HOW TO FILL OUT THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

To answer most questions you need only put a tick in the box next to the response you choose. Sometimes you are asked to write your own brief response in a text box. In most cases, there are no right or wrong answers. In particular, there is nothing wrong with saying that you don’t know or don’t have an opinion! If you object to any question, you may 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?

More □
Same as now □
Less □

If you personally think the government should spend the same as now on defence, you TICK the box as shown. Sometimes your response to one question will mean you need to skip the next question or several questions that do not apply to people who responded that way. In these cases, instructions and arrows indicate what is needed.

When you have finished the questionnaire, please place it in the prepaid reply envelope provided and post it back to us. No stamp is required.

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

Professor Jack Vowles
Associate Professor Hilde Coffé
Dr Kate McMillan
Dr Fiona Barker
Victoria University of Wellington

Associate Professor Jennifer Curtin
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The University of Auckland

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This survey is funded as part of the 2017 New Zealand Election Study by Victoria University of Wellington, the University of Auckland, AUT University, the University of Otago, Durham University, the British Academy, and the New Zealand Electoral Commission.

You can instead complete this survey online using Qualtrics. Please see the details on the covering letter if you would be happy to use that medium.
A: Politics, the Election, and You

A1. Generally speaking, how much interest do you have in what’s going on in politics? Please tick one box.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Are you:</th>
<th>Very interested</th>
<th>Somewhat interested</th>
<th>Not very interested</th>
<th>Not at all interested</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A2. Here is a list of things that some people did, and some people did not do, during the election campaign or on election day. How many of these things did you do? You don’t need to tell us which ones you did, just how many.

- Discussed the election with family, friends, or workmates
- Saw a news story about the election campaign
- Worked or volunteered for one of the party campaigns
- Voted in the election
- Watched the election results coming in on election night

How many of these things did you do?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How many of these things did you do?</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(0)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A3. Do you have access to the Internet? Please tick as many boxes as apply.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>At work</th>
<th>At home</th>
<th>On a mobile device</th>
<th>Anywhere else</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A4. During the 2017 election campaign, did you use the Internet to get news or information about the election? Please tick one box.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Do not have internet access</th>
<th>Have access but did not use it</th>
<th>Yes, once or twice</th>
<th>Yes, on several occasions</th>
<th>Yes, many times</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A5. (IF YOU USED THE INTERNET) During the 2017 election campaign, did you visit any of the following websites to get political information or follow political events? Please tick as many boxes as apply.

a) A party site (e.g. Labour, National, Green, etc.)

b) A candidate’s or MP’s site

c) The Parliament website

d) The Electoral Commission website (http://www.elections.org.nz)

e) Facebook, Instagram, YouTube or similar

f) A political blog site

g) Vote Compass

h) ivote.org.nz, isewith.com, onthefence.co.nz, or policy.thespinoff.co.nz
A6. During the campaign, how often did you seek information, or follow political news, discussions, or political advertising through any of the following, either directly or online? Please tick one box in each row.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Not at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) TV One</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>b) TV3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Newspapers (including online)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) RNZ National</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Talkback Radio (ZB or Radio Live)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Māori TV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) Sky or Prime</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, or other online social media</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) Community media for your language, ethnic, or national origin group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A7. During the campaign, did anyone from the following political parties contact you in any of these ways? Please tick as many boxes as apply in each row.

Did they contact you:  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>In person, at your house, or on the street</th>
<th>By letter or pamphlet</th>
<th>By telephone to your landline or mobile</th>
<th>By email</th>
<th>By text message</th>
<th>Via Facebook or another social network</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Labour</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) National</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>c) Green</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>d) NZ First</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>e) ACT</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Māori Party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) Mana Party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) The Opportunities Party (TOP)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A8. Here is another list of things that some people did, and some people did not do, during the election campaign. Did you do these? Please tick one box in each row.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Don’t know/ Can’t remember</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
A9. In general, how closely do you follow politics on TV, radio, newspapers, or the Internet? *Please tick one box.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very closely</th>
<th>Fairly closely</th>
<th>Not very closely</th>
<th>Not at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A10. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? *Please tick one box in each row.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>Neither</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) I feel I understand the most important political issues of this country</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) What people call compromise in politics is really just selling out on one’s principles</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Most politicians do not care about the people</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Most politicians are trustworthy</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Politicians are the main problem in New Zealand</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Having a strong leader in government is good for New Zealand, even if the leader bends the rules to get things done</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) Most politicians care only about the interests of the rich and powerful</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A11. Now thinking about minority groups in New Zealand, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? *Please tick one box in each row.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>Neither</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Minorities should adapt to the customs and traditions of the majority</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) The will of the majority should always prevail, even over the rights of minorities</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A12. Now thinking specifically about immigrants in New Zealand, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? *Please tick one box in each row.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>Neither</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Immigrants are generally good for New Zealand’s economy</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) New Zealand culture is generally harmed by immigrants</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Immigrants increase crime rates in New Zealand</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A13. Where 1 means government should listen more to experts and 5 means government should listen more to the public, where would you put your view?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Government should listen more to experts</th>
<th>Government should listen more to the public</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A14. Some people say that the following things are important for being a true New Zealander. Others say they are not important. What is your opinion? Please tick one box in each row.

