

YOUNG PEOPLE'S ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE AUSTRALIAN- UNITED STATES ALLIANCE

A report for the Independent and Peaceful Australia Network

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INTRODUCTION

Public opinion research into attitudes in Australia towards the Australia-United States alliance (ANZUS) is limited. Polling has identified that there is a majority support for the alliance, however the analyses to date have not investigated people's beliefs underpinning their perceptions of the benefits, costs and consequences of the alliance. The net result of this is claims being made that the Australian public is "highly confused" when it comes to their attitudes towards ANZUS (Taylor 2016, p. 83). The Independent and Peaceful Australia Network (IPAN) is currently seeking to fill this gap by undertaking primary research as part of their People's Inquiry, which is asking people in Australia their opinion on 'What are the costs and consequences of the Australia-United States alliance?'

Previous research has identified intergenerational differences in opinion regarding the benefits, or otherwise, of ANZUS. Specifically, the findings suggest less support for the alliance from younger people. The reasons posited for this difference include increased rates of higher education; liberal thinking; current world events; political experiences of age cohorts; and concern relating to the risk of conflict that the alliance may bring to Australia. To support IPAN's research, the primary aim of this paper is to enrich data relating to the attitudes and opinion of the younger generation, focussing on the 18-25 age group. This current research unpacks issues underpinning respondent attitudes towards the alliance and in doing so, identifies that the apparent "confusion" of the Australian public is in fact a nuance of opinion, stemming from the multifarious impacts an alliance with the United States may have on Australia.

HISTORY OF ANZUS

The Australia-United States alliance is formally stipulated under the ANZUS treaty. The treaty, signed in San Francisco 1 September 1951 and entered into force 29 April 1952, was the first defence pact Australia entered without Britain (Gyngell 2017, p. 52). The treaty committed Australia, New Zealand, and the United States to "consult together whenever in the opinion any one of them the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the Parties is threatened in the Pacific" (ANZUS art. III). In 1986 the U.S. suspended New Zealand from ANZUS for their prohibition of American nuclear submarines docking in NZ territory.

The ANZUS treaty was the outcome of consistent efforts of the then Minister for External Affairs, Percy Spender (Kelly 2018). In the post-World War II era, Australia was in a vulnerable position. The potential threat of Japanese aggravation, a perceived communist rise in South-East Asia, and a weakened Britain, influenced establishment of a new Australian defence strategy (Kelton 2008, p. 24; Gyngell 2017, p. 49). Spender believed a formal defence pact with the rising global-hegemon, the U.S., would afford greater security and defence-production capabilities (Kelly 2018, p. 72 & 88-90). The U.S. was initially reluctant to sign a formal treaty, but eventually agreed to secure Australian commitment to Japanese military containment and the foreseeable Korean war (Kelly 2018, pp. 71-72; Taylor 2017, p. 79-80).

ANZUS heralded a formal military link between Australia and the U.S. Each successive war in which Australia supported the U.S. were 'symbolic gestures' to prove Australia as a worthy U.S. ally, rather than providing vital defence (Gyngell 2017). While ANZUS was not explicitly enacted during the Korean and Vietnam wars it was used as a political strategy to forge a stronger Australian-US alliance and military link (Gyngell 2017, p. 50 & p. 61-64). The Afghanistan war was the first 'official'

operation of ANZUS. Prime Minister John Howard publicly announced Australia would militaristically support its ally in response to the 9/11 attacks on the U.S. (Gyngell 2017, p. 206), and set a new precedence for the enactment of ANZUS. Gyngell (2017, p. 210 & 215) explains, Howard's arguments for Australian involvement in Iraq were to support their ally, and the belief that problems in West Asia were also an Australian security issue. The net result of this action was a widening of the purview of ANZUS outside the domain of the Pacific-region (Gyngell 2017 p. 214-215); a far cry from Spenders' initial intention of the treaty, albeit a reflection of Spenders' push for Australian involvement in the Korean war. Of note is that in 1999, Australia sought U.S. military support in the Pacific-region during the East Timor conflict to support Australia's leadership role in peace-keeping missions. The U.S. declined to 'put boots on the ground' and instead offered diplomacy support (Taylor 2016, p. 293-294).

The ANZUS defence link also involved subsequent agreements that established multiple U.S. military and intelligence bases on Australian soil. In 1967, the North West Cape Agreement established a radio communication installation base. The Pine Gap Agreement (1970) launched a satellite surveillance Joint Defence Facility. In 2014, the Force Posture Agreement negotiated an annual rotational stationing of 2500 U.S. marines in Darwin. Intelligence cooperation operations at Joint Facilities in Australia are "the core of the modern alliance relationship" (Cottrill 2007, p. 44).

Australia has a history of strategically linking itself to more powerful states to ensure security. As former Prime Minister, Robert Menzies famously said "No country in the world more than ours needs great and powerful friends" (Gyngell 2019, p. 46). He was referring to Britain and America, the two powerful 'protector' states Australia has based its defence planning upon. A prominent defence strategy for Australia has involved militaristically supporting more powerful states to secure national security (Kelton 2008, p. 24). Australia's alliances, and subsequent military support for US led wars, are evidence of the fear-factor within the 'fear of entrapment and abandonment' dichotomy of alliances (Gyngell 2017; Kelton 2008, p. 24). Australia's support for U.S. foreign policy has resulted in Australia, at times, being named America's 'lap-dog' or 'sheriff' in the Pacific-region. ANZUS is one of Australia's longest lasting, significant foreign policy choices. There are militaristic advantages and some trade benefits (Charavorty 1976, p. 332) from having a bilateral security agreement with a global hegemon, it does however also come with costs and consequences.

