

## **New Zealand Election Study 2017**

### **CONFIDENTIAL**

### **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
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	(2)	(3)

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.

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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.

Are you:	Very interested	Somewhat interested	Not very interested	Not at all interested
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)

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?

0	1	2	3	4	5	Don't know
<input type="checkbox"/>						
(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(9)

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

No	At work	At home	On a mobile device	Anywhere else
<input type="checkbox"/>				

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

Do not have internet access	Have access but did not use it	Yes, once or twice	Yes, on several occasions	Yes, many times
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

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.)  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b) A candidate's or MP's site   | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c) The Parliament website   | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d) The Electoral Commission website ( <a href="http://www.elections.org.nz">http://www.elections.org.nz</a> )   | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e) Facebook, Instagram, YouTube or similar  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f) A political blog site  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| g) Vote Compass   | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| h) <a href="http://ivote.org.nz">ivote.org.nz</a> , <a href="http://isidewith.com">isidewith.com</a> , <a href="http://onthefence.co.nz">onthefence.co.nz</a> , or <a href="http://policy.thespinoff.co.nz">policy.thespinoff.co.nz</a> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

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.*

	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Not at all
a) TV One	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) TV3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Newspapers (including online)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) RNZ National	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Talkback Radio (ZB or Radio Live)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Māori TV	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Sky or Prime	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, or other online social media	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) Community media for your language, ethnic, or national origin group	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)

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:	In person, at your house, or on the street	By letter or pamphlet	By telephone to your landline or mobile	By email	By text message	Via Facebook or another social network
a) Labour	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) National	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Green	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) NZ First	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) ACT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Māori Party	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Mana Party	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) The Opportunities Party (TOP)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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.*

	Yes	No	Don't know/ Can't remember
a) Contribute money to a party or candidate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Put up a party or candidate poster or sign	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Watch an election debate on TV	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Go to a political meeting in a hall or on a street corner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Talk to anyone about how they would vote	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	(1)	(2)	(9)







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.*

None of them	Bill English	Jacinda Ardern	James Shaw	Winston Peters	Another leader*	Don't know
<input type="checkbox"/>						
(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(9)

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.*

	Left				Centre						Right	Don't know
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	(99)
a) Labour	<input type="checkbox"/>											
b) National	<input type="checkbox"/>											
c) Green	<input type="checkbox"/>											
d) NZ First	<input type="checkbox"/>											
e) ACT	<input type="checkbox"/>											
f) Māori Party	<input type="checkbox"/>											
g) Mana Party	<input type="checkbox"/>											
h) The Opportunities Party (TOP)	<input type="checkbox"/>											

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

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

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?

Political parties are necessary to make our political system work	Political parties are not needed in New Zealand				Don't know
1	2	3	4	5	(9)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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

	Very well	Fairly well	Not very well	Not at all well	Don't know
<b>A competent leader</b>					
Bill English	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Jacinda Ardern	<input type="checkbox"/>				
<b>A trustworthy leader</b>					
Bill English	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Jacinda Ardern	<input type="checkbox"/>				
	(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.*

No	Labour	National	Green	NZ First	ACT	Māori Party	Mana Party	Another party*
<input type="checkbox"/>								
(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(10)

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?**

No	Labour	National	Green	NZ First	ACT	Māori Party	Mana Party	Another party*
<input type="checkbox"/>								
(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(10)

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?**

Very close	Somewhat close	Not very close	Don't know
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(9)

## 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:**

A very good job	A fairly good job	A fairly bad job	A very bad job	Don't know
<input type="checkbox"/>				
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(9)

**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?**

No party	Labour	National	Green	NZ First	ACT	Māori Party	Mana Party	Another party*	Don't know
<input type="checkbox"/>									
(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(10)	(99)

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.*



### C9. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

*Please tick one box in each row.*

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
a) The government should take measures to reduce differences in income levels	<input type="checkbox"/>					
b) Trade unions in New Zealand have too much power	<input type="checkbox"/>					
c) Unemployed people should have to work for their benefits	<input type="checkbox"/>					
d) Abortion is always wrong	<input type="checkbox"/>					
e) Differences in income in New Zealand are too large	<input type="checkbox"/>					
f) Many people who get welfare benefits don't really deserve any help	<input type="checkbox"/>					
g) With lower welfare benefits people would learn to stand on their own two feet	<input type="checkbox"/>					
h) The government should remove tax breaks currently available to property investors	<input type="checkbox"/>					
i) Between 2020 and 2033, the age of eligibility for New Zealand Superannuation should be gradually raised to 67	<input type="checkbox"/>					
j) Privatisation of state-owned enterprises has gone too far	<input type="checkbox"/>					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(9)

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

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
a) Trade unions are necessary to protect workers	<input type="checkbox"/>					
b) Reference to the Treaty of Waitangi should be removed from the law	<input type="checkbox"/>					
c) Māori should have more say in all government decisions	<input type="checkbox"/>					
d) Big business in New Zealand has too much power	<input type="checkbox"/>					
e) The death penalty should be brought back for some murders	<input type="checkbox"/>					
f) Society would be better off if women stayed home with their children	<input type="checkbox"/>					
g) The law should be strengthened to reduce pay differences between women and men	<input type="checkbox"/>					
h) The government should reduce its debt as fast as it can, even if it means less money for public services	<input type="checkbox"/>					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(9)

