



CONFIDENTIAL

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NEW  
ZEALAND

# Election Study

The University  
of Auckland

The University  
of Waikato



# 1999 NEW ZEALAND ELECTION STUDY



**CONFIDENTIAL**

HOW TO FILL OUT THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

[1-6]

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

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

Here is an example.

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

**Government should  
spend more on defence**

**Government should  
spend same as now on  
defence**

**Government should  
spend less on defence**

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

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

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

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

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

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*Department of Political Science and Public Policy, University of Waikato*

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*Department of Political Studies  
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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? [7]1  
*Please tick one box.*

Very interested	Fairly interested	Slightly interested	Not at all interested
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)

[8]

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

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

Discuss politics with others?	Talk to any people about how they should vote?	Go to any political meetings or rallies?	Do any work for a political party or candidate?	Contribute money to a political party or candidate?
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

[9]

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

*Please tick one box in each row.*

	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Not at all
On TV One	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
On TV3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Newspapers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
National Radio	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Talkback Radio	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)

[10-14]

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

Don't have access	Have access but didn't use it	Yes, once or twice	Yes, on several occasions	Yes, many times
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

[15]

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

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

	Telephoned at home	Personally visited	Sent Letter	Gave or sent pamphlet
Labour	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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"/>

[16-19]

[20-23]

[24-27]

[28-31]

[32-35]

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

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

	Labour	National	Alliance	Act	NZ First	None	Don't know
The economy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Taxes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Health	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Education	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Race relations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Environment	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Unemployment	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Law and Order	<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (5)	<input type="checkbox"/> (6)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)

[36-43]

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

*Please tick one box in each row.*

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Not very important	Not at all important
The economy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Taxes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Health	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Education	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Race relations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Environment	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Unemployment	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Law and Order	<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (5)

[44-51]

## B: Democracy, Parties and the Political System

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

*Please tick one box.*

Very satisfied	Fairly satisfied	Not very satisfied	Not very satisfied	Not at all satisfied	Don't know
<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (5)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)

[52]

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

*Please tick one box.*

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

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

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

[53]

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

*Please tick one box in each row.*

	<b>Strongly dislike</b>				<b>Neutral</b>						<b>Strongly like</b>		<b>Don't Know (99)</b>
	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>		
National	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Labour	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<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"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<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"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<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"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<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"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Green Party	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

[54-67]

B4. Which party do you like the most, and which party the second most?

*Please tick one box in each row.*

	<b>National</b>	<b>Labour</b>	<b>NZ First</b>	<b>Alliance</b>	<b>Act</b>	<b>Other*</b>
Party liked the most	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Party second most liked	<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (5)	<input type="checkbox"/> (6)

[68-69]

[70-77]

\*Write in name of other party \_\_\_\_\_

B5. Would you describe National as trustworthy or not trustworthy? And how about Labour, the Alliance, New Zealand First and Act?

[72]

*Please tick one box in each row.*

	<b>Trustworthy</b>	<b>Not sure</b>	<b>Untrustworthy</b>	<b>Don't Know</b>
National	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Labour	<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"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)

[8-12]

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

*Please tick one box.*

	Left				Neutral						Right	Don't Know
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	(99)
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

[13-14]

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

*Please tick one box in each row.*

	Left				Neutral						Right	Don't Know
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	(99)
National	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Labour	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<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"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<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"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<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"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Green	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

[15-26]

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

*Please tick one box in each row.*

	Strongly dislike				Neutral						Strongly like	Don't Know
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	(99)
Jenny Shipley	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Helen Clark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Winston Peters	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jim Anderton	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Richard Prebble	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jeanette Fitzsimons	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

[27-36]

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

*Please tick one box in each row.*

	Very well	Fairly well	Not very well	Not at all	Don't know
Jenny Shipley	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Helen Clark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Winston Peters	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jim Anderton	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Richard Prebble	<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)

[37-41]

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

	<b>Very well</b>	<b>Fairly well</b>	<b>Not very well</b>	<b>Not at all</b>	<b>Don't know</b>
Jenny Shipley	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Helen Clark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Winston Peters	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jim Anderton	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Richard Prebble	<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)

[42-46]

