

Horizon Research: Labour leadership preferences

December 8, 2011

1. METHODOLOGY AND BACKGROUND

Horizon Research surveyed 1356 respondents nationwide between 10am December 5 and 4.30am December 8, 2011, on Labour leadership preferences.

Respondents are members of the HorizonPoll online panel, recruited to match the New Zealand population aged 18+.

The survey is weighted by age, gender, ethnicity, personal income, educational qualification, employment status and party vote to provide a representative sample of the New Zealand population. At a confidence level of 95%, the maximum margin of error is +/- 2.7%.

The Labour Party caucus will elect a new leader and deputy leader on December 13.

There are two publicly announced candidates for each of the leader and deputy leader positions.

Respondents were presented with the names of 13 Labour Members of Parliament and asked for their preferences for Leader and Deputy Leader. Respondents were also asked how each of the MPs best and least represented the sort of things the respondent believed in. They were also asked what qualities each MP had including whether or not they were inspiring, knowledgeable, moral, a strong leader, trustworthy and honest.

2. PREFERENCES FOR LEADER

David Shearer has twice as much public support to be Labour leader than David Cunliffe.

35.4% of adult New Zealanders would prefer Shearer as Labour leader, 16.9% Cunliffe.

Shearer is also seen to better represent the sort of things respondents believe in and to have an edge in several leadership qualities.

Shearer is seen by 42.4% to best represent the sort of things people believe in, Cunliffe 28.3%.

Shearer is seen as inspiring by nearly twice as many people as Cunliffe (21.9% to 11.4%).

They are nearly even in terms of being seen as strong leaders: Shearer 27.6%, Cunliffe 26%.

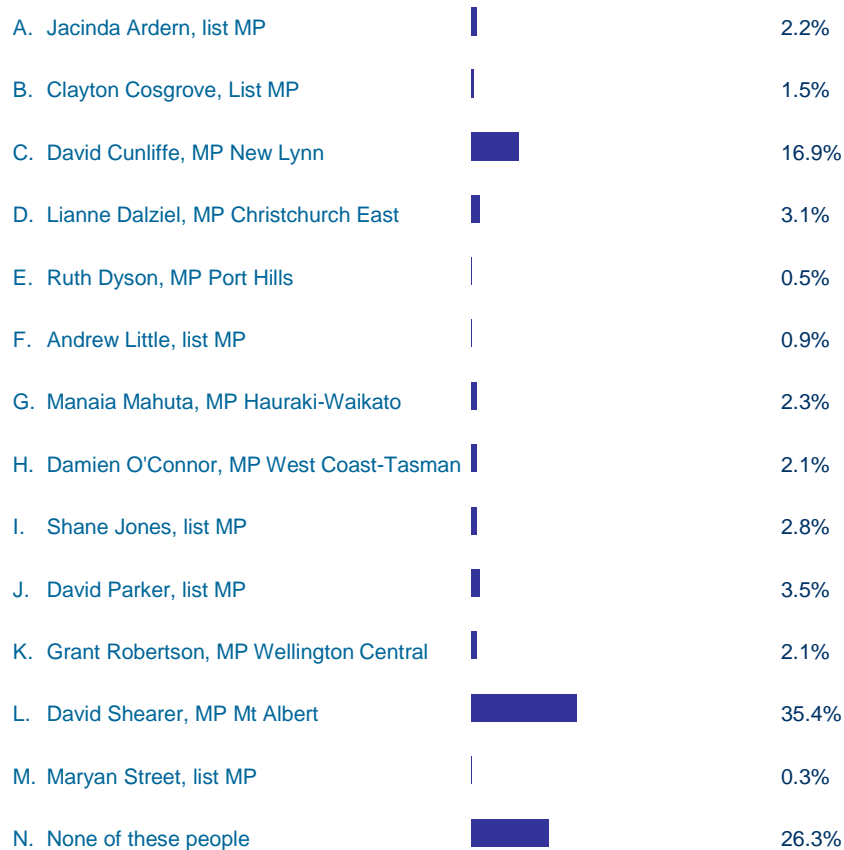
Shearer is seen as more trustworthy, honest and moral. Cunliffe is seen as more knowledgeable (37.1% to 32.8%).

26.3% would prefer none of the 13 MPs listed as leader.

Results for Leader selection:

If you were voting for the leader and deputy leader of the Labour party, which of these people would you select?

Please select just one leader and one deputy leader



Age

Shearer has stronger support than Cunliffe across all age groups.

