



The Australian Voter Experience

Trust and confidence in the 2016 federal election

Final Report – January 2017



Jeffrey Karp, Alessandro Nai,
Ferran Martinez i Coma, Max Grömping and Pippa Norris

The Electoral Integrity Project
Why Elections Fail And What We Can Do About It

The Electoral Integrity Project

Department of Government and International Relations
Merewether Building, HO4
University of Sydney
Sydney NSW, 2006, Australia



John F. Kennedy School of Government
79 JFK Street
Harvard University
Cambridge, MA 02138, USA



Phone: +61(2) 9351 2147
Email: electoral.integrity@sydney.edu.au
Web: <http://www.electoralintegrityproject.com>
Dataverse: <http://thedata.harvard.edu/dvn/dv/PEI>
Twitter: <https://twitter.com/ElectIntegrity>
Facebook: <https://www.facebook.com/electoralintegrity>
Blogger: <http://electoralintegrity.blogspot.com.au/>

Project Coordinator: Ms. Alexandra Kennett (alexandra.kennett@sydney.edu.au)

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Preface and acknowledgments

This report presents the data of a three-wave panel survey designed to gather the views of a representative sample of ordinary Australians just before and after the 2nd July 2016 Australian federal elections. The survey monitored Australian voters' experience at the polls, perceptions of the integrity and convenience of the registration and voting process, patterns of civic engagement, public confidence in electoral administration, and attitudes towards reforms, such as civic education campaigns and convenience voting facilities.

The study has been designed and conducted by the scientific team at the Electoral Integrity Project (EIP) and supported by the Australian Electoral Commission. The EIP has been generously supported by the award of the Kathleen Fitzpatrick Australian Laureate from the Australian Research Council (ARC ref: FL110100093), as well as grants from International IDEA, Global Integrity, the Australian Research Council, the Association of World Electoral Bodies (A-WEB), (and at Harvard) by the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, the Roy and Lila Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation, and the Australian Studies Committee. The EIP project has collaborated closely with many international development agencies, including the United Nations Development Program, the United Nations Electoral Assistance Division, the Carter Center, the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), International IDEA, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Organization of American States, the Kofi Annan Commission, the Sunlight Foundation, the National Democratic Institute, USAID, the UK Electoral Commission, the Varieties of Democracy project, and many others.

The EIP project is based at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government and the Department of Government and International Relations at the University of Sydney. We are indebted to many colleagues at Sydney, notably Michael Spence, Duncan Ivison, Simon Tormey, and Colin Wight for facilitating the arrangement, as well as the department. This report would not have been possible without the research team at Sydney who have played an essential role in formulating ideas, providing critical feedback and advice, and developing related publications. We are also grateful to Stewart Jackson for valuable input.

Throughout the life-time of the project, the EIP owes an immense debt to all the present and past members of the research team, as well as all the visiting fellows who have been associated with the project over the years. The project would also not have been possible without the help of several interns who worked with the Electoral Integrity Project over the years, notably Elena Escalante-Block and Miguel Angel Lara Otaola. Last but not least, we are very grateful to Alexandra Kennett, the EIP coordinator, for logistic support and input.

Finally, our gratitude goes to the Australian Electoral Commission (AEC) for having supported this project, and to all participants in the three-wave survey for their opinions and inputs.

JK, AN, FMC, MG and PN
Sydney
January 2017

Executive summary

It is vitally important that all Australian citizens are satisfied with the electoral process and confident that their vote counts. Any doubts about the integrity and security of the registration and balloting process, as well as public dissatisfaction with the efficiency, fairness, and transparency of how elections are managed, have the capacity to erode citizen's trust in political parties and parliament, to fuel public disaffection with government, reinforce cynical views about politics and even to undermine faith in democracy.¹

The Australian Electoral Commission (AEC) emphasizes that their core mission is to “*Maintain an impartial and independent electoral system for eligible voters through active electoral roll management, efficient delivery of polling services and targeted education and public awareness programs.*”² Establishing evidence about the attitudes and experience of Australian voters at the polls is thus central to monitoring the effectiveness of the AEC in meeting its core goals. The Electoral Commissioner, Mr. Tom Rogers, has expressed commitment to reviewing the AEC's election planning and delivery following the 2016 Federal elections, thereby seeking opportunities for modernization and innovative reforms in delivering electoral events.³ This report is designed to contribute towards these efforts, with the input from the AEC.

The Electoral Integrity Project (EIP) implemented a new 3-wave panel survey about the *Australian Voter Experience*. The study was designed to gather the views of a representative sample of ordinary Australians just before and after the 2nd July 2016 Australian federal elections. The survey monitored Australian voters' experience at the polls, perceptions of the integrity and convenience of the registration and voting process, patterns of civic engagement, public confidence in electoral administration, and attitudes towards reforms, such as civic education campaigns and convenience voting facilities⁴. The full technical details about the survey design and sampling procedures are given in the report's appendix.

Main results

The survey evidence highlights three major findings:

1. **The majority of Australians express confidence in the electoral process.** Two-thirds said that they were ‘very or somewhat’ satisfied with the fairness of elections. The majority of the electorate was satisfied with the AEC's ability to conduct an election, to ensure that preferences are counted accurately, and to keep private voting information safe and secure. In general, half of all Australians were satisfied with the way that their democracy works.

These findings suggest that *overall there is a broad reservoir of trust and confidence in the work of the Australian Electoral Commission and the way that elections are managed in Australia.*

2. There is, however, some cause for concern. **A substantial minority of Australians express doubts about the integrity of the electoral process and outcome.** In particular, about one in four respondents believe that fraud occurs ‘usually’ or ‘always’ during Australian elections, with this proportion rising among supporters of minor parties, the less educated, women, and the younger generation. Moreover, four out of ten Australians believe that fraud is likely to affect the outcome of elections.

These perceptions matter. Respondents who thought that electoral fraud was common were also significantly more likely to believe that Australian elections are conducted unfairly and that electoral laws were unfair, were less confident in the AEC and poll-workers, less trusting in the Australian parliament, political parties, and politicians, more politically cynical in their attitudes, and less satisfied with the overall performance of Australian democracy.

Doubts about the integrity of elections, whether these perceptions are true or false, can undermine public faith in the legitimacy of the democratic process. *The Commission needs to investigate further to understand more fully the reasons why a substantial minority of the public believe that fraud is common and consider how best to restore confidence in the integrity of the electoral process, for example through strengthening transparency, complaints mediation mechanisms, and targeted information campaigns.*

3. Finally, **the survey also monitored public reactions towards specific registration and voting facilities, and potential reforms. Several findings are relevant for the work of the AEC.** Thus, on average, voters said that they did not find it difficult to vote at the polling stations. Those who had to wait longer, however, were more likely to express doubts about the AEC's ability to conduct an election. For example, 36 percent of respondents who waited in line up to five minutes expressed a great deal of confidence in the AEC compared to 28 percent who reported having to wait in line for between 5 to 15 minutes. The majority of respondents (60%) believe that the Australian voting system is too complicated and should be simplified, and this view was particularly common among women, the less educated and older voters. Many voters were frustrated with the time it takes to release the election results (62% believe that taking four weeks is completely or somewhat unacceptable), but they became more understanding when provided with reasonable explanations for the cause of the delay. Support for online voting is rather strong in Australia, and support for this was greatest among the younger generation and those most familiar with digital technologies. A majority of voters (61%) are also confident that security and privacy of the vote can be maintained in online voting systems. Finally, while support for compulsory voting is strong, opinions are divided about how to enforce it. About a third believe there should be no fine at all while others believe there should be some penalty but there is no consensus on what it should be. About 20 percent believe the penalty for not voting should be more than \$100.

The evidence suggests that *the AEC could seek to improve the provision of timely communications about any issues arising during the campaign or its aftermath, as well as expanding civic information campaigns about the electoral system well before any contests. The AEC should also further consider the use of digital registration and balloting processes which could potentially improve the convenience of the voting process, while still maintaining the security and integrity of Australian elections.*

The Data

The data discussed in this report are based on an online survey of a **representative sample of eligible voters**. Respondents were drawn from a large panel recruited by Survey Sampling International (SSI), an international market research firm with offices in 21 countries.

Online panel surveys have seen a rapid growth in the last decade and are now frequently being used for public opinion research. One of the advantages of online panel surveys is that they offer a more efficient method for measuring public opinion that is not possible with traditional probability samples conducted either by telephone or face-to-face. Large numbers of respondents can be contacted at once and are provided with incentives to complete the

questionnaire. These same respondents can be contacted again to form a panel, providing the opportunity to track individual opinion over time. This provides a cost effective way of collecting high quality data from a representative sample efficiently and reliably.

There is a growing consensus in both academia and in the private sector that data obtained from online panels are increasingly comparable to those collected via traditional probability based methodologies, especially for population-based experiments.⁵

Respondents were initially contacted in the week before the election between 28 June and 1 July and completed an online questionnaire lasting approximately 15 minutes. This forms the pre-election base line survey (**wave 1**). The same individuals were contacted again after the election to complete a longer survey, an average of 25 minutes in length. Respondents in **wave 2** were contacted between 4 July and 19 July, with two thirds completing the survey after the first week. About six weeks later, the same respondents were interviewed again (**wave 3**) beginning on 23 August and ending on 13 September.

All responses gathered are anonymous, and the research team at the University of Sydney had no way to contact the respondents or know their personal data, beyond what information gathered in the questionnaires.

The three questionnaires asked respondents their opinion about democracy, political actors and institutions, their voting experience, how they perceived the election, and their socio-demographic profile.

The initial sample contains 2,139 valid responses for the first wave of questionnaires, 1,838 for the second wave (an 86 percent retention rate), and 1,543 for the third wave (84 percent retention rate). Overall, 72 percent of the respondents were carried over from the pre-election wave to the final wave. All analyses have been **weighted by age and gender**, to correct for any differences between the sample and national distributions.

Most of the results discussed are based on data from the **second wave**, the immediate post-election survey. When relevant, some trends emerging from data gathered in the first wave (in the week preceding the election) and the third wave (about a six weeks after the election) will be presented as well.

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1. Introduction

The 2016 federal election was a double dissolution election to elect all 150 members of the House of Representatives and all 76 Senators. It was the first double dissolution since 1987 and the first election to use a new voting rules system for the Senate.

The election was extremely close and the final results were not confirmed until four weeks later. The Liberal/National coalition lost 14 seats but managed to retain enough seats to retain a bare majority, winning 76 in total. The Australian Labor Party picked up 14 seats, winning a total of 69 seats with the remaining five seats going to smaller parties and independents.

In the Senate, the coalition won 30 seats, representing a loss of one seat and the Australian Labor Party picked up a seat, winning a total of 26. The Greens won 9 seats and Pauline Hanson's One Nation party won 4 and the Nick Xenophon Team won 3. The remaining four seats were won by independents.

Electoral Commissions often conduct regular post-election surveys of the electorate to monitor their voting experiences and how people evaluate the Commission services. The Australian Electoral Commission conducts post-election surveys to monitor voting experiences for internal evaluation and key findings are included in external submissions such as those to the Joint Standing Committee on Electoral Matters. The British Electoral Commission conducts an annual survey to assess the public's views on electoral issues such as the voting and registration process, party finance and electoral fraud. A 2015 survey revealed that two thirds of the public in Britain were not completely satisfied with registration process and 39 percent believe that electoral fraud is a problem. The New Zealand Commission and Elections Canada also conducts surveys following general elections to assess voter satisfaction and to understand the level of engagement that voters have with the voting process. The questions that are asked in these surveys cover a range of topics, ranging from voter's experience with registration and voting to evaluations of how much confidence they have in the process.

We followed these examples by asking questions about the registration process, including when and under what conditions citizens enrolled or did not enrol to vote. We also measured perceptions of the voting experience itself, such as whether a citizen voted and if so whether it was in person or not. For those voting in person we assessed factors such as the time it took to obtain a ballot and the convenience of the voting location. We designed questions to measure opinions about electoral integrity, satisfaction with the way democracy works and confidence in political institutions and agencies such as the Australian Electoral Commission. Other questions focused on the electoral system, such as attitudes about the changes to optional preferential voting, compulsory voting, and opinions about potential reforms, such as early voting, internet voting, and campaign finance.

2. Democracy and the election

In this section we provide an overview of general attitudes of the Australian electorate. Are Australians satisfied with the way democracy works in Australia? What do they think about politicians, government's action, and the parliament? Are they cynical, and, if yes, why? Do they trust the main political actors and institutions in this country, including public servants, poll workers, the High Court and the media? What do Australians think about the voting experience and about the democratic process more generally? Throughout the world, democratic institutions face a legitimacy crisis and citizens are often passive spectators or very critical about the way democracy works in their countries.⁶ Is this the case in Australia as well?

2.1. General attitudes towards democracy and institutional confidence

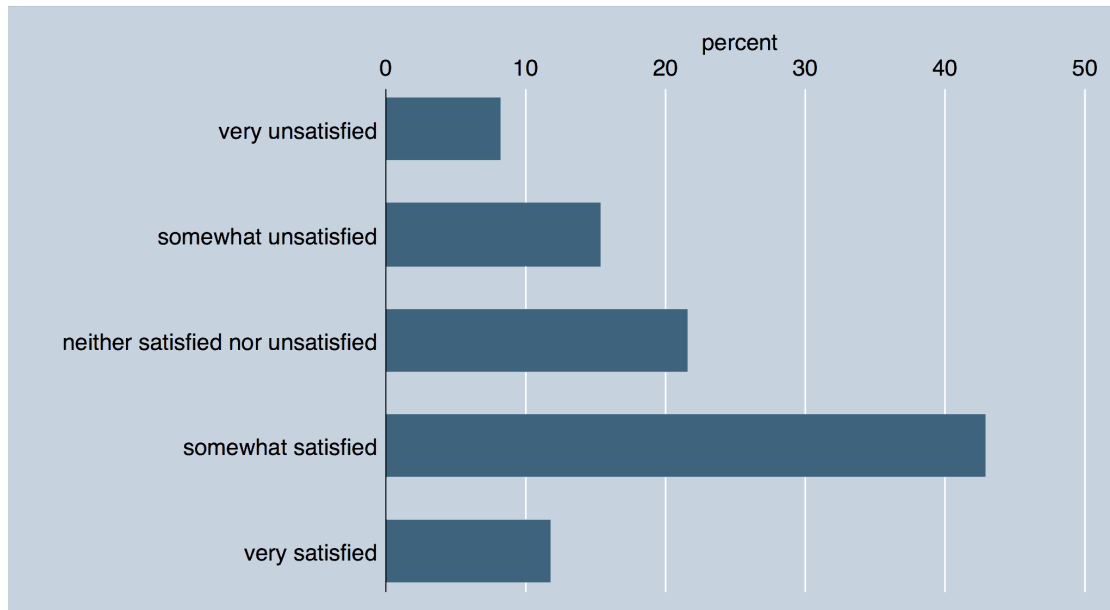
On some key indicators, a rather pessimistic picture of the Australian public emerges. Many people are distrusting of politicians and have a rather high level of cynicism. They also appear to have a mistaken belief that electoral fraud is a widespread phenomenon. On the other hand, confidence in elections and democracy remains relatively high and is also quite stable. Nevertheless, confidence in some key actors within the electoral process – first and foremost the AEC – dropped slightly after the election, a point which we will explore in more detail below.

We begin with an overview of general opinions about the way elections work in Australia and we discuss their level of cynicism and confidence in several actors and political institutions. Unless otherwise noted, the figures that are reported below represent those who have an opinion and those who have either reported they do not or who have refused to answer are excluded from the analysis.

The second part (2.2) focuses on the confidence that Australian voters have in the key actor responsible for the organization and administration of elections in Australia: the AEC. The third part (2.3) puts this into perspective, and discusses how Australian voters perceive the July 2016 election in terms of fairness, integrity and electoral fraud.

As Figure 1 reveals a slight majority of Australians (55%) are satisfied with the way democracy works in their country nowadays. This places Australia on the lower end of established democracies which typically have rates of satisfaction that exceed two thirds.⁷ Historical data indicate that there has been a dramatic fall in satisfaction. Data from the Australian Election Study in 2007 indicated that 86% reported being satisfied with democracy, falling to 72% in 2013. Following the election, the overall proportion reporting that they were satisfied with democracy remains about the same but there is evidence from the individual level that about 28 percent became more satisfied and about 22 percent became less satisfied.

Figure 1: Satisfaction with the way democracy works in Australia



Some segments of the population are more critical than others. Middle aged people between 35 and 44 and those who are disinterested in politics or who have lower levels of education are more dissatisfied with the way democracy works.

As Table 1 shows, many people are quite cynical about politics in general. Between two thirds and three quarters do not think that politicians and public servants care a lot about what citizens think, that government is largely run by a few big interests, and that most members of the parliament are out of touch with the rest of the country. This represents a rather high level of discontent. In New Zealand for example, less than half of the electorate believe that members of parliament are out of touch and that government is run by a few big interests.⁸

Although many people are cynical about politics, we do find that citizens have quite different views of actors and institutions which suggests that people’s attitudes are not entirely diffuse and that people do differentiate (Table 2). Australian citizens have a rather low level of confidence in political parties and politicians – but a comparatively higher confidence in the High Court, poll workers and the Australian Electoral Commission (AEC). This is especially important as it suggests that while citizens are cynical about political actors they nonetheless have confidence in the legal and electoral process. The challenge is to maintain high levels of confidence when citizens are fundamentally distrustful. The difficulty is illustrated when one assesses changes in evaluations of the AEC before and after the election. Confidence in the AEC drops somewhat after the election, going from a mean of 6.3 (on a scale from 0 to 10) just before the election to 5.9 in the month afterwards (wave 3); this drop represents the biggest change in confidence among all actors and institutions, and is statistically significant.