ANZUS POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

There is a prevailing cross-party support for the Australia-U.S. alliance. Former Prime Ministers across the aisle have advocated for ANZUS. Howard labelled it "the cornerstone of our defence position" (Stott-Despoja & Bartlett 2010, p. 287). Julia Gillard identified the U.S. as "an ally for all the years to come" (Taylor 2016, p. 75). The few politicians to criticise the alliance received political and public backlash. Previous Labor leader, Mark Latham, vehemently contested ANZUS which cost him considerable amount of political support (Taylor 2016, pp.81-81). Bob Carr and Malcolm Fraser were also openly sceptical of the alliance due to security concerns. Fraser called for the alliance to be removed (Taylor 2016, p. 77). Carr was outspoken on issues ANZUS brought to Australian neutrality during conflicts between the U.S. and China (Taylor 2016, p. 77).

During the 1997 Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade (JSCFADT) *ANZUS alliance* inquiry, there were multiple comments regarding the lack of discussion and public understanding of the US-alliance. Labour Minister Kim Beazley declared the need to "detail the significance of the joint facilities" towards constituents, to quell public scepticism and "win over

public opinion" (*Hansard*, 11 August 1997, p. 46). The lack of "transparent" and "considered and well constructed debate" around the links between the alliance and economic issues was remarked by the founder of the Australian American Leadership Dialogue, Phil Scanlan (*Hansard* 11 August 1997, p. 77). There was also specific emphasis on the younger generation's scepticism towards the US-alliance and the requirement to provide education to improve ANZUS support amongst this group. International relations professor, Bill Tow mentioned, "younger people in Australia continue to hold a fair bit of scepticism" towards ANZUS (*Hansard* 12 August 1997, p.140). Doug Paal, former U.S. State Department staff and CIA analyst proclaimed the "ageing of the wartime generation put greater requirements" for discussions with "younger generations about the meaning of the relationship" (*Hansard* 12 August 1997, p. 151-152).

Almost a decade later, the JSCFADT once more indicated a continuing lack of public knowledge about ANZUS. A report on evidence provided to the *Australia's Defence Relations with the United States* inquiry, declared there was "a view that more could be done to increase public knowledge of the value of the alliance" (2016, p. 16). These government level statements over a long-period, signify the ongoing issue of lack of public understanding of ANZUS, particularly amongst the younger generation.

This notable lack of debate in government and the public arena on the benefits, costs, and consequences of ANZUS, has created an "unhealthy situation", especially due to the rapidly changing geo-political climate in the Pacific-region (Taylor 2016, p. 82-83).

PREVIOUS & CURRENT RESEARCH

Australian research into the public opinion of ANZUS is limited and has relied on analyses of secondary data sources such as Australian Electoral Studies (AES) data, or Lowy Institute polling, as opposed to undertaking primary research.

Previous research that examined intergenerational differences in relation to defence, security and terrorism identified a positive correlation between ageing and increased ANZUS support, with people over 80 years of age being four times more likely than those aged 18-24 to view ANZUS as 'very important' (McAllister 2008, p. 7). The report identified public support for ANZUS peaked directly following the 9/11 attacks and was at its lowest following the East Timor crisis, though there remained a supportive majority (McAllister 2008, p. 15-16). This data indicates that ANZUS public support is closely linked with threat perception and belief the U.S. will provide military assistance to Australia.

Lowy Institute polls uncover more specific attitudes of young people towards ANZUS. A 2009 poll found that of respondents aged 18-29, 53% considered that the alliance had maintained its level of importance over time; 25% that it had become 'more important', and 22%, 'less important' (Lowy Institute 2009). In a 2019 poll that asked whether an "Alliance makes it more likely Australia would be drawn into a war in Asia that would not be in Australia's interests", 76% of those aged 18-29 agreed (Lowy Institute 2019). A 2020 poll asked if "Australia should act in accordance with our security alliance with the US even if it means supporting US military action in Asia", and from the 18-25 age group, over two-thirds 69% agreed (23% 'somewhat', and only 5% 'strongly') (Lowy Institute 2020).

THE FOUNDATIONS OF PUBLIC OPINION

In 2015, Miller produced the most comprehensive analysis of intergenerational opinions on ANZUS in Australia. Using AES data from an array of years, Miller (2015, p. 450) identified that support for ANZUS is positively related to “age, income, being Anglo-Australian and self-identifying as Christian”. Less support was found amongst “left wingers, women and individuals holding a bachelor’s degree or higher” (Miller 2015, p. 450).

Miller (2015, p. 454) found that on average, a 21-year-old views ANZUS as ‘very important’ at a rate of 39%, which is 12% less than the average 60-year-old. The analysis also suggested that 82% of people 60 years of age believe “that at least one country in the Asia-Pacific poses a threat to Australia’s security”, compared to a 78% probability for a 20-year-old Australian (Miller 2015, p. 458). The research found that women were found to be significantly less likely to support ANZUS than men (Miller 2015, p. 450); and that those without a degree are “much more likely” to view the alliance as important, however degree-holders hold the view of “either very or fairly important” (Miller 2015, p. 455). Miller also found a negative correlation between periods of crisis and ANZUS support, suggesting “Australian voters cleave more closely to the US alliance in times of geopolitical instability” (Miller 2015, p. 450).

Miller (2015, p. 455) concluded that ‘age effects’ and ‘period effects’, as opposed to ‘cohort effects’ were likely the most significant influences on individual’s opinion towards ANZUS. Age and the recent experiences near the time/period respondents are surveyed, have a considerable influence on opinion towards ANZUS. Miller (2015, p. 455-456) suggests ‘formative events’ during young adulthood had no lasting effect on ANZUS support.

ANZUS PUBLIC OPINION - INTERGENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES

Walsh (2013) observed a substantial difference in opinion towards ANZUS amongst people under/over forty years-of-age and believes this is indicative of future problems for the alliance. This is a ‘generational replacement’ theory approach (Miller 2015, p. 443). This theory suggests attitudes are developed from societal influences during ‘formative’ years of young adulthood (van der Brug & Franklin 2017, p. 429-431). Increases in tertiary education, for example, is perceived as influencing a generational shift towards liberal thinking (Miller 2015, p. 446). Miller (2015, p. 448) explains, ‘generational replacement’ theory suggests increases in education and multiculturalism would influence a value shift in Australia. As a result, the younger generation’s scepticism towards the alliance will over time, replace the support of previous generations.

