

APPENDIX A

1996 NEW ZEALAND ELECTION STUDY: RESEARCH DESIGN AND IMPLEMENTATION

About the 1996 NZES

Funding for the 1996 NZES was provided for by Foundation for Research, Science, and Technology (FRST), the Waikato School of Social Sciences Research Committee and the University of Waikato, University of Auckland Research Committees and Lottery Science. The principle researchers are Jack Vowles (University of Waikato) and Peter Aimer (University of Auckland).

The 1996 New Zealand Election study is comprised of five components, each drawn from different samples:

Post-Election Study: Respondents to the post election survey were randomly selected from the 1996 electoral roll and sent a self completion questionnaire. Initially, 1650 questionnaires were mailed. Of those, 863 were returned and another 180 were completed by phone; the total sample size is 1043. The response rate is 63 percent.

Maori Sample: One thousand persons randomly selected from the Maori rolls were mailed self-administered questionnaires, 424 were returned and another 81 completed a phone interview. The response rate for persons on the Maori rolls was 51 per cent. The remainder of Maori electorate respondents were part of the panel or first interviewed by phone during the campaign. A total sample size of 614 was secured for persons in the Maori electorates.

Panel Study: Each elector survey includes a panel of respondents carried through from the previous study, making it possible to track patterns of individual-level change. The 1996 survey includes the final wave of a panel of respondents who participated in the 1993 and 1990 NZES. Of the 1110 participants in the 1990-93 panel study, 768 were carried through to the 1996 wave of the panel (31 per cent attrition rate) while 548 of the 1993 participants were carried through to the 1996 study (47 per cent attrition rate). Therefore, a total of 1306 respondents participated in both the 1993 and 1996 studies (1174 by post, 132 by phone).

The Campaign Wave: A pre-election survey was conducted over the course of the campaign to track short-term changes in voting behaviour. The rolling cross section was conducted 5 September through 11 October, during which time approximately 120 computer-assisted telephone interviews per day were conducted with randomly selected New Zealanders of voting age, bringing the total sample size to 4448, of which 3090 were seven minute interviews and 1357 were three minute interviews. The response rate was around 50%, on the assumption that numbers called 20 times or more with no reply were non-residential.

Respondents who completed the seven minute interview were asked to supply names and addresses so that they could be sent a postal questionnaire after the election. Of these 3090 persons, 2326 supplied a name and address; 1649 were returned

and another 215 completed a post election phone survey, contributing to a total sample size of 1862; a response rate of 60 per cent.

The post-election wave of the campaign sample was added to the post-election sample from the electoral rolls. These components, together with the Maori sample and the panel comprise the complete post-election data set used in this book. The sample drawn from the general electoral roll was weighted by party vote. The Maori sample was weighted by party vote and Maori enrolment. The campaign sample was weighted by household size and party vote. Other weights were adopted where necessary, and are explained in the text, in notes, or in appendix B.

Candidate Survey: The candidate survey provides data on the career paths of politicians and aspects of their working conditions enabling a comparison between the attitudes and behaviour of voters and political elites. A similar survey was sent to party candidates and conference delegates in 1993.

In 1996, candidates nominated by the ACT, Alliance, Christian Coalition, Labour, National, New Zealand First, and United parties were sent a 24-page questionnaire, with questions arranged under the following sub-headings: Political Background and Activity; Candidate Selection and Campaigning; The Role of an MP; Opinions and Policies: The Economy; Other Issues and Values; Electoral, Parliamentary and Constitutional Issues; Background Information.

Questionnaires were sent to a total of 487 candidates. The overall response rate was 65%, or 316 usable questionnaires, distributed among the parties as follows (party response rates in brackets): ACT 55 (81%), Alliance 49 (65%), Christian Coalition 51 (65%), Labour 64 (69%), National 46 (56%), New Zealand First 36 (56%), United 15 (56%).

The overall response rate for the sub-set of elected MPs was 60%. The questionnaire contained a total of 67 questions. As many of these were multi-part questions, the resulting dataset contains 230 separate variables, that is, separate items of information to which all or most of the 316 respondents replied.

Other information from and about the New Zealand Election study is available from its web page located at: <http://www2.waikato.ac.nz/politics/nzes/>

ELECTOR QUESTIONNAIRE

All questions used from the elite survey were also asked of electors in exactly the same way.

A: The Campaign and the Issues

- A1. Generally speaking, how much interest do you usually have in what's going on in politics? Are you—
- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| Very interested | 1 |
| Fairly interested | 2 |
| Slightly interested | 3 |
| Not at all interested? | 4 |

- A2. During the election campaign, did you do any of the following things? (Circle '1' for yes or '2' for no in each row.)

	Yes	No
Discuss politics with others?	1	2
Talk to any people about how they should vote?	1	2
Go to any political meetings or rallies?	1	2
Contribute money to a political party or candidate?	1	2
Do any work for a political party or candidate?	1	2

- A3. During the election campaign, how often did you follow the election news and political advertising on the television, newspapers and the radio, or didn't you follow it at all? (Circle a number in each row.)

	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Not at all
On TV One	1	2	3	4
On TV3	1	2	3	4
Newspapers	1	2	3	4
Radio	1	2	3	4

- A4. Did anyone from the following political parties call you by telephone, personally visit you, send you a personalised letter, or give or send you a party pamphlet during the election campaign? (Tick in the appropriate boxes for each party.)

	Telephoned	Personally visited	Sent Letter	Gave or sent pamphlet
Labour	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
National	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Alliance	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
New Zealand First	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ACT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Christian Coalition	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
United	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

- A5. Here is a list of some important issues that were discussed during the election campaign. Which of these parties' views—Labour, National, the Alliance, or NZ First—would you say came closest to your own views on each of these issues?

	Labour	National	Alliance	NZ First	None	Don't know
Inflation	1	2	3	4	5	0
Unemployment	1	2	3	4	5	0
Economic growth	1	2	3	4	5	0
Tax rates	1	2	3	4	5	0
Defence	1	2	3	4	5	0
Immigration	1	2	3	4	5	0
Health	1	2	3	4	5	0
Social welfare	1	2	3	4	5	0
Law and order	1	2	3	4	5	0
Education	1	2	3	4	5	0
Industrial relations	1	2	3	4	5	0
Race relations	1	2	3	4	5	0
Superannuation	1	2	3	4	5	0
Environment	1	2	3	4	5	0

A6. Still thinking about the same issues, when you were deciding about how to vote, **how important** was each of these issues to you personally?

	Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Not very important	Not at all important
Inflation	1	2	3	4	5
Unemployment	1	2	3	4	5
Economic growth	1	2	3	4	5
Tax rates	1	2	3	4	5
Defence	1	2	3	4	5
Immigration	1	2	3	4	5
Health	1	2	3	4	5
Social welfare	1	2	3	4	5
Law and order	1	2	3	4	5
Education	1	2	3	4	5
Industrial relations	1	2	3	4	5
Race relations	1	2	3	4	5
Superannuation	1	2	3	4	5
Environment	1	2	3	4	5

A7. Listed below are various areas of government spending. Please show whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area. Remember that if you say 'more' or 'much more', it might require a tax increase to pay for it.

	Much more	More	Same as now	Less	Much less	Don't know
A. Protecting the environment	1	2	3	4	5	0
B. Health	1	2	3	4	5	0
C. Police and law enforcement	1	2	3	4	5	0
D. Education	1	2	3	4	5	0
E. Military and defence	1	2	3	4	5	0
F. Superannuation	1	2	3	4	5	0
G. Assisting low income families	1	2	3	4	5	0

B: Parties and the Political System

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

Satisfied	1
Fairly satisfied	2
Not very satisfied	3
Not at all satisfied	4

B2. In some countries, people believe their elections are conducted fairly. In other countries, people believe their elections are conducted unfairly. Thinking of the 1996 election in New Zealand, where would you place it on this scale of one to five, where ONE means that the election was conducted fairly and FIVE means that the election was conducted unfairly?

1	2	3	4	5
1996 election was conducted fairly			1996 election was conducted unfairly	

B3a. Do you usually think of yourself as close to any particular political party or parties?

Yes	1
No	2 (Go to B4)

B3b. If you usually think of yourself as close to a political party, which party or parties? (You can circle more than one.)

- 1. National 1
- 2. Labour 2
- 3. New Zealand First 3
- 4. Alliance 4
- 5. Another party (please specify) _____ 5

IF YOU FEEL CLOSE TO MORE THAN ONE OF THESE PARTIES, but feel A LITTLE CLOSER TO ONE OF THEM, which one is that?

Write the number beside the party above, in the box

B3c. **IF YOU FEEL CLOSE OR CLOSER TO ONE PARTY**, do you feel very close to that party, somewhat close, or not very close?

- Very close 1
- Somewhat close 2
- Not very close 3

B4. Where would you place your view on this scale from 1 to 5, where ONE means that political parties in New Zealand care about what ordinary people think, and FIVE means that they don't care what ordinary people think?

1	2	3	4	5
Political parties in New Zealand care what ordinary people think				Political parties in New Zealand don't care what ordinary people think

B5. Where would you place your view on this scale from 1 to 5, where ONE means that political parties are necessary to make our political system work, and FIVE means that political parties are not needed in New Zealand?

1	2	3	4	5
Political parties are necessary				Political parties are not needed in New Zealand

B6. Do you remember the names of any candidates who stood in your electorate at the 1996 election? If so, please write their names below. If you can also remember the party they stood for, please write those as well.

Name _____	Party _____
Name _____	Party _____
Name _____	Party _____
Name _____	Party _____

B7. We would like to know what you think about each of these political parties. Please rate each party on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly **dislike** that party and 10 means that you strongly **like** that party. If you haven't heard about that party or don't know enough about it, please circle '99' under 'don't know'

How do you feel about:	Strongly dislike		Neutral						Strongly like		Don't know	
National	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Labour	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
NZ First	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Alliance	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
ACT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
United	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Christian Coalition	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

B8. Again using a scale from 0 to 10, or '99' for 'don't know', please show how much you like or dislike these party leaders.

How do you feel about:	Strongly dislike		Neutral						Strongly like		Don't know	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Jim Bolger	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Helen Clark	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Winston Peters	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Jim Anderton	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Richard Prebble	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Clive Mathewson	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Graeme Lee	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Graham Capill	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

B9. What do you think of the state of the economy these days in New Zealand? Would you say that it was—

Very good	1
Good	2
Neither good nor bad	3
Bad	4
Very bad	5

B11. Some people say that Members of Parliament know what ordinary people think. Others think that Members of Parliament don't know much about what ordinary people think. Where would you place your view on this scale from 1 to 5?

1	2	3	4	5
MPs know what ordinary people think		what ordinary people think		MPs don't know

B12. During the last twelve months, have you had any contact with a Member of Parliament in any way?

Yes	1
No, no contact at all	2

B13. If 1 means that it makes a difference who is in power, and 5 means that it doesn't make a difference who is in power, where would you place your view?

1	2	3	4	5
It makes a difference who is in power			It doesn't make a difference who is in power	

B14. If 1 means that no matter who people vote for, it won't make a difference to what happens, and 5 means that voting can make a difference to what happens, where would you place your view?

1	2	3	4	5
Who people vote for won't make a difference			Who people vote for can make a difference	

B15. If 1 means that most people in New Zealand usually say what they think about politics, and 5 means that most people usually hide what they think, where would you place your view?

1	2	3	4	5
Most New Zealanders usually say what they think about politics		Most New Zealanders usually hide what they think about politics		

B16. In politics, people sometimes talk about the 'left' and the 'right'. Where would you place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means the left and 10 means the right?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Left									Right		Don't know

Voters' Victory?

Using the same scale, where would you place each of the political parties?

	Left										Right	Don't know
National	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Labour	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
NZ First	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Alliance	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
ACT	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
United	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Christian Coalition	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99

- B17. Some people say that there is corruption in New Zealand politics, and others say there is no corruption. Where 1 means there is no corruption in New Zealand politics, and 5 means that there is corruption, where would you place your view?

1	2	3	4	5
There is no corruption in New Zealand politics		There is corruption in New Zealand politics		

C: Policies

- C1. Here are a number of policies which some people think might help solve New Zealand's economic problems. For each one, please indicate whether you would support or oppose such a policy, and if you feel strongly about it.

