



New Zealand Election Study 2002

THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND
NEW ZEALAND

[1-6]

CONFIDENTIAL

HOW TO FILL OUT THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

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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Associate Professor Ann Sullivan**
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A: The Campaign, Issues, and the Media

- 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"/> | [8] |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | |
- A2. Did you make use of the internet to get news or information about the 2002 election? [9]
- | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|-----|
| 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"/> | [9] |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | |
- 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"/> | [10-14] |
| 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) | |
- A4. If you read a newspaper during the campaign, which newspaper did you read most often? [15-24]
 Please write in the name of the newspaper _____
- A5. Do you feel that radio, television, or the newspaper you read most often seemed to favour one party more than others? If so, which one? *Please tick one box in each row.*
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------|
| | None of them | Labour | National | Green | NZ First | Act | Another party | |
| TV One | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| TV3 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| Newspaper | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | [25-28] |
| National Radio | <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) | |
- A6. Which of the following election programmes, if any, did you watch or listen to during the campaign?
Tick in the box to the right of the programme indicated.
- | | | |
|-----------------------|--|--------------------------|
| TV One | Holmes Debate, 8 parties, Monday July 15 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Holmes Prime Ministerial Debate, Clark and English Monday July 22 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| TV3 | 3 News Special, Wednesday July 10 (Campbell v Clark on GM) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Debate, TV3, Thursday July 25 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| National Radio | Leaders' Forum (Clark and English) Sunday 30 June | <input type="checkbox"/> |
- A7. During the election campaign did a candidate or anyone from a political party contact you to persuade you to vote for them? [34]
- | | | | | | | |
|------------|--------------------------|-----------|--------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|--|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | No | <input type="checkbox"/> | Don't know | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | (1) | | (2) | | (9) | |

A8. If you were contacted or received any material, from which parties and in what ways?

Please tick in the appropriate boxes for each party. If not, leave blank. If you can remember more than one contact for any party under any category, write '2', '3', or whatever number in the box instead.

	Telephoned at home	Personally visited	Sent Letter	Gave or sent pamphlet	
Labour	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[35-38]
National	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[39-42]
Green	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[43-46]
New Zealand First	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[47-50]
Act	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[51-54]
Alliance	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[55-58]
Progressive Coalition	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[59-62]

A9. What do you think has been the most **important issue facing New Zealand over the last three years?**

[63-82]

[7]2

A10. And thinking about that **issue facing New Zealand**, how good or bad a job do you think the government in Wellington has done over the past three years. Has it done a:

Very good job?	Good job?	Bad Job?	Very bad job?	Don't know	
<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (5)	[8]

A11. Still thinking about that **issue facing New Zealand**, which party do you think is closest to your views on that issue?

None of them	Labour	National	Green	NZ First	Act	Another party*	
<input type="checkbox"/> (0)	<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (5)	<input type="checkbox"/> (6)	[9]

*If a party other than those listed here is the closest, please write it in here _____ [10-15]

A12. What has been the **most important issue to you personally** in this election?

[16-30]

A13. Still thinking about the issue **most important to you personally in this election**, which party do you think is closest to your views on that issue?

None or don't know	Labour	National	Green	NZ First	Act	Another party*	
<input type="checkbox"/> (0)	<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (5)	<input type="checkbox"/> (6)	[31]

*If a party other than those listed here is the closest, please write it in here _____ [32-37]

A14. Now thinking about the performance of the government in general, how good or bad a job do you think it has done over the three years? Has it done a:

Very good job?	Good job?	Bad Job?	Very bad job?	Don't know	
<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (5)	[38]

A15. Here is a list of things some people do during elections. During the most recent election campaign, did you:

	Yes, frequently	Yes, occasionally	Yes, rarely	No
Discuss politics with others?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Go to any political meetings or rallies?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Talk to other people to persuade them to vote for a particular party or candidate?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Showed your support for a particular party or candidate by attending a meeting or putting up a poster or sign?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Contribute money to a political party or candidate?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Do anything else to support a political party or candidate?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)

[39-44]

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

[45]

B2. Some people say it makes a big difference who is in power. Others say that it doesn't make any difference who is in power. Where ONE means that it makes a big difference who is in power and FIVE means that it doesn't make any difference who is in power, where would you place yourself?

