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SOCIAL CLASS IN AUSTRALIA
BEYOND THE 'WORKING'
AND 'MIDDLE' CLASSES

ANUPOLL
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ANU College of
Arts & Social
Sciences

ANUPOLL

SOCIAL CLASS IN AUSTRALIA: BEYOND THE 'WORKING' AND 'MIDDLE' CLASSES

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ANU Centre for Social Research and Methods
ANU College of Arts and Social Sciences

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About the poll

ANUpoll is conducted for The Australian National University (ANU) by the Social Research Centre, an ANU Enterprise business. The poll is a national random sample of the adult population, and is conducted by telephone. In this poll, 1,200 people were interviewed between 13 and 27 July 2015 with a response rate of 21 per cent. The results have been weighted to represent the national population. The poll's margin of error is ± 2.5 per cent.

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VICE-CHANCELLOR'S MESSAGE



Social research so often makes us question our deeply held beliefs about the world we live in. So it is with this, the 19th ANUpoll, which reveals greater stratification in Australian society than we might otherwise have thought. Almost all Australians perceive themselves as being from either the working or middle class of society. The findings presented here show that Australian society is best explained by five classes, instead of just those two.

It also, however, confirms some of our usual assumptions. The way we perceive our class membership aligns closely with what our economic, cultural and social capital says about us. We are aware of how what we have and what we do can shape our place in society.

The study also confirms that class defines our society less than it does British society. Based on these findings, it is easier for Australians to move between classes from one generation to another, and to advance beyond the financial and social positions of our parents and grandparents. We do not rely so heavily on inherited class status in determining our own positions.

The ANUpoll is designed to inform public and policy debate, as well as to assist scholarly research. It builds on the University's long tradition of social survey research, which began in the 1960s. Today, it fulfils the University's mission of addressing and contributing to issues of national importance.

I trust that the release of this poll's findings will ignite debate on class and stratification in Australian society, while contributing to our understanding of Australian society generally.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "I. R. Young". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, stylized "Y" at the end.

Professor Ian Young AO
Vice-Chancellor and President

SOCIAL CLASS: HOW WE DESCRIBE OURSELVES

Key Points

- > Almost all Australians view themselves as belonging to a social class.
- > More than half say they belong to the middle class.
- > Two in five Australians describe themselves as working class.
- > Only two per cent see themselves as upper class.
- > The tendency to view ourselves as middle class is longstanding, but is likely to have become stronger as 'white collar' industries have expanded.

Social class is a little like 'swagger'.

It is hard to define, and tough to measure, but you know it when you see it.

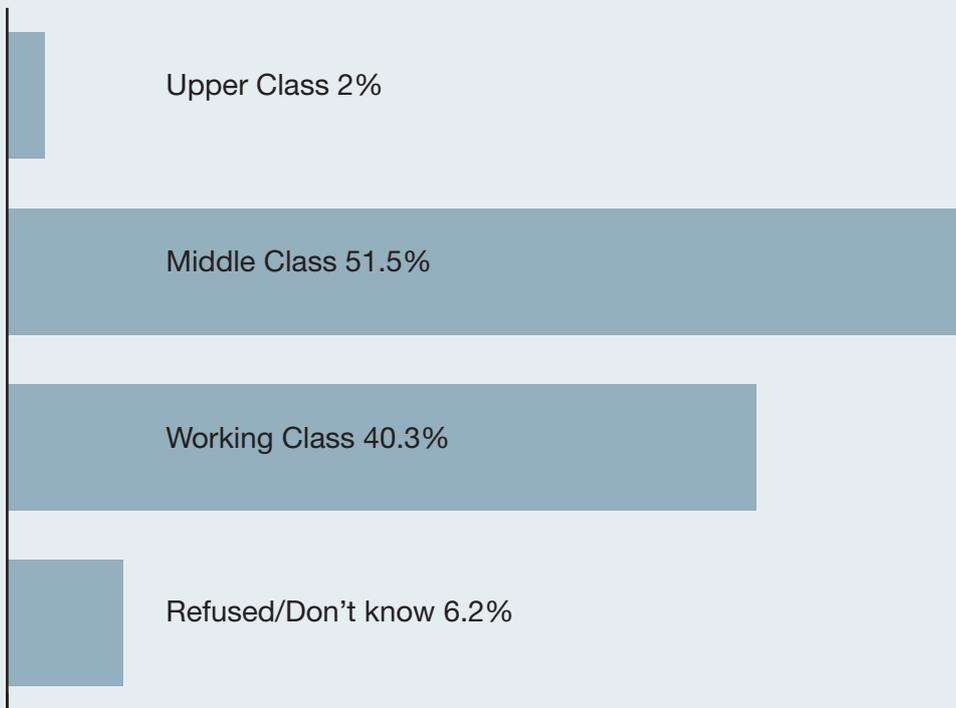
One way of measuring the existence of class in a society is to explore citizens' thoughts about it. Although Australians think and talk about social class less than our counterparts in Britain, France, and Europe generally, we are surprisingly willing to identify ourselves as members of one class or another. Almost all (94 per cent) of the Australians surveyed responded that they belong to either the upper, middle or working class.

Most Australians (52 per cent) view themselves as belonging to the middle class. Forty per cent describe themselves as belonging to the working class, and only two per cent are prepared to admit to belonging to the upper class of Australian society (with six per cent providing no answer). There are no differences between self-described class membership on the basis of gender, but it does have some relationship with age: the youngest (between 18 and 24 years of age) and oldest (55 and older) Australians disproportionately view themselves as middle rather than working class.

Australians' tendency to describe themselves as belonging to the middle class is a long-standing phenomenon. Given a range of five classes from which to choose, 45 per cent of respondents to the 2009 Australian Survey of Social Attitudes described themselves as middle class. A further 30 per cent described themselves as either upper-middle or lower-middle class.

In 1987, the Australian Election Study found that 44 per cent of Australians self-described as middle class, outnumbered slightly by the 47 per cent who viewed themselves as belonging to the working class. There is a small observable shift from self-describing as working class to middle class between 1987 and 2015, which can most likely be explained by the concurrent shift decrease in manufacturing and other 'blue collar' industries and increase in service and related professional industries.

The inclination to view ourselves as either working or middle class is not confined to Australians. The Gallup and General Social Survey polls in the United States regularly find that more than 90 per cent of Americans view themselves as either middle or working class. While that number used to split evenly between middle and working class identifiers (i.e. 45 per cent identifying as working class, and 45 per cent as middle class), since the global financial crisis in 2007 the self-described working class is growing while the self-described middle class shrinks. In Britain, where 'working class' traditionally refers to manual workers – coal miners and similar – the self-described working class tends to be smaller than in Australia and the United States.



“Which social class would you say you belong to?”

Source: ANUpoll on Social Class, 2015

SOCIAL CLASS: HOW THE DATA DESCRIBE US

Key Points

- > Five classes can be identified in Australian society.
- > They are: 'established affluent', 'emergent affluent', 'mobile middle', 'established middle, and 'established working'.
- > The classes are based on respondents' economic, social and cultural capital.
- > Most Australians self-described class approximates their objective class membership.

Asking Australians how they perceive their own class membership is important, but it only reveals half of the story about social class in Australia.

If self-described class membership is to be believed, there are only two classes in Australia: working and middle. There would be no one at the upper bounds of society. If class designations – 'working', 'middle', 'upper', and variations of each – are to mean anything in an objective sense, at least some Australians should belong to the upper class. Otherwise, the middle class will also include the wealthiest, well-resourced and most advantaged members of the society, as well as those closer to the middle.

Going beyond Australians' self-described class, this study looks at what they do, who they know and what they have, to propose objective categories of social class in Australia. Building on a study conducted by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and academic sociologists in the United Kingdom, social class is measured here by respondents' possession of certain types of 'capital'. This approach draws on the work of sociologist and theorist Pierre Bourdieu, who emphasises the role of economic, social and cultural capital in defining and entrenching social stratification.

