. Reflecting the strength of opinion, a majority (52%) strongly agreed. Only 6% disagreed with seeking a seat, while 22% had 'no view either way'.

Australians 60 years of age or older were almost twice as likely as those 18 to 29 years old to agree strongly (60% compared with 33%).

#### NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

The Rudd Government has established an International Commission on Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament to bolster nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament efforts, and our poll this year suggests widespread public support for action in this area. Seventy-five per cent of Australians 'somewhat' or 'strongly' agreed that 'global nuclear disarmament should be a top priority for the Australian government'. Reflecting the strength of this opinion, a majority (55%) said they strongly agreed.

Women were more likely than men to agree (84% compared with 65%) and older Australians more likely than younger Australians (84% of those aged 60 and over compared to 64% of those 18 to 29 years of age).



#### Fig. 4: UN Security Council seat

#### ASYLUM SEEKERS

But it was not all good news for the government. The Rudd Government has sought to differentiate its approach to asylum seekers, but a large majority (76%) of Australians said they were 'somewhat concerned' or 'very concerned' 'about unauthorised asylum seekers coming to Australia by boat'. Just one-fifth (21%) said they were 'not concerned'.

#### AUSTRALIA'S INFLUENCE IN THE WORLD

Australians have a fairly accurate perception of Australia's place in the world. Australia has the world's 15th largest economy, 12th largest defence budget and 13th largest aid budget.<sup>3</sup> Asked to rank Australia's influence 'in the world compared to other countries' a majority (53%) said Australia was 'not in the top ten but among the top 20 most influential countries'. An additional one third (32%) said we were among 'the top ten most influential countries'.

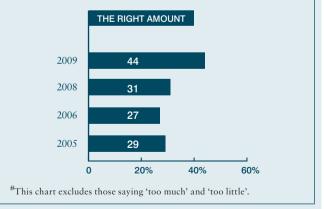
#### Fig. 5: Australia's influence in the world Thinking now about Australia's influence generally in the world compared to other countries. Do you think Australia is roughly among: The top 10 most 32 influential countries Not in the top 10 but 53 among the top 20 most influential countries Not in the top 20 but 12 among the top 30 most influential countries Not in the top 30 most influential countries 0 20% 40% 60%

#### **US** INFLUENCE

Regarding US influence on Australian foreign policy, there was growing satisfaction, with 44% of people saying Australia takes 'the right amount of notice' 'of the views of the United States in our foreign policy', the highest recording by a Lowy Poll. Yet despite changes of government in both countries, 50% of Australians said Australia takes 'too much' notice of US views in our foreign policy (down 15 points since 2008).



the views of the United States in our foreign policy, on the whole do you think we take too much, too little or the right amount of notice?<sup>#</sup>



#### FOREIGN POLICY GOALS

It has been a turbulent period since the last Lowy Institute Poll. The July terror attacks in Jakarta occurred mid-way through our polling, and the global economic crisis has continued to sow uncertainty. Meanwhile, climate change remained prominent in Australian politics and internationally leading up to the Copenhagen summit in December. Against this backdrop, we asked Australians to rate the importance to Australia of ten possible foreign policy goals.

Looking at the percentage of people ranking the respective goals as 'very important', this year economic goals were top priorities. 'Protecting the jobs of Australian workers' remained in top place, with 80%, or the equivalent of 12 million adult Australians, seeing this as a 'very important' foreign policy goal. 'Strengthening the Australian economy' was up six points from last year, with 76% of Australians saying it was a 'very important' goal (this goal is up 16 points since 2007).

However, Australians were not just concerned with the economy. The second-highest foreign policy goal this year was 'helping to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons', up 12 points on last year.<sup>4</sup> 'Combating international terrorism' was ranked fourth most important and was considered a 'very important' goal by 75% of people, up ten points since 2007.

The only big downwards movement this year was with the goal of 'tackling climate change', which fell a further ten points since last year. A majority (56%) still said it was a 'very important' goal, but this was down 19 points since 2007.

When those saying each goal is 'very important' are combined with those saying each one is 'fairly important', the ranking is much less dispersed. By this measure the most important goals are: 'strengthening the Australian economy' (99%), 'protecting the jobs of Australian workers' (98%) and 'combating international terrorism' (95%). The lowest-ranking goal, 'promoting democracy in other countries', still scored a high 77%.