	Strongly support	Support	Neutral	Oppose	Strongly oppose	Don't know
Control of wages by legislation	1	2	3	4	5	0
Control of prices by legislation	1	2	3	4	5	0
Reduce taxes in general	1	2	3	4	5	0
Import controls	1	2	3	4	5	0
Less government regulation of business	1	2	3	4	5	0

- C2. Do you feel that the government should **fully own**, or **partly own** any of the following companies? Should it **not own** them, but **regulate** their prices and how they provide services? Or should the government **not own or regulate** them at all?

	Fully own	Partly own	Not own but regulate	Not own but regulate	Don't know
ECNZ (Electricorp)	1	2	3	4	0
Telecom	1	2	3	4	0
Bank of New Zealand	1	2	3	4	0
Air New Zealand	1	2	3	4	0
New Zealand Rail (Tranz)	1	2	3	4	0
Television New Zealand	1	2	3	4	0
Forestry Corporation	1	2	3	4	0

- C3. If the government had to choose between keeping down inflation or getting down unemployment, to which do you think it should give the higher priority?

Keeping down inflation	1
Keeping down unemployment	2
Don't know	0

- C4. How does the financial situation of your household now compare with what it was 12 months ago?
 How do you think the general economic situation in the country now compares with a year ago?
 (Circle a number in each column.)

Your household finances	The country's economic situation
A lot better 1	1
A little better 2	2
About the same 3	3
A little worse 4	4
A lot worse 5	5
Don't know 0	0

- C5. Compared with a year ago, would you say that the 1993-96 National government's policies had a good effect, a bad effect, or did they not make much difference to the financial situation of your household? What effect do you think they had on the general economic situation in the country as a whole?

Your household finances	The country's economic situation
A good effect 1	1
Not much difference 2	2
A bad effect 3	3
Don't know 0	0

- C6. What do you think the general economic situation in this country will be in 12 months time compared to now?

A lot better	1
A little better	2
About the same	3
A little worse	4
A lot worse	5
Don't know	0

- C7. Do you think, a year from now, the government's policies will have had a good or bad effect or not make much difference to the country's general economic situation?

A good effect	1
Not much difference	2
A bad effect	3
Don't know	0

- C8. On this scale, ONE means that we should concentrate more on protecting the environment, even if it leads to considerably lower incomes, and SEVEN means that we should safeguard our income levels before we seek to protect the environment. Where would you place your view?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Should protect environment even if it leads to lower incomes					Should not protect environment if it leads to lower incomes	Should not protect know	Don't know

Using the same scale, if you can, where would you place each political party?

	Should protect environment even if it leads to lower incomes			Should not protect environment if it leads lower incomes			Don't know	
National	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Labour	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
NZ First	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Alliance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
ACT	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
United	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Christian Coalition	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0

- C9. ONE represents the view that the government should reduce taxes, and FIVE the view that there should be a tax increase so government can spend more money on health and education. Where would you place your view?

1	2	3	4	5	0
Government should reduce taxes		Government should		Don't increase taxes to fund health and education	know

- C10. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
References to the Treaty of Waitangi should be removed from the law	1	2	3	4	5	0
Homosexual relationships are always wrong	1	2	3	4	5	0
Refusing to employ people because they are homosexual should be illegal	1	2	3	4	5	0
People who break the law should be given stiffer sentences	1	2	3	4	5	0
Maori should be compensated for land confiscated in the past	1	2	3	4	5	0
Nuclear-powered ships should be allowed in New Zealand ports	1	2	3	4	5	0
The death penalty for murder should be reintroduced	1	2	3	4	5	0
Full New Zealand defence ties with the United States should be renewed	1	2	3	4	5	0

- C11. Which do you prefer, if you have to choose between having:

No defence ties with the United States?	1
Or allowing ships that are nuclear powered into New Zealand ports?	2
Don't know	3

- C12. Now some opinions about relations between women and men, families, and politics. Do you agree or disagree with the following views? Strongly, or not strongly?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
The government should pay a wage to those staying home to care for children	1	2	3	4	5	0
There should be a law to further reduce pay differences between women and men	1	2	3	4	5	0
Divorce is too easy to obtain in New Zealand	1	2	3	4	5	0
There is too much attention to women's health problems at the expense of men's	1	2	3	4	5	0
The government should subsidise child care centres so women can have more opportunities in paid employment	1	2	3	4	5	0

- C9. ONE represents the view that the government should reduce taxes, and FIVE the view that there should be a tax increase so government can spend more money on health and education. Where would you place your view?

1	2	3	4	5	0
Government should reduce taxes		Government should		Don't increase taxes to fund health and education	know

- C10. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
References to the Treaty of Waitangi should be removed from the law	1	2	3	4	5	0
Homosexual relationships are always wrong	1	2	3	4	5	0
Refusing to employ people because they are homosexual should be illegal	1	2	3	4	5	0
People who break the law should be given stiffer sentences	1	2	3	4	5	0
Maori should be compensated for land confiscated in the past	1	2	3	4	5	0
Nuclear-powered ships should be allowed in New Zealand ports	1	2	3	4	5	0
The death penalty for murder should be reintroduced	1	2	3	4	5	0
Full New Zealand defence ties with the United States should be renewed	1	2	3	4	5	0

- C11. Which do you prefer, if you have to choose between having:

No defence ties with the United States?	1
Or allowing ships that are nuclear powered into New Zealand ports?	2
Don't know	3

- C12. Now some opinions about relations between women and men, families, and politics. Do you agree or disagree with the following views? Strongly, or not strongly?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
The government should pay a wage to those staying home to care for children	1	2	3	4	5	0
There should be a law to further reduce pay differences between women and men	1	2	3	4	5	0
Divorce is too easy to obtain in New Zealand	1	2	3	4	5	0
There is too much attention to women's health problems at the expense of men's	1	2	3	4	5	0
The government should subsidise child care centres so women can have more opportunities in paid employment	1	2	3	4	5	0

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

Strongly favour becoming republic.	1
Favour becoming republic.	2
Favour retaining Queen as head of state	3
Strongly favour retaining Queen as head of state	4
Don't know	0

C14. Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into New Zealand nowadays should be reduced or increased?

Increased a lot	1
Increased a little	2
Remain about the same as it is	3
Reduced a little	4
Reduced a lot	5
Don't know	0

C15. Which one of these statements comes closest to how you feel about abortion?