Taylor & Dean (2013) take a different approach, contending political attitudes are explained by age, stating, “world views often evolve and mature with age”. This exemplifies ‘age theory’ discussed by political psychologists, who suggest conservative thinking escalates with age (Miller 2015, p. 443). Research has found “linear relationships between age and social-cultural conservatism” and that increase in age parallels level of cognitive ‘openness’; receptivity to change (Cornelis et al. 2009, p. 71). Miller (2015, p. 448) explains this approach to attitudes would suggest that “overall support for ANZUS in Australia will remain the same”, as the younger generation’s scepticism of today would shift to a pro-ANZUS stance over time.

McAlister's (2008, p. 17-19) suggests, unique experiences of the WWII generation contributed to a pro-ANZUS stance, whereas the Iraq war influenced less favourability amongst the younger cohort. This exemplifies 'cohort effect' theory (Miller 2015, p. 443), which suggests shared experiences of key events within a specific era create identifiable groups with a "distinctive composition and character reflecting the circumstances" (Ryder 1965, p. 845). 'Cohort theory' implies, significant shared experiences may shift cohorts' perspective and thus, are not 'pre-determined' attitudes as described in 'generational replacement' theory. McAlister (2008) suggests, the perception of ANZUS young people have in the future is dependent of events in the future political context (cited in Miller 2015, p. 447).

METHODOLOGY

This primary data collection was undertaken to support IPAN's current research project, specifically to enrich IPAN's data-pool and analysis in relation to the attitudes of the younger generation towards ANZUS. To facilitate this, an online survey, based on the IPAN survey questions, was developed.

The survey comprised of 13 fixed-response and one open-ended question. Five related to demographics. The overall theme of the survey is related to opinions on the benefits, costs, and consequences of ANZUS.

Conducting an online survey prevented 'social desirability bias'; a phenomenon where individuals answer according to social expectations if observed (Harrigan 2019). The survey did not collect names of respondents for ethical considerations of privacy and anonymity. Respondents had easy access to the survey via weblinks or a unique QR code. Survey marketing involved online distributions of the weblink via social media platforms on private profiles and public pages, as well pinning up flyers around the Macquarie University campus with the QR code.

This paper will focus only on the age bracket of 18-25. The data from this sample group will be used in a statistical and theoretical analysis. This research is designed to provide an overview of the beliefs and perceptions of young people to the Australian US alliance. To investigate this, the evaluation uses both descriptive (uni-variate) and bi-variate statistical analyses. The descriptive analyses provide an account of the over-all responses to the survey questions. In doing so, they provide a picture of what the young adult survey respondents believe about the alliance.

Following this, the evaluation focuses on a series of bi-variate analyses to investigate the relationships between survey questions and responses, thereby providing insight into why the respondents believe what they do about the alliance. The report analyses relationships that were found to be statistically significant and thereby, ensuring that the findings are due to systematic variation rather than chance. Data was analysed using Qualtrics XR and Pearson's chi-squared test is used to determine whether there was a statistically significant relationships between survey questions/responses.

The theoretical analysis will draw on the three theories of attitude development towards ANZUS, – age, cohort effect, and generational replacement – to hypothesise future opinions respondents will have towards ANZUS and relate these to overall public conceptions. A caveat to consider during the interpretation of these findings is that due to the survey distribution method, the majority of respondents are likely to be Macquarie University students. Previous research has demonstrated a link between higher education and less support for ANZUS.

DATA ANALYSIS

A total of 149 people responded to the online survey. Of these, 120 were aged 18-25 years. Consistent with the purpose of this report, the following data analyses focus on responses from the 18-25 age group only. The demographic profile of the survey respondent group is as follows (see Table 1 for complete demographics of respondents aged 18-25):

- Females are slightly over-represented, making up 58.3% (n=70) of the respondent group.
- The majority of the survey respondents (80.0%, n=96) had lived in Australia for their entire life; 15% (n=18) had lived in Australia for 7+ years; and only 6 respondents (5%) had lived in Australia for 6 or less years.
- The two most commonly reported education achievement levels were Higher School Certificate or diploma, (51.7%); and a Bachelor's Degree (42.5%).

An important issue relative to the survey results is the respondents' perception on the extent of their knowledge about the Australia-US alliance. Only 18 (15%) respondents believed they had a great deal or a lot of knowledge about the alliance. A total of 47 (39.2%) reported knowing a moderate amount; a further 37 (30.8%) that they knew a little and 18 (15%) reported not knowing anything at all.

Table 1

Survey respondents demographics

Q2: What gender are you?	Male	Female	Non-binary		
	40.0% (n=48)	58.3% (n=70)	1.7% (n=2)		
Q3: How long have you lived in Australia?	Whole life	7+ years	4-6 years	1-3 years	
	80.0% (n=96)	15.0% (n=18)	1.7% (n=2)	3.3% (n=4)	
Q4: What is your highest level of education?	Master's degree	Bachelor's degree	High school diploma	TAFE	Prefer not to say
	1.7% (n=2)	42.5% (n=51)	51.7% (n=62)	3.3% (n=4)	0.8% (n=1)
Q6: How much knowledge do you have about the Australian-US alliance?	A great deal	A lot	A moderate amount	A little	None at all
	5.8% (n=7)	9.2% (n=11)	39.2% (n=47)	30.8% (n=37)	15.0% (n=18)

DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

Respondents were asked whether being in an alliance with the U.S. puts Australia at greater risk of being involved in conflict. As Figure 1 indicates, over three-quarters of the survey respondents (79%) agreed that ANZUS puts Australia at greater risk of being involved in conflict (29.4% strongly agree, 49.6% somewhat agree). This is despite half the respondents believing Australia would be 'worse off' without ANZUS.