To allow for comparison with British society, Australians were asked almost identical questions to participants of the BBC study. Economic capital is measured by respondents' household income and the estimated value of property they own (by mortgage or outright). Social capital is measured, in line with the BBC study, as the total number of occupations (from a provided list) respondents can name among their social contacts. The second measure of social capital is the mean occupation status score (using the Australian Socioeconomic Index 2006 developed at the ANU) of respondents' social contacts.

Cultural capital is measured as the number of 'highbrow' and 'emerging' cultural activities that respondents report having undertaken in the past year. Highbrow activities include going to the opera, going to the theatre, watching dance or ballet performances, and listening to classical music. Emerging activities include going to gigs, listening to rock, listening to rap or hip-hop, playing video games, watching sport, and going to the gym or exercising.

From these six measures covering three forms of capital, it is possible to identify five distinct, meaningful social classes among respondents and, by inference, Australian society. Employing latent class analysis, a five class model was found to explain enough variation between individuals that the classes tell us something meaningful about society. Estimating greater than five classes in the model did not add to its explanatory power. By contrast, the British study identified seven distinct classes. While influenced by it, Australia's economic and social structures have clearly evolved along different lines to Britain.

The five observable (or 'objective') classes in Australian society can be described as an established affluent class, an emergent affluent class, a mobile middle class, an established middle class, and an established working class. These classes are made up of individuals and there is obviously some variation within each class. However, members of each class share plenty of common traits.

Each class is characterised by the possession of economic, social and cultural capital among its members. There are also observable differences in the mean ages, educational qualifications and the occupational prestige of members in each class. Across all classes, but particularly the working and middle classes, there is evidence of intergenerational mobility in occupational prestige. It is particularly notable in the two middle classes, where the mean prestige score is almost ten points higher than members' parents.

The affluent classes, on the other hand, more closely reflect the positions of their parents. In the case of the established affluent class, members appear to enjoy the benefits of their parents' occupational prestige, earning high incomes at lower occupational prestige than all but the working class.

There are also clear differences in how members of each objective class describe themselves. The self-described and objective classes are closely related, but not perfectly so. This is particularly evident in the self-reported middle and working classes. However, of the small minority of Australians who describe themselves as upper class, more than 40 per cent

	Established working (24 per cent)	Established middle (26 per cent)	Mobile middle (25 per cent)	Emergent affluent (11 per cent)	Established affluent (14 per cent)
Household income (annual)	\$20,000 to \$40,000	\$60,000 to \$80,000	\$80,000 to \$100,000	\$80,000 to \$100,000	\$80,000 to \$100,000
Property value	\$250,000 to \$500,000	\$500,000 to \$1,000,000	\$500,000 to \$1,000,000	\$500,000 to \$1,000,000	\$500,000 to \$1,000,000
Total occupations known socially (range 0-18)	6.6	10.7	12.5	14	11.5
Mean social contact prestige score (range 0-100)	18.3	32.0	36.9	41.8	34.3
'Highbrow' activities (range 0-4)	1.1	1.5	1.4	1.6	1.6
Emerging activities (range 0-7)	2.8	3.6	4.1	5.2	4.5
Age (years)	66.2	58.3	50.4	33.2	41.4
Education (range 1-12)	6.6	7.7	8.4	8.2	8.1
Mother's occupational prestige score (range 0-100)	40.3	47.4	46.9	48.8	50.7
Father's occupational prestige score (range 0-100)	40.8	48.3	45.2	58.1	50.2
R's occupational prestige score (range 0-100)	48.8	55	54.9	54.2	51.3

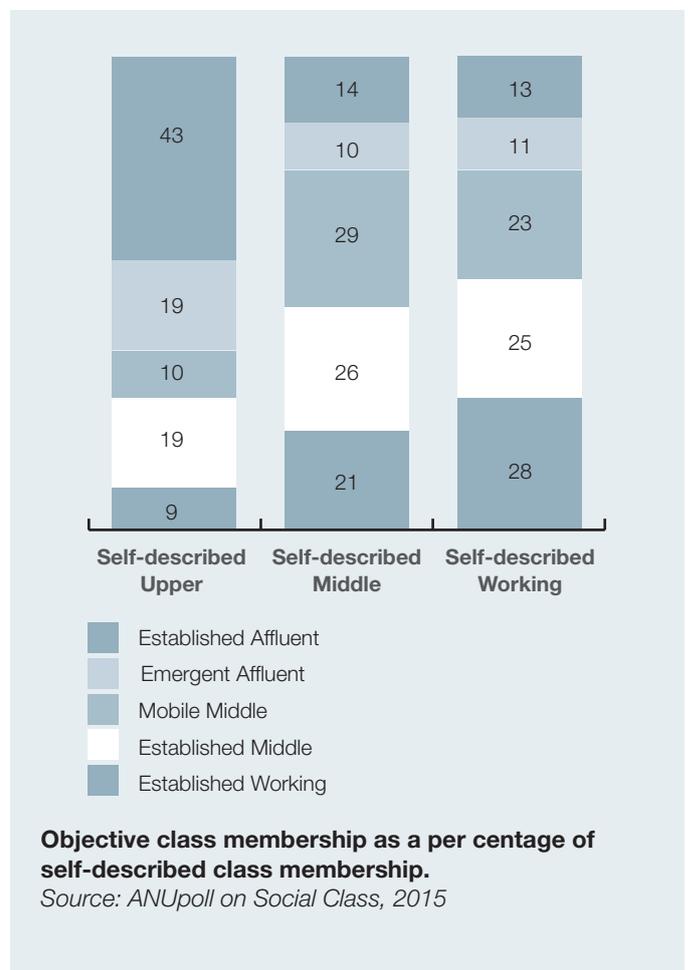
Mean characteristics by objective social class.

Source: ANUpoll on Social Class, 2015

belong to the established affluent class, while 29 per cent belong to the middle classes. Fewer than 10 per cent belong to the established working class.

Australians who describe themselves as belonging to the middle class overwhelmingly belong to either of the two objective middle classes. Almost 30 per cent belong to the mobile middle class, transitioning out of the established middle class of their parents and closer to the emergent affluent class. Nearly one quarter belong to either of the two affluent classes, and a similar number in the established working class.

Self-described working class Australians predominantly belong to either the established working or middle classes, highlighting that respondents appear keenly aware of their social status. Interestingly, almost one half belong to the either the established or mobile middle classes, which have among the highest mean occupational prestige of all five classes: occupational prestige does not seem to preclude Australians from thinking of themselves as working class.



