

## Millennials and socialism: Australian youth are lurching to the left

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POLICY Paper 7

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## Millennials and socialism

The fall of the Berlin Wall on 9 November 1989 was a prescient moment in global history. Although the Soviet Union would not officially collapse for another two years, the images of Berliners tearing down this physical and ideological barrier were emblematic of the Europe's failed experiment with socialism. The iron curtain that had enveloped most of the continent's east had not brought equality and a classless society. Nor had it brought the promised productivity and efficiency that would — so its supporters claimed — see socialism replace capitalism as the primary means of global economic order.

Rather, socialism had left a warren of poverty, oppression and failed states in its wake. A stark warning to all those who lived through it to never repeat the mistakes of an ideology that, despite its romanticised ideals, led to as many deaths as both world wars combined.<sup>1</sup>

While the lessons of this socialist disaster are entrenched in the minds of a generation, the memory of the Soviet Union is beginning to fade. Meanwhile, our understanding of the communist regime in China remains limited. There is less awareness of many of Asia's 20<sup>th</sup> century conflicts, and the role socialism has played in them. As a result of our economic links with China, we are also less likely to condemn their ideology as we once would have denounced the Soviet Union.

Consequently, an ever-growing group of voters have never truly seen the effects of socialism. Millennials — those born between 1980 and 1996 — mostly came to their political awareness after socialism's long reign of terror. The oldest were aged just nine when the Berlin wall fell.

By the late 90s, when Millennials began to vote, prosperity was on the rise. Australia was eight years into our record-breaking 27-year streak of economic growth.<sup>2</sup> The United States was experiencing a similar economic boom. Meanwhile, Europeans were bolstered by the newfound optimism of the post-Soviet era.

During the past decade, Millennials have acquired a greater influence in society. Since 2014, the entire generation has been able to vote. In 2016 they made up over 30% of the Australian electorate.<sup>3</sup> The oldest Millennials are turning 38 in 2018, and are quickly moving into more influential positions in politics, business and the media. By 2020 they will make up 35% of the world's workforce.<sup>4</sup>

This being the case, it is important to understand how Millennials think, and what values drive them. As part of this process, the Centre for Independent Studies commissioned polling agency YouGov Galaxy to sample the opinions of 1003 Australian Millennials on their views of socialism and its place in society. The following paper outlines our findings, looks at similar analyses in other Western countries, and identifies some clear overarching political trends that are evolving as Millennials become increasingly influential.

# Attitudes towards socialism

The polling undertaken highlights Australian Millennials' views of socialism and how these shape their attitudes towards the economy, capitalism and the role of government in society. A full, tabulated breakdown of responses to each question by all variables is available in Appendix A.

## Favourability towards Socialism

Question 1 assessed asked Australian Millennials to respond based on their '**Overall view of socialism**'. Participants were asked to rate their views based on three major categories:

- **Favourable view of socialism** (Sub categories: Mostly favourable; Somewhat favourable)
- **Unfavourable view of socialism** (Sub categories: Mostly unfavourable; Somewhat unfavourable)
- **Don't know**

A breakdown of results by major variables can be seen in Figure 1 below.

The most notable finding here was that, overall, 58% of Australian Millennials polled view socialism favourably. Less than a fifth (18%) view the ideology unfavourably. Interestingly, this figure was common across the range of variables measured in the survey, with little significant difference between comparable groups.

The largest variation was university-educated Millennials (63% favourable view of socialism) and those with TAFE/Technical qualifications (52% favourable). Given that Millennials are far more likely to be exposed to socialism at university, this could in part be due to TAFE/Technical qualified Millennials' lack of awareness of the ideology and its

underpinnings. Indeed, 30% of both TAFE qualified respondents and those without a tertiary qualification reported that they didn't know what their view on socialism was.

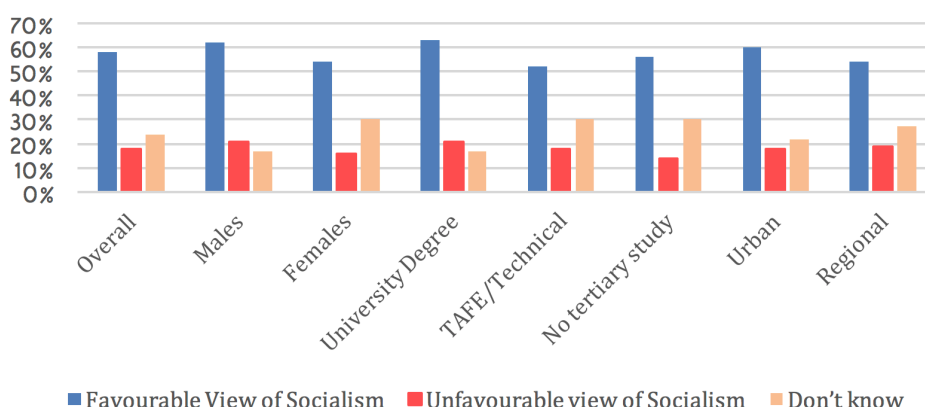
These findings are problematic for two reasons. Firstly, it is a damning indictment on our school system that nearly a third of non-university educated students have limited to no understanding of socialism as an ideology. In most constituencies, history is a non-compulsory subject in later years of high school and thus students are not educated on the failed implementations of socialism throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Secondly, the fact that more university-educated respondents demonstrated an awareness of socialism should lead to a higher proportion understanding its practical failings. However, Millennial graduates viewed socialism more favourably than any other group. This raises questions about the lens through which socialism is being portrayed in universities. In recent years, critics have suggested that universities are lurching further to the left.<sup>5</sup> Although more evidence-based research is needed, the poll's findings indicate that the trends are indeed enduring, and hint at this being an issue.

## Views on capitalism and government intervention

It is important not to assume that Millennials' favourable views on socialism directly correlate with the belief that the ideology is ultimately the best approach for managing Australia. While someone may find the overarching values and principles of an ideology endearing, they may not necessarily believe it to be the most rational and effective approach.

Figure 1: Australian Millennials - Overall view of socialism



Source: CIS/YouGov Galaxy Poll. Full breakdown available in Appendix A, Table 1.

To understand how their views fit comparatively, Australian Millennials were asked whether **'Capitalism has failed and government should exercise more control of the economy'**. They were given three possible answers: Agree; Disagree; Don't know. A breakdown of results by major variables can be seen in Figure 2 below.