Figure 1

Survey Question 7: Being in an Alliance with the US puts Australia in greater risk of being involved in conflict

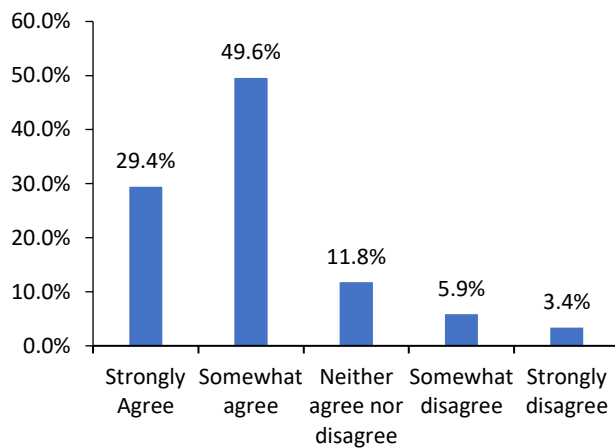
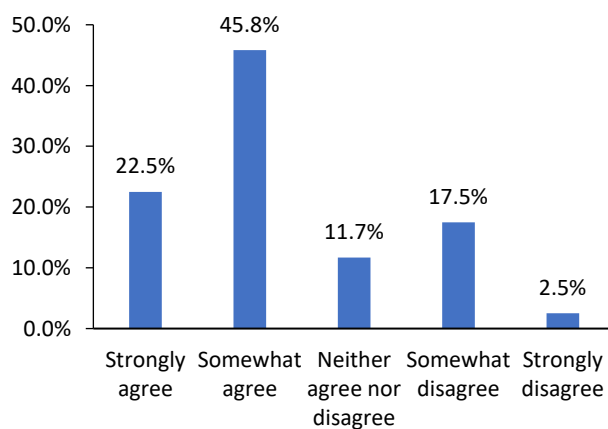


Figure 2 illustrates that just over one-fifth of respondents strongly agreed the U.S. would come to Australia's aid if its security were threatened and just under half (45.8%) "somewhat agreed". One-fifth of respondents believed the U.S. would not come to Australia's aid. This finding suggests considerable hesitation in relation to the protection that ANZUS affords Australia.

Figure 2

Survey Question 8: The United States would come to Australia's aid if Australia's security was threatened

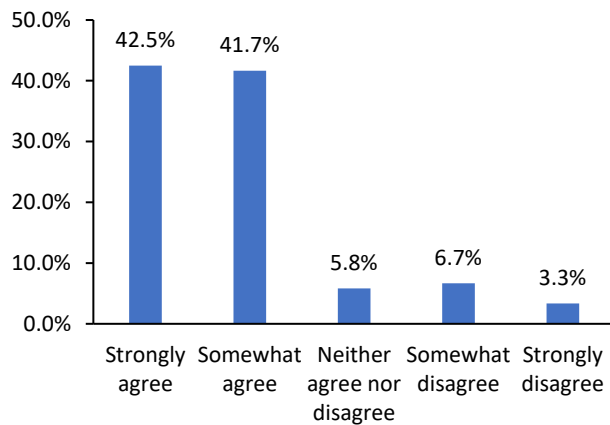


There was a strong affirmative response to the question of ANZUS bringing potentially for war, with the vast majority of respondents (84.2%) of the opinion that ANZUS increases likelihood that

Australia could be drawn into a war not in its interests (see Figure 3). Of these, 42.5% ‘strongly agreed’ and 41.7% in the ‘somewhat agreed’. This illustrates that the younger generation have a potent conception that the US-alliance may bring the consequence of war.

Figure 3

Survey Question 9: Australia’s alliance with the United States makes it more likely that Australia will be drawn into a war that would not be in Australia’s interests



Respondents showed a more dispersed pattern of beliefs regarding the harming of Australia’s international reputation as a consequence of constant support and participation in U.S. foreign policy (see figure 4). There is equal sentiment across the positions of ‘strongly agree’ (25.8%), ‘somewhat agree’ (27.5%), and ‘neither agree nor disagree’ (23.2%) compared to the other categories. The data does, however, suggest that amongst the younger generation, there is a lean towards the perspective that there has been some harm to Australia’s international reputation due its unwavering support for U.S. foreign policy, with the two ‘agree’ groups comprising 53.3% of all responses.

Figure 4

Survey Question 10: Australia’s international reputation has been harmed by its constant support for and participation in U.S. foreign policy

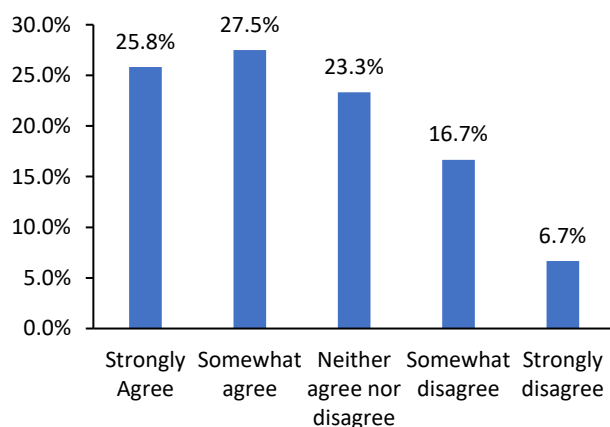
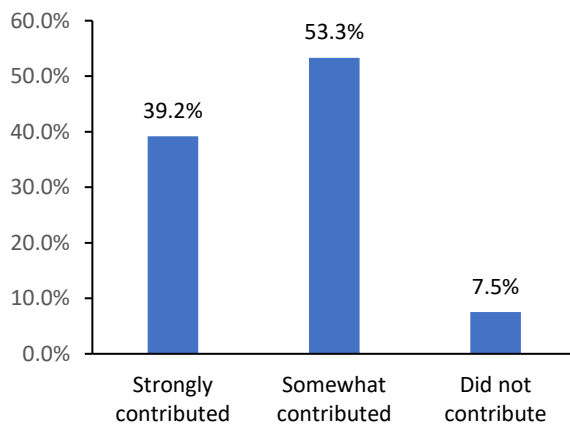


Figure 5 indicates the vast majority (92.5%) of respondents believe Australia’s active adherence to U.S. foreign policy has contributed to a deteriorating trade relationship with China. Most respondents answered, ‘somewhat contributed’ (53.3%), whereas 39.2% answered ‘strongly contributed’. This shows a large consensus amongst the respondent group on this issue.