ESTABLISHED WORKING CLASS: AGE AND DISADVANTAGE

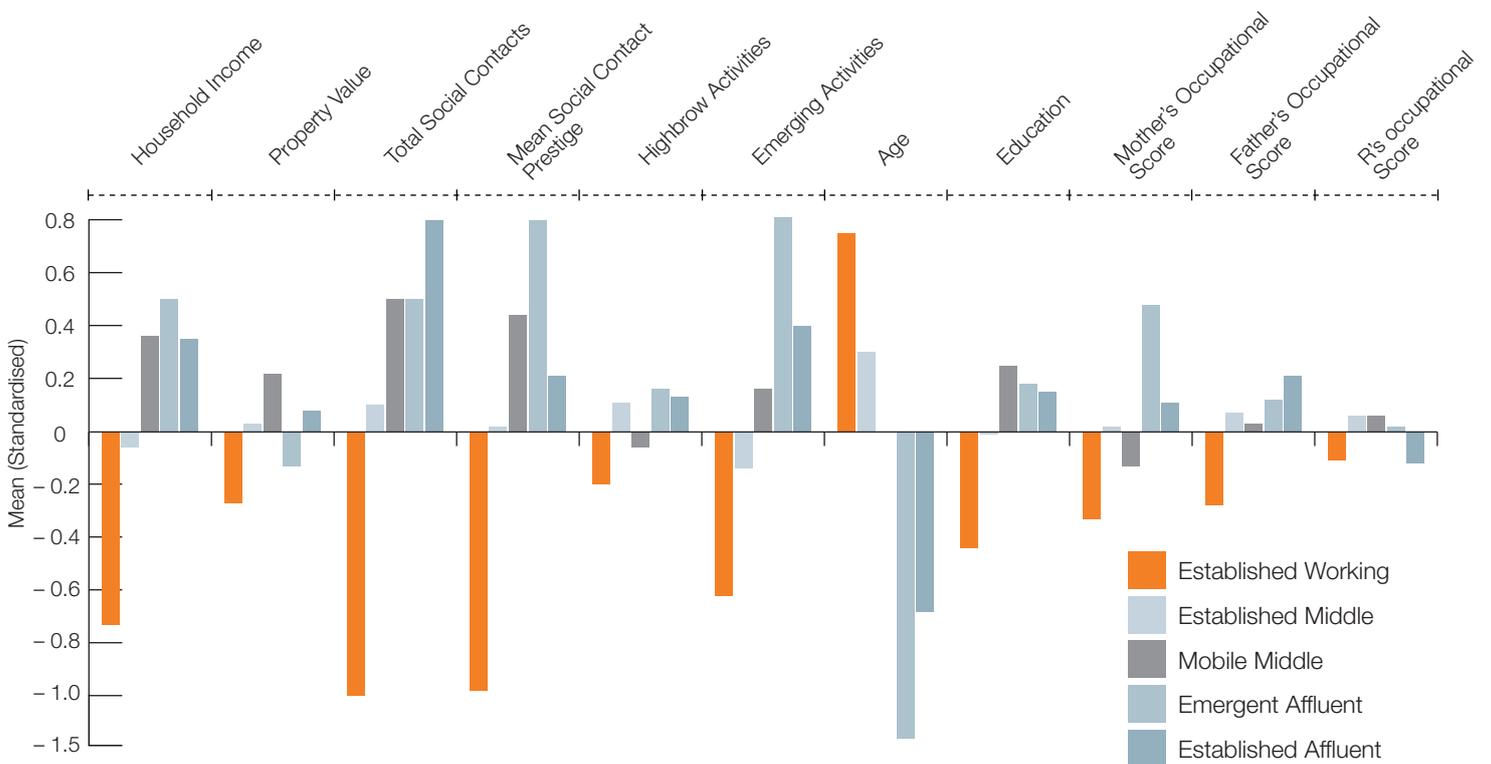
Key Points

- > Members of the established working class have the lowest incomes, lowest occupational prestige and lowest educational attainment of the five classes.
- > They have largely advanced beyond the occupational prestige of their parents, but started from the lowest base of the classes.
- > They are the oldest class on average, with a mean age of 66.

As 24 per cent of the population, the established working class is one of the largest of the five objective classes. Established working class Australians are the oldest group, with a mean age of 66 years. They have the lowest participation in both highbrow and emerging cultural activities, the lowest social contact score and the lowest occupational prestige among their contacts.

Members of this class have not received the intergenerational advantages typical of other classes: their parents worked in low-prestige jobs, and members currently earn the lowest household incomes and possess the least valuable property assets. They also have the lowest level of educational attainment of the five classes, entrenching their relative intergenerational disadvantage.

In the British study on which this study is based, the closest equivalent class is the 'traditional working class'. However, while the established working class has the fewest advantages – or the least capital – in Australia, in Britain a less advantaged class exists, which British researchers have titled the 'preariat'. There is no evidence of such a class in the Australian data.



Mean characteristics of the established working class, with variable scoring standardised to allow for comparison across different measures.

Source: ANUpoll on Social Class, 2015

ESTABLISHED MIDDLE CLASS: MEDIUM ADVANTAGE, MEDIUM CAPITAL

Key Points

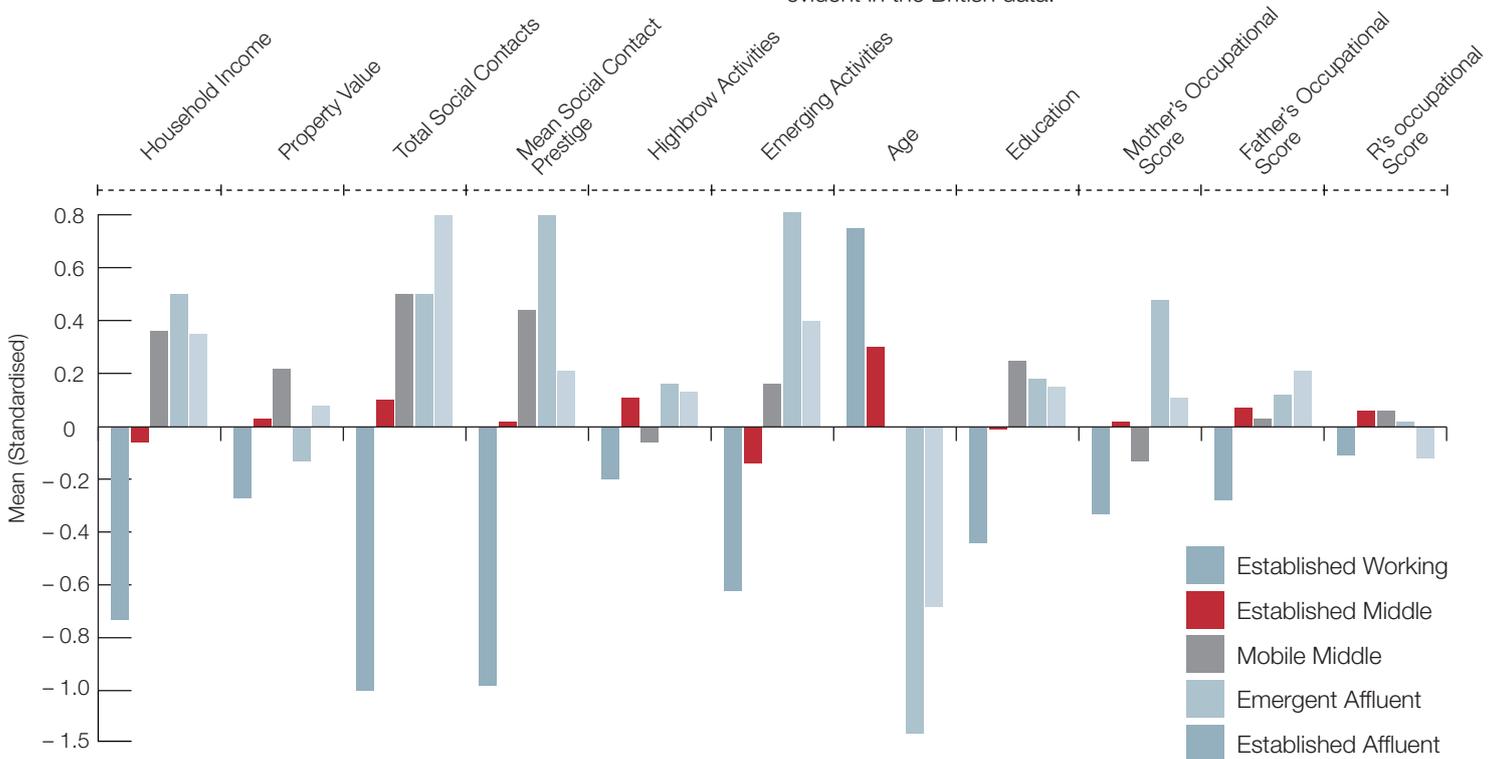
- > Members of the established middle class sit close to the mean in terms of household income, property value, social and cultural capital, educational attainment and occupational prestige.
- > On average, they have outperformed their parents in terms of occupational prestige but have not converted that into high household incomes.
- > The Australian middle class has the second lowest mean household incomes; the equivalent British class has the second highest.