Women should be able to have an abortion when they want one	1
Abortion should be allowed on medical or psychological grounds	2
Abortion should be allowed only in special circumstances	3
Abortion should not be allowed under any circumstances	4
Don't know	0

C16. Where would you place your view on this scale from 1 to 7?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
We should tax rich people more and redistribute income and wealth to ordinary people				Rich people should keep their own income because their taxes are too high now			Don't know

Using the same scale, if you can, where would you place each political party?

	We should tax rich people more and redistribute income and wealth to ordinary people			Rich people should keep their own income and wealth because their taxes are too high now			Don't know	
National	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Labour	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
NZ First	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Alliance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
ACT	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
United	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Christian Coalition	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0

C17. Now for some opinions about industrial relations. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Strongly, or not strongly?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
The Employment Contracts Act should be repealed	1	2	3	4	5	0
Trade unions in New Zealand have too much power	1	2	3	4	5	0
Trade unions are necessary to protect workers	1	2	3	4	5	0
Big business in New Zealand has too much power	1	2	3	4	5	0
Individual employment contracts are better for workers than collective contracts	1	2	3	4	5	0

C18. Here is a list of four aims for New Zealand over the next ten years to which different people would give different priorities.

1. Maintain order in the nation;
2. Give the people more say in important government decisions;
3. Fight rising prices;
4. Protect freedom of speech.

If you had to choose among these aims, which would be your first and second choices? (Put the NUMBERS by the items you choose in the boxes.)

First choice	Second choice				
C19. Generally do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to:	Definitely should	Should	Shouldn't	Definitely shouldn't	Don't know
Provide a job for everyone who wants one	1	2	3	4	5
Ensure a decent living standard for all old people	1	2	3	4	5
Provide decent living standards for the unemployed	1	2	3	4	5
Provide decent housing for those who can't afford it	1	2	3	4	5
Provide free health care for all	1	2	3	4	5
Provide a free education from pre-school to polytechnic and university levels	1	2	3	4	5
C20. Do you feel things in New Zealand are generally going the right or the wrong way?					
Right way					1
Wrong way					2
Don't know					0

D: Representation and Participation

D1. There are various forms of political action that people take. For each one, have you actually done it, might you do it, or would you never?

	Have done	Might do	Would never do	Don't know
Signing a petition	1	2	3	0
Writing to a newspaper	1	2	3	0
Going on a protest march, so long as it was legal	1	2	3	0
Phoning a talk-back radio programme	1	2	3	0
Occupying buildings, factories, or other property	1	2	3	0
Damaging things, like breaking windows	1	2	3	0
Using personal violence like fighting with other demonstrators or the police	1	2	3	0

D2. Are you a member of any of the following groups or associations?

	Yes	No
Service organisation like Rotary, Lions, etc?	1	0
Group campaigning to protect the environment?	1	0
Sports club?	1	0
Womens' group?	1	0
Other Community group	1	0
Other?	1	0
Please indicate what	1	

D3. Lately there has been a lot of talk about changing Parliament and the way New Zealand is governed. Do you personally think that we should or shouldn't—

In New Zealand should we or shouldn't we—	Definitely		Neither		Definitely	
	yes	Yes	yes nor no	No	no	Don't know
Provide direct state funding of political parties and election campaigns?	1	2	3	4	5	0
Be able to make the government hold a binding referendum?	1	2	3	4	5	0
Give the Maori people more say in all government decisions?	1	2	3	4	5	0
Require that MPs resigning from their party must also resign from Parliament?	1	2	3	4	5	0
Allow MPs more freedom to vote against party policy in Parliament?	1	2	3	4	5	0
Reduce the number of MPs to 80?	1	2	3	4	5	0

D4. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about politicians and the public?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
Most Members of Parliament are out of touch with the rest of the country	1	2	3	4	5	0
I feel I have a pretty good understanding of the issues facing New Zealand	1	2	3	4	5	0
People like me don't have any say about what the government does	1	2	3	4	5	0
The New Zealand government is largely run by a few big interests	1	2	3	4	5	0
You can trust the government to do what is right most of the time	1	2	3	4	5	0
Sometimes politics seems so complicated people like me can't understand what goes on	1	2	3	4	5	0
I don't think politicians and public servants care much about what people like me think	1	2	3	4	5	0
I feel that I could do as good a job in public office as most people	1	2	3	4	5	0
We shouldn't blame the people in politics—it's the system they have to work in	1	2	3	4	5	0

Voters' Victory?

D5. Generally speaking, how important do you think each of the factors listed below **actually** is in influencing the way MPs vote on major new laws?

How important these are in ACTUALLY INFLUENCING an MP's vote—	Extremely	Very	Fairly	Not very	Not at all	Don't know
A. The majority view in their electorate	1	2	3	4	5	0
B. The majority view adopted by their political party conference	1	2	3	4	5	0
C. The view of the government (Cabinet) when their party is in power	1	2	3	4	5	0
D. The majority view of MPs in their party	1	2	3	4	5	0
E. The views of relevant interest groups	1	2	3	4	5	0
F. What they personally think would be best for New Zealand	1	2	3	4	5	0
G. The majority view in the country as a whole	1	2	3	4	5	0
H. Their party's stated positions before election	1	2	3	4	5	0

Which of these do you think actually plays the most important role in an MP's decision?

PUT THE LETTER TO THE LEFT OF YOUR CHOICE IN THE BOX (PUT 'X' IF YOU DON'T KNOW)

D6. How much do you agree or disagree with the opinions expressed in the following statements?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
Most people would try to take advantage of others if they got the chance	1	2	3	4	5	0
A few strong leaders could make this country better than all the laws and talk	1	2	3	4	5	0
Most people who don't get ahead just don't have enough will power	1	2	3	4	5	0

E: Party Preferences and Voting

E1. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as National, Labour, Alliance, New Zealand First, or some other, or don't you usually think of yourself in this way?

Don't usually think of myself in this way 0 (GO TO E2)
 Generally think of myself as:

- Labour 1
- National 2
- Alliance 3
- New Zealand First 5
- Another party (please write in) 6

E1a.: IF YOU CIRCLED A PARTY NUMBER: How strongly Labour, National, Alliance, New Zealand First, or some other, do you feel?

Very strongly 1
 Fairly strongly 2
 Not very strongly 3

E2. Would you describe National as **united** or **divided**? And how about Labour, the Alliance, and New Zealand First?

	United	Not sure	Divided
National	1	2	3
Labour	1	2	3
Alliance	1	2	3
New Zealand First	1	2	3

E3. And would you describe National as **trustworthy** or **not trustworthy**? And how about Labour, the Alliance, and New Zealand First?

