CONFIDENTIAL

1993 NEW ZEALAND ELECTION SURVEY

HOW TO FILL OUT THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

To answer most of the questions you need only circle a number either in a row or a column. Please circle the answer which is closest to your view. There are no right or wrong answers, and, in particular, there is nothing wrong in saying that you don't know or don't have an opinion on some matters!

Here is an example.

Do you think the government should spend more or less on defence?

Spend more on defence	1
Spend less on defence	2
Spend same as now	3
Don't know	0

If you personally think the government should spend the same as now on defence, you would circle 3 as shown.

Sometimes you are asked to write in an answer or tick in a box. In those cases, simply do so in the space or box provided.

Please read each question carefully. Remember, there are no right or wrong answers. We just want to know your own personal opinions.

When you have finished the questionnaire, please place it in the envelope provided and post it. No stamp is needed.

We hope you enjoy the questionnaire. And thank you very much for taking part in this study.

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A: Politics, Parties, Issues and Politicians

A1: First, how interested would you say you personally are in politics?

Very interested.....1
Fairly interested..... 2
Slightly interested..... 3
Not at all interested..... 4
Can't choose.....5

A2: During the election campaign, did you do any of the following things? (Circle '1' for yes or '0' for no in each row).

	Yes	No
Receive and read any party campaign literature.....	1	0
Discuss politics with others.....	1	0
Talk to any people about how they should vote.....	1	0
Go to any political meetings or rallies.....	1	0
Contribute money to a political party or candidate.	1	0
Do any work for a political party or candidate.....	1	0

A3: During the election campaign, how often did you follow the election news on the television, or didn't you follow it at all? And how about newspapers and the radio - how often did you follow the election news in these? (Circle a number in each row).

	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Not at all
Television	1	2	3	4
Newspapers	1	2	3	4
Radio	1	2	3	4

A4: The political parties try to talk to as many people as they can to get them to vote for their candidates. Did anyone from Labour, National, the Alliance, or New Zealand First call you by telephone, or personally visit you during the election campaign? (Circle a number in each row)

	Yes, telephone	Yes, personal visit	Yes, both	No, neither
Labour	1	2	3	0
National	1	2	3	0
Alliance	1	2	3	0
New Zealand First	1	2	3	0

A5: We'd like to know how you feel about the following politicians. Would you say you liked or disliked the following people? Strongly or not so strongly? (Circle a number in each row).

	Strongly like	Like	Neutral	Dislike	Strongly dislike	Can't say
Jim Bolger	1	2	3	4	5	0
Mike Moore	1	2	3	4	5	0
Helen Clark	1	2	3	4	5	0
Winston Peters	1	2	3	4	5	0
Ruth Richardson	1	2	3	4	5	0
Jim Anderton	1	2	3	4	5	0

A6: Moving away from the leaders to the parties themselves, would you describe National as **united** or **divided**? And how about Labour, the Alliance, and New Zealand First?

	United	Not sure	Divided
Labour	1	2	3
National	1	2	3
Alliance	1	2	3
New Zealand First	1	2	3

A7: And would you describe National as **trustworthy** or **not trustworthy**? And how about Labour, the Alliance, and New Zealand First?

	Trustworthy	Not sure	Untrustworthy
Labour	1	2	3
National	1	2	3
Alliance	1	2	3
New Zealand First	1	2	3

A8: Regardless of what their chances were at the 1993 election, how do you feel about these political parties?

	Strongly support	Support	Neutral	Oppose	Strongly oppose	Can't say
National	1	2	3	4	5	0
Labour	1	2	3	4	5	0
Alliance	1	2	3	4	5	0
New Zealand First	1	2	3	4	5	0
Green	1	2	3	4	5	0
NewLabour	1	2	3	4	5	0
Christian Heritage	1	2	3	4	5	0
Mana Motuhake	1	2	3	4	5	0

A9: Here is a list of some important issues that were discussed during the election campaign. Which of these parties' views - Labour, National, the Alliance, or NZ First - would you say **came closest** to your own views on each of these issues?

	Labour	National	Alliance	NZ First	None	Don't know
Inflation	1	2	3	4	5	0
Unemployment	1	2	3	4	5	0
Economic growth	1	2	3	4	5	0
Tax rates	1	2	3	4	5	0
Defence	1	2	3	4	5	0
Immigration	1	2	3	4	5	0
Health	1	2	3	4	5	0
Social welfare	1	2	3	4	5	0
Law and order	1	2	3	4	5	0
Education	1	2	3	4	5	0
Industrial relations	1	2	3	4	5	0
Race relations	1	2	3	4	5	0
Superannuation	1	2	3	4	5	0
Environment	1	2	3	4	5	0

A10: Still thinking about the same issues, when you were deciding about how to vote, **how important was each of these issues to you personally?**

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Not very important	Not at all important
Inflation	1	2	3	4	5
Unemployment	1	2	3	4	5
Economic growth	1	2	3	4	5
Tax rates	1	2	3	4	5
Defence	1	2	3	4	5
Immigration	1	2	3	4	5
Health	1	2	3	4	5
Social welfare	1	2	3	4	5
Law and order	1	2	3	4	5
Education	1	2	3	4	5
Race relations	1	2	3	4	5
Industrial relations	1	2	3	4	5
Superannuation	1	2	3	4	5
Environment	1	2	3	4	5
Keeping promises	1	2	3	4	5

A11: Listed below are various areas of government spending. Please show whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area. Remember that if you say "more" or "much more", it might require a tax increase to pay for it.

		Much more	More	Same as now	Less	Much less	Can't say
A	Protecting the environment	1	2	3	4	5	0
B	Health	1	2	3	4	5	0
C	Police and law enforcement	1	2	3	4	5	0
D	Education	1	2	3	4	5	0
E	Military and defence	1	2	3	4	5	0
F	Superannuation	1	2	3	4	5	0
G	Assistance for low income families	1	2	3	4	5	0

Say the government had to **cut expenditure** in **two** of the areas listed above. In that case, which of them would be your personal first priority for **an expenditure cut**, and which would be your second priority? (Put the LETTER to the left of the items you choose in each of the appropriate boxes below).

First choice for cuts ☐ Second choice for cuts ☐

B: Economic Policy

B1: Here are a number of policies which some people think might **help solve New Zealand's economic problems**. For each one, please indicate whether you would support such a policy or oppose it, and if you feel strongly about it. Or don't you have an opinion?

	Strongly support	Support	Neutral	Oppose	Strongly oppose	Can't say
Control of wages by legislation	1	2	3	4	5	0
Reduce taxes	1	2	3	4	5	0
Control of prices by legislation	1	2	3	4	5	0
Cuts in government spending generally	1	2	3	4	5	0
Government subsidies for private industry	1	2	3	4	5	0
Less government regulation of business	1	2	3	4	5	0
Increasing import controls	1	2	3	4	5	0
Government borrowing less money	1	2	3	4	5	0
Reducing interest rates by legislation	1	2	3	4	5	0
Controlling the value of the NZ dollar	1	2	3	4	5	0

B2: Do you feel that the government should **fully own,** or **partly own** any of the following companies or businesses? Or should it **not own** them, **but regulate** their prices, profits, and how they provide services? Or should the government **not own or regulate** them at all? Or **can't** you really **say**?

	Fully own	Partly own	Not own but regulate	Not own or regulate	Can't say
Electricorp (ECNZ)	1	2	3	4	0
Telecom	1	2	3	4	0
Bank of New Zealand	1	2	3	4	0
New Zealand Post	1	2	3	4	0
Air New Zealand	1	2	3	4	0
New Zealand Rail	1	2	3	4	0
Television New Zealand	1	2	3	4	0

B3: If the government had to choose between keeping down inflation or getting down unemployment, to which do you think it should give the higher priority?

Keeping down inflation	1
Keeping down unemployment	2
Can't choose	0

B4: How does the **financial situation of your household now** compare with what it was 12 months ago? And how do you think **the general economic situation in the country** now compares with what it was a year ago? (Circle a number in each column)

	Financial situation of your household	Economic situation of the country
A lot better	1	1
A little better	2	2
About the same	3	3
A little worse	4	4
A lot worse	5	5
Can't say	6	6

B5: Compared with a year ago, would you say that **the government's policies** have had a good effect, a bad effect, or that they have not really made much difference to the **financial situation of your household**? And what effect do you think they have had on the **general economic situation** in the country as a whole?

	Financial situation of your household	Economic situation of the country
A good effect	1	1
Not much difference	2	2
A bad effect	3	3
Can't say	4	4

B6: What do you think the **general economic situation** in this country will be in 12 months time compared to now?

A lot better	1
A little better	2
About the same	3
A little worse	4
A lot worse	5
Can't say	6

B7: Do you think that, a year from now, the new government's policies will have had a good effect, a bad effect, or that they really will not make much difference to the **country's general economic situation?**

A good effect	1
Not much difference	2
A bad effect	3
Can't say	4

B8: Thinking back over the last three years, do you think that **with its economic policies the National government** was moving the country in the **right or the wrong direction?**

Right direction	1
Wrong direction	2
Can't say	3

B9: And do you think the National government went **too far, far enough, or not far enough** in making those changes?

Too far	1
Far enough	2
Not far enough	3
Can't say	4

B10: Did you ever feel **angry** about the way the National Government handled the economy?

Never	1
Seldom	2
Sometimes	3
Often	4
Always	5
Can't say	0

B11: Some people think that the government should reduce taxes, but others think that there should be a tax increase so government can spend more money on health and education. Which do you think it should do?

I strongly favour reducing taxes	1
I mildly favour reducing taxes	2
Taxes should stay the same	3
I mildly favour more tax and more health and education spending	4
I strongly favour more tax and more health and education spending	5
Don't know	6

C: Other Policies and Values

C1: Some people say we should concentrate more on protecting the environment, even if it leads to considerably lower incomes for everyone. Let's say that those who believe this place themselves on number 1.
Others think that we should safeguard our income levels before we seek to protect the environment. Let's say these people place themselves on number 7.
And others have opinions somewhere in between at numbers 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Increase protection of the environment even if that leads to lower incomes						Protection of the environment should not be increased if it leads to lower incomes	Don't Know

Where would you place yourself on this scale? And where would you place the National Party, the Labour Party, the Alliance, and NZ First on the scale? (Write the numbers in the boxes below)

Your position ☐ Labour ☐ National ☐ Alliance ☐ NZ First ☐

C2: For each of these groups could you indicate how likely you are to join each of them, or are you already a member?

	I'm not a member but have considered joining	I'm not a member and haven't considered joining	I certainly wouldn't join	I am a member
Groups campaigning to protect the environment.....	1	2	3	4
Anti-war or anti-nuclear weapons movements.....	1	2	3	4

C3: Please say whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
Women should have the same opportunities as men	1	2	3	4	5	0
The Treaty of Waitangi should not be part of the law	1	2	3	4	5	0
The amount of violence on television should be reduced	1	2	3	4	5	0
Maori should be compensated for land confiscated in the past	1	2	3	4	5	0

C4: Here are some more statements. Please say whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with each statement.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
Nuclear-**powered** ships should be allowed in New Zealand ports.....	1	2	3	4	5	0
Nuclear-**armed** warships should be allowed in New Zealand ports.....	1	2	3	4	5	0
The balance of nature is very delicate and easily upset by human activities.	1	2	3	4	5	0
There are no limits to growth for countries like New Zealand.....	1	2	3	4	5	0
The earth is like a spaceship with only limited room and resources.....	1	2	3	4	5	0
Humankind was meant to rule over the rest of nature.....	1	2	3	4	5	0
Plants and animals do not exist primarily for human usage.....	1	2	3	4	5	0
Modifying the environment for human use seldom causes serious problems.....	1	2	3	4	5	0
New Zealand's defence ties with the United States should be renewed	1	2	3	4	5	0

C5: Which do you prefer, if you have to choose between having:

No defence ties with the United States?..... 1
OR Allowing ships that are nuclear powered into New Zealand ports?..... 2
Can't choose..... 3

C6: Please say whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with each of the following statements

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
Workers should have more say in running their workplaces	1	2	3	4	5	0
The Employment Contracts Act should be repealed	1	2	3	4	5	0
Trade unions in New Zealand have too much power	1	2	3	4	5	0
The government should let private industry keep more of its profits	1	2	3	4	5	0
Trade unions are necessary to protect workers	1	2	3	4	5	0
Big business in New Zealand has too much power	1	2	3	4	5	0
Individual employment contracts are better for workers than collective agreements	1	2	3	4	5	0

C7: And can you tell us how far you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
Homosexual relationships are always wrong	1	2	3	4	5	0
Men and women should get the same pay for the same kind of work	1	2	3	4	5	0
We should reduce the number of immigrants coming to New Zealand	1	2	3	4	5	0
Censorship of films and magazines is necessary to uphold moral standards	1	2	3	4	5	0
There should be more severe punishments for domestic violence	1	2	3	4	5	0
During the first 12 weeks of pregnancy the law should not restrict a woman having an abortion	1	2	3	4	5	0
Maori should be recognised as an official language	1	2	3	4	5	0
Most women who complain of sexual harassment are making a fuss over nothing	1	2	3	4	5	0
It should be illegal to refuse to employ someone because they are homosexual	1	2	3	4	5	0
A husband's job is to earn money, a wife's job is to care for the home and family	1	2	3	4	5	0

C8: Some people think that the government should redistribute income and wealth in favour of ordinary people, by taxing rich people more heavily than they are now. Suppose that those people are at one end of the scale below, at number 1.

Others feel that rich people should be able to keep most of their income and wealth for themselves, and that their taxes are too high now. Suppose these people are at the other end of the scale, at number 7.

And others have opinions that are somewhere between, at numbers 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0

Tax rich people more and redistribute wealth to ordinary people — Rich people keep own wealth, their taxes too high now — Don't Know

Where would you place **yourself** on this scale? And where would you place the Labour Party, the National Party, the Alliance, and NZ First on the scale?

Your position ☐ Labour ☐ National ☐ Alliance ☐ NZ First ☐

C9: On the whole do you think it **should be** or **should not be** the government's responsibility to:

	Definitely should	Should	Shouldn't	Definitely shouldn't	Can't say
Provide a job for everyone who wants one	1	2	3	4	0
Ensure a decent living standard for all old people	1	2	3	4	0
Provide decent living standards for the unemployed	1	2	3	4	0
Provide decent housing for those who can't afford it	1	2	3	4	0
Provide free health care for all	1	2	3	4	0
Provide a free education from pre-school to polytechnic and university levels	1	2	3	4	0

C10: In politics, people often talk about the "left" and the "right". If you think about politics in this way, generally speaking, where would you put your views on the scale below, where 1 is most left and 7 is most right? And generally speaking, where would you place the views of the Labour Party, the National Party, the Alliance, and NZ First? Write the numbers in the boxes below.

1 **2** **3** **4** **5** **6** **7** **0**

LEFT CENTRE RIGHT DON'T KNOW

Your position ☐ Labour ☐ National ☐ Alliance ☐ NZ First ☐

C12: Here is a list of four aims for New Zealand over the next ten years. How **important** do you think it is to:

	Extremely important	Very impt		Not impt	Not at all important
A. Maintain order in the nation?	1	2	3	4	5
B. Give the people more say in important government decisions?	1	2	3	4	5
C. Fight rising prices?	1	2	3	4	5
D. Protect freedom of speech?	1	2	3	4	5

If you had to choose among these four aims, which would be your **first** choice? And which would be your **second** choice? (Put the LETTER to the left of the items you choose in the appropriate box.)