True to their name, the established middle class sits squarely in the middle of the five classes in terms of income, assets, social and cultural capital, educational attainment and intergenerational advantage.

They are slightly older than other classes and – probably as a result – slightly less likely to participate in emerging cultural activities such as going to gigs, using social media or listening to rap music. It also appears that Australians tend to be right when they describe themselves as middle class. At 26 per cent of the population, the established middle class is the largest of the objective classes.

While members of the established middle class have, like members of the established working class, outperformed their parents in terms of occupational prestige, they have not entirely transitioned to a different class. They have among the lowest average educational attainment, the highest occupational prestige (which may be a factor of their age relative to more advantaged classes), but the second lowest household incomes.

The Australian established middle class closely resembles the ‘established middle class’ in Britain, although the British middle class earns the second highest incomes among the seven observable classes. There are more Australians seemingly transitioning out of the middle class towards affluence than are evident in the British data.



Mean characteristics of the established middle class, with variable scoring standardised to allow for comparison across different measures.

Source: ANUpoll on Social Class, 2015

MOBILE MIDDLE CLASS: TURNING EDUCATION INTO WEALTH

Key Points

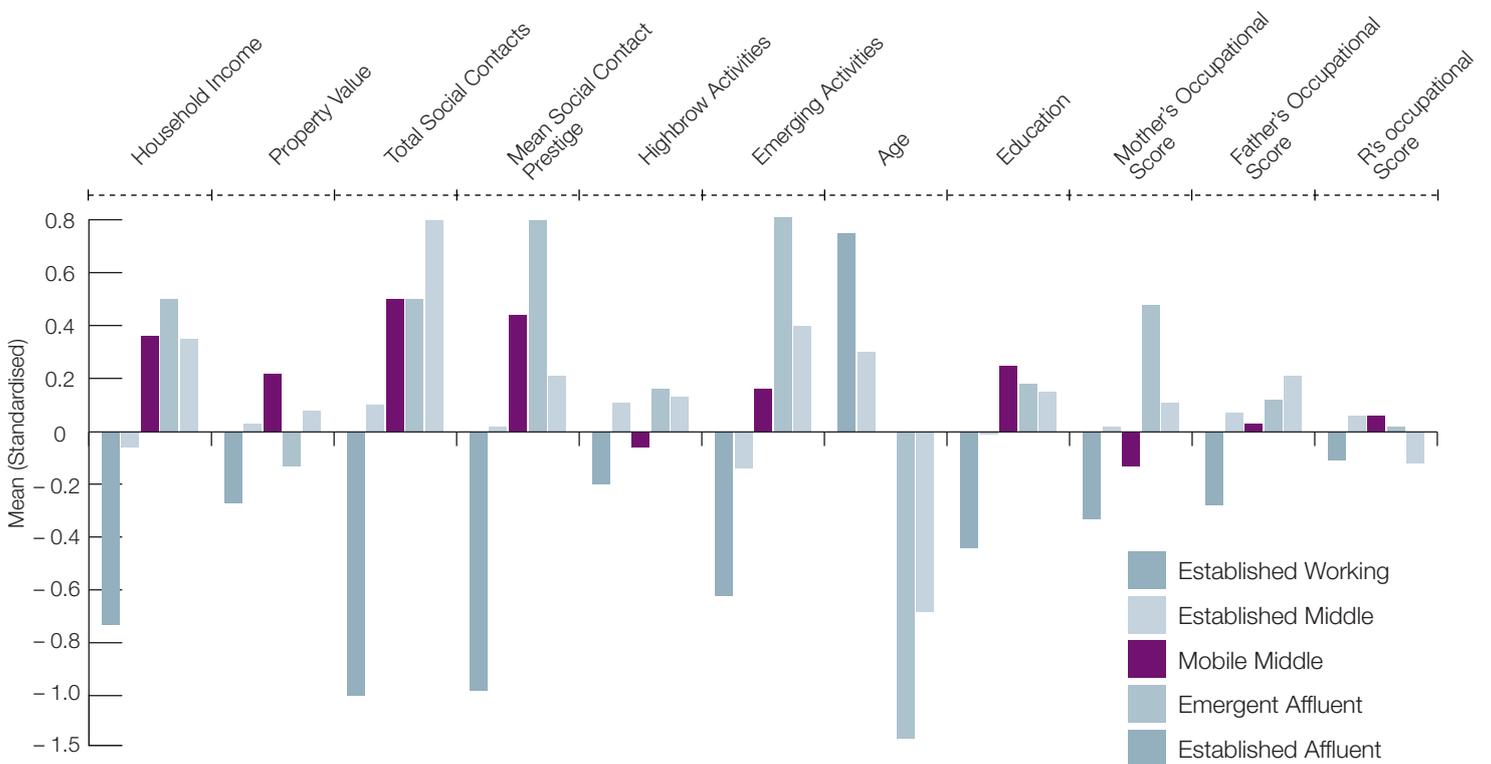
- > Australians in the mobile middle class have come from similar backgrounds to members of the established middle class, but with higher educational attainment have begun to transition closer to the affluent class, earning high incomes and reporting high property wealth.
- > Mobile middle class members are highly social, but not particularly interested in cultural activities.

Members of the mobile middle class – the second largest class, with 25 per cent of the population – come from similar backgrounds to those of the established middle class, but are distinguished by higher levels of educational attainment and consequently higher rates of household income.

They have almost identical occupational prestige to the established middle class, but are on average eight years younger.

Also separating Australians in this class from those in the established middle class is their high rates of social capital. They have social contacts from a wider range of occupations, and those contacts have higher occupational prestige than those of established middle class members. Australians in the mobile middle class tend to socialise with people whose occupational prestige is higher than their own, perhaps reflecting the upwardly mobile nature of this class.

There is no obvious equivalent to this class in British society. The classes transitioning out of the middle class in Britain are younger, more highly educated and have higher cultural capital.



Mean characteristics of the mobile middle class, with variable scoring standardised to allow for comparison across different measures.