Shearer's appeal to middle New Zealand by age is twice as strong as Cunliffe's.

He is well ahead among younger to middle-aged New Zealanders and his support rises further among those aged 55-74.

Among 55-64 year-olds Shearer has 40.9% support, Cunliffe 24%.

Among 64-74 year-olds Shearer has 55% support, Cunliffe 19%.

	Cunliffe	Shearer
ALL	16.90%	35.40%
18-24 years	16.40%	38%
25-34 years	12%	23.80%
35-44 years	13.60%	31.20%
45-54 years	16.50%	29.60%
55-64 years	23.60%	40.90%
65-74 years	18.20%	55.50%
Under 18 years		8.60%
75 years or over	31.20%	42.30%

Household income

Shearer leads Cunliffe across all households by income.

Middle income households have income of about \$79,159 a year, according to Statistics NZ.

Among households with incomes between \$50,001 and \$70,000 Shearer has 32.2% support, Cunliffe 14%.

Among households with incomes between \$70,001 and \$100,000, Shearer has 30.1% support, Cunliffe 19%.

Personal Income

Shearer has broader appeal than Cunliffe across all personal income groups.

Shearer's support is strong among lower income groups, but also extends into middle income groups, earning between \$30,001 and \$50,000 and \$50,001 and \$70,000, where Labour has not been able to attract more support than National before and during the 2011 election campaign.

	Cunliffe	Shearer
ALL	16.90%	35.40%
PERSONAL INCOME		
Between \$20,001 and \$30,000 per year	18.60%	46.90%
Between \$30,001 and \$50,000 per year	16.10%	27.30%
Between \$50,001 and \$70,000 per year	12.30%	31.70%
Between \$70,001 and \$100,000 per year	22.40%	46.70%
Don't know/ prefer not to say	14.90%	27.60%
Less than \$20,000 per year	18%	34.70%
Between \$100,001 and \$150,000 per year	13%	51.40%
Between \$150,001 and \$200,000 per year		69.80%
More than \$200,000 per year		100%

Occupation

Shearer has stronger appeal to business.

By occupation, Shearer has stronger appeal to business managers and executives (42.6%), Business Proprietors and Self Employed (45%), and Professionals and Senior Government officials (48.7%), the retired (48.7%), Farmers (49.9%).

Among technical, mechanical and skilled workers Shearer has 23% support, Cunliffe 15.2%

Cunliffe has slim leads over Shearer among teachers/nurses/police and other trained service workers (25.4% to 23.5%) and Labourers/Agricultural or Domestic Workers (23.2 to 15.6%).

	Cunliffe	Shearer
ALL	16.90%	35.40%
Business Manager/Executive	19.30%	42.60%
Clerical/Sales Employee	13.60%	34.40%
Professional/Senior Government Official	10.80%	48.70%
Retired/Superannuitant	26.60%	48.70%
Student	12.70%	39.90%
Teacher/Nurse/Police or other trained service worker	25.40%	23.50%
Technical/mechanical/Skilled Worker	15.20%	23%
Unemployed/Beneficiary	16.80%	14.20%
Don't know/prefer not to say	18.50%	34.50%
Home-maker (not otherwise employed)	17.10%	37%

Labourer/Agricultural or Domestic Worker	23.20%	15.60%
Business Proprietor/Self-employed	14.30%	46.10%
Farm Owner/manager		49.80%

Ethnicity

Shearer leads across nearly all main ethnic groups. Among European/Pakehas he has 38.8% support, Cunliffe 16.2%.

Shearer dominates among main ethnic minority groups, including Asians, Indians and especially Pacific Islanders (49.4% to Cunliffe's 7.5%), which some regard as crucial to rebuilding Labour's party support.

Among Maori Shearer has 30.2% support, Cunliffe 17%.

Cunliffe has more support than Shearer among those who say they are European/Pakeha/Maori (35.3% to Shearer's 19.3%).

	Cunliffe	Shearer
ALL	16.90%	35.40%
NZ European/Pakeha	16.20%	38.80%
NZ European/Pakeha, Maori	35.30%	19.30%
Other European (includes Australian, South African, British)	9.40%	38.40%
Asian	2.20%	21.50%
Indian	4.60%	17.70%
Maori	17%	30.20%
Pacific Islander	7.50%	49.40%

Cunliffe does not rate highly among Asian and Indian communities (2.2% and 4.6%).