Figure 5

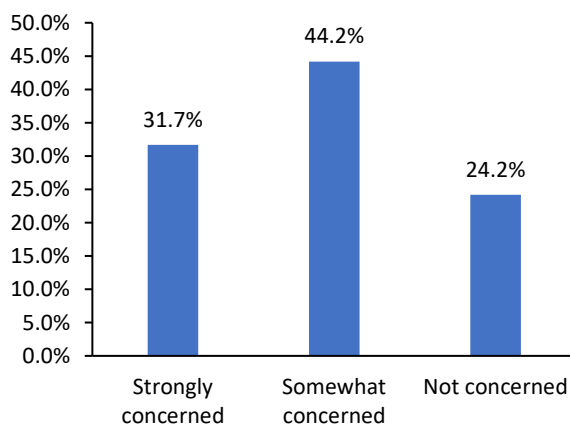
Q11: To what extent do you believe that Australia's active adherence to U.S foreign policy has contributed to Australia's deteriorating trade relationship with China over recent years?



As Figure 6 illustrates, the respondents strongly leaned towards the idea that Australia could be drawn into a war with China because of ANZUS. A total of 75.9% of respondents reported such a concern - with the largest group reporting being 'somewhat concerned' (44.2%), followed by 'strongly concerned' (31.7%). Those not concerned were the smallest group of 24.2%.

Figure 6

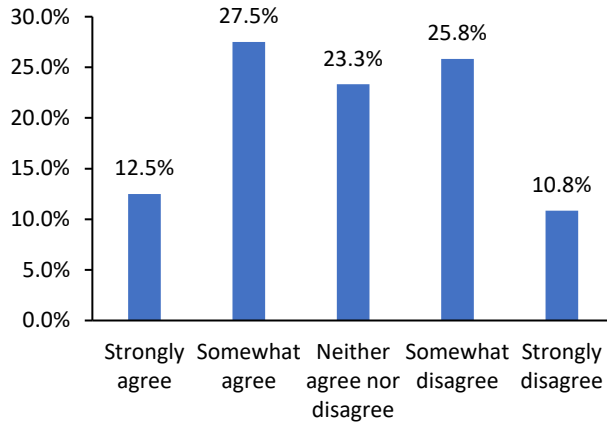
Survey Question 12: Are you concerned that because of the U.S alliance, Australia could be drawn into a war with China?



There was a variety of opinions in response to the question on whether Australia is safer due to the basing of U.S. military forces and intelligence gathering installations on Australian territory (see Figure 7). There were fewer strong opinions on the matter with only 12.5% stating 'strongly agree', and 10.8% strongly disagreeing. There is a congruence in the number of responses of 'somewhat agree' (27.5%), 'somewhat disagree' (25.8%), and 'neither agree nor disagree' (23.3%).

Figure 7

Survey Question 13: The basing of United States military forces/intelligence gathering installations on Australian territory makes Australia safer?

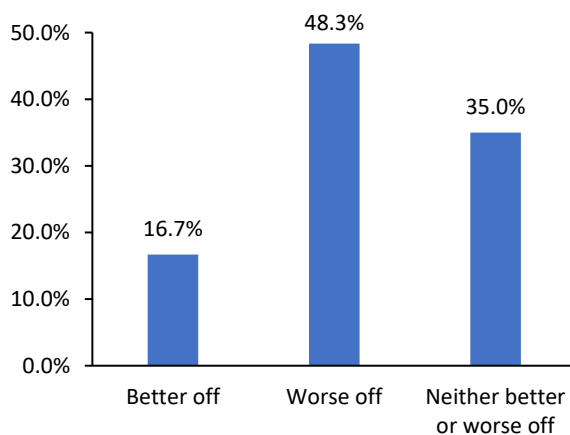


The pivotal question in the survey asked respondents their opinion in relation to the following: Q 14- Overall, if Australia was to end its alliance with the United States, Australia would be; better off, worse off or neither better nor worse off.

As Figure 8 indicates, just under half of respondents reported the belief that Australia would be 'worse off' ending ANZUS, 48.3%. Following this was the group believing that ending ANZUS would have no impact at 35%. Only 16.7% of respondents reported Australia would be better off to end ANZUS. This finding suggests there is considerable support in the 18-25 age group for a continuation of ANZUS.

Figure 8

Survey Question 14: Overall, if Australia was to end its alliance with the United States, Australia would be



COMPARATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

There is no statistically significant relationship between respondents' gender and their opinion of whether Australia would be better/worse off without ANZUS. Though Table 2 illustrates that there is some gender disparity in opinion.

Female respondents showed the largest numbers of a lack of support towards ANZUS, with 18.6% stating Australia would be 'better off' without it, and 41.4% stating 'neither better nor worse off'. Though almost half (40.0%) of the female respondents answered 'worse off'

Male respondents showed a higher level of support for ANZUS, with 62.5% believing Australia would be worse off without ANZUS and 25.0% stating 'neither better nor worse off'. The lowest percentage (12.5%) believing Australia would be 'better off' without ANZUS were from male respondents.

Table 2

Gender distinctions in overall opinion of Australia-United States alliance (Survey question 14)

	Overall, if Australia was to end its alliance with the United States, Australia would be		
What gender are you?	Better off	Worse off	Neither better nor worse off
Male	12.5% (n=6)	62.5% (n=30)	25.0% (n=12)
Female	18.6% (n=13)	40.0% (n= 28)	41.4% (n=29)
Non-binary	50.0% (n=1)	0	50.0% (n=1)

Table 3 illustrates a strong statistically significant relationship between respondents opinions of the harm to Australia's international reputation from constant support for and participation in U.S. foreign policy and thoughts on whether Australia's active adherence to U.S. foreign policy has contributed to a deteriorating trade relationship with China.

All respondents (100%) who strongly agreed/somewhat agreed Australia's reputation had been harmed by support of and participation in U.S. foreign policy also believed Australia's deteriorating trade relationship with China has been damaged by active adherence to U.S. foreign policy. The relationship was particularly evident in the 'strongly agree' group who believe there is a strong contribution (74.2%). This same opinion was reported by around 90% of the remaining response categories.