	Trustworthy	Not sure	Untrustworthy
National	1	2	3
Labour	1	2	3
Alliance	1	2	3
New Zealand First	1	2	3

E4. With MMP New Zealanders now have two votes, one for a party, and one for a candidate in their electorate. Which do you think is the most important in deciding which party will get the largest number of seats in Parliament?

Party vote most important 1
 Both equally important 2
 Electorate vote most important 3
 Don't know 0

E5. Some people didn't cast a party or an electorate vote in the election. Did you?

Party vote		Electorate Vote	
Did not cast a party vote 1	Did not cast an electorate vote 1		
Did cast a party vote 2	Did cast an electorate vote 2		

E6. Thinking now of the **party vote**, which party did you vote for in the 1996 election ?

Did not vote for a party 0 **GO TO E7**
 Labour 1
 National 2
 New Zealand First 3
 Alliance 4 **GO TO E8**
 ACT 5
 Christian Coalition 6
 United 7
 Another party (please say which) 8

E7. If you didn't manage to cast a **party vote** in the 1996 election, which party would you have voted for if you had been able to?

I CHOSE not to vote for any party 0
 Labour 1
 National 2
 New Zealand First 3
 Alliance 4
 ACT 5
 Christian Coalition 6
 United 7
 Another party (please say which) 8

E8. What about the **electorate vote** in 1996? Which candidate did you vote for ?

Did not vote for a candidate	0
Labour candidate	1
National candidate	2
New Zealand First candidate	3
Alliance candidate	4
Another (please say which)	5

E9. Imagine that the 1996 election had been held under the old first past the post system, and you had only ONE vote for one of the candidates who stood in your electorate. Which party's candidate would you have voted for?

Would not have voted	0
Labour	1
National	2
New Zealand First	3
Alliance	4
Another (please say which)	5

E10. Regardless of the parties they were standing for, how did you feel about the personal qualities of the candidates who stood in your electorate?

The Candidate for—	Strongly liked	Liked	Neither liked nor disliked	Disliked	Strongly disliked	Didn't know
National	1	2	3	4	5	0
Labour	1	2	3	4	5	0
New Zealand First	1	2	3	4	5	0
Alliance	1	2	3	4	5	0
ACT	1	2	3	4	5	0
Christian Coalition	1	2	3	4	5	0
United	1	2	3	4	5	0
Any other	1	2	3	4	5	0

If you had an opinion about one other candidate, please say which party they stood for, or who they were

E11. Did you get a chance to look at the names published on the various party lists before or on election day? If so, for each of these parties, in general what did you think of the personal qualities of the people chosen for the lists?

Rating of party lists	Very Good	Good	Acceptable	Bad	Very Bad	Did not see list
National's	1	2	3	4	5	6
Labour's	1	2	3	4	5	6
The Alliance's	1	2	3	4	5	6
New Zealand First's	1	2	3	4	5	6

E12. Thinking about the 1996 election, how long ago did you decide definitely what party, and what electorate candidate, you would vote for?

	Party Vote	Electorate Vote
A long time ago	1	1
In 1996 but before the election campaign	2	2
During the campaign but before the last week	3	3
In the last week of the campaign before election day	4	4
On election day	5	5
Never did make up my mind	6	6
Don't know	0	0

E13. Was there any time during the 1996 election campaign when you seriously thought you might vote for a different party or not at all?

No	0
Yes, Labour	1
Yes, National	2
Yes, Alliance	3
Yes, New Zealand First	4
Yes, ACT	5
Yes, Christian Coalition	6
Yes, United	7
Yes, thought of not voting	8
Yes, another	9

E14. When you were voting, which party did you expect to come first (winning the most seats in Parliament)? Which parties did you expect to come second and third? (Circle a number in each column)

	First party	Second party	Third party
Labour	1	1	1
National	2	2	2
Alliance	3	3	3
New Zealand First	4	4	4
Didn't know	5	5	5
Another party	6	6	6
(please write in)			

E15. When you were voting, did you expect ACT, the Christian Coalition, and United to win any seats? (Circle a number in each row)

I thought that—	Yes	No	Didn't know
ACT would win a seat or seats	1	2	0
The Christian Coalition would win a seat or seats	1	2	0
United would win a seat or seats	1	2	0

E16. When you were voting, which parties did you EXPECT to be part of the next government?

	Yes	No	Didn't know
Labour	1	2	0
National	1	2	0
New Zealand First	1	2	0
Alliance	1	2	0
ACT	1	2	0
Christian Coalition	1	2	0
United	1	2	0

E17. When you were voting, which parties did you WANT to be part of the next government?

	Yes	No	Didn't know
Labour	1	2	0
National	1	2	0
New Zealand First	1	2	0
Alliance	1	2	0
ACT	1	2	0
Christian Coalition	1	2	0
United	1	2	0

E18. What party did you vote for in the 1993 election?

Can't remember	8
Did not vote because ineligible (too young, etc)	9
Did not vote although eligible	0
Labour	1
National	2
Alliance	3
New Zealand First	4
Christian Heritage	5
Another (please say which)	6

- E19. What party did you vote for in the 1990 election?
- | | |
|--|---|
| Can't remember | 8 |
| Did not vote because ineligible (too young, etc) | 9 |
| Did not vote although eligible. | 0 |
| Labour | 1 |
| National | 2 |
| NewLabour | 3 |
| Social Credit | 4 |
| Democrat | 5 |
| Green | 6 |
| Another (please say which) | 7 |
- E20. Before the 1996 election, was there any particular party you had **always** voted for?
- | | |
|---|---|
| No, I've cast votes for many different parties or candidates | 4 |
| No, I've sometimes cast votes for other parties or candidates | 5 |
| No, I haven't voted at all. | 6 |
| Yes, always for Labour | 1 |
| Yes, always for National | 2 |
| Yes, always for another (please say which) | 3 |
- E21. Did you vote in the electoral referendum held at the 1993 election? If so, for which option—First Past the Post (FPP) or Mixed Member Proportional (MMP)?
- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| Did not vote in referendum | 1 |
| FPP | 2 |
| MMP | 3 |
| Don't know | 0 |
- E21. If there had been a referendum on the electoral system held at the 1996 election, which of the two options would you have voted for?
- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| Would not vote | 1 |
| FPP | 2 |
| MMP | 3 |
| Don't know | 0 |