First choice ☐ Second choice ☐

C13: Below are some further goals for New Zealand over the next ten years. Again, how <u>important</u> do you think it is to:

	Extremely important	Very impt		Not impt	Not at all important
A. Achieve a high rate of economic growth?	1	2	3	4	5
B. See that people have more say in how things get decided at work and in their communities?	1	2	3	4	5
C. Make sure New Zealand has strong defence forces?	1	2	3	4	5
D. Protect nature from being spoiled and polluted?	1	2	3	4	5
E. Maintain a stable economy.	1	2	3	4	5
F. Make progress toward a less impersonal, more humane society.	1	2	3	4	5
G. Fight against crime.	1	2	3	4	5
H. Progress toward a society where ideas are more important than money.	1	2	3	4	5

If you had to choose among these goals, which would be your **first** choice? And which would be your **second** choice? (Put the letter in the appropriate box).

First choice Second choice

D: Representation and Participation

D1: There are various forms of political action that people take. Please say for each one whether you have actually done any of these things, whether you might do them, or would never, under any circumstance, do any of them.

	Have done	Might do	Would never do	Don't know
Signing a petition	1	2	3	0
Writing to a newspaper	1	2	3	0
Joining in boycotts	1	2	3	0
Going on a protest march, so long as it was legal	1	2	3	0
Phoning a talk-back radio programme	1	2	3	0
Occupying buildings and factories	1	2	3	0
Damaging things, like breaking windows	1	2	3	0
Using personal violence like fighting with other demonstrators or the police	1	2	3	0

D2: Lately there has been a lot of talk about changing Parliament and the way New Zealand is governed. Do you personally think that we should:

	Definitely yes	Probably yes	Neutral	Probably no	Definitely no	Don't know
Provide direct state funding of political parties and election campaigns?	1	2	3	4	5	0
Establish a Senate or Upper House of Parliament?	1	2	3	4	5	0
Increase the number of MPs to 120?	1	2	3	4	5	0
Be able to make government hold a **binding** referendum if enough people want one on a particular issue?	1	2	3	4	5	0
Give the Maori people more say in all government decisions?	1	2	3	4	5	0
Require that all party members be involved in selecting election candidates?	1	2	3	4	5	0
Allow MPs more freedom to vote against party policy in Parliament?	1	2	3	4	5	0
Reduce the number of MPs to 80?	1	2	3	4	5	0
Make the political parties fully disclose the sources of their finances?	1	2	3	4	5	0

D3: Several factors might affect members of Parliament when they are considering major new laws. How important do you personally feel each of the following factors **should be** in influencing an MP's vote?

<u>How important that MPs should listen to:</u>	Extremely important	Very impt		Not impt	Not at all important	Can't say
A.The majority view in their electorate	1	2	3	4	5	0
B. The majority view adopted by their political party conference	1	2	3	4	5	0
C. The view of the government (Cabinet) when their party is in power	1	2	3	4	5	0
D. The majority view of MPs in their party	1	2	3	4	5	0
E. The views of relevant interest groups	1	2	3	4	5	0
F. What they personally think would be best for New Zealand	1	2	3	4	5	0
G. The majority view in the country as a whole	1	2	3	4	5	0
H. Their party's stated positions before election	1	2	3	4	5	0

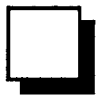
<u>And which one of these do you think should be the most important in an MP's decision?</u>

PUT THE LETTER TO THE LEFT OF YOUR PREFERRED STATEMENT IN THE BOX.

D4: Now a question about what you think MPs **actually do**. When a member of Parliament votes on major new laws, **how important do you feel** each of these factors **actually** is in influencing their vote?

The importance MPs actually give to:	Extremely important	Very impt		Not impt	Not at all important	Can't say
A.The majority view in their electorate	1	2	3	4	5	0
B. The majority view adopted by their political party conference	1	2	3	4	5	0
C. The view of the government (Cabinet) when their party is in power	1	2	3	4	5	0
D. The majority view of MPs in their party	1	2	3	4	5	0
E. The views of relevant interest groups	1	2	3	4	5	0
F. What they personally think would be best for New Zealand	1	2	3	4	5	0
G. The majority view in the country as a whole	1	2	3	4	5	0
H. Their party's stated positions before election	1	2	3	4	5	0

Which of these do you think actually plays the most important role in an MP's decision?

PUT THE LETTER IN THE BOX. 

D5: Could you please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the opinions expressed in the following statements:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Can't say
Most people would try to take advantage of others if they got the chance.	1	2	3	4	5	0
A few strong leaders could make this country better than all the laws and talk.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Most people who don't get ahead just don't have enough will power.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Generally speaking, most people can be trusted.	1	2	3	4	5	0
Most Members of Parliament are out of touch with the rest of the country	1	2	3	4	5	0
Human nature is fundamentally cooperative.	1	2	3	4	5	0
The death penalty is never an appropriate sentence.	1	2	3	4	5	0
People like me don't have any say about what the government does	1	2	3	4	5	0
I feel I have a pretty good understanding of the issues facing New Zealand	1	2	3	4	5	0
What young people need most of all is strict discipline by their parents	1	2	3	4	5	0

D6: And could you also please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the opinions expressed in the following statements:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Can't say
The New Zealand government is largely run by a few big interests	1	2	3	4	5	0
You can trust the government to do what is right most of the time	1	2	3	4	5	0
Sometimes politics seems so complicated a person like me can't really understand what's going on	1	2	3	4	5	0
I don't think politicians and public servants care much about what people like me think	1	2	3	4	5	0
I feel that I could do as good a job in public office as most other people	1	2	3	4	5	0
I seem to be the kind of person who has more bad luck than good luck	1	2	3	4	5	0
There's not much use for me to plan ahead because there's usually something that makes me change my plans	1	2	3	4	5	0

E: Party Preferences and Voting

E1: Generally speaking do you usually think of yourself as National, Labour, Alliance, New Zealand First, or some other, or don't you usually think of yourself in this way?

Don't usually think of myself in this way..... 0

Generally think of myself as:

- Labour..... 1
- National..... 2
- Alliance..... 3
- New Zealand First..... 4
- Another party (please say what) _____ 5

E2A: IF YOU CIRCLED 0

Do you generally think of yourself as **a little closer** to one of the parties than the others?

- No..... 0
- Yes, Labour..... 1
- Yes, National..... 2
- Yes, Alliance..... 3
- Yes, New Zealand First..... 4
- Yes, other_____ 5

E2B: IF YOU CIRCLED A PARTY NUMBER

How strongly Labour or National or Alliance or some other do you feel?

- Very strong 1
- Fairly strong 2
- Not very strong 3

E3: From looking at the result of the 1993 election, we have found that a lot of people didn't vote. How about you?

Did not vote	1
Did vote	2

E4: Which party did you vote for in the 1993 election ?

Did not vote	0
Labour	1
National	2
Alliance	3
New Zealand First	4
Another party/candidate (please specify)_____	5

E5: If you didn't manage to vote in the 1993 election, which party would you have voted for if you had got around to it?

Labour	1
National	2
Alliance	3
New Zealand First	4
Another party _____	5
I CHOSE not to vote for any party	6

E6: If you did vote, which party would have been your **second** choice?

Labour	1
National	2
Alliance	3
New Zealand First	4
Other (please specify)_____	5

E7: Imagine that for the 1993 election you had been given two votes, **one for one of the candidates** who actually stood in your electorate, and **one for a party.** First, which candidate would you have voted for?

Please write in the candidate's name _____

And regardless of your preferred candidate, which party would you have voted for?

Would not have voted	0
Labour	1
National	2
Alliance	3
New Zealand First	4
A different party_____	5

E8: Thinking about the 1993 election, how long ago did you decide definitely how you would vote the way you did?

A long time ago	1
In 1993 but before the election campaign	2
During the campaign but before the last week up to the election	3
In the last week of the campaign but before election day	4
On election day	5
Never did make up my mind	6

E9: Was there any time during the 1993 election campaign when you seriously thought you might vote differently or not at all?

No	0
Yes, Labour	1
Yes, National	2
Yes, Alliance	3
Yes, New Zealand First	4
Yes, thought of not voting	5
Yes, another_____	6

E10: What party did you vote for in the **1990 election**?

Can't remember	8
Did not vote because ineligible (too young, etc)..	9
Did not vote although eligible	0
Voted Labour	1
Voted National	2
Voted NewLabour	3
Voted Social Credit	4
Voted Democrat	5
Voted Green	6
Another party or candidate_____	7

E11: And which party did you vote for in the **1987 election**?

Can't remember	8
Did not vote because ineligible (too young, etc)	9
Did not vote although eligible	0
Voted Labour	1
Voted National	2
Voted Social Credit	4
Voted Democrat	5
Another party or candidate_____	6

E12: Before the 1993 election, was there any particular party you had **always** voted for?

Yes, Labour	1
Yes National	2
Yes, another party (please say which)_____	3
No, I have voted for different parties	4
No, I usually haven't voted at all	5
Ineligible before 1993	6

E13: Did you vote in electoral referendum held at the same time as the 1993 election?

Yes	1
No	2

E14: If you did vote in the electoral referendum, which option did you choose - First Past the Post (FPP) or Mixed Member Proportional (MMP)?

Did not vote	0
FPP	1
MMP	2

E15: Did you vote in the electoral referendum in September 1992? If so, how did you vote?

Did not vote	0
Voted to retain the present first past the post system (FPP)	1
Voted to change to a different electoral system	2

E16: If you voted in the September 1992 referendum, did you choose a reform option? If so, which one?

Did not vote or choose an option	0
Supplementary Member System (SM)	1
Single Transferable Vote (STV)	2
Mixed Member Proportional (MMP)	3
Preferential Voting (PV)	4
Don't know	5

F: Elections and Electoral Reform

F1: Elections can do a variety of things. How do you feel about each of the following things an election could do? Tell us how much you agree or disagree with each.

An election should	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Can't say
Keep very small parties out of parliament	1	2	3	4	5	0
Let voters choose between different people from the same party	1	2	3	4	5	0
Ensure that one party can form a government	1	2	3	4	5	0
Give each party a share of the MPs equal to its share of the vote	1	2	3	4	5	0
Give most people an MP they agree with	1	2	3	4	5	0
Make sure each MP has the backing of at least half the local voters	1	2	3	4	5	0
Provide a government at least half the people voted for	1	2	3	4	5	0

F2: There has been some discussion of the Maori seats. Do you think the future of Maori seats should be decided by Maori people or by all New Zealanders?

Maori should decide	1
All New Zealanders should decide	2
Don't know / Can't say	3

F3: What do you think should be the future of the Maori seats? Do you think we should get rid of the Maori seats, keep the four we have now, or have more Maori seats?

Get rid of Maori seats.....1
Keep the four we have now.....2
Have more Maori seats.....3
Don't know.....0

F4: Looking at the type of people who become MPs, do you think there should be more MPs who are:

	Yes	No	Don't Know
Maori	1	2	3
Women	1	2	3
Pacific Islanders	1	2	3
Independent candidates	1	2	3

F5: In New Zealand one party usually forms the government. In some countries the government is made up of more than one political party. Do you think a government formed by one party or more than one party would be better at doing the following things?

	Single party best	More than one party best	Both the same	Can't say
Providing stability	1	2	3	0
Making tough decisions	1	2	3	0
Keeping promises	1	2	3	0
Doing what the people want	1	2	3	0

F6: Suppose everyone said the party you most dislike was going to win in your electorate. If some other party had a better chance of defeating the party you dislike, would you then consider not voting for your favourite party?

No, I'd stay with my favourite party..... 1
Yes, I'd think about changing..... 2
Yes, I'd definitely change..... 3
Don't Know..... 0

F7: Here are some opinions about voting and reasons for voting. Tell us which ones are closest to your own reasons for voting by agreeing or disagreeing with each statement.

When I vote I am	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Can't say
Choosing the government I think would be best for New Zealand	1	2	3	4	5	0
Showing loyalty to my party	1	2	3	4	5	0
Choosing the best MP for my electorate	1	2	3	4	5	0
Voting to keep out a party I dislike	1	2	3	4	5	0
Showing the government I do not like what they are doing	1	2	3	4	5	0

F8: Now a few questions about your local electorate. Before the election, did you know the name of your local MP, and his or her party affiliation? (Write in name and party if you recall them, otherwise circle 9).

Name _____ Don't recall name 9

Party _____ Don't recall party 9

F9: Before the election, did you have contact with your local MP or learn anything about him or her through any of the following?

	Yes	No
Meeting the MP personally	1	0
Attending a meeting where the MP spoke	1	0
Receiving something in the mail from the MP	1	0
Reading about the MP in a newspaper or magazine	1	0
Hearing the MP on radio	1	0
Seeing the MP on TV	1	0
No, none of these/no contact	1	0

F10: Have you or anyone in your family living here ever contacted your local MP or anyone in his or her office?

Yes..... 1

No..... 2 [GO TO F11]

a. Was it...	Yes	No
...to express an opinion?	1	0
...to seek information?	1	0
...to seek help on a problem you had?	1	0

b. How satisfied were you with the response from the MP's office?

Very satisfied	1
Somewhat satisfied	2
Not very satisfied	3
Not at all satisfied	4

F11: Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way in which your local MP has been handling his or her job over the last three years?

Strongly approve	1
Approve	2
Neither approve nor disapprove	3
Disapprove	4
Strongly disapprove	5

F8: Now, please indicate whether you agree or disagree with these statements:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Can't say
It is a citizen's duty to vote	1	2	3	4	5	0
My vote is wasted if I cast it for a party which is bound to lose	1	2	3	4	5	0
Voting is important even if it makes no difference to who wins	1	2	3	4	5	0
My vote really counts in elections	1	2	3	4	5	0
It is no use voting if you know who is going to win	1	2	3	4	5	0
A government should not be bound by its pre-election promises	1	2	3	4	5	0

G: Education and Work

G1: Have you completed your formal education? Yes.....1 No.....2

G2: If yes, how old were you when you completed your formal education? ..... years

G3: Which one of the following is your highest formal educational qualification?

No qualification	0
School Certificate in one or more subjects	1
Sixth Form Certificate or University Entrance in one or more subjects	2
University Bursary or Scholarship	3
Overseas or other school qualification	4
Nondegree professional or technical tertiary qualification	5
University degree	6

G4: Are you presently married or living as married?

Yes	1
No	2

G5: Now for some questions about the work you are doing. Last week, what work were you **mainly** doing? And what about your spouse or partner, if you have one?

	Yourself	**Your spouse or partner**
Working full-time for pay	1	1
Working part-time for pay	2	2
With a job but not at work last week	3	3
Unemployed, laid off, looking for work	4	4
Retired	5	5
At school or university	6	6
Keeping house	7	7
Other unpaid work	8	8

G6: Who do or did you work for in paid employment? And what about your spouse or partner, if you have one?

	Yourself	Your spouse/partner
A private company or business	1	1
Central or local government	2	2
Area Health Board, Public Educational Institution	3	3
State owned enterprise	4	4
Other public agency	5	5
Nonprofit/community organisation	6	6
Or are/were you self-employed?	7	7

G7: What kind of **paid work** do you or did you do in your last paid job ? Please indicate the name of your occupation, and the industry, profession, or business involved, and any other important details. **Remember, if you are not working for pay now, please describe your last regular paid job.**

And what about your spouse or partner's present **or last** regular job?

Your job
Job/occupation name

Your partner's job
Job/occupation name

Industry or business

Your partner's industry or business

G8: In your present or last paid job **do you/did you** directly **employ or supervise** anyone responsible to you? And what about your spouse or partner if you have one?

	Yourself	Your spouse/partner
No	1	1
Yes	2	2

G9: Do you belong to a trade union or staff association? And what about your spouse or partner, if you have one?

	Yourself	Your spouse/partner
No	0	0
Yes, a union	1	1
Yes, staff association member	2	2

G10: Does your spouse or partner (if you have one) have a preference for a political party?