Please tick one box

1	2	3	4	5	9
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
It makes a big difference who is in power			It doesn't make any difference who is in power		Don't know

[46]

B3. Some people say that no matter who people vote for, it won't make any difference to what happens. Others say that who people vote for can make a big difference to what happens. Where ONE means that voting can make a big difference and FIVE means that voting won't make any difference to what happens, where would you place yourself?

Please tick one box

1	2	3	4	5	9
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Who people vote for can make a big difference to what happens			Voting won't make any difference to what happens		Don't know

[47]

B4. Thinking about how elections in New Zealand work in practice, how well do elections ensure that the views of voters are represented by MPs?

Very well	Quite well	Not very well	Not well at all
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)

[48]

B5. Would you say that any of the parties in New Zealand represent your views reasonably well?

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

[49]

If so, **which one** represents your views **best**?

Not any one party	Yes, Labour	Yes, National	Yes, Green	Yes, NZ First	Yes, Act	Yes, another party*	Don't know
<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)

[50]

[51-55]

*If a party other than those listed here represents you best, please write it in here _____

B6. Would you describe National as trustworthy or not trustworthy? And how about Labour, the Greens, New Zealand First and Act?

Please tick one box in each row.

	Trustworthy	Not sure	Untrustworthy	Don't Know	
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"/>	
Green	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[56-60]
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)	

B7 Regardless of how you feel about the parties, would you say that any of the individual party leaders at the last election represent your views reasonably well?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	No	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)	[61]
-----	---------------------------------	----	---------------------------------	------------	---------------------------------	------

If so, which leader represents your views best?

No, none	Yes, Helen Clark	Yes, Bill English	Yes, Winston Peters	Yes, Richard Prebble	Yes, another party leader*	Don't know	
<input type="checkbox"/> (0)	<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]

*If another leader represents you best, please write in their name _____ [63-67]

B8 On election day 2002, of all the politicians in New Zealand, who did you most want to be Prime Minister?

None of them	Helen Clark	Bill English	Winston Peters	Richard Prebble	Another politician*	Don't know	
<input type="checkbox"/> (0)	<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (5)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)	[68]

*If you wanted another politician, please write in their name _____ [69-73]

B9. We would like to know what you thought about each of these political parties on election day. Please rate each party on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly disliked that party and 10 means that you strongly liked that party. If you hadn't heard about that party or didn't know enough about it, please tick 'don't know'.

Please tick one box in each row.

	Strongly dislike		Neutral								Strongly like		Don't Know (99)	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10			
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"/>	[74-81]	
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"/>	[7]3	
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 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"/>		
Progressive Coalition	<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 Future	<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"/>		

B10. On election day, which party did you like the most?

Please tick one box in each row.

National	Labour	NZ First	Green	Act	Other*	[8]
<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (5)	<input type="checkbox"/> (6)	[9-18]

*Write in name of other party _____

- B11. 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"/>

[19]

- B12. 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"/>
Progressive Coalition	<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 Future	<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"/>

[20-27]

- B13. Using a scale from 0 to 10, or 'don't know', how much do 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)
Bill English	<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"/>
Laila Harre	<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 and Rod Donald	<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 Future	<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"/>

[28-35]

- B14. How well do the following descriptions apply to the two main party leaders?
Please tick one box in each row.

	Very well	Fairly well	Not very well	Not at all	Don't know
'Provides strong leadership'					
Bill English	<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"/>
'Trustworthy'					
Bill English	<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"/>
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

[36-37]

[38-39]

'Arrogant'	Very well	Fairly well	Not very well	Not at all	Don't know
Bill English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Helen Clark	<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (5)

[40-41]

B15 How much respect is there for individual freedom and human rights nowadays in New Zealand? Do you feel there is:

A lot of respect for individual freedom	Some respect	Not much respect	No respect at all	Don't know
<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)

[42]

B16 How widespread do you think corruption such as bribe taking is amongst politicians in New Zealand? Do you feel that it is:

Very widespread	Quite widespread	Not very widespread	Hardly happens at all	Don't know
<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)

[43]

C: Policies

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

Please tick one box in each row.

	Much more	More	Same as now	Less	Much less	Don't know
Protecting the environment	<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)

[44-50]

C2. 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"/> 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"/> (9)
Protect environment even if it leads to lower incomes				Not protect environment even if it leads to lower incomes			Don't know

[51]

C3. Do you believe that genetically modified corn was grown in New Zealand in summer 2000-01 and that the government failed to inform the public about it?