F: Elections and Electoral Issues

- F1. How much do you agree or disagree with these opinions about what elections should do?
- | An election should | Strongly agree | Agree | Neutral | Disagree | Strongly disagree | Don't know |
|--|----------------|-------|---------|----------|-------------------|------------|
| Keep very small parties out of Parliament | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 0 |
| Give each party a share of the MPs equal to its party vote share | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 0 |
| Ensure that one party forms a government | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 0 |
| Provide a government at least half the people voted for | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 0 |
- F2. Do you think a government formed by one party or more than one party would be better at doing the following things?
- | | One party best | More than one party best | Both the same | Don't know |
|----------------------------|----------------|--------------------------|---------------|------------|
| Providing stability | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Making tough decisions | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Keeping promises | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Doing what the people want | 1 | 2 | 3 | 0 |

F3. Looking at the type of people who are MPs, do you think there should be more MPs who are:

	Yes	No	Depends on candidate	Don't know
Maori	1	2	3	0
Women	1	2	3	0
Pacific Islanders	1	2	3	0
Independent candidates	1	2	3	0

F4. Now a few questions about your local electorate. Before the election, did you know the name of the local MP elected for your electorate in 1993, and his or her party affiliation? (Write in name and party if you recall them, otherwise circle 9.)

Name _____	Don't recall name	9
Party _____	Don't recall party	9

F5. In the twelve months before the election, did you have contact with your local MP or learn anything about him or her through any of the following?

	Yes	No
Meeting the MP personally	1	0
Attending a meeting where the MP spoke	1	0
Receiving something in the mail from the MP	1	0
Reading about the MP in a newspaper or magazine	1	0
Hearing the MP on radio	1	0
Seeing the MP on TV	1	0

F6. Have you or anyone in your family living here ever contacted your local MP or anyone in his or her office?

Yes.....	1	
No.....	2	[GO TO F7]

a. Was it...	Yes	No
...to express an opinion?	1	0
...to seek information?	1	0
...to seek help on a problem you had?	1	0

b. How satisfied were you with the response from the MP's office?	
Very satisfied	1
Somewhat satisfied	2
Not very satisfied	3
Not at all satisfied	4

F7. Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way in which your local MP was handling his or her job over the last three years?

Strongly approve	1
Approve	2
Neither approve nor disapprove	3
Disapprove	4
Strongly disapprove	5
Don't know	0

Voters' Victory?

F8. Now, please indicate whether you agree or disagree with these statements.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
My vote is wasted if I cast it for a party which is bound to lose	1	2	3	4	5	0
It is a citizen's duty to vote	1	2	3	4	5	0
Voting is important even if it makes no difference to who wins	1	2	3	4	5	0
It is no use voting if you know who is going to win	1	2	3	4	5	0
My party vote really counts in elections	1	2	3	4	5	0
It isn't so important to vote when you know your party doesn't have any chance to win	1	2	3	4	5	0

F9. ONE represents the opinion that parties ought to make specific promises and keep all those promises when they are in government, and SEVEN represents the opinion that parties shouldn't bother to make any specific promises at all about what they would do in government. Where would you place your view?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
Parties ought to make and keep promises			make promises at all			Parties shouldn't know	Don't

F10. Here are some opinions about voting and reasons for voting. Tell us which ones were closest to your own reasons for voting at the 1996 election by agreeing or disagreeing with each statement.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
Choosing the party to provide the best government for New Zealand	1	2	3	4	5	0
Showing loyalty to my party	1	2	3	4	5	0
Helping my favourite party to find a coalition partner	1	2	3	4	5	0
Showing the government I do not like what it did	1	2	3	4	5	0
Trying to establish a stable government	1	2	3	4	5	0

F11. Where would you place your view on this scale from 1 to 5, where ONE means that you understand how MMP works, and where FIVE means that you do not understand it?

1	2	3	4	5
I understand how MMP works		I don't understand how		MMP works

F12. Now, here is a quick quiz on New Zealand government.. For each of the following statements, please say whether it is true or false. If you don't know the answer, just circle under 'don't know' and try the next one.

	True	False	Don't know
Clive Matthewson is leader of the United Party	1	2	3
There are 99 members of Parliament	1	2	3
Cabinet Ministers must be MPs	1	2	3
The New Zealand Parliament has never had an Upper House	1	2	3

G: Education and Work

Now we need to ask some questions about yourself, and your background. Please remember that the information you provide is **strictly confidential**, and won't be reported in any form which identifies you personally.

- G1. Have you completed your formal education? Yes..... 1 No..... 2
- G2. If yes, how old were you when you completed your formal education?
years
- G3. Which one of the following indicates your highest formal educational qualification?
- Incomplete primary education/no formal education 1
 - Primary School completed 2
 - Secondary education without university entrance qualification 3
 - Complete Secondary education (university entrance qualification) 4
 - Non-degree professional, trade or technical tertiary qualification 5
 - Incomplete University education 6
 - University Degree 7
- G4. What is your marital status?
- Married or living as married 1
 - Widowed 2
 - Divorced or separated 3
 - Single, never married 4
- G5. Do you belong to a trade union? And what about your spouse or partner, if you have one, or anyone else in your household?
- | | Yourself | Your spouse/
partner | Anyone else
in household |
|------------------------------------|----------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Yes, I/they do belong to a union | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| No, I/they don't belong to a union | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Don't know | 0 | 0 | 0 |
- G6. Does your spouse/partner (if you have one) have a preference for a political party?
- No spouse or partner/spouse or partner has no preference 0
 - Yes, Labour 1
 - Yes, National 2
 - Yes, Alliance 3
 - Yes, New Zealand First 4
 - Yes, another (please write in) _____ 5
 - Don't know 6

Voters' Victory?

G7. Now for some questions about the work you are **now** doing. Which of the following best describes your **present position**, and that of your spouse or partner, if you have one? (You can circle up to two of these categories in each column.)

	Yourself	Your spouse or partner
Working full-time for pay (32 or more hours a week)	1	1
Working part-time for pay (15–32 hours a week)	2	2
Working part-time for pay (less than 15 hours a week)	3	3
Unemployed, laid off, looking for work	4	4
Retired	5	5
Temporarily disabled, unable to work	6	6
Permanently disabled, unable to work	7	7
At school, university, or other educational institution	8	8
Helping family member in unpaid work	9	9
Other unpaid work	10	10
Keeping house	11	11

G8. Who do you **now work for**, or **did you work for** in your **last job in paid employment**? And what about your spouse or partner, if you have one?