Source: ANUpoll on Social Class, 2015

EMERGENT AFFLUENT CLASS: EARNING BUT NOT SAVING

Key Points

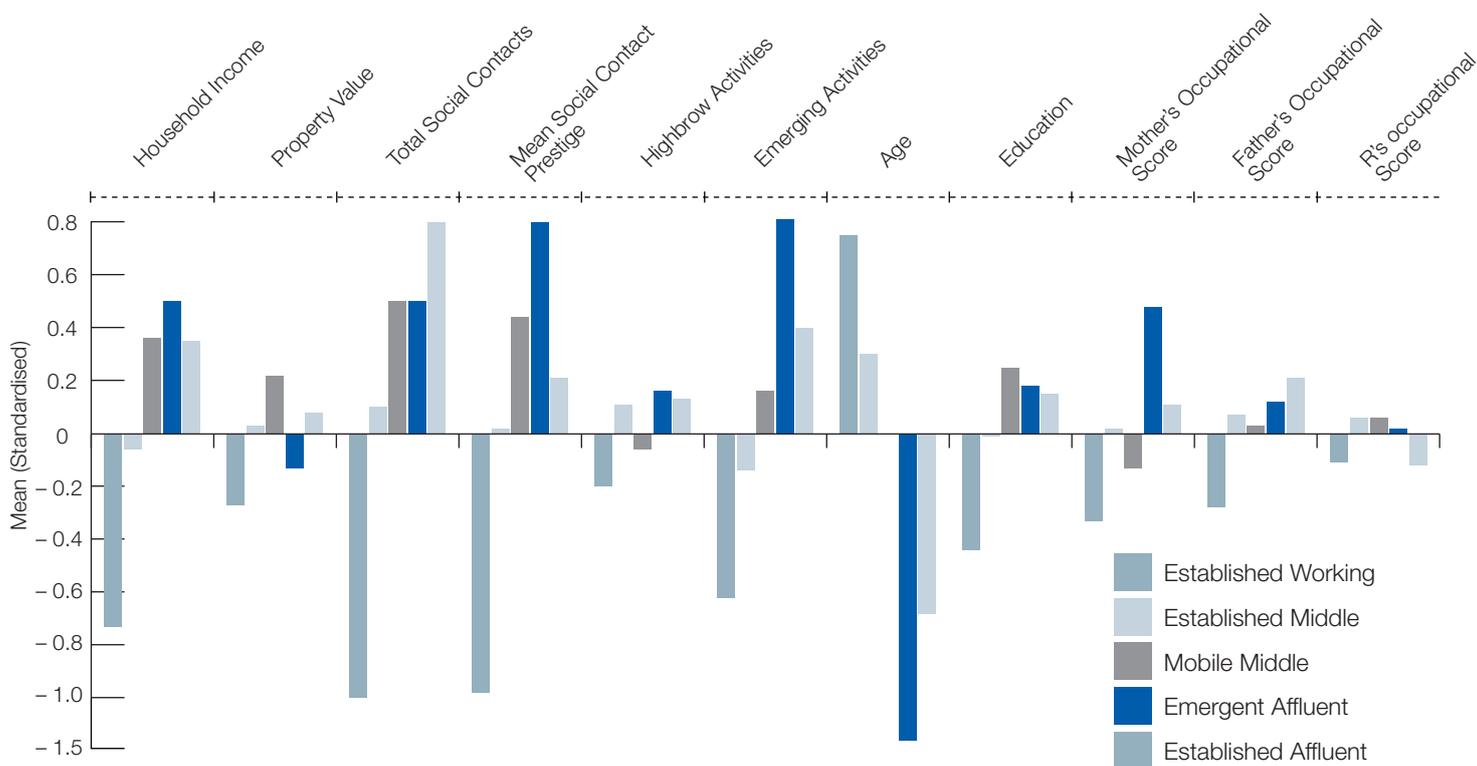
- > Emergent affluent class members tend to resemble common 'millennial generation' stereotypes: they are young, benefit from intergenerational advantage, and earn much but save little.
- > Members of this class are younger, have lower occupational prestige and less interest in highbrow cultural activities than members of the established affluent class.
- > They are on track to join the established affluent class within their lifetimes.

The emergent affluent class shares many of the characteristics of the mobile middle class, with two key differences: they are younger, and in more of a hurry.

This class reflects many of the common 'millennial' generation stereotypes: they come from relative advantage, they are well educated, have high incomes but few assets, they are highly social, and enmeshed in emerging culture but show relatively little interest in highbrow cultural activities.

They have only average rates of occupational prestige themselves, with their income outstripping their standing within the workforce. On the basis of their youth, the advantages of their parents' status, their educational attainment and current household incomes, members of this emergent class appear likely to entrench themselves in the established affluent class throughout their lifetimes.

The corresponding British study shows three distinct subgroups within this class, which do not appear in Australia: the 'technical middle class', 'new affluent workers', and 'emergent service workers'. Members of these three British 'subclasses' report high rates of emerging cultural capital, social capital and household incomes, but few savings.



Mean characteristics of the emergent affluent class, with variable scoring standardised to allow for comparison across different measures.

Source: ANUpoll on Social Class, 2015

ESTABLISHED AFFLUENT CLASS: ADVANTAGED ALL-ROUNDERS

Key Points

- > Members of the established affluent class do not have the highest incomes or greatest wealth, but benefit from intergenerational advantage more than other classes.
- > In many ways, this class resembles an older generation of members of the emergent affluent class.
- > Established affluent Australians are less advantaged and possess less capital than their British equivalents.

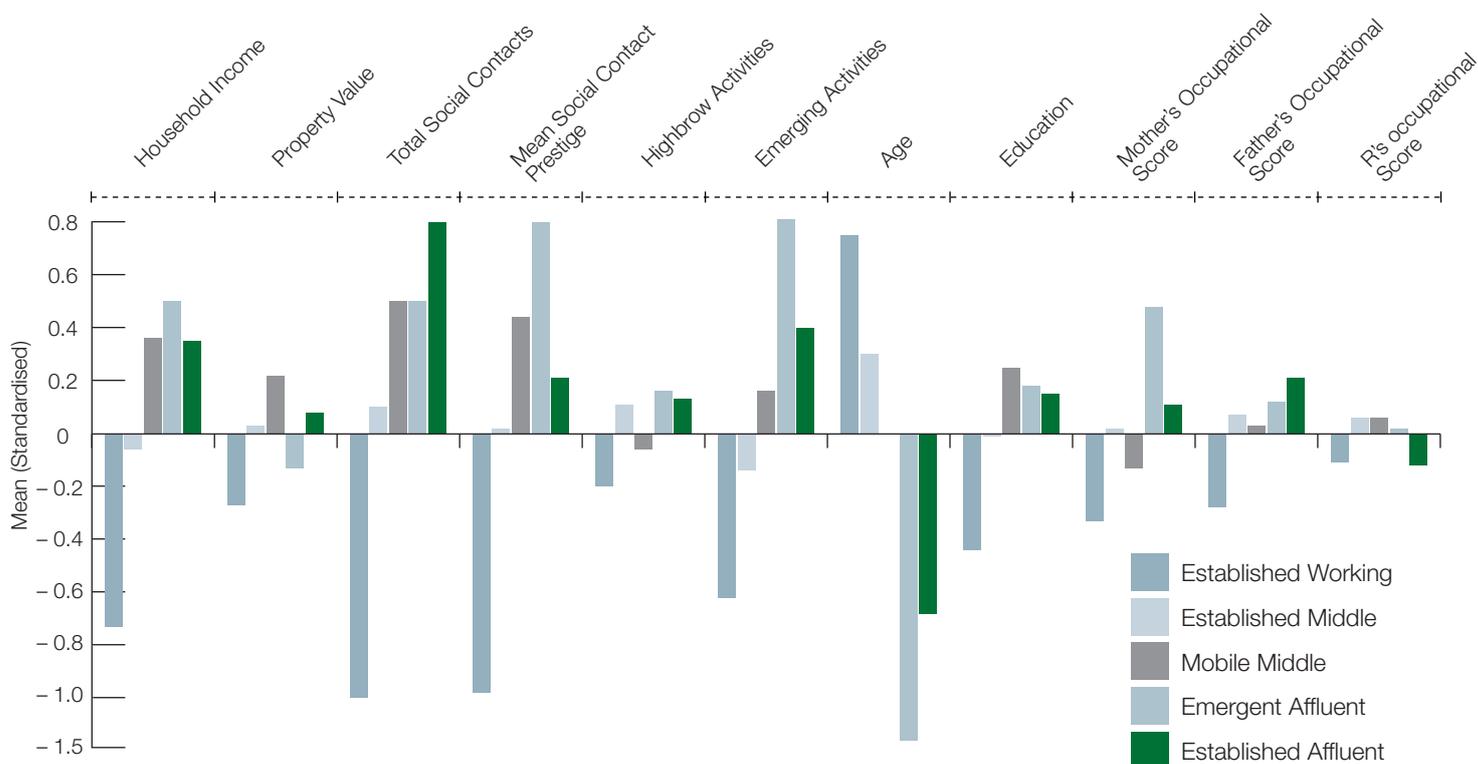
Resembling an older generation of emergent affluent class Australians, the established affluent class possess above-average rates of economic, cultural and social capital.

They do not report extremely high rates of any specific measure of capital or advantage. Instead, they are well rounded in what they possess.