No spouse or partner/spouse or partner has no preference	0
Yes, Labour	1
Yes, National	2
Yes, Alliance	3
Yes, New Zealand First	4
Yes, another_____	5
Don't know	6

H: Personal Background

Now we need to ask some questions about yourself, and your background. Please remember that the information you provide is **strictly confidential**, and won't be reported in any form which identifies you personally.

H1: Are you: Male?..... 1
Female ?..... 2

H2: In what year were you born? 19_____

H3: In what country were you born?

New Zealand..... 1
Britain..... 2

Another country (please specify)_____ 3

H4: In what city, town, or community do you live? _____

H5: How many years have you lived in your district, town, or neighbourhood? _____ years

H6: Did your **father** have any particular preference for one of the political parties when you were young, say about 14 years old? And how about your **mother?**

	Your father	**Your Mother**
No, no preference	0	0
Yes, National	1	1
Yes, Labour	2	2
Yes, Social Credit	3	3
Yes, another	4	4
Can't remember/don't know	5	5

H7: When you were about 14 years old, what work did your father do? And your mother?

Your father

Your mother

H8: Who did your father work for? And what about your mother?

	Your father	Your mother
Self-employed	1	1
Work for the government/other public agency	2	2
Work for a company or other employer?	3	3
Work for a nonprofit/community organisation	4	4
Kept house	5	5
Other unpaid work	6	6
Can't remember, can't say	7	7

H9: Do you identify yourself mainly as:

	New Zealand European?	1
or	Pakeha	2
or	New Zealand Maori	3
or	Cook Island Maori, Samoan, Tongan, or other Pacific Island origin	4
	or with some other group (please specify)_____	5

H10: Have you any New Zealand Maori ancestry?

Yes.....1 No.....2 Don't know.....0

H11: Do you:

Own your house mortgage free	1
Own your house or flat with a private sector mortgage	2
Own your house with a Housing Corporation mortgage	3
Rent your house privately as a family	4
Rent a state house or one owned by a local authority	5
Board or live in a hotel or rest home	6
Rent your house with a group of individuals	7
Live with your parents	8

H12: What is your religion, if you have one?

No religion	0
Anglican	1
Presbyterian	2
Catholic	3
Methodist	4
Baptist	5
Independent Charismatic Church	6
Other Christian (please specify)	7
Non-Christian (please specify)	8

_____

H13: Apart from weddings, funerals, and baptisms, about how often if at all do you attend religious services these days?

At least once a week	1
Two or three times a month	2
Several times a year	3
Less than several times a year	4
Never	5

H14: Do you or anyone in your household receive any one or more of the following benefits? If so, please tick beside them below.

	Yes	No
National Superannuation	1	0
Family support	1	0
Unemployment benefit	1	0
Sickness or invalid's benefit	1	0
Domestic Purposes Benefit	1	0
Youth or Student Allowance	1	0
Other (war, widow's, disability etc)	1	0

H15: Please indicate how many adults and how many children live in your household.

_____ adults _____ children

H16: Some people see themselves as middle class, and others as working class, and others as belonging to some other kind of class, while some don't see themselves as belonging to a class at all. Do you see yourself as:

Working class..... 1
Middle class..... 2
Belong to no class..... 3

H17: What was **your personal income** before tax between 1 April 1992 and 31 March 1993? And what was **the personal income of your spouse or partner,** if you have one? And what about the total income before tax of **all members** of your household?

	Yourself	Your partner	Whole Household
Don't Know	9	9	9
No income	0	0	0
$5,000 or less	1	1	1
$5,001-$15,000	2	2	2
$15,001-$25,000	3	3	3
$25,001-$30,000	4	4	4
$30,001-$40,000	5	5	5
$40,001-$50,000	6	6	6
$50.001-$70,000	7	7	7
Over $70,001	8	8	8

H18: At your level of personal income, do you think you should pay more tax, or less tax, or about the same as you do now?

More tax.....1 Less Tax.....2 Same as now...3 Don't Know.....0

This is the end of the questionnaire. Please put the questionnaire in the pre-paid reply envelope and post it back to us. No stamp is required. Thank you again for your cooperation.

CONFIDENTIAL [0-5] | | | | | | [6] 1

1996 New Zealand Election Study

[7-8] | | |
[9-10] | | |

HOW TO FILL OUT THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

To answer most of the questions you need only circle a number either in a row or a column. Please circle the answer which is closest to your view. In most cases, there are no right or wrong answers, and, in particular, there is nothing wrong in saying that you don't know or don't have an opinion on some matters!

Here is an example.

Do you think the government should spend more or less on defence?

Spend more on defence 1
Spend less on defence 2
Spend same as now 3
Don't know 4

If you personally think the government should spend less on defence, you would circle 2 as shown.

Sometimes you are asked to write in an answer or tick in a box. In those cases, simply do so in the space or box provided.

Please read each question carefully. Remember, mostly there are no right or wrong answers. We just want to know your own personal opinions.

When you have finished the questionnaire, please place it in the envelope provided and post it. No stamp is needed.

We hope you enjoy the questionnaire. And thank you very much for taking part in this study.

Dr. Jack Vowles,
Department of Politics and Public Policy, University of Waikato
Dr. Peter Aimer
Department of Political Studies, University of Auckland

This survey is being funded as part of the 1996 New Zealand Election Study by the Foundation for Research, Science, and Technology.

A: The Campaign and the Issues

A1. Generally speaking, how much interest do you **usually have** in what's going on in politics? Are you—

Very interested	1	
Fairly interested	2	[11]
Slightly interested	3	
Not at all interested?	4	

A2. During the election campaign, did you do any of the following things? (Circle '1' for yes or '2' for no in each row).

	Yes	No	
Discuss politics with others?	1	2	
Talk to any people about how they should vote?	1	2	
Go to any political meetings or rallies?	1	2	[12-16]
Contribute money to a political party or candidate?	1	2	
Do any work for a political party or candidate	1	2	

A3. During the election campaign, how often did you follow the election news and political advertising on the television, newspapers and the radio, or didn't you follow it at all? (Circle a number in each row).

	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Not at all	
On TV One	1	2	3	4	
On TV3	1	2	3	4	
Newspapers	1	2	3	4	[17-20]
Radio	1	2	3	4	

A4. Did anyone from the following political parties call you by telephone, personally visit you, send you a personalised letter, or give or send you a party pamphlet during the election campaign? (Tick in the appropriate boxes for each party)

	Telephoned	Personally visited	Sent Letter	Gave or sent pamphlet
Labour	☐	☐	☐	☐
National	☐	☐	☐	☐
Alliance	☐	☐	☐	☐
New Zealand First	☐	☐	☐	☐
ACT	☐	☐	☐	☐
Christian Coalition	☐	☐	☐	☐
United	☐	☐	☐	☐

[21-48]

A5. Here is a list of some important issues that were discussed during the election campaign. Which of these parties' views - Labour, National, the Alliance, or NZ First — would you say **came closest** to your own views on each of these issues?

	Labour	National	Alliance	NZ First	None	Don't know
Inflation	1	2	3	4	5	0
Unemployment	1	2	3	4	5	0
Economic growth	1	2	3	4	5	0
Tax rates	1	2	3	4	5	0
Defence	1	2	3	4	5	0
Immigration	1	2	3	4	5	0
Health	1	2	3	4	5	0
Social welfare	1	2	3	4	5	0
Law and order	1	2	3	4	5	0
Education	1	2	3	4	5	0
Industrial relations	1	2	3	4	5	0
Race relations	1	2	3	4	5	0
Superannuation	1	2	3	4	5	0
Environment	1	2	3	4	5	0

[50-63]

A6. Still thinking about the same issues, when you were deciding about how to vote, **how important was each of these issues to you personally?**

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Not very important	Not at all important	
Inflation	1	2	3	4	5	
Unemployment	1	2	3	4	5	
Economic growth	1	2	3	4	5	
Tax rates	1	2	3	4	5	
Defence	1	2	3	4	5	
Immigration	1	2	3	4	5	
Health	1	2	3	4	5	[64-77]
Social welfare	1	2	3	4	5	
Law and order	1	2	3	4	5	
Education	1	2	3	4	5	
Industrial relations	1	2	3	4	5	
Race relations	1	2	3	4	5	
Superannuation	1	2	3	4	5	
Environment	1	2	3	4	5	[80]0

A7. Listed below are various areas of government spending. Please show whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area. Remember that if you say "more" or "much more", it might require a tax increase to pay for it.

	Much more	More	Same as now	Less	Much less	Don't know	[6] 2
A.Protecting the environment	1	2	3	4	5	0	
B. Health	1	2	3	4	5	0	
C. Police and law enforcement	1	2	3	4	5	0	[7-13]
D. Education	1	2	3	4	5	0	
E. Military and defence	1	2	3	4	5	0	
F. Superannuation	1	2	3	4	5	0	
G. Assisting low income families	1	2	3	4	5	0	

B: Parties and the Political System

B1. On the whole, are you satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in New Zealand?

Satisfied 1
Fairly satisfied ..... 2 [14]
Not very satisfied 3
Not at all satisfied 4

B2. In some countries, people believe their elections are conducted fairly. In other countries, people believe their elections are conducted unfairly. Thinking of the 1996 election in New Zealand, where would you place it on this scale of one to five, where ONE means that the election was conducted fairly and FIVE means that the election was conducted unfairly?

1	2	3	4	5	[15]
1996 election was conducted fairly				1996 election was conducted unfairly	

B3a. Do you usually think of yourself as close to any particular political party or parties?

Yes ..... 1 [16]
No ..... 2 (Go to B4)

B3b. If you usually think of yourself as close to a political party, which party or parties? (You can circle more than one)

1. National 1
2. Labour 2
3. New Zealand First ..... 3 [17-20]
4. Alliance 4
5. Another party (please specify) 5

IF YOU FEEL CLOSE TO <u>MORE THAN ONE</u> OF THESE PARTIES, but feel **A LITTLE CLOSER TO ONE OF THEM**, which one is that?

Write the number beside the party above, in the box ☐ [21-22]

B3c. **IF YOU FEEL <u>CLOSE OR CLOSER</u> TO <u>ONE</u> PARTY**, do you feel very close to that party, somewhat close, or not very close?

Very close..... 1
Somewhat close..... 2 [23]
Not very close..... 3

B4. Where would you place your view on this scale from 1 to 5, where ONE means that political parties in New Zealand care about what ordinary people think, and FIVE means that they don't care what ordinary people think?

1	2	3	4	5	[24]
Political parties in New Zealand care what ordinary people think				Political parties in New Zealand don't care what ordinary people think	

B5 Where would you place your view on this scale from 1 to 5, where ONE means that political parties are necessary to make our political system work, and FIVE means that political parties are not needed in New Zealand?

1	2	3	4	5	[25]
Political parties are necessary to make our political system work				Political parties are not needed in New Zealand	

B6. Do you remember the names of any candidates who stood in your electorate at the 1996 election? If so, please write their names below. If you can also remember the party they stood for, please write those as well.

Name_____ Party_____
Name_____ Party_____
Name_____ Party_____ [26-33]
Name_____ Party_____

B7. We would like to know what you think about each of these political parties. Please rate each party on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly **dislike** that party and 10 means that you strongly **like** that party. If you haven't heard about that party or don't know enough about it, please circle '99' under 'don't know'

How do you feel about:	Strongly dislike					Neutral					Strongly like	Don't know	
National Party	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99	
Labour Party	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99	
New Zealand First	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99	[34-40]
Alliance	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99	
ACT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99	
United	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99	
Christian Coalition	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99	

B8. Again using a scale from 0 to 10, or '99' for 'don't know', please show how much you **like** or **dislike** these party leaders.

How do you feel about:	Strongly dislike					Neutral					Strongly like	Don't Know	
Jim Bolger	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99	
Helen Clark	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99	
Winston Peters	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99	
Jim Anderton	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99	[41-48]
Richard Prebble	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99	
Clive Matthewson	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99	
Graeme Lee	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99	
Graham Capill	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99	

B9. What do you think of the state of the economy these days in New Zealand? Would you say that it was—

Very good 1
Good 2
Neither good Nor bad ..... 3 [49]
Bad 4
Very bad 5

B11. Some people say that Members of Parliament know what ordinary people think. Others think that Members of Parliament don't know much about what ordinary people think. Where would you place your view on this scale from 1 to 5?

1	2	3	4	5	[50]
MPs know what ordinary people think				MPs don't know what ordinary people think	

B12. During the last twelve months, have you had any contact with a Member of Parliament in any way?0

Yes 1
No, no contact at all ..... 2 [51]

B13 If 1 means that it makes a difference who is in power, and 5 means that it doesn't make a difference who is in power, where would you place your view?

1	2	3	4	5	[52]
It makes a difference who is in power				It doesn't make a difference who is in power	

B14. If 1 means that no matter who people vote for, it won't make a difference to what happens, and 5 means that voting can make a difference to what happens, where would you place your view?

1	2	3	4	5	[53]
Who people vote for won't make a difference				Who people vote for can make a difference	

B15 If 1 means that most people in New Zealand usually say what they think about politics, and 5 means that most people usually hide what they think, where would you place your view?

1	2	3	4	5	[54]
Most New Zealanders usually say what they think about politics				Most New Zealanders usually hide what they think about politics	

B16. In politics, people sometimes talk about the 'left' and the 'right'. Where would you place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means the left and 10 means the right?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99	
Left										**Right**	Don't Know	[55]

Using the same scale, where would you place each of the political parties?

	Left										**Right**	Don't Know	
National Party	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99	
Labour Party	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99	
New Zealand First	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99	
Alliance	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99	[56-62]
ACT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99	
United	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99	
Christian Coalition	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99	

B17. Some people say that there is corruption in New Zealand politics, and others say there is no corruption. Where 1 means there is no corruption in New Zealand politics, and 5 means that there is corruption, where would you place your view?

1	2	3	4	5	[63]
There is no corruption in New Zealand politics				There is corruption in New Zealand politics	

C: Policies

C1. Here are a number of policies which some people think might **help solve New Zealand's economic problems**. For each one, please indicate whether you would support or oppose such a policy, and if you feel strongly about it.

	Strongly support	Support	Neutral	Oppose	Strongly oppose	Don't know	
Control of wages by legislation	1	2	3	4	5	0	
Control of prices by legislation	1	2	3	4	5	0	
Reduce taxes in general	1	2	3	4	5	0	[64-68]
Import controls	1	2	3	4	5	0	
Less government regulation of business	1	2	3	4	5	0	

C2. Do you feel that the government should **fully own,** or **partly own** any of the following companies? Should it **not own** them, **but regulate** their prices and how they provide services? Or should the government **not own or regulate** them at all?

	Fully own	Partly own	Not own but regulate	Not own or regulate	Don't know	
ECNZ (Electricorp)	1	2	3	4	0	
Telecom	1	2	3	4	0	
Bank of New Zealand	1	2	3	4	0	
Air New Zealand	1	2	3	4	0	[69-75]
New Zealand Rail (Tranz)	1	2	3	4	0	
Television New Zealand	1	2	3	4	0	
Forestry Corporation	1	2	3	4	0	

C3. If the government had to choose between keeping down inflation or getting down unemployment, to which do you think it should give the higher priority?

Keeping down inflation 1
Keeping down unemployment ..... 2 [76]
Don't know 0

C4. How does the **financial situation of your household now** compare with what it was 12 months ago? How do you think **the general economic situation in the country** now compares with a year ago? (Circle a number in each column)

	Your household finances	The country's economic situation	
A lot better	1	1	
A little better	2	2	
About the same	3	3	[77-78]
A little worse	4	4	

A lot worse 5	5	
Don't know 0	0	

C5. Compared with a year ago, would you say that **the 1993-96 National government's policies** had a good effect, a bad effect, or did they not make much difference to the **financial situation of your household**? What effect do you think they had on the **general economic situation** in the country as a whole?