Table 3*Comparing Q10 & Q11 responses*

	Q11: Trade relationship with China		
Q10: International reputation	Strongly contributed	Somewhat contributed	Did not contribute
Strongly agree	74.2% (n=23)	25.8% (n=8)	0.0%
Somewhat agree	36.4% (n=12)	63.6% (n=21)	0.0%
Neither agree nor disagree	25.0% (n=7)	64.3% (n=18)	10.7% (n=3)
Somewhat disagree	20.0% (n=4)	65.0% (n=13)	15.0% (n=3)
Strongly disagree	12.5% (n=1)	50.0% (n=4)	37.5% (n=3)

- Q10: *Australia's international reputation has been harmed by its constant support for and participation in U.S. foreign policy*
- Q11: *To what extent do you believe that Australia's active adherence to U.S. foreign policy has contributed to Australia's deteriorating trade relationship with China over the years?*

There is a statistically significant relationship between respondents beliefs that Australia's constant support and participation in U.S. foreign policy and concern the alliance could draw Australia into a war with China (see Table 4).

The vast majority (90.3%) of respondents who strongly agree Australian reputation has been harmed by supporting U.S. foreign policy, are concerned that ANZUS could draw Australia into a war with China (51.6% 'strongly concerned', 38.7% 'somewhat concerned').

Similar high-level concern is also evident in other groups. Amongst respondents who 'somewhat agree' Australia's reputation has been harmed, 84.9% are concerned that the alliance could influence a war between Australia and China (39.4% 'strongly concerned', 45.5% 'somewhat concerned').

Those who 'neither agree nor disagree' Australia's reputation has been harmed also show high-levels of concern towards a war with China due to ANZUS (17.9% 'strongly concerned', 53.6% 'somewhat concerned').

Table 4*Comparing Q10 & Q12 responses*

	Q12: War with China		
Q10: International reputation	Strongly concerned	Somewhat concerned	Not concerned
Strongly agree	51.6% (n=16)	38.7% (n=12)	9.7% (n=3)
Somewhat agree	39.4% (n=13)	45.5% (n=15)	15.2% (n=5)
Neither agree nor disagree	17.9% (n=5)	53.6% (n=15)	28.6% (n=8)
Somewhat disagree	20.0% (n=4)	40.0% (n=8)	40.0% (n=8)
Strongly disagree	0.0%	37.5% (n=3)	62.5% (n=5)

- Q10: *Australia's international reputation has been harmed by its constant support for and participation in U.S. foreign policy*
- Q12: *Are you concerned that because of the US alliance, Australia could be drawn into a war with China?*

Table 5 demonstrates a strong statistically significant relationship between respondents' belief that Australia's international reputation has been harmed and that ANZUS could bring Australia into a war not in its interests.

Respondents who 'strongly agree' Australia's international reputation has been harmed show 100% consensus that ANZUS could draw Australia into a war not in its interests (83.9% 'strongly agree', 16.1% 'somewhat agree'). This suggests a strong link between people's beliefs that Australia's international reputation is likely to have further negative effects on Australia by continuing the alliance with America.

Those who 'somewhat agree' Australia's reputation has been harmed also have an 87.9% majority believing also ANZUS could influence a war not in Australia's interests (39.4% 'strongly agree', 48.5% 'somewhat agree').

An interesting finding is that a large proportion of the group who 'neither agree nor disagree' Australia's reputation has been harmed from U.S. foreign policy support also believe that Australia could be drawn into a war not in its interests due to the US-alliance (28.6% 'strongly agree', 60.7% 'somewhat agree').

Table 5

Comparing Q10 & Q9 responses

	Q9: War not in AU interests				
Q10: International reputation	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
Strongly agree	83.9% (n=26)	16.1% (n=5)	0	0	0
Somewhat agree	39.4% (n=13)	48.5% (n=16)	0	6.1% (n=2)	6.1% (n=2)
Neither agree nor disagree	28.6% (n=8)	60.7% (n=17)	3.6% (n=1)	7.1% (n=2)	0
Somewhat disagree	20.0% (n=4)	45.0% (n=9)	25.0% (n=5)	10.0% (n=2)	0
Strongly disagree	0.0%	37.5% (n=3)	12.5% (n=1)	25.0% (n=2)	25.0% (n=2)

- Q10: Australia's international reputation has been harmed by its constant support for and participation in U.S. foreign policy
- Q9: Australia's alliance with the United States makes it more likely that Australia will be drawn into a war that would not be in Australia's interests

Table 6 displays a statistically significant relationship between beliefs on whether having U.S. bases in Australian territory makes it safer and whether ANZUS brings Australia higher likelihood risk of conflict.

Out of the respondents who 'strongly agree' U.S. bases make Australia safer, over 50% also believe ANZUS increases Australia's risk of being involved in conflict (20% 'strongly agree', 33.3% 'somewhat agree').

The group that ‘somewhat agree’ U.S. bases bring safety to Australia, a vast majority of 81.8% believe that ANZUS puts Australia in the position of increased conflict risk (27.3% ‘strongly agree’, 54.5% ‘somewhat agree’). This finding is consistent amongst the other three respondent groups.

Table 6

Comparing Q13 & Q7 responses

	Q7: U.S. alliance brings conflict risk				
Q13: Safety from U.S. bases	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
Strongly agree	20.0% (n=3)	33.3% (n=5)	6.7% (n=1)	26.7% (n=4)	13.3% (n=2)
Somewhat agree	27.3% (n=9)	54.5% (n=18)	12.1% (n=4)	3.0% (n=1)	3.0% (n=1)
Neither agree nor disagree	25.9% (n=7)	51.9% (n=14)	18.5% (n=5)	3.7% (n=1)	0
Somewhat disagree	22.6% (n=7)	64.5% (n=20)	9.7% (n=3)	0	3.2% (n=1)
Strongly disagree	69.2% (n=9)	15.4% (n=2)	7.7% (n=1)	7.7% (n=1)	0

- Q13: *The basing of United States military forces/intelligence gathering installations on Australian territory makes Australia safer*
- Q7: *Being in an alliance with the US puts Australia in greater risk of being involve in conflict*

There is no statistically significant relationship between respondents’ belief that Australia would be better/worse off without ANZUS and their belief that the alliance brings Australia greater risk of conflict (see Table 7). This comparison does, however, show that amongst all respondents, regardless of overall ANZUS support, agree to some extent that it does bring Australia a higher risk of conflict.