Established affluent class Australians have the strongest intergenerational advantage, in terms of parents' occupational prestige. They only outperform their parents' prestige by an average of one point, across a 100-point scale: in this regard they are the least mobile of any of the classes.

Members of this class have the most diverse social networks, but not necessarily the most occupationally prestigious networks. Similarly, they do not have particularly high occupational prestige themselves, at slightly below the mean of all Australians. As with the emergent affluent class, their incomes outperform their occupational ranks.

The equivalent class in British society is the 'elite' class, evoking notions of entrenched nobility. Moreover, the British elite has the highest incomes, savings and cultural capital of the seven classes in that society. In contrast, the most notable characteristic of the Australian established affluent class is their intergenerational advantage, which has not translated into particularly high incomes or savings.



Mean characteristics of the established affluent class, with variable scoring standardised to allow for comparison across different measures.

Source: ANUpoll on Social Class, 2015

ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOURS: CLASS DIFFERENCES

Key Points

- > Australian social classes also differ by political opinions and attitudes.
- > The affluent classes are the most satisfied with the direction in which the country is heading, and the least likely to agree that it is government's role to reduce inequalities between rich and poor Australians.
- > The established affluent class is the most likely to favour tax cuts.
- > The mobile and emerging classes, at both the middle and affluent levels, are the most supportive of increased government services.

The classes in Australian society, both self-described and objective, are also distinguishable by their attitudes to government and the economy.

The self-described working class is more likely to report that they are either dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the way the country is heading (45 per cent) compared to those who identify as being in the upper or middle classes (37 per cent). There are three groupings on this question for the objective class measures. The established working and established middle classes are the most dissatisfied (46 and 44 per cent), whereas the emerging affluent and established affluent classes (36 and 37 per cent) are the least dissatisfied. The mobile middle class is a bit more ambivalent as a group (41 per cent).

Some of the most intractable class conflict historically has related to how much tax people should pay and the adequacy of government provided services. There are still some differences in these views by class in contemporary Australia, but not always in the direction we might expect. Respondents were asked: 'If the government had a choice between reducing taxes or spending more on social services, which do you think it should do?' There are no real differences by self-described class in the percentage who said they favoured reducing taxes (15 per cent), but there are some differences in the percentage who were in favour of increasing services: 56 per cent for the affluent and middle classes, and 51 per cent for the working class.

Comparing attitudes by objective class reveals greater differences. Around 20 per cent of the established affluent class are in favour of reducing taxes compared to 12 per cent of the established middle class. The emerging affluent and the mobile middle are the most supportive of increasing services (56 per cent for both), with the established affluent class the least supportive (47 per cent).

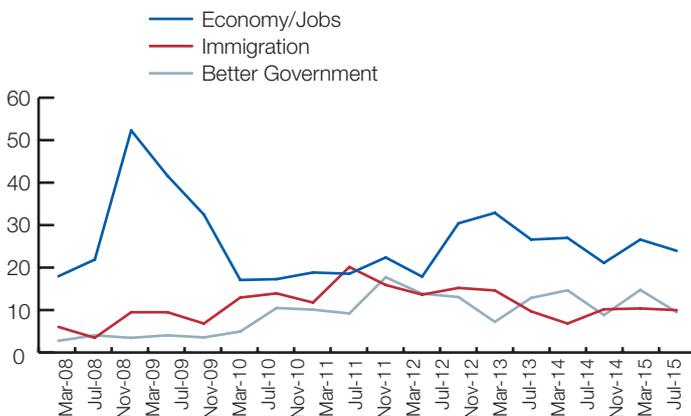
Class differences appear to matter most when it comes to income inequality. While the affluent and middle classes are slightly more likely to be in favour of increased services, they are significantly less likely to feel that it is probably or definitely the government's role to reduce income differences between the rich and the poor: 61 per cent compared to 71 per cent for the working class. These differences hold across the objective classification, with the established working class being 73 per cent in favour compared to the other four classes ranging from 62 to 65 per cent.

KEY TRENDS: MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEMS AND POLITICAL MOOD

Key Points

- > As in all except one ANUpoll, more Australians name the economy as the most important issue facing the country.
- > Immigration and better government remain the second and third most commonly named issues.
- > Satisfaction with the direction of the country has decreased since the last ANUpoll conducted in March 2015.
- > Net satisfaction is at its lowest level (10 points) since the ANUpoll began in 2008.

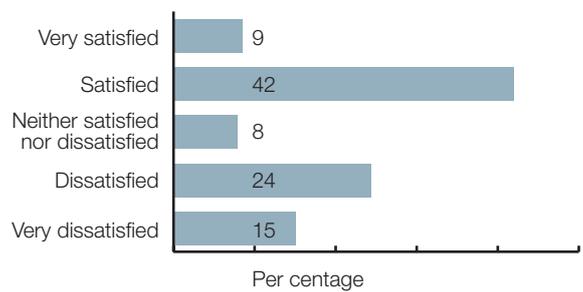
Each ANUpoll has asked Australians to name the most (and second most) important problems facing the country. With the exception of only one instance, in July 2011, they have named the economy and jobs as the most important issue. This poll continues that trend, with 28 per cent nominating the economy and jobs (or some variation on those issues). Slightly more Australians nominate the need for 'better government' (12 per cent) than immigration (10 per cent) as the most important issue. Together, the prominence of the economy and jobs, immigration and better governments continues a long-term trend, with only the environment coming close to the top three issues named.



“What do you think is the most important problem facing Australia today?”

Source: ANUpolls March 2008 - July 2015

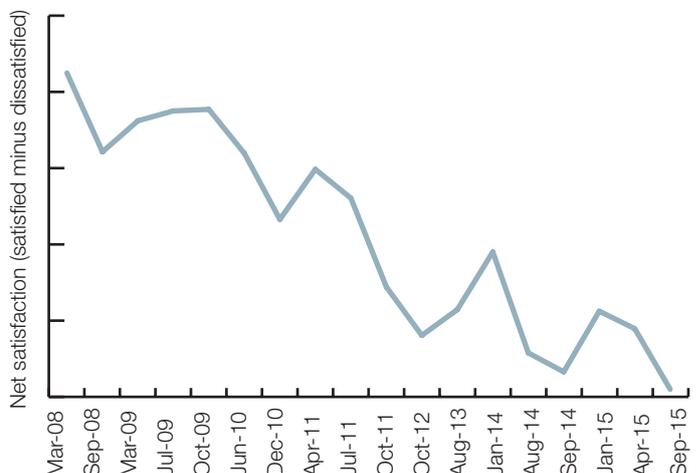
By contrast, Australians' satisfaction with the direction in which the country is heading has proven to be volatile and, over the long term, in marked decline. This survey reveals the lowest levels of satisfaction since the ANUpoll series began in 2008. While 51 per cent of Australians describe themselves as either 'satisfied' or 'very satisfied' with the country's direction, this number has fallen by three per cent since the survey conducted in March 2015. During the same period, the percentage of Australians either 'dissatisfied' or 'very dissatisfied' has increased by five per cent, from 35 per cent in March to 40 per cent (adjusted for rounding) in July 2015.



“All things considered, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way the country is heading?”

Source: ANUpoll on National Identity, 2015

The consequent eight-point turnaround in net satisfaction also means that net satisfaction has declined from 19 per cent in March to just 11 per cent in July: a fall of almost 50 per cent in a four month period. While this continues a long term trend in satisfaction with the country's direction, from its high of 53 points – with 73 per cent satisfied and only 20 per cent dissatisfied – in the very first ANUpoll in March 2008, it also represents a rapid decline and the lowest net satisfaction recorded to date. Further, the current ANUpoll was conducted prior to Bronwyn Bishop's resignation as Speaker of the House of Representatives, and related focus on parliamentarians' travel entitlements. It is likely that net dissatisfaction decreased even further during that period. It remains to be seen if it will improve following Malcolm Turnbull's installment as Prime Minister.