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

	<b>Very well</b>	<b>Fairly well</b>	<b>Not very well</b>	<b>Not at all</b>	<b>Don't know</b>
Jenny Shipley	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Helen Clark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Winston Peters	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jim Anderton	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Richard Prebble	<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)

[47-51]

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

	<b>Very well</b>	<b>Fairly well</b>	<b>Not very well</b>	<b>Not at all</b>	<b>Don't know</b>
Jenny Shipley	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Helen Clark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Winston Peters	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jim Anderton	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Richard Prebble	<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)

[52-56]

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

	<b>Very well</b>	<b>Fairly well</b>	<b>Not very well</b>	<b>Not at all</b>	<b>Don't know</b>
Jenny Shipley	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Helen Clark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Winston Peters	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jim Anderton	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Richard Prebble	<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)

[57-61]

## C: Policies

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

*Please tick one box in each row.*

	<b>Much more</b>	<b>More</b>	<b>Same as now</b>	<b>Less</b>	<b>Much less</b>	<b>Don't know</b>
Protecting the environment	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Health	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Police and law enforcement	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Education	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Military and Defence	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Superannuation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Assisting low income families	<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (5)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)

[62-68]

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

*Please tick one box.*

<b>Very good</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Neither good nor bad</b>	<b>Bad</b>	<b>Very bad</b>	<b>Don't Know</b>
<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (5)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)

[69]

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

*Please tick one box in each row.*

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

[70-72]



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

*Please tick one box in each row.*

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

[73-77]

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

[7]3

*Please tick one box in each row.*

	<b>Fully own</b>	<b>Partly own</b>	<b>Not own but regulate</b>	<b>Not own or regulate</b>	<b>Don't know</b>
Telecom	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bank of New Zealand	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Electricity	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Television New Zealand	<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)

[8-11]

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

*Please tick one box.*

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>(9)</b>
<b>Protect environment even if it leads to lower incomes</b>						<b>Not protect environment if it leads to lower incomes</b>	<b>Don't know</b>

[12]

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

*Please tick one box.*

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>(9)</b>
<b>Government should reduce taxes</b>						<b>Government should increase taxes to fund health and education</b>	<b>Don't know</b>

[13]

C8. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following?

*Please tick one box in each row.*

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

[14-16]

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

*Please tick one box.*

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>(9)</b>	
<b>We should tax rich people more and redistribute income and wealth to ordinary people.</b>				<b>Rich people should keep their own income and wealth because their taxes are too high now.</b>				<b>Don't know</b>

[17]

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

*Please tick one box.*

<b>Maori should decide</b>	<b>All New Zealanders should decide</b>	<b>Don't know</b>
<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)

[18]

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

*Please tick one box.*

<b>Get rid of Maori seats</b>	<b>Keep the six we have now</b>	<b>Have more Maori seats</b>	<b>Don't know</b>
<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)

[19]

C12. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following?

*Please tick one box in each row.*

	<b>Strongly agree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Strongly disagree</b>	<b>Don't know</b>
References to the Treaty of Waitangi should be removed from the law.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Maori should be compensated for land confiscated in the past.	<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (5)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)

[20-21]

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

*Please tick one box.*

<b>Increased a lot</b>	<b>Increased a little</b>	<b>Remain about the same as it is</b>	<b>Reduced a little</b>	<b>Reduced a lot</b>	<b>Don't Know</b>
<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (5)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)

[22]

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

*Please tick one box in each row.*

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

[23-28]

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

*Please tick one box in each column.*

	<b>First choice</b>	<b>Second choice</b>	
Maintain order in the nation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	(1)
Give the people more say in important government decisions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	(2)
Fight rising prices	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	(3)
Protect freedom of speech	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	(4)

[29-30]

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

*Please tick one box in each row.*

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

[31-36]

## D: Party Preferences and Voting

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

<b>Don't usually think of myself in this way</b>	<b>Another party*</b>	<b>Labour</b>	<b>National</b>	<b>Alliance</b>	<b>NZ First</b>	<b>Act</b>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[37]
(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	[38-45]
*Please write in _____							

- If you don't usually think in this way:**

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

<b>No</b>	<b>Labour</b>	<b>National</b>	<b>Alliance</b>	<b>NZ First</b>	<b>Act</b>	<b>Another*</b>		
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[46-47]	
(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	[48-55]	
*Please write in _____								

- If you ticked a party box:**

How strongly do you think of yourself as that party?