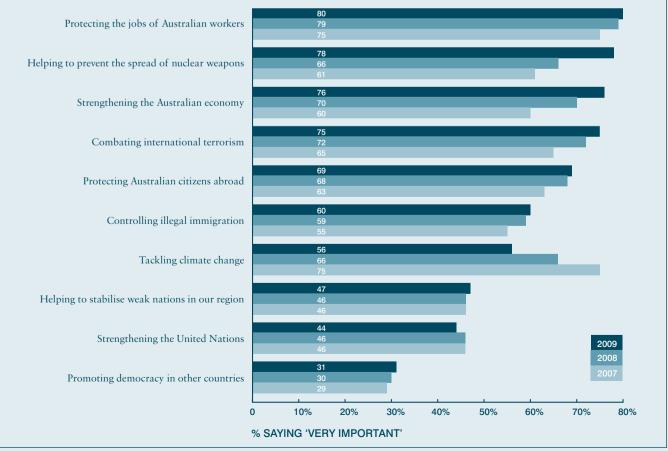
#### **Regional Powers**

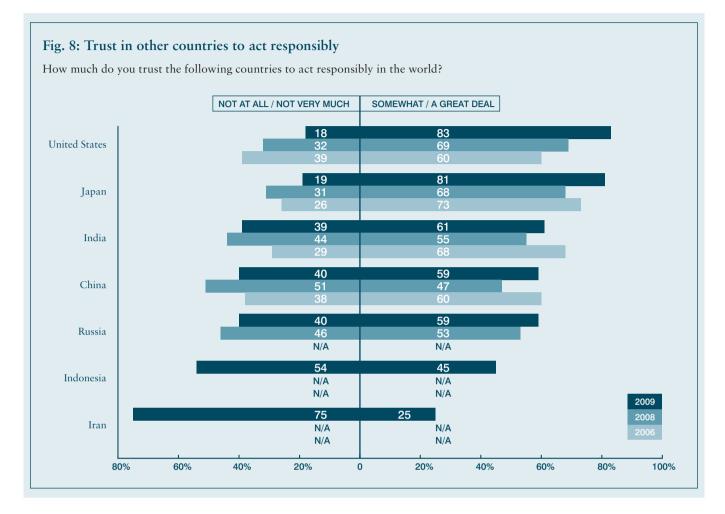
#### TRUST IN REGIONAL POWERS

When it comes to how much Australians trust seven regional powers to act responsibly in the world, the poll showed trust in the United States was the highest, followed by Japan. Eighty-three per cent of people trusted the United States 'to act responsibly in the world' either 'somewhat' or 'a great

#### Fig. 7: 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.





deal', up 14 points since 2008 and 23 points since 2006. Japan was equally trusted, with 81% of Australians trusting it 'somewhat' or 'a great deal'. Of the seven countries on the list, only the United States and Japan had sizeable minorities trusting them 'a great deal': 39% and 33% respectively.

India, Russia and China were next in line with similar overall trust levels. Trust in India was up six points to 61% and trust in Russia up six points to 59%. China recovered ground lost last year, with a majority (59%) trusting it 'somewhat' or 'a great deal'. This represents an increase of 12 points from the low recorded in 2008 following the protests surrounding the Olympic torch relay and the violent crackdown in Tibet.

Despite its remarkable democratic transition and warm government-to-government relations, Indonesia was trusted by only 45% of Australians.

Iran was the least trusted country on the list with only a quarter (25%) of Australians trusting it 'somewhat' or 'a great deal'.

There was an interesting difference in trust levels between the generations. Younger Australians tended to be more trusting of China and Russia compared to their elders, while older Australians tended to be more trusting of the United States. Sixty-seven per cent of 18 to 29 year olds trusted China 'somewhat' or 'a great deal' compared to 56% of Australians 60 years of age or older. For Russia the difference in trust was 73% for 18 to 29 year olds and 54% for those 60 years old or older. For the United States, by contrast, 86% of Australians 60 years of age or older trusted it 'somewhat' or 'a great deal' compared to 77% of 18 to 29 year olds.

#### CHINA

China has continued to feature prominently in the Australian news, with extensive discussion about the purchase of Australian resource companies by Chinese state-owned firms and the wider implications of China's rise. Just before the 2009 Lowy Poll went into the field, violent protests erupted in Urumqi, China, between Uighur and Han Chinese, and senior Rio Tinto executive and Australian citizen, Stern Hu, was arrested in China. The controversy surrounding Uighur activist Rebiya Kadeer and her visit to Australia followed the fieldwork for the poll.

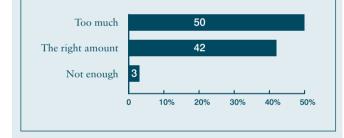
#### CHINESE INVESTMENT IN AUSTRALIA

The Lowy Poll found Australians divided over whether the government was allowing too much or the right amount of Chinese investment in Australia. Fifty per cent said the government was 'allowing too much investment from China' while 42% said it was 'allowing about the right amount'. Only 3% said the government was 'not allowing enough investment from China'.

Older Australians and women were more likely to say the government was allowing too much Chinese investment. Fifty-eight per cent of those aged 45 years or older said the government was allowing 'too much' Chinese investment compared with just 36% of 18 to 29 year olds, while 53% of women said the government was allowing 'too much' investment compared with 46% of men.

#### Fig. 9: Chinese investment in Australia

And now about Chinese investment in Australia. Overall, do you think the Australian government is allowing too much investment from China, allowing about the right amount of investment from China or not allowing enough investment from China?



#### CHINA'S RISE

Australians were overwhelmingly convinced about China's rise. Ninety-five per cent agreed that China 'already is' or 'will become' the leading power in Asia. (In a similar question asked in 2008, 86% of Australians agreed that 'China will become the leading power in Asia'.)<sup>5</sup>

While Australians were in agreement about China's rise, they were divided about the implications. Of the 95% of Australians who said China already is or will become the leading power in Asia, 52% were either 'very uncomfortable' or 'somewhat uncomfortable' about this. The other half (48%) were either 'very comfortable' or 'somewhat comfortable'. Only 6% were 'very comfortable' about China's rise.

Younger Australians and men tended to be more comfortable with China's rise than older Australians and women. Fifty-seven per cent of those 18 to 29 years old were 'somewhat' or 'very comfortable' with China's rise compared with 48% of those aged 60 years or older. By the same measure 53% of men were comfortable compared with 45% of women.

#### **RESPONSE TO CHINA'S RISE**

In responding to China's rise, Australians were clear that they wanted the government to pursue engagement. Ninety-one per cent said 'in dealing with China's rise' 'the Australian government should undertake friendly cooperation and engagement with China'. But at the same time about half the Australian population were in favour of trying to limit China's influence. Forty-six per cent agreed that 'the Australian government should actively work to limit the growth of China's power', while 52% disagreed. Women were more likely to agree than men (53% compared to 39%).

