Indigenous Voice to Parliament Poll

June 2023



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Voting attitudes

The YES case has work to do to bring a double majority back within reach

NO votes have continued to increase and are now at a similar level to the total YES vote on establishing an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Voice. However, lack of information remains an issue.

Just under four in ten voters would support an alteration to the Constitution that establishes an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Voice and vote YES in a referendum if it were held now (39%, similar to 42% in February and 43% in August).

A similar proportion do not support this change and would vote NO (37%, up significantly from 28% in February and 23% in August).

Significant increases in the NO vote among voters aged 35+ years and in NSW, Victoria and Queensland over the past four months have contributed to this overall increase.

While almost one in four voters continue to be in need of more information or undecided (23%, down from 30% in February), a majority of this group are already leaning toward a YES or NO vote.

Taking these leanings into account, overall, 46% of voters (down from 51% in February) would vote YES in this referendum and almost as many (43%, up from 36%) would vote NO. Just 11% remain undecided.

Votes are similarly mixed at state level, except in WA where the YES vote outweighs the NO vote. By gender, the YES vote still leads among women (49%) but the NO vote is now stronger among men (50%). Young voters (18-34 years) are most supportive, with their YES vote at 63%, while a majority (57%) of older voters (aged 55+ years) would vote NO.

It is not surprising that voters who recall recently seeing mainly opposing information, advertising, media stories or social media posts about the proposed referendum on an Indigenous Voice to Parliament are much more likely to vote NO (67%) than YES (26%). However, what is potentially disconcerting for the YES campaign is that voters who have seen mostly positive information about the Voice are also more likely to vote NO (50%) than YES (45%). The same is true for those who recall seeing the 'Yes23' campaign ad itself (NO 53%, YES 40%).

Young voters are most supportive and most passionate about an Indigenous Voice to Parliament



Most voters expect to turn out for this referendum but the YES vote has work to do to bring a double majority back within reach.

Eight in ten voters (85%, similar to 82% in February) say they are likely to turn out and cast a formal vote in this referendum, a stronger 93% among YES voters but still a high 84% among NO voters. Fewer than one in ten voters are unlikely to do so (8%, higher among NO voters and those unaware of the Voice referendum). A further 7% are currently unsure.^{*}

Compared with the wider electorate, young voters (18-34 years) remain a little less enthusiastic to participate, with fewer 'extremely' likely to turn out to vote. In contrast, most of the less supportive older cohort (55+ years) are 'extremely' likely to turn out.

This is somewhat at odds with young voters' greater passion for the Indigenous Voice to Parliament, compared with the over 55s.

Regardless of how or if they would vote on this issue, four in ten 18-34 year olds claim they are passionate about the Indigenous Voice to Parliament (41%, slightly higher than 36% for total voters). The same proportion of voters aged 55 years and over are <u>not</u> passionate about this issue (41%, significantly higher than 30% for total voters). Voters who know more about the Voice issue, have seen media about it (particularly mainly supportive or equal coverage from each side), would vote YES, are university educated, or are likely to turn out to vote, have more passion for this issue.

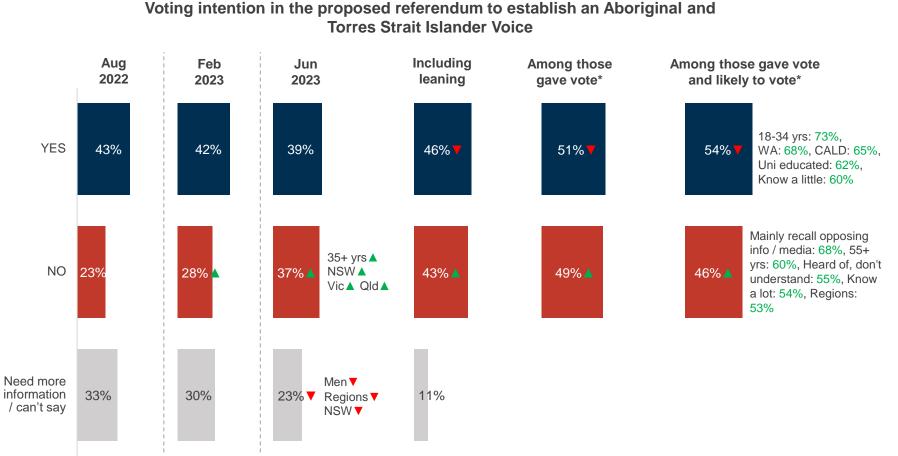
In contrast, those who know less, have seen mainly opposing media about it, would vote NO, are not university educated, reside in regional Australia, or are unlikely to turn out to vote, have less passion for this issue.

Overall, among voters who have decided on or are leaning towards a YES or NO vote, and who are likely to turn out to vote in the referendum, a bare minimum 54% would currently vote YES to establish an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Voice to Parliament.

A similarly borderline YES result of 50-55% in most mainland states puts the double majority needed at risk.

Note: The question wording has been updated in this June 2023 survey to reflect latest proposed referendum wording. Question wording is listed below the charted results.

Voters more evenly split on an Indigenous Voice after further increase in the NO vote since February



* Excludes 'Can't say'

Significantly ▲ higher / ▼ lower than previous wave at the 95% confidence interval.

Significantly higher than the total at the 95% confidence interval.

Q. The Australian Government is proposing to add the following points to the Australian Constitution. This would ensure an Indigenous Voice to Parliament that continues under future governments. In recognition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples as the First Peoples of Australia: 1. there shall be a body, to be called the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Voice; 2. the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples as the First Peoples of Australia: 1. there shall be a body, to be called the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Voice; 2. the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander voice; 3. the Parliament shall, subject to this Constitution, have power to make laws with respect to matters relating to the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Voice, including its composition, functions, powers and procedures. If the proposed referendum was held today, how would you answer the referendum question: "Do you approve this alteration to the Constitution to recognise the First Peoples of Australia by establishing an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Voice?" / Even if you're not sure, which way are you currently leaning?

 $Base: Aug \ 2022 - Australian \ adults \ (n=1,000), \ Feb \ 2023 - Eligible \ voters \ (n=940), \ Jun \ 2023 - Eligible \ voters \ (n=1,122), \ Gave \ vote \ (n=995), \ Gave \ vote \ / \ likely \ to \ vote \ (n=879).$

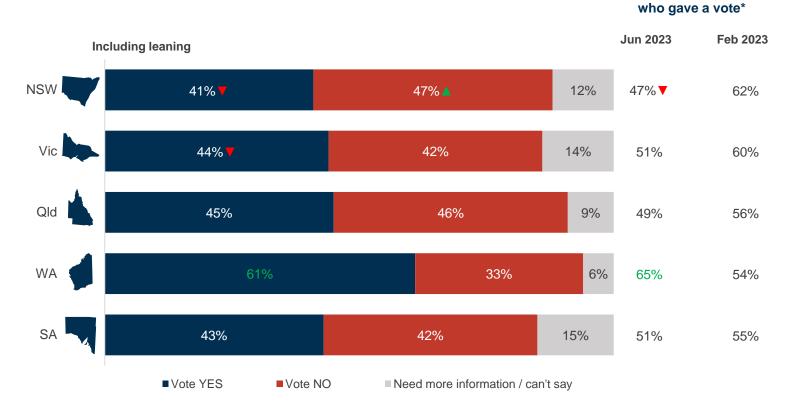
Note: Question wording updated in June 2023 to reflect latest proposed referendum wording.