What is immediately striking is the similarity between Figure 1 and Figure 2. Overall, 59% of Australian Millennials believe that capitalism has failed and that the government must play a greater role in regulating the economy. Once again, the trend is fairly consistent across comparable groups. The biggest divergence is between urban and regional Millennials. Nearly two-thirds (64%) of respondents in regional areas believed that capitalism has failed.

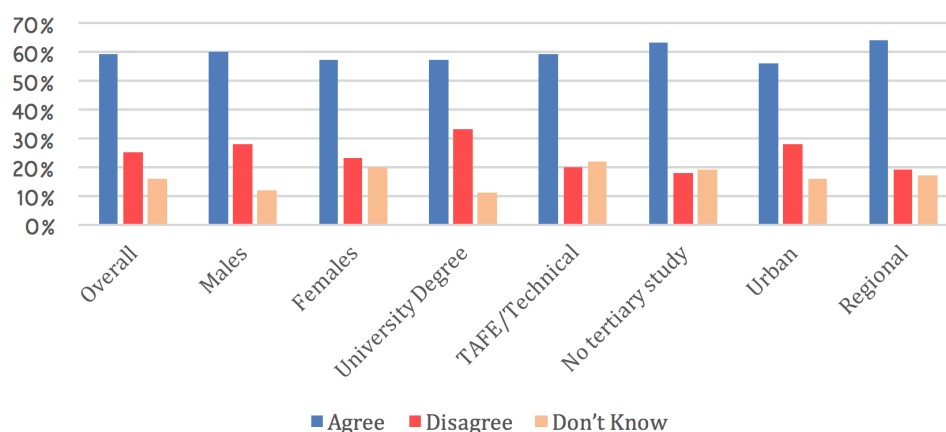
Conversely, 56% percent of urban Millennials held this opinion. It is likely that the loss of industries

and jobs in regional areas contributes to this difference. Centralisation and the offshoring of most manufacturing has disproportionately impacted the regions compared to major cities.<sup>6</sup> Once again, university-educated Millennials were much more likely to express a firm opinion on the question, with 33% disagreeing that capitalism had failed and 57% agreeing. Only 11% said they didn't know.

### A flow-on effect

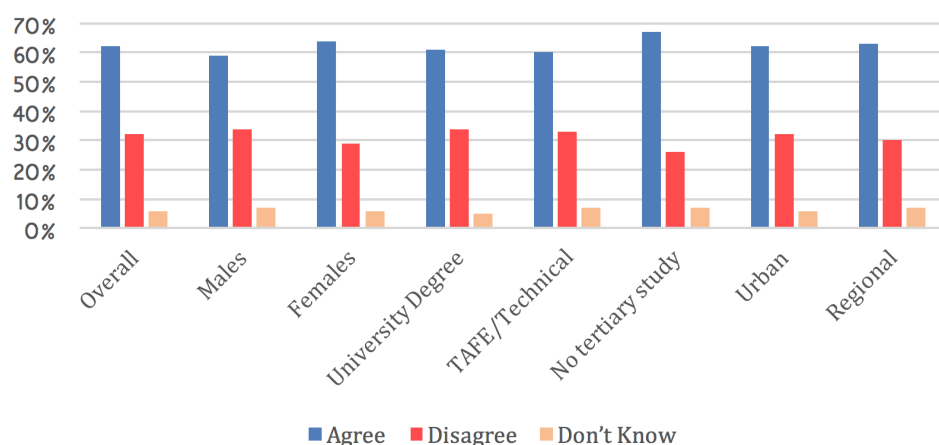
Dissatisfaction with capitalism, taken together with benign attitudes towards socialism, has meant that many Millennials hold pessimistic views about the current economic outlook. Respondents were asked whether **'Ordinary workers are worse off today than they were 40 years ago'**. They were given three possible answers: Agree; Disagree; Don't know. A breakdown of results by major variables can be seen in Figure 3 below.

Figure 2: Australian Millennials - Capitalism has failed and the government should exercise more economic control



Source: CIS/YouGov Galaxy Poll. Full breakdown available in Appendix A, Table 4.

Figure 3: Australian Millennials - Workers are worse off now than 40 years ago



Source: CIS/YouGov Galaxy Poll. Full breakdown available in Appendix A, Table 2

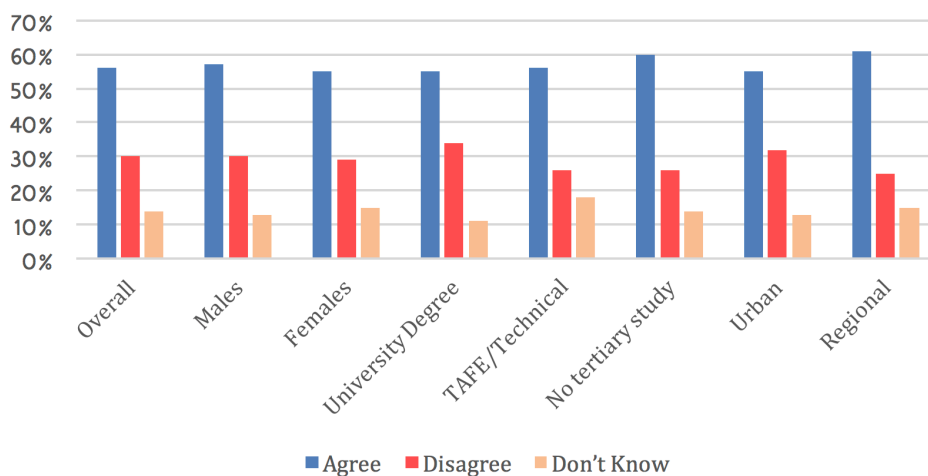
Here the trend again remains consistent, with nearly two-thirds of each grouping agreeing that workers are worse off. Those with no tertiary qualification were the most likely to agree, with 67% believing workers were worse off. The largest group disagreeing with the statement were those with a university degree. The difference between these two groups may be a reflection of the growing 'brain economy', with graduate qualifications increasingly viewed more favourably by employers.