2.2. Views of the AEC

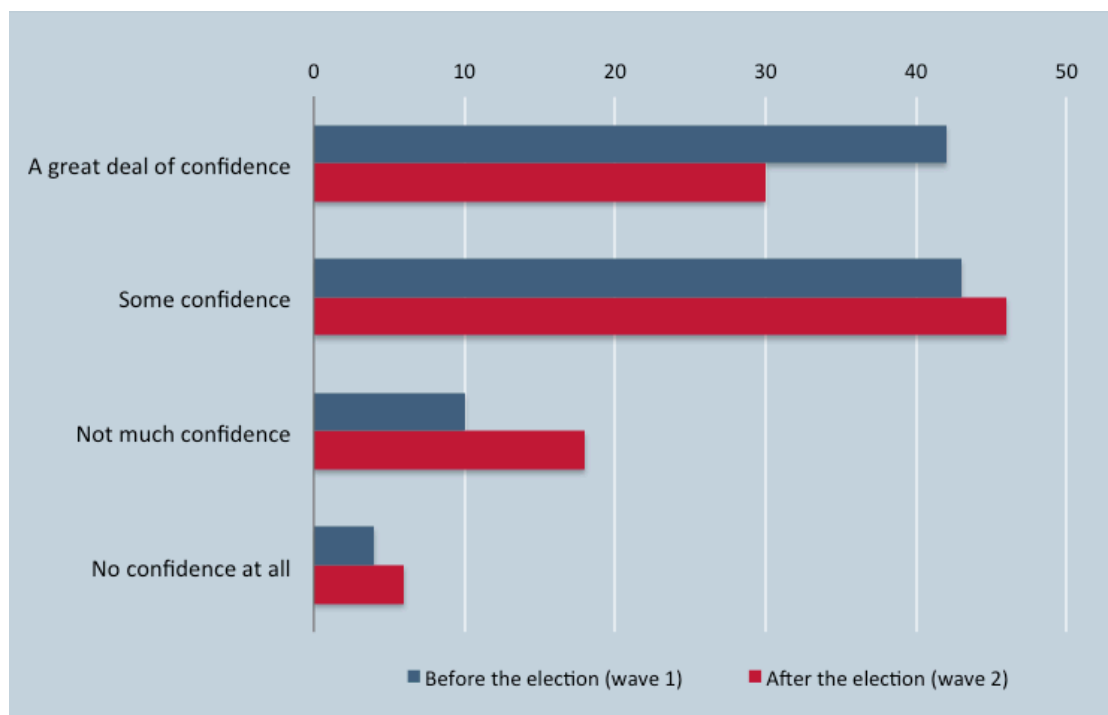
Below we look more closely at how voters view the AEC by investigating the following:

How much confidence do voters have in the AEC’s ability to conduct an election? Are Australian voters confident that their preferences are counted accurately? Are voters confident that their personal information is kept safely? And, finally, who do people think is responsible for updating the electoral roll?

The data reveal that in terms of general confidence, close to a majority have a great deal of confidence in the AEC and a further third have at least some confidence. This is considerably higher than in the United Kingdom, where just 21 percent reported that they were very confident and 48 percent said they were fairly confident that the 2015 election was well run.⁹

As Figure 2 reveals, however, there was an overall loss in confidence after the election. The proportion having a great deal of confidence in the AEC falls from just over 40 percent before the election to 30 percent after the election. These figures remain relatively unchanged in the third wave (see Table 3).

Figure 2: Confidence in AEC ability to conduct an election (comparison before and after the election)

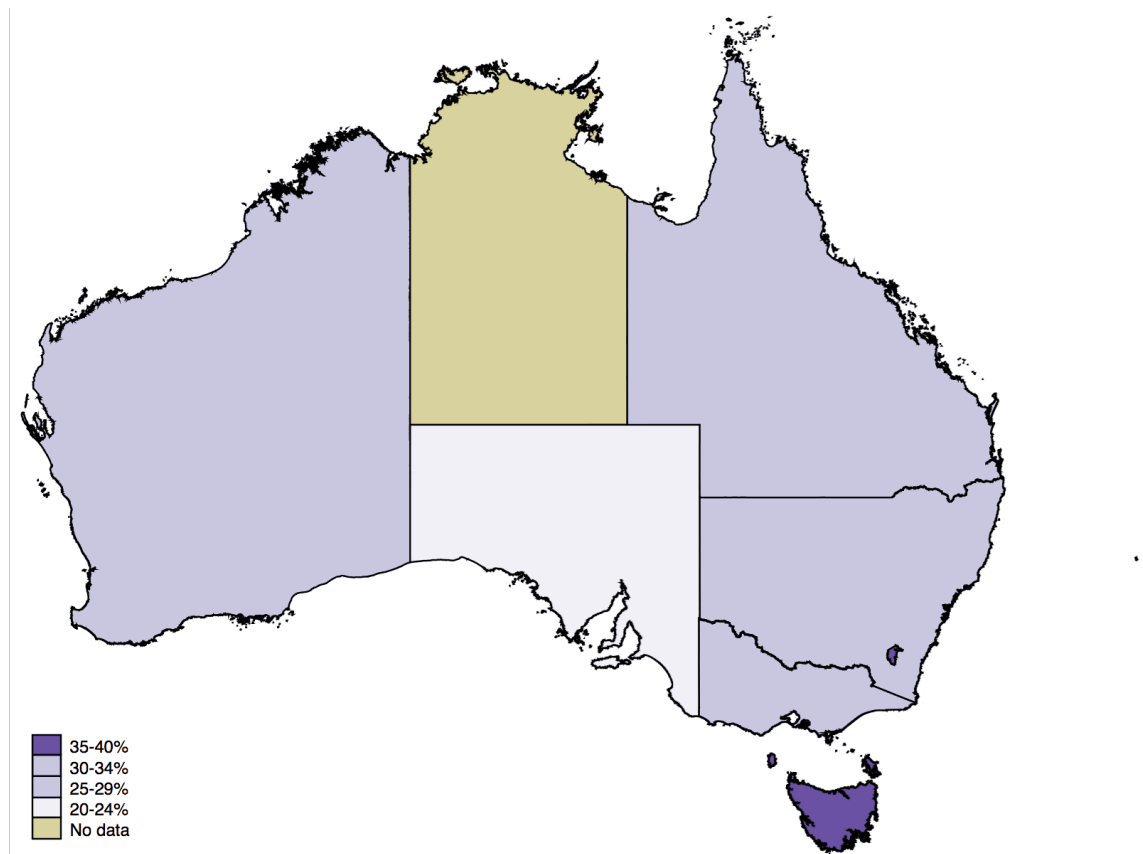


Men are more likely than women to have confidence in the AEC. As Table 3 shows, 36% of men reported a great deal of confidence in the AEC, compared to just 25% of women. Our analyses also reveal that younger respondents have less confidence, as well as those respondents with lower levels of education. Nearly twice as many respondents with a postgraduate diploma (43%) have a great deal of confidence compared with those with the lowest level of education (24%). We also find that confidence varies across the country. Confidence is particularly high in Victoria and lower in Queensland, New South Wales, and South Australia (see Map 1).

With panel data we can examine how the same individuals changed their confidence between the two waves. Table 4 shows that 61 percent had the same assessment in both waves, while

31 percent reported a lower level of confidence after the election and 8 percent reported a higher level of confidence. The data reveal that the largest loss in confidence is among respondents in the 45-54 years old category (34% loss in confidence, and a 7% increase).

Map 1: Confidence in AEC ability to conduct an election, by State (percentage of respondents having a great deal of confidence)

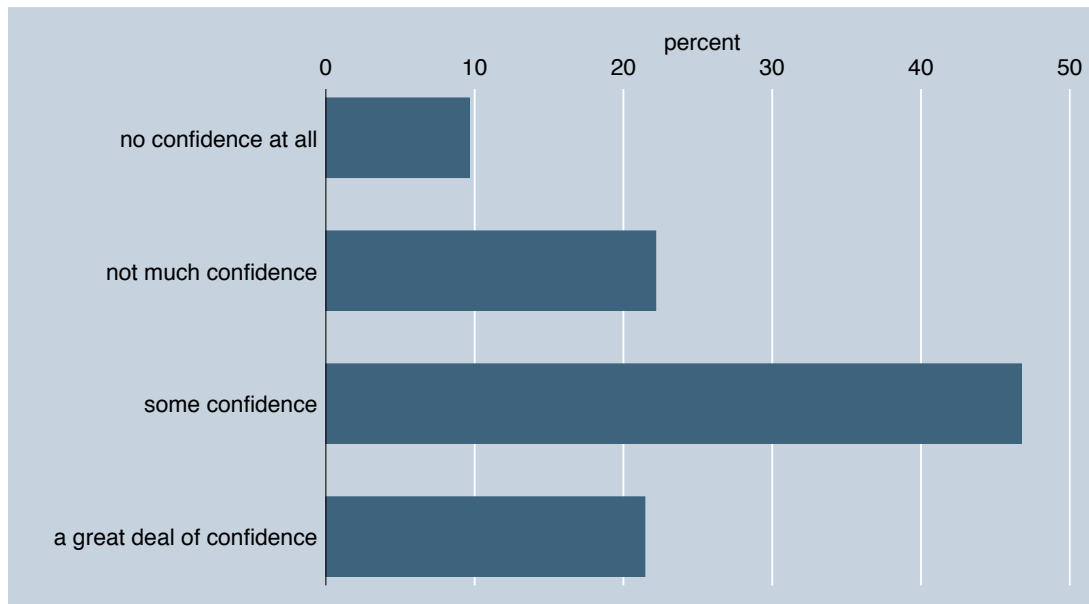


Note: ACT scores are based on too few observations (N<50), and should be interpreted with caution. Scores refer to the percentage of respondents having a great deal of confidence, and vary thus hypothetically between 0 and 100.

We also asked who much confidence people had that their preferences are counted accurately. As Figure 3 shows, about 21 percent have a great deal of confidence and 47 percent have some confidence.

Table 5 provides a summary of these responses by gender, age, and education. Again, men are more confident than women when it comes to perceptions of the electoral system and the conduct of the election. More than a quarter (27%) of men have a great deal of confidence that their preferences are counted accurately, compared to only 16% of women.¹⁰ The differences are more substantial across levels of education. Confidence increases with education and is nearly three times as high for those with a postgraduate diploma than those with little education. Age does not appear to have an influence.

Figure 3: Confidence that preferences are counted accurately



Overall, respondents are moderately confident that the AEC is able to keep this personal information safe and secure, with a mean of 5.6 on a 0-10 scale where 10 is the highest confidence (Table 6). In part the lack of confidence reflects the high degree of cynicism that is noted above.

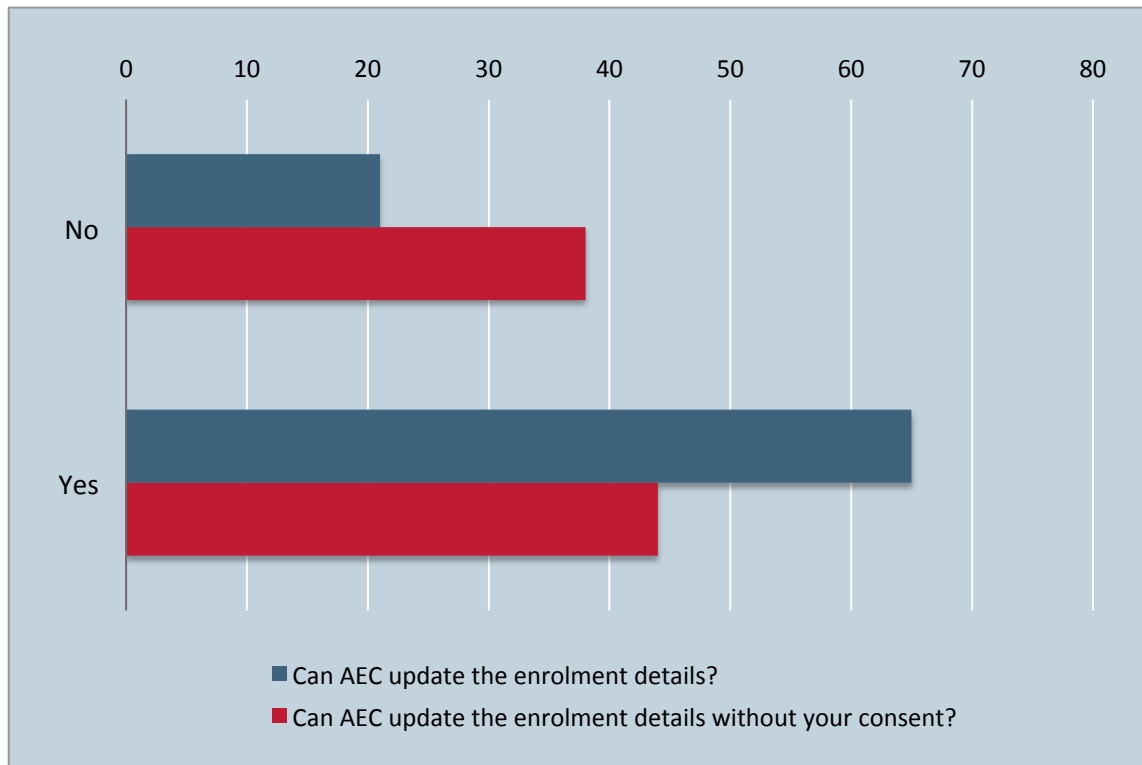
No significant difference exists between men and women or across age categories. Not surprisingly, our analysis shows that the highest mean confidence is among respondents with the highest education level (postgraduate, at 6.3 out of 10).

We also asked respondents in the sample about how the AEC should update the electoral roll. As Table 7 shows a majority (57%) believes that the AEC should be able to use data from other governmental agencies to update the roll. Reflecting a considerable amount of ambivalence, about a quarter had no opinion.

Women are somewhat more ambivalent and somewhat less likely than men to think that the AEC should be able to rely on data from other governmental agencies to update the roll. Age appears to have a strong influence in shaping opinions on this issue, with older respondents being far more trusting than younger respondents, who are more ambivalent. Education also appears to matter to the extent that there is greater ambivalence among those with lower levels of education.

We designed an experiment to assess how much difference it makes to people if the AEC must first obtain permission to change enrolment details.¹¹ Half of the respondents were simply asked if they agree that the AEC can update their enrolment details (control group), whereas another half selected at random were asked if they think the AEC could do so *without their consent* (treatment group). Given the random assignment of the two conditions, comparison between the two groups allows us to assess the causal importance of communication by the AEC – and, more specifically, asking for consent – when updating enrolment details.

Figure 4: Can the AEC update your enrolment details?



Not surprisingly, the share of respondents that agree that the AEC should be able to update enrolment details drops substantially when respondents are told that this would be done without their consent (Table 8 and Figure 4). The share of support decreases from 65% in the group to 44% in the treatment group. This clearly shows that respondents want to be consulted when the roll is updated.

There is also a strong gender gap in opposition to the automatic updating of the rolls (Table 9). A majority of men (51%) support the idea, compared to 38% of women. Age also appears to be a factor as older citizens, particularly those 55 and over, are more willing to have their enrolment details updated than those in younger age groups.

We also asked respondents whether they felt it was a personal responsibility or the government’s responsibility to maintain the accuracy of the roll. In this case, we used an experimental design to examine whether opinions about responsibility are influenced by what may be standard practice in other countries. Half of the respondents who were selected at random were simply asked whose responsibility is to maintain the accuracy of the roll (control group), while another group were told government agencies in many European countries share information (treatment group).

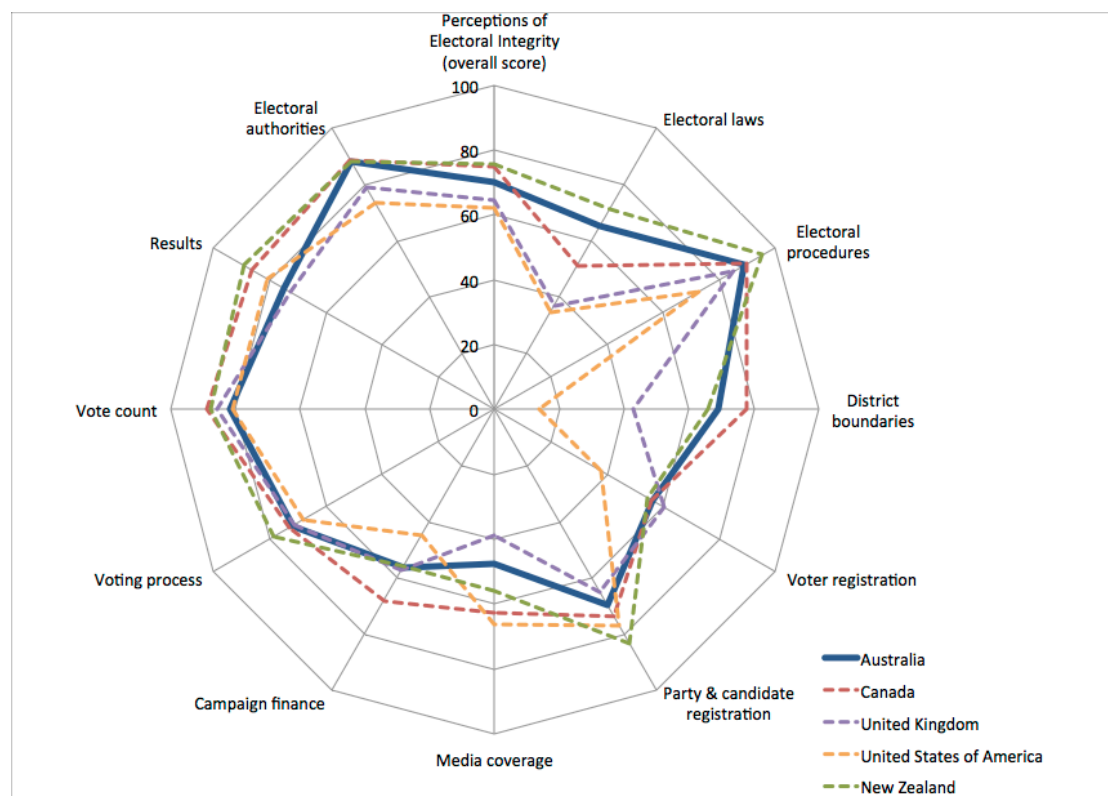
Our analyses show that many people believe it is a matter of personal responsibility. However, they are more likely to believe it is government’s responsibility when they are made aware that many other countries share data and information (Table 10). Knowing that this is not unusual clearly shifts the responsibility towards the government.