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

[52]

- C4. Recently there has been a lot of argument about whether or not **about genetically-modified (GM) plants and animals** should be released into the environment in New Zealand for farming and commercial cultivation. Which of the following statements is closest to your views about this?

Please tick one box.

GM plants and animals should never be released into the environment in New Zealand (1)

GM plants and animals should not be released into the environment in New Zealand for at least another 3 years (2)

GM plants and animals may be released into the environment in New Zealand from late next year so long as an independent authority can identify no significant risks (3) [53]

GM plants and animals should be able to be farmed and commercially cultivated in New Zealand now, so long as there are no risks (4)

Don't know (9)

- C5. Please indicate whether or not and how much you agree or disagree with the following statements about **genetically modified (GM) food**.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
GM food is simply not necessary	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GM food threatens the natural order of things.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Of all the risks we face these days, the risk from GM food is quite small	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I would be happy about eating the eggs of chicken fed GM corn	<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (5)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)

[54-57]

- C6. What do you think of the state of the economy these days in New Zealand? Would you say that it is—

Very good	Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad	Very bad	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)

[58]

- C7. Here are some more questions about the economy, and how you think that affects your household and the country as a whole.

Please tick one box in each row

	A lot better	A little better	About the same	A little worse	A lot worse	Don't know
How does the financial situation of your household now compare with what it was 12 months ago? Is it -	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
How do you think the general economic situation in the country 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 general economic situation 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)

[59-61]

- C8. Here are a number of policies that some people think might **help solve New Zealand's economic problems**. Please indicate whether you would support or oppose such a policy, and how strongly.

Please tick one box in each row.

To solve New Zealand's economic problems, the government should –	Strongly support	Support	Neutral	Oppose	Strongly oppose	Don't know
Control wages by law	<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"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (5)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)

[62-65]

- C9. 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?

Please tick one box in each row.

	Fully own	Partly own	Not own but regulate	Not own or regulate	Don't know
TranzRail	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Landcorp	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Electricity Generation and Distribution	<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)

[66-69]

- C10. ONE represents the view that the government should reduce taxes and people should pay more for **their own** health and education, and SEVEN the view that there should be a tax increase **so the government** can spend more money on health and education. Where would you place **your** view?

Please tick one box.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	(9)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Government should reduce taxes and people pay more for their own health and education				Government should increase taxes to pay for health and education			Don't know

[70]

- C11. Where would you place your view at any number on this scale from 1 to 7?

Please tick one box.

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

[71]

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

Please tick one box in each row.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
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 should be brought back to New Zealand for some murders.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
People guilty of serious sexual crimes should be flogged	<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (5)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)

[72-75]

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

NZ should become a republic with a NZ head of state (1)

The Queen should be retained as head of state (2)

Don't know (9)

[76]

- C14. Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into New Zealand nowadays should be –

Please tick one box.

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

[77]

- C15. Thinking about the following groups that might want to immigrate to New Zealand, do you think they should be allowed to immigrate freely, should there be restrictions, or should they not be allowed to immigrate at all?

Please tick one box in each row.

<i>People - :</i>	Immigrate freely	Restrict immigration	Not allowed to immigrate	Don't know	
From Muslim countries	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
From Asia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
With technical skills	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[7]4
Seeking political asylum	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[8-12]
Willing to do manual labour	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(9)	

- C16. On election day, which statement below was closest to your view about the secondary teachers' salary claim?

Please tick one box.

- I supported the teachers, including strike action** (1)
- I supported the teachers, but not including strike action** (2)
- I opposed the teachers' claims for higher salaries in general, but would support more performance pay and school bulk funding** (3)
- I opposed the teachers' claims because they are paid enough as it is** (4)
- Don't know** (9)

- C17. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following?

Please tick one box in each row.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know	
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"/>	[14-18]
Unemployed people 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"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(9)	

- C18. Generally, do you think it **should be** or **should not be** the government's responsibility to provide or ensure

Please tick one box in each row

	Definitely should	Should	Shouldn't	Definitely shouldn't	Don't Know	
A job for everyone who wants one	<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"/>	[19-24]
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 to tertiary and university levels	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(9)	

C19. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following?