#### CHINA AS A MILITARY THREAT

A majority (57%) of Australians said it is 'very' or 'somewhat' unlikely 'that China will become a military threat to Australia in the next 20 years'. But a sizeable minority are not so sure: 41% said it was 'very likely' (15%) or 'somewhat likely' (26%) that China will become a military threat in the next 20 years.

#### **International Security**

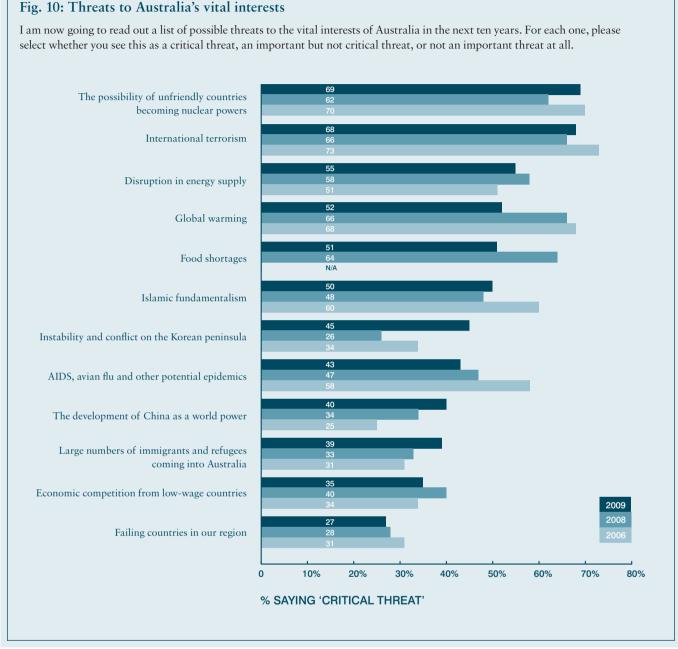
#### POSSIBLE THREATS TO AUSTRALIA

Australians continue to feel very safe. When asked to think about world events, an overwhelming 90% of Australians say they feel 'safe' or 'very safe', a similar recording to 2008, 2007 and 2005. This year's poll, however, recorded the highest level of people feeling 'very safe', 44%, up nine points since last year.

However, Australia is not isolated from global events, and to find out which threats worry Australians most we asked people to rate a list of 12 'possible threats to the vital interests of Australia in the next ten years'. We asked the same question in 2006 and 2008, allowing us to track some interesting changes over the period.

This year concern over nuclear weapons was the foremost threat in the minds of the Australian public, along with 'international terrorism' (last year it was the 'increasing scarcity of water'—not asked this year). Sixty-nine per cent—or the equivalent of over ten million adult Australians said 'the possibility of unfriendly countries becoming nuclear powers' was 'a critical threat' to Australia's vital interests in the next ten years, up seven points since last year. Older Australians were more concerned than younger Australians: 80% of those 60 years of age or older identified this as 'a critical threat' compared with 61% of 18 to 44 year olds.

The terrorist bombings in Jakarta occurred mid-way through our polling fieldwork, and 68% of Australians said 'international terrorism' was a 'critical threat'. When it came to the threat of terrorism, there was a marked gap



between the generations. Only 51% of Australians 18 to 29 years of age saw 'international terrorism' as 'a critical threat' compared with 80% of those 60 years of age or older. Similarly with the threat of 'Islamic fundamentalism', only 18% of 18 to 29 year olds saw it as 'a critical threat' compared to 67% of people 60 years of age or older.

'Disruption in energy supply' was ranked as the thirdgreatest threat, with 55% saying it was 'a critical threat'.

The biggest change since last year was the threat of 'instability and conflict on the Korean peninsula' with

45% of Australians now seeing it as 'a critical threat', up 19 points.

The second-biggest change was with the threat of 'global warming', which still ranked as the 4th most critical threat but was down 14 points since last year and 16 points since 2006. Sixty-one per cent of women identified 'global warming' as 'a critical threat' compared with 43% of men.

Concern over 'food shortages' has lessened, with only 51% seeing it as 'a critical threat', down 13 points since last year.

Concern over 'large numbers of immigrants and refugees coming into Australia' was up by six points since 2008, with 39% saying it was 'a critical threat'.

Concern over 'the development of China as a world power' was also up by six points since last year, with 40% now seeing this as 'a critical threat'. Since 2006, this is up 15 points. Women were more likely to see this as 'a critical threat' than men (46% compared to 33%).

Despite the outbreak of H1N1 influenza, only 43% of Australians said 'AIDS, avian flu and other potential epidemics' was 'a critical threat', down four points since last year and 15 points since 2006.

#### IMPORTANCE OF THE US ALLIANCE

Since our last poll, the Rudd Government issued a Defence White Paper. One issue it raised was the ongoing centrality of the US alliance. It stated 'Of particular concern would be any diminution in the willingness or capacity of the United States to act as a stabilising force'.<sup>6</sup> To test public perceptions about the alliance we included a number of new questions on it in this year's poll.

This year 85% of Australians said 'our alliance relationship with the United States' is either 'very important' or 'fairly important' for Australia's security. For the first time since our polling began, a majority (55%) said it was 'very important'. Men and older Australians tended to see it as slightly more important. Sixty per cent of men said the alliance was 'very important' compared with 50% of women, while 50% of those aged 18 to 44 years said it was 'very important', in contrast to 65% of those 60 years of age and over who felt this way.