2.3. Evaluation of the election: integrity, fairness and fraud

Beyond what Australians think about the state of their democracy and the way the AEC manages elections, we asked respondents about their perceptions of the integrity of the electoral process. To what extent do people think that elections are usually conducted fairly? And what are the perceptions of electoral fraud in Australia?

It is important to note that according to experts, Australian elections have a high level of electoral integrity. The concept of electoral integrity refers to agreed international conventions and global norms, applying universally to all countries worldwide through the election cycle, including during the pre-election period, the campaign, on polling day, and its aftermath.¹² The Electoral Integrity Project measures integrity worldwide through a battery of questions asked of election experts. These questions measure a number of different aspects of the electoral process, ranging from electoral laws and procedures, to electoral boundaries, media coverage, campaign finance, and electoral administration. As Figure 5 shows Australia matches or exceeds the level of integrity in Canada, the United Kingdom, New Zealand, and the United States. Australia receives higher scores for its electoral laws, which are viewed as more fair to smaller parties than plurality system used in the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom. Australia also does well in terms of the indiscriminate drawing of district boundaries, compared with the United States and the United Kingdom.

Figure 5: Electoral integrity In Australia, Canada, UK, New Zealand, and USA



Source: PEI 4.5

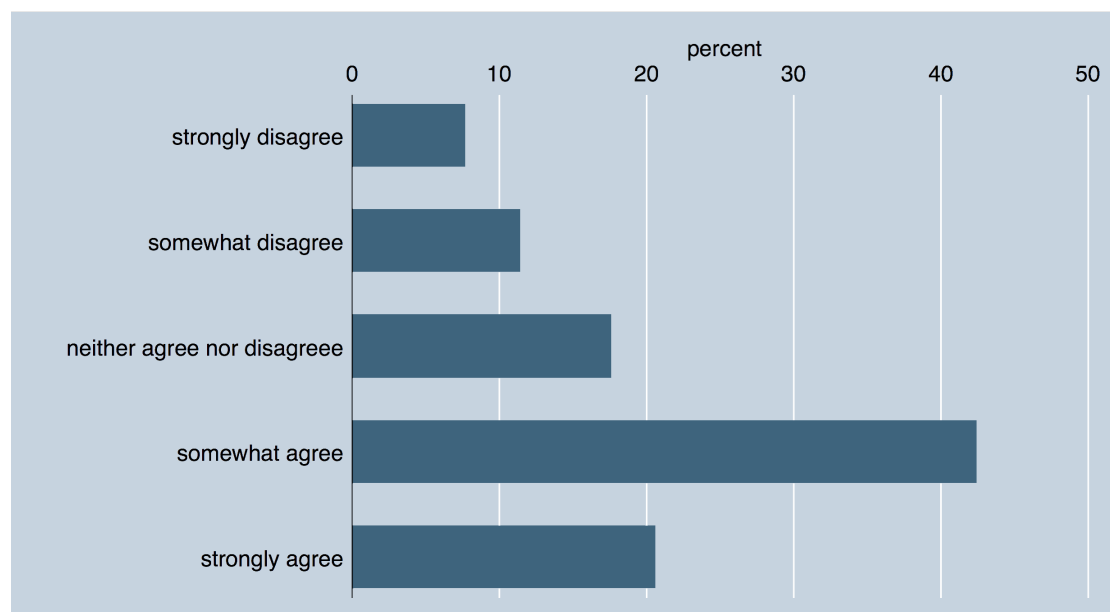
The survey data reflect these assessments, revealing that two thirds of the electorate have confidence in the integrity of elections.

A clear majority of citizens believe that elections in Australia are conducted fairly (Table 11 and Figure 6). If we cumulate those respondents who somewhat agree and those who strongly

agree, two thirds have confidence in the fairness of elections. And this result is relatively stable across the three waves, indicating that faith in the way elections are conducted in Australia was relatively unaffected by the election itself. We also find that in particular, women are significantly more critical than men, and that scepticism increases with decreasing levels of education.

In such a context, then, the decline in satisfaction with the AEC after the election (see above) is more consequential: if the overall satisfaction with elections and democracy is stable, but confidence in the AEC drops, then we cannot attribute this to just cynicism in general or a lack of satisfaction towards political elites and democratic processes. It is likely that at least some of the loss can be attributed to the dissatisfaction over the delays to complete the vote count and release the results. We explore these issue in more depth below.

Figure 6: Elections in Australia conducted fairly

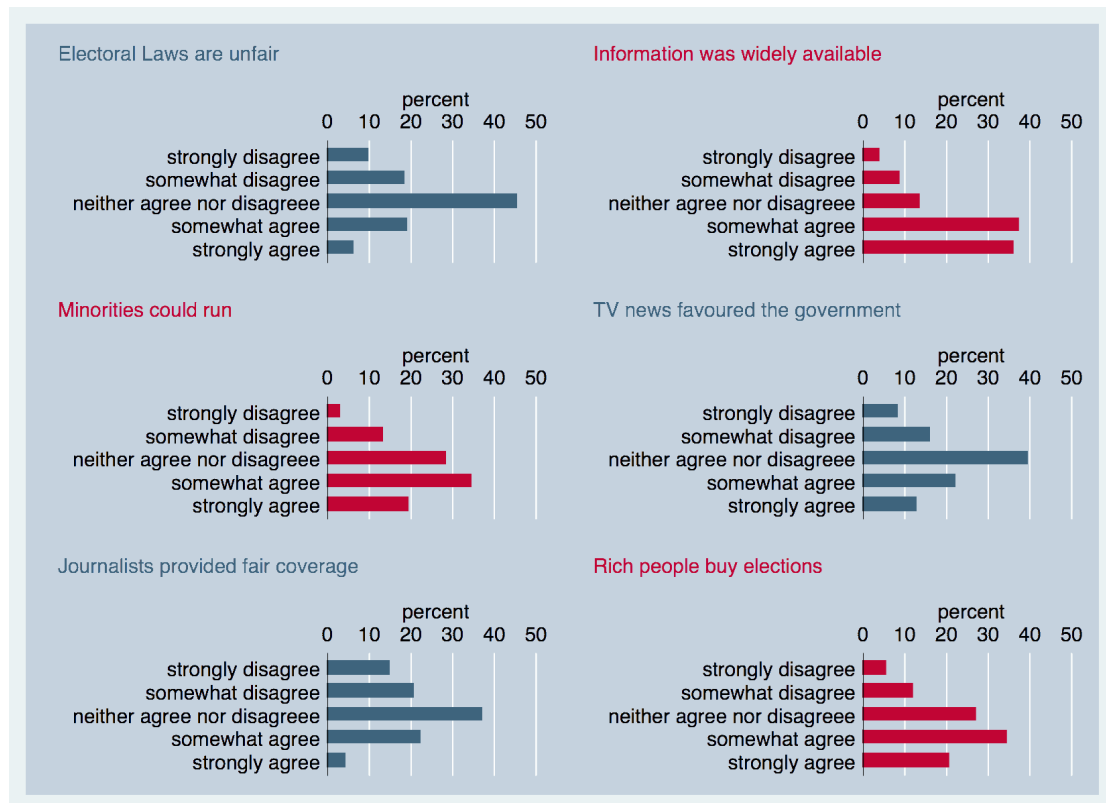


The quality of elections can be assessed in many different ways, and through several indicators. Aside from opinions about the overall fairness of elections, as discussed above, we replicated six questions from our expert survey related to perceptions of different components of the electoral cycle: electoral laws, information about voting procedures, access to electoral processes for minorities, election coverage by TV news and journalists, and the role of money in politics.

The data reveal that citizens have varying opinions about the quality of the election according to those six components (see Table 12 and Figure 7). On the one hand, respondents have a rather positive opinion about the availability of information and the access to the process for minorities. About 74% of respondents somewhat or strongly agree that information about voting procedures was widely available (which is directly tied to the work of the AEC in preparing the election) and close to 54% agrees that candidates from minorities had equal opportunities to run. Similarly, only about 26% think that electoral laws were unfair.

On the other hand, respondents are substantially more critical about the way journalists covered the election (only 27% think that coverage was fair) and, particularly, about the role of money in politics. More than half of the respondents (55%) either somewhat or strongly agree that rich people can buy elections. Although on par with a general mistrust about the role of money in politics in Western democracies,¹³ this result confirms the prevalence of a substantial level of cynicism within the Australian electorate that could be attributed at least in part to the electoral process.

Figure 7: Aspects of Electoral integrity

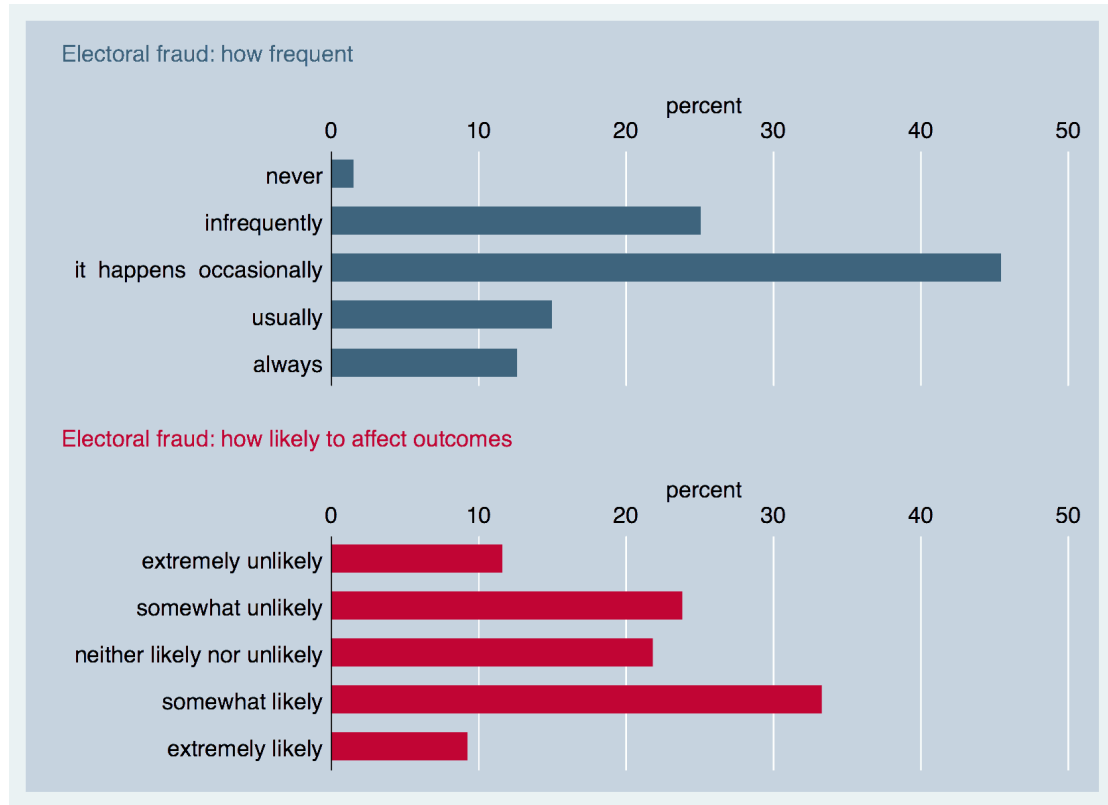


Finally, we consider how voters assess electoral integrity by asking about their perceptions of electoral fraud. The data reveal some rather surprising results.

As Table 13 shows, all but a quarter of the electorate believes that electoral fraud occurs at least occasionally in Australian elections. Just two percent believes that it never occurs, compared to over a quarter who believe that it occurs usually or always. It is important to note that these figures exclude about 20 percent of the respondents who did not hold an opinion about the prevalence of fraud. Electoral fraud can take many forms, from ballot box stuffing to vote buying, intimidations, misinformation, and the misrecording or misreporting of votes. The data do not differentiate between different types of electoral fraud, so it is not possible to determine what form of fraud people are most likely to have in mind. Nevertheless, all types of electoral fraud relate to (voluntary) efforts to manipulate or rig the electoral process. The fact that one respondent out of four believes that these malpractices are very common during Australian elections should be a cause for concern.

Opinions about the prevalence of electoral fraud vary across different segments of the population. Women are, again, relatively more cynical than men. Older respondents are also more critical than their younger counterparts, and so are those respondents with lower levels of education.

Figure 8: Electoral fraud: how frequent, and how likely to affect electoral outcomes



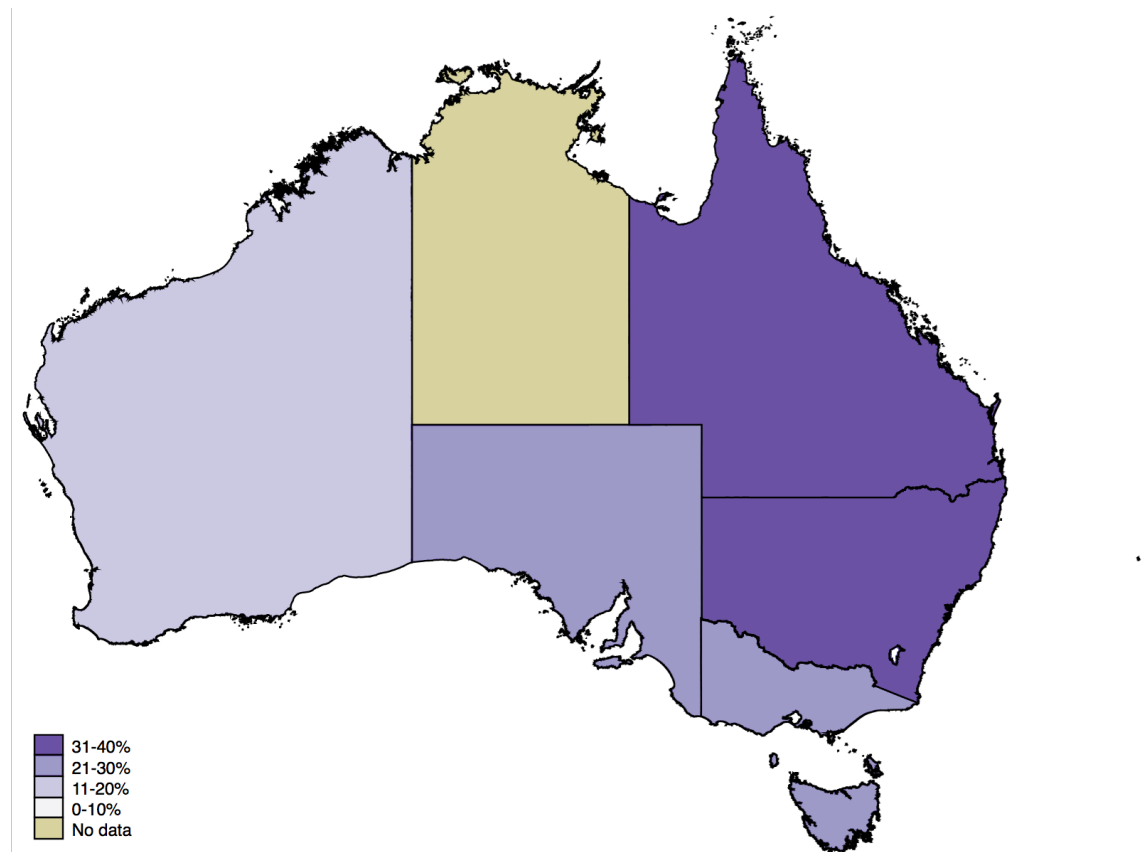
Aside from the prevalence of fraud, we also asked respondents to evaluate how likely electoral fraud is to affect electoral outcomes. Again, there is a segment of the population (16 percent) who are ambivalent and were unable to make a judgement. As Figure 8 shows, of those with an opinion, about a third believe that fraud is somewhat likely to affect electoral outcomes and about 9 percent believe that it is extremely likely, which is a cause for concern.¹⁴

The results in Table 14 suggest that men and women have quite different perceptions about fraud. Women are clearly more sceptical than men. Although the proportion is small, about half as many women believe that fraud is extremely unlikely to affect electoral outcomes. About 47 percent of women believe that fraud is somewhat or extremely likely to have an impact on elections, compared to 38 percent of men.

Education is also a factor. Those with at least a University education have far more confidence in the integrity of elections than those with lower levels of education. As Map 2 illustrates, concerns about the integrity of elections are greatest on the east coast, particularly in

Queensland, where 49 percent believe that fraud is either somewhat or extremely likely to affect electoral outcomes.

Map 2: Perceptions of the frequency of electoral fraud by state (percentage of respondents declaring that fraud happens usually or always)



Note: ACT and TAS scores are based on too few observations ($N < 50$), and should be interpreted with caution. Scores refer to the percentage of respondents declaring that fraud happens usually or always, and vary thus hypothetically between 0 and 100.

3. The voting experience

Given that voting is compulsory in Australia and that nearly everyone complies, it is important to know what people think of the experience. We begin by addressing general views on compulsory voting and participation and early voting. In section 3.2, we discuss the experience of the voter at the polling station and the ballot, and in section 3.3 we analyse how the changes in voting rules and voting instructions were perceived. We conclude (3.4) with presenting the views on the voting system and the publication of results.

3.1. Participation and early voting

Compulsory voting is one of the key features of the Australian political system. Australia is widely known as having one of the highest rates of voter turnout among the world's democracies. Other countries have compulsory voting but have not been as successful in achieving such a high degree of compliance.