	Your household finances	The country's economic situation	
A good effect.....	1	1	
Not much difference.....	2	2	
A bad effect.....	3	3	[79-80]
Don't know	0	0	[6]3

C6. What do you think the **general economic situation** in this country will be in 12 months time compared to now?

A lot better.. 1	
A little better..... 2	
About the same..... 3	[7]
A little worse 4	
A lot worse 5	
Don't know 0	

C7. Do you think, a year from now, the government's policies will have had a good or bad effect or not make much difference to the **country's general economic situation?**

A good effect..... 1	
Not much difference..... 2	[8]
A bad effect..... 3	
Don't know 0	

C8. On this scale, ONE means that we should concentrate more on protecting the environment, even if it leads to considerably lower incomes, and SEVEN means that we should safeguard our income levels before we seek to protect the environment. Where would you place your view?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0	
Should protect environment even if it leads to lower incomes						Should not protect environment if it leads to lower incomes	Don't know	[9]

Using the same scale, if you can, where would you place each political party?

	Should protect environment even if it leads to lower incomes						Should not protect environment if it leads to lower incomes	Don't know	
National Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0	
Labour Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0	
New Zealand First	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0	[10-16]
Alliance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0	
ACT	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0	
United	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0	
Christian Coalition	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0	

C9. ONE represents the view that the government should reduce taxes, and FIVE the view that there should be a tax increase so government can spend more money on health and education. Where would you place **your** view?

1	2	3	4	5	0	
Government should reduce taxes				Government should increase taxes to fund health and education	Don't know	[17]

C10. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know	
References to the Treaty ofWaitangi should be removed from the law	1	2	3	4	5	0	
Homosexual relationships are always wrong	1	2	3	4	5	0	
Refusing to employ people because they are homosexual should be illegal	1	2	3	4	5	0	
People who break the law should be given stiffer sentences	1	2	3	4	5	0	[18-25]
Maori should be compensated for land confiscated in the past	1	2	3	4	5	0	
Nuclear-**powered** ships should be allowed in New Zealand ports	1	2	3	4	5	0	
The death penalty for murder should be reintroduced	1	2	3	4	5	0	
Full New Zealand defence ties with the United States should be renewed	1	2	3	4	5	0	

C11. Which do you prefer, if you have to choose between having:

No defence ties with the United States? 1

Or allowing ships that are nuclear powered into New Zealand ports? ..... 2 [26]

Don't know 3

C12. Now some opinions about relations between women and men, families, and politics. Do you agree or disagree with the following views? Strongly, or not strongly?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know	
The government should pay a wage to those staying home to care for children	1	2	3	4	5	0	
There should be a law to further reduce pay differences between women and men	1	2	3	4	5	0	
Divorce is too easy to obtain in New Zealand	1	2	3	4	5	0	[27-31]
There is too much attention to women's health problems at the expense of men's	1	2	3	4	5	0	
The government should subsidise child care centres so women can have more opportunities in paid employment	1	2	3	4	5	0	

C13. Do you think that New Zealand should become a republic with a New Zealand head of state, or should the Queen be retained as head of state?

Strongly favour becoming republic. 1

Favour becoming republic. 2

Favour retaining Queen as head of state ..... 3 [33]

Strongly favour retaining Queen as head of state 4

Don't know 0

C14. Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into New Zealand nowadays should be reduced or increased?

Increased a lot 1

Increased a little 2

Remain about the same as it is ..... 3 [34]

Reduced a little 4

Reduced a lot 5

Don't know 0

C15. Which one of these statements comes closest to how you feel about abortion?

Women should be able to have an abortion when they want one 1

Abortion should be allowed on medical or psychological grounds 2

Abortion should be allowed only in special circumstances ..... 3 [35]

Abortion should not be allowed under any circumstances 4

Don't know 0

C16. Where would you place your view on this scale from 1 to 7?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0	
We should tax rich people more and redistribute income and wealth to ordinary people						Rich people should keep their own income and wealth because their taxes are too high now	Don't know	[36]

Using the same scale, if you can, where would you place each political party?

	We should tax rich people more and redistribute income and wealth to ordinary people						Rich people should keep their own income and wealth because their taxes are too high now	Don't know	
National Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0	
Labour Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0	
New Zealand First	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0	
Alliance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0	[37-43]
ACT	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0	
United	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0	
Christian Coalition	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0	

C17. Now for some opinions about industrial relations. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Strongly, or not strongly?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know	
The Employment Contracts Act should be repealed	1	2	3	4	5	0	
Trade unions in New Zealand have too much power	1	2	3	4	5	0	
Trade unions are necessary to protect workers	1	2	3	4	5	0	[44-48]
Big business in New Zealand has too much power	1	2	3	4	5	0	
Individual employment contracts are better for workers than collective contracts	1	2	3	4	5	0	

C18. Here is a list of four aims for New Zealand over the next ten years to which different people would give different priorities.

1. Maintain order in the nation;
2. Give the people more say in important government decisions;
3. Fight rising prices;
4. Protect freedom of speech.

If <u>you</u> had to choose among these aims, which would be your **first and second** choices? (Put the NUMBERS by the items you choose in the boxes.)

First choice ☐ Second choice ☐ [49-50]

C19. Generally do you think it **should be** or **should not be** the government's responsibility to:

	Definitely should	Should	Shouldn't	Definitely shouldn't	Don't Know	
Provide a job for everyone who wants one	1	2	3	4	5	
Ensure a decent living standard for all old people	1	2	3	4	5	
Provide decent living standards for the unemployed	1	2	3	4	5	[51-56]
Provide decent housing for those who can't afford it	1	2	3	4	5	
Provide free health care for all	1	2	3	4	5	
Provide a free education from pre-school to polytechnic and university levels	1	2	3	4	5	

C20. Do you feel things in New Zealand are generally going the right or the wrong way?

Right way.....1
Wrong way.....2 [57]
Don't know.....0

D: Representation and Participation

D1. There are various forms of political action that people take. For each one, have you **actually** done it, **might** you do it, or **would you never**?

	Have done	Might do	Would never do	Don't know	
Signing a petition	1	2	3	0	
Writing to a newspaper	1	2	3	0	
Going on a protest march, so long as it was legal	1	2	3	0	
Phoning a talk-back radioprogramm	1	2	3	0	[58-64]
Occupying buildings, factories, or other property	1	2	3	0	
Damaging things, like breaking windows	1	2	3	0	
Using personal violence like fighting with other demonstrators or the police	1	2	3	0	

D2. Are you a member of any of the following groups or associations?

	Yes	No	
Service organisation like Rotary, Lions, etc?	1	0	
Group campaigning to protect the environment?	1	0	
Sports Club?	1	0	[65-79]
Womens' Group?	1	0	
Other Community group	1	0	[80]0
Other? Please indicate what_____	1		[6]4

D3. Lately there has been a lot of talk about changing Parliament and the way New Zealand is governed. Do you personally think that we should or shouldn't—

In New Zealand should we or shouldn't we—	Definitely yes	Yes	Neither yes nor no	No	Definitely no	Don't know	
Provide direct state funding of political parties and election campaigns?	1	2	3	4	5	0	
Be able to make the government hold a **binding** referendum?	1	2	3	4	5	0	
Give the Maori people more say in all government decisions?	1	2	3	4	5	0	[7-12]
Require that MPs resigning from their party must also resign from Parliament?	1	2	3	4	5	0	
Allow MPs more freedom to vote against party policy in Parliament?	1	2	3	4	5	0	
Reduce the number ofMPs to 80?	1	2	3	4	5	0	

D4. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about politicians and the public?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know	
Most Members of Parliament are out of touch with the rest of the country	1	2	3	4	5	0	
I feel I have a pretty good understanding of the issues facing New Zealand	1	2	3	4	5	0	
People like me don't have any say about what the government does	1	2	3	4	5	0	
The New Zealand government is largely run by a few big interests	1	2	3	4	5	0	
You can trust the government to do what is right most of the time	1	2	3	4	5	0	[13-21]
Sometimes politics seems so complicated people like me can't understand what goes on	1	2	3	4	5	0	
I don't think politicians and public servants care much about what people like me think	1	2	3	4	5	0	
I feel that I could do as good a job in public office as most people	1	2	3	4	5	0	
We shouldn't blame the people in politics—it's the system they have to work in	1	2	3	4	5	0	

D5. Generally speaking, how important do you think each of the factors listed below **actually is** in influencing the way MPs vote on major new laws?

	How **important** these are in ACTUALLY INFLUENCING an MP's vote—	Extremely	Very	Fairly	Not very	Not at all	Don't know	
A	The majority view in their electorate	1	2	3	4	5	0	
B	The majority view adopted by their political party conference	1	2	3	4	5	0	
C	The view of the government (Cabinet) when their party is in power	1	2	3	4	5	0	[22-29]
D	The majority view of MPs in their party	1	2	3	4	5	0	
E	The views of relevant interest groups	1	2	3	4	5	0	
F	What they personally think would be best for New Zealand	1	2	3	4	5	0	
G	The majority view in the country as a whole	1	2	3	4	5	0	
H	Their party's stated positions before election	1	2	3	4	5	0	

Which of these do you think actually plays the most important role in an MP's decision?

PUT THE LETTER TO THE LEFT OF YOUR CHOICE IN THE BOX (PUT 'X' IF YOU DON'T KNOW) ☐ [30]

D6. How much do you agree or disagree with the opinions expressed in the following statements?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know	
Most people would try to take advantage of others if they got the chance.	1	2	3	4	5	0	
A few strong leaders could make this country better than all the laws and talk	1	2	3	4	5	0	[31-33]
Most people who don't get aheadjustdon't have enough will power.	1	2	3	4	5	0	

E: Party Preferences and Voting

E1. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as National, Labour, Alliance, New Zealand First, or some other, or don't you usually think of yourself in this way?

Don't usually think of myself in this way ..... 0 **(GO TO E2)**

Generally think of myself as:

Labour 1
National 2
Alliance ..... 3 [34]
New Zealand First 5
Another party (please write in)_____ 6

E1a.: **IF YOU CIRCLED A PARTY NUMBER**: How **strongly** Labour, National, Alliance, New Zealand First, or some other, do you feel?

Very strongly 1
Fairly strongly ..... 2 [35]
Not very strongly 3

E2. Would you describe National as **united** or **divided**? And how about Labour, the Alliance, and New Zealand First?

	United	Not sure	Divided	
National	1	2	3	
Labour	1	2	3	
Alliance	1	2	3	[36-39]
New Zealand First	1	2	3	

E3. And would you describeNational as **trustworthy** or **not trustworthy**? And how about Labour, the Alliance, and New Zealand First?

	Trustworthy	Not sure	Untrustworthy	
National	1	2	3	
Labour	1	2	3	
Alliance	1	2	3	[40-43]
New Zealand First	1	2	3	

E4. With MMP New Zealanders now have two votes, one for a party, and one for a candidate in their electorate. Which do you think is the most important in deciding which party will get the largest number of seats in Parliament?

Party vote most important 1
Both equally important 2
Electorate vote most important ..... 3 [44]
Don't Know 0

E5. Some people didn't cast a party or an electorate vote in the election. Did you?

	Party vote	Electorate Vote	
Did not cast a party vote	1	Did not cast an electorate vote	1 [45-46]
Did cast a party vote	2	Did cast an electorate vote	2

E6. Thinking now of the **party vote**, which party did you vote for in the 1996 election ?

Did not vote for a party	0	**GO TO E7**
Labour.	1	
National.	2	
New Zealand First	3	
Alliance	4	**GO TO E8**
ACT	5	
Christian Coalition	6	[47-48]
United	7	
Another party (please say which)_____	8	

E7. If you didn't manage to cast a **party vote** in the 1996 election, which party would you have voted for if you had been able to?

I CHOSE not to vote for any party	0	
Labour.	1	
National.	2	
New Zealand First	3	
Alliance	4	[49-50]
ACT	5	
Christian Coalition	6	
United	7	
Another party (please say which)_____	8	

E8. What about the **electorate vote** in 1996? Which candidate did you vote for ?

Did not vote for a candidate	0	
Labour candidate.	1	
National candidate.	2	[51-53]
New Zealand First candidate	3	
Alliance candidate	4	
Another (please say which)_____	5	

E9. Imagine that the 1996 election had been held under the old first past the post system, and you had only ONE vote for one of the candidates who stood in your electorate. Which party's candidate would you have voted for?

Would not have voted 0
Labour. 1
National. .....2 [54]
New Zealand First 3
Alliance 4
Another (please say which)_____5

E10. Regardless of the parties they were standing for, how did you feel about the personal qualities of the **candidates who stood in your electorate**?

The Candidate for—	Strongly liked	Liked	Neither liked nor disliked	Disliked	Strongly disliked	Didn't know	
National	1	2	3	4	5	0	
Labour	1	2	3	4	5	0	
New Zealand First	1	2	3	4	5	0	
Alliance	1	2	3	4	5	0	
ACT	1	2	3	4	5	0	[55-64]
Christian Coalition	1	2	3	4	5	0	
United	1	2	3	4	5	0	
Any other	1	2	3	4	5	0	

If you had an opinion about one other candidate, please say which party they stood for, or who they were_____

E11. Did you get a chance to look at the names published on the various party lists before or on election day? If so, for each of these parties, in general what did you think of the personal qualities of the people chosen for the lists?

Rating of party lists	Very Good	Good	Acceptable	Bad	Very Bad	Did not see list	
National's	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Labour's	1	2	3	4	5	6	[65-68]
The Alliance's	1	2	3	4	5	6	
New Zealand First's	1	2	3	4	5	6	

E12. Thinking about the 1996 election, how long ago did you decide definitely what party, and what electorate candidate, you would vote for?

	Party Vote	Electorate Vote	
A long time ago	1	1	
In 1996 but before the election campaign	2	2	
During the campaign but before the last week	3	3	
In the last week of the campaign before election day	4	4	[69-70]
On election day	5	5	
Never did make up my mind	6	6	
Don't know	0	0	

E13. Was there any time during the 1996 election campaign when you seriously thought you might vote for a different party or not at all?

No	0	
Yes, Labour	1	
Yes, National	2	
Yes, Alliance	3	
Yes, New Zealand First	4	[71-73]
Yes, ACT	5	
Yes, Christian Coalition	6	
Yes, United	7	
Yes, thought of not voting	8	
Yes, another	9	

E14. When you were voting, which party did you expect to come first (winning the most seats in Parliament)? Which parties did you expect to come second and third? (Circle a number in each column)

	First party	Second party	Third party	
Labour	1	1	2	
National	2	2	2	
Alliance	3	3	3	[74-76]
New Zealand First	4	4	4	
Didn't know	5	5	5	
Another party (please write in)	6	6	6	

_____

E15. When you were voting, did you expect ACT, the Christian Coalition, and United to win any seats? (Circle a number in each row)

I thought that—	Yes	No	Didn't know	
ACT would win a seat or seats	1	2	0	
The Christian Coalition would a seat or seats	1	2	0	[77-79]
United would win a seat or seats	1	2	0	[80]0
				6[5]

E16 When you were voting, which parties did you **EXPECT** to be part of the next government?

	Yes	No	Didn't know	
Labour	1	2	0	
National	1	2	0	
New Zealand First	1	2	0	
Alliance	1	2	0	[7-13]
ACT	1	2	0	
Christian Coalition	1	2	0	
United	1	2	0	

E17 When you were voting, which parties did you **WANT** to be part of the next government?