Notably, 69% of respondents from New South Wales agreed that the situation for workers had declined;

more than any other state polled. This is despite the fact that, for nine consecutive quarters, the NSW economy has been the best performing of any state in Australia.<sup>7</sup> In Western Australia, 53% of Millennials believed that workers were worse off, with 43% disagreeing with this statement. A full breakdown of state responses for each question can be found in Appendix A.

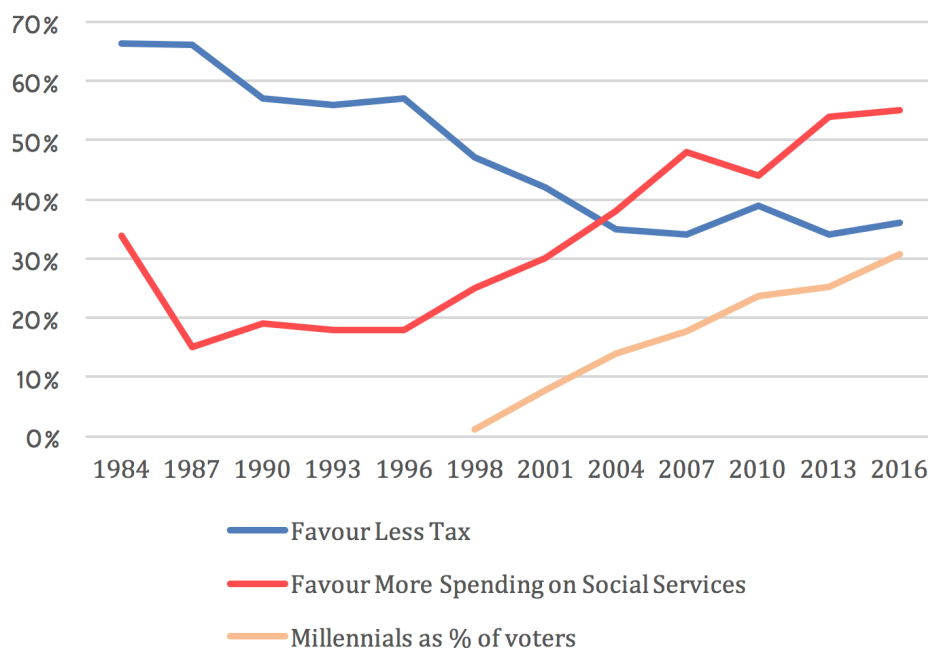
In reality, all workers, and indeed all Australians, are substantially better off than 40 years ago. Disposable personal income and Australian consumer spending both hit all-time highs in the fourth quarter of 2017.<sup>8</sup>

**Figure 4: Australian Millennials - Allowing for inflation, Australia spends less on education and health than we did 10 years ago**



Source: CIS/YouGov Galaxy Poll. Full breakdown available in Appendix A, Table 3

**Figure 5: Australia - Views on government spending poll (all ages)**



Source: Parliament of Australia & ABC (See Endnotes for full details)

The minimum wage has been on the rise, and in the fourth quarter of 2017 weekly income reached an historical high of \$1192 — this was \$254 (2017 dollars) more than in the fourth quarter of 1977.

Moreover, from the mid-1980s to about 2012, Australia experienced the biggest national income boom since the gold rushes; and the economy is presently in its 27<sup>th</sup> consecutive year of economic growth, surpassing the Netherlands for the gold medal of the longest expansion in the modern era.

And yet, Millennials believe the government should be taking a more direct approach. As Figure 2 shows, 59% of poll respondents believe the government should exercise more control over the economy. Additionally, Millennials are frustrated with a perceived lack of government spending on social services. Poll respondents were asked whether, **'After allowing for inflation, Australia spends less on education and health than we did ten years ago.'** They were given three possible answers: Agree; Disagree; Don't know. A breakdown of results by major variables can be seen in Figure 4 below.

While the results were less resounding than for other questions, a majority of respondents in every major variable agreed with this statement. Overall, 56% of Australian Millennials believed that less is spent on these major social services, while 30% did not. Those from regional areas (61%) and those with no tertiary qualifications (60%) were the most likely to be of this opinion. This may be a symptom of these

groups feeling 'left out' by the system. Urban and university educated respondents were the least likely to disagree.

Statistically, these assumptions are simply wrong. Government expenditure has grown by 30% in real terms in the past decade. In 2007/08, total government funding for healthcare was \$87 billion (2016/17 dollars).<sup>9</sup> It had increased to more than \$115 billion in real terms by 2015-16.<sup>10</sup> Education spending has also increased substantially.<sup>11</sup>

However, the above sentiments have contributed to a massive rise in voter support for increased government spending. Since Millennials were first able to vote in 1998, the percentage of voters favouring more spending on social services has increased dramatically (See Figure 5). While other factors may also be responsible for this trend, there is significant correlation between the growing number of Millennials in the overall voter base and the desire to see the government do more.

In 2004, opinion reached a turning point, with more voters (38%) favouring spending on social services than a decrease in tax (35%) for the first time since polling began in 1984. In the following years, this has continued to grow. In 2016, Millennials made up nearly a third of the electorate (31%), with 55% of voters favouring an increase in government spending — suggesting that they are having a major influence on opinions.

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## International comparisons

A comparison with other Western countries shows that, similarly to Australia, Millennials prefer socialism to capitalism. In 2016, YouGov undertook polls similar to our Australian study in both the United Kingdom and United States. The results showed a clear differential between attitudes to these two ideologies. Notably, however, the trends are not as extreme as those identified in the CIS/YouGov Galaxy Australia poll.

In the United States, 43% of respondents aged 18-29 viewed socialism favourably, with 26% viewing it unfavourably. Capitalism was viewed with more disdain. More than a third of American youth (36%) viewed capitalism unfavourably. A little more than 30% viewed it favourably. This was significantly different to the overall American population, who viewed capitalism much more favourably and viewed socialism with significant scepticism.

Falling in 2016, the YouGov poll was also able to gauge the reaction to Democratic primary

candidate Bernie Sanders' description of himself as a "democratic socialist." Of Americans aged 18-29, 19% said this statement would make them more likely to vote for him, with 11% saying it made them less likely. This was the inverse of the overall population, 12% saying this statement made voting for him more likely, and 18% saying it made this less likely.