Voter turnout was estimated to be at about 91 percent which is very high by international standards but was said to be the lowest level of turnout in Australia since the introduction of compulsory voting in 1925.¹⁵ In our sample, about 95 percent of the respondents reported voting, although 15% of the respondents reported that they did not vote in 2013, either because they were too young or because they abstained. We can examine how strong the commitment to voting is in Australia by examining whether people would have voted if it were not compulsory. As Table 15 reveals, just 59 percent of the sample reported that they would definitely vote if voting were not compulsory.

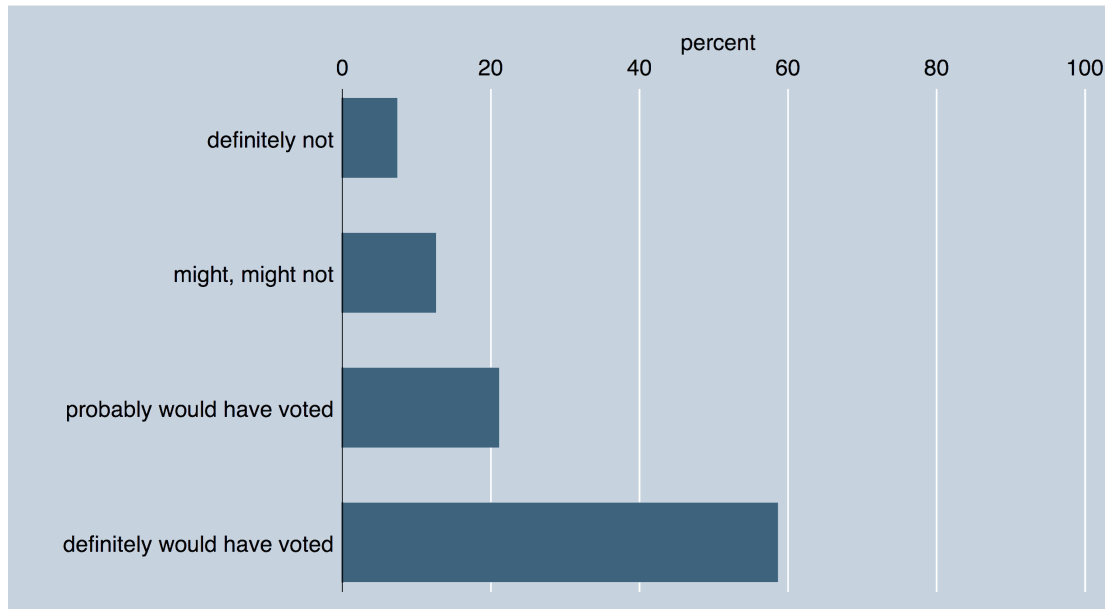
To examine who might not vote if it were not required, we looked at how responses to this question varied across groups. As is widely known from studies of voter turnout, age is a strong determinant of voting.¹⁶ As Table 15 shows, less than half of those 34 years or younger said that they would definitely vote if they were not compelled to do so, compared to 71 percent of those 55 years and over; education is also a strong predictor, the higher the educational attainment, the more likely it is that citizens vote. Clearly, interest in politics, which may be correlated with education, plays an important role. There is also evidence that compulsory voting appears to have created a culture of participation. Those who are more compliant with rules in general are more likely to vote even if compulsory voting were abolished. Nevertheless, the pattern of likely abstention appears to be consistent with the international evidence which gives us a better understanding of how compulsory voting changes the composition of the electorate.

It is possible that in the future compulsory voting may not be enough to compel citizens to vote, particularly if citizens see the costs of voting as being higher than the cost for abstaining. Early voting is one way to make voting more convenient.

We devised an experiment to examine how support for early voting is affected by compulsory voting. We presented one group of respondents who were selected at random with the question, "Who should be allowed to vote early?". Possible responses included no one, the disabled and those overseas, only those who cannot vote on election day, and everyone. Another group of respondents were first presented with the following statement before being asked who should vote early: "Many people believe that it should be more convenient to vote especially since they are fined for not doing so." The proportion who believe that everyone should be allowed to vote early increased from 50% (control group) to 63% suggesting that

voters are likely to demand greater convenience when they are aware that voting is compulsory.

Figure 9: Would have voted if not compulsory



Not only is there strong support for early voting but it appears that more than a third of the electorate is now taking advantage of it as an option (see Table 16). Older voters are significantly more likely to vote early, with nearly half reporting that they did so. In comparison, 76% of those 18-24 years of age reported voting on election day.

As Table 17 shows, nearly half of the early voters reported that they did so for convenience and to avoid crowds and queues. It is interesting to note that 9% stated that they always vote early. Of those who voted in person, 22 percent reported that they did not know they could vote early and 5 percent reported that they would have liked to vote early but were prevented from doing so (see Table 18). Making voters more aware of their options might be one thing the AEC might want to consider in the future.

There is strong evidence that early voting allows more people to vote (see Table 20). Nearly a third of the early voters report that they would not have voted if early voting was not available.

It is important to keep in mind that voting may also have expressive or symbolic value and that for many people this can only be derived by voting in person.¹⁷ More than half of those who voted on election day always vote at a polling place. Less than a third reported that they favoured the abolition of polling places. Related to this, about 5% explicitly mention social or community reasons, such as taking part in the community or show support for the community. Citizens can either vote early at a polling centre or by post or at a mobile polling facility (Table 19). For early voters, the most preferred option was in person, followed by the post.

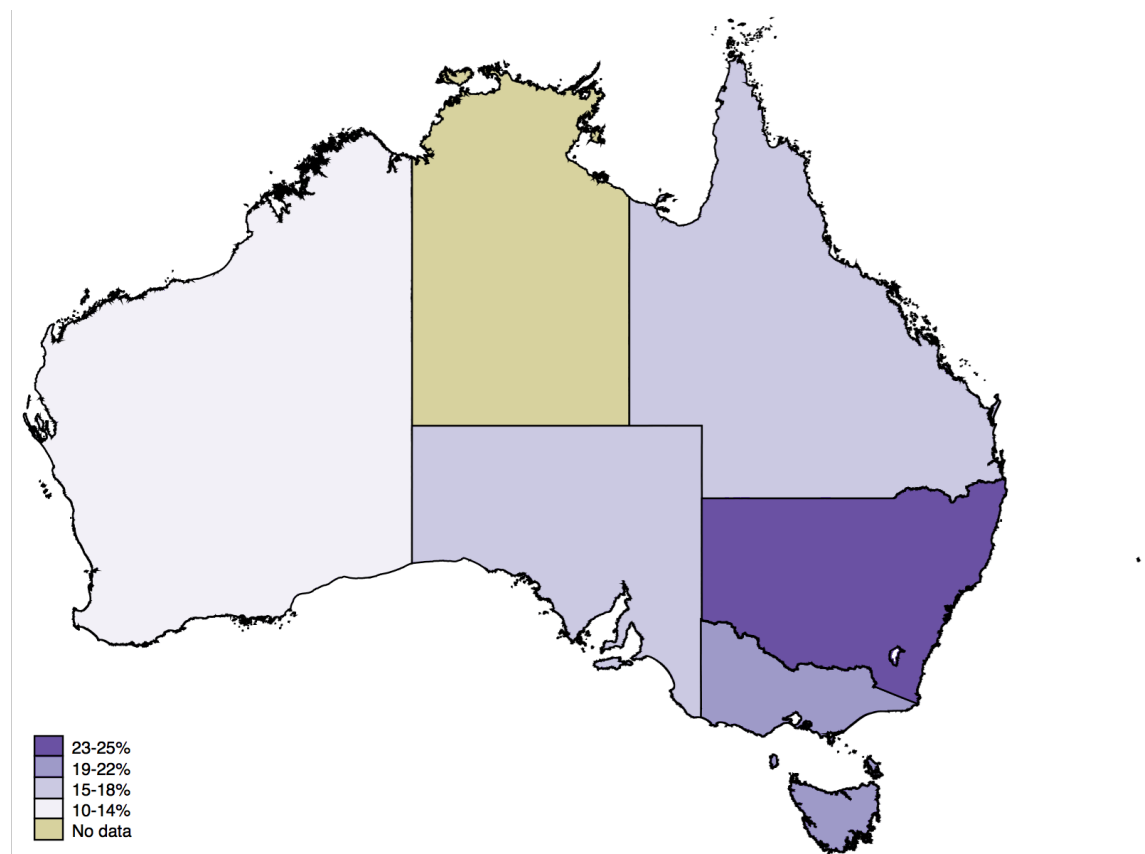
3.2. Voting at the polling station

There are two logistical factors that citizens face when voting in person. First, voters must find where to vote. Then, they have to invest some time and energy to get to the polling station and cast a vote.

That voting is a matter of habit has long been established: once citizens vote, they are likely to do so again.¹⁸ Finding the polling station is not a very difficult task. As Table 21 shows, there are no significant differences between men and women or by education. However, and here is where the learning experience may play a role, younger cohorts find it somewhat harder than older voters to find the polling place.

The second logistical aspect to consider is the effort it takes to get to the polling station. As Table 22 shows, although most voters report that little or no effort was required, a larger proportion of younger voters (32%) reported that it required at least a moderate if not more effort in getting to the polling place. As Map 3 shows, more people reported problems getting to the polling places in New South Wales than in other states.

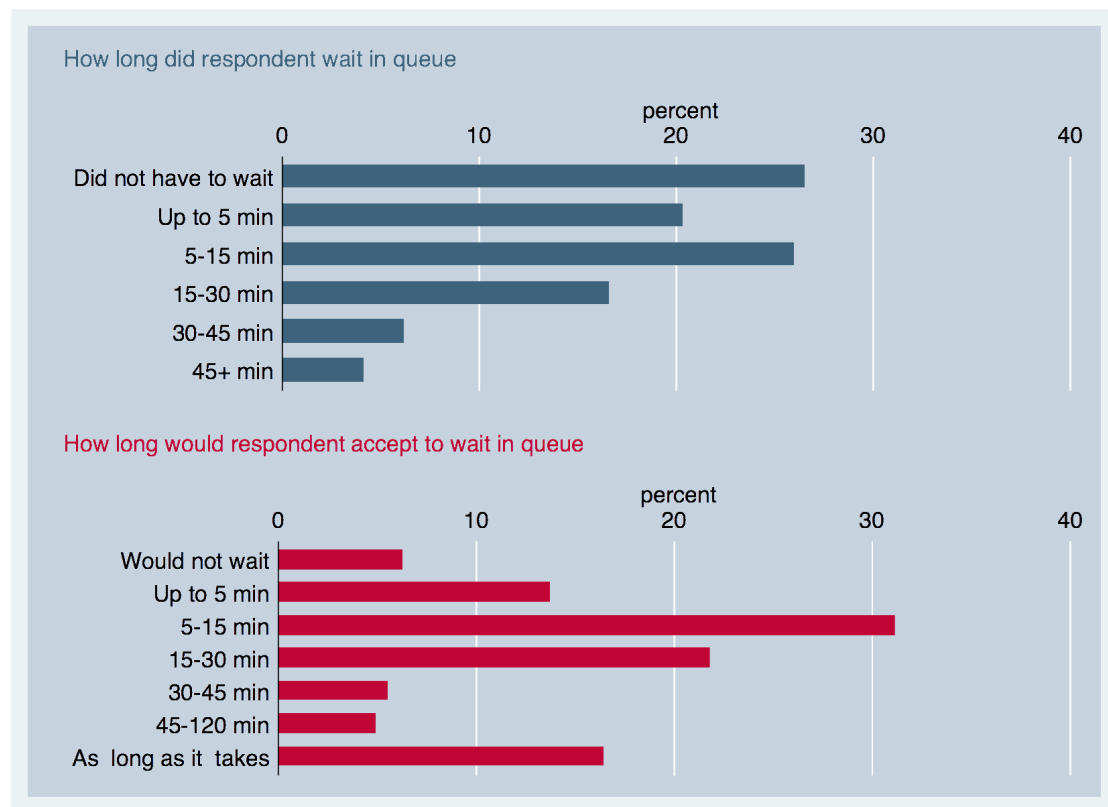
Map 3: Effort required to get to the polling station, by State (percentage declaring “moderate” or more)



Note: ACT and TAS scores are based on too few observations (N<50), and should be interpreted with caution. Scores refer to the percentage of respondents that the effort required for them to go to the polling station was moderate or more, and vary thus hypothetically between 0 and 100.

Other than finding the polling place, voters may also experience inconveniences associated with waiting to cast a vote. Long waiting times are known to be a problem in other established democracies such as the United States where less than six out of ten eligible voters turn out in presidential elections.¹⁹ In Australia, where nearly everyone votes, about half of the voters reported having to wait no more than five minutes to cast a ballot while 17 percent had to wait 15-30 minutes and 10 percent had to wait 30 minutes or more (see Figure 10). In New Zealand, where turnout is lower than in Australia, two thirds (66%) reported taking less than five minutes to vote.²⁰

Figure 10: Waiting times and voter patience



There are significant differences across states in waiting times. More than a third of respondents in South Australia and the ACT reported having to wait more than 15 minutes while less than a quarter reporting waiting in Queensland and just 12 percent reporting waiting in Tasmania. No significant differences in waiting times were reported by men or women or by age group.

Australians appear to have some patience for the time it might take to vote. As Figure 10 shows, just 6% said they would not wait at all while 14% said they would wait up to five minutes. In comparison, 31% said they would be prepared to wait up to 15 minutes to vote and 17% said that they would wait as long as it takes. While Australians may be patient it appears that it does have an impact. Those who reported having to wait more than 15 minutes appear to have less confidence in the AEC (see Table 23). Thus one way of increasing confidence is to make voting more convenient and efficient.

If voting were not compulsory, waiting in line would reduce the likelihood of voting. Fewer report that they would have voted after waiting more than 15 minutes if voting were not compulsory.

3.3. Changes in the Rules and Voting instructions

The use of preferential voting and the different quotas for the House and the Senate requires that voters have some knowledge of the rules in order to ensure that votes are cast effectively. In addition, there are different requirements for the Senate which changed in 2016. Under the new rules, voters were required to rank at least six candidates above the line in the order they prefer or 12 below the line. However, if a voter listed just one preference above the line or six below the line it would still be counted. This may have caused some confusion. To investigate whether voters felt sufficiently informed we asked them about the clarity of the instructions on the ballot paper and what other information they relied upon to cast their vote.

Most people think that the instructions for the House ballot paper are relatively easy to understand. On a scale from 0 to 100, the mean difficulty is rather low (19.8, see Table 24). As one would expect, those more interested in politics find the instructions almost two times easier to understand than those with no interest at all.

Voters report having more difficulty understanding the Senate instructions which is not unexpected given change in the rules and the larger number of candidates involved. Furthermore, the youngest cohort (18-24) and those with primary or secondary studies find it harder than others.

As Table 27 indicates, before the election 69% said that they had heard about the change in the rules for voting for the Senate. After the election, awareness drops to 44%. This could be either due to a loss in salience after the election. It is also possible that respondents could have over reported their initial awareness of the change. There is a significant gender gap, with more than half of men reporting that they are aware of the rule change compared to only 39 percent of women. Education and political interest are factors that help to explain why some people are more knowledgeable than others. There also appears to be significant differences across states in terms of awareness; nearly half reported being aware of the change in New South Wales compared to 38% in Queensland and 39% in Western Australia.

We also asked two questions to measure whether respondents actually understood the Senate rules. One question asked how many preferences must a voter rank to vote “above the line” by presenting three options; a voter must now rank all preferences, a voter must rank at least six preferences, or a voter can rank any number of preferences. About 63% of the respondents identified six preferences as the correct answer and 19% reported that they did not know. Another question asked about voting “below the line”, replacing six with twelve preferences. A larger percentage of people (78%) correctly identified twelve preferences for voting below the line while 13 reported that they did not know (results not shown).

Not surprisingly there is a relationship between subjective and objective knowledge; those who reported having more difficulty understanding the Senate instructions were more likely to give the wrong answer.

Voters reported using the same sources of information to assist them with filling in the ballot papers. As Table 25 shows, a quarter of voters reported relying on the ballot paper instructions

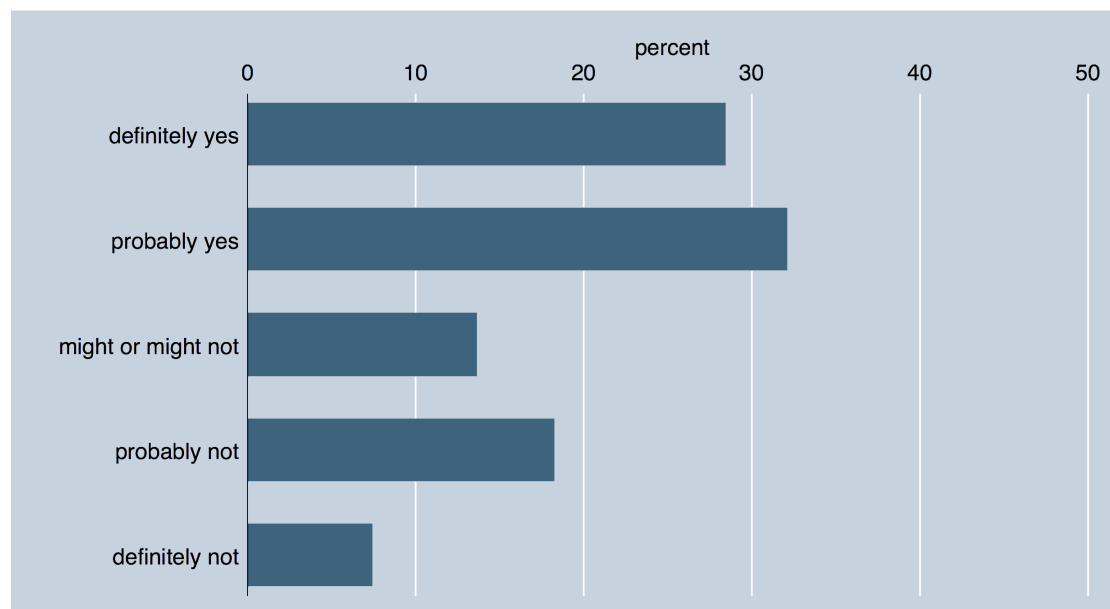
while another quarter reported using a 'how to vote card'. About 15 percent reported that they had seen a TV ad.