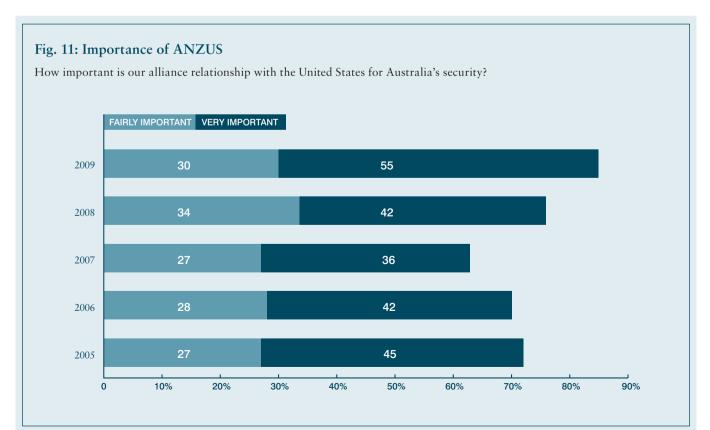
Asked whether they thought the alliance was 'becoming more important, less important or is the importance of the alliance about the same', 61% of Australians said it was 'about the same' while a quarter (25%) said it was becoming 'more important'. Just 15% said it was becoming 'less important'.

Australians were confident we would still be able to rely on the United States in 20 years time. Seventy per cent of Australians or the equivalent of over 10.5 million people said it was 'very likely' (37%) or 'somewhat likely' (33%) that 'Australia will still be able to rely on the United States to provide this security guarantee in 20 years time'.

#### MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN AFGHANISTAN

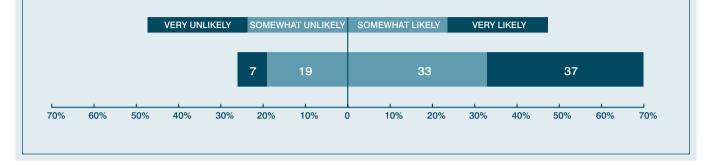
While our poll was in the field, the 11th Australian soldier was killed in Afghanistan since 2001. All but one death occurred from 2007 onwards, with four deaths in 2009.

Last year a majority (56%) of Australians did not think Australia should continue to be involved militarily in Afghanistan (42% said we should).



#### Fig. 12: Reliability of the US alliance

The United States currently helps guarantee the security of Australia under the Australia-United States alliance. Do you think it is likely or unlikely that Australia will still be able to rely on the United States to provide this security guarantee in 20 years time?



This year support for continuing 'to be involved militarily in Afghanistan' increased slightly, with 46% saying we should continue to be involved (the same level of support we found in 2007) but a slim majority (51%) said we should not.

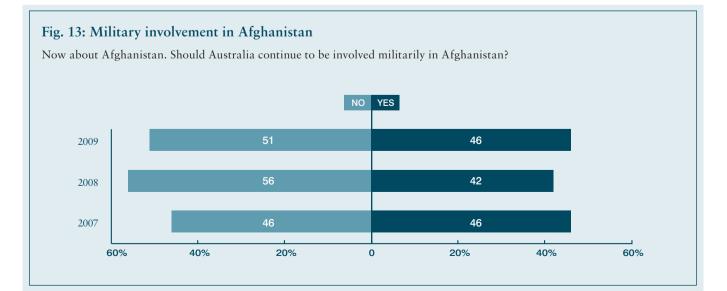
Support for continuing Australia's military involvement in Afghanistan was higher among men, with 54% supporting ongoing involvement compared to 38% of women.

Interestingly, the slight increase in support for ongoing military involvement in Afghanistan did not correspond with an increase in public confidence that Australia had clear aims there. A majority of Australians (52%) were either 'not confident' or 'not at all confident' 'that Australia has clear aims in Afghanistan': up a marginal three points since last year. A similar percentage (47%) were either 'confident' or 'very confident' about our aims.

#### IRAN

Iran's nuclear program has attracted considerable media attention since our last poll. To test Australians' preferred way of approaching Iran's continued obstructionism we asked people whether they would be in favour of or against the use of military means, economic sanctions and diplomatic negotiations 'to deal with Iran developing nuclear weapons'.

The most favoured response was 'diplomatic negotiations', with 85% of Australians supporting these. A large majority (69%) also supported 'economic sanctions', while just a third (32%) were in favour of 'military means'.



#### Fig. 14: Dealing with Iran Now for a question about Iran. A number of countries believe that Iran is developing nuclear weapons. Would you be in favour of or against diplomatic negotiations / economic sanctions / military means to deal with Iran developing nuclear weapons? IN FAVOUR OF 85 Diplomatic negotiations Economic sanctions 27 69 32 Military means 66 40% 60% 80% 100% 100% 80% 60% 40% 20% 0 20%

### Global Warming

Australian attitudes towards global warming are changing. We repeated a tracking question we first asked in 2006 that presented people with a choice between three options for dealing with the issue.

Once again, the most popular option, supported by 48% of Australians, was that 'global warming is a serious and pressing problem. We should begin taking steps now even if this involves significant costs'. But support for this option was down 12 points since 2008 and 20 points since 2006. This is also the first year that it has not had majority support. Younger Australians and females were slightly more likely to hold this view (49% of 18 to 44 year olds

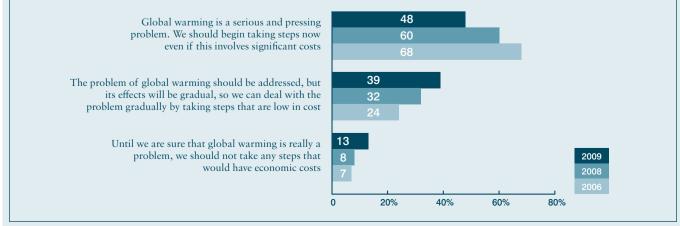
compared with 42% of those 60 years of age and older, and 53% of females compared with 42% of males).