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

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
a) New Zealand should continue to pursue the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPPA)	<input type="checkbox"/>					
b) To act against climate change, stronger government policies are needed to reduce carbon emissions	<input type="checkbox"/>					
c) There should be a royalty on the commercial use of water	<input type="checkbox"/>					
d) Higher standards should be required and enforced for rental residential properties	<input type="checkbox"/>					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(9)

C12. Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into New Zealand nowadays should be:

Increased a lot	Increased a little	About the same as now	Reduced a little	Reduced a lot	Don't know
<input type="checkbox"/>					
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(9)

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

Major differences between the parties	Minor differences between the parties	No differences at all	Don't know
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(9)

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.*

	Definitely should	Should	Should not	Definitely should not	Don't know
a) A job for everyone who wants one	<input type="checkbox"/>				
b) Decent living standards for all old people	<input type="checkbox"/>				
c) Decent living standards for the unemployed	<input type="checkbox"/>				
d) Decent living standards for all children	<input type="checkbox"/>				
e) Decent housing for those who can't afford it	<input type="checkbox"/>				
f) Free health care for everyone	<input type="checkbox"/>				
g) Free education from preschool through to tertiary and university levels	<input type="checkbox"/>				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(9)

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:

A great deal of room to make decisions	Quite a lot of room to make decisions	Not very much room to make decisions	Hardly any room to make decisions	Don't know
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(9)

## 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?

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

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?

Cast a vote	Chose not to vote	Didn't manage to vote
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(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?

Labour	National	Green	NZ First	ACT	Māori Party	Mana Party	The Opportunities Party (TOP)	Another party*	Don't know
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>							
(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.*

Labour	National	Green	NZ First	ACT	Māori Party	Mana Party	The Opportunities Party (TOP)	Another party*	Don't know
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>							
(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	<input type="checkbox"/>	(1)
Ordinary vote BEFORE election day	<input type="checkbox"/>	(2)
Special vote (in New Zealand or overseas) BEFORE election day	<input type="checkbox"/>	(3)
Special vote ON election day	<input type="checkbox"/>	(4)
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	(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.*

	A long time ago	In 2017, but before the election campaign	During the campaign, but before the last week	In the last week before election day	On election day	I never made up my mind	Don't know
a) Party Vote	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Electorate Vote	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(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.*

Labour	National	Neither	Don't know
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(9)

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

Labour	National	Green	NZ First	ACT	Māori Party	Mana Party	The Opportunities Party (TOP)	Another party*	Don't know
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>							
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(10)	(99)

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.*

No	Labour	National	Green	NZ First	ACT	Māori Party	Mana Party	The Opportunities Party (TOP)	Another party*	Don't know
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>								

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.*

No	Labour	National	Green	NZ First	ACT	Māori Party	Mana Party	The Opportunities Party (TOP)	Another party*	Don't know
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>								

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.*

None	Labour	National	Green	NZ First	ACT	Māori Party	Mana Party	The Opportunities Party (TOP)	Another party*	Don't know
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>								
(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(10)	(99)

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?**

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
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(99)

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
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(99)

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
<input type="checkbox"/>								

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

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

## 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
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(9)

**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.**

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

**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
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(9)

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.*

	Have done, within the last five years	Have not done within the last five years, but considered doing so	Have not done within the last five years, and did not consider doing so	Don't know
a) Signed a petition (hard copy, not online)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Made a select committee submission	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Made a submission to a Royal Commission (oral or written)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Taken part in consultation with central or local government	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Written to a newspaper	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Gone on a protest, march, demonstration, or hiko	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Phoned a talkback radio show	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) Bought or not bought something for political or ethical reasons	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) Used Facebook, Twitter, or other social media sites to promote an issue (including an online petition)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j) Been in contact with a politician or government official in person, in writing, or another way	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(9)

**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?

About 20%	About 25%	About 30%	About 35%	About 40%	More than 40%	Don't know
<input type="checkbox"/>						
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(9)

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

New Zealand	Australia	Don't know
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	(2)	(9)

**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.*

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

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.*

	Can always be justified						Can never be justified				Don't know (99)	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
a) Avoiding a fare on public transport	<input type="checkbox"/>											
b) Paying someone in cash knowing they will avoid tax	<input type="checkbox"/>											
c) Claiming welfare benefits to which you are not entitled	<input type="checkbox"/>											
d) Claiming expenses to which you are not entitled in your job or work	<input type="checkbox"/>											
e) Accepting a bribe in your job or work	<input type="checkbox"/>											
f) Evading tax by not declaring all your income	<input type="checkbox"/>											
g) Smacking your child	<input type="checkbox"/>											

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.*

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

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.*

More likely to vote	Made no difference	Less likely to vote	Don't know
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(9)

E15. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?  
*Please tick one box in each row.*