	Yes	No	Didn't know	
Labour	1	2	0	
National	1	2	0	
New Zealand First	1	2	0	
Alliance	1	2	0	[14-20]
ACT	1	2	0	
Christian Coalition	1	2	0	
United	1	2	0	

E18. What party did you vote for in the **1993** election?

Can't remember	8	
Did not vote because ineligible (too young, etc)	9	
Did not vote although eligible	0	
Labour	1	
National	2	[21-22]
Alliance	3	
New Zealand First	4	
Christian Heritage	5	
Another (please say which)_____	6	

E19. What party did you vote for in the **1990** election?

Can't remember	8	
Did not vote because ineligible (too young, etc)	9	
Did not vote although eligible	0	
Labour	1	
National	2	
NewLabour	3	[23-24]
Social Credit	4	
Democrat	5	
Green	6	
Another (please say which)_____	7	

E20. Before the 1996 election, was there any particular party you had **always** voted for?

No, I've cast votes for many different parties or candidates	4	
No, I've sometimes cast votes for other parties or candidates	5	
No, I haven't voted at all	6	[25]
Yes, always for Labour	1	
Yes, always for National	2	
Yes, always for another (please say which)_____	3	

E21. Did you vote in the electoral referendum held at the 1993 election? If so, for which option — First Past the Post (FPP) or Mixed Member Proportional (MMP)?

Did not vote in referendum	1	
FPP	2	
MMP	3	[26]
Don't know	0	

E21. If there had been a referendum on the electoral system held at the 1996 election, which of the two options would you have voted for?

Would not vote	1	
FPP	2	
MMP	3	[27]
Don't know	0	

F: Elections and Electoral Issues

F1. How much do you agree or disagree with these opinions about what elections should do?

An election should	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know	
Keep very small parties out of parliament	1	2	3	4	5	0	
Give each party a share of the MPs equal to its party vote share	1	2	3	4	5	0	[28-31]
Ensure that one party forms a government	1	2	3	4	5	0	
Provide a government at least half the people voted for	1	2	3	4	5	0	

F2. Do you think a government formed by one party or more than one party would be better at doing the following things?

	One party best	More than one party best	Both the same	Don't know	
Providing stability	1	2	3	0	
Making tough decisions	1	2	3	0	[32-35]
Keeping promises	1	2	3	0	
Doing what the people want	1	2	3	0	

F3. Looking at the type of people who are MPs, do you think there should be more MPs who are:

	Yes	No	Depends on candidate	Don't Know	
Maori	1	2	3	0	
Women	1	2	3	0	[36-39]
Pacific Islanders	1	2	3	0	
Independent candidates	1	2	3	0	

F4. Now a few questions about your local electorate. Before the election, did you know the name of the local MP elected for your electorate in 1993, and his or her party affiliation? (Write in name and party if you recall them, otherwise circle 9).

Name _____ Don't recall name 9

Party _____ Don't recall party 9 [40-41]

F5. In the twelve months before the election, did you have contact with your local MP or learn anything about him or her through any of the following?

	Yes	No	
Meeting the MP personally	1	0	
Attending a meeting where the MP spoke	1	0	
Receiving something in the mail from the MP	1	0	[42-47]
Reading about the MP in a newspaper or magazine	1	0	
Hearing the MP on radio	1	0	
Seeing the MP on TV	1	0	

F6. Have you or anyone in your family living here ever contacted your local MP or anyone in his or her office?

Yes.....	1		[48]
No.....	2	**[GO TO F7]**	

a. Was it...	Yes	No	
...to express an opinion?	1	0	
...to seek information?	1	0	[49-51]
...to seek help on a problem you had?	1	0	

b. How satisfied were you with the response from the MP's office?

Very satisfied	1	
Somewhat satisfied	2	
Not very satisfied	3	[52]
Not at all satisfied	4	

F7. Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way in which your local MP was handling his or her job over the last three years?

Strongly approve	1	
Approve	2	
Neither approve nor disapprove	3	
Disapprove	4	[53]
Strongly disapprove	5	
Don't know	0	

F8. Now, please indicate whether you agree or disagree with these statements.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
My vote is wasted if I cast it for a party which is bound to lose	1	2	3	4	5	0
It is a citizen's duty to vote	1	2	3	4	5	0

Voting is important even if it makes no difference to who wins	1	2	3	4	5	0	[54-59]
It is no use voting if you know who is going to win	1	2	3	4	5	0	
My party vote really counts in elections	1	2	3	4	5	0	
It isn't so important to vote when you know your party doesn't have any chance to win	1	2	3	4	5	0	

F9. ONE represents the opinion that parties ought to make specific promises and keep all those promises when they are in government, and SEVEN represents the opinion that parties shouldn't bother to make any specific promises at all about what they would do in government. Where would you place your view?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0	[60]
Parties ought to make and keep promises						Parties shouldn't make promises at all	Don't know	

F10. Here are some opinions about voting and reasons for voting. Tell us which ones were closest to your own reasons for voting at the 1996 election by agreeing or disagreeing with each statement.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know	
Choosing the party to provide the best government for New Zealand	1	2	3	4	5	0	
Showing loyalty to my party	1	2	3	4	5	0	
Helping my favourite party to find a coalition partner	1	2	3	4	5	0	[61-65]
Showing the government I do not like what it did	1	2	3	4	5	0	
Trying to establish a stable government	1	2	3	4	5	0	

F11. Where would you place your view on this scale from 1 to 5, where ONE means that you understand how MMP works, and where FIVE means that you do not understand it?

1	2	3	4	5	[66]
I understand how MMP works				I don't understand how MMP works	

F12. Now, here is a quick quiz on New Zealand government.. For each of the following statements, please say whether it is true or false. If you don't know the answer, just circle under 'don't know' and try the next one.

	True	False	Don't know	
Clive Matthewson is leader of the United Party	1	2	3	
There are 99 members of Parliament	1	2	3	
Cabinet Ministers must be MPs	1	2	3	[67-70]
The New Zealand Parliament has never had an Upper House	1	2	3	

G: Education and Work

Now we need to ask some questions about yourself, and your background. Please remember that the information you provide is **strictly confidential**, and won't be reported in any form which identifies you personally.

G1. Have you completed your formal education? Yes.....1 No.....2 [71]

G2. If yes, how old were you when you completed your formal education? ☐☐ years [72-73]

G3. Which one of the following indicates your highest formal educational qualification?

Incomplete primary education/no formal education 1
Primary School completed 2
Secondary education without university entrance qualification 3
Complete Secondary Education (university entrance qualification).....4 [74]
Nondegree professional, trade or technical tertiary qualification.....5
Incomplete University Education.....6
University Degree 7

G4. What is your marital status?

Married or living as married 1
Widowed 2
Divorced or separated.....3 [75]
Single, never married.....4

G5. Do you belong to a trade union? And what about your spouse or partner, if you have one, or anyone else in your household?

	Yourself	Your spouse/ partner	Anyone else in household	
Yes, I/they do belong to a union	1	1	1	
No, I/they don't belong to a union	2	2	2	
Don't know	0	0	0	[76-78]

G6. Does your spouse/partner (if you have one) have a preference for a political party?

No spouse or partner/spouse or partner has no preference 0
Yes, Labour 1
Yes, National 2
Yes, Alliance. ..... 3 [79]
Yes, New Zealand First 4
Yes, another (please write in)_____ 5
Don't Know ..... 6 [80]0

G7. Now for some questions about the work you are **now** doing. Which of the following best describes your **present position**, and that of your spouse or partner, if you have one? (You can circle up to two of these categories in each column)

	Yourself	Your spouse or partner	[6]2
Working full-time for pay (32 or more hours a week)	1	1	
Working part-time for pay (15-32 hours a week).....	2	2	
Working part-time for pay (less than 15 hours a week)..	3	3	
Unemployed, laid off, looking for work	4	4	
Retired.....	5	5	
Temporarily disabled, unable to work.....	6	6	[7-10]
Permanently disabled, unable to work	7	7	
At school, university. or other educational institution	8	8	
Helping family member in unpaid work.....	9	9	
Other unpaid work	10	10	
Keeping house	11	11	

G8. Who do you **now work for**, or **did you work for** in your **last job in paid employment**? And what about your spouse or partner, if you have one?

	Yourself	Your spouse/ partner	
A private company or business	1	1	
Central or local government	2	2	
RHA, CRI, Public Educational/Research Institution..	3	3	
State owned enterprise, other public agency	4	4	
Mixed public/private.....	5	5	[11-12]
Nonprofit/community organisation.....	6	6	

Or are/were you self-employed? 7	7	
Never ever in paid employment..... 8	8	
Don't Know 0	0	

G9. In your present or last paid job **do you/did you** directly **employ or supervise** anyone responsible to you? And what about your spouse or partner if you have one?

	Yourself	Your spouse/partner	
Yes, employed/supervised 1	1		
No, did not employ supervise 2	2		[13-14]

G10. What kind of **paid work do you do**, or **did you do in your last paid job ?** Please indicate the name of your occupation, and the industry, profession, or business involved, and any other important details. **Remember, if you are retired or otherwise not working for pay now, please describe your last regular paid job.**

And what about your spouse or partner's present **or last** regular job?

Your job/ occupation name	**Your spouse/partner's** occupation name	
		[15-17] [18-19]
Industry or business	Your partner's industry or business	
		[20-22] [23-24]

H: Personal Background

H1. Are you: Male? ..... 1 [25]
Female ? 2

H2: In what year were you born? 19 [ ] [26-27]

H3. In what country were you born?
New Zealand 1
Another country ..... 2 [28-29]
Please write in which one [ ]

H4. In what city, town, or community do you live? [ ] [30] [31-32]

H5. How many years have you lived in your district, town, or neighbourhood? [ ] years [33-34]

H6. When you were about 14 years old, what work did your father and mother do?

Your father	Your mother

[35-37] [38-40]

H7. Who did your father work for? And what about your mother?

	Your father	Your mother
Not in paid employment	0	0
A private company or business	1	1
Central or local government	2	2
Area Health Board, Public Educational Institution	3	3
State owned enterprise, other public agency	4	4
Mixed public/private	5	5
Nonprofit/community organisation	6	6
Or was he/she self-employed?	7	7
Don't know	9	9

[41-42]

H8. Did your **father** have any particular preference for one of the political parties when you were young, say about 14 years old? And how about your **mother?**

	Your father	Your Mother	
Can't remember/don't know	5	5	
No, no preference	0	0	
Yes, National	1	1	[43-44]
Yes, Labour	2	2	
Yes, another	3	3	
Please write in which one(s)			

H9 Do you:

Own your house or flat mortgage free 1
Own your house or flat with a mortgage 2
Rent your house privately as a family 3
Rent a state house/flat or one owned by a local authority ..... 4 [45]
Board or live in a hotel or rest home 5
Rent your house with a group of individuals 6
Live with your parents 7

H10. Do you identify yourself mainly as:

A New Zealand European? 1
A Pakeha? 2
A New Zealand Maori? ..... 3 [46-47]
As someone from a particular Pacific Island 4
Or with some other ethnic group? 5

Please write in which one

H11. Have you any New Zealand Maori ancestry?

Yes.....1 No.....2 Don't know.....0 [48]

H12. If you speak another language than English at home, please indicate which. [49-50]

The language is—

H13. What is your religion, if you have one?

No religion 0
Anglican 1
Presbyterian 2
Catholic 3
Methodist ..... 4 [51-52]
Baptist 5
Independent -Fundamentalist Church 6
Other Christian (please specify) 7
Non-Christian (please specify) 8

Please write in if necessary [ ]

H14. Apart from weddings, funerals, and baptisms, about how often if at all do you attend religious services these days?

Never 1
Once a year 2
2-11 times a year 3
Once a month ..... 4 [53]
2-3 times a month 5
Once a week 6

H15. Please indicate how many adults and how many children live in your household.

Adults [ ] Children [ ] [54-55] [56-57]

H16. Some people see themselves as middle class, and others as working class, and others as belonging to some other kind of class, while some don't see themselves as belonging to a class at all. Do you see yourself as:

Working class 1
Middle class 2
Belong to no class ..... 3 [58]
Object to the question 4
Don't know 0

H17. Do you or anyone in your household receive any one or more of the following benefits?

	Yes	No	
New Zealand Superannuation	1	0	
Family support	1	0	
Unemployment benefit	1	0	
Sickness or invalid's benefit	1	0	[59-65]
Domestic Purposes Benefit	1	0	
Youth or Student Allowance	1	0	
Other (war, widow's, disability etc)	1	0	

H18. What was **your personal income** before tax between 1 April 1995 and 31 March 1996? And what was **the personal income of your spouse or partner**, if you have one? And what about the total income before tax of **all members** of your household?

	Yourself	Your partner	Whole Household	
Don't Know	9	9	9	
No income	0	0	0	
$5,000 or less	1	1	1	
$5,001-$13,299	2	2	2	
$13,301-$18,799	3	3	3	[66-68]
$18,800-$28,799	4	4	4	
$28,800-$44,199	5	5	5	
$44,200-$67,399	6	6	6	
$67,400-$87,099	7	7	7	
Over $87,100	8	8	8	

H19. At your level of personal income, do you think you should pay more tax, or less tax, or about the same as you do now?

More tax.....1 Less Tax.....2 Same as now...3 Don't Know.....0 [69]

This is the end of the questionnaire. Please put the questionnaire in the pre-paid reply envelope and post it back to us. No stamp is required. Thank you again for your cooperation.

[70-73] [74-75] [76-77] [78] [80]0

Good evening, I'm [interviewers name] and I'm calling from the University of Waikato's Department of Political Science in Hamilton.
May I talk to the adult in your household, someone 18 years or older, who most recently had a birthday over the last year?

Are you eligible to vote in New Zealand?
1 yes
2 no
88 refused to answer

Are you a New Zealand citizen?
1 yes
2 no
88 refused to answer

How long have you lived in New Zealand?

Are you on the electoral roll?
1 yes
2 no
88 refused to answer

Which roll are you on, the General or Maori roll?
1 general
2 maori
99 don't know
88 refusal (no response)

(IF NOT ON ROLL) If you were to enrol, would you choose the general or Maori roll?
1 General roll
2 Maori roll
99 don't know
88 refused to answer

What is the most important issue to you personally in this election?

Which political party do you feel is closest to you on that issue?
1 Alliance
2 Labour
3 National
4 New Zealand First
5 Act
6 Christian Heritage
7 Green
8 McGillicudy Serious
9 Mauri Pacific
10 United
99 Don't Know/Don't care
88 Refused (no response)
77 None
11 Other Party: (open-ended)

Of all the politicians in New Zealand, who would you most like to be Prime Minister?

Of all the politicians in New Zealand, who would you least like to be Prime Minister?

Did you see the debate among the party leaders on TV One?
(asked only in the days after the first debate)

In your opinion, which leader performed the BEST in that debate?
and which leader performed the WORST?

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as Labour, National, NZ First, Alliance, Act or some other, or don't you think of yourself in this way?

How strongly do you feel about that party? Very strongly, fairly strongly, or not very strongly?

Do you generally think of yourself as a little closer to one of the parties than the others?

At the coming election you have two votes: one for a party, and one for a candidate in your electorate.

Which do you think will be the most important in deciding which party gets the largest number of seats in Parliament: the party vote, the electorate vote or would you say they are equally important?

1 Party vote most important
2 Equally important
3 Electorate vote most important
88 Refused (no response)
99 Don't know/Don't care

Taking the party vote first, if an election were held today, which party would you vote for?
(IF DON'T KNOW) Which party do you think you would be most likely to vote for?

Now turning to your electorate vote, if an election were held today, which party's candidate would get your electorate vote?
(IF DON'T KNOW) Which party's candidate do you think you would be most likely to vote for?

Were you eligible to vote in the 1996 election?

1 Yes
2 No
99 don't know
88 Refusal (no response)

Did you vote in that election?