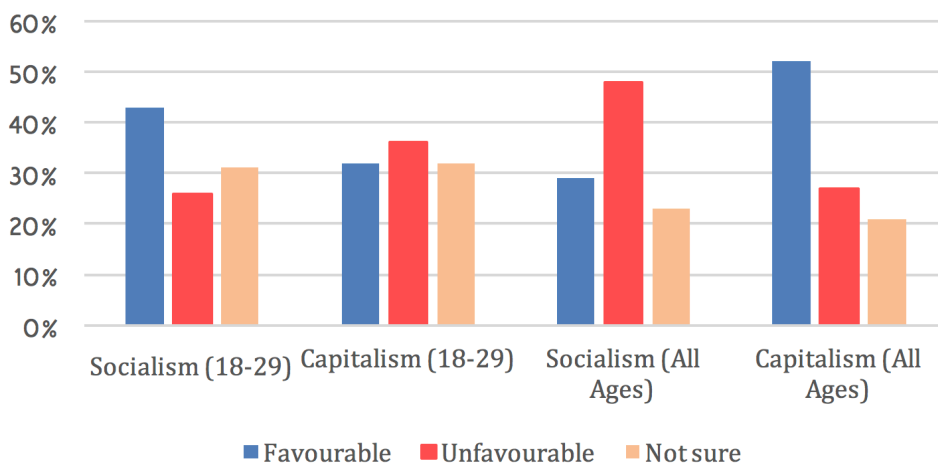
In the United Kingdom, socialism was significantly more popular across all age groups. The 2016 YouGov Poll found that British people over 60 were the only age group to view the ideology unfavourably. Among those aged 18-24, 38% of respondents viewed socialism favourably, with 20% viewing it unfavourably. Capitalism was significantly more unpopular. Only 25% of the youth age bracket viewed it favourably, whilst 40% viewed it unfavourably. Meanwhile, 39% of all Brits polled viewed capitalism unfavourably.

In similar circumstances to the United States, the United Kingdom has also witnessed the rise of a major

political figure who identifies as socialist. Speaking at the 2017 Labour Party Conference in Brighton, leader Jeremy Corbyn argued that the Thatcher era “neoliberal” economic model was broken, and promised to transform “the system” of wealth redistribution in Great Britain.<sup>12</sup> He is promising to nationalise many of Britain’s key industries, including water, electricity, gas and railways. Meanwhile, Labour’s treasury spokesman John McDonnell has unashamedly quoted from Mao’s ‘Little Red Book’ in parliament.

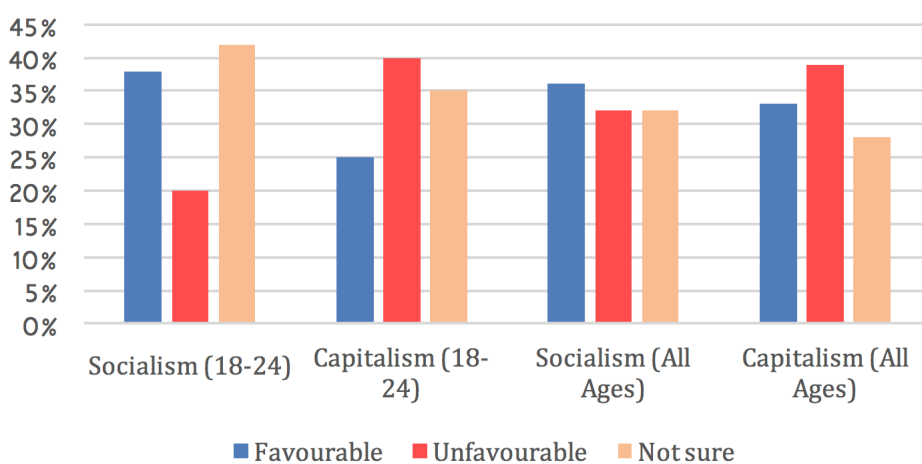
Although Corbyn’s agenda is unthinkable to supporters of the free market, his message has appealed to younger voters, many of whom feel left out in a country that is seen as increasingly unequal.<sup>13</sup> A 2015 YouGov poll of Labour selectorate members revealed that 64% of respondents aged 18-24, and 67% of those aged 25-39 — the ‘Millennial’ generation — preferred Jeremy Corbyn as Labour leader.<sup>14</sup> Only 51% of Labour members in the 60+ bracket favoured him.

**Figure 6: United States - Overall view of socialism and capitalism**



Source: 2016 YouGov Poll US attitudes to socialism and capitalism (See Endnotes for full details)

**Figure 7: United Kingdom - View of socialism and capitalism**



Source: 2016 YouGov Poll UK attitudes to socialism and capitalism (See Endnotes for full details)

## Youth shifting to the left

Many will be familiar with the old adage: “If you’re not a socialist at the age of 20 you have no heart. If you’re not a conservative at the age of 40, you have no brain.”<sup>15</sup> However, election data shows that this is usually not the case. Typically, the youth vote has matched the trend of the electorate. When the overall vote has favoured parties of the right, youth have followed. When it has followed the left, younger votes similarly have matched it.

However, analysis of data from several countries highlights a clear trend that has begun to develop as Millennials make up an increasingly larger percentage of the voter base. What these findings demonstrate is that Millennials’ favourable attitude towards socialism forms part of a wider shift to the left in the youth demographic.

In the United States, younger voters reflected wider election results from the 1970s to the turn of the century (See Figure 8). When Ronald Reagan stormed to victory over Walter Mondale in 1984 with 59% of the vote, 59% of those aged 18-29 also voted for the conservative Republican. When Bill Clinton defeated Bob Dole in 1996, young voters swung in the Democrat’s favour.

However, since the 2000 Presidential election — the first where Millennials could participate — there has been a significant divergence. Youth have begun to back the Democrats at a rate disproportionately higher than the rest of the electorate. When George W. Bush’s overall vote share climbed in 2004, it fell among young voters.