Please tick one box in each row.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
References to the Treaty of Waitangi should be removed from the law.	<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"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
All Treaty of Waitangi claims should be resolved by 2008	<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (5)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)

[25-27]

D: Party Preferences and Voting

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

Don't usually think of myself in this way	Another party*	Labour	National	Green	NZ First	Act
<input type="checkbox"/> (0)	<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (5)	<input type="checkbox"/> (6)

[28]

*Please write in if another party _____

[29-38]

If you don't usually think in this way:

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

No	Labour	National	Green	NZ First	Act	Another*
<input type="checkbox"/> (0)	<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 you ticked a party box:

How strongly do you think of yourself as that party?

Very strongly	Fairly strongly	Not very strongly
<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)

[39-40]

*Please write in if another _____

[41-50]

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

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

[51]

D3. Thinking now of the party vote, which party did you vote for in the 2002 election?

Did not vote for a party	Labour	National	Green	NZ First	Act	Another party*
<input type="checkbox"/> (0)	<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (5)	<input type="checkbox"/> (6)

[52]

[53-61]

*Please write in if another _____ TO NEXT PAGE

D4. If you didn't manage to cast a party vote in the 2002 election, which party would you have voted for if you had been able to?

I CHOSE not to vote for a party

Labour	National	Green	NZ First	Act	Another party*
<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (5)	<input type="checkbox"/> (6)

[62]

*Please write in if another _____

[63-68]

D5. What about the **electorate vote** in 2002? Which party's candidate did you vote for ?

Did not vote for a candidate	Another party candidate*	Labour	National	Green	NZ First	Act	[69]
<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 if another _____ [70-75]

D6. Imagine that the 2002 election had been held under the old first past the post system, and you had only ONE vote for one of the candidates who stood in your electorate. Which party's candidate would you have voted for?

Another party*	Would not have voted	Labour	National	Green	NZ First	Act	[76]
<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 _____ [77-80]

D7. Thinking about the 2002 election, how long ago did you decide definitely what party, and what electorate candidate, you would vote for?

	Party Vote	Electorate Vote	[7]5
<i>Please tick one box in each column.</i>			
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)	[8-9]
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)	

D8. Was there any time during the 2002 election campaign when you seriously thought you might vote for a different party than the one you voted for or not vote at all? *Please tick one box*

Yes	No	Thought of not voting	Don't know	[10]
<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.

D9. Can you recall which party or parties formed the government after the 1999 election?

Please tick as many boxes as apply box.

No, can't recall	Yes, Labour	Yes, National	Yes, NZ First	Yes, Green	Yes, Act	Yes, Alliance	Yes, United	[11-18]
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

D10. On election day 2002, which party did you **most want** to be part of the government?

Please tick one box.

Labour	National	NZ First	Green	Progress- ive Coalition	Act	Other*	Don't Know	[19]
<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)	

*Please write in _____ [20-24]

D11. On election day, what did you think the chance was that the party you most wanted to be in government would actually be in government after the election? Did you think it was:

Very good	Fairly good	Fairly poor	Very poor	Almost nil	[25]
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(9)	

D12. On election day, which other party was your second choice to be part of the government?

Please tick one box.

Did not want another party	Labour	National	NZ First	Green	Act	Other*	Don't Know	
<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)	[27-31]

*Please write in if another _____

D13. On election day, what did you think the chance was that the party that was your second choice to be in government would actually be in government after the election? Did you think it was:

Please tick one box.

Very good	Fairly good	Fairly poor	Very poor	Almost nil	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(6)	[32]

D14. On election day, were there any other parties you wanted to be to part of the government?

Tick more than one box if necessary.

Did not want other parties	Labour	National	NZ First	Green	Act	Other*	Don't Know	
<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)	[41-48]

*Please write in _____

D15. On election day, what did you think the chance was that the various parties below would get seats in Parliament?

Chance of getting seats was	Very good	Fairly good	Fairly poor	Very poor	Almost nil	Don't know	
Act	<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"/>	
NZ First	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[49-54]
Alliance	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
United Future	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Progressive Coalition	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(9)	

D16. Regardless of the parties they were standing for, and their chances of getting elected, how did you feel on election day about the **candidates who stood in your electorate?**

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)	
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"/>	
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 _____

[61-68]

D17. Regardless of the parties they were standing for, and their chances of getting elected, which party's electorate candidate, if any, did you personally most like on election day?