Support by party voters and non-voters

	Cunliffe	Shearer
ALL	16.90%	35.40%
PARTY VOTE 2008		
ACT New Zealand	18.20%	38%
Green Party	26.30%	32.80%
Labour Party	19.80%	39.50%
National Party	12.50%	39.80%
Other party		18.90%
Was not eligible to vote	9.30%	29.40%
Chose not to vote	25.30%	14.30%
Don't know or can't remember	18.70%	30.70%
Jim Anderton's Progressive Party	16.30%	61.20%
Maori Party	12.70%	26.20%
New Zealand First Party	27.80%	48.40%
United Future	11.50%	20%

	Cunliffe	Shearer
ALL	16.90%	35.40%
PARTY VOTE 2011		
ACT New Zealand	42.30%	14.40%
Green Party	15.60%	35.20%
Labour Party	21.20%	31%
National Party	11.70%	42.30%
New Zealand First Party	20.10%	46%
Conservative	14.80%	43.60%
Chose not to vote	6.50%	10.90%
Don't know or can't remember	1.50%	
Mana Party	7.30%	21.80%
Maori Party	4.20%	29.70%
Other party	60.10%	10.10%
United Future	19.30%	46.20%
Was not eligible to vote		20.10%

Among Labour voters Shearer is preferred by both 2011 and 2008 voters (31%, 39.5%)

Among those who chose not to vote in 2011, 10.9% prefer Shearer and 6.5% Cunliffe.

Among those who chose not to vote in 2008, Cunliffe leads 25.3% to 14.3%.

When those who chose not to vote in 2011 were asked if Cunliffe represented the sort of things they believed in best, 15.9% said best. 79.8 % did not know. Among this group 11.7% said Shearer represented them best, 84.4% did not know.

2011 & 2008 Labour Voters

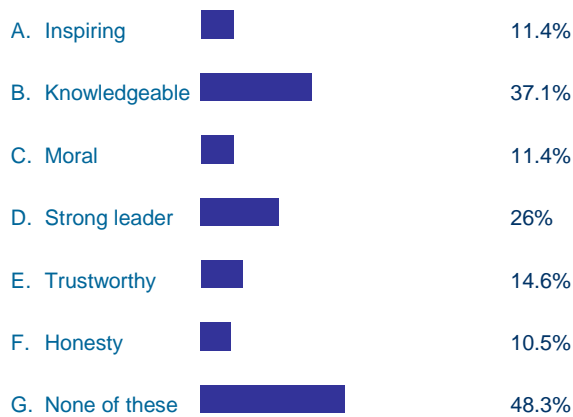
- 2011 Labour party voters show a preference for Shearer (31%) against Cunliffe (21.2%)
- 2008 labour party voters show a preference for Shearer (39.5%) against Cunliffe (19.8%)

- Labour voters tend to see Cunliffe as knowledgeable (50.6%) and to have strong leadership skills (39.1%), but he scores a lower moral rating (20.8%), whereas Shearer scores evenly across the options, showing higher a higher moral rating of (31%).

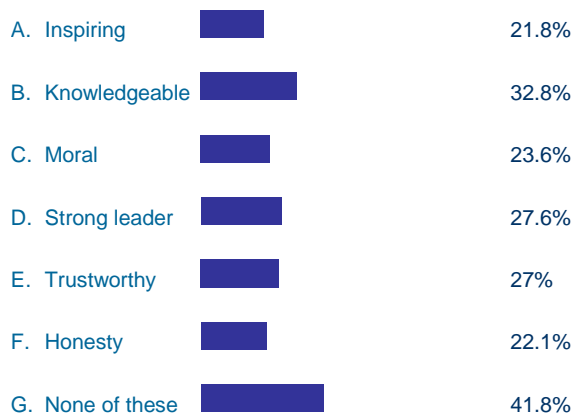
Leadership qualities

Among New Zealanders as a whole Cunliffe and Shearer are seen to have the following qualities:

David Cunliffe, MP New Lynn



David Shearer, MP Mt Albert

















3. DEPUTY LEADERSHIP

Three MPs emerge as preferred deputy leaders (Cunliffe and Shearer aside).

They are Jacinda Ardern with 12.2% support, Shane Jones 8% and Manaia Mahuta 7.9%.