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YES Vote among those

Double majority in doubt among those decided and likely to Wy

Voting intention in the proposed referendum to establish an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Voice – by state[^]



*Excludes 'Can't say'

Significantly ▲ higher / ▼ lower than previous wave at the 95% confidence interval.

Significantly higher than the national total at the 95% confidence interval.

Q. The Australian Government is proposing to add the following points to the Australian Constitution. This would ensure an Indigenous Voice to Parliament that continues under future governments. In recognition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples as the First Peoples of Australia: 1. there shall be a body, to be called the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Voice; 2. the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Voice may make representations to the Parliament and the Executive Government of the Commonwealth on matters relating to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples; 3. the Parliament shall, subject to this Constitution, have power to make laws with respect to matters relating to the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Voice, including its composition, functions, powers and procedures. If the proposed referendum was held today, how would you answer the referendum question: "Do you approve this alteration to the Constitution to recognise the First Peoples of Australia by establishing an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Voice," / Even if you're not sure, which way are you currently leaning?

Base: Eligible voters (n=1,122), Gave vote – June 2023 (n=995), Feb 2023 (n=822). ATasmania excluded due to small sample size. Note: Question wording updated in June 2023 to reflect latest proposed referendum wording.

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Generational divide widens with majority YES vote among 18-34s, and majority NO vote among over 55s

Voting intention in the proposed referendum to establish an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Voice (including leaning) – by demographics

Vot	e YES	Vote NO	Need more information / can't say
Total	46%	43%	11%
Men	42%	50%	8%
Women	49%	37%	14%
18-34 yrs	63%	26%	11%
35-54 yrs	46%	42%	13%
55+ yrs	34%	57%	9%
Metro	49%	40%	11%
Regions	40%	50%	10%
CALD	55%	34%	11%
Know a lot	42%	55%	2%
Know a little	53%	40%	7%
Heard of, don't understand	36%	46%	18%
Have not heard of	57%	22%	21%
Seen Yes23 ad	40%	53%	6%
Seen supporting media	45%	50%	5%
Seen equal supporting / opposing media	54%	39%	8%
Seen opposing media	26%	67%	7%

Significantly higher / lower than the total at the 95% confidence interval.

Q. The Australian Government is proposing to add the following points to the Australian Constitution. This would ensure an Indigenous Voice to Parliament that continues under future governments. In recognition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples as the First Peoples of Australia: 1. there shall be a body, to be called the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Voice; 2. the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Voice may make representations to the Parliament and the Executive Government of the Commonwealth on matters relating to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples; 3. the Parliament shall, subject to this Constitution, have power to make laws with respect to matters relating to the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Voice, including its composition, functions, powers and procedures. If the proposed referendum was held today, how would you answer the referendum question: "Do you approve this alteration to the Constitution to recognise the First Peoples of Australia by establishing an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Voice?" / Even if you're not sure, which way are you currently leaning? JWSRESEARCH Base: Eligible voters (n=1,122).

Note: Question wording updated in June 2023 to reflect latest proposed referendum wording.

Why Australians would <u>vote YES</u> to establishing an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Voice



"There needs to be recognition of the First Nations peoples in the Constitution and the establishment of a body that can speak more accurately to what they need."

"It is recognition of the fact that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, as the original inhabitants of this land, should have a voice in Parliament where issues directly affect them. Not to force their views or laws upon all Australians but to allow them to raise themselves above the cacophony of white Australian voices and be heard."

"The Federal Government needs Indigenous people's advice and solutions in order to effectively formulate policy and programs which will assist Indigenous people effectively."

"It's well overdue. Why not give our first people a voice? It's only a voice. Something that they should have had all along."

"[It's] giving a voice to an oppressed group of people which allows us to try and move on from the past wrong-doings of the nation and move towards a more inclusive and equal Australia."

"I'm all for inclusiveness and a YES vote is for inclusiveness, a NO vote is for divisiveness." "Something is badly needed to improve their lot (health, standard of living, etc) and past and current programs have not worked well. Let's hear more about what they think might work."

"A new approach is needed, and a Voice was proposed by the Indigenous community... The Voice won't affect citizens like me, outside of the communities the Voice represents."

"I don't think it will make the situation worse for Indigenous people, but it might make it better, so it is worth giving it a chance."

"It would make sense for Aboriginal people to inform Parliament on Aboriginal issues."

"Reconciliation without the threat of undermining key constitutional principles of our legal system. Uniform body that will hold governments to account, incentivising community-led problem solving and ownership over closing the gap... The benefits outweigh the risks."

"It is only an advisory panel, not the government."

"It's time we start to work with the Aboriginal population."

Why Australians would <u>vote NO</u> to establishing an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Voice



"Because I do not know enough about it. There has not been enough advertising or explaining what it is really about."

"I have no understanding of exactly how this Voice will work on a day to day basis. I want to know how it will work before I will agree to it."

"Giving one group of people ability to advise / direct democratically elected officials is just that, un-democratic."

"It is clearly a race-based Voice enshrined in our Constitution. We are all equal and a small minority should not have more of a say than the rest of us'."

"Because it is racially divisive and does not improve the lives of our First Nations people."

"The Voice will only benefit the elite, not the vast majority of Aborigines."

"I keep getting told by government representatives, and other bodies and organisations... that I should vote YES, or else I'm some kind of backward individual who can't think for myself or / and a racist. However, no one will give me... actual details of what this proposed change to the Constitution will entail! I have also listened to many Indigenous people who have explained why they will be voting NO." "How will the numerous Aboriginal tribes come to an individual or common agreement on issues to put forward to the Federal Government? [It's] unworkable."

"More red tape, more bureaucrats, more cost to the taxpayer. The Labor Government is being sneaky by providing few details about how it will work."

"First Nations formal representation has existed for 20+ years but government ignores them now. Why would this change make the lives of First Nations any better?"