A noteworthy finding is that those who ‘neither agree nor disagree’ that Australia would be better/worse off without the alliance have a 33% response rate stating they ‘strongly agree’ the alliance brings Australia higher risk of conflict. This sheds light on the group’s opinion of consequences of the alliance, though having beliefs that Australia would remain the same without ANZUS.

Table 7

Comparing Q14 & Q7 responses

	Q7: U.S. alliance brings conflict risk				
Q14: Australia without ANZUS	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
Better off	40.0% (n=8)	50.0% (n=10)	10.0% (n=2)	0	0
Neither better nor worse off	33.3% (n=14)	52.4% (n=22)	14.0% (n=4)	2.4% (n=1)	2.4% (n=1)
Worse off	22.8% (n=13)	47.4% (n=27)	9.5% (n=8)	10.5% (n=6)	5.3% (n=3)

- Q14: *Overall, if Australia was to end its alliance with the United States, Australia would be...*
- Q7: *Being in an alliance with the US puts Australia in greater risk of being involve in conflict*

Table 8 indicates a statistically significant relationship between respondents' opinions on whether Australia would be better/ worse without ANZUS and if the alliance brings Australia higher likelihood of being drawn into a war not in its interests.

Respondents who believe Australia would be 'better off' without ANZUS share 100% consensus that the alliance could bring Australia into a war not in its interests (70% 'strongly agree', 30% 'somewhat agree'). This data works to give insight into this groups' overall viewpoint of the US-alliance.

Amongst those believing Australia would be 'worse off' without ANZUS, 27.6% 'strongly agree' and 43.1% 'somewhat agree' that the US-alliance brings Australia a higher chance of being brought into a war not in its interests.

An interesting finding is that respondents who believe Australia would be 'neither better nor worse off' without the US-alliance have a vast majority of 95.2% believing Australia is more likely to be drawn into a war not in its interest (50% 'strongly agree', 45.2% 'somewhat agree'). This reveals that those seeming broadly unopinionated towards ANZUS are aware the potentiality of war is increased as consequence of the US-alliance.

Table 8

Comparing Q14 & Q9 responses

	Q9: War not in AU interests				
Q14: Australia without ANZUS	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
Better off	70.0% (n=14)	30.0% (n=6)	0	0	0
Neither better nor worse off	50.0% (n=21)	45.2% (n=19)	2.4% (n=1)	2.4% (n=1)	0
Worse off	27.6% (n=16)	43.1% (n=25)	10.3% (n=6)	12.1% (n=7)	6.9% (n=4)

- Q14: Overall, if Australia was to end its alliance with the United States, Australia would be...
- Q9: Australia's alliance with the United States makes it more likely that Australia will be drawn into a war that would not be in Australia's interests

As displayed in Table 9, there is a statistically significant relationship between opinions on whether Australia would be better/worse off without ANZUS and beliefs the U.S. would come to Australia's aid if security was threatened.

Of respondents who believe that Australia would be 'worse off' without ANZUS, just over one third (37.9%) strongly agreed the U.S. would come to Australia's aid. Close to half however, (44.8%) only somewhat agreed. This demonstrates some uncertainty in relation to the security the alliance provides Australia.

Of respondents believing Australia would be 'better off' without ANZUS, 15% strongly agree the U.S. would come to Australia's aid, and again, just under half (45%) somewhat agreed.

Table 9*Comparing Q14 & Q8 responses*

	Q8: US would come to Australia's aid				
Q14: Australia without ANZUS	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
Better off	15.0% (n=3)	45.0% (n=9)	5.0% (n=1)	25.0% (n=5)	10.0% (n=2)
Neither better nor worse off	4.8% (n=27)	47.6% (n=20)	21.4% (n=9)	26.2% (n=11)	0
Worse off	37.9% (n=22)	44.8% (n=26)	6.9% (n=4)	8.6% (n=5)	1.7% (n=1)

- Q14: Overall, if Australia was to end its alliance with the United States, Australia would be...
- Q8: The United States would come to Australia's aid if Australia's security was threatened

There is no statistically significant relationship between respondents' beliefs that Australia would be better or worse off without the US-alliance and whether the alliance has influenced a deterioration of Australia's trade relationship with China (see Table 10). It does, however, show that the majority of all respondents, no matter their overall view of the alliance, believe that the alliance has negatively impacted the Australia-China trade relationship.

Amongst those who think Australia is better off without the alliance, 100% of these respondents believe the trade relationship with China has deteriorated due to the US-alliance.

Even those who believe Australia is worse off without the alliance have a high majority of 89.6% that believe the trade relationship has been negatively affected by the alliance (31% strong, 58.6% somewhat).

Of interest is that vast majority (92.9%) of the people who believe that Australia would be neither better nor worse off without the alliance still reported the belief that Australia's trade relationship with China has been negatively affected by the alliance (42.9% strong, 50% somewhat). This finding demonstrates the 'ambivalent' group do in fact have strong opinions when it comes to the consequences of ANZUS.

Table 10*Comparing Q14 & Q11 responses*

	Q11: Trade relationship with China		
Q14: Australia without ANZUS	Strongly contributed	Somewhat contributed	Did not contribute
Better off	55.0% (n=11)	45.0% (n=9)	0.0%
Worse off	31.0% (n=18)	58.6% (n=34)	10.3% (n=6)
Neither better nor worse off	42.9% (n=18)	50.0% (n=21)	7.1% (n=3)

- Q14: Overall, if Australia was to end its alliance with the United States, Australia would be...
- Q11: To what extent do you believe that Australia's active adherence to U.S. foreign policy has contributed to Australia's deteriorating trade relationship with China over the years?