To be a true New Zealander it is important:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very important</th>
<th>Fairly important</th>
<th>Not very important</th>
<th>Not important at all</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) To have been born in New Zealand</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) For one's grandparents to have been born in New Zealand</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) To have Māori ancestry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) To be able to speak English OR Māori</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) To follow New Zealand customs and traditions</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A15. Where 1 means that it doesn't make any difference who is in power and 5 means that it makes a big difference who is in power, where would you place yourself on this scale? Please tick one box.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>It doesn't make any difference who is in power</th>
<th>It makes a big difference who is in power</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A16. Where 1 means that voting won't make any difference to what happens and 5 means that voting can make a big difference to what happens, where would you place yourself on this scale? Please tick one box.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voting won't make any difference to what happens</th>
<th>Voting can make a big difference to what happens</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A17. How satisfied are you with the way democracy works in New Zealand?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very satisfied</th>
<th>Fairly satisfied</th>
<th>Not very satisfied</th>
<th>Not at all satisfied</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

A18. How widespread or unusual do you think corruption such as bribe-taking is among politicians and public servants in New Zealand? Would you say it is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very widespread</th>
<th>Quite widespread</th>
<th>Quite unusual</th>
<th>Very unusual</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A19. Which, if any, of the following describe your feelings about the following? Please tick as many boxes as apply in each row.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feeling</th>
<th>Angry</th>
<th>Happy</th>
<th>Disgusted</th>
<th>Hopeful</th>
<th>Uneasy</th>
<th>Confident</th>
<th>Afraid</th>
<th>Proud</th>
<th>None of these</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) New Zealand's economic situation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Social and economic inequality</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Jacinda Ardern becoming Labour Party leader</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) The National Party's record in government</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### B: Parties and Leaders

**B1.** We would like to know what you think about each of our political parties. Please rate each party on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly dislike that party and 10 means that you strongly like that party. If you haven’t heard about that party or don’t know enough about it, please tick ‘Don’t know’.

*Please tick one box in each row.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly dislike</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Strongly like</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Labour</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) National</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Green</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) NZ First</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) ACT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Māori Party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>g) Mana Party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) The Opportunities Party (TOP)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**B2.** On election day 2017, which party did you like the most? *Please tick one box.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Labour</th>
<th>National</th>
<th>Green</th>
<th>NZ First</th>
<th>ACT</th>
<th>Māori Party</th>
<th>Mana Party</th>
<th>The Opportunities Party (TOP)</th>
<th>Another party*</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labour</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZ First</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māori Party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mana Party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Opportunities Party (TOP)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another party*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(99)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**B2x.** *If you ticked another party, please write it in here*

______________________________

**B3.** And what did you think of the party leaders? Using the scale below from 0 to 10, or ‘Don’t know’, on election day how much did you like or dislike these party leaders? *Please tick one box in each row.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leader</th>
<th>Strongly dislike</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Strongly like</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Bill English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Jacinda Ardern</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) James Shaw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Winston Peters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) David Seymour</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Te Ururoa Flavell</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) Marama Fox</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) Hone Harawira</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) Gareth Morgan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
B4. On election day 2017, of all the party leaders in New Zealand, whom did you most want to be Prime Minister? Please tick one box.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>None of them</th>
<th>Bill English</th>
<th>Jacinda Ardern</th>
<th>James Shaw</th>
<th>Winston Peters</th>
<th>Another leader*</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B4x. *If you ticked another leader, please write in their name ____________________________

B5. In politics, people sometimes talk about the 'left' and the 'right'. Where would you place these political parties on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means the most left and 10 means the most right? If you don’t know, please tick there. Please tick one box in each row.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Left</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>Right</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>Don’t know (99)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Labour</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) National</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Green</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) NZ First</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) ACT</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Māori Party</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) Mana Party</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) The Opportunities Party (TOP)</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B6. Where would you place yourself on this scale? Please tick one box.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Left</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>Right</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>Don’t know (99)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B7. Where would you place your view on this scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means that political parties are necessary to make our political system work, and 5 means that political parties are not needed in New Zealand?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political parties are necessary to make our political system work</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>Political parties are not needed in New Zealand</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>Don’t know (9)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>□</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>□</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B8. How well do you feel the following descriptions apply to the two main party leaders?