3.4. Voting system and publication of results

In this final section, we focus on what people think about the voting system itself and time that it took to report the results of the election.

As Figure 11 shows, a substantial proportion (60%) of the respondents believe that the Australian voting system is too complicated and should be simplified. Women are significantly more likely than men to express concerns about the complexity of the system (see Table 26). Older voters are also far more likely to believe that the system is too complicated. More than two thirds (70%) of those 55 or over believe the system is complicated compared to just 41 percent of those between 18 and 24 years of age.

Figure 11: Is the voting system too complicated and should be simplified?



As one would expect, those with higher levels of formal education and those with more interest in politics are less likely to believe that the system is complicated.

Two thirds of those born outside Australia feel the system is too complicated compared to 59 percent of those who are born in Australia.

The close nature of the 2016 election along with the changes in the Senate rules and changes in procedures for counting ballots contributed to delays in the vote count and the release of the final results.²¹ We designed an experiment to measure how accepting voters are of the time it takes to count ballots. In one version of the questionnaire, a third of the respondents were asked whether they view it is acceptable if the results would not be known for weeks (Table 28). As the table shows, when there are no reasons provided, 71% felt that it was unacceptable. Another third were told that it takes time to count the ballots. In this case, a few

voters were more understanding but 62% still found it unacceptable. The remaining third were told that it takes more time because many people voted by post and the postal ballots still had to be returned. More people were understanding but nevertheless a majority found such a delay unacceptable. Older voters and those with lower levels of education, in particular, appear to be more critical than younger and more educated voters (Table 29).

4. Looking beyond the 2016 election

This section considers the introduction of possible reforms. We begin with an analysis of voters' opinions about online voting. This topic has gained considerable salience with the long time lapse between polling and the announcement of official results in the 2016 contest. Results show that there is a general desire for having the ability to vote online, but not to the extent that it should be a requirement. A majority of voters feel somewhat confident that online voting can maintain the security and privacy of their vote, but at the same time, more than two-thirds of voters believe that an online voting system could be tampered with. These concerns clearly need to be taken seriously if online voting is ever adopted. Generally, scepticism is highest among those who are politically interested and highly educated. In contrast, technological optimism is prevalent among people who are very familiar with other online technologies such as internet shopping or banking.

The second section examines support for voluntary voting. There is strong opposition to the adoption of voluntary voting. Many Australians view voting as a duty and favour compulsory voting. Nevertheless, opinion is divided about how best to enforce compulsory voting. There are significant pockets where opposition against compulsory voting and the use of fines is strongest, importantly among groups with little or no interest in politics.

4.1. Online voting

Soon after the 2016 election, a discussion ensued about introducing online voting. The issue had been raised in media commentary, by policymakers, and in academic circles, but not knowing the election winner on the night of the polls may have renewed public debate. Proponents of online voting facilities emphasised the speed and potential savings along with the increased security compared to the widely used postal voting.²² Opponents on the contrary pointed to possible increases in costs, security concerns, and problems in NSW's iVote system which allows the disabled and those who live long distances from polling places to vote online in NSW State by-elections and is set to be used for the 2019 NSW State general election.²³

The survey included several questions about voting via the internet, whether it should be an option, and how much trust people would have in such a system. The results show support for the implementation of online voting, but scepticism about its security and doubts about tampering remain, especially among older people and those not very familiar with online technologies.

We asked respondents in wave 2 how important it would be for them to have the option of voting online. As shown in Table 30 the general sentiment is that online voting is desirable. On a scale ranging from 0 (not important at all) to 100 (very important), the average response is 60. There are no clear differences between men and women, and no significant differences across level of education. Also, somewhat surprisingly, few differences emerge with respect to age with the notable exception of those 55 years and over, who see online voting as less important than others. With a mean importance of 52.2, the oldest cohort is seven points below the national average, and 15 points below the cohort for whom online voting is most important (24-34 year olds).

Interest in politics plays a role in so far as those who are least interested in politics place the highest importance on having online voting as an option (average importance of 66.4 out of

100). This suggests that those who would otherwise not be engaged and probably less inclined to vote, if it were not compulsory, would prefer more convenient options.

Finally, there is evidence to suggest that familiarity with online technologies increases Australians' desire to have access to online voting. The average importance placed on online voting increases steadily with the frequency of using either online shopping or banking tools such that voters who buy or bank online less than once a month assign a twenty-point lower average importance on online voting compared to those who buy/bank online every day (46.6 out of 100 compared to 66.0). Put plainly, as the familiarity with internet tools expands and more and more 'digital natives' join the electoral roll, so will likely rise the wish to be able to cast votes online.

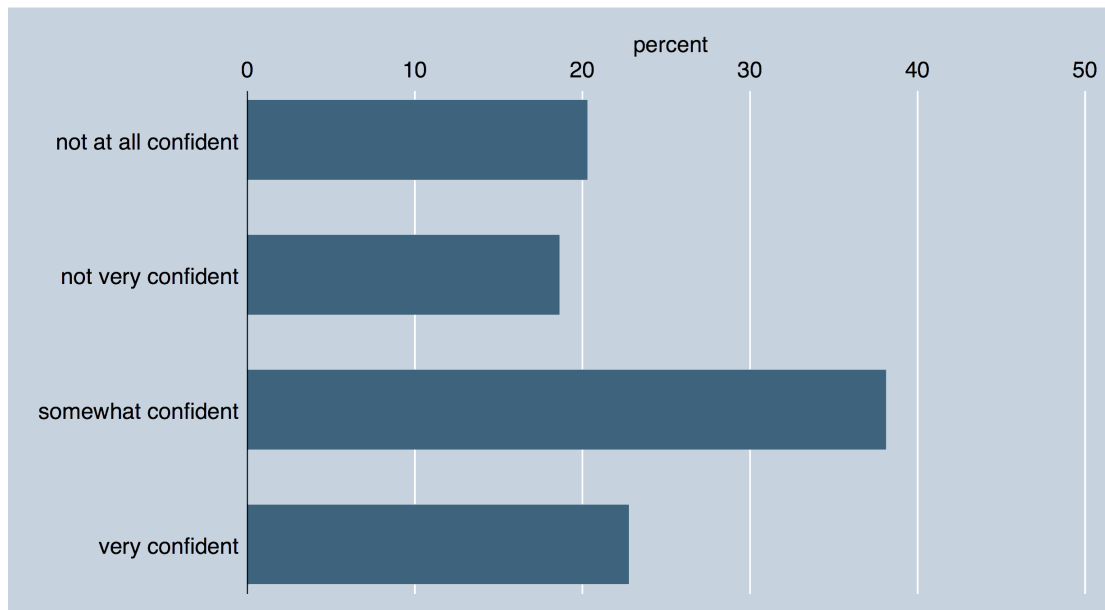
In sum, Australians for whom it is most important to have the option to vote online tend to be those who are younger than 55 who are frequent users of online shopping or banking services, and not at all interested in politics.

Given the generally high importance of online voting for large parts of the electorate, one might ask whether voting online should become compulsory or simply offered as one of the available options to cast a vote. We devised an experiment in wave 3 to examine how responses varied by whether the introduction of online voting was framed as an option or as a requirement. One half of the respondents was asked whether by the end of the decade, everyone should be allowed to vote online. Another half (split at random) were asked "By the end of the decade, everyone should be required to vote online". The results are presented in (Table 31). When framed in terms of a choice, nearly two thirds support the introduction of online voting. In comparison, the proportion drops to 45 percent when online voting is framed as a requirement, indicating that people are more likely to oppose the change if online voting were compulsory.

Previous studies have shown that Australian voters have a reasonable confidence in the security of online voting, but remain less confident than in traditional paper-based voting.²⁴ Online voting via smartphones, however, was viewed with more scepticism. Positive political attachments, and a familiarity with technology in general are often seen as being positively associated with high confidence in the security of different online voting technologies.²⁵

How did voters feel about the security and privacy of their vote – had it been cast online – shortly after the July 2016 election? As Figure 12 reveals, two thirds of respondents in wave 2 are either somewhat confident or very confident that security and privacy could be guaranteed in an online voting system (Just six percent of the sample did not express an opinion (not shown). This reveals a high degree of confidence that an online voting system could be implemented in a sufficiently safe and secure way. There are no significant differences across education levels. Still, some segments of the population have reservations. As Table 32 shows, older citizens, particularly those 55 years and older are more sceptical about the security of casting their vote online. Interest in politics also reduces voters' confidence in online voting.

Figure 12: Online voting: how confident about security and privacy



As one would expect, familiarity with online shopping and/or banking is strongly associated with higher confidence in online voting technologies. As shown in Table 32 more than half of those never shopping or banking online exhibit no confidence at all in online voting, whereas only 10% show high confidence. The numbers are almost reversed for people who shop or bank online once a week. They are quite trusting in the security of the online vote (26% having high confidence, and 43% some confidence), and only 14% are not at all confident. The proportion drops again slightly for those who use these online channels daily, with only 20% being very confident. Clearly, some use of online technologies means a significant boost in confidence compared to no exposure and familiarity whatsoever. But possibly, a daily use of online shopping or banking sensitizes the users ever so slightly more to the risks.

In sum, confidence in the security and privacy of online voting can be expected to be highest among those most familiar with internet technologies such as online shopping and banking.

On 9 August, Australians received an invitation to complete the 2016 census for the first time online (though respondents could opt to receive a paper form). The Australian Bureau of Statistics had also previously announced that it would retain the names and addresses which raised concerns among privacy advocates. It is important to note that completing the census is mandatory and that citizens risk a fine of \$180 a day for failure to complete the form. Shortly after the website went live the site crashed and thousands were prevented from completing the survey online.²⁶ It was within this context that the third wave of the survey entered the field on 23 August. As Table 2 shows, despite the problems with the census, confidence in the Australian Bureau of Statistics was higher than the Australian Parliament and politicians in general but slightly lower than the AEC. Moreover, 70% reported that completing the census should be compulsory. These results suggest that many citizens were likely to overlook the immediate problems with the census.

In wave 3 we asked respondents whether they believed that online systems could be tampered with (Table 33). A substantial proportion, nearly three quarters, expressed concerns about the lack of security and possible manipulation. These concerns dissipate somewhat with higher

levels of education. In addition, those who use the internet frequently for financial transactions are less likely to be concerned.

4.2. Compulsory voting

Australia remains one of the few countries in the world to have a system of enforced compulsory voting. The system was introduced for federal elections in 1924; the first state to introduce compulsory voting for its elections was Queensland in 1915 and the last was South Australia in 1941. There are, therefore, few voters alive today who have experienced anything other than a compulsory voting electoral system.

Compulsory voting works in Australia because it attracts widespread public support which is reflected in our data. While many studies have examined its effects on voter turnout, few have examined why the system enjoys such strong support.²⁷

We asked respondents about their views about voting in general: 'For you personally, voting is first and foremost a duty or a choice'. Respondents were then prompted to indicate how strongly they felt voting was either a choice or a duty (Table 34). Overall, a majority (58%) feel either very strongly or somewhat strongly that voting is a duty.

Women are slightly more inclined to feel voting is a duty while men see it more as a choice. There is a four percent gender difference for those who feel very strongly that it is their choice, and a three percent difference in those who feel strongly that it is their duty. These differences, although small, are statistically significant.

Age and political interest are also significant predictors. Older respondents and those with higher levels of interest in politics are much more likely to feel that voting is a duty. Younger voters, in contrast, are more ambivalent about whether voting is first and foremost a choice or a duty, as 16% of those 18-24 appeared to be more ambivalent when prompted. They clearly see it more as a duty (27%) than a choice (7%), but the level of uncertainty is rather high.

But as age increases, respondents' views become more solidified. The percentage of people who are unsure about their feelings about voting drops to just 8% among those 55 or older.

Finally, there is a strong and significant relationship between the general tendency to adhere to rules and the feeling that voting is a duty. We measured conformity by asking respondents: 'Some people feel that it is important to obey the rules and always swim between the red and yellow flags at the beach when lifesavers are present. Others feel that they should be free to do whatever they like. How often do you think these rules should be obeyed?'. Very few felt that rules should never or rarely be obeyed, and these responses are consequently left out of this analysis.

We included several questions to measure people's opinions about the compulsory voting system in general and about its implementation. As Table 35 shows, two thirds support compulsory voting in principal.

By far the strongest factor predicting support is political interest. Of those who are most interested in politics, 75% favour compulsory voting, compared to just 33% with the little or no political interest. In short, support for compulsory voting is highest among those who are most predisposed to vote.

And finally, rule compliance matters. Persons who believe that rules should only sometimes be followed are less supportive of compulsory voting (62%) than persons who think they should always be followed (68%).

Although there is strong support for compulsory voting, opinions are divided about how to enforce the law. It is important to note that many people do not know how much the current fine is for not voting; when asked in the first wave of the survey, 44 percent said they did not know and just 10% knew that it was \$20. About a quarter believed the fine was at least a \$100 or more. When asked how the fine for not voting should be, about a third believe there should be no fine at all while 39 percent believe that it should be at least \$100 more (Table 36).

The strongest opposition against fines is among TAFE graduates, where 36% are against fines altogether. In contrast, only 19% of persons with a postgraduate degree would want fines to be abolished. A quarter of those with University or postgraduate degrees are in favour of increasing the existing fines to more than \$100.

Not surprisingly, there strong support for the abolition of fines among those who have less motivation to vote. Of those with no interest in politics, 59% oppose fines altogether. As political interest increases, support for abolition of fines drops substantially. Among those with a high level of political interest, just 20% are in favour of abolishing fines.

In sum, those who believe that fines for non-voting should be abolished tend to have lower educational attainment and little or no interest in politics at all. These are of course precisely the people who either abstain or are likely to abstain if voluntary voting is introduced.

5. Methodological primer

5.1. Sampling and weights

The data discussed in this report are based on an online survey of a representative sample of eligible voters. Respondents were drawn from a large panel recruited by Survey Sampling International (SSI), an international market research firm with offices in 21 countries.

Respondents were initially contacted in the week before the election between 28 June and 1 July and completed an online questionnaire lasting approximately 15 minutes. This forms the pre-election base line survey (wave 1). The same individuals were contacted again after the election to complete a longer survey, an average of 25 minutes in length. Respondents in wave 2 were contacted between 4 July and 19 July, with two thirds completing the survey after the first week. About six weeks later, the same respondents were interviewed again (wave 3) beginning on 23 August and ending on 13 September.

The sample contains 2,139 valid responses for the first wave of questionnaires, 1,838 for the second wave (an 86 percent retention rate), and 1,543 for the third wave (84 percent retention rate). Overall, 72 percent of the respondents were carried over from the pre-election wave to the final wave.

To improve the quality of the responses, we used ‘Instructional Manipulation Checks (IMCs, or ‘screeners’)²⁸ in waves 1 and 2 to filter out respondents who might answer randomly to questions or, at the very least, did not pay a close attention to the way questions were asked. These reliability checks verify if respondents are paying attention to questions by asking them to follow a precise set of instructions (usually related to a specific survey response that they have to select). In our surveys, ‘screeners’ took the form of a long and verbose question, embedded in which there was the following instruction: “We are interested in whether you actually take the time to read the directions. To demonstrate that you have read the instructions, please answer ‘other’ to the question below and type in ‘I read it’.” The question was followed by a series of unrelated response categories (e.g., ‘attended a meeting or rally’, ‘signed a petition’, etc.) plus the category ‘other’, that the respondents had to select. Respondents that failed those reliability checks – that is, that selected the inappropriate answer or did not write the required key sentence (‘I read it’) in the space allowed – were filtered out from our analyses.

All analyses have been weighted by age and gender, to correct for any differences between the sample and national distributions.²⁹

5.2. Coefficients and effects

The strength of effects - that is, how strongly one variable (e.g. gender) determines how observations are distributed on another variable (e.g., confidence in the AEC) – is presented throughout the report through Cramer’s V. This coefficient varies between 0 and 1, where 0 signals a null effect and 1 signals the strongest possible effect. This coefficient is usually followed by an indication of the significance of the effect, represented by the p value, which indicates the probability that the effect shown is due to chance. A small p value implies that this probability is very low, and thus that we can have enough confidence that a relationship exists (the relationship is “statistically significant”). The p value is either reported in full (e.g.,

$p=0.047$, which means that there are 4.7 chances out of 100 that the relationship is due to chance) or through thresholds (indicated by symbols). Depending on the analysis made, the p value is either computed through Chi-2 or F tests.

In social sciences, it is common to accept up to a 5% probability that the relationship is due to chance ($p=0.05$). Above this level, the relationship is statistically non-significant, and thus the variable (e.g., gender) does not have a statistical effect on the other variable (e.g., confidence in the AEC). In some cases, mostly when the number of observations is very low, we can tolerate up to a 10% probability.

To facilitate comprehension of results, symbols referring to significance levels according to four thresholds are used: *** (indicates a relationship that is significant at $p<.001$, that is, there are less than 0.1 probabilities out of 100 that the relationship is due to chance), ** (relationship is significant at $p<.01$), * (relationship is significant at $p<.05$), and † (relationship is only significant at $p<.1$, which means that there are up to 10 probabilities out of 100 to make an error – which is usually considered too high). Above $p=.1$, we signaled throughout the report that the relationship is non-significant with the acronym (n.s.).

Throughout the report, percentages within parentheses should be interpreted with caution because they are computed on categories with too few observations ($N<50$).