None of them	Labour candidate	National candidate	NZ First candidate	Alliance candidate	Act candidate	Green candidate	*Other candidate	[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)	[70-80]

*Please write in if other _____ [7]6

D18. On election day, what did you think were the chances that the candidate you most liked would be elected in your electorate?
Please tick one box.

Very good	Fairly good	Fairly poor	Very poor	Almost nil	Don't know	[8]
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(9)	

D19. If you could have made a second choice for a candidate for your electorate, which party's electorate candidate would you have chosen?

None of them	Labour candidate	National candidate	NZ First candidate	Alliance candidate	Act candidate	Green candidate	Other candidate	[9]
<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)	[10-15]

*Please write in _____

D20. On election day, what did you think were the chances that the candidate who would have been your second choice would be elected in your electorate?

Please tick one box.

Very good	Fairly good	Fairly poor	Very poor	Almost nil	Don't know	[16]
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(9)	

D21. For what party did you cast your party vote in the **1999** election?

Did not vote	Labour	National	NZ First	Alliance	Act	Green	Other	[17]
<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. Would you say that in the New Zealand Parliament after the 2002 election there are too many political parties, about the right number of parties, or not enough parties?

Too many parties	About the right number	Not enough parties	Don't know	[18]
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(9)	

E2. Do you think there has been enough time to decide whether or not MMP is the right voting system for New Zealand, or is it too soon to tell?

Please tick one box.

There has been enough time to decide about MMP	<input type="checkbox"/>	(1)	[19]
It is too soon to tell about MMP	<input type="checkbox"/>	(2)	
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	(9)	

E3. If there had been a referendum held on the electoral system at the same time as the 2002 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	[20]
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(9)	[21-26]

*Please write in alternative _____

- 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"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[27]
(1)	(2)	(3)	(9)	

- E4. Should we have another voting system referendum within the next five years? If so, how strongly do you feel about that?

Please tick one box.

No, no referendum	Yes, but not at all strongly	Yes, but not very strongly	Yes, fairly strongly	Yes, very strongly	Don't Know	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[28]
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(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"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[29]
(1)	(2)	(3)	(9)	

- E6. Imagine that a party receives 15 per cent of the votes in an election. Regardless of whether you liked that party or not, do you think that party should get: *Please tick one box.*

About 15 per cent of the seats in Parliament	Less than 15 per cent of the seats in Parliament	No seats at all	Don't know	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[30]
(1)	(2)	(3)	(9)	

- E7. 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"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[31]
(1)	(2)	(9)	

- E8. If you have to choose, which of the following is more important to you?

Please tick one box.

One party has more than half the seats in Parliament, so it can easily govern on its own	Parties have about the same percentage of seats as their per cent of the party vote	Don't know	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[32]
(1)	(2)	(9)	

- E9. Do you agree or disagree with these statements?

Please tick one box in each row.

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Don't know	
MMP is much fairer than the old First Past the Post system.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
MMP has been a disaster and we should get rid of it as soon as possible	<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"/>	[33-40]
Voters, not parties, should decide which of the candidates on the party's list get the seats it has won	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Parties should say before election day what other parties they want to work with in a coalition government	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
MMP has been a success and we should keep it	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
People who vote for small parties only do so to protest against National and Labour	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(9)	

E10. Some people say that parties in the government need to have more than half the seats in Parliament. Other people say that they don't, so long as they can get the support of other parties when they need it. What is your view?

Government needs more than half	Government does not need more than half so long as other parties will support it	Don't know	
<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)	[41]

E11. Generally, which do you prefer: a government with more than half, or less than half the seats in Parliament when it can get the support of other parties when they are needed?

More than half	Less than half when it can get the support of other parties	Don't know	
<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)	[42]

E12. Here are some other statements about MMP. Do you think that they are true, or false?

	True	False	Don't Know	
Voting under MMP is like two separate elections, one for the electorate seats and one for the party list seats.	<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"/>	[43-45]
The party with the most votes is more likely to get the most seats under MMP than under first past the post.	<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)	

E13. Currently, parties winning an electorate but getting less than 5 per cent of the party vote may be allocated further list seats depending on their party vote.

Think of a party that wins one electorate and gets, say, 3 per cent of the party vote. Do you think we should change MMP so it no longer gets any list seats?