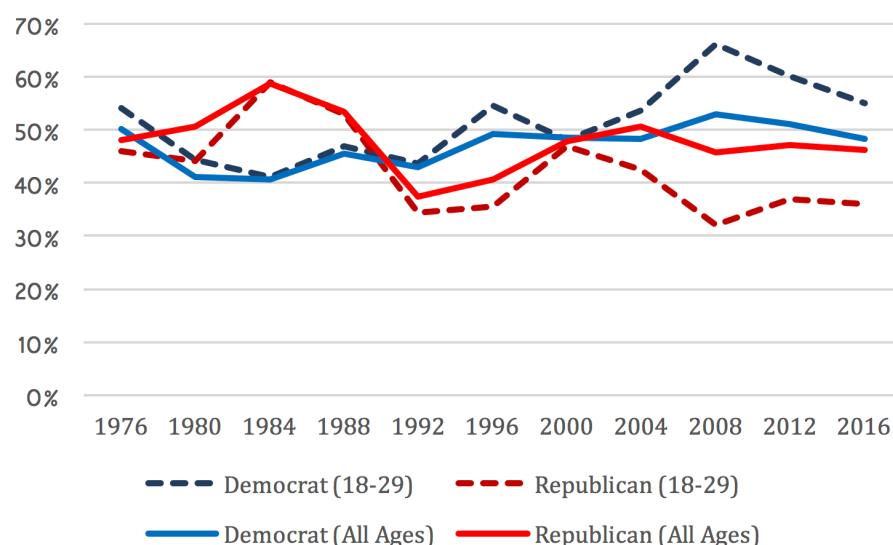
When Barrack Obama was elected in 2008, 66% of young people voted for him. This was compared to 53% of the overall electorate. In 2016, despite Donald Trump’s shock victory, the Republican youth vote actually declined compared to 2012. A strong majority (55%) of voters aged 18-29 supported Hillary Clinton — 7% more than the 48% of voters who supported her overall.

In the United Kingdom, young voters have also tended to mirror the overall nation (See Figure 9). However, a similar divergence to parties on the left has evolved since Millennials started becoming politically active.

This is most notable in the explosion of young people voting for the Labour Party in the 2015 and 2017 general elections. By this stage, Millennials were making up almost the entire 18-34 age bracket. In 2015, 40% of this age bracket voted Labour and only 30% voted Conservative. This was despite Labour recording its worst election result since 1987 and the Conservatives winning 38% of the overall vote (Labour 31%), as well as claiming their first outright majority parliament since 1992.<sup>16</sup>

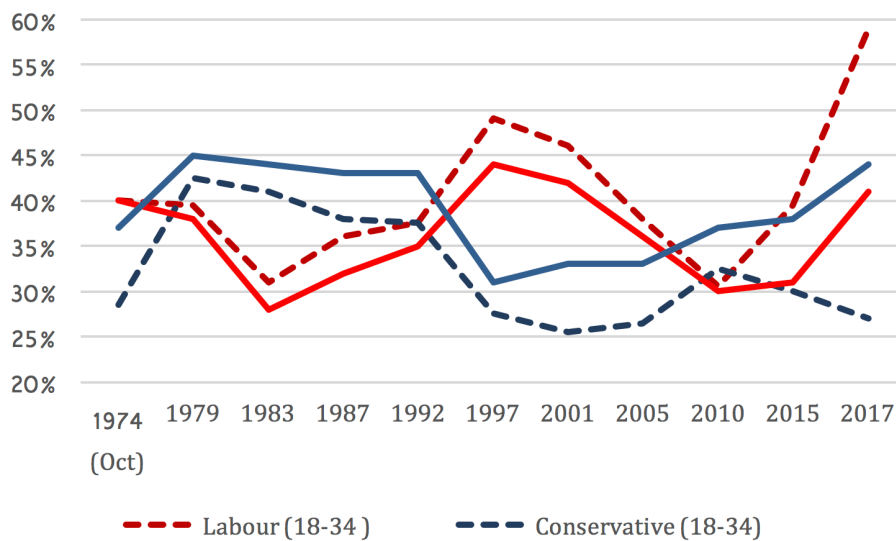
In 2017, Millennial voters moved towards Labour in even more overwhelming numbers as part of what many described as a ‘youthquake’.<sup>17</sup> According to the Ipsos MORI poll, 59% of young voters supported Labour and just 27% backed the Conservatives. This was despite the Conservatives growing their share of the overall vote from 38% (2015) to 44%.

Figure 8 – United States presidential election polls



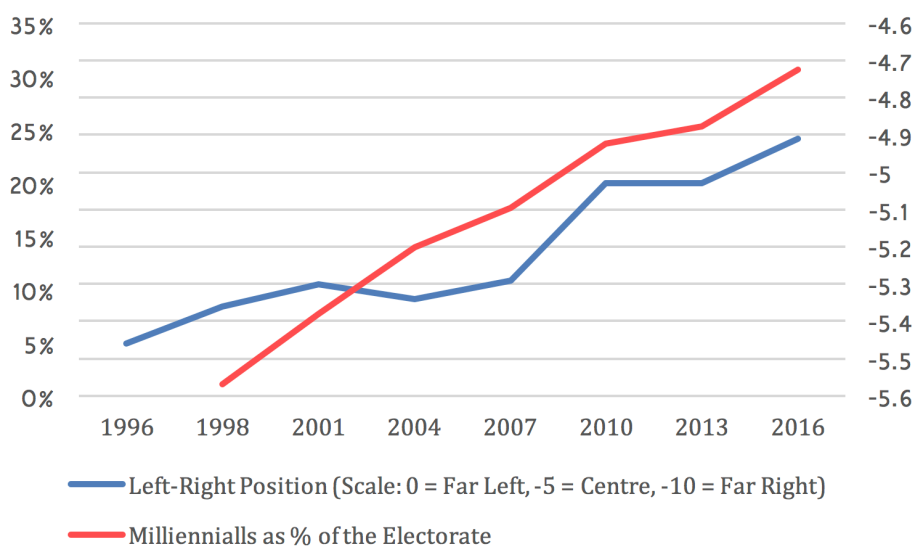
Source: Roper Center for Public Opinion Research: How groups voted polls, 1976-2016 collated (18-24 and 25-29 brackets merged)

Figure 9 - United Kingdom general election polls



Source: Ipsos MORI: How Britain voted polls, 1974-2017 collated (18-24 & 25-34 brackets merged and averaged)

Figure 10: Australian Election Study - Voter's left-right position (all ages)



Source: Australian Election Study - Trends in Australian Political Opinion, pp. 64  
(Score scale inverted from a 0 to 10 rating to a 0 to -10 rating for graphical purposes)