Support for the more 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' was supported by 39% of Australians, up seven points since 2008 and 15 points since 2006.

The least popular viewpoint, held by 13% of Australians, was for the most sceptical position—'until we are sure that global warming is really a problem, we should not take any steps that would have economic costs' (up six points since 2006).

#### Fig. 15: Options for 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.



This shift in opinion does not mean Australians don't see the issue of climate change as a problem. In a question new to the Lowy Poll, 76% of Australians said climate change 'is a problem', while 23% said it 'is not a problem'.

#### CLIMATE CHANGE: URGENCY AND SOLUTION

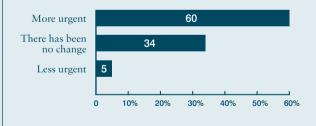
To test the views of the 76% of Australians who see climate change as a problem, we asked them whether they thought a solution to the problem had become more or less urgent and about the prospects for its being successfully resolved. Asked 'over the past 12 months do you think obtaining a solution to the problem of climate change has become more urgent, less urgent, or there has been no change', 60% of Australians who saw it as a problem said a solution had become 'more urgent', while a third (34%) said 'there has been no change'.

Asking the same 76% of people who saw climate change as a problem whether 'over the past 12 months do you think a solution to the problem of climate change has become more likely to be successfully resolved, less likely to be successfully resolved or there has been no change', the majority (57%) said 'there has been no change', while 23% said a solution was 'more likely' and 19% 'less likely'.

#### Fig. 16: Climate change

#### Urgency

Over the past 12 months do you think obtaining a solution to the problem of climate change has become more urgent, less urgent or there has been no change?



#### Solution

And over the past 12 months do you think a solution to the problem of climate change has become more likely to be successfully resolved, less likely to be successfully resolved or there has been no change?



#### **International News Sources**

In October 2007, the Lowy Institute launched its blog, *The Interpreter.* This was in recognition of the fact that in other parts of the world people are increasingly using blogs as an integral part of their daily news diet. To track the habits of Australians when it comes to international news sources, this year we introduced a new question to the Lowy Poll. We chose six different media and asked Australians whether they used the source 'often, sometimes or never to get international news'.

Of the sources used 'often', the most popular was 'free to air TV'—which 71% of Australians use to get international news. The next most popular were 'radio' (50%) and 'printed newspapers' (49%). Online sources still lagged behind. 'Online newspapers' were used often by just 28% of Australians and 'other online sources, including blogs' by just 15%.

For most media, age was an important factor influencing use. Sixty-seven per cent of Australians 60 years old or older used 'printed newspapers' 'often' to get international news, compared with 36% of 18 to 29 year olds, and for 'online newspapers' the difference was 12% and 53% for the respective age groups. 'Other online sources, including blogs' were used 'often' by 31% of 18 to 29 year olds compared with just 6% of those 60 years of age or older.

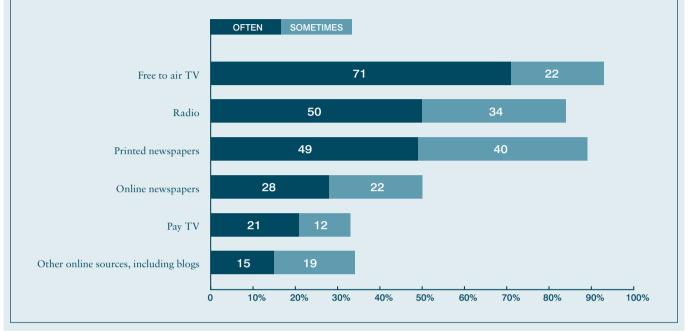
For 'free to air TV', 55% of 18 to 29 year olds used it 'often' compared with 84% of Australians 60 years of age or older. For 'radio', 35% of 18 to 29 year olds used it 'often' compared with 64% of those 60 years of age or older.

Australians from an overseas non-English speaking background were more likely to use 'other online sources, including blogs' 'often' to get international news than Australians born here or from an overseas English-speaking background, but less likely to use radio often. Twenty-seven per cent of overseas-born Australians from non-English speaking backgrounds used 'other online sources including blogs' 'often' compared with 14% of Australians born here and 13% of overseas-born Australians from an Englishspeaking background.

Thirty per cent of overseas-born Australians from a non-English speaking background used 'radio' 'often' compared with 52% of Australian-born people and 54% of overseas-born Australians from an English-speaking background.

#### Fig. 17: Sources of international news

Finally now a few questions about yourself. Firstly about where you get your own information about international news. For each of the following please tell me if you use this source often, sometimes or never to get international news?



#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> *Trade in services Australia* 2008, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, July 2009, p 9.

<sup>2</sup> International investment position, Australia: supplementary statistics, 2008: foreign investment in Australia, level of investment by country and country groups by type of investment and year, Australian Bureau of Statistics, http://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/ subscriber.nsf/0/9F757AC9DF6F17CDCA2575B600185559/ \$File/5352002\_2008.xls#Table2!A2.

<sup>3</sup> Australia's diplomatic deficit: reinvesting in our instruments of international policy, Blue Ribbon Panel report, Lowy Institute, August 2008, p vii.

<sup>4</sup> In previous years this had been asked as 'helping to prevent nuclear proliferation'.