Yes, change so no list seats with 3%	No, keep list seats with 3%	Don't know	
<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)	[46]

E14. Generally speaking, do you think a government formed by one party, or one formed by more than one party, is better at doing the following things?

Please tick one box in each row.

	One party best	More than one party best	Both the same	Don't know	
Providing stability	<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"/>	[47-50]
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)	

E15. Now, here is a quick quiz on New Zealand government. For each of the following statements, please say whether it is true or false. If you don't know the answer, put a tick under 'don't know' and try the next.

Please tick one box in each row.

	True	False	Don't Know	
The term of Parliament is four years.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Enrolling as a voter in New Zealand is compulsory.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[51-53]
Since 1981 National has been in government for at least five more years than Labour	<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)	

F: Representation and Participation

F1. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

Most people can be trusted

(1)

You can't be too careful in dealing with people

(2)

Don't know

(9)

[54]

F2. There are various forms of political action that people take to express their views about something the government should or should not be doing. For each one, have you **actually** done it during the last five years, or more than five years ago, **might** you do it, or **would you never**?

Please tick one box in each row.

	Actually done it				Don't know
	During the last 5 years	More than 5 years ago	Might do it	Would never	
Sign a petition	<input type="checkbox"/>	<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"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Go on a protest, march, or demonstration	<input type="checkbox"/>	<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"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Boycott a product or service	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Occupying buildings, factories, or other property	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Worked together with people who shared the same concern	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Contacted a politician or government official in person, or in writing, or other way	<input type="checkbox"/> (1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (3)	<input type="checkbox"/> (4)	<input type="checkbox"/> (9)

[55-62]

F3. Lately, there has been a lot of talk about changing Parliament and the way New Zealand is governed.

In New Zealand, do you think we should or shouldn't —	Strongly yes	Yes	Neither yes or no	No	Strongly no	Don't know
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"/>
Reduce the number of MPs from 120 to 99?	<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)

[63-66]

F4. On the scale below, please indicate how much trust and confidence would you say you have in parliament and in the public service.

	No Trust and Confidence					Full Trust and Confidence					Don't Know
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
Parliament	<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"/>	
The Public Service	<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"/>	

[67-68]

F5. Do you agree or disagree with these statements about referendums? *Please tick one box.*

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't Know
Referendums are too complicated for the average voter.	<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"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(9)

[69-72]

F6. Are **you** a member of any of the organisations or associations listed below?

Are you a member?

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

	Are you a member?					
	No	If you are a member:				
		How many meetings in the last year?				
		I am a member, but don't go to meetings	Once or twice a year	About once every 2-3 months	Once or more per month	Once or more per week
Trade union	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Business NZ or other business or employers association	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Federated Farmers or other farmers association	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A professional association	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A political party	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Environmental group	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Any other political organisation, or movement	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other interest or pressure group	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)

[73-80]

[7]7

F7. Does anyone else in your household belong to a trade union?

Please tick as many boxes as apply.

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

[8]

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

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't Know
Democracy may have problems but it's better than any other form of government	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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"/>
It is a citizen's duty to vote.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(9)

[9-15]

F9. 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 seven we have now, or have more Maori seats?

Please tick one box.

Get rid of Maori seats	Keep the seven we have now	Have more Maori seats	Don't know	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[16]
(1)	(2)	(3)	(9)	

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.**

F10. 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	<input type="checkbox"/>	(9)	[17-31]
Party _____	Don't recall party	<input type="checkbox"/>	(9)	[32-37]

F11. In the twelve months before the election, did you had any contact with your electorate or **constituency** MP in any way? Please tick one box.

Yes	No	Don't know	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[38]
(1)	(2)	(9)	

F12. Overall, did you approve or disapprove of the way in which your electorate MP was handling his or her job over the last three years? Please tick one box.

Strongly approved	Approved	Neither approved nor disapproved	Disapproved	Strongly disapproved	Don't know	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[39]
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(9)	

F13. Overall, did you approve or disapprove of the way in which electorate MPs in general were handling their jobs over the last three years?

Strongly approved	Approved	Neither approved nor disapproved	Disapproved	Strongly disapproved	Don't know	[40]
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(9)	

F14. 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)	[41-50]
Party _____	Don't recall party	<input type="checkbox"/>	(9)	[51-60]

FOR THOSE WHO HAVE PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF A LIST MP ONLY

F15. In the twelve months before the election, did you have any contact with that LIST MP in any way? Please tick one box.