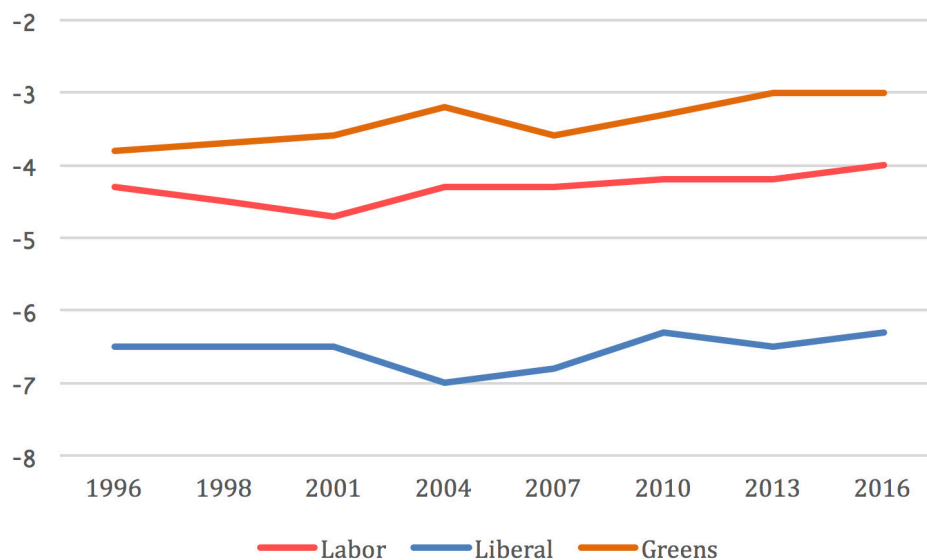
In fact, while the Conservatives have increased their overall vote significantly since 1997, their share of the youth vote has declined in three of the last five elections since the turn of the century. These are the only three occasions since polling began in the 1970s where the Conservative youth vote hasn't declined or increased in correlation with the remainder of the electorate.

In Australia, Millennials also appear to be leaning more towards the left. Over the past decade, as Millennials have come to make up a more critical mass of voters, the polarity of the electorate has moved consistently to the left. The Australian Election Study has mapped out the attitudes of voters over the past

two decades. It asks voters to place themselves on a scale from the far left to far right. In 1996, two years before Millennials were first able to vote, the Australian electorate was well to the right on the scale (See Figure 10).

However, since then voter polarity has moved regularly to the left. In the 2016 federal election, voter polarity tipped onto the left-wing side of the scale for the first time since the measurement began. Comparing the evolution of this phenomenon over the past two decades with Millennials' combined voting power gives a telling insight into the nation's general shift to the left.

Figure 11; Australian Election Study - Voters rating of party polarity



Source: Australian Election Study: Trends in Australian Political Opinion, pp. 65. (Score scale inverted from a 0 to 10 rating to a 0 to -10 rating for graphical purposes. 0 = Far Left, -5 = Centre, -10 = Far Right)

As the number of Millennial voters has grown, voter polarity has moved to the left at a remarkably similar rate. When voter polarity first moved onto the left-wing side of the scale in 2016 it was the first Federal election where the entire Millennial generation was able to vote. By this stage, the group consisted of 31% of all voters.

True, not all Australian Millennials are favourable towards socialism. However, the significant portion

who see the ideology in a positive light will likely continue to influence this evolution in voter polarity.

Australia's political parties also appear moving further towards the left. According to voter's perceptions in the Australian Election Study,<sup>18</sup> Labor has moved 7% more to the left than when the study began (See Figure 11). Voters surveyed believe that the Greens have also moved to the left by 21%. The Liberal Party was even perceived to have moved 3% to the left since 1996, shifting by more than 10% since its highest 'right-wing' score in 2004.

## A matter of ignorance

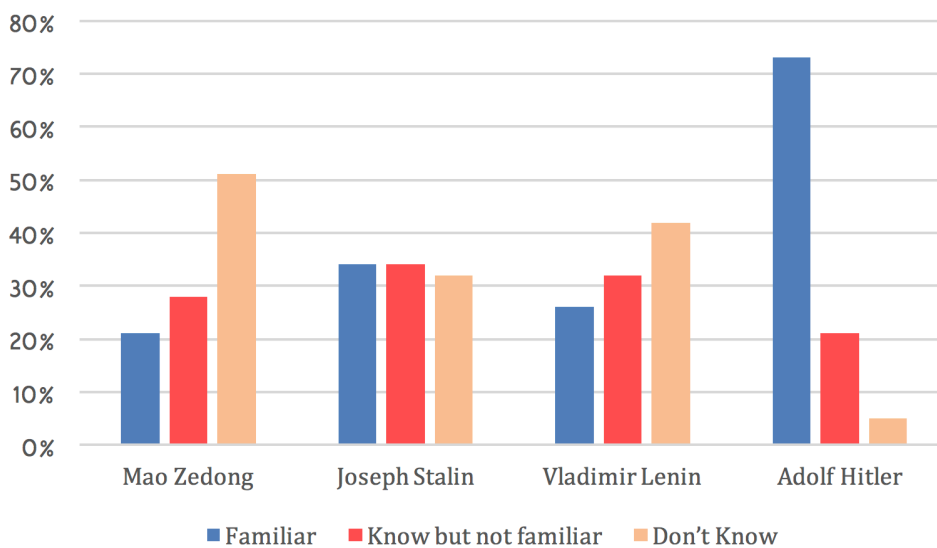
There is strong evidence to suggest Millennials are contributing to a leftwards shift across the western world. A major part of this move is likely being driven by generally favourable attitudes towards socialism and unfavourable opinions of capitalism. For the older generations who lived through the Cold War, these attitudes may seem hard to fathom. However, Millennials were largely unaffected by the global impacts of several decades of communist/socialist oppression. Consequentially, many may be understandably unaware of its legacy.