<sup>5</sup> In 2008, the question only asked whether people thought China 'will become the leading power in Asia'. This year it was broadened, also asking respondents whether they thought China 'already is the leading power in Asia'.

<sup>6</sup> Defending Australia in the Asia Pacific Century: Force 2030, paragraph 3.17, p 28. http://www.defence.gov.au/ whitepaper/docs/defence\_white\_paper\_2009.pdf.

# 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.<sup>1</sup> Throughout the tables an '\*' represents a response given by less than 0.5% of people.

#### FEELINGS TOWARDS OTHER COUNTRIES

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.<sup>#</sup>

Country	2009 Mean°	2008 Mean°	2007 Mean°	2006 Mean°
New Zealand	83	N/A	81	N/A
Canada	80	N/A	N/A	N/A
Germany	68	N/A	N/A	N/A
United States	67	64	60	62
Japan	66	64	63	64
Fiji	63	67	N/A	N/A
Thailand	59	N/A	N/A	N/A
India	56	57	55	62
China	53	56	56	61
South Korea	53	50	N/A	56
East Timor	50	56	54	57
Indonesia	49	50	47	50
Burma (Myanmar)	46	N/A	N/A	N/A
Pakistan	42	46	N/A	N/A
Iran	38	38	34	43
Afghanistan	37	N/A	N/A	N/A
North Korea	30	N/A	N/A	43

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In Lowy Institute Polls for previous years grouped subtotals were rounded as a group in the charts. The change this year has removed a discrepancy that existed in the past between tables and charts but has resulted, in some cases, in slight differences between figures reported here for previous years and those reported in past Lowy Polls.

#### ECONOMIC OPTIMISM

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

	2009	2008	2007	2005
Very optimistic	16%	11%	19%	14%
Optimistic	70%	65%	52%	53%
Total: optimistic	86%	76%	71%	67%
Pessimistic	11%	19%	9%	8%
Very pessimistic	2%	4%	2%	2%
Total: pessimistic	13%	23%	11%	10%
Neutral	N/A	N/A	17%	21%
Don't know	1%	1%	2%	2%

# Note: in 2005 and 2007 a 'neutral' option was included.

#### GLOBALISATION

Do you believe that globalisation, especially the increasing connections of our economy with others around the world, is mostly good or mostly bad for Australia?

	2009	2008	2006
Mostly good	79%	72%	64%
Mostly bad	18%	23%	28%
Don't know	4%	6%	8%

#### POWER SHIFTS AFTER THE GLOBAL ECONOMIC CRISIS

As you may know the world is currently going through a severe economic crisis. When the world recovers from this economic crisis do you think each of the following countries will be more powerful, less powerful or will they be just as powerful as they were before the crisis?

	More powerful	Less powerful	Just as powerful	Don't know
China	72%	3%	25%	*
India	40%	11%	47%	3%
United States	19%	33%	48%	*

#### MOST IMPORTANT ECONOMIES TO AUSTRALIA

Thinking about the economies of China, Japan and the United States, which one do you think is the most important to Australia at the moment? And which one is the second most important?

	Most important	Most important and second most important
China	63%	85%
United States	27%	69%
Japan	6%	38%
All equal	1%	2%
Don't know	2%	2%

#### AUSTRALIA'S INFLUENCE UNDER THE RUDD GOVERNMENT

Do you agree or disagree that the Kevin Rudd Labor Government has been successful in giving Australia more influence in the world?

IF AGREE - Is that strongly agree or partly agree?

IF DISAGREE - Is that strongly disagree or partly disagree?

	2009
Strongly agree	22%
Partly agree	35%
Total: agree	57%
Partly disagree	26%
Strongly disagree	14%
Total: disagree	40%
Don't know	3%

#### UN SECURITY COUNCIL SEAT

Now about the United Nations. The Australian government is seeking a temporary seat on the United Nations Security Council beginning in 2013. Do you personally agree or disagree that Australia should seek a temporary seat on the United Nations Security Council or do you have no view either way?

IF AGREE - Is that strongly agree or partly agree?

IF DISAGREE - Is that strongly disagree or partly disagree?

	2009
Strongly agree	52%
Partly agree	19%
Total: agree	71%
Partly disagree	1%
Strongly disagree	5%
Total: disagree	6%
No view either way	22%
Don't know	1%

#### NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

Thinking now about nuclear disarmament. Do you agree or disagree that global nuclear disarmament should be a top priority for the Australian government?

IF AGREE - Is that strongly agree or somewhat agree?

IF DISAGREE - Is that strongly disagree or somewhat disagree?

	2009
Strongly agree	55%
Somewhat agree	20%
Total: agree	75%
Somewhat disagree	18%
Strongly disagree	7%
Total: disagree	25%
Don't know/Neither	1%

#### ASYLUM SEEKERS

Now a question about unauthorised asylum seekers coming to Australia by boat. Are you concerned or not concerned about unauthorised asylum seekers coming to Australia by boat or do you have no view on this?

IF CONCERNED - Is that very concerned or somewhat concerned?

	2009
Very concerned	43%
Somewhat concerned	33%
Total: concerned	76%
Not concerned	21%
Don't know	4%

#### AUSTRALIA'S INFLUENCE IN THE WORLD

Thinking now about Australia's influence generally in the world compared to other countries. Do you think Australia is roughly among:

	2009
The top 10 most influential countries	32%
Not in the top 10 but among the top 20 most influential countries	53%
Not in the top 20 but among the top 30 most influential countries	12%
Not in the top 30 most influential countries	4%
Don't know	-

#### US INFLUENCE ON AUSTRALIAN FOREIGN POLICY

Thinking now about how much notice Australia takes of the views of the United States in our foreign policy, on the whole do you think we take too much, too little or the right amount of notice?

