

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. <u>No stamp is needed.</u>
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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	<input style="width: 40px; height: 30px; border: 2px solid black;" type="text"/>	Labour	<input style="width: 40px; height: 30px; border: 2px solid black;" type="text"/>	National	<input style="width: 40px; height: 30px; border: 2px solid black;" type="text"/>	Alliance	<input style="width: 40px; height: 30px; border: 2px solid black;" type="text"/>	NZ First	<input style="width: 40px; height: 30px; border: 2px solid black;" type="text"/>
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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

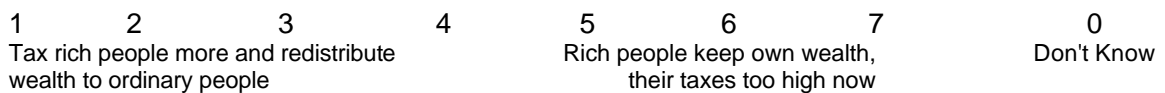
C7: And can you tell us how far you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	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.



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	<input type="checkbox"/>	Labour	<input type="checkbox"/>	National	<input type="checkbox"/>	Alliance	<input type="checkbox"/>	NZ First	<input type="checkbox"/>
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C9: On the whole do you think it **should be** or **should not be** the government's responsibility to:

	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		<input style="width: 40px; height: 30px; border: 2px solid black;" type="text"/>	Labour	<input style="width: 40px; height: 30px; border: 2px solid black;" type="text"/>	National	<input style="width: 40px; height: 30px; border: 2px solid black;" type="text"/>	Alliance	<input style="width: 40px; height: 30px; border: 2px solid black;" type="text"/>	NZ First	<input style="width: 40px; height: 30px; border: 2px solid black;" type="text"/>

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 impnt		Not impnt	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	<input style="width: 40px; height: 30px; border: 2px solid black;" type="text"/>		<input style="width: 40px; height: 30px; border: 2px solid black;" type="text"/>
		Second choice	

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

	Extremely important	Very impnt	3	Not impnt	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?

How important that MPs should listen to:

	Extremely important	Very impt	3	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

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

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 impnt	3	Not impnt	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

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.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Can't say
<u>An election should</u>						
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 name9

Party _____ Don't recall party9

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?

<p>Your job Job/occupation name</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 50px; width: 100%;"></div>	<p>Your partner's job Job/occupation name</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 50px; width: 100%;"></div>
<p>Industry or business</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 40px; width: 100%;"></div>	<p>Your partner's industry or business</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 40px; width: 100%;"></div>

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.