Yes	No	Don't know	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[61]
(1)	(2)	(9)	

F16. Overall, did you approve or disapprove of the way in which that LIST MP was handling his or her job over the last three years? Please tick one box.

Strongly approved	Approved	Neither approved nor disapproved	Disapproved	Strongly disapproved	Don't know	[62]
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(9)	

F17. Overall, did you approve or disapprove of the way in which LIST MPs in general were handling their jobs over the last three years? Please tick one box.

Strongly approved	Approved	Neither approved nor disapproved	Disapproved	Strongly disapproved	Don't know	[63]
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(9)	

F18. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Please tick one box in each row.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't Know
Most Members of Parliament are out of touch with the rest of the country	<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)

[64-70]

F19. 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"/>	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	(9)	[71]
Parties ought to make and keep promises				Parties shouldn't make promises at all			Don't know	

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) [72]

G2: In what year were you born? 19 [73-74]

G3. In what country were you born?

New Zealand	UK	Other Europe*	Pacific	Australia	Other*
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)

[75]

*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

[76-82]

[7]8

[9-10]

G4. How many years have you lived in your district, town, or neighbourhood? years [11-12]

G5. Would you say you now live in – *Please tick one box.*

- | | | | | | |
|--|--|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|------|
| A rural area
or settlement
(under
10,000) | A country
town (under
10,000) | A larger
country town | A large town
(over 25,000) | A major city
(over
100,000) | [13] |
| <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.

- | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|--|---|------|
| Incomplete
primary
education/
none | Primary
School
completed | Secondary
education
without UE
or 6th form
certificate | Complete
Secondary
Education | Nondegree
professional
trade or
technical
tertiary
qualification | Incomplete
university
degree | Undergrad
university
degree | Postgrad
university
Degree | [14] |
| <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) | |

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

- | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--------------------------|--|--|---|--|---------|
| Working
full-time for
pay
or other
income (32
or more
hours a
week) | Working
part-time
for pay
or other
income
(less than
32 hours a
week) | Unemploy
ed, laid
off,
looking
for work | Retired | Temporarily
or
permanently
disabled,
unable to
work | At school,
university,
or other
educational
institution | Unpaid
work
outside
the
home | Unpaid
work
within
the
home | [15-22] |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | |

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

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

I am/was paid a wage or salary by:

- | | | | | | | |
|--|--|---|--|--|---------------------------------|------|
| I am/was
self-
employed | A private
company
or
business | A state or
Public
agency or
enterprise,
central or
local | A mixed
public/private,
or nonprofit
organisation | Never been
in paid
employment | Don't
Know | [23] |
| <input type="checkbox"/>
(1) | <input type="checkbox"/>
(2) | <input type="checkbox"/>
(3) | <input type="checkbox"/>
(4) | <input type="checkbox"/>
(5) | <input type="checkbox"/>
(9) | |

G9. In your present or last paid job do /did you directly employ or supervise any employee responsible to you?
Yes **No**
(1) (2) [24]

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

[25-36]

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

Industry or business

[37-51]

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

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|------|
| Managerial | Professional | Semi-
professional
or technical | Clerical | Service
or Sales | Skilled
Manual
or Trade | Factory
work | Manual or
Labouring | Farming | [52] |
| <input type="checkbox"/>
(0) | <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) | |

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.

Your	Can't recall/ don't know	No, they had no preference	Yes, National	Yes, Labour	Yes, another* (in NZ or overseas)	*Please write in other party	
Father	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		[53] [54-59]
Mother	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		[60] [61-67]
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)		

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"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[68]
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	

G14a. 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"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[69]
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	

*Please write in which other group _____

[70-76]

G14b 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 [16]	A New Zealand Maori	As someone from a particular Pacific Island?	Or with some other ethnic group?	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[77]
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	

G15. What language do you mainly speak at home?

Please tick only one box.

English	Maori	Chinese	Korean	Dutch	Samoan	*Other	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[78]
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	[79]

*Please write in what other language _____

[8-13]

G16. 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"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[14]
(1)	(2)	(3)	(9)	

G17. 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"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	[15]
(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	

G18. Would you say that you:

**Have no
religious
beliefs**

(0)

**Are not very
religious**

(1)

**Are somewhat
religious**

(2)

**Are very
religious**

(3)

Don't know

(9)

[16]

G19 What is your religion, if you have one?