	2009	2008	2006	2005
Too much	50%	65%	69%	68%
Too little	5%	3%	3%	2%
The right amount of notice	44%	31%	27%	29%
Don't know	1%	1%	2%	1%

#### 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.

2009							
	Very important	Fairly important	Subtotal: important	Not very important	Not at all important	Subtotal: not important	Don't know
Protecting the jobs of Australian workers	80%	18%	98%	2%	1%	3%	*
Helping to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons <sup>#</sup>	78%	16%	94%	5%	2%	7%	*
Strengthening the Australian economy	76%	23%	99%	1%	*	1%	*
Combating international terrorism	75%	20%	95%	4%	1%	5%	-
Protecting Australian citizens abroad	69%	25%	94%	5%	1%	6%	-
Controlling illegal immigration	60%	31%	91%	8%	1%	9%	*
Tackling climate change	56%	29%	85%	10%	4%	14%	*
Helping to stabilise weak nations in our region	47%	46%	93%	6%	1%	7%	*
Strengthening the United Nations	44%	41%	85%	11%	3%	14%	*
Promoting democracy in other countries	31%	46%	77%	18%	4%	22%	1%

(Continued over page)

Percentage saying 'v	ery importar	nt'	
	2009	2008	2007
Protecting the jobs of Australian workers	80%	79%	75%
Helping to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons <sup>#</sup>	78%	66%	61%
Strengthening the Australian economy	76%	70%	60%
Combating international terrorism	75%	72%	65%
Protecting Australian citizens abroad	69%	68%	63%
Controlling illegal immigration	60%	<b>59%</b>	55%
Tackling climate change	56%	66%	75%
Helping to stabilise weak nations in our region	47%	46%	46%
Strengthening the United Nations	44%	46%	46%
Promoting democracy in other countries	31%	30%	29%

 $^{\#}$  In 2008 and 2007 this possible threat was 'helping to prevent nuclear proliferation'.

#### TRUST IN OTHER COUNTRIES TO ACT RESPONSIBLY

How much do you trust the following countries to act responsibly in the world?

			2009				
	A great deal	Somewhat	Total: a great deal and somewhat	Not very much	Not at all	Total: not very much and not at all	Don't know
United States	39%	44%	83%	11%	7%	18%	*
Japan	33%	48%	81%	14%	5%	19%	*
India	10%	51%	61%	26%	13%	39%	1%
China	7%	52%	59%	24%	16%	40%	1%
Russia	7%	52%	59%	27%	13%	40%	1%
Indonesia	6%	39%	45%	31%	23%	54%	*
Iran	2%	23%	25%	36%	39%	75%	1%

	A great deal			Total: somewhat and a great deal			
	2009	2008	2006	2009	2008	2006	
United States	39%	24%	19%	83%	69%	60%	
Japan	33%	15%	19%	81%	68%	73%	
India	10%	8%	9%	61%	55%	68%	
China	7%	7%	7%	59%	47%	60%	
Russia	7%	7%	N/A	59%	53%	N/A	
Indonesia	6%	N/A	N/A	45%	N/A	N/A	
Iran	2%	N/A	N/A	25%	N/A	N/A	

#### CHINESE INVESTMENT IN AUSTRALIA

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

	2009
Allowing too much investment from China	50%
Allowing about the right amount of investment from China	42%
Not allowing enough investment from China	3%
Don't know	5%

#### CHINA'S POWER IN ASIA

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?#

	2009	2008
Agree	95%	86%
Disagree	4%	12%
Don't know	1%	3%

<sup>#</sup> In 2008, this question and the one following only asked whether 'China will become the leading power in Asia'. This year 'or, do you think it already is the leading power in Asia?' was added.

#### [FOR THOSE AGREEING (948 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 uncomfortable or very uncomfortable about this.

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

#### **RESPONDING TO CHINA'S RISE**

In dealing with China's rise do you personally agree or disagree with each of the following?

IF AGREE - Is that strongly agree or somewhat agree?

IF DISAGREE - Is that strongly disagree or somewhat disagree?

	The Australian government should undertake friendly cooperation and engagement with China	The Australian government should actively work to limit the growth of China's power
Strongly agree	39%	21%
Somewhat agree	52%	25%
Total: agree	91%	46%
Somewhat disagree	6%	36%
Strongly disagree	2%	16%
Total: disagree	8%	52%
Don't know	1%	2%

#### CHINA AS A MILITARY THREAT

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?

	2009
Very likely	15%
Somewhat likely	26%
Total: likely	41%
Somewhat unlikely	38%
Very unlikely	19%
Total: unlikely	57%
Don't know	3%

#### FEELING OF SAFETY

Now about world events, how safe do you feel?

	2009	2008	2007	2006	2005
Very safe	44%	35%	40%	30%	30%
Safe	46%	57%	50%	56%	61%
Total: safe	90%	92%	90%	86%	91%
Unsafe	7%	8%	8%	10%	7%
Very unsafe	2%	1%	1%	3%	1%
Total: unsafe	9%	9%	9%	13%	8%
Don't know	1%	*	1%	*	1%

#### THREATS TO AUSTRALIA'S VITAL INTERESTS

I am now going to read out a list of possible threats to the vital interests of Australia in the next ten years. For each one, please select whether you see this as a critical threat, an important but not critical threat, or not an important threat at all.