| A competent leader          | Bill English | □ | □ | □ | □ | □ | |
| A trustworthy leader        | Bill English | □ | □ | □ | □ | □ | |
|                            | Jacinda Ardern | □ | □ | □ | □ | □ | |
|                            | Jacinda Ardern | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (9) | |
B9. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as CLOSE to any particular party? If so, tick that party; otherwise, tick no. Please tick one box.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Labour</th>
<th>National</th>
<th>Green</th>
<th>NZ First</th>
<th>ACT</th>
<th>Māori Party</th>
<th>Mana Party</th>
<th>Another party*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B9x. *If you ticked another party, please write it in here ________________________________

B10. IF ‘NO’ to B9: Do you feel yourself a little CLOSER to one of the parties than the others? If so, which one?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Labour</th>
<th>National</th>
<th>Green</th>
<th>NZ First</th>
<th>ACT</th>
<th>Māori Party</th>
<th>Mana Party</th>
<th>Another party*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B10x. *If you ticked another party, please write it in here ________________________________

B11. IF ‘CLOSE’ OR ‘CLOSER’ TO A PARTY in B9 or B10: Do you feel very close to this party, somewhat close, or not very close?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very close</th>
<th>Somewhat close</th>
<th>Not very close</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C: Your Opinions

C1. Thinking about the performance of the government in general, how good or bad a job do you think it has done over the last three years? Has it done:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A very good job</th>
<th>A fairly good job</th>
<th>A fairly bad job</th>
<th>A very bad job</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C2. Would you say that any of the parties in New Zealand represent your views reasonably well? If so, which one represents your views best?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No party</th>
<th>Labour</th>
<th>National</th>
<th>Green</th>
<th>NZ First</th>
<th>ACT</th>
<th>Māori Party</th>
<th>Mana Party</th>
<th>Another party*</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(99)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C2x. *If you ticked another party, please write it in here ________________________________

C3x. What was the single most important issue for you in the 2017 election?

Please write in the box.
C4. Thinking about that single most important issue in the 2017 election, which party do you think would be best in dealing with it? Please tick one box.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No party</th>
<th>Labour</th>
<th>National</th>
<th>Green</th>
<th>NZ First</th>
<th>ACT</th>
<th>Māori Party</th>
<th>Mana Party</th>
<th>Another party*</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>(99)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C4x. *If you ticked another party, please write it in here ______________________________________

C5. Should there be more or less public expenditure in each of the following areas? Remember if you say “more” or “much more” it could require a tax increase, and if you say “less” or “much less” it could require a reduction in those services.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Much more</th>
<th>More</th>
<th>Same as now</th>
<th>Less</th>
<th>Much less</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Health</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Unemployment benefits</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Defence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) New Zealand Superannuation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Business and industry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) Police and law enforcement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) Welfare benefits</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) The environment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j) Housing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k) Public transport</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C6. Over the next 10 years or so, how likely or unlikely is it that you will improve your standard of living? Please tick one box.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likelihood</th>
<th>Very likely</th>
<th>Somewhat likely</th>
<th>Somewhat unlikely</th>
<th>Very unlikely</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C7. Would you say that over the last 12 months, the state of the New Zealand economy has:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State of the economy</th>
<th>Got a lot better</th>
<th>Got a little better</th>
<th>Stayed the same</th>
<th>Got a little worse</th>
<th>Got a lot worse</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C8. 1 stands for the opinion that we should do more to protect the environment, even if that means less economic development. 7 stands for the opinion that we should do more to encourage economic development even if that means more harm to the environment. Where would you place your view?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinions</th>
<th>Do more to protect the environment</th>
<th>Do more to encourage economic development</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### C9. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? 
*Please tick one box in each row.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>Neither</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) The government should take measures to reduce differences in income levels</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Trade unions in New Zealand have too much power</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Unemployed people should have to work for their benefits</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Abortion is always wrong</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Differences in income in New Zealand are too large</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Many people who get welfare benefits don’t really deserve any help</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) With lower welfare benefits people would learn to stand on their own two feet</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) The government should remove tax breaks currently available to property investors</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) Between 2020 and 2033, the age of eligibility for New Zealand Superannuation should be gradually raised to 67</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j) Privatisation of state-owned enterprises has gone too far</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### C10. And how about these statements? *Please tick one box in each row.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>Neither</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Trade unions are necessary to protect workers</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Reference to the Treaty of Waitangi should be removed from the law</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Māori should have more say in all government decisions</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Big business in New Zealand has too much power</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) The death penalty should be brought back for some murders</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Society would be better off if women stayed home with their children</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) The law should be strengthened to reduce pay differences between women and men</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) The government should reduce its debt as fast as it can, even if it means less money for public services</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### C11. And how about these statements? *Please tick one box in each row.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>Neither</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) New Zealand should continue to pursue the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPPA)</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) To act against climate change, stronger government policies are needed to reduce carbon emissions</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) There should be a royalty on the commercial use of water</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Higher standards should be required and enforced for rental residential properties</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (9)
C12. Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into New Zealand nowadays should be:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Increased a lot</th>
<th>Increased a little</th>
<th>About the same as now</th>
<th>Reduced a little</th>
<th>Reduced a lot</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>(2)</td>
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<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C13. During the election campaign, would you say that there were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major differences between the parties</th>
<th>Minor differences between the parties</th>
<th>No differences at all</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C14. Generally, do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to provide or ensure each of the following? *Please tick one box in each row.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a) A job for everyone who wants one</th>
<th>b) Decent living standards for all old people</th>
<th>c) Decent living standards for the unemployed</th>
<th>d) Decent living standards for all children</th>
<th>e) Decent housing for those who can't afford it</th>
<th>f) Free health care for everyone</th>
<th>g) Free education from preschool through to tertiary and university levels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Definitely should</td>
<td>Should</td>
<td>Should not</td>
<td>Definitely should not</td>
<td>Should not</td>
<td>Definitely should not</td>
<td>Should not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
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<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C15. Globalisation is usually defined as the free movement of goods, people, money, and services across national borders. Thinking about economic and social policies that affect everybody's lives, in your opinion, does globalisation of the economy leave the government with:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A great deal of room to make decisions</th>
<th>Quite a lot of room to make decisions</th>
<th>Not very much room to make decisions</th>
<th>Hardly any room to make decisions</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
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<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D: Party Preferences and Voting