1 Yes
2 No
3 No, because out of the country
99 don't remember
88 Refusal (no response)

Which party did you give your party vote to?

I'm now going to read out some statements about how MMP works.
For both statements, can you answer whether you think they are true or false.

1 true
2 false
99 don't know
88 refusal (no response)

Voting under MMP is like two separate elections, one for the electorate seats and one for the party list seats
The party vote usually decides the total number of seats each party gets in Parliament.

And for the following two statements, can you tell me whether you agree or disagree or are neutral.

Splitting your votes is always more effective than casting them both for the same party
Because National and Labour win so many electorate seats, there is never any point giving either my party vote.

Only some parties in Parliament form a government made up of a Prime Minister and Cabinet Ministers. The next questions ask what parties you most want to be in government.

If more than one party is needed to form a coalition government, which of EITHER the National or Labour parties would you most prefer to be in that government?

Which other party or parties would you prefer to be in that coalition government?
(Can choose more than one).

Now we'd like to ask you what you EXPECT to happen at the coming election. There will probably be 120 members and seats in the new Parliament, which means that to become a government on its own, a party has to get over 60 seats.

(Add if necessary)
We need just a rough estimate, you don't have to add up your estimates to 120

How many seats out of 120 roughly, do you expect the Alliance to get in Parliament?

Repeated for National, NZ First, Labour, Act.

Do you expect any other parties to get seats?
(Can choose more than one) (NOT PROMPTED)

How many seats out of 120 roughly, do you expect (any other party mentioned) to get in Parliament?

Between National and Labour, which do you think is the party most likely to form the government after the election?

What other party or parties are most likely to be in the government, not just parliament, after the election?
(Can choose more than one)

Now lets talk about the chances the various party candidates have of winning in the electorate that you are voting in.
Which party's candidate, do you think, has the most chance of winning your electorate?

We are using a scale which runs from 0 to 100, where 0 represents no chance for the party, and 50 represents an even chance, and 100 means certain victory. What do you think (party respondent thinks is most likely to win) chances are of winning your electorate seat?

Which party's candidate is the one next most likely to win after (first party named)

Using the same scale from 0 to 100, where 0 represents no chance for the party, and 50 represents an even chance, and 100 means certain victory. What do you think (second party's) chances are of winning your electorate seat?

Do you think there is any other party's candidate who has a chance of winning?

Using the same scale from 0 to 100, where 0 represents no chance for the party, and 50 represents an even chance, and 100 means certain victory. What do you think (other party named)'s chances are of winning your electorate seat?

In the past week, have you read or heard any polls about how well the parties are doing?

Have any parties or candidates personally contacted you in the last five days?

Which party or parties?

At the 1996 election we changed our electoral system from First Past the Post to Mixed Member Proportional or MMP.
Some people say MMP has been a disaster and we should get rid of it as soon as possible. Others say MMP has been a success and we should keep it. Others say it is too soon to tell. Which is closer to your view?

1 MMP has been a disaster and we should get rid of it
2 MMP has been a success and we should keep it
3 Too soon to tell
99 Don't know
88 Refused (no response)

Have you seen, read or heard anything about a referendum on the number of MPs, to be held on election day?

1 yes
2 no
88 refused to answer

This referendum proposes to reduce the number of MPs from 120 to 99. How do you intend to vote on this referendum?

1 will vote to reduce the number to 99
2 will vote to retain the current number of 120.
3 will not vote
99 don't know
88 refused (no response)

There has been talk lately about the way democracy works in New Zealand. On the whole are you very satisfied, fairly satisifed, not very satisfied or not all satisfied with the way democracy works in New Zealand?

1 very satisfied
2 fairly satisfied
3 not very satisfied
4 not at all satisfied
99 don't know
88 refusal (no response)

What do you think of the state of the economy these days in New Zealand? Would you say it is very good, good, bad, very bad or neither good or bad.

How do you think the general economic situation in New Zealand now compares with a year ago? Is it the same, better or worse?

If a referendum were held today, would you vote to retain MMP or would you vote to replace it with an alternative electoral system?

1 vote to retain MMP
2 vote for an alternative system
3 would not vote
99 don't know
88 refused (no response)

What type of electoral system would that be?

1 first past the post (FPP)
2 STV
3 Supplementary member system (SM)
88 Refusal (no response)
99 Don't know
4 Other (open-ended)

After the coming election, what sort of government would you prefer - a government made up of a single party or a coalition government made up of more than one party.

Imagine that a party wins the most votes in an election with, say about 40 percent of the votes. Tell me, do you think it should get: about 40 per cent of the seats, more than half so it can govern on its own, or somewhere between 40 percent and half the seats?

Do you think in general, that parties should have about the same percentage of MPs in Parliament as their percent of party votes?

1 yes
2 no
99 don't know
88 refusal (no response)

Which of the following is most important to you?
That one party has more than half the seats in Parliament so it can govern on its own?
OR that parties have about the same percentage of seats in Parliament as their percent of the party vote.

I'm now going to read you some statements about elections and MP's. Can you tell me whether you agree, disagree or are neutral.

My vote really counts in elections:
Most Members of Parliament are out of touch with the rest of the country :
MMP is much fairer than the old first past the post system
Parties should say before election day what other parties they would prefer to work with in a coalition government
MMP gives too much power to small parties:

How well does "can really speak for women" describe Jenny Shipley? Would you say: very well, fairly well, not very well or not at all?
How about Helen Clark?

How well does "can really speak for men" describe Jenny Shipley?
How about Helen Clark?

How well does "provides strong leadership" describe Jenny Shipley?
How about Helen Clark?

How well does "trustworthy" describe Jenny Shipley?
How about Helen Clark?

How well does "arrogant" describe Jenny Shipley?
How about Helen Clark?

How well does "compassionate" describe Jenny Shipley?
How about Helen Clark?

Do you think New Zealand should become a republic with a New Zealand head of state, or should the Queen be retained as head of state?

1 NZ should become a republic with a NZ head of state
2 the Queen should be retained as head of state
99 don't know
88 refused to answer

Regardless of your opinion on this issue, when do you think New Zealand will become a republic - in less than five years, within five to ten years, more then ten years or never?

1 in less than five years
2 within five to ten years
3 more than ten years
4 never

99 don't know
88 refused to answer

Now we need some demographic statistics. We keep this information strictly confidential.
1 male
2 female

In what year were you born?

What is your highest formal education or qualification?
1 Incomplete primary education/no formal education
2 Primary School completed
3 Secondary education without
4 completed secondary education with
5 nondegree professional, trade or technical tertiary qualific
6 university degree
88 refused to answer

Do you identify yourself mainly as a New Zealand European or New Zealand Maori or some other?
(Can tick more than one box here)

How many people of voting age live in your household?

That concludes our survey.
The New Zealand Election Study thanks you for your cooperation.

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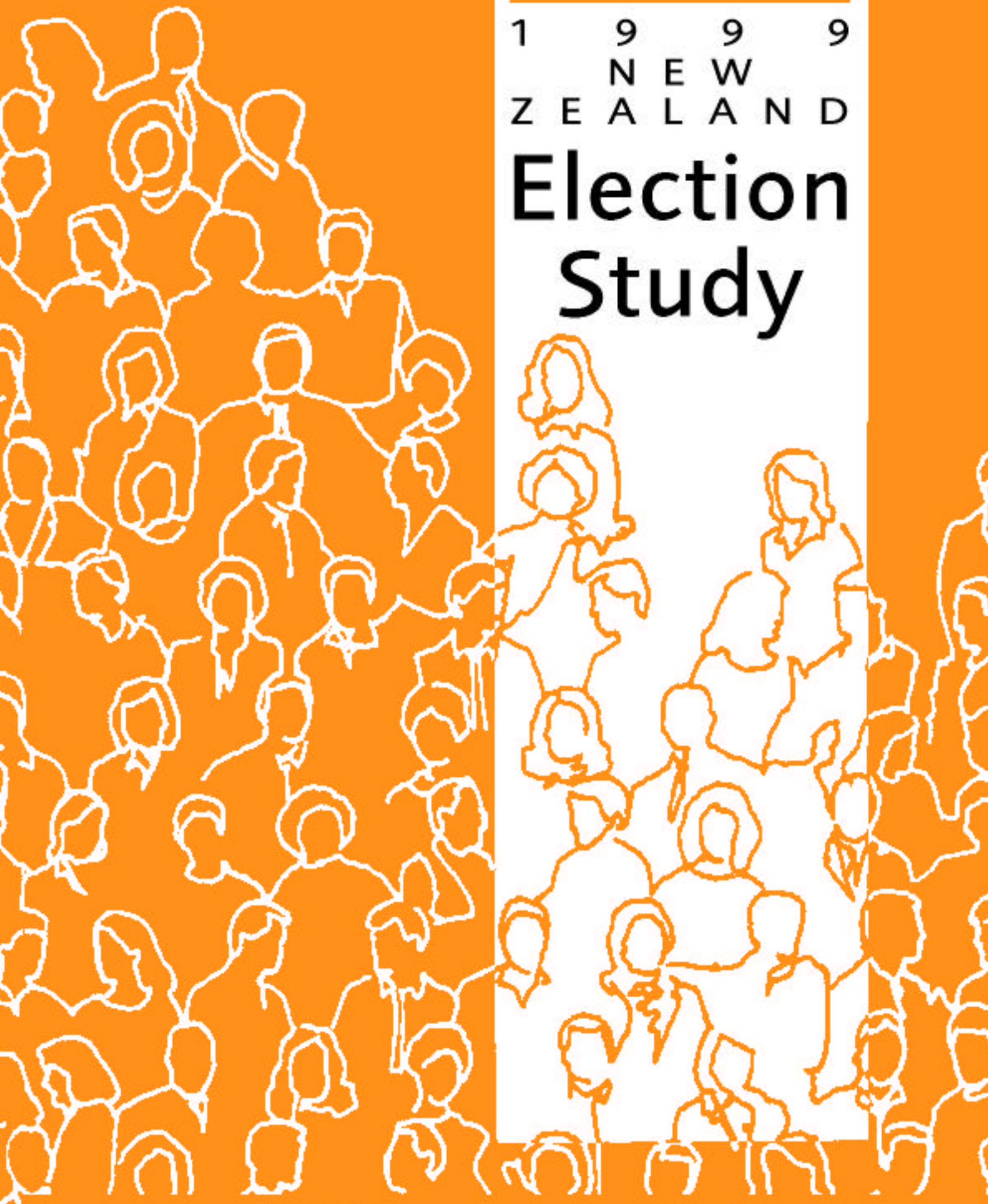
1999 NEW ZEALAND Election Study



The University of Auckland

The University of Waikato

1999 NEW ZEALAND ELECTION STUDY

CONFIDENTIAL

HOW TO FILL OUT THIS QUESTIONNAIRE ☐☐☐☐☐☐ [1-6]

To answer most of the questions you need only put a tick in the box next to the response you choose. Please choose the answer which is closest to your view. Sometimes you are asked to write your own brief response. In most cases, there are no right or wrong answers, and, in particular, there is nothing wrong in saying that you don't know or don't have an opinion on some matters!

If you object to any question, you can simply move on to the next one.

Here is an example.

Do you think the government should spend more, the same as now, or less on defence?

Government should spend more on defence	**Government should spend same as now on defence**	**Government should spend less on defence**
☐	☑	☐

If you personally think the government should spend the same as now on defence, you TICK the box as shown. PLEASE MAKE TICK MARKS CLEARLY WITHIN THE BOXES TO MAKE READING YOUR RESPONSES AS EASY AS POSSIBLE.

Sometimes you are asked to write in an answer in words or numbers. In those cases, simply do so in the box provided.

Please read each question carefully. Remember, mostly there are no right or wrong answers. We just want to know your own personal opinions.

When you have finished the questionnaire, please place it in the envelope provided and post it. No stamp is needed.

We hope you enjoy the questionnaire. And thank you very much for taking part in this study.

Dr. Jack Vowles, Dr. Susan Banducci, Dr. Jeffrey Karp
Department of Political Science and Public Policy, University of Waikato

Dr. Peter Aimer, Dr. Raymond Miller
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University of Auckland

This survey is being funded as part of the 1999 New Zealand Election Study by the Foundation for Research, Science, and Technology.

A: The Campaign and the Issues

A1. Generally speaking, how much interest do you usually have in what's going on in politics? [7]1

Please tick one box.

Very interested	Fairly interested	Slightly interested	Not at all interested
☐	☐	☐	☐
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)

[8]

A2. During the election campaign, did you do any of the following things?

Just tick in the boxes below each activity in which you were involved.

Discuss politics with others?	Talk to any people about how they should vote?	Go to any political meetings or rallies?	Do any work for a political party or candidate?	Contribute money to a political party or candidate?
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

[9]

A3. During the election campaign, how often did you follow political news, discussions, and advertising on television, newspapers, and radio?

Please tick one box in each row.

	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Not at all
On TV One	☐	☐	☐	☐
On TV3	☐	☐	☐	☐
Newspapers	☐	☐	☐	☐
National Radio	☐	☐	☐	☐
Talkback Radio	☐	☐	☐	☐
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)

[10-14]

A4. Did you make use of the internet to get news or information about the 1999 election?

Don't have access	Have access but didn't use it	Yes, once or twice	Yes, on several occasions	Yes, many times
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

[15]

A5. Did anyone from the following political parties contact you during the election campaign?

If so, please tick in the appropriate boxes for each party. If not, leave blank.

	Telephoned at home	Personally visited	Sent Letter	Gave or sent pamphlet	
Labour	☐	☐	☐	☐	[16-19]
National	☐	☐	☐	☐	[20-23]
Alliance	☐	☐	☐	☐	[24-27]
New Zealand First	☐	☐	☐	☐	[28-31]
Act	☐	☐	☐	☐	[32-35]

A6. Here is a list of some important issues discussed during the election campaign. Which **ONE** of these parties' views — Labour, National, the Alliance, Act, or NZ First — would you say came closest to your own views on each of these issues?

Which party is closest? Tick one box in each row.

	Labour	National	Alliance	Act	NZ First	None	Don't know
The economy	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Taxes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Health	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Education	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Race relations	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Environment	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Unemployment	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Law and Order	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(9)

[36-43]

A7. Still thinking about the same issues, when you were deciding about how to vote, how important was each of these issues to you personally?

Please tick one box in each row.

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Not very important	Not at all important
The economy	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Taxes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Health	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Education	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Race relations	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Environment	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Unemployment	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Law and Order	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

[44-51]

B: Democracy, Parties and the Political System

B1. On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in New Zealand?

Please tick one box.

Very satisfied	Fairly satisfied	Not very satisfied	Not very satisfied	Not at all satisfied	Don't know
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(9)

[52]

B2. Which of these opinions about different forms of government is closest to your own?
Please tick one box.

In any case, democracy is the best form of government, whatever the circumstances may be ☐ (1)

In certain cases a dictatorship can be positive ☐ (2)

For someone like me, it wouldn't make any difference whether we had a democracy or a dictatorship ☐ (3)

[53]

B3. We would like to know what you think about each of these political parties. Please rate each party on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly dislike that party and 10 means that you strongly like that party. If you haven't heard about that party or don't know enough about it, please tick 'don't know'.
Please tick one box in each row.

	Strongly dislike 0	1	2	3	4	**Neutral** 5	6	7	8	9	**Strongly like** 10	**Don't Know** (99)
National	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Labour	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
New Zealand First	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Alliance	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Act	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
United	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Green Party	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

[54-67]

B4. Which party do you like the most, and which party the second most?
Please tick one box in each row.