Tables

Table 1: Satisfaction and cynicism, by profile

	Satisfaction with way democracy works (% satisfied)	Politicians don't care (% agree)	Government run by few interests (% agree)	Most MPs out of touch (% agree)
Overall	55	68	74	75
Gender				
Male	59	65	73	71
Female	51	71	75	78
Age				
18-24	51	65	68	62
25-34	53	60	73	74
35-44	50	66	73	75
45-54	57	70	75	78
55 and over	58	73	76	78
Education				
Incomplete, prim. or second.	47	74	74	76
Technical (TAFE)	53	69	74	75
University	60	62	73	74
Postgraduate	72	60	75	73
Interest in politics				
Not at all interested	28	81	72	75
Not very interested	48	71	69	73
Somewhat interested	57	65	75	75
Very interested	65	69	77	77
Immigrant				
Born outside Australia	56	69	75	76
Native born	55	70	74	75
Multilingual				
Yes	59	60	77	71
No	54	69	73	75
State				
ACT	(75)	(67)	(68)	(84)
NSW	52	65	75	72
QLD	48	73	78	81
SA	55	78	72	72
TAS	46	64	(81)	77
VIC	62	65	71	74
WA	57	69	71	73

Note: Data from wave 2, results weighted by age and gender. Percentages within parentheses are computed on categories with too few observations (N<50), and should be interpreted with caution.

Table 2: Changes in confidence

	Wave 1 Mean	Wave 3 Mean	Difference Mean	Difference Sig^a
Australian Parliament	4.6	4.8	+0.2	p=.000
High Court	6.1	6.3	+0.2	p=.001
AEC	6.3	5.9	-0.4	p=.000
Political Parties	3.7	3.8	+0.1	p=.000
Politicians	3.3	3.4	+0.1	p=.000
Public servants	5.1	5.1	0	n.s.
Poll workers	6.2	6.2	0	n.s.
Media	3.8	.	.	.
ABC	.	6.1	.	.
Aust. Bureau of Statistics	.	5.7	.	.

Variable varies between 0 (very low confidence) and 10 (very high confidence). N in wave 1 varies between 2,059 and 2,021. N in wave 3 is 1,523.

^a statistical significance of difference between means computed through t-tests.

Note: results weighted by age and gender

Table 3: Confidence in AEC ability to conduct an election, by profile

	No confidence at all (%)	Not much confidence (%)	Some confidence (%)	A great deal of confidence (%)	Total (%)	N
Overall (wave 1)	4	10	43	42	100	1,996
Overall (wave 2)	6	18	46	30	100	1,713
Overall (wave 3)	6	15	50	29	100	1,459
Difference waves 1-2	+2	+8	+3	-12		
Gender (V=.14***)						
Male	6	16	42	36	100	877
Female	6	20	50	25	100	830
Age (V=.10***)						
18-24	5	27	45	23	100	135
25-34	6	19	50	25	100	300
35-44	7	16	50	28	100	350
45-54	9	15	44	32	100	369
55 and over	4	17	45	33	100	559
Education (V=.11***)						
Incomplete, prim. or second.	7	23	46	24	100	505
Technical (TAFE)	7	18	47	28	100	544
University	4	15	45	35	100	492
Postgraduate	2	7	48	43	100	166
State (V=.08**)						
ACT	(5)	(5)	(50)	(40)	(100)	(35)
NSW	8	16	47	28	100	465
QLD	6	20	46	28	100	361
SA	4	21	51	24	100	149
TAS	3	34	28	35	100	51
VIC	4	16	46	34	100	454
WA	7	17	47	29	100	188

Note: Data from wave 2, results weighted by age and gender. Percentages within parentheses are computed on categories with too few observations (N<50), and should be interpreted with caution. *p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001; † p<.1

Table 4: Changes in confidence in AEC ability to conduct an election (pre-post election), by profile

	Decreased confidence (%)	Stable confidence (%)	Increased confidence (%)	Total (%)	N
Overall (waves 1-2)	31	61	8	100	1,672
Gender (n.s.)					
Male	30	61	9	100	863
Female	31	61	8	100	808
Age (n.s.)					
18-24	28	63	9	100	129
25-34	32	58	10	100	285
35-44	30	60	10	100	343
45-54	34	59	7	100	360
55 and over	29	63	7	100	555
Education (V=.07*)					
Incomplete, prim. or second.	34	56	10	100	491
Technical (TAFE)	33	60	8	100	529
University	28	65	7	100	487
Postgraduate	21	70	9	100	164
State (n.s.)					
ACT	(16)	(81)	(3)	(100)	(35)
NSW	29	63	8	100	455
QLD	30	61	9	100	354
SA	34	56	11	100	147
TAS	48	38	14	100	50
VIC	29	63	8	100	441
WA	35	59	6	100	186

Note: Data from wave 2, results weighted by age and gender. Percentages within parentheses are computed on categories with too few observations (N<50), and should be interpreted with caution.

*p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001; †p<.1

Table 5: Confidence that preferences are counted accurately, by profile

	No confidence at all (%)	Not much confidence (%)	Some confidence (%)	A great deal of confidence (%)	Total (%)	N
Overall	10	22	47	21	100	1,447
Gender (V=.13***)						
Male	9	19	44	27	100	750
Female	10	25	49	16	100	693
Age (V=.07[†])						
18-24	8	32	43	17	100	88
25-34	7	18	51	25	100	226
35-44	9	19	52	20	100	305
45-54	11	18	47	24	100	322
55 and over	11	25	44	21	100	506
Education (V=.11***)						
Incomplete, prim. or second.	13	28	46	13	100	436
Technical (TAFE)	11	22	46	22	100	462
University	7	17	48	28	100	404
Postgraduate	4	18	47	31	100	141
State (V=.09*)						
ACT	(0)	(9)	(58)	(33)	(100)	(27)
NSW	14	24	42	21	100	409
QLD	12	21	45	22	100	293
SA	10	29	44	18	100	129
TAS	(5)	(29)	(45)	(22)	(100)	(47)
VIC	6	20	50	24	100	381
WA	7	21	56	17	100	156

Note: Data from wave 3, results weighted by age and gender. Percentages within parentheses are computed on categories with too few observations (N<50), and should be interpreted with caution.
*p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001; [†] p<.1

Table 6: Confidence that AEC keeps information secure, by profile

	Mean Confidence	N	Sig
Overall	5.6	1,516	
Gender			n.s.
Male	5.7	775	
Female	5.5	737	
Age			p=.022
18-24	5.3	102	
25-34	5.8	244	
35-44	5.8	322	
45-54	5.4	335	
55+	5.6	513	
Education			p=.000
Prim, second	5.1	457	
TAFE	5.5	491	
University	6.1	418	
Postgraduate	6.3	146	
State			n.s.
ACT	(6.7)	(28)	
NSW	5.5	431	
QLD	5.5	307	
SA	5.3	133	
TAS	(6.0)	(46)	
VIC	5.9	401	
WA	5.5	165	

Dependent variable varies between 0 (no confidence) and 10 (a great deal of confidence)

Note: Data from wave 3, results weighted by age and gender. Scores within parentheses are computed on categories with too few observations (N<50), and should be interpreted with caution.

Table 7: Should the AEC be able to use data from other government agencies to update the roll?, by profile

	No (%)	Yes (%)	Don't Know (%)	N
Overall	20	57	24	1811
Gender (V=.13***)				
Male	19	61	20	908
Female	20	53	27	897
Age (V=.12***)				
18-24	18	45	37	157
25-34	17	55	28	329
35-44	17	59	24	369
45-54	23	54	22	386
55 and over	21	62	17	570
Education (V=.06*)				
Incomplete, prim. or second.	20	50	30	550
Technical (TAFE)	20	56	24	580
University	18	65	17	505
Postgraduate	18	63	19	170
State (n.s.)				
ACT	(13)	(71)	(16)	36
NSW	20	58	22	495
QLD	19	63	19	377
SA	27	53	19	161
TAS	(28)	(54)	(18)	51
VIC	16	54	30	481
WA	21	51	28	199

Note: Data from wave 2, results weighted by age and gender. Percentages within parentheses are computed on categories with too few observations (N<50), and should be interpreted with caution. *p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001; † p<.1

Table 8: Can the AEC update your enrolment details? (experiment)

	Control group (%)	Without your consent (%)
Yes	65	44
No	21	38
Don't know	15	17
Total	100	100
N	775	757

Note: Data from wave 3, results weighted by age and gender. The table presents the results of an experiment where half the respondents have been randomly assigned to receive the question that includes “without your consent”. The difference between the two groups is statistically significant at $p < .001$

Table 9: Can the AEC update your enrolment details without your consent?, by profile

	Yes (%)	No (%)	Don't Know (%)	N
Overall	44	38	17	757
Gender (V=.14***)				
Male	51	34	14	387
Female	38	42	20	367
Age (V=.13***)				
18-24	39	34	27	62
25-34	41	40	19	125
35-44	48	32	20	154
45-54	37	46	17	169
55 and over	50	39	12	247
Education (n.s.)				
Incomplete, prim. or second.	39	44	17	239
Technical (TAFE)	43	33	23	235
University	54	34	34	218
Postgraduate	41	45	45	62
State (n.s.)				
ACT	(47)	(37)	(16)	12
NSW	41	41	18	216
QLD	45	42	13	155
SA	(54)	(32)	(14)	66
TAS	(39)	(46)	(15)	26
VIC	45	32	24	200
WA	(48)	(40)	(12)	78

Note: Data from wave 3, results weighted by age and gender. Percentages within parentheses are computed on categories with too few observations (N<50), and should be interpreted with caution.

*p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001; † p<.1

Table 10: Whose responsibility is it to maintain the accuracy of the roll? (experiment)

	Control group (%)	In many European countries gvt agencies share information (%)
It is primarily a personal responsibility	78	63
It is primarily the government's responsibility	22	37
Total	100	100
N	739	639

Note: Data from wave 3, results weighted by age and gender. The table presents the results of an experimental setting, where respondents have been confronted with only one of the options described above. Respondents have been attributed to one of the groups randomly. The difference between the two groups is statistically significant at $p < .001$

Table 11: Elections in Australia conducted fairly, by profile

	Strongly disagree (%)	Somewhat disagree (%)	Neither agree nor disagree (%)	Somewhat agree (%)	Strongly agree (%)	Total (%)	N
Overall (wave 1)	7	12	18	42	21	100	1,997
Overall (wave 2)	7	11	18	43	21	100	1,774
Overall (wave 3)	6	13	16	45	19	100	1,493
Gender (V=.15***)							
Male	8	11	16	39	26	100	902
Female	8	12	18	46	16	100	866
Age (n.s.)							
18-24	7	8	25	40	21	100	147
25-34	6	10	19	46	18	100	318
35-44	8	12	15	48	17	100	361
45-54	9	11	16	41	22	100	380
55 and over	8	13	17	40	22	100	568
Education (V=.11***)							
Incomplete, prim. or second.	10	12	24	38	16	100	535
Technical (TAFE)	10	13	17	42	18	100	560
University	4	9	13	49	25	100	504
Postgraduate	2	11	11	39	36	100	169
State (n.s.)							
ACT	(3)	(5)	(14)	(44)	(35)	(100)	(36)
NSW	10	13	16	38	23	100	487
QLD	10	16	16	40	18	100	372
SA	7	12	19	48	14	100	155
TAS	14	4	16	49	16	100	50
VIC	5	9	20	44	22	100	468
WA	5	9	16	48	22	100	197

Note: Data from wave 2, results weighted by age and gender. Percentages within parentheses are computed on categories with too few observations (N<50), and should be interpreted with caution.

*p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001; †p<.1

Table 12: Electoral integrity

	Electoral laws unfair (% agree)	Information widely available (% agree)	Minorities could run (% agree)	TV news favoured gvt (% agree)	Journalists did fair coverage (% agree)	Rich buy elections (% agree)
Overall	26	74	54	35	27	55
Gender						
Male	25	74	58	34	27	52
Female	26	73	51	36	26	58
Age						
18-24	23	62	24	40	21	56
25-34	28	71	45	36	34	53
35-44	23	75	51	35	27	55
45-54	27	75	58	32	25	57
55 and over	26	76	67	35	26	55
Education						
Incomplete, prim. or second.	27	72	51	32	27	54
Technical (TAFE)	24	71	56	35	24	57
University	25	77	57	39	29	56
Postgraduate	26	79	54	36	29	49
State						
ACT	(48)	(52)	(50)	(31)	(29)	(49)
NSW	24	76	59	37	30	55
QLD	29	75	56	38	27	61
SA	23	73	54	37	30	60
TAS	(27)	55	56	(46)	(25)	(54)
VIC	21	73	53	30	26	49
WA	29	75	47	33	18	55

Note: Data from wave 2, results weighted by age and gender. Percentages within parentheses are computed on categories with too few observations (N<50), and should be interpreted with caution.

Table 13: How frequently does electoral fraud occur, by profile

	Never (%)	Infrequently (%)	Occasionally (%)	Usually (%)	Always (%)	Total (%)	N
Overall	2	25	46	15	13	100	1,454
Gender (V=.10*)							
Male	2	30	44	13	12	100	760
Female	1	21	47	17	14	100	690
Age (V=.08**)							
18-24	0	34	43	17	5	100	120
25-34	1	32	44	11	12	100	257
35-44	3	26	45	16	10	100	289
45-54	3	23	46	10	18	100	302
55 and over	1	20	47	18	14	100	486
Education (V=.12***)							
Incomplete, prim. or second.	1	19	46	16	18	100	416
Technical (TAFE)	1	23	46	15	14	100	467
University	3	30	47	15	6	100	414
Postgraduate	3	39	37	11	10	100	153
State (V=.10***)							
ACT	(0)	(47)	(44)	(2)	(6)	(100)	(31)
NSW	2	24	41	16	17	100	405
QLD	2	16	50	18	15	100	311
SA	1	26	47	19	7	100	125
TAS	(2)	(19)	(49)	(20)	(9)	(100)	(43)
VIC	2	32	42	14	10	100	375
WA	0	28	54	6	12	100	155

Note: Data from wave 2, results weighted by age and gender. Percentages within parentheses are computed on categories with too few observations (N<50), and should be interpreted with caution.

*p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001; † p<.1

Table 14: How frequently is electoral fraud likely to affect electoral outcomes, by profile

	Extremely unlikely (%)	Somewhat unlikely (%)	Neither likely nor unlikely (%)	Somewhat likely (%)	Extremely likely (%)	Total (%)	N
Overall	12	24	22	33	9	100	1,515
Gender (V=.16***)							
Male	16	27	19	31	7	100	802
Female	8	21	24	36	11	100	708
Age (n.s.)							
18-24	10	24	18	38	9	100	124
25-34	12	26	22	30	11	100	262
35-44	13	22	24	35	6	100	301
45-54	14	24	21	30	11	100	321
55 and over	10	24	23	34	10	100	507
Education (V=.10***)							
Incomplete, prim. or second.	10	20	24	34	11	100	447
Technical (TAFE)	12	21	21	37	10	100	467
University	13	30	19	31	8	100	440
Postgraduate	15	31	25	23	6	100	156
State (V=.08*)							
ACT	(30)	(19)	(17)	(14)	(21)	(100)	(29)
NSW	11	26	19	32	13	100	422
QLD	8	19	23	41	8	100	322
SA	11	23	24	34	9	100	138
TAS	(9)	(31)	(27)	(26)	(7)	(100)	(42)
VIC	17	24	21	31	7	100	393
WA	8	29	24	31	7	100	159
Elect. fraud freq. (V=.40***)							
Never	(62)	(10)	(10)	(8)	(9)	(100)	(24)
Infrequently	31	45	13	8	3	100	353
Occasionally	6	24	32	37	1	100	629
Usually	1	12	14	60	13	100	200
Always	2	2	8	41	48	100	183

Note: Data from wave 2, results weighted by age and gender. Percentages within parentheses are computed on categories with too few observations (N<50), and should be interpreted with caution.
*p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001; † p<.1

Table 15: Would have voted if not compulsory, by profile

	Definitely not (%)	Might, might not (%)	Probably would have (%)	Definitely would have (%)	Total (%)	N
Overall	7	13	21	59	100	1,712
Gender (V=.06[†])						
Male	8	13	20	58	100	859
Female	7	12	22	59	100	848
Age (V=.13***)						
18-24	10	20	28	42	100	141
25-34	11	15	27	47	100	303
35-44	11	15	19	54	100	343
45-54	8	14	19	58	100	363
55 and over	3	7	19	71	100	562
Education (V=.08***)						
Incomplete, prim. or second.	9	13	23	55	100	517
Technical (TAFE)	11	14	19	56	100	538
University	4	12	20	64	100	487
Postgraduate	4	8	21	68	100	165
Interest in politics (V=.33***)						
Not at all interested	39	28	20	14	100	151
Not very interested	11	24	31	34	100	349
Somewhat interested	3	10	25	62	100	806
Very interested	3	2	6	89	100	401
Rule Compliance (V=.12***)						
Never	(45)	(12)	(8)	(35)	(100)	(8)
Rarely	(36)	(39)	(6)	(19)	(100)	(13)
Sometimes	16	21	34	29	100	114
Usually	7	10	23	59	100	501
Always	6	12	19	62	100	1,063
State (n.s.)						
ACT	(4)	(20)	(17)	(58)	(100)	(33)
NSW	6	11	25	59	100	454
QLD	9	11	18	62	100	358
SA	11	7	17	66	100	157
TAS	(10)	(9)	(12)	(69)	(100)	(49)
VIC	7	18	22	53	100	455
WA	8	13	21	58	100	196

Note: Data from wave 2, results weighted by age and gender. Percentages within parentheses are computed on categories with too few observations (N<50), and should be interpreted with caution. *p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001; [†] p<.1

Table 16: Early vote, by profile

	Voted on election day (%)	Early vote (%)	Total (%)	N
Overall	63	37	100	1,736
Gender (n.s.)				
Male	65	35	100	875
Female	61	39	100	856
Age (V=.10**)				
18-24	76	24	100	143
25-34	70	30	100	309
35-44	67	33	100	352
45-54	64	36	100	370
55 and over	54	46	100	562
Education (V=.07*)				
Incomplete, prim. or second.	63	37	100	524
Technical (TAFE)	60	40	100	548
University	66	34	100	494
Postgraduate	60	40	100	165
State (V=.12****)				
ACT	(62)	(38)	(100)	(33)
NSW	62	38	100	463
QLD	56	44	100	361
SA	76	24	100	158
TAS	(59)	(41)	(100)	(49)
VIC	61	39	100	465
WA	74	26	100	197

Note: Data from wave 2, results weighted by age and gender. Percentages within parentheses are computed on categories with too few observations (N<50), and should be interpreted with caution.