**D1.** New Zealanders have two votes, one for a party, and one for a candidate in their electorate. From what you know and have heard, which is the most important in deciding which party will get the largest number of MPs in Parliament?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party vote most important</th>
<th>Equally important</th>
<th>Electorate vote most important</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
D2. Looking at the election results, we can see that a lot of people didn’t manage to vote. Did you vote in the election on September 23, did you not manage to vote, or did you choose not to vote?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cast a vote</th>
<th>Chose not to vote</th>
<th>Didn’t manage to vote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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</tbody>
</table>

(1) (2) (3)

If you **did cast a vote**, please answer questions D3–D5.

Otherwise, please skip ahead to question D6.

D3. If you cast a **party vote**, for which party did you vote in the 2017 General Election?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labour</th>
<th>National</th>
<th>Green</th>
<th>NZ First</th>
<th>ACT</th>
<th>Māori Party</th>
<th>Mana Party</th>
<th>The Opportunities Party (TOP)</th>
<th>Another party*</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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</tbody>
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(1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (10) (99)

D3x. *If you ticked another party, please write it in here*

______________________________

D4. If you cast an **electorate vote**, for which party’s candidate did you vote in the 2017 General Election? **Please tick one box.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labour</th>
<th>National</th>
<th>Green</th>
<th>NZ First</th>
<th>ACT</th>
<th>Māori Party</th>
<th>Mana Party</th>
<th>The Opportunities Party (TOP)</th>
<th>Another party*</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
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(1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (10) (99)

D4x. *If you ticked another party, please write it in here*

______________________________

D5. When you voted, did you cast an ordinary vote at a polling place in your electorate, or another kind of vote, as listed below? **Please tick one box.**

- Ordinary vote at a voting place in your electorate, ON election day
- Ordinary vote BEFORE election day
- Special vote (in New Zealand or overseas) BEFORE election day
- Special vote ON election day
- Don’t know

(1) (2) (3) (4) (9)

D6. How long ago did you decide definitely for which party and which electorate candidate you would vote? Or if you decided not to vote for either or both of the votes, when was that? **Please tick one box in each row.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A long time ago</th>
<th>In 2017, but before the election campaign</th>
<th>During the campaign, but before the last week</th>
<th>In the last week before election day</th>
<th>On election day</th>
<th>I never made up my mind</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
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(1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (9)

a) Party Vote

b) Electorate Vote

(1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (9)
Only some parties in parliament form a government, made up of a Prime Minister and Cabinet Ministers.