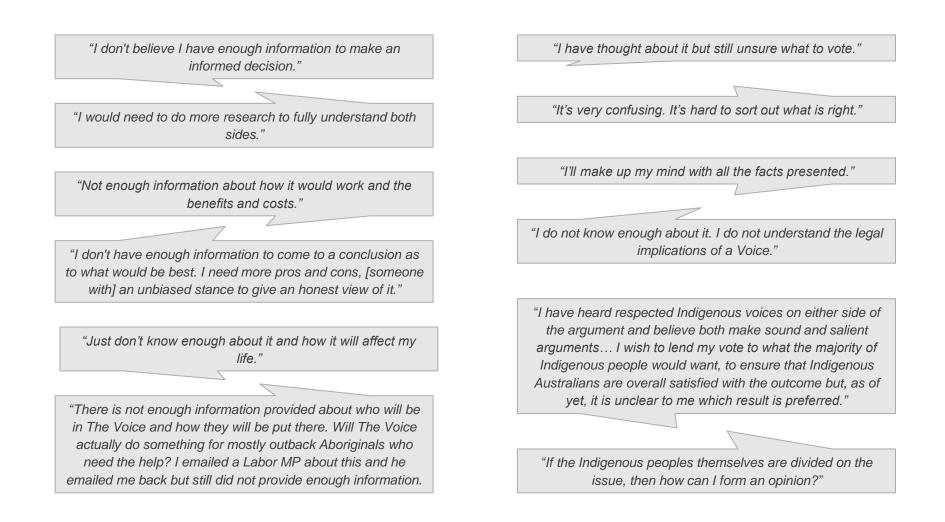
"An advisory body is pointless. Anyone can simply ignore the advice and do what is best for their agenda. Waste of taxpayer money, time and resources."

"I don't see any reason why we need a special body just to serve the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander group, there are already about half a dozen representatives already in Parliament."

"There is no need to have a separate body for them. They all have a vote!"

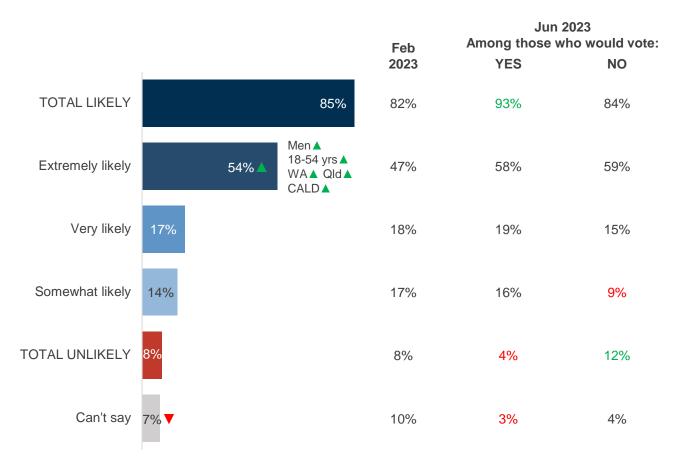
"I feel it is one of the few populations that actually is very well looked after by the government."

Why Australians are <u>undecided</u> about establishing an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Voice



Most voters on both sides of the Indigenous Voice debate are likely to turn out for the referendum later this year

Likelihood to vote in the referendum about establishing an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Voice



Significantly ▲ higher / ▼ lower than February 2023 at the 95% confidence interval.

Significantly higher / lower than the total at the 95% confidence interval.

Q. The Prime Minister has said a referendum about establishing an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Voice will be held between October and December this year. How likely are you to attend a polling booth (or source a postal vote) and cast a formal vote in this referendum? Base: Eligible voters – Jun 2023 (n=1,122), Feb 2023 (n=940).

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Over 55s and more knowledgeable voters are most likely to W turn out to vote, younger adults less so

Likelihood to vote in the referendum about establishing an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Voice

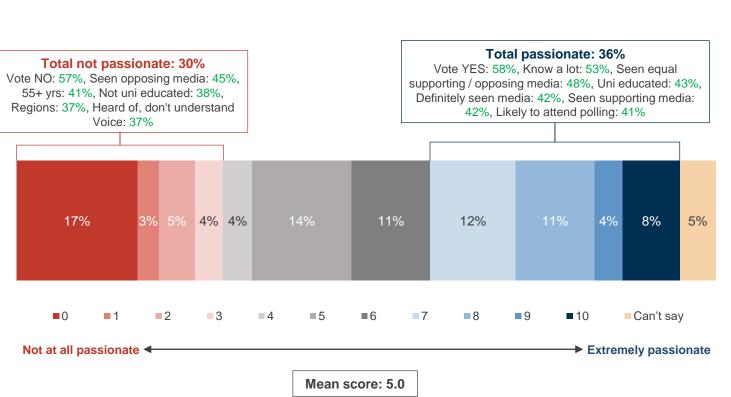
	Total	18-34 yrs	35-54 yrs	55+ yrs	CALD	Know a lot	Know a little	Heard of, don't understand	Not heard of
TOTAL LIKELY	85%	84%	82%	89%	86%	94%	93%	76%	44%
Extremely likely	54%	38%	51%	68%	48%	85%	56%	38%	13%
Very likely	17%	19%	17%	16%	19%	7%	21%	20%	11%
Somewhat likely	14%	26%	14%	5%	19%	2%	15%	19%	21%
TOTAL UNLIKELY	8%	10%	9%	6%	9%	5%	5%	11%	33%
Can't say	7%	6%	9%	5%	6%	1%	2%	13%	23%

Significantly higher / lower than the total at the 95% confidence interval.

Q. The Prime Minister has said a referendum about establishing an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Voice will be held between October and December this year. How likely are you to attend a polling booth (or source a postal vote) and cast a formal vote in this referendum? Base: Eligible voters (n=1,122).

JWSRESEARCH 13

Older and regional voters less passionate about an Indigenous Voice to Parliament



Extent of passion about the Indigenous Voice to Parliament (%)

Significantly higher than the total at the 95% confidence interval. Q. Regardless of your overall view and whether you intend to vote "YES" or "NO" in the referendum – on a scale of zero to ten, where 0 is not at all passionate and 10 is extremely passionate, how passionate are you about the Indigenous Voice to Parliament? Base: Eligible voters (n=1,122).

Understanding and information

Limited voter understanding of the upcoming referendum process and topic, despite improvement since February

As the proposed vote on an Indigenous Voice to Parliament draws closer, there remains a knowledge gap regarding how a national referendum works.

Despite an increase since February, only a slight majority of voters feel they have a complete understanding of the referendum process (51%, up from 45%) – specifically, that this:

- is a vote on Parliament-proposed changes to the Australian Constitution
- · is a compulsory vote
- requires a "YES" or "NO" answer to the referendum question(s)
- requires a double majority of "YES" votes (nationally, and in a majority of states) to be approved.

Almost half of Australian voters still have just a partial understanding (31%) or no understanding (18%) of how a national referendum works (compared with 34% and 21%, respectively in February) – and this does not differ significantly by voter experience.