<b>Very strongly</b>	<b>Fairly strongly</b>	<b>Not very strongly</b>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[46-47]
(1)	(2)	(3)	[48-55]

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

<b>Party vote most important</b>	<b>Both equally important</b>	<b>Electorate vote most important</b>	<b>Don't know</b>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[56]
(1)	(2)	(3)	(9)	

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

<b>Did not vote for a party</b>	<b>Another party*</b>	<b>Labour</b>	<b>National</b>	<b>Alliance</b>	<b>NZ First</b>	<b>Act</b>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[57]
(0)	(6)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	[58-65]
↓	*Please write in _____						→
	TO NEXT PAGE						

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

**I CHOSE not vote for a party**

<b>Another party*</b>	<b>Labour</b>	<b>National</b>	<b>Alliance</b>	<b>NZ First</b>	<b>Act</b>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[66]
(6)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	[67-74]
*Please write in _____						

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

<b>Did not</b>	<b>Another party candidate*</b>	<b>Labour</b>	<b>National</b>	<b>Alliance</b>	<b>NZ First</b>	<b>Act</b>	[8]
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(0)	(6)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	

\*Please write in \_\_\_\_\_ [9-16]

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

<b>Another party*</b>	<b>Would not have voted</b>	<b>Labour</b>	<b>National</b>	<b>Alliance</b>	<b>NZ First</b>	<b>Act</b>	[17]
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(0)	(6)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	

\*Please write in \_\_\_\_\_ [18-25]

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

*Please tick one box in each column.*

	<b>Party Vote</b>	<b>Electorate Vote</b>	
A long time ago	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	(1)
In 1999 but before the election campaign	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	(2)
During the campaign but before the last week	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	(3)
In the last week of the campaign before election day	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	(4)
On election day	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	(5)
Never did make up my mind	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	(6)
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	(9)

[26-27]

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

*Please tick one box.*

<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Thought of not voting</b>	<b>Don't know</b>	[28]
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(9)	

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

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

*Please tick one box.*

<b>National</b>	<b>Labour</b>	<b>Neither</b>	<b>Both</b>	<b>Don't know</b>	[29]
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(9)	

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

*Please tick as many boxes as apply box.*

<b>No other party</b>	<b>Labour</b>	<b>National</b>	<b>NZ First</b>	<b>Alliance</b>	<b>Act</b>	<b>Other*</b>	<b>Don't Know</b>	[30]
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(9)	[31-37]

\*Please write in \_\_\_\_\_

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

*Please tick one box in each row.*

How did you feel about the candidate for –	<b>Strongly dislike</b>	<b>Neutral</b>								<b>Strongly like</b>	<b>Don't Know</b>		
	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>(99)</b>	
National	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Labour	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[38-49]
New Zealand First	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<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"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<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"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Any other candidate*	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

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

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

<b>None of them</b>	<b>Labour</b>	<b>National</b>	<b>NZ First</b>	<b>Alliance</b>	<b>Act</b>	<b>Other*</b>	[58]
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	

\*Please write in \_\_\_\_\_

D13. If you voted on the referendum about the number of MPs, which option did you choose? [59-66]

<b>Did not vote</b>	<b>Voted to reduce the number of MPs to 99</b>	<b>Voted to retain the current number at 120</b>	[67]
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(0)	(1)	(2)	

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

<b>Did not vote</b>	<b>Voted for greater penalties and more concern for victims</b>	<b>Voted for same penalties and treatment of victims as now</b>	[68]
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(0)	(1)	(2)	

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

<b>Did not vote</b>	<b>Labour</b>	<b>National</b>	<b>NZ First</b>	<b>Alliance</b>	<b>Act</b>	<b>Christian Coalition</b>	<b>Other</b>	[69]
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	

## E: Government and the Electoral System

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

**MMP has been a disaster and we should get rid of it as soon as possible**  (1)

**MMP has been a success and we should keep it**  (2)

**It is too soon to tell about MMP**  (3)

**Don't know**  (9)

[70]

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

To keep MMP	Return to the First Past the Post system (FPP)	For an alternative, neither MMP or FPP*	Don't know
<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)

[71]

\*Please write in alternative \_\_\_\_\_

[72-77]

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

Did not vote in referendum	FPP	MMP	Don't know
<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)

[75]

[8]

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

A government made up of a single party	A coalition government made up of more than one party	Don't know
<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)

[9]

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

*Please tick one box.*

About 40 per cent of the seats in Parliament	More than half of the seats, so it can easily govern on its own	Somewhere between 40 per cent and half the seats	Don't know
<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)

[10]

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

*Please tick one box in each row.*

An election should –	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
Provide a government at least half the people voted for	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Give each party a percentage of the seats in Parliament equal to its per cent of the party vote	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ensure that only one party is needed to form a government	<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (5)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)

[11-13]

E7. Which of the following is more important to you?