D7. On election day 2017, between National and Labour, which party did you most want to be in government? Please tick one box.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labour</th>
<th>National</th>
<th>Neither</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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</table>

D8. On election day 2017, of all of the parties, which one did you most want to be in government? Please tick one box.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labour</th>
<th>National</th>
<th>Green</th>
<th>NZ First</th>
<th>ACT</th>
<th>Māori Party</th>
<th>Mana Party</th>
<th>The Opportunities Party (TOP)</th>
<th>Another party</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

D8x. *If you ticked another party, please write it in here

D9. On election day 2017, in addition to your first choice of party, were there other parties you wanted in government? Please tick as many boxes as apply.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labour</th>
<th>National</th>
<th>Green</th>
<th>NZ First</th>
<th>ACT</th>
<th>Māori Party</th>
<th>Mana Party</th>
<th>The Opportunities Party (TOP)</th>
<th>Another party</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

D9x. *If you ticked another party, please write it in here

D10. Are there any parties for which you would never vote? Please tick as many boxes as apply.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labour</th>
<th>National</th>
<th>Green</th>
<th>NZ First</th>
<th>ACT</th>
<th>Māori Party</th>
<th>Mana Party</th>
<th>The Opportunities Party (TOP)</th>
<th>Another party</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
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</table>

D10x. *If you ticked another party, please write it in here

D11. Regardless of the party 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 2017? Please tick one box.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labour</th>
<th>National</th>
<th>Green</th>
<th>NZ First</th>
<th>ACT</th>
<th>Māori Party</th>
<th>Mana Party</th>
<th>The Opportunities Party (TOP)</th>
<th>Another party</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
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D11x. *If you ticked another party, please write it in here

Now, thinking back to the 2014 General Election:

D12. For which party did you cast your party vote in the 2014 General Election?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labour</th>
<th>National</th>
<th>Green</th>
<th>NZ First</th>
<th>ACT</th>
<th>United Future</th>
<th>Māori Party</th>
<th>Internet –MANA</th>
<th>Conservative Party</th>
<th>Another party</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

D12x. *If you ticked another party, please write it in here
D13. For which party’s candidate did you cast your electorate vote in the 2014 General Election?

- I did not vote/was not eligible
- Labour
- National
- Green
- NZ First
- ACT
- United Future
- Māori Party
- Internet –MANA
- Conservative Party
- Another party*
- Don’t know

D13x. *If you ticked another party, please write it in here ________________________________

D14. Can you recall which party or parties became part of the government (that is, with Ministers in Cabinet) three years ago, after the 2014 General Election? Please tick as many boxes as apply.

- No, I don’t recall
- Labour
- National
- Green
- NZ First
- ACT
- United Future
- Māori Party
- Internet–MANA

D15. Did you vote for any candidate(s) in the October 2016 local elections?

- Yes
- No
- Don’t know/Can’t remember

E: Government, Participation, MPs, and Representation

E1. Would you say that in the New Zealand Parliament, after the 2017 General Election, there are:

- Too many political parties
- About the right number of political parties
- Not enough political parties
- Don’t know

E2. 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.

- Providing stability
- Making tough decisions
- Keeping promises
- Doing what the people want

E3. What do you think should be the future of the Māori seats? Do you think we should abolish the Māori seats, have fewer Māori seats, keep the seven we have now, or have more Māori seats? Please tick one box.

- Abolish the Māori seats
- Have fewer
- Keep the seven we have now
- Have more
- Don’t know
E4. There are various forms of political action that people take to express their views about something the government should or should not do. Over the past five years or so, have you done any of the following, or have you considered doing them? *Please tick one box in each row.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Have done, within the last five years</th>
<th>Have not done within the last five years, but considered doing so</th>
<th>Have not done within the last five years, and did not consider doing so</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Signed a petition (hard copy, not online)</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Made a select committee submission</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Made a submission to a Royal Commission (oral or written)</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Taken part in consultation with central or local government</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
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<tr>
<td>e) Written to a newspaper</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Gone on a protest, march, demonstration, or hikoi</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) Phoned a talkback radio show</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) Bought or not bought something for political or ethical reasons</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) Used Facebook, Twitter, or other social media sites to promote an issue (including an online petition)</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j) Been in contact with a politician or government official in person, in writing, or another way</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Here are two questions in a short ‘Political Quiz’.

E5. In the Parliament that sat between the 2014 and 2017 elections, about what percentage of MPs were women?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>About 20%</th>
<th>About 25%</th>
<th>About 30%</th>
<th>About 35%</th>
<th>About 40%</th>
<th>More than 40%</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
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<td>☐</td>
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<td>(1)</td>
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<td>(5)</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E6. Which country’s economy grew more last year: New Zealand’s, or Australia’s?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>New Zealand</th>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
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<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

E7. **Now, a question about our MMP electoral system.**

Normally, a political party needs to win 5% or more of the party vote to win list seats. But parties winning an electorate while getting less than 5% of the party vote can also be allocated list seats, depending on their percentage of the party vote. This is sometimes described as ‘coat-tailing’.