With the last national referendum being held more than 20 years ago, those old enough to have voted at the November 1999 Republic referendum are no more knowledgeable about the referendum process than first time referendum voters.

Knowledge of the referendum issue, establishing an Indigenous Voice to Parliament, is also improved but remains largely superficial.

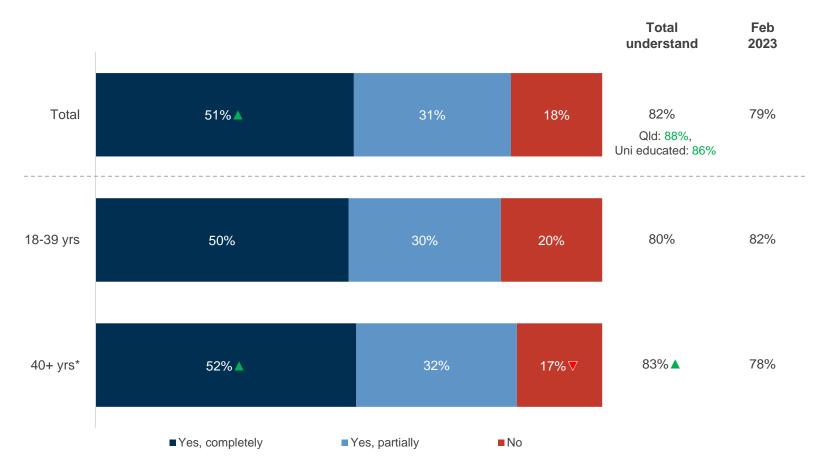
Most voters (92%, up from 86%) have heard about the idea of forming a body representing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to advise the Australian Parliament and Government on laws and policies related to Indigenous Australians.

Twice as many claim to know a lot about the idea of an Indigenous Voice to Parliament compared with four months ago (20%, up from 10%), however half of voters claim to know just a little about it (50%, unchanged from February).

Positively, fewer claim they don't understand it (22%, down from 26%) or have not heard of it before (4%, down from 9%), than in February.

Knowledge and awareness has continued to improve among both men and women and across all age groups but remains strongest among older adults.

Understanding of how a referendum works remains limited, We even among those old enough to have voted in the last one



Understanding of how national referendums work

*Those of voting age at the last referendum held 6th November 1999 currently aged approx. 42 years and over.

Significantly ▲ higher / ▼ lower than February 2023 at the 95% confidence interval.

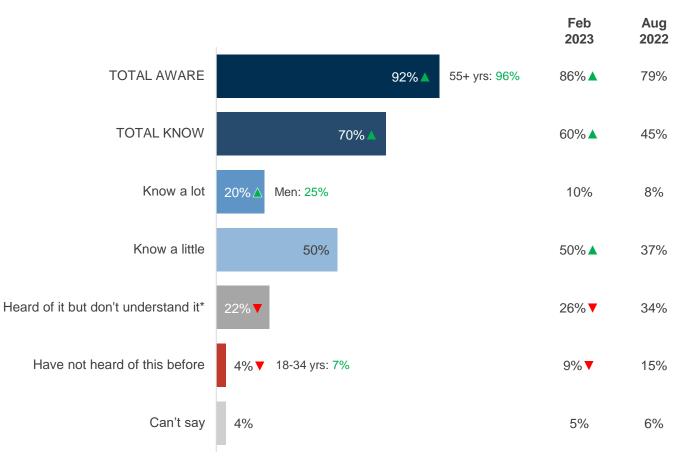
Significantly higher than the total at the 95% confidence interval.

Q. National referendums are held for Australians to vote on Parliament-proposed changes to the Australian Constitution. Similar to elections, it is compulsory to vote. Voters must write either "YES" or "NO" on the ballot paper in answer to the referendum question. For the constitutional amendment to be approved, a double majority of voters is required, that is: a majority of voters nationally vote "YES"; and a majority of voters in a majority of the states (at least four of: NSW, Vic, Qld, WA, SA or Tas) vote "YES". Before today, did you understand this is how a national referendum works? Base: Eligible voters – Jun 2023 (n=1,122), Feb 2023 (n=940).

JWSRESEARCH 17

Community awareness and understanding of an Indigenous WW Voice to Parliament continues to increase

Awareness of the idea of establishing an Indigenous Voice to Parliament



*'Heard of it but know nothing more' in August 2022.

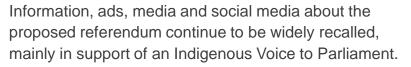
Significantly ▲ higher / ▼ lower than previous wave at the 95% confidence interval.

Significantly higher than the national total at the 95% confidence interval.

Q. An Indigenous Voice to Parliament is the idea of forming a body representing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to advise the Australian Parliament and Government on laws and policies related to Indigenous Australians. How much would you say you know and understand about this idea?

Base: Eligible voters - Jun 2023 (n=1,122), Feb 2023 (n=940), Australian adults - Aug 2022 (n=1,000).

Voters increasingly seeing the YES case feature more prominently in public debate than the NO case



Eight in ten voters definitely recall (61%, up from 44% in February 2023) or may have seen (23%, down from 28%) something about this issue, higher among older adults (55+ years), fewer but still more than seven in ten among young adults (18-34 years) and CALD voters.

Among those who recall seeing something about this issue, a majority (56%, up from 49%) say this was mainly related to supporting the Voice / the YES vote – far more than have seen content mainly related to opposing the Voice / the NO vote (7%, similar to 6% in February). A further one in five (19%, similar to 20% in February) have seen about an equal amount from both sides of the debate.

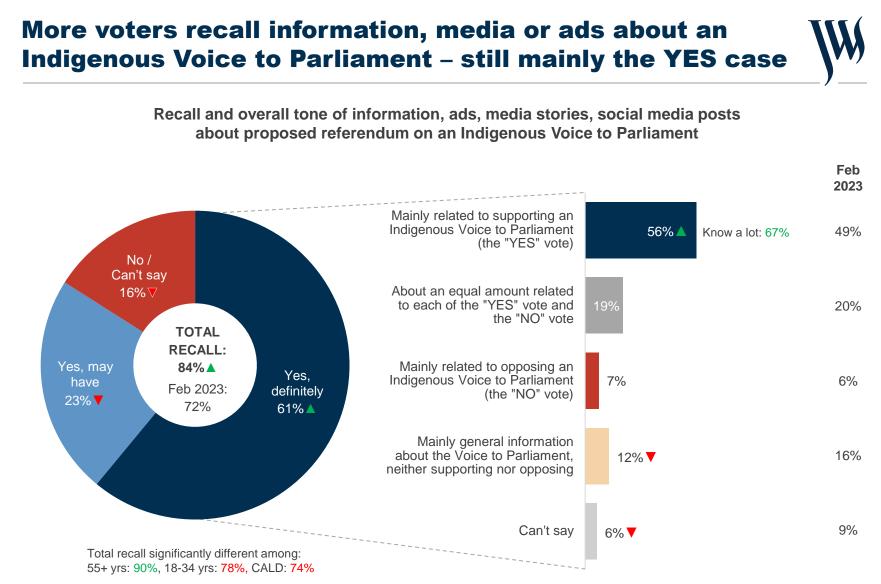
Others (12%, down from 16%) recall mainly general information about the referendum, neither supporting nor opposing the proposed change.