*Please tick one box.*

**One party has more than half the seats in Parliament, so it can easily govern on its own**

  
(1)

**Parties have about the same percentage of seats as their per cent of the party vote**

  
(2)

**Don't know**

  
(3)

[14]

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

**Good that a government has more than half the seats in Parliament**

  
(1)

**Not so good that a governments has more than half the seats**

  
(2)

**Don't know**

  
(3)

[15]

E9. Do you agree or disagree with these statements?

*Please tick one box in each row.*

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

[16-24]

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

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

[25-27]



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

*Please tick one box in each row.*

	<b>One party best</b>	<b>More than one party best</b>	<b>Both the same</b>	<b>Don't know</b>
Providing stability	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Making tough decisions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Keeping Promises	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Doing what the people want	<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)

[28-31]

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

*Please tick one box in each row.*

	<b>True</b>	<b>False</b>	<b>Don't Know</b>
The term of Parliament is four years.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Cabinet Ministers must be MPs.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The New Zealand Parliament once had an Upper House.	<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)

[32-34]

## F: Representation and Participation

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

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

[35-40]

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

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

[41-44]

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

Please tick as many boxes as apply.

	<b>Yes, my spouse or partner belongs</b>	<b>Yes, another person in the house belongs</b>	<b>No, no one</b>	<b>Don't Know</b>
<b>Yes, I belong</b>				
<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)

[45]

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

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

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

[46-55]

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

<b>Good things</b>	<b>Bad things</b>	<b>No difference</b>	<b>No opinion</b>
<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)

[56]

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

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

[57-60]

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

*Please tick one box.*

	Yes	No	Depends on candidate	Don't know
Maori	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Women	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pacific Islanders	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Asians	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Independents	<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)

[61-65]

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

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

[66-72]

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

[7]6

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

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Don't recall name  (9)

Party \_\_\_\_\_ Don't recall party  (9)

[8-22]

[23-30]

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

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

[31]

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

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

[32]

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

<b>Strongly approved</b>	<b>Approved</b>	<b>Neither approved nor disapproved</b>	<b>Disapproved</b>	<b>Strongly disapproved</b>	<b>Don't know</b>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(9)

[33]

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

Name	_____	Don't recall name	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)
Party	_____	Don't recall party	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)

[34-48]

[49-56]

FOR THOSE WHO HAVE PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF A LIST MP ONLY

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

<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Don't know</b>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	(2)	(9)

[57]

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

<b>Strongly approved</b>	<b>Approved</b>	<b>Neither approved nor disapproved</b>	<b>Disapproved</b>	<b>Strongly disapproved</b>	<b>Don't know</b>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(9)

[58]

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

<b>Strongly approved</b>	<b>Approved</b>	<b>Neither approved nor disapproved</b>	<b>Disapproved</b>	<b>Strongly disapproved</b>	<b>Don't know</b>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(9)

[59]

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

*Please tick one box in each row.*

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

[60-66]

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

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[67]
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	(9)		
<b>Parties ought to make and keep promises</b>					<b>Parties shouldn't make promises at all</b>				

## G: You and Your Background

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

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

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

- G3. In what country were you born? [71]
- |                              |                              |                              |                              |                              |                              |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <b>New Zealand</b>           | <b>UK</b>                    | <b>Other Europe*</b>         | <b>Pacific</b>               | <b>Australia</b>             | <b>Other*</b>                |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) | <input type="checkbox"/> (3) | <input type="checkbox"/> (4) | <input type="checkbox"/> (5) | <input type="checkbox"/> (6) |

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

[72-80]  
[77]  
[8-9]