As an example, think of a party that wins one electorate and gets, say, 3% of the party vote. Should we change the electoral system so that this party will get no list seats? *Please tick one box.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
E8. Should there be more efforts to increase the number of women MPs? If so, what means would you prefer? Please tick one box.

- No, there is no need to increase the number of women MPs □ (1)
- No, nothing needs to be done, it will happen naturally □ (2)
- Yes, by legally requiring all political parties to select more women candidates by means of a ‘quota’ □ (3)
- Yes, the political parties should make their own voluntary commitments to increase the number of women MPs □ (4)
- Yes, by encouraging more women to participate in politics □ (5)
- Don’t know □ (9)

E9. For each of the following actions, do you think they can always be justified, can never be justified, or something in between? Please tick one box in each row.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Can always be justified</th>
<th>Can never be justified</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Avoiding a fare on public transport</td>
<td>□  □  □  □  □</td>
<td>□  □  □  □  □</td>
<td>□  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □</td>
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<tr>
<td>b) Paying someone in cash knowing they will avoid tax</td>
<td>□  □  □  □  □</td>
<td>□  □  □  □  □</td>
<td>□  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Claiming welfare benefits to which you are not entitled</td>
<td>□  □  □  □  □</td>
<td>□  □  □  □  □</td>
<td>□  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □</td>
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<tr>
<td>d) Claiming expenses to which you are not entitled in your job or work</td>
<td>□  □  □  □  □</td>
<td>□  □  □  □  □</td>
<td>□  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □</td>
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<tr>
<td>e) Accepting a bribe in your job or work</td>
<td>□  □  □  □  □</td>
<td>□  □  □  □  □</td>
<td>□  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □</td>
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<tr>
<td>f) Evading tax by not declaring all your income</td>
<td>□  □  □  □  □</td>
<td>□  □  □  □  □</td>
<td>□  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □</td>
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<tr>
<td>g) Smacking your child</td>
<td>□  □  □  □  □</td>
<td>□  □  □  □  □</td>
<td>□  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □  □</td>
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E10 How do you think your household’s income compares to that of the average household in New Zealand? Is it:

- Much lower □ (1)
- Somewhat lower □ (2)
- About average □ (3)
- Somewhat higher □ (4)
- Much higher □ (5)
- Don’t know □ (9)

E11. How likely or unlikely do you think it is that your household’s income could be severely reduced in the next twelve months? Please tick one box.

- Very likely □ (1)
- Somewhat likely □ (2)
- Somewhat unlikely □ (3)
- Very unlikely □ (4)
- Don’t know □ (9)

E12. If you had a choice between voting on the Internet and voting at a polling place, which of the two would you prefer? Please tick one box.

- Vote on Internet □ (1)
- Vote at a polling place □ (2)
- Don’t know □ (9)
E13. If you were able to vote online, how confident would you be about the security and privacy of doing so? Please tick one box.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very confident</th>
<th>Fairly confident</th>
<th>Not very confident</th>
<th>Not at all confident</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
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E14. If you could have voted online via the Internet in this election, do you think that you would have been more or less likely to vote, or would it have made no difference? Please tick one box.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>More likely to vote</th>
<th>Made no difference</th>
<th>Less likely to vote</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
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E15. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Please tick one box in each row.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>Neither</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Most people would try to take advantage of others if they got the chance</td>
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<td>b) A few strong leaders could make this country better than all the laws and talk</td>
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<tr>
<td>c) What young people need most of all is strict discipline by their parents</td>
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<td>d) It is a citizen’s duty to vote</td>
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<tr>
<td>e) Democracy may have problems but it’s better than any other form of government</td>
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<tr>
<td>f) Most Members of Parliament are out of touch with the rest of the country</td>
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<td>g) People like me don’t have any say about what the government does</td>
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<td>h) The New Zealand government is largely run by a few big interests</td>
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<tr>
<td>i) My vote really counts in elections</td>
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<td>j) I don’t think politicians and public servants care much about what people like me think</td>
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<tr>
<td>k) On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do</td>
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<td>l) I feel most comfortable with people who have a similar level of education to mine</td>
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</table>

E16. Should political parties say or signal with which other parties they would like to work in a government after an election, or not say or signal anything until after the votes have been counted?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Should say or signal</th>
<th>Should not say or signal</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
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<tbody>
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</table>
F: You and Your Background

Here are some questions about yourself and your background. Remember that the information you provide is **strictly confidential**. It will not be reported or released in any way identifying you, but is useful for us to check the accuracy of our sample. Of course you may skip any questions you prefer not to answer.