Indeed, our CIS/YouGov Galaxy polling reveals that most Australian Millennials have a poor awareness of some of socialism's most infamous historical figures (See Figure 12). Of those polled, more than

half (51%) didn't know who Chinese communist revolutionary Mao Zedong was. Only 21% were familiar with him. Not only was Mao perhaps the most important leader in Asia in the past century, he was also responsible for between 37-45 million deaths during the famine associated with his 'Great Leap Forward' and 'Cultural Revolution'.<sup>19</sup>

Similarly, 42% of Australian Millennials weren't aware at all of Vladimir Lenin, the Bolshevik revolutionary, father of modern communism and inaugural premier of the Soviet Union. While more people (34%) were familiar with World War II Soviet leader Joseph Stalin — a man responsible for the deaths of up to 43 million people — approximately two-thirds either didn't know him or were not familiar with his bloody history.<sup>20</sup>

Figure 12: Familiarity with major historical figures



Source: CIS/YouGov Galaxy Poll. Full breakdown available in Appendix A, Table 5

Adolf Hitler, the fascist leader of Nazi Germany, serves as an interesting point of contrast. Nearly three-quarters (73%) of Australian Millennials were familiar with the dictator and father figure of the Holocaust. Just 5% didn't know who he was. Hitler was a product of the same era as many of history's most notorious socialist leaders. However, his story has been told far more widely. Hitler's iconic moustache, swastika and Nazi salute are some of the most recognisable images in the world. The horrors of places like Auschwitz are forever engrained in our minds as example of humanity at its cruellest. By contrast, how many would be familiar with the hundreds of Soviet gulags — the slave labour camps into which up to 50 million people were incarcerated — and which operated for decades?

British author and commentator James Bartholomew argues that society has a duty to educate the younger generations on the brutal legacy of socialism. Much like the Holocaust memorials that can be found in Sydney and London, he suggests: "We should create a permanent reminder of what communism did to humanity and could potentially do again."<sup>21</sup> School history curriculums should ensure that youth are aware of socialism's deadly impact on our Asian neighbours.

Meanwhile, greater education on the practical failings of the ideology as an economic system could also serve as a reminder that economic prosperity is best obtained through the power of the free market. All economies that have enjoyed growth and have broadened prosperity have done so through free trade and free markets. Regulation and high taxation are the enemy of prosperity, and prosperity is the only means of providing the public services that socialists are so fond of claiming they prize.

Table 1: 20th Century mass murderers

Dictator	Ideology	Country	Years	Deaths Caused
Joseph Stalin	Socialist/Communist	USSR	1929-53	42.7 million
Mao Zedong	Socialist/Communist	China	1923-76	37.8 million
Vladimir Lenin	Socialist/Communist	USSR	1917-24	4 million
Pol Pot	Socialist/Communist	Cambodia	1968-87	2.4 million
Josip Broz Tito	Socialist/Communist	Yugoslavia	1941-87	1.2 million
Socialist/Communist Total	-	-	1900-1990	88.1 million
Adolf Hitler	Fascist	Germany	1933-45	20.9 million
Chiang Kai-shek	Militarist/Fascist	China	1921-48	10.2 million
Tojo Hideki	Militarist/Fascist	Japan	1941-45	4 million
Fascist & Militarist/Fascist total	-	-	1900-1990	35.1 million

Source: Rummel 'Death by Government' pp. 8. Note: Estimated figures vary significantly across sources

## Conclusion

The findings of the CIS/YouGov Galaxy opinion poll give a telling insight into the attitudes of Australian Millennials. While a strong majority expressing a favourable opinion towards socialism hardly means the country is on the verge of a class revolution, the trend may have a significant effect as Millennials move into positions of power in coming years.

Importantly, beliefs about government spending and the nature of capitalism could have major policy implications. As has been demonstrated, the influence of Millennials has grown in direct correlation with the electorate's increased favourability for more intervention in the economy, and support for a rise in the nation's social services bill. Issues such as house prices and low wage growth will only increase the calls for change.

Such trends are also evident internationally, and are part of a clear shift in the polarity of young voters. Historically, the youth vote has generally correlated with the overall sentiment of the electorate. However, as Millennials have come to consist of the majority of the youth contingent, younger voters have moved significantly towards the political left.

To address the growing sympathy towards socialism, it is essential to educate Millennials and future generations on the 20<sup>th</sup> century's failed experimentation with the ideology. For a variety of reasons, youth are far less aware of socialism's role in some of the greatest catastrophes in human history — and have begun to view it benignly. This is no minor problem: one day such people may exercise a vote to impose such appalling doctrines, and their collateral damage, on our society.

# Appendix A

Table 1 - Overall view of socialism

	Gender		Birth Year				Education			State			Area			
	Total	Male	Female	1980-85	1986-90	1991-96	No Tertiary	Tafe or Technical	University	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	WA	Urban	Regional
Subtotal unfavourable	18.00%	21.00%	16.00%	22.00%	17.00%	15.00%	14.00%	18.00%	21.00%	19.00%	18.00%	19.00%	22.00%	15.00%	18.00%	19.00%
Mostly unfavourable	6.00%	7.00%	5.00%	7.00%	6.00%	5.00%	4.00%	6.00%	7.00%	6.00%	6.00%	8.00%	9.00%	4.00%	6.00%	6.00%
Somewhat unfavourable	12.00%	13.00%	11.00%	16.00%	11.00%	10.00%	10.00%	12.00%	14.00%	13.00%	12.00%	12.00%	13.00%	12.00%	12.00%	13.00%
Subtotal favourable	58.00%	62.00%	54.00%	51.00%	58.00%	64.00%	56.00%	52.00%	63.00%	63.00%	54.00%	58.00%	56.00%	56.00%	60.00%	54.00%
Somewhat favourable	41.00%	42.00%	41.00%	38.00%	40.00%	46.00%	41.00%	40.00%	43.00%	47.00%	35.00%	48.00%	40.00%	38.00%	42.00%	41.00%
Mostly favourable	16.00%	20.00%	13.00%	13.00%	18.00%	18.00%	15.00%	12.00%	20.00%	16.00%	18.00%	12.00%	16.00%	18.00%	18.00%	13.00%
Don't Know	24.00%	30.00%	30.00%	27.00%	25.00%	21.00%	30.00%	30.00%	17.00%	18.00%	29.00%	23.00%	22.00%	28.00%	22.00%	27.00%

Table 2 - Ordinary workers in Australia are worse off now than they were forty years ago