	Yourself	Your spouse or partner
A private company or business	1	1
Central or local government	2	2
RHA, CRI, Public Educational/Research Institution	3	3
State owned enterprise, other public agency	4	4
Mixed public/private	5	5
Non-profit/community organisation	6	6
Or are/were you self-employed?	7	7
Never ever in paid employment	8	8
Don't know	0	0

G9. In your present or last paid job **do you/did you directly employ or supervise** anyone responsible to you? And what about your spouse or partner if you have one?

	Yourself	Your spouse or partner
Yes, employed/supervised	1	1
No, did not employ supervise	2	2

G10. What kind of **paid work do you do**, or **did you do in your last paid job**? Please indicate the name of your occupation, and the industry, profession, or business involved, and any other important details. **Remember, if you are retired or otherwise not working for pay now, please describe your last regular paid job.** And what about your spouse or partner's present or last regular job?

Your job/ occupation name	Your spouse/partner's occupation name
Industry or business	Your partner's industry or business

H: Personal Background

H1. Are you: Male? 1
 Female? 2

H2: In what year were you born? 19

H3. In what country were you born?
 New Zealand 1
 Another country 2
 Please write in which one

H4. In what city, town, or community do you live?

H5. How many years have you lived in your district, town, or neighbourhood? years

H6. When you were about 14 years old, what work did your father and mother do?

Your father

Your mother

H7. Who did your father work for? And what about your mother?

	Your father	Your mother
Not in paid employment	0	0
A private company or business	1	1
Central or local government	2	2
Area Health Board, Public Educational Institution	3	3
State owned enterprise, other public agency	4	4
Mixed public/private	5	5
Non-profit/community organisation	6	6
Or was he/she self-employed?	7	7
Don't know	9	9

H8. Did your father have any particular preference for one of the political parties when you were young, say about 14 years old? And how about your mother?

	Your father	Your mother
Can't remember/don't know	5	5
No, no preference	0	0
Yes, National	1	1
Yes, Labour	2	2
Yes, another	3	3
Please write in which one(s)		

H9. Do you:

Own your house or flat mortgage free	1
Own your house or flat with a mortgage.	2
Rent your house privately as a family	3
Rent a state house/flat or one owned by a local authority	4
Board or live in a hotel or rest home	5
Rent your house with a group of individuals	6
Live with your parents	7

H10. Do you identify yourself mainly as:

A New Zealand European?	1
A Pakeha?	2
A New Zealand Maori?	3
As someone from a particular Pacific Island	4
Or with some other ethnic group?	5
Please write in which one	

H11. Have you any New Zealand Maori ancestry?

Yes..... 1 No. 2 Don't know.....0

H12. If you speak another language than English at home, please indicate which.

The language is—

H13. What is your religion, if you have one?

No religion	0
Anglican	1
Presbyterian.	2
Catholic	3
Methodist	4
Baptist	5
Independent-Fundamentalist Church	6
Other Christian (please specify)	7
Non-Christian (please specify)	8

Please write in if necessary

Voters' Victory?

H14. Apart from weddings, funerals, and baptisms, about how often if at all do you attend religious services these days?

- Never 1
- Once a year 2
- 2-11 times a year 3
- Once a month..... 4
- 2-3 times a month 5
- Once a week 6

H15. Please indicate how many adults and how many children live in your household.

Adults Children

H16. Some people see themselves as middle class, and others as working class, and others as belonging to some other kind of class, while some don't see themselves as belonging to a class at all. Do you see yourself as:

- Working class 1
- Middle class..... 2
- Belong to no class 3
- Object to the question 4
- Don't know 0

H17. Do you or anyone in your household receive any one or more of the following benefits?

	Yes	No
New Zealand Superannuation	1	0
Family support	1	0
Unemployment benefit	1	0
Sickness or invalid's benefit	1	0
Domestic Purposes Benefit	1	0
Youth or Student Allowance	1	0
Other (war, widow's, disability etc)	1	0

H18. What was your personal income before tax between 1 April 1995 and 31 March 1996? And what was the personal income of your spouse or partner, if you have one? And what about the total income before tax of all members of your household?

	Yourself	Your partner	Whole household
Don't know	9	9	9
No income	0	0	0
\$5,000 or less	1	1	1
\$5,001-\$13,300	2	2	2
\$13,301-\$18,799	3	3	3
\$18,800-\$28,799	4	4	4
\$28,800-\$44,199	5	5	5
\$44,200-\$67,399	6	6	6
\$67,400-\$87,099	7	7	7
Over \$87,100	8	8	8

H19. At your level of personal income, do you think you should pay more tax, or less tax, or about the same as you do now?

- More tax.....1
- Less tax.....2
- Same as now...3
- Don't know 0

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.

CAMPAIGN QUESTIONNAIRE

If you were voting in a general election held today, what political issue would be most important to you personally when making your decision?

Which political party do you feel is closest to you on that issue?

- 1 Alliance
- 2 Labour
- 3 National
- 4 New Zealand First
- 5 ACT
- 6 Christian Coalition
- 7 Conservative
- 8 Progressive Green
- 9 McGillicuddy Serious
- 10 United

Did you see the debate among the party leaders on TV One?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

In your opinion, which leader performed the BEST in that debate?

- 1 Jim Bolger
- 2 Winston Peters
- 3 Jim Anderton
- 4 Helen Clark
- 77 None

And which leader performed the WORST?

- 1 Jim Bolger
- 2 Winston Peters
- 3 Jim Anderton
- 4 Helen Clark
- 77 None

Of all the politicians in New Zealand, who would you least like to be Prime Minister?

- 1 Jim Bolger
- 2 Helen Clark
- 3 Mike Moore
- 4 Winston Peters
- 5 Jim Anderton
- 6 Doug Graham
- 7 Richard Prebble
- 8 Sandra Lee
- 9 Michael Cullen
- 10 David Lange
- 88 Don't know
- 77 None

Of all the politicians in New Zealand, who would you most like to be Prime Minister?