One in three voters (34%) recall seeing the 'Yes 23' television ad, specifically, more among older adults (55+ years) and people in regional Australia, but fewer among young adults (18-34 years).





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Significantly ▲ higher / ▼ lower than February 2023 at the 95% confidence interval.

Significantly higher / lower than the total at the 95% confidence interval.

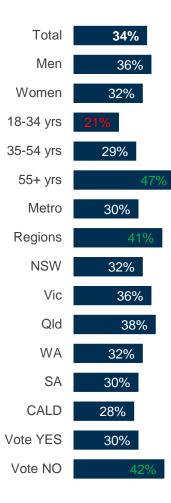
Q. Now about establishing an Indigenous Voice to Parliament. Do you recall seeing any information, advertising, media stories or social media posts recently about the proposed referendum on an Indigenous Voice to Parliament? / Q. Overall, how would you describe the information, ads, media and social media you have seen on this issue?

Base: Eligible voters (n=1,122), recall proposed Indigenous Voice to Parliament media (n=940).

One in three voters recall seeing the Yes23 campaign ad

Seen Yes23 ad (%)





Significantly higher / lower than the total at the 95% confidence interval. Q. Please watch the following ad. Before today, had you seen this ad (or one like it)? Base: Eligible voters (n=1,122).

Messaging about the Voice

The Voice is seen as an opportunity for official recognition and a formal process to deliver advice that can't be ignored

Arguments which resonate most strongly in support of amending the Constitution to establish an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Voice to Parliament are that:

- It will provide official recognition in the Constitution of the special place of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in Australia's history (49% agree)
- Constitutional Recognition is a simple statement of the fact that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people were the first people here and form the oldest continuing culture on earth (46% agree)
- It will help make government consider policy impacts on Indigenous communities (46% agree)
- It will provide Indigenous people and communities with a formal process to help inform national policy and legal decisions that impact their lives (45% agree, down from 50%).

Arguments with the most mixed response (and highest levels of community scepticism) continue to be those around an Indigenous Voice's role, powers and ability to improve outcomes, specifically that it will:

 improve government and parliamentary decisionmaking, enabling more efficient and effective use of resources (33% agree versus 37% disagree)

- not interfere with established parliamentary hierarchy

 providing advice but having no program delivery
 function or any veto power on government decisions
 (36% agree versus 30% disagree)
- improve outcomes for Indigenous people and communities and help 'close the gap' between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Australians (39% agree versus 34% disagree)
- provide a rare chance to make a major positive impact now and for future generations (40% agree versus 32% disagree).

Positive practical impacts of the Voice may need a stronger push by the YES campaign – almost half of those who recall the 'Yes 23' television ad <u>disagree</u> an Indigenous Voice to Parliament will improve government decision-making and use of resources (48%) and help 'close the gap' (47%).

Overall, key arguments for the YES case resonate most strongly among 18-34 year olds. In contrast, men and older adults (55+ years) are more sceptical about the potential benefits of an Indigenous Voice to Parliament.

Official recognition, making govt consider policy impacts and providing a formal process resonate for the YES case

Agreement with reasons to <u>support</u> amending the Constitution to establish an Indigenous Voice to Parliament (the "YES" vote)

rliam	nent (the	e "YES"	vote))	TOTAL AGREE	NET AGREE - Jun 2023	DISAGREE Feb 2023
20%	28%	6 219	% 9%	14% <mark>7%</mark>	49%	+25	+27
21%	25%	23%	% 8%	<mark>14%</mark> 8%	46%	+24	n/a
17%	29%	20%	12%	15% 7%	46%	+19	+26
17%	28%	20%	11%	16% <mark>8</mark> %	45%▼	+18	+29
17%	26%	22%	12%	16% <mark>8</mark> %	42%	+15	n/a
16%	26%	24%	10% ⁻	14% <mark>10%</mark>	42%	+18	+24
17%	23%	20%	13% 2	20% 8%	40%	+7	n/a
15%	25%	25%	6%6%	23%	40%	+28	+26
14%	25%	22%	12% 1	<mark>6%</mark> 10%	40%	+12	n/a
15%	24%	19%	14% 2	20% 8%	39%	+5	+11
16%	20%	21% 1	3% 17	<mark>%</mark> 13%	36%	+6	+14
12%	21%	21% 15	5% 22	2% 9%	33% 🔻	-4	+9
ee disagre		Somewhat a Strongly dis	0		either agre an't say	e nor disagree	

It will provide official recognition in the Constitution of the special place of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in Australia's history

Constitutional Recognition is a simple statement of the fact that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people were the first people here and form the oldest continuing culture on earth^

It will help make government consider policy impacts on Indigenous communities

It will provide Indigenous people and communities with a formal process to help inform national policy and legal decisions that impact their lives

It will honour and celebrate the rights, history and ongoing relationship of Indigenous Australians with this land^

Instead of Indigenous advisory bodies changing with different federal governments, it will provide an ongoing voice to government over the longer term

It's a rare chance to make a major positive impact now and for future generations^

Versions of Indigenous political participation already operate in other countries such as New Zealand, Canada, Norway, Sweden and Finland

A Voice will provide advice to the Federal Parliament about laws and policies, through a consultative policy making process that delivers meaningful structural change^

It will improve outcomes for Indigenous people and communities and help 'close the gap' between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Australians on practical issues like life expectancy, educational outcomes and employment* It will not interfere with the established parliamentary hierarchy – it will provide advice but will have no program delivery function or any veto power on government decisions

It will improve government and parliamentary decision-making, enabling more efficient and effective use of government resources

Strongly agree
 Somewhat disagr

*Wording added in June 2023. ^Added in June 2023

Significantly lower V than February 2023 at the 95% confidence interval.

Q. Following are some statements people have made in support of amending the Constitution to establish an Indigenous Voice to Parliament (the "YES" vote). IF SHOWN FIRST: In the next question we'll ask you about statements people have made in opposition (the "NO" vote). For each statement, do you agree or disagree it is a reason to support amending the Constitution to establish an Indigenous Voice to Parliament? Base: Eligible voters – Jun 2023 (n=1,122), Feb 2023 (n=940).