Source: ANUpolls March 2008-July 2015

ANUPOLL QUESTIONS

All things considered, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way the country is heading?

	Frequency	Per cent
Very satisfied	103	8.6
Satisfied	503	41.9
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	96	8.0
Dissatisfied	293	24.4
Very dissatisfied	182	15.2
Refused	3	0.2
Don't know/not sure	20	1.7
Total	1200	100.0

What do you think is the most important problem facing Australia today?

	Frequency	Per cent
Economy/jobs	336	28.2
Better government	166	11.6
Immigration	114	9.5
Environment/global warming	97	8.2
Poverty/ Social exclusion/ inequality	67	5.9
Terrorism	51	4.8
Foreign influence/Australia's position in world	47	3.8
Don't know/can't say	41	3.7
Values/ morals/ respect for others	32	3.0
Housing affordability	27	2.5
Health care	27	2.4
Education	24	2.3
Law and order/ crime/ justice system	23	2.1
Ageing population	15	1.3
Other	16	1.2
Alcohol and Drug use	16	1.1
Defence/national security	13	1.1
(None/ no other)	12	1.1
Industrial relations	11	0.9
The budget	9	0.8
Social services (including aged care, the disabled, etc)	8	0.7
Infrastructure/ Planning/ Innovation	7	0.6
Young people's behaviour/attitudes	7	0.6
Indigenous affairs	6	0.5
Family/community/societal breakdown	6	0.5
Taxation	5	0.5
Trade balance/loss of jobs to overseas	5	0.3
Rural/farming issues	5	0.2
Refused	3	0.2
Interest rates	3	0.2
Water management	1	0.1
Total	1200	100.0

What do you think is the second most important problem facing Australia today?

	Frequency	Per cent
Economy/jobs	222	18.9
Immigration	115	10.1
Poverty/ Social exclusion/ inequality	86	8.0
Environment/global warming	85	7.6
Better government	74	6.9
Health care	59	5.9
Education	59	4.6
Housing affordability	50	4.5
Terrorism	33	2.6
Values/ morals/ respect for others	30	2.4
Law and order/ crime/ justice system	27	2.0
Foreign influence/Australia's position in world	26	2.0
Alcohol and Drug use	24	1.8
Defence/national security	18	1.6
Industrial relations	16	1.5
Ageing population	14	1.2
Infrastructure/ Planning/ Innovation	14	1.1
Taxation	13	1.1
Trade balance/loss of jobs to overseas	11	1.0
Social services (including aged care, the disabled, etc)	11	0.9
Indigenous affairs	9	0.9
Family/community/societal breakdown	8	0.8
Water management	7	0.6
Young people's behaviour/attitudes	6	0.5
Interest rates	5	0.4
The budget	5	0.4
Rural/farming issues	4	0.4
Iraq war	1	0.1
Carbon Tax	1	0.0
Other	20	1.6
(None/ no other)	28	2.1
Don't know/can't say	61	6.3
Refused	2	0.1
Total	1125	100.0

Do you own or rent your own home?

	Frequency	Per cent
Own outright	371	30.9
Own with mortgage	385	32.1
Rent from a private owner	271	22.6
Rent from a government housing authority	42	3.5
Live with parents/guardians	100	8.3
Refused	15	1.2
Don't know/can't say	16	1.3
Total	1200	100.0

How long have you owned/rented this property?

	Frequency	Per cent
Less than one year	124	17.1
Between 1 and 4 years	234	25.4
Between 5 and 10 years	210	18.7
10 years or more	528	38.3
Don't know	4	0.5
Total	1070	100.0

Do you own any investment properties?

	Frequency	Per cent
Yes	222	18.5
No	965	80.4
Refused	8	0.7
Don't know/can't say	5	0.4
Total	1200	100.0

How long have you owned your investment properties?

	Frequency	Per cent
Less than one year	13	5.6
Between 1 and 4 years	49	21.2
Between 5 and 10 years	64	27.7
10 years or more	103	44.6
Refused	1	0.4
Don't know/can't say	1	0.4
Less than one year	13	5.6
Total	231	100.0

What would you say is the approximate value of all property owned or mortgaged by you?

	Frequency	Per cent
Less than \$250k	41	4.6
\$250k - \$500k	287	32.0
\$500k - \$1 million	289	32.2
\$1 million or more	196	21.9
Refused	49	5.5
Don't know/can't say	35	3.9
Total	897	100.0

Which of these is the main source of income for you at present?

	Frequency	Per cent
Earnings from employment (own or spouse/partner's)	798	66.5
Superannuation	62	5.1
Private pension	16	1.4
Government pension	149	12.4
Unemployment benefit	22	1.8
Disability pension	33	2.8
Interest from savings or investments	30	2.5
Student grant, bursary or loans	10	0.8
Dependent on parents/other relatives	19	1.6
Other main source	3	0.3
Refused	41	3.4
Don't know/can't say	17	1.4
Total	1200	100.0

What is your annual household income before tax or anything else is taken out? Would it be...

	Frequency	Per cent
Less than \$20,000	87	7.3
\$20,000 to less than \$40,000	117	9.8
\$40,000 to less than \$60,000	88	7.4
\$60,000 to less than \$80,000	118	9.9
\$80,000 to less than \$100,000	97	8.1
\$100,000 to less than \$150,000, or	165	13.7
\$150,000 or more	189	15.7
Refused	157	13.0
Don't know/can't say	182	15.2
Total	1200	100.0

Roughly how much do you have in savings?

	Frequency	Per cent
Less than \$20,000	620	51.6
\$20,000 to less than \$40,000	122	10.2
\$40,000 to less than \$60,000	58	4.8
\$60,000 to less than \$80,000	31	2.6
\$80,000 to less than \$100,000	24	2.0
\$100,000 to less than \$150,000, or	34	2.8
\$150,000 or more	75	6.3
Refused	169	14.1
Don't know/can't say	67	5.6
Total	1200	100.0

Do you own shares in any company listed on the Australian Stock Exchange?

	Frequency	Per cent
No, don't own any shares	880	73.3
Yes, in one company	108	9.0
Yes, in two to five companies	94	7.8
Yes, in six to 10 companies	36	3.0
Yes, in more than 10 companies	38	3.2
Refused	33	2.7
Don't know/can't say	11	1.0
Total	1200	100.0

How long have you owned shares?

	Frequency	Per cent
Less than one year	12	4.5
Between 1 and 4 years	40	14.5
Between 5 and 10 years	48	17.5
10 years or more	173	62.6
Don't know/can't say	3	1.0
Total	276	100.0

How does the financial situation of your household now compare with what it was 12 months ago?

	Frequency	Per cent
A lot better	61	6.1
A little better	161	15.5
About the same	636	50.9
A little worse	234	18.5
A lot worse	91	7.2
Refused	7	0.7
Don't know/can't say	10	1.1
Total	1200	100.0

And how do you think the general economic situation in Australia now compares with what it was 12 months ago?

	Frequency	Per cent
A lot better	13	1.2
A little better	89	7.7
About the same	372	31.2
A little worse	462	37.5
A lot worse	190	15.7
Refused	1	0.1
Don't know/can't say	73	6.6
Total	1200	100.0

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

	Frequency	Per cent
Strongly favour reducing taxes	247	20.6
Mildly favour reducing taxes	193	16.1
Depends	80	6.6
Mildly favour spending more on social services	229	19.1
Strongly favour spending more on social services	366	30.5
Refused	10	0.8
Don't know/can't say	75	6.3
Total	1200	100.0

On the whole, do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to reduce income differences between the rich and poor?