F1. Are you

- [ ] Male
- [ ] Female
- [ ] Gender diverse

(1) (2) (3)

F2. In what year and month were you born?

Year: 19 [ ]
Month (01–12): [ ]

F3. How old were you when you left secondary school?

[ ] years

F4. Which one of the following is your highest secondary school qualification?

- [ ] No qualification (0)
- [ ] NZ School Certificate in one or more subjects or National Certificate level 1 (1)
- [ ] NZ Sixth Form Certificate in one or more subjects or National Certificate level 2 (2)
- [ ] NZ UE before 1986 in one or more subjects (3)
- [ ] NZ Higher School Certificate or Higher Leaving Certificate (4)
- [ ] University Entrance Qualification from NZ University Bursary (5)
- [ ] NZ A or B Bursary, Scholarship, or National Certificate level 3 (6)
- [ ] Another secondary school qualification gained in New Zealand (7)
- [ ] Another secondary school qualification gained overseas (8)

F5. Do you have any post-secondary school qualifications that required more than three months of full-time study? **Please tick as many boxes as apply.**

- [ ] None
- [ ] National Certificate level 4 or other non-degree qualification
- [ ] Tertiary Degree at Institute, Polytechnic, or Wānanga
- [ ] University Undergraduate Degree
- [ ] University Honours or Masters Degree
- [ ] University Doctorate

F6. For how many years have you lived in your district, town, or neighbourhood?

[ ] years

F7. What is the main language usually spoken in your home? **If English or Māori, tick the appropriate box on the left. Otherwise, please write your language in the box on the right.**

- [ ] English (1)
- [ ] Māori (2)

[ ]
F8. Where do you usually live? *Please tick one box.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A rural area or settlement (under 10,000 population)</th>
<th>A country town (under 10,000)</th>
<th>A larger country town (10,000–25,000)</th>
<th>A large town (over 25,000)</th>
<th>A major city (over 100,000)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
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</table>

F9a. What country were you born in? *If New Zealand, tick the box on the left. Otherwise, please write your birth country in the box on the right.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>New Zealand</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F9bx. If you were not born in New Zealand, please write in what year you came to live here.

F10. Were either or both of your parents born outside of New Zealand?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes, both</th>
<th>Yes, one</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F11. Are you a New Zealand citizen?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F12. Did your father and mother have any particular preferences for a political party when you were young, say about 14 years old? *Please tick one box in each row.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No, they had no preference</th>
<th>Yes, National</th>
<th>Yes, Labour</th>
<th>Yes, another* (in NZ or overseas)</th>
<th>Don't know/ Can't recall</th>
<th>*Please write in other party</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Father</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Mother</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F13. This question is about the work you are now doing. Which of the following describe your present position? *Please tick as many boxes as apply.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Working full-time for pay or other income (32 or more hours per week)</th>
<th>Working part-time for pay or other income (less than 32 hours per week)</th>
<th>Unemployed, laid off, looking for work</th>
<th>Retired</th>
<th>Temporarily or permanently disabled, unable to work</th>
<th>At school, university, or other educational institution</th>
<th>Working unpaid outside the home</th>
<th>Working unpaid within the home</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F14. *If you are working in a job now,* if you lost your job, how easy or difficult would it be to find a similar or better job within the next 12 months?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very easy</th>
<th>Somewhat easy</th>
<th>Somewhat difficult</th>
<th>Very difficult</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
F15. For whom do you now work, or if you are not working now, for whom did you work 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 non-profit organisation
- I have never been in paid employment
- Don't know

F16ax. What kind of paid work do you do, or did you do in your last paid job? Remember, if you are retired, or not working for pay now, please describe your last regular paid job.

Your job/occupation (for example, engineer, or manager)

F16bx. What task or tasks do or did you spend most time on in that job?

Your main task or tasks (for example, designing bridges, personnel and staffing)

F16cx. In what industry or business is or was your job?

The industry or business (for example, construction, transport)

F17a. What is your religion (if any)?

- No religion
- Christian
- Buddhist
- Hindu
- Muslim
- Jewish
- Other religion*

F17b. If you ticked Christian, which of these are you?

- Anglican
- Catholic
- Presbyterian
- Methodist
- Rātana
- Ringatū
- Other denomination*

F17ax. *If you ticked other religion, please write it in here

F17bx. *If you ticked other denomination, please write it in here

F18. Apart from weddings, funerals or tangi, and baptisms, about how often 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

Never (0) Once a year (1) 2–11 times a year (2) Once a month (3) 2–3 times a month (4) At least once a week (5)
F19. What is your current housing status? 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 Housing NZ Corporation or a local authority
- Board or live in a hotel, hostel, rest home, or temporary housing
- Rent your house with a group of individuals
- Live at your parents’ or other family members’ home

F20. How well do the following statements describe your personality?