*p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001; † p<.1

Table 17: Reasons for having used early vote

	(%)
It is more convenient	22
To avoid crowds and/or queues	20
I had pre-existing commitments	12
I always vote early	9
I was travelling interstate	8
I was unable to leave work	6
I was travelling within state	6
I was travelling overseas	2
Other	15
Total	100
N	551

Note: Data from wave 3, results weighted by age and gender

Table 18: Reasons for not having used early vote

	(%)
I always vote in person	55
I didn't know it was an option for me to vote early	22
I was undecided until election day	6
I wanted to vote early but I was not able to do so	5
I like to take part in the community event (sausage sizzle, etc)	4
I wanted to show support to my community	2
I needed assistance to vote	0
Other	6
Total	100
N	929

Note: Data from wave 3, results weighted by age and gender

Table 19: Type of early vote, by profile

	In person, at an early polling centre (%)	By post (%)	At a mobile polling facility (%)	Total (%)	N
Overall	64	36	1	100	622
Gender (n.s.)					
Male	67	32	1	100	325
Female	61	39	1	100	296
Age (n.s.)					
18-24	(62)	(38)	(0)	(100)	(40)
25-34	73	26	1	100	94
35-44	64	36	0	100	118
45-54	60	40	0	100	135
55 and over	62	36	2	100	235
Education (n.s.)					
Incomplete, prim. or second.	67	33	0	100	177
Technical (TAFE)	68	32	0	100	219
University	57	41	3	100	159
Postgraduate	55	43	2	100	66

Note: Data from wave 2, results weighted by age and gender. Percentages within parentheses are computed on categories with too few observations (N<50), and should be interpreted with caution.

*p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001; † p<.1

Table 20: If early vote was not available, would you have voted on election day?, by profile

	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)	N
Overall	71	29	100	472
Gender (n.s.)				
Male	67	33	100	257
Female	75	25	100	214
Age (V=.16*)				
18-24	(73)	(27)	(100)	(22)
25-34	52	48	100	64
35-44	60	40	100	85
45-54	76	24	100	103
55 and over	77	23	100	198
Education (n.s.)				
Incomplete, prim. or second.	74	26	100	140
Technical (TAFE)	68	32	100	150
University	74	26	100	124
Postgraduate	66	34	100	57

Note: Data from wave 3, results weighted by age and gender. Percentages within parentheses are computed on categories with too few observations (N<50), and should be interpreted with caution.

*p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001; †p<.1

Table 21: How difficult to find where to vote, by profile

	Mean difficulty	N	Sig
Overall	18.3	1,732	
Gender			n.s.
Male	19.3	869	
Female	17.4	858	
Age			p=.000
18-24	24.3	145	
25-34	22.3	309	
35-44	19.5	350	
45-54	17.9	369	
55+	14.1	559	
Education			p=.085
Prim, second	16.2	522	
TAFE	17.5	549	
University	20.1	492	
Postgraduate	21.1	164	
Changed address in last 3 yrs			p=.060
No	17.2	1261	
Yes	21.5	469	
State			n.s.
ACT	(28.4)	(33)	
NSW	17.3	464	
QLD	18.7	361	
SA	17.4	157	
TAS	(18.8)	(48)	
VIC	18.9	463	
WA	17.4	196	

Dependent variable varies between 0 (very easy) and 100 (very difficult)

Note: Data from wave 2, results weighted by age and gender. Scores within parentheses are computed on categories with too few observations (N<50), and should be interpreted with caution.

Table 22: Effort required to get to polling station and waiting time in line, by profile

	Effort (%) ^a	N	Waiting time (%) ^b	N
Overall	18.5	1,800	27	1,523
Gender (n.s./n.s.)				
Male	21	905	29	767
Female	19	889	25	751
Age (V=13***/n.s.)				
18-24	32	153	33	128
25-34	23	327	28	284
35-44	23	366	31	309
45-54	19	384	26	317
55 and over	13	570	23	485
Education (n.s./n.s.)				
Incomplete, prim. or second.	20	546	28	465
Technical (TAFE)	18	578	27	478
University	21	501	26	439
Postgraduate	22	169	29	136
Immigrant (n.s./n.s.)				
Born outside Australia	16	302	22	259
Native born	18	1302	28	1,096
Multilingual (V=.05*/n.s.)				
Yes	23	231	29	199
No	19	1557	27	1,313
Non Voter (2013) (V=.11***/n.s.)				
No	18	1632	27	1,408
Yes	33	164	30	113
Changed Address last 3 years (n.s./n.s.)				
No	19	1308	27	1,099
Yes	22	164	28	422
State (n.s./V=.11*)				
ACT	(14)	(35)	(36)	(31)
NSW	24	487	25	407
QLD	16	379	22	311
SA	18	161	35	140
TAS	20	50	(20)	(41)
VIC	22	478	31	407
WA	14	199	26	176

Note: Data from wave 2, results weighted by age and gender. Percentages within parentheses are computed on categories with too few observations (N<50), and should be interpreted with caution.

^a Figures represent those reporting moderate, a lot, or a great deal of effort.

^b Figures represent those reporting having waited in line more than 15 minutes to vote.

*p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001; † p<.1

Table 23: Confidence in AEC ability to conduct an election, by waiting time

	No waiting time (%)	Up to 5 min (%)	5-15 mins (%)	15-30 mins (%)	30-45 mins (%)	45 + mins (%)
No confidence at all	8	4	3	4	9	9
Not much confidence	16	14	19	23	22	14
Some confidence	42	46	49	48	46	49
A great deal of confidence	34	36	28	24	24	29
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	388	294	382	236	90	59

Relationship: $V=.08^*$

Note: Data from wave 2, results weighted by age and gender.

* $p<0.05$; ** $p<.01$; *** $p<.001$; † $p<.1$

Table 24: How difficult were the instructions on House and Senate ballot papers, by profile

	Mean difficulty (House)	N	Sig	Mean difficulty (Senate)	N	Sig
Overall	19.8	1,739		28.9	1,739	
Gender			n.s.			n.s.
Male	19.0	875		28.0	875	
Female	20.5	859		29.6	859	
Age			p=.004			p=.064
18-24	21.7	145		36.5	145	
25-34	21.0	309		29.6	309	
35-44	20.7	352		26.5	352	
45-54	20.3	370		27.5	370	
55+	18.1	563		27.8	563	
Education			n.s.			n.s.
Prim, second	20.1	525		30.0	525	
TAFE	18.8	550		28.7	550	
University	19.9	494		28.1	494	
Postgraduate	21.3	165		27.1	165	
Interest in politics			p=.000			p=.000
Not at all interested	26.6	179		34.5	179	
Not very interested	21.9	345		33.3	345	
Somewhat interested	20.1	798		28.1	798	
Very interested	14.4	403		23.9	403	
Political news exposure			p=.028			p=.004
No time at all	20.6	255		28.8	255	
About 1 hour	21.2	440		31.8	440	
Between 1-2 hours	19.8	320		28.9	320	
Between 3-4 hours	20.7	251		29.5	251	
Between 4-5 hours	19.8	146		29.0	146	
More than 5 hours	15.5	274		21.8	274	

Dependent variable varies between 0 (very easy) and 100 (very difficult)

Note: Data from wave 2, results weighted by age and gender

Table 25: Information used to assist filling ballot papers

	House ballot paper (%)	Senate ballot paper (%)
The instructions on the ballot paper	25	26
A how to vote card given to you by a party representative	22	19
TV ads you had seen earlier showing how to vote correctly	15	16
Advice from a polling official	6	8
Posters in the polling place	6	5
Information in the "Official Guide" you received at home	5	6
Information received in the mail from parties/candidates	5	4
The how to vote practice tool on the AEC website	3	4
Information from a website other than the AEC	3	3
Newspaper ads you had seen earlier demonstrating how to vote correctly	3	4
Advice from a friend or family member or carer	2	2
Workshops or other community education activities	1	0
The AEC telephone enquiry line/interpreter service	1	1
Translated material available at the polling place	0	0
Other	3	3
Nothing	32	30
N	1,838	1,838

Note: Data from wave 2, results weighted by age and gender. Total percentages potentially higher than 100% because multiple choices could be selected by respondents.

Table 26: Is the voting system too complicated and should be simplified?, by profile

	Yes (%) ^a	No (%)	Unsure (%)	Total (%)	N
Overall	60	25	14	100	1,746
Gender (V=.08*)					
Male	54	31	15	100	883
Female	66	22	12	100	857
Age (V=.09***)					
18-24	41	33	26	100	144
25-34	54	32	14	100	307
35-44	59	29	12	100	354
45-54	61	23	15	100	377
55 and over	70	20	10	100	564
Education (V=.08***)					
Incomplete, prim. or second.	66	21	13	100	524
Technical (TAFE)	60	25	15	100	557
University	55	31	15	100	492
Postgraduate	57	31	11	100	167
Interest in politics (V=.12***)					
Not at all interested	69	18	13	100	181
Not very interested	56	24	20	100	347
Somewhat interested	63	26	12	100	798
Very interested	56	32	12	100	410
Immigrant (V=.06)					
Born outside Australia	66	18	16	100	297
Native born	59	28	13	100	1261
Multilingual (n.s.)					
Yes	57	27	15	100	223
No	61	26	14	100	1511
State (V=.09***)					
ACT	52	34	(14)	(100)	(34)
NSW	63	25	12	100	470
QLD	67	19	13	100	369
SA	57	32	12	100	156
TAS	54	23	(24)	(100)	(49)
VIC	55	32	13	100	466
WA	60	21	19	100	191

Note: Data from wave 2, results weighted by age and gender. Percentages within parentheses are computed on categories with too few observations (N<50), and should be interpreted with caution.

^a Figures represent 'probably' and 'definitely' yes.

*p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001; † p<.1

Table 27: Change in voting rules for the Senate: heard anything about it?, by profile

	Yes (%)	No (%)	Total (%)	N
Overall (wave 1)	69	31	100	2,079
Overall (wave 2)	44	56	100	1,799
Gender (V=.11***)				
Male	50	50	100	904
Female	39	61	100	889
Age (n.s.)				
18-24	48	52	100	153
25-34	46	54	100	325
35-44	45	55	100	366
45-54	41	59	100	383
55 and over	43	57	100	572
Education (V=.20***)				
Incomplete, prim. or second.	36	64	100	545
Technical (TAFE)	40	60	100	577
University	53	47	100	501
Postgraduate	64	36	100	170
Interest in politics (V=.29***)				
Not at all interested	23	77	100	201
Not very interested	33	67	100	361
Somewhat interested	43	57	100	809
Very interested	66	34	100	413
Multilingual (n.s.)				
Yes	49	51	100	231
No	43	57	100	1556
State (V=.14***)				
ACT	(73)	(27)	(100)	(35)
NSW	49	51	100	488
QLD	38	62	100	378
SA	44	56	100	160
TAS	(25)	(75)	100	50
VIC	47	53	100	478
WA	39	61	100	199

Note: Data from wave 2, results weighted by age and gender. Percentages within parentheses are computed on categories with too few observations (N<50), and should be interpreted with caution. *p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001; † p<.1

Table 28: Opinions about delays in vote count (experiment)

	Control group (%)	It takes time to count ballots (%)	Many people voted by Post (%)
Completely unacceptable	40	29	24
Somewhat unacceptable	31	33	32
Neither unacceptable nor acceptable	14	12	11
Somewhat acceptable	11	16	20
Completely acceptable	5	11	14
Total	100	100	100
N	499	477	515

Note: Data from wave 2, results weighted by age and gender. The table presents the results of an experimental setting, where respondents have been confronted with only one of the options described above. Respondents have been attributed to one of the groups randomly.

Table 29: How acceptable that results were not known for four weeks?, by profile

	Completely unaccept. (%)	Somewhat unaccept. (%)	Neither acceptable nor unaccept. (%)	Somewhat acceptable (%)	Completely acceptable (%)	Total (%)	N
Overall	31	31	11	16	11	100	1,106
Gender (V=.08 [†])							
Male	28	32	13	16	12	100	761
Female	33	31	12	15	8	100	726
Age (V=.10***)							
18-24	29	37	15	13	6	100	99
25-34	20	38	20	17	5	100	239
35-44	24	33	15	17	10	100	313
45-54	32	29	13	16	10	100	324
55 and over	37	28	8	15	12	100	516
Education (V=.09***)							
Incomplete, prim. or second.	42	30	9	11	7	100	453
Technical (TAFE)	25	34	15	17	9	100	474
University	25	31	12	18	14	100	414
Postgraduate	24	30	13	21	12	100	146
State (n.s.)							
ACT	(19)	(41)	(9)	(21)	(11)	(100)	(28)
NSW	36	32	10	14	8	100	420
QLD	28	30	15	17	9	100	303
SA	42	28	6	11	13	100	130
TAS	(39)	(22)	(14)	(12)	(14)	(100)	(47)
VIC	26	29	15	20	10	100	392
WA	23	42	12	11	11	100	166

Note: Data from wave 2, results weighted by age and gender. Percentages within parentheses are computed on categories with too few observations (N<50), and should be interpreted with caution.

*p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001; [†] p<.1

Table 30: How important to have the option to vote online?, by profile

	Mean importance	N	Sig
Overall	60.0	1,786	
Gender			n.s.
Male	61.5	899	
Female	58.7	881	
Age			p=.000
18-24	62.3	151	
25-34	67.1	325	
35-44	63.7	365	
45-54	64.3	377	
55+	52.2	568	
Education			n.s.
Prim, second	58.0	540	
TAFE	59.0	574	
University	63.5	497	
Postgraduate	60.3	169	
Interest in politics			p=.050
Not at all interested	66.4	201	
Not very interested	61.8	359	
Somewhat interested	60.2	802	
Very interested	55.3	410	
State (n.s.)			p=.005
ACT	(73.1)	(35)	
NSW	62.9	484	
QLD	60.2	377	
SA	54.7	158	
TAS	45.0	50	
VIC	60.9	474	
WA	57.1	198	
Buy / banking online			p=.000
Never	33.6	66	
Less than once a month	46.6	113	
1-3 times a month	53.0	188	
Once a week	61.1	299	
Several times a week	65.4	499	
Everyday	66.0	316	

Dependent variable varies between 0 (not important at all) and 100 (very important)

Note: Data from wave 2, results weighted by age and gender. Scores within parentheses are computed on categories with too few observations (N<50), and should be interpreted with caution.

*p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001; † p<.1

Table 31: Online voting required or allowed (experiment)

	Everyone should be required (%)	Everyone should be allowed (%)
Strongly agree	22	41
Somewhat agree	23	22
Neither agree nor disagree	21	17
Somewhat disagree	13	8
Strongly disagree	22	11
Total	100	100
N	708	753

Note: Data from wave 3, results weighted by age and gender. The table presents the results of an experimental setting, where respondents have been confronted with only one of the options described above. Respondents have been attributed to one of the groups randomly.