	Gender		Birth Year			Education				State			Area			
	Total	Male	Female	1980-85	1986-90	1991-96	No Tertiary	Tafe or Technical	University	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	WA	Urban	Regional
Agree	62.00%	59.00%	64.00%	61.00%	60.00%	64.00%	67.00%	60.00%	61.00%	69.00%	60.00%	56.00%	67.00%	53.00%	62.00%	63.00%
Disagree	32.00%	34.00%	29.00%	32.00%	33.00%	30.00%	26.00%	33.00%	34.00%	27.00%	30.00%	35.00%	29.00%	43.00%	32.00%	30.00%
Don't Know	6.00%	7.00%	6.00%	6.00%	7.00%	6.00%	7.00%	8.00%	5.00%	4.00%	10.00%	9.00%	4.00%	4.00%	6.00%	7.00%

Table 3 - Allowing for inflation, Australia spends less on education and health than we did ten years ago

	Gender		Birth Year			Education			State			Area				
	Total	Male	Female	1980-85	1986-90	1991-96	No Tertiary	Tafe or Technical	University	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	WA	Urban	Regional
Agree	56.00%	57.00%	55.00%	57.00%	59.00%	53.00%	60.00%	56.00%	55.00%	59.00%	53.00%	56.00%	59.00%	53.00%	55.00%	61.00%
Disagree	30.00%	30.00%	29.00%	26.00%	27.00%	36.00%	26.00%	26.00%	34.00%	28.00%	31.00%	31.00%	24.00%	36.00%	32.00%	25.00%
Don't Know	14.00%	12.00%	15.00%	17.00%	14.00%	11.00%	14.00%	18.00%	11.00%	12.00%	17.00%	13.00%	17.00%	11.00%	13.00%	15.00%

Table 4 - Capitalism has failed and government should exercise more control of the economy

	Gender		Birth Year			Education			State			Area				
	Total	Male	Female	1980-85	1986-90	1991-96	No Tertiary	Tafe or Technical	University	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	WA	Urban	Regional
Agree	59.00%	60.00%	57.00%	57.00%	61.00%	59.00%	63.00%	59.00%	57.00%	62.00%	54.00%	58.00%	65.00%	53.00%	56.00%	64.00%
Disagree	25.00%	28.00%	23.00%	25.00%	23.00%	28.00%	18.00%	20.00%	33.00%	25.00%	27.00%	28.00%	21.00%	29.00%	26.00%	19.00%
Don't Know	16.00%	12.00%	20.00%	18.00%	16.00%	14.00%	19.00%	22.00%	11.00%	14.00%	19.00%	15.00%	15.00%	18.00%	16.00%	17.00%

Table 5 - Level of familiarity with people

	Mao Zedong	Joseph Stalin	Adolf Hitler	Vladimir Lenin
I'm familiar with them	21.00%	34.00%	73.00%	26.00%
I know them but not familiar	28.00%	34.00%	21.00%	32.00%
I don't know them	51.00%	32.00%	5.00%	42.00%

Table 6 - Level of familiarity with people - Mao Zedong

	Gender		Birth Year		Education			State			Area					
	Total	Male	Female	1980-85	1986-90	1991-96	No Tertiary	Tafe or Technical	University	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	WA	Urban	Regional
I'm familiar with them	21.00%	28.00%	14.00%	21.00%	21.00%	22.00%	13.00%	13.00%	30.00%	25.00%	24.00%	18.00%	13.00%	16.00%	25.00%	14.00%
I know them but not familiar	28.00%	31.00%	25.00%	28.00%	28.00%	28.00%	20.00%	26.00%	34.00%	30.00%	33.00%	28.00%	31.00%	35.00%	30.00%	23.00%
I don't know them	51.00%	41.00%	60.00%	51.00%	51.00%	49.00%	67.00%	61.00%	36.00%	45.00%	54.00%	54.00%	56.00%	48.00%	45.00%	63.00%

Table 7 - Level of familiarity with people - Joseph Stalin

	Gender		Birth Year		Education			State			Area					
	Total	Male	Female	1980-85	1986-90	1991-96	No Tertiary	Tafe or Technical	University	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	WA	Urban	Regional
I'm familiar with them I know them but not familiar I don't know them	34.00%	42.00%	27.00%	36.00%	32.00%	36.00%	27.00%	29.00%	42.00%	33.00%	33.00%	38.00%	34.00%	40.00%	37.00%	29.00%
	34.00%	34.00%	33.00%	33.00%	34.00%	34.00%	28.00%	33.00%	37.00%	35.00%	33.00%	30.00%	38.00%	36.00%	36.00%	27.00%
	32.00%	25.00%	39.00%	32.00%	35.00%	30.00%	45.00%	38.00%	21.00%	32.00%	34.00%	32.00%	28.00%	24.00%	27.00%	44.00%

Table 8 - Level of familiarity with people - Adolf Hitler

	Gender		Birth Year		Education				State				Area				
	Total	Male	Female	1980-85	1986-90	1991-96	No Tertiary	Tafe or Technical	University	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	WA	Urban	Regional	
I'm familiar with them	73.00%	73.00%	73.00%	72.00%	73.00%	75.00%	69.00%	69.00%	78.00%	73.00%	70.00%	71.00%	75.00%	75.00%	82.00%	72.00%	75.00%
I know them but not familiar	21.00%	21.00%	22.00%	23.00%	21.00%	20.00%	22.00%	22.00%	18.00%	23.00%	26.00%	21.00%	19.00%	21.00%	14.00%	22.00%	20.00%
I don't know them	5.00%	6.00%	5.00%	5.00%	6.00%	5.00%	8.00%	8.00%	4.00%	4.00%	4.00%	8.00%	6.00%	4.00%	4.00%	6.00%	4.00%

Table 9 - Level of familiarity with people - Vladimir Lenin

	Gender		Birth Year			Education			State				Area			
	Total	Male	Female	1980-85	1986-90	1991-96	No Tertiary	Tafe or Technical	University	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	WA	Urban	Regional
I'm familiar with them	26.00%	32.00%	20.00%	31.00%	22.00%	25.00%	17.00%	22.00%	34.00%	29.00%	26.00%	23.00%	25.00%	28.00%	29.00%	19.00%
I know them but not familiar	32.00%	32.00%	32.00%	34.00%	31.00%	31.00%	29.00%	30.00%	35.00%	32.00%	31.00%	33.00%	38.00%	34.00%	34.00%	28.00%
I don't know them	42.00%	36.00%	48.00%	35.00%	47.00%	44.00%	54.00%	48.00%	32.00%	39.00%	43.00%	45.00%	37.00%	39.00%	37.00%	53.00%

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