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

- G5. Would you say you now live in –

*Please tick one box.*

<b>A rural area or settlement (under 10,000)</b>	<b>A country town (under 10,000)</b>	<b>A larger country town</b>	<b>A large town (over 25,000)</b>	<b>A major city (over 100,000)</b>	[12]
<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (5)	

- G6. Which one of the following indicates your highest formal educational qualification? *Please tick one box.*

<b>Incomplete primary education/ none</b>	<b>Primary School completed</b>	<b>Secondary education without UE or 6th form certificate</b>	<b>Complete Secondary Education</b>	<b>Nondegree professional, trade or technical tertiary qualification</b>	<b>University Degree</b>	[13]
<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (5)	<input type="checkbox"/> (6)	

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

<b>Working full-time for pay or other income (32 or more hours a week)</b>	<b>Working part-time for pay or other income (less than 32 hours a week)</b>	<b>Unemployed, laid off, looking for work</b>	<b>Retired</b>	<b>Temporarily or permanently disabled, unable to work</b>	<b>At school, university, or other educational institution</b>	<b>Unpaid work outside the home</b>	<b>Unpaid work within the home</b>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[14-21]

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

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

**I am/was paid a wage or salary by:**

<b>I am/was self-employed</b>	<b>A private company or business</b>	<b>A state or Public agency or enterprise, central or local</b>	<b>A mixed public/private, or nonprofit organisation</b>	<b>Never been in paid employment</b>	<b>Don't Know</b>	
<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (5)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)	[22]

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

**Yes**       (1)      **No**       (2)      [23]

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

**Your job/ occupation**

[24-38]

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

**Industry or business**

[39-53]

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

*Please tick only one box.*

<b>Managerial</b>	<b>Professional</b>	<b>Semi-professional or technical</b>	<b>Clerical</b>	<b>Service or Sales</b>	<b>Skilled Manual or Trade</b>	<b>Factory work</b>	<b>Manual or Labouring</b>	<b>Farming</b>	
<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (5)	<input type="checkbox"/> (6)	<input type="checkbox"/> (7)	<input type="checkbox"/> (8)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)	[54]

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

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

G13. Do you:

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

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

A New Zealand European	A New Zealand Maori	As someone from a particular Pacific Island?	*Or with some other ethnic group?	
<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	[73-76] [7]8
*Please write in which other group <input style="width: 300px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>				[8-15]

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

*Please tick only one box.*

A New Zealand European	A New Zealand Maori	As someone from a particular Pacific Island?	Or with some other ethnic group?	
<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	[16]

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

*Please tick one box.*

Working class	Middle class	Belong to no class	Don't know	
<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)	[17]

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

*Please tick one box.*

Never	Once a year	2-11 times a year	Once a month	2-3 times a month	At least once a week	
<input type="checkbox"/> (0)	<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (5)	[18]

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

- |                     |                              |                                          |                                      |
|---------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <b>No religion</b>  | <input type="checkbox"/> (0) | <b>Latter Day Saints</b>                 | <input type="checkbox"/> (6)         |
| <b>Anglican</b>     | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <b>Ratana</b>                            | <input type="checkbox"/> (7)         |
| <b>Presbyterian</b> | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) | <b>Independent-Fundamentalist Church</b> | <input type="checkbox"/> (8)         |
| <b>Catholic</b>     | <input type="checkbox"/> (3) | <b>Other Christian*</b>                  | <input type="checkbox"/> (9) [19-20] |
| <b>Methodist</b>    | <input type="checkbox"/> (4) | <b>Non-Christian*</b>                    | <input type="checkbox"/> (10)        |
| <b>Baptist</b>      | <input type="checkbox"/> (5) | *Please write in _____ [21-28]           |                                      |

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

*Please tick all that apply.*

- |                          |                                                       |                                        |                          |                                  |                                   |                                             |         |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|---------|
| <b>Family support</b>    | <b>Community wage job seeker/unemployment benefit</b> | <b>Community wage sickness benefit</b> | <b>Invalid's benefit</b> | <b>Domestic Purposes Benefit</b> | <b>Youth or Student Allowance</b> | <b>Other (war, widow's, disability etc)</b> | [29-35] |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>                              | <input type="checkbox"/>               | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>         | <input type="checkbox"/>          | <input type="checkbox"/>                    |         |