	National	**Labour**	**NZ First**	**Alliance**	**Act**	**Other***
Party liked the most	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Party second most liked	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	☐ (6)

[68-69]

[70-77]

*Write in name of other party _____

B5. Would you describe National as trustworthy or not trustworthy? And how about Labour, the Alliance, New Zealand First and Act?
Please tick one box in each row.

[7]2

	Trustworthy	**Not sure**	**Untrustworthy**	**Don't Know**
National	☐	☐	☐	☐
Labour	☐	☐	☐	☐
Alliance	☐	☐	☐	☐
New Zealand First	☐	☐	☐	☐
Act	☐	☐	☐	☐
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(9)

[8-12]

B6. In politics, people sometimes talk about the 'left' and the 'right'. If you can, where would you place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means the most left and 10 means the most right?

Please tick one box.

Left					**Neutral**					**Right**	**Don't Know**
0	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	(99)
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

[13-14]

B7. Using the same scale, where would you place each of these political parties?

Please tick one box in each row.

	Left					**Neutral**					**Right**	**Don't Know**
	0	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	(99)
National	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Labour	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
New Zealand First	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Alliance	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Act	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Green	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

[15-26]

B8. Again using a scale from 0 to 10, or 'don't know', please show how much you **like** or **dislike** these party leaders.

Please tick one box in each row.

	Strongly dislike					**Neutral**					**Strongly like**	**Don't Know**
	0	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	(99)
Jenny Shipley	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Helen Clark	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Winston Peters	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jim Anderton	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Richard Prebble	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jeanette Fitzsimons	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

[27-36]

B9. How well does **"provides strong leadership"** describe the following party leaders?

Please tick one box in each row.

	Very well	**Fairly well**	**Not very well**	**Not at all**	**Don't know**
Jenny Shipley	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Helen Clark	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Winston Peters	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jim Anderton	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Richard Prebble	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (9)

[37-41]

B10. How well does **"trustworthy"** describe the following party leaders?

	Very well	Fairly well	Not very well	Not at all	Don't know
Jenny Shipley	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Helen Clark	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Winston Peters	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jim Anderton	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Richard Prebble	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(9)

[42-46]

B11. How well does **"arrogant"** describe the following party leaders?

	Very well	Fairly well	Not very well	Not at all	Don't know
Jenny Shipley	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Helen Clark	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Winston Peters	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jim Anderton	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Richard Prebble	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(9)

[47-51

B12. How well does "**compassionate"** describe the following party leaders?

	Very well	Fairly well	Not very well	Not at all	Don't know
Jenny Shipley	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Helen Clark	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Winston Peters	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jim Anderton	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Richard Prebble	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(9)

[52-56]

B13. How well does "**can really speak for women"** describe the following party leaders?

	Very well	Fairly well	Not very well	Not at all	Don't know
Jenny Shipley	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Helen Clark	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Winston Peters	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jim Anderton	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Richard Prebble	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(9)

[57-61]

C: Policies

C1. Listed below are various areas of government spending. Please show whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area. Remember that if you say "more" or "much more", it might require a tax increase to pay for it.

Please tick one box in each row.

	Much more	More	Same as now	Less	Much less	Don't know
Protecting the environment	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Health	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Police and law enforcement	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Education	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Military and Defence	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Superannuation	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Assisting low income families	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	☐ (9)

[62-68]

C2. What do you think of the state of the economy these days in New Zealand? Would you say that it is—

Please tick one box.

Very good	Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad	Very bad	Don't Know
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	☐ (9)

[69]

C3. Here are some more questions about the economy, and how you think that effects your household and the country as a whole.

Please tick one box in each row.

	A lot better	A little better	About the same	A little worse	A lot worse	Don't know
How does the **financial situation of your household now** compare with what it was 12 months ago? Is it -	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
How do you think t**he general economic situation in the country** now compares with a year ago? Is it?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
What do you think the **general economic situation** in this country will be in 12 months time compared to now? Is it-	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	☐ (9)

[70-72]

C4. Here are a number of policies which some people think might **help solve New Zealand's economic problems**. Please indicate whether you would support or oppose such a policy, and how strongly.

Please tick one box in each row.

To solve New Zealand's economic problems, the government should –	**Strongly support**	**Support**	**Neutral**	**Oppose**	**Strongly oppose**	**Don't know**
Control wages by law	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Control prices by law	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Reduce taxes in general	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Introduce import controls	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Privatise more state assets	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	☐ (9)

[73-77]

C5. In particular, do you feel that the government should **fully own,** or **partly own** any of the following companies or industries? Should it **not own** them, **but regulate** their prices and how they provide services? Or should the government **not own or regulate** them at all? [7]3

Please tick one box in each row.

	Fully own	**Partly own**	**Not own but regulate**	**Not own or regulate**	**Don't know**
Telecom	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Bank of New Zealand	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Electricity	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Television New Zealand	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (9)

[8-11]

C6. This question asks how far we should go to protect the environment. ONE means that we should concentrate more on protecting the environment, even if it leads to considerably lower incomes, and SEVEN means that we should safeguard our income levels before we seek to protect the environment. Where would you place **your** view?

Please tick one box.

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

1 **Protect environment even if it leads to lower incomes** **2** **3** **4** **5** **6** **7** **Not protect environment if it leads to lower incomes** (9) **Don't know**

[12]

C7. ONE represents the view that the government should reduce taxes, and SEVEN the view that there should be a tax increase so government can spend more money on health and education. Where would you place **your** view?

Please tick one box.

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

1 **Government should reduce taxes** **2** **3** **4** **5** **6** **7** **Government should increase taxes to fund health and education** (9) **Don't know**

[13]

C8. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following?
Please tick one box in each row.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
Society would be better off if more women stayed home with their children.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
There should be a law to further reduce pay differences between women and men.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The death penalty for murder should be reintroduced.	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	☐ (9)

[14-16]

C9. Where would you place your view at any number on this scale from 1 to 7?
Please tick one box.

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	(9)
We should tax rich people more and redistribute income and wealth to ordinary people.						**Rich people should keep their own income and wealth because their taxes are too high now.**	**Don't know**

[17]

C10. Do you think the future of Maori seats in Parliament should be decided by Maori, or by all New Zealanders?
Please tick one box.

Maori should decide	**All New Zealanders should decide**	**Don't know**
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)

[18]

C11. What do you think should be the future of the Maori seats? Do you think we should get rid of the Maori seats, keep the six we have now, or have more Maori seats?
Please tick one box.

Get rid of Maori seats	**Keep the six we have now**	**Have more Maori seats**	**Don't know**
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (9)

[19]

C12. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following?
Please tick one box in each row.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
References to the Treaty of Waitangi should be removed from the law.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Maori should be compensated for land confiscated in the past.	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	☐ (9)

[20-21]

C13. Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into New Zealand nowadays should be –
Please tick one box.

Increased a lot	**Increased a little**	**Remain about the same as it is**	**Reduced a little**	**Reduced a lot**	**Don't Know**
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	☐ (9)

[22]

C14. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following?

Please tick one box in each row.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
The Employment Contracts Act should be scrapped.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Minimum wages reduce the creation of new jobs.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Trade unions are necessary to protect workers.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Big business in New Zealand has too much power.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
People who are unemployed should have to work for their benefits.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Trade unions in New Zealand have too much power.	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	☐ (9)

[23-28]

C15. Here is a list of four aims for New Zealand over the next ten years. **If <u>you</u> had to choose among these aims,** which would be **<u>your</u>** first and second choices?

Please tick one box in each column.

	First choice	Second choice	
Maintain order in the nation	☐	☐	(1)
Give the people more say in important government decisions	☐	☐	(2)
Fight rising prices	☐	☐	(3)
Protect freedom of speech	☐	☐	(4)

[29-30]

C16. Generally, do you think it **should be** or **should not be** the government's responsibility to provide or ensure –

Please tick one box in each row.

	Definitely should	Should	Shouldn't	Definitely shouldn't	Don't Know
A job for everyone who wants one	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A decent living standard for all old people	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Decent living standards for the unemployed	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Decent housing for those who can't afford it	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Free health care for everyone	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Free education from pre-school through polytechnic and university levels	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (9)

[31-36]

D: Party Preferences and Voting

D1. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as National, Labour, Alliance, New Zealand First, or some other, or don't you usually think of yourself in this way?

Don't usually think of myself in this way	Another party*	Labour	National	Alliance	NZ First	Act
☐ (0)	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	☐ (6)

[37]

*Please write in_____ [38-45]

If you don't usually think in this way:
Do you generally think of yourself as a little closer to one of the parties than the others?

No	Labour	National	Alliance	NZ First	Act	Another*
☐ (0)	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	☐ (6)

*Please write in_____

If you ticked a party box:
How strongly do you think of yourself as that party?

Very strongly	Fairly strongly	Not very strongly
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)

[46-47] [48-55]

D2. With MMP New Zealanders now have two votes, one for a party, and one for a candidate in their electorate. Which do you think is the most important in deciding which party will get the largest number of seats in Parliament?

Party vote most important	Both equally important	Electorate vote most important	Don't know
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (9)

[56]

D3. Thinking now of the **party vote**, which party did you vote for in the 1999 election?

Did not vote for a party	Another party*	Labour	National	Alliance	NZ First	Act
☐ (0)	☐ (6)	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)

[57]

*Please write in_____ [58-65]

TO NEXT PAGE

D4. If you didn't manage to cast a **party vote** in the 1999 election, which party would you have voted for if you had been able to?

I CHOSE not vote for a party	Another party*	Labour	National	Alliance	NZ First	Act
☐ (0)	☐ (6)	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)

[66]

*Please write in_____ [67-74]

D5. What about the **electorate vote** in 1999? Which party's candidate did you vote for ? [7]4

Did not	Another party candidate*	Labour	National	Alliance	NZ First	Act	[8]
☐ (0)	☐ (6)	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	

*Please write in_____ [9-16]

D6. Imagine that the 1999 election had been held under the old first past the post system, and you had only ONE vote for one of the candidates who stood in your electorate**.** Which party's candidate would you have voted for?

Another party*	Would not have voted	Labour	National	Alliance	NZ First	Act	[17]
☐ (0)	☐ (6)	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	

*Please write in_____ [18-25]

D7. Thinking about the 1999 election, how long ago did you decide definitely what party, and what electorate candidate, you would vote for?

Please tick one box in each column.

	Party Vote	Electorate Vote	
A long time ago	☐	☐	(1)
In 1999 but before the election campaign	☐	☐	(2)
During the campaign but before the last week	☐	☐	(3)
In the last week of the campaign before election day	☐	☐	(4)
On election day	☐	☐	(5)
Never did make up my mind	☐	☐	(6)
Don't know	☐	☐	(9)

[26-27]

D8. Was there any time during the 1999 election campaign when you seriously thought you might vote for a different party than the one you voted for or not vote at all?

Please tick one box.

Yes	No	Thought of not voting	Don't know	
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (9)	[28]

Only some parties in parliament form a government, made up of a Prime Minister and Cabinet Ministers. The next two questions ask what parties you most wanted to be in government.

D9. On election day, which of EITHER the National or Labour parties did you most prefer to form a government?

Please tick one box.

National	Labour	Neither	Both	Don't know	
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (9)	[29]

D10. On election day, which **OTHER** party or parties did you want to be part of the government?

Please tick as many boxes as apply box.

No other party	Labour	National	NZ First	Alliance	Act	Other*	Don't Know
☐ (0)	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	☐ (6)	☐ (9)

[30]

*Please write in_____ [31-37]

D11. Regardless of the parties they were standing for, how did you feel about the **candidates who stood in your electorate**?

Please tick one box in each row.

How did you feel about the candidate for –	**Strongly dislike** 0	1	2	3	4	**Neutral** 5	6	7	8	9	**Strongly like** 10	**Don't Know** (99)
National	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Labour	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
New Zealand First	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Alliance	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Act	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Any other candidate*	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

[38-49]

*If you had an opinion about one other candidate,
please write in which party they stood for, or who they were_____ [50-57]

D12. Which party's electorate candidate, if any, did you personally most like?

None of them	Labour	National	NZ First	Alliance	Act	Other*
☐ (0)	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	☐ (6)

[58]

*Please write in_____ [59-66]

D13. If you voted on the referendum about the number of MPs, which option did you choose?

Did not vote	Voted to reduce the number of MPs to 99	Voted to retain the current number at 120
☐ (0)	☐ (1)	☐ (2)

[67]

D14. If you voted on the referendum about penalties for crimes of violence and more concern for victims, which option did you choose?

Did not vote	Voted for greater penalties and more concern for victims	Voted for same penalties and treatment of victims as now
☐ (0)	☐ (1)	☐ (2)

[68]

D15. For what party did you cast your party vote in the **1996** election?

Did not vote	Labour	National	NZ First	Alliance	Act	Christian Coalition	Other
☐ (0)	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	☐ (6)	☐ (7)

[69]

E: Government and the Electoral System

E1. Which of the following statements about MMP is closest to your view? *Please tick one box.*

MMP has been a disaster and we should get rid of it as soon as possible	☐ (1)	
MMP has been a success and we should keep it	☐ (2)	[70]
It is too soon to tell about MMP	☐ (3)	
Don't know	☐ (9)	

E2. If there had been a referendum held on the electoral system at the same time as the election, how would you have voted? *Please tick one box.*

To keep MMP	**Return to the First Past the Post system (FPP)**	**For an alternative, neither MMP or FPP***	**Don't know**	
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (9)	[71]

*Please write in alternative_____ [72-77]

E3. Did you vote in the electoral referendum held at the 1993 election? If so, for which option — First Past the Post (FPP) or Mixed Member Proportional (MMP)? *Please tick one box.* [7]5

Did not vote in referendum	**FPP**	**MMP**	**Don't know**	
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (9)	[8]

E4. Generally speaking, do you prefer – *Please tick one box.*

A government made up of a single party	**A coalition government made up of more than one party**	**Don't know**	
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	[9]

E5. Imagine that a party wins the most votes in an election with about 40 per cent of the votes. Regardless of whether you liked that party or not, do you think that party should get:

Please tick one box.

About 40 per cent of the seats in Parliament	**More than half of the seats, so it can easily govern on its own**	**Somewhere between 40 per cent and half the seats**	**Don't know**	
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (9)	[10]

E6. How much do you agree or disagree with these opinions about what elections should do?

Please tick one box in each row.

An election should –	**Strongly agree**	**Agree**	**Neutral**	**Disagree**	**Strongly disagree**	**Don't know**	
Provide a government at least half the people voted for	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	[11-13
Give each party a percentage of the seats in Parliament equal to its per cent of the party vote	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Ensure that only one party is needed to form a government	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	☐ (9)	

E7. Which of the following is more important to you?
Please tick one box.

One party has more than half the seats in Parliament, so it can easily govern on its own	Parties have about the same percentage of seats as their per cent of the party vote	Don't know
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)

[14]

E8. Sometimes one or more parties can govern with less than half the seats in Parliament as a 'minority government'. In general, do you think that it is –

Good that a government has more than half the seats in Parliament	Not so good that a governments has more than half the seats	Don't know
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)

[15]

E9. Do you agree or disagree with these statements?
Please tick one box in each row.

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Don't know
MMP is much fairer than the old First Past the Post system.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Splitting your votes is always more effective than casting them both for the same party.	☐	☐	☐	☐
I do not see the point of having two votes under MMP.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Because National and Labour win so many electorate seats there is no point in giving either my party vote.	☐	☐	☐	☐
MMP gives too much power to small parties.	☐	☐	☐	☐
First past the post gave too much power to large parties.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Voters, not parties, should decide which of the candidates on the party list get the seats the party has won.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Parties should say before election day what other parties they would prefer to work with in a coalition government.	☐	☐	☐	☐
Parties should put forward similar numbers of male and female candidates.	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (9)

[16-24]

E10. Here are some other statements about MMP. Do you think that they are true, or false?