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
a) Most people would try to take advantage of others if they got the chance	<input type="checkbox"/>					
b) A few strong leaders could make this country better than all the laws and talk	<input type="checkbox"/>					
c) What young people need most of all is strict discipline by their parents	<input type="checkbox"/>					
d) It is a citizen's duty to vote	<input type="checkbox"/>					
e) Democracy may have problems but it's better than any other form of government	<input type="checkbox"/>					
f) Most Members of Parliament are out of touch with the rest of the country	<input type="checkbox"/>					
g) People like me don't have any say about what the government does	<input type="checkbox"/>					
h) The New Zealand government is largely run by a few big interests	<input type="checkbox"/>					
i) My vote really counts in elections	<input type="checkbox"/>					
j) I don't think politicians and public servants care much about what people like me think	<input type="checkbox"/>					
k) On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do	<input type="checkbox"/>					
l) I feel most comfortable with people who have a similar level of education to mine	<input type="checkbox"/>					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(9)

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?

Should say or signal	Should not say or signal	Don't know
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	(2)	(9)

## 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
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(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  | <input type="checkbox"/> | (0) |
| NZ School Certificate in one or more subjects or National Certificate level 1     | <input type="checkbox"/> | (1) |
| NZ Sixth Form Certificate in one or more subjects or National Certificate level 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> | (2) |
| NZ UE before 1986 in one or more subjects   | <input type="checkbox"/> | (3) |
| NZ Higher School Certificate or Higher Leaving Certificate                        | <input type="checkbox"/> | (4) |
| University Entrance Qualification from NZ University Bursary                      | <input type="checkbox"/> | (5) |
| NZ A or B Bursary, Scholarship, or National Certificate level 3                   | <input type="checkbox"/> | (6) |
| Another secondary school qualification gained in New Zealand                      | <input type="checkbox"/> | (7) |
| Another secondary school qualification gained overseas                            | <input type="checkbox"/> | (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
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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	Māori
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	(2)

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

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

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.*

New Zealand  
  
(1)

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?

Yes, both	Yes, one	No	Don't know
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(9)

F11. Are you a New Zealand citizen?

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

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.*

	No, they had no preference	Yes, National	Yes, Labour	Yes, another* (in NZ or overseas)	Don't know/ Can't recall	*Please write in other party
a) Father	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
b) Mother	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
	(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(9)	

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.*

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
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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?

Very easy	Somewhat easy	Somewhat difficult	Very difficult	Don't know
<input type="checkbox"/>				
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(9)

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<br>self-employed | A private company<br>or business | A State or Public agency<br>or enterprise, central or local | A mixed public/private,<br>or non-profit organisation | I have never been<br>in paid employment | Don't know               |
| <input type="checkbox"/>  | <input type="checkbox"/>         | <input type="checkbox"/>                                    | <input type="checkbox"/>                              | <input type="checkbox"/>                | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (1)                       | (2)                              | (3)   | (4)   | (5)                                     | (9)                      |

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  (0)
- Christian  (1)
- Buddhist  (2)
- Hindu  (3)
- Muslim  (4)
- Jewish  (5)
- Other religion\*  (6)

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

- Anglican  (1)
- Catholic  (2)
- Presbyterian  (3)
- Methodist  (4)
- Rātana  (5)
- Ringatū  (6)
- Other denomination\*  (7)

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     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (0)                      | (1)                      | (2)                      | (3)                      | (4)                      | (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
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)

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

I see myself as someone who ...	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
... is reserved	<input type="checkbox"/>				
... is generally trusting	<input type="checkbox"/>				
... tends to be lazy	<input type="checkbox"/>				
... is relaxed, handles stress well	<input type="checkbox"/>				
... has few artistic interests	<input type="checkbox"/>				
... is outgoing, sociable	<input type="checkbox"/>				
... tends to find fault with others	<input type="checkbox"/>				
... does a thorough job	<input type="checkbox"/>				
... gets nervous easily	<input type="checkbox"/>				
... has an active imagination	<input type="checkbox"/>				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

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

	I belong, but no one else in the household does	I belong, plus another in the household	Another person belongs, but not me	No, no one belongs	Don't know
a) Trade union	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Business New Zealand and/or Chambers of Commerce	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Federated Farmers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) An association based on your language, ethnicity or national origin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(9)

### 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.*

New Zealand European	New Zealand Māori	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

### 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.*

New Zealand European	New Zealand Māori	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(1)	(2)	

F23. If you identify as Māori, are you registered with your iwi organisation?

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

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.*

No, none	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
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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

	Yes	No	Don't know
a) A residence: your own home, house, or apartment	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) An investment, holiday or rental house or apartment	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) A business, a farm, or livestock	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Stocks, shares, or bonds	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Any savings	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) A Kiwisaver account or other pension you contribute towards	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	(1)	(2)	(9)

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 –\$136,599	\$136,600 –\$180,199	\$180,200 or over	Don't know
<input type="checkbox"/>									
(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)

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
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)

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
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)

**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
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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
<input type="checkbox"/>				
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(9)

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
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(9)

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!**