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Key arguments for the YES case resonate strongly among young and CALD voters

Agreement with reasons to <u>support</u> amending the Constitution to establish an Indigenous Voice to Parliament (the "YES" vote)

(strongly + somewhat agree)

49% Know a little: 57%, 18-34 yrs: 57%, Definitely seen media: 54%	It will provide official recognition in the Constitution of the special place of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in Australia's history
46% 18-34 yrs: 55%, Know a little: 52%	Constitutional Recognition is a simple statement of the fact that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people were the first people here and form the oldest continuing culture on earth
46% 18-34 yrs: 55%, CALD: 55%, Uni educated: 52%, Know a little: 52%	It will help make government consider policy impacts on Indigenous communities
45% 18-34 yrs: 54%, CALD: 54%, Know a little: 52%, Uni educated: 51%, Women: 50%, Men: 39%, NSW: 38%	It will provide Indigenous people and communities with a formal process to help inform national policy and legal decisions that impact their lives
42% 18-34 yrs: 53%, CALD: 52%, Know a little: 49%, Women: 48%, Men: 36%, NSW: 36%, 55+ yrs: 36%	It will honour and celebrate the rights, history and ongoing relationship of Indigenous Australians with this land
42% 18-34 yrs: 50%, Know a little: 50%, Uni educated: 48%, Women: 47%, Men: 36%	Instead of Indigenous advisory bodies changing with different federal governments, it will provide an ongoing voice to government over the longer term
40% 18-34 yrs: 50%, Know a little: 46%, 55+ yrs: 34%	It's a rare chance to make a major positive impact now and for future generations
40% Know a lot: 50%, Uni educated: 45%, Definitely seen media: 45%	Versions of Indigenous political participation already operate in other countries such as New Zealand, Canada, Norway, Sweden and Finland
40% CALD: 51%, 18-34 yrs: 50%, Uni educated: 46%, Know a little: 46%, 55+ yrs: 34%	A Voice will provide advice to the Federal Parliament about laws and policies, through a consultative policy making process that delivers meaningful structural change
39% CALD: 55%, 18-34 yrs: 51%, Know a little: 46%, Uni educated: 45%, Regions: 33%, 55+ yrs: 31%	It will improve outcomes for Indigenous people and communities and help 'close the gap' between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Australians on practical issues like life expectancy, educational outcomes and employment
36% Know a lot: 46%, 18-34 yrs: 43%, Uni educated: 41%, Definitely seen media: 41%	It will not interfere with the established parliamentary hierarchy – it will provide advice but will have no program delivery function or any veto power on government decisions
33% CALD: 42%, 18-34 yrs: 41%	It will improve government and parliamentary decision-making, enabling more efficient and effective use of government resources

Significantly higher / lower than the total at the 95% confidence interval.

Q. Following are some statements people have made in support of amending the Constitution to establish an Indigenous Voice to Parliament (the "YES" vote). IF SHOWN FIRST: In the next question we'll ask you about statements people have made in opposition (the "NO" vote). For each statement, do you agree or disagree it is a reason to support amending the Constitution to establish an Indigenous Voice to Parliament? Base: Eligible voters (n=1,122).

Lack of information the key barrier to Voice support but questions around racial separation and impact resonate

W

The argument which resonates most strongly against amending the Constitution to establish an Indigenous Voice to Parliament is that not enough detail has been provided about who will have a voice and how this will work (59% of voters agree).

This continues to resonate with both NO (80% agree) and YES (41% agree) voters, and with a majority of Australians regardless of gender, age, location, education or CALD status.

Other arguments from the NO case which resonate well with voters are around racial separation, impact, the necessity of Constitutional change and representativeness:

- It puts racial separation in the Constitution by giving a voice to one group, based on race, that no other group has or will have (51% agree)
- It is a waste of government funds which would be better diverted into Indigenous communities, Indigenous-led organisations, or programs and services to improve opportunities for Indigenous people (51% agree, up from 46%)
- It would not include the diversity of Indigenous circumstance and experience, just create another layer of bureaucracy and interference by 'elites' (51% agree, up from 45%)

 There are other ways for Indigenous people to have a voice without changing the Constitution (51% agree).

Least successful is the more niche argument that Sovereignty and Treaty should be prioritised ahead of a Voice to Parliament (28% agree, 25% disagree).

Other arguments that continue to resonate less well with voters include:

- A referendum is needed to make changes to the Constitution, but it would be quicker and easier to make the change via legislation (30% agree, 24% disagree)
- Over time it may come to be seen as a third chamber of Parliament (38% agree, 25% disagree).

Overall, key arguments for the NO case resonate most strongly among older voters (55+ years), who continue to be overrepresented in the NO vote.

Voter opinion changes little after considering key arguments from both sides of the debate, with a similar proportion of YES votes (44%) to NO votes (45%), and more than one in ten (11%) in need of more information or undecided. Demographic trends mirror those identified on the initial vote measure.

Lack of detail, racial separation, waste of funds, limited representation, Voice alternatives resonate for the NO case

Agreement with reasons to <u>oppose</u> amending the Constitution to establish an Indigenous Voice to Parliament (the "NO" vote)

Р	arliame	nt (the "	NO" v	ote)		TOTAL AGREE	NET AGREE Jun 2023	-DISAGREE Feb 2023
	33%	26%	6 17	% 11%	9% <mark>5</mark> %	59%	+39	+47
	31%	20%	17%	11% <mark>1</mark> 4	1% <mark>7</mark> %	51%	+26	n/a
	29%	21%	18%	13% <mark>1</mark>	<mark>1%</mark> 7%	51% 🔺	+26	+22
	26%	25%	20%	11% <mark>9</mark>	<mark>%</mark> 9%	51% 🔺	+32	+27
	24%	27%	22%	12%	<mark>8%</mark> 7%	51%	+31	+28
	28%	19%	17%	14% 13	<mark>8%</mark> 8%	48%	+20	+19
	24%	24%	21%	13% 9	<mark>9%</mark> 8%	48%	+26	+27
	20%	28%	21%	12% 9	<mark>%</mark> 9%	48%	+26	n/a
	23%	23%	21%	13% 10	<mark>%</mark> 10%	46%	+23	n/a
	16% 2	1% 22	:% <mark>12</mark> 9	% 14%	14%	38%	+12	+11
	9% 21%	29%	6 119	% <mark>12%</mark>	17%	30%	+7	+10
	11% 17%	33%	o 12	% 13%	15%	28%	+3	n/a
ee isa	gree	 Somewhat Strongly of 	•		■ Neithe ■ Can't s	-	r disagree	

Not enough detail has been provided about who will have a voice and how this will work

It puts racial separation in the Constitution by giving a voice to one group, based on race, that no other group has or will have^

It is a waste of government funds which would be better diverted into Indigenous communities, Indigenous-led organisations, or programs and services to improve opportunities for Indigenous people It would not include the diversity of Indigenous circumstance and experience, just create another layer of bureaucracy and interference by 'elites' in the lives of Indigenous people There are other ways for Indigenous people to have a voice without

changing the Constitution (e.g. parliamentary committees, using legislation to establish an Indigenous Voice to Parliament)

It is divisive and will give unequal representation to one group of people

There are other ways to recognise the special place of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in Australia's history without changing the Constitution

No one expects Indigenous Australians to think the same or have the same priorities and policy positions, yet we are being asked to put in place a voice that speaks for all of them^

The Voice won't deliver meaningful change for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people^

Over time it may come to be seen as a third chamber of Parliament

A referendum is needed to make changes to the Constitution, but it would be quicker and easier to make the change via legislation

> Sovereignty and Treaty should be prioritised ahead of a Voice to Parliament^

> > Strongly agree

Somewhat disagree

^Added in June 2023

Significantly higher A than February 2023 at the 95% confidence interval.