CONCLUSION & RECCOMENDATIONS

The findings of this paper have illustrated that respondents within the 18-25 age group share a majority belief that Australia having an alliance with the U.S. heightens possibilities for Australia to be involved in conflict and war. This majority opinion was found despite attitudes towards the overall benefit Australia receives from ANZUS. This research has revealed that the majority of young people believe Australia's constant support of U.S. foreign policy has negatively impacted Australia's trade relationship with China and are also concerned that ANZUS could draw Australia into a war with China. These majority attitudes reflect those amongst the 18-29 respondents to the 2019 Lowy Institute poll, who showed a concern that Australia may be dragged into a war in Asia that would not be in Australia's interests.

Previous research that reported Australian's are "more reserved about their belief in US preparedness to provide security assistance" (McAlister 2004 cited in Kelton 2008, p. 31) mirrors this research, as respondents showed hesitation towards the idea that the U.S. would come to Australia's aid if security was threatened.

Overall, almost half of respondents believe Australia would be 'worse off' without the US-alliance, and just over a third believe Australia would 'neither be better or worse off'. This shows that there remains a considerable amount of support for ANZUS, as has been found in previous studies (McAllister 2008; Miller 2015). The gender distinction regarding levels of overall support for ANZUS from this study found that women showed less support towards ANZUS than men, which is an imputation that Miller (2015) has previously illustrated.

This research paper also suggests that there is a nuance in opinion amongst respondents on their attitudes of the alliance and perceptions of the benefits, costs and consequences it brings Australia. Respondents that believe Australia would 'neither be better nor worse off' without the alliance, consistently showed attitudes of concern and acknowledgement towards the potential costs and consequences the alliance has on Australia's security.

In light of public opinion formation theories, there are three outcomes for the future of these respondents' attitudes. Age theory suggests the more liberal views of some respondents would over time become more supportive of ANZUS. Generational replacement theory suggests the opposite, as these respondents are currently within their formative years of young adulthood, any scepticism towards the alliance will remain. According to the theory of cohort effects, respondents' views towards ANZUS has potential to dramatically shift if Australia were to be drawn into war or extreme conflict. Although previous findings (McAlister 2008; Miller 2015) that show Australian's become more supportive of the US-alliance during times of conflict, the majority belief these respondents' hold towards potentiality for war with China may change this pattern.

Finally, the data has shown that the majority of respondents feel they have limited knowledge of the Australia-U.S. alliance. This lack of understanding is not surprising, as this has been an issue highlighted by academics and policymakers over many years. Thus, the Australian public ought to have access to more information on the benefits, costs, and consequences of the alliance. An interesting extension of this study would be an analysis of the period effects that the recent Donald Trump administration may have had on young people's attitudes towards ANZUS. It would also be beneficial for this study to be compared to IPAN's upcoming research that seeks to find answers to the same questions, as it would be beneficial to contrast the opinions of this respondent group with respondents of all ages they are currently becoming privy to.

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APPENDIX

Table 1

Respondents' answers to survey Questions 7-14

Q7: Being in an Alliance with the US puts Australia in greater risk of being involved in conflict	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree not disagree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
	29.4% (n=35)	49.6% (n=59)	11.8% (n=14)	5.9% (n=7)	3.4% (n=4)
Q8: The United States would come to Australia's aid if Australia's security was threatened	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree not disagree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
	22.5% (n=27)	45.8% (n=55)	11.7% (n=14)	17.5% (n=21)	2.5% (n=3)
Q9: Australia's alliance with the United States makes it more likely that Australia will be drawn into a war that would not be in Australia's interests	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree not disagree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
	42.5% (n=51)	41.7% (n=50)	5.8% (n=7)	6.7% (n=8)	3.3% (n=4)
Q10: Australia's international reputation has been harmed by its constant support for and participation in U.S. foreign policy	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree not disagree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
	25.8% (n=31)	27.5% (n=33)	23.3% (n=28)	16.7% (n=20)	6.7% (n=8)
Q11: To what extent do you believe that Australia's active adherence to U.S. foreign policy has contributed to Australia's deteriorating trade relationship with China over recent years?	Strongly contributed	Somewhat contributed	Did not contribute		
	39.2% (n=47)	53.3% (n=64)	7.5% (n=9)		
Q12: Are you concerned that because of the U.S. alliance, Australia could	Strongly concerned	Somewhat concerned	Not concerned		

be drawn into a war with China?					
	31.7% (n=38)	44.2% (n=53)	24.2% (n=29)		
Q13: The basing of United States military forces/intelligence installations on Australian territory makes Australia safer?	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree not disagree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
	12.5% (n=15)	27.5% (n=33)	23.3% (n=28)	25.8% (n=31)	10.8% (n=13)
Q14: Overall, if Australia was to end its alliance with the United States, Australia would be	Better off	Worse off	Neither better nor worse off		
	16.7% (n=20)	48.2% (n=58)	35.0% (n=42)		

Table 2

Respondents ethnicity

ABS Code	Ethnicity	Number of respondents
1 Oceania	Australian (n=95) Aboriginal Australian (n=2) Fijian (n=1)	97
2 North-West European	British (n=2) Irish (n=1)	3
3 Southern & Eastern European	Italian (n=1) Spanish (n=1)	2
4 North African & Middle Eastern	Iranian (n=1)	1
5 South-East Asian	Filipino (n=1)	1
6 North-East Asian	Hong Kong Chinese (n=1)	1
7 South & Central Asian	Indian (n=1)	1
8 Peoples of America	North American (n=2)	2
9 Sub-Saharan African	South African (n=2) Zimbabwean (n=1)	3

Note: Coding based on Australian Bureau of Statistics Classification of Cultural and Ethnic Groups

Note: This data was based upon comparison between 'Time lived in Australia' (Q3) and 'Ethnicity/background' (Q5) survey questions & since the majority are Australian by birth this information was not used in analysis of primary data