	Frequency	Per cent
Definitely should be	493	41.1
Probably should be	208	17.4
Probably should not be	191	15.9
Definitely should not be	191	15.9
Refused	6	0.5
Don't know/can't say	111	9.2
Total	1200	100.0

I'm going to read out a list of occupations. Please tell me if you know anyone who works in each.

	Frequency	Per cent
Secretary	710	59.2
Nurse	897	74.7
Teacher	975	81.2
Cleaner	737	61.4
University lecturer	547	45.6
Artist	547	45.6
Electrician	846	70.5
Office manager	733	61.1
Solicitor	664	55.3
Farm worker	618	51.5
Chief executive	442	36.8
Software designer	459	38.3
Call centre worker	361	30.1
Postal worker	390	32.5
Scientist	479	39.9
Truck driver	662	55.2
Accountant	831	69.3
Shop assistant	829	69.1
None of these	24	2.0
Don't know/can't say	2	0.2
Refused	1	0.1

I'm going to read out a list of cultural activities. Please tell me if you have done any of the following in the last 12 months.

	Frequency	Per cent
Gone to the opera	126	10.5
Listened to jazz	512	42.7
Listened to rock/indie music	772	64.3
Gone to gigs	499	41.6
Played video games	479	39.9
Watched sports	969	80.8
Seen plays or gone to the theatre	476	39.7
Exercised/gone to the gym	958	79.8
Used Facebook/Twitter	814	67.8
Socialised at home	1116	93.0
Gone to museums or galleries	711	59.2
Listened to classical music	658	54.8
Done arts and crafts	585	48.8
Watched dance or ballet	384	32.0
Listened to hip-hop/rap	510	42.5
None of these	4	0.3
Refused	2	0.1

Which social class would you say you belong to?

	Frequency	Per cent
Upper class	21	2.0
Middle class	640	51.5
Working class	468	40.3
Refused	15	1.3
Don't know/can't say	56	4.9
Total	1200	100.0

What is your religion or faith?

	Frequency	Per cent
Roman Catholic	246	20.5
Anglican/Church of England	132	11.0
Uniting Church/Methodist	43	3.6
Orthodox Church	18	1.5
Presbyterian	27	2.2
Other	207	17.3
No Religion (includes Atheist and Agnostic)	497	41.4
Refused	23	1.9
Don't know	7	0.6
Total	1200	100.0

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

	Frequency	Per cent
At least once a week	152	12.6
At least once a month	72	6.0
Several times a year	125	10.4
At least once a year	132	11.0
Less than once a year	115	9.6
Never	578	48.2
Refused	17	1.5
Don't know	9	0.8
Total	1200	100.0

What is the highest level of education you have completed?

	Frequency	Per cent
Never attended school	4	0.3
Primary school	14	1.2
Year 7 to Year 9	63	5.3
Year 10	115	9.6
Year 11	37	3.1
Year 12	207	17.3
Trade/apprenticeship	58	4.8
Other TAFE/Technical Certificate	121	10.1
Diploma	125	10.4
Bachelor Degree	263	21.9
Post-Graduate Degree	175	14.6
Other	13	1.1
Refused	5	0.4
Total	1200	100.0

What best describes your current employment situation? Are you...

	Frequency	Per cent
Working full-time for pay	521	43.5
Working part-time for pay	240	20.0
Unemployed and looking for work	54	4.5
Retired on pension	157	13.1
Self-funded retiree	61	5.1
Combination of pension and self-funded	25	2.1
A full-time school or university student	51	4.2
Keeping house, or	37	3.1
Something else	48	4.0
Refused	6	0.5
Don't know	0	0.0
Total	1200	100.0

What's your (main) occupation?

	Frequency	Per cent
Managers	114	15.0
Professionals	220	28.9
Technicians and trade workers	95	12.5
Community and personal service workers	81	10.7
Clerical and administrative workers	85	11.1
Sales workers	56	7.4
Machine operators and drivers	24	3.2
Labourers	66	8.7
Other	8	1.0
Refused	12	1.6
Total	761	100.0

Thinking back to when you were about 15 years old, which of these best describes your father's (or male caregiver's) employment situation at that time?

	Frequency	Per cent
Working full-time for pay	1039	86.6
Working part-time for pay	17	1.4
Unemployed and looking for work	9	0.8
Retired on pension	16	1.3
Self-funded retiree	3	0.3
Combination of pension and self-funded	3	0.3
A full-time school or university student	1	0.1
Keeping house, or	2	0.2
Something else	13	1.1
No father / male guardian figure in life at any time	63	5.3
Refused	15	1.3
Don't know	19	1.6
Total	1200	100.0

What was his (main) occupation at that time?

	Frequency	Per cent
Managers	230	22.1
Professionals	201	19.3
Technicians and trade workers	223	21.5
Community and personal service workers	61	5.9
Clerical and administrative workers	38	3.7
Sales workers	35	3.4
Machine operators and drivers	51	4.9
Labourers	161	15.5
Other	8	0.7
Refused	3	0.3
Don't know/not sure	28	2.7
Total	1039	100.0

Thinking back to when you were about 15 years old, which of these best describes your mother's (or female caregiver's) employment situation at that time?

	Frequency	Per cent
Working full-time for pay	468	39.0
Working part-time for pay	195	16.2
Unemployed and looking for work	7	0.6
Retired on pension	19	1.6
A full-time school or university student	3	0.2
Keeping house, or	437	36.4
Something else	21	1.8
No mother/female guardian figure in life at any time	23	1.9
Refused	14	1.2
Don't know	13	1.1
Total	1200	100.0

What was her (main) occupation at that time?

	Frequency	Per cent
Managers	75	12.3
Professionals	132	21.7
Technicians and trade workers	31	5.1
Community and personal service workers	90	14.8
Clerical and administrative workers	97	15.9
Sales workers	65	10.7
Machine operators and drivers	7	1.1
Labourers	103	16.9
Refused	2	0.3
(Don't know/ not sure)	5	0.8
Other	2	0.3
Total	609	100

What do you think is the most/second most important problem facing Australia today?

ANUpoll	Economy/ Jobs	Immigration	Better government
Mar 2008	17.6	5.8	2.5
Sep 2008	21.6	3.2	3.8
Mar 2009	52.6	9.3	3.2
Jul 2009	41.7	9.3	3.8
Oct 2009	32.4	6.6	3.3
Jun 2010	16.7	12.8	4.7
Dec 2010	16.9	13.8	10.3
Apr 2011	18.5	11.6	9.9
Jul 2011	18.2	20.1	9.0
Oct 2011	22.1	15.8	17.6
Oct 2012	17.5	13.5	13.7
Aug 2013	30.3	15.1	12.9
Jan 2014	32.8	14.5	7.0
Aug 2014	26.4	9.5	12.7
Sep 2014	26.8	6.6	14.5
Jan 2015	20.8	10.0	8.6
April 2015	26.4	10.2	14.6
Sept 2015	23.7	9.8	9.3

Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way the country is heading?

ANUpoll	Total satisfied	Total dissatisfied	Net satisfaction (satisfied minus dissatisfied)
Mar 2008	72.9	20.3	52.6
Sep 2008	66.9	24.7	42.2
Mar 2009	70.0	23.7	46.3
Jul 2009	71.1	23.5	47.6
Oct 2009	70.0	22.2	47.8
Jun 2010	65.6	23.6	42.0
Dec 2010	62.7	29.4	33.3
Apr 2011	64.9	25.0	39.9
Jul 2011	62.8	26.7	36.1
Oct 2011	55.2	30.8	24.4
Oct 2012	54.0	36.0	18.0
Aug 2013	55.3	33.9	21.4
Jan 2014	61.0	32.0	29.0
Aug 2014	51.5	35.8	15.7
Sep 2014	52.0	38.8	13.2
Jan 2015	55.9	34.7	21.2
April 2015	53.9	35.0	18.9
Sept 2015	50.5	39.6	10.9

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