Q. Following are some statements people have made in opposition to amending the Constitution to establish an Indigenous Voice to Parliament (the "NO" vote). IF SHOWN FIRST: In the next question we'll ask you about statements people have made in support (the "YES" vote). For each statement, do you agree or disagree it is a reason to oppose amending the Constitution to establish an Indigenous Voice to Parliament? Eligible voters – Jun 2023 (n=1,122), Feb 2023 (n=940).

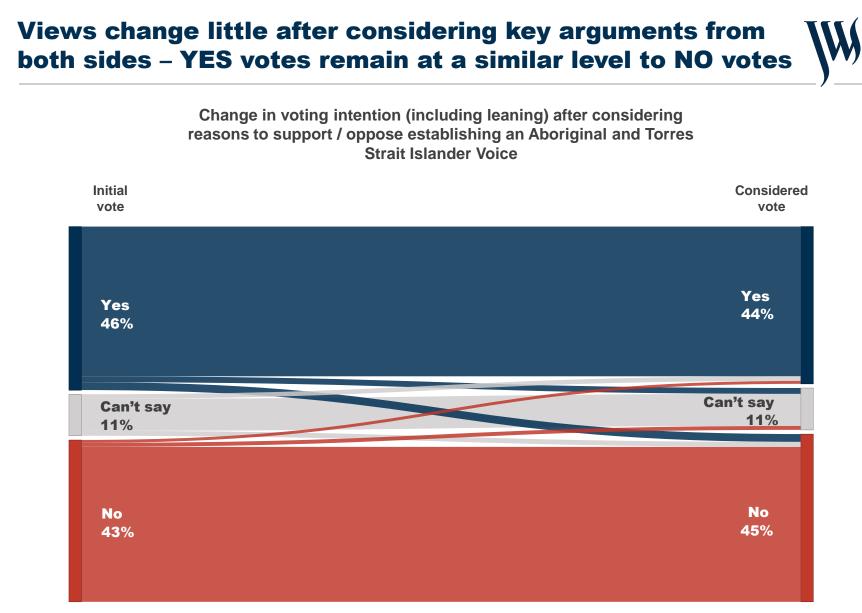
Key arguments for the NO case resonate strongly among older voters

Agreement with reasons to <u>oppose</u> amending the Constitution to establish an Indigenous Voice to Parliament (the "NO" vote)

(strongly + somewhat agree)

59%Heard of, don't understand: 73%, 55+ yrs: 67%, Definitely seen media: 64%, 18-34 yrs: 51%	Not enough detail has been provided about who will have a voice and how this will work
51% Heard of, don't understand: 60%, 55+ yrs: 59%, No uni: 56%, Definitely seen media: 56%, Uni educated: 45%	It puts racial separation in the Constitution by giving a voice to one group, based on race, that no other group has or will have
51% 55+ yrs: 57%, Definitely seen media: 56%	It is a waste of government funds which would be better diverted into Indigenous communities, Indigenous-led organisations, or programs and services to improve opportunities for Indigenous people
51% Know a lot: 60%, Definitely seen media: 58%	It would not include the diversity of Indigenous circumstance and experience, just create another layer of bureaucracy and interference by 'elites' in the lives of Indigenous people
51% Qld: 59%, Know a lot: 59%, Regions: 57%, 55+ yrs: 56%	There are other ways for Indigenous people to have a voice without changing the Constitution (e.g. parliamentary committees, using legislation to establish an Indigenous Voice to Parliament)
48% 55+ yrs: 58%, Know a lot: 58%, Definitely seen media: 53%, Men: 53%, No uni: 53%, Women: 42%, Uni educated: 42%, 18-34 yrs: 38%	It is divisive and will give unequal representation to one group of people
48% Know a lot: 58%, 55+ yrs: 56%, Regions: 54%, Definitely seen media: 53%, 18-34 yrs: 41%, WA: 37%	There are other ways to recognise the special place of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in Australia's history without changing the Constitution
48% Definitely seen media: 54%	No one expects Indigenous Australians to think the same or have the same priorities and policy positions, yet we are being asked to put in place a voice that speaks for all of them
46% Know a lot: 58%, 55+ yrs: 53%, Definitely seen media: 51%, 18-34 yrs: 37%	The Voice won't deliver meaningful change for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people
38% Know a lot: 47%, 55+ yrs: 45%, 18-34 yrs: 31%	Over time it may come to be seen as a third chamber of Parliament
30%	A referendum is needed to make changes to the Constitution, but it would be quicker and easier to make the change via legislation
28%	Sovereignty and Treaty should be prioritised ahead of a Voice to Parliament
	Significantly higher / lower than the total at the 95% confidence interval.

Q. Following are some statements people have made in opposition to amending the Constitution to establish an Indigenous Voice to Parliament (the "NO" vote). IF SHOWN FIRST: In the next question we'll ask you about statements people have made in support (the "YES" vote). For each statement, do you agree or disagree it is a reason to oppose amending the Constitution to establish an Indigenous Voice to Parliament? Base: Eligible voters (n=1,122).



Q. After reading those statements people have made about the Indigenous Voice to Parliament, even if it is just a leaning, how would you now respond to the referendum question: "Do you approve this alteration to the Constitution to recognise the First Peoples of Australia by establishing an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Voice?" / Q. Even if you're not sure, which way are you currently leaning? Base: Eligible voters (n=1,122).

Influential arguments driving the YES vote and NO vote in the Indigenous Voice to Parliament referendum



We use regression analyses to investigate which arguments in support of / opposition to amending the Constitution to establish an Indigenous Voice to Parliament (the independent variables) are influencing a 'YES' / 'NO' vote to the referendum question, postexposure to these arguments (the dependent variable).

