

CONFIDENTIAL

[0-5]

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| | | | | |
| | | | | [6] 1 |

1996 New Zealand Election Study

HOW TO FILL OUT THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

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

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. <u>No stamp is needed.</u> |
|--|

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

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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 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | [21-48] |
| National | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| Alliance | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| New Zealand First | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| ACT | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| Christian Coalition | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| United | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | |

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 | [50-63] |
| 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 | |

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 | |
|----------------------------------|-----------|------|-------------|------|-----------|------------|--------|
| 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 MORE THAN ONE 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 CLOSE OR CLOSER TO ONE 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 | | |
|------------------------|------------------|---|---|---|---------|---|---|---|---------------|---|------------|----|---------|
| | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 99 | |
| 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?

- 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 | |
|---------------------|-------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|--------------|---------------|---------|
| | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 99 | |
| 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 worse5 5
- Don't know0 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?

| | 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 | |
| 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 of Waitangi 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 | |
|---------------------|--|---|---|---|--|---|------------|-----------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 0 |
| 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 **you** 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 |
| 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 of MPs to 80? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 0 |

[7-12]

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 |
| 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 |

[13-21]

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 Not very | 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 | Neither 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 ahead just don'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 describe National 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 | <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; height: 100px; margin-right: 5px;"></div> <div style="text-align: left;"> <p>GO TO E7</p> <p>GO TO E8</p> <p>[47-48]</p> </div> </div> |
| Labour | 1 | |
| National..... | 2 | |
| New Zealand First | 3 | |
| Alliance..... | 4 | |
| ACT | 5 | |
| Christian Coalition | 6 | |
| 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..... | 6 | 6 | 6 | |
| (please write in) | | | | |

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 completed2
- Secondary education without university entrance qualification3
- Complete Secondary Education (university entrance qualification).....4 [74]
- Nondegree professional, trade or technical tertiary qualification5
- Incomplete University Education.....6
- University Degree7

G4. What is your marital status?

- Married or living as married 1
- Widowed2
- 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 | |

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 | [41-42] |
| Mixed public/private..... | 5 | 5 | |
| Nonprofit/community organisation | 6 | 6 | |
| Or was he/she self-employed? | 7 | 7 | |
| Don't know | 9 | 9 | |

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) | <table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 20px;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%;"></td> <td style="width: 50%;"></td> </tr> </table> | | | | |
| | | | | | |

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
- Baptist 5
- Independent -Fundamentalist Church 6
- Other Christian (please specify)..... 7
- Non-Christian (please specify) 8

[51-52]

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
- 2-3 times a month..... 5
- Once a week 6

[53]

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
- Object to the question 4
- Don't know 0

[58]

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 |