Table 32: Online voting: how confident about security and privacy?, by profile

	Not at all confident (%)	Not very confident (%)	Somewhat confident (%)	Very confident (%)	Total (%)	N
Overall	20	19	38	23	100	1,683
Gender (n.s.)						
Male	19	15	41	25	100	852
Female	21	22	36	21	100	825
Age (V=.07*)						
18-24	21	16	38	25	100	141
25-34	15	17	44	24	100	301
35-44	18	17	41	24	100	347
45-54	14	18	41	26	100	354
55 and over	27	21	33	20	100	540
Education (n.s.)						
Incomplete, prim. or second.	24	20	34	22	100	503
Technical (TAFE)	20	19	39	21	100	532
University	17	18	40	25	100	480
Postgraduate	18	14	43	25	100	162
Interest in politics (V=.07**)						
Not at all interested	21	14	34	31	100	177
Not very interested	18	19	43	20	100	327
Somewhat interested	19	18	41	21	100	769
Very interested	25	21	30	25	100	400
State (n.s.)						
ACT	(7)	(26)	(52)	(14)	(100)	(32)
NSW	19	16	37	28	100	461
QLD	25	15	36	24	100	361
SA	21	28	29	22	100	150
TAS	(22)	(28)	(29)	(22)	(100)	(47)
VIC	18	19	45	18	100	441
WA	20	20	37	23	100	181
Buy / banking online (V=.15***)						
Never	53	27	11	10	100	63
Less than once a month	40	23	25	12	100	102
1-3 times a month	30	25	30	15	100	172
Once a week	14	17	43	26	100	475
Several times a week	14	14	43	29	100	300
Everyday	16	18	46	20	100	275

Note: Data from wave 2, results weighted by age and gender. Percentages within parentheses are computed on categories with too few observations (N<50), and should be interpreted with caution. *p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001; † p<.1

Table 33: Online voting: can be tampered with, by profile

	Strongly disagree (%)	Somewhat disagree (%)	Neither agree nor disagree (%)	Somewhat agree (%)	Strongly agree (%)	Total (%)	N
Overall	3	8	20	38	31	100	1,435
Gender (V=.12***)							
Male	6	8	20	37	29	100	742
Female	1	8	20	38	32	100	689
Age (n.s.)							
18-24	3	3	23	38	33	100	100
25-34	4	13	22	38	24	100	233
35-44	4	7	20	40	29	100	297
45-54	4	10	22	35	29	100	315
55 and over	3	7	17	38	35	100	490
Education (n.s.)							
Incomplete, prim. or second.	2	8	22	35	34	100	432
Technical (TAFE)	4	8	17	39	32	100	459
University	4	9	22	38	27	100	401
Postgraduate	7	6	16	44	26	100	139
Interest in politics (V=.08**)							
Not at all interested	3	9	23	28	36	100	168
Not very interested	3	6	23	45	23	100	276
Somewhat interested	3	9	20	41	27	100	659
Very interested	5	7	16	30	43	100	324
State (n.s.)							
ACT	(6)	(27)	(17)	(36)	(15)	(100)	(27)
NSW	4	8	26	33	30	100	411
QLD	4	9	18	39	31	100	294
SA	2	4	18	35	41	100	124
TAS	(5)	(12)	(13)	(29)	(42)	(100)	(47)
VIC	2	8	18	42	30	100	376
WA	5	5	18	45	27	100	151
Buy / banking online (V=.12***)							
Never	1	4	3	30	62	100	66
Less than once a month	1	3	18	31	46	100	108
1-3 times a month	3	4	15	45	33	100	184
Once a week	3	11	21	38	27	100	482
Several times a week	7	8	23	35	27	100	304
Everyday	2	9	24	39	26	100	290

Note: Data from wave 3, results weighted by age and gender. Percentages within parentheses are computed on categories with too few observations (N<50), and should be interpreted with caution.
*p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001; † p<.1

Table 34: Voting is a duty or a choice: strength of opinion, by profile

	Very strongly a choice (%)	Somewhat strongly a choice (%)	Weak choice/duty (%)	Somewhat strongly a duty (%)	Very strongly a duty (%)	Total (%)	N
Overall	16	15	11	27	31	100	1,963
Gender (V=.07*)							
Male	17	16	11	27	30	100	951
Female	15	15	10	28	33	100	983
Age (V=.10***)							
18-24	7	17	16	34	27	100	204
25-34	11	19	14	31	25	100	355
35-44	14	17	12	25	32	100	390
45-54	16	14	9	28	33	100	398
55 and over	22	13	8	23	34	100	616
Education (V=.08***)							
Incomplete, prim. or second.	11	14	15	31	30	100	584
Technical (TAFE)	20	16	8	24	31	100	603
University	17	15	11	27	30	100	572
Postgraduate	14	16	4	26	39	100	176
Interest in politics (V=.19***)							
Not at all interested	13	7	23	29	28	100	204
Not very interested	11	18	15	36	20	100	394
Somewhat interested	13	17	8	31	30	100	912
Very interested	26	11	8	12	43	100	448
State (n.s.)							
ACT	(19)	(28)	(8)	(21)	(24)	(100)	(38)
NSW	18	17	11	24	29	100	525
QLD	17	13	11	28	31	100	407
SA	17	19	6	29	29	100	169
TAS	24	7	15	25	30	100	53
VIC	10	13	14	30	33	100	513
WA	14	14	7	30	35	100	220
Rule Compliance (V=.10***)							
Never	(14)	(18)	(8)	(33)	(28)	(100)	(11)
Rarely	(38)	(0)	(17)	(13)	(32)	(100)	(13)
Sometimes	5	28	20	27	20	100	132
Usually	14	17	12	32	25	100	600
Always	17	13	9	25	35	100	1,194

Note: Data from wave 1, results weighted by age and gender. Percentages within parentheses are computed on categories with too few observations (N<50), and should be interpreted with caution.
*p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001; † p<.1

Table 35: Voting: compulsory or voluntary, by profile

	Compulsory (%)	Voluntary (%)	Total (%)	N
Overall	66	34	100	1,713
Gender (n.s.)				
Male	63	37	100	855
Female	68	32	100	853
Age (n.s.)				
18-24	65	35	100	142
25-34	61	39	100	309
35-44	63	37	100	343
45-54	66	34	100	365
55 and over	69	31	100	554
Education (V=.13***)				
Incomplete, prim. or second.	66	34	100	524
Technical (TAFE)	57	43	100	545
University	71	29	100	475
Postgraduate	76	24	100	164
Interest in politics (V=.24***)				
Not at all interested	33	67	100	187
Not very interested	64	36	100	334
Somewhat interested	69	31	100	782
Very interested	75	25	100	400
State (n.s.)				
ACT	(59)	(41)	(100)	(34)
NSW	67	33	100	468
QLD	63	37	100	360
SA	68	32	100	152
TAS	(64)	(36)	(100)	(48)
VIC	68	32	100	452
WA	62	38	100	189
Rule Compliance (V=.09**)				
Never	(42)	(58)	(100)	(9)
Rarely	(25)	(75)	(100)	(16)
Sometimes	62	38	100	114
Usually	64	36	100	497
Always	68	32	100	1,064

Note: Data from wave 2, results weighted by age and gender. Percentages within parentheses are computed on categories with too few observations (N<50), and should be interpreted with caution. *p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001; † p<.1

Table 36: Opinions about fine for not voting, by profile

	There should be no fine (%)	\$10 (%)	\$20 (%)	\$50 (%)	\$100 (%)	More than \$100 (%)	N
Overall	29	3	8	20	18	21	1642
Gender (V=.06)							
Male	30	3	11	16	21	20	839
Female	29	3	6	23	16	22	798
Age (V=.09**)							
18-24	26	1	29	20	13	12	140
25-34	35	4	4	14	21	22	290
35-44	32	2	6	18	21	21	321
45-54	31	3	7	17	15	26	362
55 and over	25	4	4	25	19	22	529
Education (V=.07*)							
Incomplete, prim. or second.	29	3	11	22	15	19	497
Technical (TAFE)	36	3	7	18	17	19	523
University	25	3	6	20	21	25	456
Postgraduate	19	3	6	19	26	27	161
Interest in politics (V=.13***)							
Not at all interested	59	2	7	11	10	12	152
Not very interested	34	4	8	22	17	15	335
Somewhat interested	27	4	7	20	20	22	759
Very interested	20	2	9	22	19	28	390
State (V=.10**)							
ACT	(16)	(20)	(2)	(15)	(35)	13	31
NSW	28	2	9	17	19	24	455
QLD	34	4	5	19	17	20	348
SA	29	3	8	22	13	25	145
TAS	(31)	(3)	(3)	(16)	(11)	(36)	39
VIC	27	3	10	23	20	17	431
WA	29	1	8	24	19	19	184
Rule Compliance (V=.09***)							
Never	(57)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(12)	(31)	9
Rarely	(63)	(15)	(0)	(11)	(11)	(0)	14
Sometimes	(36)	(6)	(12)	(15)	(15)	(16)	115
Usually	34	(2)	(7)	20	17	20	477
Always	26	3	8	21	20	23	1,014

Note: Data from wave 2, results weighted by age and gender. Percentages within parentheses are computed on categories with too few observations (N<50), and should be interpreted with caution.
*p<0.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001;

About the authors

Jeffrey Karp is a Research Fellow with the EIP project at the University of Sydney. He specialises in public opinion, elections, and comparative political behaviour. Karp received his Ph.D. in 1995 from the University of California, Santa Barbara and was a postdoctoral fellow with the New Zealand Election Study (NZES). He later held academic appointments at universities in Australia, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States. His research appears in a many of the leading academic journals in political science, including: *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of Politics*, *Electoral Studies*, and *Comparative Political Studies*. Jeffrey has also edited or co-authored three books on New Zealand elections and is a contributor to several edited volumes.

Alessandro Nai joined the Electoral Integrity Project in 2015 as Project Manager and Senior Research Associate. Before this, he taught at the Department of Political Science and International Relations at the University of Geneva and he was a senior lecturer at the Political and International Studies Institute at the University of Lausanne. From August 2017 onwards he will join the Amsterdam School of Communication Research (ASCoR), University of Amsterdam, as Assistant Professor of Political Communication and Journalism. His personal research agenda is on electoral behavior, political psychology, and campaigning effects. His work has been published in several peer-review journals such as *Political Psychology*, *European Journal of Political Research*, *Electoral Studies* and the *Journal of Political Marketing*. He recently published *New perspectives on negative Campaigning: Why attack politics matters* (ECPR Press, 2015, with A. S. Walter).

Ferran Martinez i Coma is Research Fellow at the Center for Governance and Public Policy, Griffith University. Previously he was Senior Research Associate at the Electoral Integrity Project at the University of Sydney. He has published, among others, in *Electoral Studies*, *Party Politics* and the *European Journal of Political Research*. Before coming to Sydney, Ferran worked as a Senior Adviser for the Spanish Prime Minister (2010-2011) and for the Department of Elections in the Ministry of Interior (2012-2013).

Max Grömping is a PhD candidate at the Department of Government and International Relations of the University of Sydney, and Program Manager of the 'Perceptions of Electoral Integrity' (PEI) expert survey at the Electoral Integrity Project. His doctoral research examines the drivers and consequences of domestic election monitoring. His research interests include comparative political communication and comparative democratization – in particular the ability of 'outside' actors such as NGOs, social movements, and interest groups to influence media, public, and policy agendas. He also works on crowdsourced political participation, and the politics of ICT-afforded transparency and accountability, with a regional focus on Southeast Asia. Previously, he lectured at the Faculty of Political Science of Thammasat University, Bangkok.

Pippa Norris is the McGuire Lecturer in Comparative Politics at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University and Laureate Fellow and Professor of Government and International Relations at the University of Sydney. A political scientist and public speaker, her research compares election and public opinion, political communications, and gender politics. She also served as Director of the Democratic Governance Group in United Nations Development Programme, NY and as an expert consultant to many international organizations such as the World Bank, Council of Europe and OSCE. In 2011 she was awarded the Johan Skytte prize with Professor Ronald Inglehart for contributing innovative ideas about the relevance and roots of political culture in a global context. Her current research focuses upon the Electoral Integrity Project, a major multi-million 5-year research study. The project research team is based at the Department of Government and International Relations at the University of Sydney. It has been generously supported by many agencies, including the Australian Research Council, the University of Sydney, International IDEA, and at Harvard University by the Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation and the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. The project is collaborating with many partner organizations, include International IDEA, IFES, the Carter Center, UNDP, and OAS. The author of more than forty books, her forthcoming volume is *Strengthening Electoral Integrity* (Cambridge University Press, 2017).

The Electoral Integrity Project

This report is the output of the Australian Voter Experience (AVE) project. The AVE project has been generously supported by the Australian Electoral Commission, and has been conducted by the scientific team at the Electoral Integrity Project (EIP).

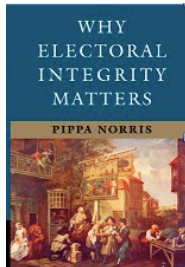
The Electoral Integrity Project is an independent non-profit scholarly research project based at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government and the University of Sydney's Department of Government and International Relations. The project is funded by the Australian Research Council and other research bodies. The project is directed by Professor Pippa Norris, and managed by Dr Alessandro Nai. Dr Ferran Martínez i Coma was a full time research associate until October 2016 and Mr. Max Grömping is research assistant. The EIP is governed by an Advisory Board of distinguished scholars and practitioners.

The Electoral Integrity Project is an independent academic body and the evaluations presented in the report are the assessments of the project alone. Nevertheless in its work, through a series of international workshops and conferences, the project collaborates closely with many professional associations, non-governmental organizations and international agencies, including the Australian Political Studies Association, the American Political Science Association, the Carter Center, Democracy International, Global Integrity, the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), International IDEA, the International Political Science Association (IPSA), the Sunlight Foundation, the Organization of American States, the OSCE/ODIHR, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Association of World Election Bodies (A-WEB) and the World Values Survey (WVS).

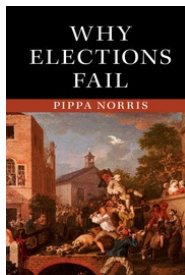
Since 2014, EIP has yearly produced the "*Year in Elections Report*" which provides an overall assessment of the elections held in the world each year. The results have been featured, among others, at the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. Moreover, EIP has presented their work in different academic and policy venues such as APSA, IPSA, ECPR, AUSPSA, on the former and UN, IDEA, OSCE, ANFREL, on the later. The latest release of the dataset (PEI 4.5) was released in September 2016 and covers 153 countries having held 213 elections from 1 July 2012 to 30 June 2016. The PEI 4.5 dataset and all related documentation can be accessed at: <https://thedata.harvard.edu/dataverse/PEI>.

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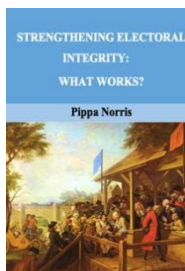
Further reading from the EIP



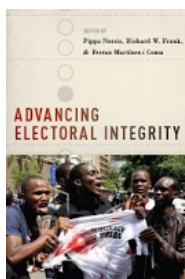
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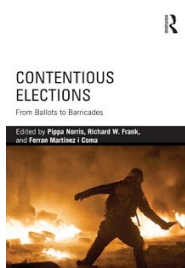
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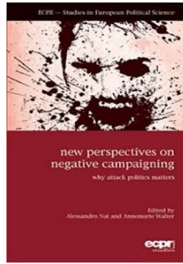
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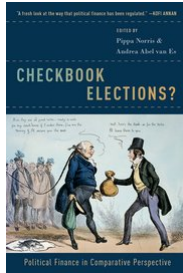
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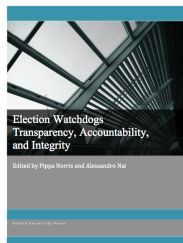
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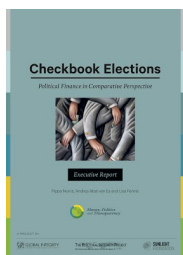
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- ⁴ Questionnaires for the three waves can be downloaded at the following address :
<https://sites.google.com/site/electoralintegrityproject4/projects/australian-voter-experience>
- ⁵ Ansolabehere, Stephen, and Brian F. Schaffner. 2014. "Does Survey Mode Still Matter? Findings from a 2010 Multi-Mode Comparison." *Political Analysis* 22:285–303; Stephenson, Laura B., and Jean Crete. 2010. "Studying Political Behavior: A Comparison of Internet and Telephone Surveys." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 23:24–55.
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- ⁷ Examples include Norway (93%), United States (80%) Japan (74%) New Zealand (73%), Austria and Israel (67%). Note that all figures are based on data collected in 2013 following national elections, with the exception of the United States which is based on the 2012 Presidential election. The source is the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES).
- ⁸ The 2014 New Zealand Election Study. See <http://www.nzes.org>
- ⁹ IPSOS Mori. 2015. Page 221. See http://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0009/190944/May-2015-UKPGE-Public-opinion-survey-Data-tables-UK.pdf
- ¹⁰ Women are also twice as likely to say "don't know" as men.
- ¹¹ For more information on experimental protocols in survey research, see Mutz, Diana C. 2011. *Population-Based Survey Experiments*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; Morton, Rebecca B. and Kenneth C. Williams. 2010. *Experimental Political Science and the Study of Causality. From Nature to the Lab*. New York: Cambridge University Press; Druckman, James N., Donald P. Green, James H. Kuklinski, and Anthur Lupia Eds. 2011. *Cambridge Handbook of Experimental Political Science*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
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- ¹³ Norris, Pippa and Andrea Abel van Es. 2016. *Checkbook Elections. Political Finance in a Comparative Perspective*. New York : Oxford University Press.
- ¹⁴ The proportion who replied don't know is 16%; when these responses are included, 36% of the respondents believe that fraud is either somewhat or extremely likely to affect electoral outcomes.
- ¹⁵ <http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-news/election-2016-voter-turnout-lowest-since-compulsory-voting-began-in-1925-20160808-gqni2.html>

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- ¹⁶ Mark Franklin. 2004. *Voter Turnout and the Dynamics of Electoral Competition in Established Democracies Since 1945*. New York: Cambridge University Press
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- ¹⁹ Stewart, Charles and Stephen Ansolabehere. 2015. 'Waiting to Vote.' *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy* 14(1): 47-53.
- ²⁰ TNS New Zealand. 2014. "Report into the 2014 General Election". Page 53.
- ²¹ In 2016 the AEC changed its process for transporting ballot papers across electorates which meant that it took two days after the election to bring early and absent votes to the right place before counting could begin.
- ²² See for instance Glance, D. 2016. Despite experts' fears, Australia should be moving to electronic online voting. *The Conversation*, 4 July 2016.
- ²³ E.g. Nolan, D. 2016. Let's put e-voting where it belongs: on the trash-heap of bad ideas. *The Guardian*, 12 July 2016.
- ²⁴ Smith, R. 2016. Confidence in paper-based and electronic voting channels: evidence from Australia. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 51, 68-19.
- ²⁵ Smith, R. 2016. Confidence in paper-based and electronic voting channels: evidence from Australia. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 51, 68-19.
- ²⁶ See <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-08-09/abs-website-inaccessible-on-census-night/7711652>
- ²⁷ See for instance Hoffman, R. & Lazaridis, D. 2013. The Limits of Compulsion: Demographic Influences on Voter Turnout in Australian State Elections. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 48, 28-43, Jackman, S. 1999. 'Non-compulsory voting in Australia? what surveys can (and can't) tell us.' *Electoral Studies* 18: 29-48; Mackerras, M. & McAllister, I. 1999. 'Compulsory voting, party stability and electoral advantage in Australia.' *Electoral Studies* 18: 217-233; For an exception, see Jeffrey Karp and Shaun Bowler. 2015. "Who Should Vote: Explaining Support for Compulsory Voting" Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the European Political Science Association, Vienna, Austria.
- ²⁸ For more information on the use of 'Instructional Manipulation Checks' or 'screeners' to isolate respondents that do not pay (enough) attention to questions in surveys, see Berinsky, Adam J., Michele F. Margolis and Michael W. Sances. 2014. 'Separating the shirkers from the workers? Making sure respondents pay attention on self-administered surveys.' *American Journal of Political Science* 58(3): 739-753; Oppenheimer, Daniel M., Tom Meyvis and Nicolas Davidenko. 2009. 'Instructional manipulation checks: Detecting satisficing to increase statistical power.' *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 45(4): 867-872.
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