In the 2 charts that follow:

- The horizontal axis represents the proportion of voters who agree each argument is a reason to support / oppose amending the Constitution to establish an Indigenous Voice to Parliament. Arguments plotted on the right side of the charts record higher agreement than those on the left.
- The vertical axis represents the Standardised Beta Coefficient from each multiple regression performed. This measures the contribution of each argument to the model. Arguments plotted further away from the horizontal axis have a greater influence on voting 'YES' / 'NO' to the referendum question.

Based on this analysis, arguments that have the greatest influence on voting 'YES' are:

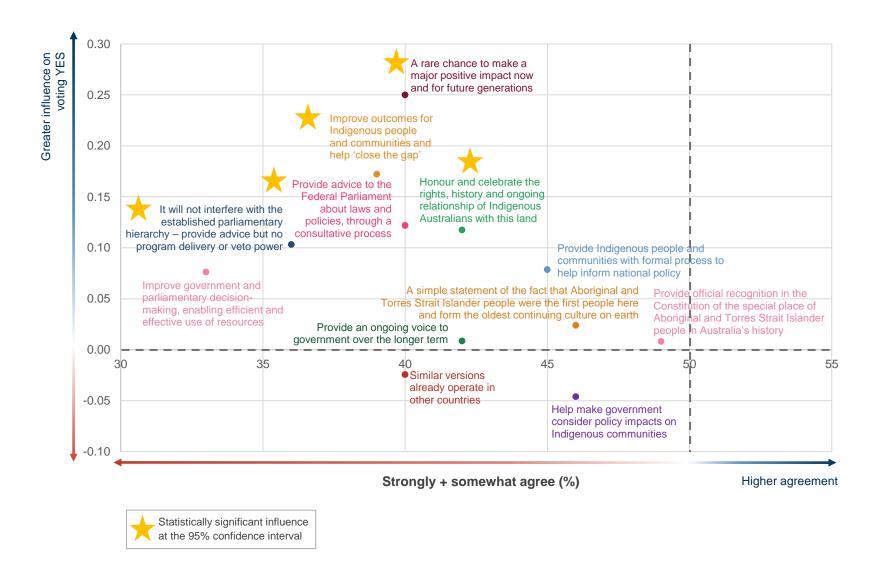
- It's a rare chance to make a major positive impact now and for future generations
- It will improve outcomes for Indigenous people and communities and help 'close the gap'

- A Voice will provide advice to the Federal Parliament about laws and policies, through a consultative policy making process that delivers meaningful structural change
- It will honour and celebrate the rights, history and ongoing relationship of Indigenous Australians with this land
- It will not interfere with the established parliamentary hierarchy – it will provide advice but will have no program delivery function or any veto power on government decisions.

Arguments that have the greatest influence on voting 'NO' are:

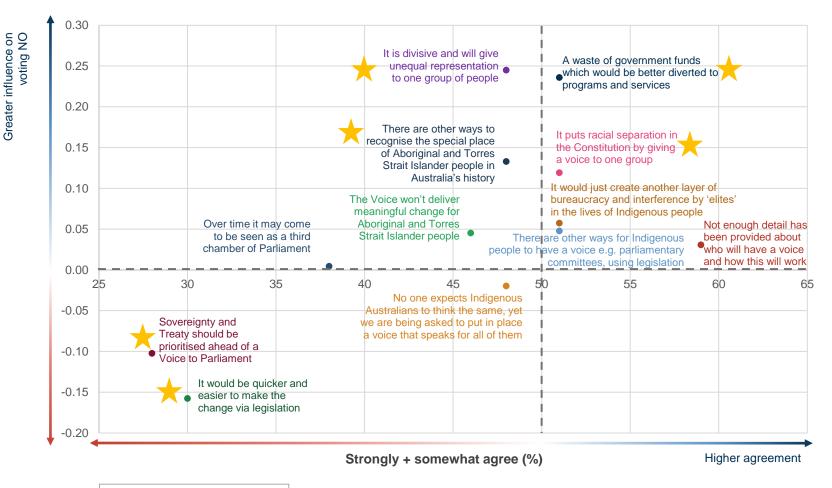
- It is divisive and will give unequal representation to one group of people
- It is a waste of government funds which would be better diverted into Indigenous communities, Indigenous-led organisations, programs and services to improve opportunities for Indigenous people
- There are other ways to recognise the special place of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in Australia's history without changing the Constitution
- It puts racial separation in the Constitution by giving a voice to one group, based on race, that no other group has or will have.

Influence of the YES case arguments on voting YES in the Indigenous Voice to Parliament referendum



The multiple regression analysis model above has an R^2 value of 0.654 and adjusted R^2 value of 0.648, which means that 65% of the variance in Australian **J W S** R E S E A R C H 31 voters' voting directions can be predicted from these variables. The overall model effect was statistically significant at p = 0.0001, F = 107.63.

Influence of the NO case arguments on voting NO in the Indigenous Voice to Parliament referendum



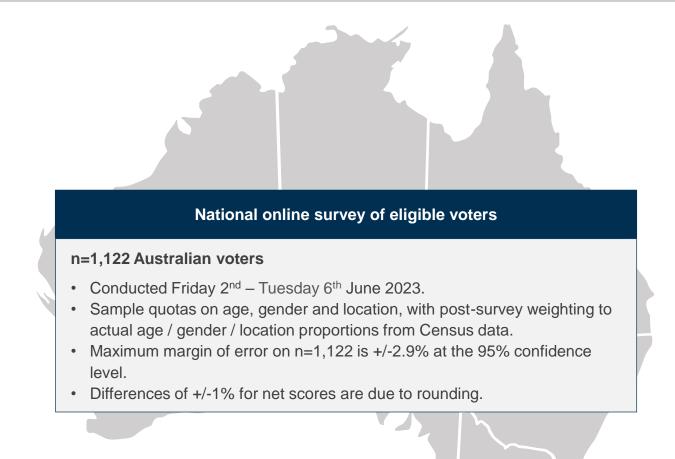
Statistically significant influence at the 95% confidence interval

The multiple regression analysis model above has an R^2 value of 0.524 and adjusted R^2 value of 0.515, which means that 52% of the variance in Australian **J W S R E S E A R C H** 32 voters' voting directions can be predicted from these variables. The overall model effect was statistically significant at p = 0.0001, F = 64.00.

Methodology

Survey methodology





The research was conducted in compliance with AS-ISO 20252.

THERE ARE OVER 26 MILLION PEOPLE IN AUSTRALIA....

FIND OUT WHAT THEY'RE THINKING.

Contact us 03 8685 8555 Follow us @JWSResearch

John Scales Founder jscales@jwsresearch.com

Jessica Lai Research Director jlai@jwsresearch.com Mark Zuker Managing Director <u>mzuker@jwsresearch.com</u>

Cassandra Marks Account Manager cmarks@jwsresearch.com