- 1 Jim Bolger
- 2 Helen Clark
- 3 Mike Moore
- 4 Winston Peters
- 5 Jim Anderton
- 6 Doug Graham
- 7 Richard Prebble
- 8 Sandra Lee
- 9 Michael Cullen
- 10 David Lange
- 88 Don't know
- 77 None
- 11 Other

Voters' Victory?

How do you think the general economic situation in New Zealand compares with what it was a year ago? Is it the same, better, or worse? (IF BETTER OR WORSE: A lot or a little?)

- 1 A lot better
- 2 A little better
- 3 The same
- 4 A little worse
- 5 A lot worse
- 88 Don't know

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

- 1 Alliance
- 2 Labour
- 3 National
- 4 New Zealand First
- 5 ACT
- 6 Christian Coalition
- 7 Conservative
- 8 McGillicuddy Serious
- 9 United
- 88 Don't know/Don't care
- 10 Other

How strongly do you feel about that party? Very strongly, fairly strongly, or not very strongly?

- 1 Very strong
- 2 Fairly strong
- 3 Not very strong

At the coming election under MMP you will have two votes: one for a party, and one for a candidate in your electorate. Which vote do you think will be the most important in deciding which party will get the largest number of seats in Parliament?

- 1 Party vote most important
- 2 Equally important
- 3 Or candidate vote most important
- 88 Don't know/Don't care

Taking the party vote first, if an election were held today, which party would you vote for?

- 1 Alliance
- 2 Labour
- 3 National
- 4 New Zealand First
- 5 ACT
- 6 Christian Coalition
- 7 Conservative
- 8 Progressive Green
- 9 McGillicuddy Serious
- 10 United
- 88 Don't know/Don't care
- 77 Would not vote
- 11 Other

(IF Don't know) Which party would you be most likely to vote for?

- 1 Alliance
- 2 Labour
- 3 National
- 4 New Zealand First
- 5 ACT
- 6 Christian Coalition
- 7 Conservative
- 8 Progressive Green
- 9 McGillicuddy Serious
- 10 United
- 88 Don't know/Don't care
- 77 Would not vote
- 11 Other

Now turning to your electorate vote, if an election were held today, which party's candidate would get your electorate vote?

- 1 Alliance
- 2 Labour
- 3 National
- 4 New Zealand First
- 5 ACT
- 6 Christian Coalition
- 7 Conservative
- 8 Progressive Green
- 9 McGillicuddy Serious
- 10 United
- 88 Don't know/Don't care
- 77 Would not vote
- 11 Other

Which party's candidate would you be most likely to vote for?

- 1 Alliance
- 2 Labour
- 3 National
- 4 New Zealand First
- 5 ACT
- 6 Christian Coalition
- 7 Conservative
- 8 Progressive Green
- 9 McGillicuddy Serious
- 10 United
- 88 Don't know/Don't care
- 77 Would not vote
- 11 Other

Which party did you vote for in the 1993 election?

- 1 Alliance
- 2 Labour
- 3 National
- 4 New Zealand First
- 5 Christian Heritage
- 88 Don't remember
- 77 Ineligible
- 66 Out of the country
- 55 Did not vote
- 6 McGillicuddy Serious
- 7 Other

Under MMP the party with the most seats may not be able to govern alone. If the party you support needs another party to govern, which other party would you most prefer?

- 1 Alliance
- 2 Labour
- 3 National
- 4 New Zealand First
- 5 ACT
- 6 Christian Coalition
- 7 Conservative
- 8 McGillicuddy Serious
- 9 United
- 88 Don't know/Don't care
- 99 Refused (No Response)
- 77 No other party
- 10 Other

What other party, if any, would you prefer to support your party in government?

- 1 Alliance
- 2 Labour
- 3 National
- 4 New Zealand First
- 5 ACT
- 6 Christian Coalition
- 7 Conservative
- 8 McGillicuddy Serious
- 9 United
- 88 Don't know/Don't care
- 77 No other party
- 10 Other

What party or parties would you NOT want to see in coalition with your favourite party? [This was a multiple-response question.]

- 1 Alliance
- 2 Labour
- 3 National
- 4 New Zealand First
- 5 ACT
- 6 Christian Coalition
- 7 Conservative
- 8 McGillicuddy Serious
- 9 United
- 88 Don't know/Don't care
- 99 Refused (No Response)
- 77 No other party
- 10 Other

Now we'd like to ask you what you EXPECT to happen at the coming election. There will probably be 120 members and seats in the new Parliament, which means that to become a government on its own, a party has to elect over 60.

We need just a rough estimate. You don't have to add up your estimates to 120

How many seats out of 120, roughly, do you expect the Alliance to get in Parliament?

If Don't know—repeat: We need just a rough estimate. If necessary: You don't have to add up your estimates to 120

How many seats out of 120, roughly, do you expect National to get in Parliament?

How many seats out of 120, roughly, do you expect NZ First to get in Parliament?

How many seats out of 120, roughly, do you expect Labour to get in Parliament?

Do you expect any other parties to get seats? What about ACT?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 88 Don't know/Don't care

What about the Christian Coalition?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 88 Don't know/Don't care

What about United?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 88 Don't know/Don't care

Do you expect any other party to get seats? [This was a multiple response question]

- 1 Conservative
- 2 McGillicuddy Serious
- 3 Progressive Green
- 4 Green Society
- 5 Aotearoa Legalise Cannabis
- 6 Ethnic Minority Party
- 88 Don't know/Don't care
- 8 NO
- 7 Other

What party or parties do you expect to form the government after the election?

- 1 Alliance
- 2 Labour
- 3 National
- 4 New Zealand First
- 5 ACT
- 6 Christian Coalition
- 7 Conservative
- 8 McGillicuddy Serious
- 9 United
- 88 Don't know/Don't care
- 10 Other

When thinking about how you might vote, how much attention do you pay to the opinion polls? A lot, some or none at all?

- 1 A lot
- 2 Some
- 3 None at all
- 99 Refused (No Response)

Now we need some demographic statistics. We keep this information strictly confidential.

You are obviously a

- 1 Male
- 2 Female

In what year were you born?

How many people of voting age live in your household?

And finally, the producer of the Marai Programme on Channel One wants to report on the opinion of voters. Could you please tell me if you are of Maori descent?

- 4 No
- 5 Yes

Are you on the Maori Roll or the general roll?

- 1 Maori Roll
- 2 General Roll
- 88 Don't know/Don't care