No religion

 (0)

Latter Day Saints

 (6)

Anglican

 (1)

Ratana

 (7)

Presbyterian

 (2)

Independent-Fundamentalist Church

 (8)

Catholic

 (3)

Other Christian*

 (9)

Methodist

 (4)

Non-Christian*

 (10)

Baptist

 (5)

*Please write in _____

[17-18]

[19-26]

G20. Do you or anyone in your household receive any one or more of the following benefits?
Please tick all that apply.

NZ
Superannuat-
ion

**Family
support**

**Community
wage job
seeker/
unemploy-
ment
benefit**

**Community
wage
sickness
benefit**

**Invalid's
benefit**

**Domestic
Purposes
Benefit**

**Youth or
Student
Allowance**

**Other (war,
widow's,
disability
etc)**

[27-34]

G21. Including yourself, please indicate how many adults (18 and older) and how many children (17 years and younger) live in your household.

Adults

Children

[35]

[36]

G22. What was **your personal income** before tax between 1 April 2001 and 31 March 2002? What about the total income before tax of **all members** of your household in the same year?

	No income	Less than \$14,900	\$14,900- \$20,699	\$20,700- \$32,399	\$32,400- \$51,099	\$51,100- \$75,699	\$75,700- \$101,099	Over \$101,099	Don't Know	
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"/>	[37-38]
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)	

G23. At your level of personal income, do you think you should pay more tax, less tax, or about the same as you do now?

More tax

(1)

Less Tax

(2)

Same as now

(3)

Don't Know

(9)

[39]

G24 Later on, we hope to do more research that will involve interviewing people who answer this questionnaire in person. Are you willing to be contacted for a personal interview?

Yes

(1)

No

(2)

Don't know

(9)

[40]

G25. What is your marital status? Please tick one box.

**Married or living as
married**

(1)

Widowed

(2)

**Divorced or
separated**

(3)

**Single, never
married**

(4)

[41]

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

H: Your Spouse or Partner

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

- | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|---|--|--|--|---|--|---------|
| Working full-time for pay or other income (32 or more hours a week)
<input type="checkbox"/> | Working part-time for pay or other income (less than 32 hours a week)
<input type="checkbox"/> | Unemployed, laid off, looking for work
<input type="checkbox"/> | Retired
<input type="checkbox"/> | Temporarily or permanently disabled, unable to work
<input type="checkbox"/> | At school, university, or other educational institution
<input type="checkbox"/> | Unpaid work outside the home
<input type="checkbox"/> | Unpaid work within the home
<input type="checkbox"/> | [42-49] |
|--|--|---|--|--|--|---|--|---------|

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 <input type="checkbox"/>
(1) | No <input type="checkbox"/>
(2) | [50] |
|--|---|------|

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

Please tick only one box.

S/he is/was paid a wage or salary by:

- | | | | | | | |
|---|---|--|---|---|--|------|
| S/he is/was self-employed
<input type="checkbox"/>
(1) | A private company or business
<input type="checkbox"/>
(2) | A state or Public agency or enterprise, central or local
<input type="checkbox"/>
(3) | A mixed public/private, or nonprofit organisation
<input type="checkbox"/>
(4) | Never been in paid employment
<input type="checkbox"/>
(5) | Don't Know
<input type="checkbox"/>
(9) | [51] |
|---|---|--|---|---|--|------|

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

[52-71]

[7]0

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

Industry or business

[8-27]

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

Please tick one box.

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|---|--|---|---|------|
| Managerial
<input type="checkbox"/>
(1) | Professional
<input type="checkbox"/>
(2) | Semi-professional or technical
<input type="checkbox"/>
(3) | Clerical
<input type="checkbox"/>
(4) | Service or Sales
<input type="checkbox"/>
(5) | Skilled Manual or Trade
<input type="checkbox"/>
(6) | Factory work
<input type="checkbox"/>
(7) | Manual or Labouring
<input type="checkbox"/>
(8) | Farming
<input type="checkbox"/>
(9) | [28] |
|--|--|--|--|--|---|--|---|---|------|

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.