I see myself as someone who ...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Somewhat agree</th>
<th>Neither</th>
<th>Somewhat disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>... is reserved</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>... is generally trusting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>... tends to be lazy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>... is relaxed, handles stress well</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... has few artistic interests</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>... is outgoing, sociable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>... tends to find fault with others</td>
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<tr>
<td>... does a thorough job</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... gets nervous easily</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... has an active imagination</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F21. Do you, or does anyone else in your household, belong to any of the following kinds of organisations?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>I belong, but no one else in the household does</th>
<th>I belong, plus another in the household</th>
<th>Another person belongs, but not me</th>
<th>No, no one belongs</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Trade union</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Business New Zealand and/or Chambers of Commerce</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Federated Farmers</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) An association based on your language, ethnicity or national origin</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F22a. Which ethnic group or groups do you belong to? If New Zealand European and/or Māori, tick one or both of the boxes on the left. For any others, please write your ethnic group or groups in the box on the right.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic group</th>
<th>[ ] New Zealand European</th>
<th>[ ] New Zealand Māori</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

F22b. If you belong to more than one ethnic group, with which ONE do you MOST identify? If New Zealand European or Māori, tick ONE of the boxes on the left. For any other, please write your ethnic group in the box on the right.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic group</th>
<th>[ ] New Zealand European</th>
<th>[ ] New Zealand Māori</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

(1) (2)
F23. If you identify as Māori, are you registered with your iwi organisation?

- Yes
- No
- Don’t know

F24. Do you, or does anyone else in your household, receive any government benefits or assistance (other than superannuation)? Please tick as many boxes as apply.

- Accommodation Supplement or income-related rent subsidy
- Job Seeker Support
- Student or Youth Allowance
- Supported Living Payment
- Sole Parent Support
- Family Assistance (Working for Families) and/or Parental Tax Credit
- Other benefit, disability, childcare allowance

F25. Do you, or does a member of your household, own or have any of the following?

- A residence: your own home, house, or apartment
- An investment, holiday or rental house or apartment
- A business, a farm, or livestock
- Stocks, shares, or bonds
- Any savings
- A Kiwisaver account or other pension you contribute towards

F26. In what bracket was the total income before tax of all members of your household, between 1 April 2016 and 31 March 2017? If you live alone, share, or board, please indicate your personal income.

- No income
- $23,800 or less
- $23,801 – $35,699
- $35,700 – $62,199
- $62,200 – $76,999
- $77,000 – $93,599
- $93,600 – $136,600
- $136,700 – $180,199
- $180,200 or over
- Don’t know

F27. Including yourself, please indicate how many adults (18 years or older) and how many children (17 years or younger) live in your household.

- a) Adults
- b) Children

F28. Do you consider yourself to be:

- Heterosexual or ‘straight’
- Gay or lesbian
- Bisexual, bicurious, pansexual, or open
- Asexual

F29. What is your current marital status? Please tick one box.

- Married, in a civil union, or living with a partner
- Widowed
- Divorced or separated
- Single, never married

If you are married, in a civil union, or living with a partner, please move on to the last few questions. Otherwise, you have completed the questionnaire. Please put it into the reply-paid envelope and post it back to us. No stamp is required. Thank you for participating!
G: Your Spouse or Partner

G1. This question is about the work that your spouse or partner is now doing. Which of the following best describe his or her present position? Please tick as many boxes as apply.

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

G2. If your spouse or partner is working in a job now, if they lost their job, how easy or difficult would it be for them to find a similar or better job within the next 12 months?

- Very easy
- Somewhat easy
- Somewhat difficult
- Very difficult
- Don't know

G3. For whom does your spouse or partner now work, or if they are not working now, for whom did they work in their last job in paid employment? Please tick one box.

- He or she is/was paid a wage or salary by:

  - He or she is/was self-employed
  - A private company or business
  - A State or Public agency or enterprise, central or local
  - A mixed public/private, or non-profit organisation
  - He/she has never been in paid employment
  - Don't know

G4ax. What kind of paid work does your spouse or partner do, or did he or she do in their last paid job? Remember, if they are retired, or not working for pay now, please describe their last regular paid job.

- Their job/occupation (for example, engineer, or property manager)

G4bx. What task or tasks does or did your spouse or partner spend most time on in that job?

- Their main task or tasks (for example, designing bridges, personnel and staffing)

G4cx. In what industry or business is or was your spouse’s or partner’s job?

- The industry or business (for example, construction, transport)

This is the end of the questionnaire. Please put it into the reply-paid envelope and post it back to us. No stamp is required. Thank you for participating!