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

<b>Adults</b>	<input style="width: 100px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>	<b>Children</b>	<input style="width: 100px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>	[36-39]
---------------	----------------------------------------------------------	-----------------	----------------------------------------------------------	---------

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

- |                       |                              |                              |                              |                              |                              |                              |                              |                              |                              |         |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|---------|
|                       | <b>Don't Know</b>            | <b>No income</b>             | <b>Less than \$13,900</b>    | <b>\$13,900-\$19,899</b>     | <b>\$19,900-\$31,399</b>     | <b>\$31,400-\$48,099</b>     | <b>\$48,100-\$71,599</b>     | <b>\$71,600-\$93,099</b>     | <b>Over \$93,100</b>         |         |
| Your personal income  | <input type="checkbox"/>     | <input type="checkbox"/>     | <input type="checkbox"/>     | <input type="checkbox"/>     | <input type="checkbox"/>     | <input type="checkbox"/>     | <input type="checkbox"/>     | <input type="checkbox"/>     | <input type="checkbox"/>     | [40-41] |
| Your household income | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) | <input type="checkbox"/> (3) | <input type="checkbox"/> (4) | <input type="checkbox"/> (5) | <input type="checkbox"/> (6) | <input type="checkbox"/> (7) | <input type="checkbox"/> (8) | <input type="checkbox"/> (9) |         |

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

- |                              |                              |                              |                              |      |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------|
| <b>More tax</b>              | <b>Less Tax</b>              | <b>Same as now</b>           | <b>Don't Know</b>            | [42] |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) | <input type="checkbox"/> (3) | <input type="checkbox"/> (9) |      |

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

- |            |                              |           |                              |                   |                              |      |
|------------|------------------------------|-----------|------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|------|
| <b>Yes</b> | <input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <b>No</b> | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) | <b>Don't know</b> | <input type="checkbox"/> (9) | [43] |
|------------|------------------------------|-----------|------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|------|

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

- |                                     |                              |                              |                              |      |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------|
| <b>Married or living as married</b> | <b>Widowed</b>               | <b>Divorced or separated</b> | <b>Single, never married</b> | [44] |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (1)        | <input type="checkbox"/> (2) | <input type="checkbox"/> (3) | <input type="checkbox"/> (9) |      |

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



## H: Your Spouse or Partner

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

- |                                                                                                            |                                                                                                              |                                                                               |                                                |                                                                                            |                                                                                                |                                                                     |                                                                    |         |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| <b>Working full-time for pay or other income (32 or more hours a week)</b><br><br><input type="checkbox"/> | <b>Working part-time for pay or other income (less than 32 hours a week)</b><br><br><input type="checkbox"/> | <b>Unemployed, laid off, looking for work</b><br><br><input type="checkbox"/> | <b>Retired</b><br><br><input type="checkbox"/> | <b>Temporarily or permanently disabled, unable to work</b><br><br><input type="checkbox"/> | <b>At school, university, or other educational institution</b><br><br><input type="checkbox"/> | <b>Unpaid work outside the home</b><br><br><input type="checkbox"/> | <b>Unpaid work within the home</b><br><br><input type="checkbox"/> | [45-52] |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|

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

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

**Yes**       (1)      **No**       (2)

[53]

H3. Who does s/he now work for, or did s/he work for in their last paid employment?  
*Please tick only one box.*

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

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

**Job/ occupation**

[55-69]

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

**Industry or business**

[7]9

[8-22]

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

- |                                                       |                                                         |                                                                           |                                                     |                                                             |                                                                    |                                                         |                                                                |                                                    |      |
|-------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|------|
| <b>Managerial</b><br><br><input type="checkbox"/> (1) | <b>Professional</b><br><br><input type="checkbox"/> (2) | <b>Semi-professional or technical</b><br><br><input type="checkbox"/> (3) | <b>Clerical</b><br><br><input type="checkbox"/> (4) | <b>Service or Sales</b><br><br><input type="checkbox"/> (5) | <b>Skilled Manual or Trade</b><br><br><input type="checkbox"/> (3) | <b>Factory work</b><br><br><input type="checkbox"/> (4) | <b>Manual or Labouring</b><br><br><input type="checkbox"/> (5) | <b>Farming</b><br><br><input type="checkbox"/> (9) | [23] |
|-------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|------|

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