	2	009		
	Critical threat	An important but not critical threat	Not an important threat at all	Don't know
The possibility of unfriendly countries becoming nuclear powers	69%	27%	4%	*
International terrorism	68%	28%	5%	1%
Disruption in energy supply	55%	37%	8%	1%
Global warming	52%	34%	13%	*
Food shortages	51%	32%	17%	*
Islamic fundamentalism	50%	36%	11%	4%
Instability and conflict on the Korean peninsula	45%	43%	10%	2%
AIDS, avian flu and other potential epidemics	43%	45%	12%	-
The development of China as a world power	40%	47%	13%	1%
Large numbers of immigrants and refugees coming into Australia	39%	42%	19%	*
Economic competition from low-wage countries	35%	45%	19%	1%
Failing countries in our region	27%	56%	15%	3%

Percentage saying 'a critical threat'				
	2009	2008	2006	
The possibility of unfriendly countries becoming nuclear powers	69%	62%	70%	
International terrorism	68%	66%	73%	
Disruption in energy supply	55%	58%	51%	
Global warming	52%	66%	68%	
Food shortages	51%	64%	N/A	
Islamic fundamentalism	50%	48%	60%	
Instability and conflict on the Korean peninsula	45%	26%	34%	
AIDS, avian flu and other potential epidemics	43%	47%	58%	
The development of China as a world power	40%	34%	25%	
Large numbers of immigrants and refugees coming into Australia	39%	33%	31%	
Economic competition from low-wage countries	35%	40%	34%	
Failing countries in our region	27%	28%	31%	

#### IMPORTANCE OF ANZUS

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

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

And do you think our alliance with the United States is becoming more important, less important or is the importance of the alliance about the same?

	2009
More important	25%
Less important	15%
About the same	61%
Don't know	*

#### RELIABILITY OF THE US ALLIANCE

The United States currently helps guarantee the security of Australia under the Australia-United States alliance. Do you think it is likely or unlikely that Australia will still be able to rely on the United States to provide this security guarantee in 20 years time?

IF LIKELY - Is that very likely or somewhat likely?

IF UNLIKELY - Is that very unlikely or somewhat unlikely?

	2009
Very likely	37%
Somewhat likely	33%
Total: likely	70%
Somewhat unlikely	19%
Very unlikely	7%
Total: unlikely	26%
Don't know	4%

#### MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN AFGHANISTAN

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

	2009	2008	2007
Yes	46%	42%	46%
No	51%	56%	46%
Don't know	3%	2%	8%
Refused	N/A	N/A	1%

	2009	2008
Very confident	10%	9%
Confident	37%	41%
Total: confident	47%	50%
Not confident	34%	33%
Not at all confident	18%	16%
Total: not confident	52%	49%
Don't know	1%	1%

Are you confident that Australia has clear aims in Afghanistan?

#### DEALING WITH IRAN

Now for a question about Iran. A number of countries believe that Iran is developing nuclear weapons. Would you be in favour of or against diplomatic negotiations / economic sanctions / military means to deal with Iran developing nuclear weapons?

	Diplomatic negotiations	Economic sanctions	Military means
In favour of	85%	69%	32%
Against	13%	27%	66%
Neither/Don't know	2%	4%	3%

#### GLOBAL WARMING AND CLIMATE CHANGE

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.

	2009	2008	2006
Until we are sure that global warming is really a problem, we should not take any steps that would have economic costs	13%	8%	7%
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	39%	32%	24%
Global warming is a serious and pressing problem. We should begin taking steps now even if this involves significant costs	48%	60%	68%
Don't know/Refused	1%	*	1%

Now about climate change. Would you say climate change is a problem or is not a problem?

	2009
ls a problem	76%
ls not a problem	23%
Don't know	1%

#### [FOR THOSE SAYING CLIMATE CHANGE IS A PROBLEM (787 RESPONDENTS)]:

Over the past 12 months do you think obtaining a solution to the problem of climate change has become:

	2009
More urgent	60%
Less urgent	5%
There has been no change	34%
Don't know	*

#### [FOR THOSE SAYING CLIMATE CHANGE IS A PROBLEM (787 RESPONDENTS)]:

And over the past 12 months do you think a solution to the problem of climate change has become:

	2009
More likely to be successfully resolved	23%
Less likely to be successfully resolved	19%
There has been no change	57%
Don't know	1%

#### SOURCES OF INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Finally now a few questions about yourself. Firstly about where you get your own information about international news. For each of the following please tell me if you use this source often, sometimes or never to get international news?

	Free to air TV	Radio	Printed newspapers	Online newspapers	Pay TV	Other online sources, including blogs
Often	71%	50%	49%	28%	21%	15%
Sometimes	22%	34%	40%	22%	12%	19%
Total: often and sometimes	93%	84%	89%	50%	33%	34%
Never	7%	16%	11%	50%	67%	66%
Don't know	-	-	-	-	-	*

#### About the Lowy Institute Poll

The Lowy Institute Poll was conducted in Australia between 13 and 25 July 2009. A number of the questions in the poll were first asked in 2005, 2006, 2007 or 2008, 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 Chicago Council on Global Affairs, which has allowed for the comparison of public opinion internationally.

#### Methodology

For this opinion poll, Field Works Market Research conducted 1003 interviews between 13 and 25 July 2009. Survey interviews were conducted by 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. Within each geographic area, telephone numbers were selected using random digit dialling.

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/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.

#### 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. 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 survey was funded entirely by the Lowy Institute for International Policy. The Lowy Institute Poll is overseen by the Institute's Executive Director, Michael Wesley (and formerly Allan Gyngell), and was managed in 2009 by Fergus Hanson.

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FOR INTERNATIONAL POLICY