	True	False	Don't Know
Voting under MMP is like two separate elections, one for the electorate seats and one for the party list seats.	☐	☐	☐
The party votes usually decide the total number of seats each party gets in Parliament.	☐	☐	☐
A party that wins less than 5% of the party vote and wins no electorates at all cannot win any seats.	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (9)

[25-27]

E11. Generally speaking, do you think a government formed by one party, or one formed by more than one party, is better at doing the following things?

Please tick one box in each row.

	One party best	More than one party best	Both the same	Don't know
Providing stability	☐	☐	☐	☐
Making tough decisions	☐	☐	☐	☐
Keeping Promises	☐	☐	☐	☐
Doing what the people want	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (9)

[28-31]

E12. Now, here is a quick quiz on New Zealand government. For each of the following statements, please say whether it is true or false. If you don't know the answer, put a tick under 'don't know' and try the next.

Please tick one box in each row.

	True	False	Don't Know
The term of Parliament is four years.	☐	☐	☐
Cabinet Ministers must be MPs.	☐	☐	☐
The New Zealand Parliament once had an Upper House.	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (9)

[32-34]

F: Representation and Participation

F1. There are various forms of political action that people take. For each one, have you **actually** done it, **might** you do it, or **would you never**? *Please tick one box in each row.*

	Actually done it	Might do it	Would never	Don't know
Sign a petition	☐	☐	☐	☐
Write to a newspaper	☐	☐	☐	☐
Go on a protest march, so long as it was legal	☐	☐	☐	☐
Phone a talkback radio show	☐	☐	☐	☐
Boycott a product or service	☐	☐	☐	☐
Occupying buildings, factories, or other property	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (9)

[35-40]

F2. Lately, there has been a lot of talk about changing Parliament and the way New Zealand is governed.

In New Zealand, do you think we should or shouldn't —	Definitely yes	Yes	Neither yes or no	No	Definitely no	Don't know
Give the Maori people more say in all government decisions?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Require that MPs resigning from their party must also resign from Parliament?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Have a law that limits the number of terms that MPs can serve in Parliament?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Make political parties fully disclose the sources of their finances?	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	☐ (9)

[41-44]

F3. Do you or does anyone in your household belong to a trade union?

Please tick as many boxes as apply.

Yes, I belong	Yes, my spouse or partner belongs	Yes, another person in the house belongs	No, no one	Don't Know	
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (9)	[45]

F4. Are you a member of any of the organisations or associations listed below?

If so, how often have you attended any meetings in the past 12 months?

	Are you a member?						
	No	If you are a member: How many meetings in the last year?					
		None	Once or twice a year	About once every 2-3 months	Once or more per month	Once or more per week	
Trade union, farmers, employers, professional association	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Political party, political organisation, or movement	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Interest, pressure group, environmental group	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Sports club or association	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Cultural organisation	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	[46-55]
Church or religious organisation	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Social Club	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Youth Group	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Community Service Group	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Hobbies group or club	☐ (8)	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	

F5. Overall do you think that referendums and citizen-initiated referendums are good things, bad things, or don't you think they make much difference? *Please tick one box.*

Good things	Bad things	No difference	No opinion	
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (9)	[56]

F6. Do you agree or disagree with these statements about referendums? *Please tick one box.*

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't Know	
Referendums are too complicated for the average voter.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Citizens-initiated referendums enable citizens to get politicians' attention.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Results of citizens initiated referendums should automatically become law.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	[57-60
Parliament, not voters, should make final decisions on law and policy.	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	☐ (9)	

F7. Looking at the type of people who are MPs, do you think there should be more who are:

Please tick one box.

	Yes	No	Depends on candidate	Don't know
Maori	☐	☐	☐	☐
Women	☐	☐	☐	☐
Pacific Islanders	☐	☐	☐	☐
Asians	☐	☐	☐	☐
Independents	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (9)

[61-65

F8. How much do you agree or disagree with these opinions?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't Know
Most people would try to take advantage of others if they got the chance.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A few strong leaders could make this country better than all the laws and talk.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
What young people need most of all is strict discipline by their parents.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sometimes politics seems so complicated people like me can't understand what goes on.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I feel that I could do as good a job in public office as most people.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Generally speaking, most people can be trusted.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
It is a citizen's duty to vote.	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	☐ (9)

[66-72

With MMP we have two kinds of MPs: those who are elected from local electorates or constituencies, as before; and a new kind of MP, who are elected from lists supplied by political parties. **First, here are some questions about your local electorate MP.** [7]6

F9. Before the election did you know the name of the **electorate MP for your electorate** since 1996, and their party affiliation when elected in 1996? (Write in name and party if you recall them, otherwise tick the don't recall boxes).

Name _____ Don't recall name ☐(9) [8-22]

Party _____ Don't recall party ☐(9) [23-30

F10. In the twelve months before the election, did you had any contact with your electorate or **constituency** MP in any way? *Please tick one box.*

Yes	No	Don't know
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (9)

[31]

F11. Overall, did you approve or disapprove of the way in which your electorate MP was handling his or her job over the last three years? *Please tick one box.*

Strongly approved	Approved	Neither approved nor disapproved	Disapproved	Strongly disapproved	Don't know
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	☐ (9)

[32]

F12. Overall, did you approve or disapprove of the way in which electorate MPs in general were handling their jobs over the last three years?

Strongly approved	Approved	Neither approved nor disapproved	Disapproved	Strongly disapproved	Don't know
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	☐ (9)

[33]

F13. Before the 1999 election did you have personal knowledge about **any LIST MP,** and their party affiliation when elected? If you have personal knowledge about more than one, list MP, please write in the one with whom you had the most contact, if any.

Name _____ Don't recall name ☐(9) [34-48

Party _____ Don't recall party ☐(9) [49-56

FOR THOSE WHO HAVE PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF A LIST MP ONLY

F14. In the twelve months before the election, did you have any contact with that LIST MP in any way? *Please tick one box.*

Yes	No	Don't know
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (9)

[57]

F15. Overall, did you approve or disapprove of the way in which that LIST MP was handling his or her job over the last three years? *Please tick one box.*

Strongly approved	Approved	Neither approved nor disapproved	Disapproved	Strongly disapproved	Don't know
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	☐ (9)

[58]

F16. Overall, did you approve or disapprove of the way in which LIST MPs in general were handling their jobs over the last three years? *Please tick one box.*

Strongly approved	Approved	Neither approved nor disapproved	Disapproved	Strongly disapproved	Don't know
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	☐ (9)

[59]

F17. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Please tick one box in each row.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't Know
Most Members of Parliament are out of touch with the rest of the country	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I feel I have a pretty good understanding of the issues facing New Zealand	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
People like me don't have any say about what the government does	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The New Zealand government is largely run by a few big interests	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My vote really counts in elections	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
You can trust the government to do what is right most of the time	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I don't think politicians and public servants care much about what people like me think	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	☐ (9)

[60-66]

F18. ONE represents the opinion that parties ought to make specific promises and keep all those promises when they are in government, and SEVEN represents the opinion that parties shouldn't bother to make any specific promises at all about what they would do in government. Where would you place your view? *Please tick one box.*

☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6	☐ 7	☐ (9)
Parties ought to make and keep promises						**Parties shouldn't make promises at all**	**Don't know**

[67]

G: You and Your Background

Here are some questions about yourself and your background. Remember that the information you provide is **strictly confidential**. It won't be reported or released identifying you personally.

G1. Are you – **Male** ☐ (1) **Female** ☐ (2) [68]

G2: In what year were you born? 19 ☐☐ [69-70]

G3. In what country were you born? [71]

New Zealand	**UK**	**Other Europe***	**Pacific**	**Australia**	**Other***
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	☐ (6)

*If other, please write in which specific country you were born.		If you were not born in New Zealand, please write in which year you came to live here 19		

[72-80] [7]7 [8-9]

G4. How many years have you lived in your district, town, or neighbourhood? ☐☐ years [10-11]

G5. Would you say you now live in –

Please tick one box.

A rural area or settlement (under 10,000)	**A country town (under 10,000)**	**A larger country town**	**A large town (over 25,000)**	**A major city (over 100,000)**
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)

[12]

G6. Which one of the following indicates your highest formal educational qualification?

Please tick one box.

Incomplete primary education/ none	**Primary School completed**	**Secondary education without UE or 6th form certificate**	**Complete Secondary Education**	**Nondegree professional, trade or technical tertiary qualification**	**University Degree**
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	☐ (6)

[13]

G7. This question is about the work you are **now** doing. Which of the following best describes your **present position**? *Please tick all that apply.*

Working full-time for pay or other income (32 or more hours a week)	Working part-time for pay or other income (less than 32 hours a week)	Unemployed, laid off, looking for work	Retired	Temporarily or permanently disabled, unable to work	At school, university, or other education-al institution	Unpaid work outside the home	Unpaid work within the home	
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	[14-21]

The next few questions are about the work that you are now doing OR, if you are not working now, the work you did the last time you were in paid employment.

G8. Who do you now work for or, if you are not working now, who **did you** work for in your **last job in paid employment**? *Please tick one box.*

	I am/was paid a wage or salary by:					
I am/was self-employed	**A private company or business**	**A state or Public agency or enterprise, central or local**	**A mixed public/private, or nonprofit organisation**	**Never been in paid employment**	**Don't Know**	[22]
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	☐ (9)	

G9. In your present or last paid job do /did you directly employ or supervise any employee responsible to you?

Yes ☐ (1) **No** ☐ (2) [23]

G10a. What kind of **paid work** do you do, or **did you do** in your last paid job**? Remember, if you are retired or otherwise not working for pay now, please describe your last regular paid job**.

Your job/ occupation

[24-38]

G10b. In what industry, profession, or business is or was your job ?

Industry or business

[39-53]

G11. Would you describe your present or last job (if you do not presently have one) as:

Please tick only one box.

Managerial	Professional	Semi-professional or technical	Clerical	Service or Sales	Skilled Manual or Trade	Factory work	Manual or Labouring	Farming	
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	☐ (6)	☐ (7)	☐ (8)	☐ (9)	[54]

G12. Did your **father** have any particular preference for a political party when you were young, say about 14 years old? And how about your **mother?** *Please tick one box in each row.*

	Can't remember/ don't know	No, no preference	Yes, National	Yes, Labour	Yes, another* (in New Zealand or overseas)	*Please write in other party	
Your father	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐		[55] [55-
Your mother	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)		[63] [64-

G13. Do you:

Own your house or flat mortgage free	Own your house or flat with a mortgage	Rent your house privately as a family	Rent a house/flat from the Housing Corporation or a local authority	Board or live in a hotel, hostel, rest home, or temporary accommodation	Rent your house with a group of individuals	Live at your parents or other family members home	
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	☐ (6)	☐ (7)	[72]

G14. Do you identify yourself as any of these? *You can tick as many as apply.*

A New Zealand European	A New Zealand Maori	As someone from a particular Pacific Island?	*Or with some other ethnic group?	
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	[73-76]

[7]8

*Please write in which other group [8-15]

If you ticked more than one box, with which ONE of them do you MOST identify?
Please tick only one box.

A New Zealand European	A New Zealand Maori	As someone from a particular Pacific Island?	Or with some other ethnic group?	
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	[16]

G15. Some people see themselves as middle class, and others as working class, while some don't see themselves as belonging to a class at all. Do you see yourself as:
Please tick one box.

Working class	Middle class	Belong to no class	Don't know	
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (9)	[17]

G16. Apart from weddings, funerals, and baptisms, about how often if at all do you attend religious services these days?
Please tick one box.

Never	Once a year	2-11 times a year	Once a month	2-3 times a month	At least once a week	
☐ (0)	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	[18]

G17. What is your religion, if you have one?

No religion	☐ (0)	**Latter Day Saints**	☐ (6)
Anglican	☐ (1)	**Ratana**	☐ (7)
Presbyterian	☐ (2)	**Independent-Fundamentalist Church**	☐ (8)
Catholic	☐ (3)	**Other Christian***	☐ (9)
Methodist	☐ (4)	**Non-Christian***	☐ (10)
Baptist	☐ (5)		

*Please write in_____

[19-20]

[21-28]

G18. Do you or anyone in your household receive any one or more of the following benefits?

Please tick all that apply.

Family support	**Community wage job seeker/ unemploy-ment benefit**	**Community wage sickness benefit**	**Invalid's benefit**	**Domestic Purposes Benefit**	**Youth or Student Allowance**	**Other (war, widow's, disability etc)**
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

[29-35]

G19. Including yourself, please indicate how many adults (18 and older) and how many children (17 years and younger) live in your household.

Adults ☐ **Children** ☐

[36-39]

G20. What was **your personal income** before tax between 1 April 1998 and 31 March 1999? What about the total income before tax of **all members** of your household in the same year?

	Don't Know	**No income**	**Less than $13,900**	**$13,900-$19,899**	**$19,900-$31,399**	**$31,400-$48,099**	**$48,100-$71,599**	**$71,600-$93,099**	**Over $93,100**
Your personal income	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Your household income	☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	☐ (6)	☐ (7)	☐ (8)	☐ (9)

[40-41]

G21. At your level of personal income, do you think you should pay more tax, less tax, or about the same as you do now?

More tax	**Less Tax**	**Same as now**	**Don't Know**
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (9)

[42]

G22 Later on, we hope to do more research that will involve interviewing people who answer this questionnaire in person. Are you willing to be contacted for a personal interview?

Yes ☐ (1) **No** ☐ (2) **Don't know** ☐ (9)

[43]

G23. What is your marital status? *Please tick one box.*

Married or living as married	**Widowed**	**Divorced or separated**	**Single, never married**
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (9)

[44]

If you are married or living with a partner, please move on to the last few questions. Otherwise, you have completed the questionnaire.

H: Your Spouse or Partner

H1. This question is about the work your spouse or partner is **now** doing. Which of the following best describes his or her **present position**? *Please tick all that apply.*

Working full-time for pay or other income (32 or more hours a week)	Working part-time for pay or other income (less than 32 hours a week)	Unemployed, laid off, looking for work	Retired	Temporarily or permanently disabled, unable to work	At school, university, or other educational institution	Unpaid work outside the home	Unpaid work within the home	
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	[45-52]

The next few questions are about the work that your spouse or partner is now doing **or, if s/he is not working now, the work they did the last time they were in paid employment.**

H2. In their present or last paid job **does or did you spouse or partner** directly **employ or supervise** anyone responsible to them?

Yes ☐ (1) **No** ☐ (2) [53]

H3. Who does s/he now work for, or did s/he work for in their last paid employment?

Please tick only one box.

	S/he is/was paid a wage or salary by:					
S/he is/was self-employed	**A private company or business**	**A state or Public agency or enterprise, central or local**	**A mixed public/private, or nonprofit organisation**	**Never been in paid employment**	**Don't Know**	
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	☐ (9)	[54]

H4a. What kind of **paid work** does your spouse or partner do, **OR if now not working for pay, DID S/HE DO** in their **LAST PAID JOB? If they are retired or otherwise not working for pay now, please describe their last regular paid job**.

Job/ occupation

[55-69]

H4b. In what industry, profession, or business **is OR WAS** their job ?

[7]9

Industry or business

[8-22]

H5. Would you describe your spouse or partner's **present OR LAST** job as:

Please tick one box.

Managerial	**Professional**	**Semi-professional or technical**	**Clerical**	**Service or Sales**	**Skilled Manual or Trade**	**Factory work**	**Manual or Labouring**	**Farming**	
☐ (1)	☐ (2)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	☐ (3)	☐ (4)	☐ (5)	☐ (9)	[23]

This is the end of the questionnaire. Please put the questionnaire in the pre-paid reply envelope and post it back to us. No stamp is required. Thank you again for your cooperation.