Deputy

A. Jacinda Ardern, list MP		12.2%
B. Clayton Cosgrove, List MP		2.1%
C. David Cunliffe, MP New Lynn		7.3%
D. Lianne Dalziel, MP Christchurch East		6.3%
E. Ruth Dyson, MP Port Hills		2.9%
F. Andrew Little, list MP		2.5%
G. Manaia Mahuta, MP Hauraki-Waikato		7.9%
H. Damien O'Connor, MP West Coast-Tasman		4.7%
I. Shane Jones, list MP		8%
J. David Parker, list MP		5.7%
K. Grant Robertson, MP Wellington Central		4.4%
L. David Shearer, MP Mt Albert		8.2%
M. Maryan Street, list MP		0.8%
N. None of these people		27%

Mahuta is the announced deputy leader preference of David Cunliffe.

David Shearer will not announce a preferred deputy.

Grant Robertson, who announced he will seek the deputy leadership and supports Shearer, has 4.4% support.

It was not known at the time of polling whether or not Ardern or Jones would seek the deputy leadership.

Overall, there is no clear leader when results are analysed by age, income and other key demographics.

Because some sub sample sizes are small, results should be used with caution and regarded as indicative.

If Adern is not a contender for deputy, Jones emerges as most preferred in a contest with Mahuta and Robertson.

27% of New Zealanders would prefer none of the 13 MPs on the list from which they were asked to select one person as deputy.

Ethnicity

Jones has 4.6% more support among Maori as deputy leader than Mahuta.

23.8% of Maori prefer Jones as deputy, 19.2% Mahuta.

Among New Zealand European/Pakeha/Maori Jones leads Mahuta 12.4% to 6.6%.

Robertson has highest support among Indians (13.9%), but 42.9% of Indians prefer none of the 13 MPs listed as deputy. 59.5% of Asians prefer none of those listed.

	Ardern	Mahuta	O'Connor	Jones	Robertson	None
ALL	12.20%	7.90%	4.70%	8%	4.40%	27%
ETHNIC GROUP MEMBER						
Asian	15%	1.20%		4.40%		59.50%
Indian	3.60%		1%	1%	13.90%	42.80%
Maori	16.40%	19.20%		23.80%	1.20%	11.50%
NZ European/Pakeha	10%	7.20%	6.70%	7.60%	5.50%	24.70%
NZ European/Pakeha, Maori	9.30%	6.60%	5.20%	12.40%	4.80%	19.40%

When asked which MP they feel best and least represents the sorts of things they believe in, respondents select Ardern and Jones as best .

	Ardern	Mahuta	Jones	Robertson
Best	22.50%	16.80%	21.20%	13.20%

Least	11.60%	18.30%	18.70%	15.10%
Not sure	65.80%	64.90%	60.20%	71.60%

Jones is seen as the strongest leader (15.9% compared with Ardern 7.8%, Mahuta 9.5% and Robertson 7%).

Ardern is seen as more inspiring and the most trustworthy, Jones as the most knowledgeable.

	Ardern	Mahuta	Jones	Robertson
Inspiring	19.20%	9.70%	9.30%	7%
Knowledgeable	21.80%	17.50%	25.20%	22.20%
Moral	18%	13.30%	7.60%	8%
Strong leader	7.80%	9.50%	15.90%	7%
Trustworthy	20.30%	13.10%	12%	12%
Honesty	19.60%	11.90%	9.80%	9.30%
None of these	54.40%	62.70%	59.10%	66.20%

Age

- 18 – 24 year olds show the most preference for Ardern (18.9%), followed by Mahuta (10.3%) and Parker (5.7%)
- 25 – 34 year olds show the most preference for Ardern (11.1%), followed by O’Connor (7.8%) and Mahuta (6.2%)
- 35 – 44 year olds show the most preference for Mahuta (12.1%) followed by Jones (11.7%) and Ardern (10.1%)
- 45 -54 year olds show the most preference for Ardern (15.6%) followed by Jones (7.5%) and Mahuta (6.3%)
- 55 – 64 year olds show the most preference for Dalziel (14.1%) followed by Jones (11.9%) and Ardern (11.3%)
- 65 – 74 year olds show a preference for Jones (12.6%) followed by Dalziel (10.1%) and Parker (9%)
- 75+ year olds show a preference for Jones (15.1%) followed by Ardern (14.2%) and O’Connor (13.2%)

Personal income

- People earning between \$30,001 and \$50,000 a year have no distinct preference. Adern has 9.2%, followed by Mahuta (8%) and Dalziel (7.3%)

- \$50k - \$70k: Adern (14.3%), followed by Jones (9.9%) and Mahuta (7.6%)
- \$20k - \$30k Jones (11%), closely followed by Mahuta (10.9%), Adern (8.2%)
- Less the \$20k: Adern (13.7%), followed by Dalziel (7%), Mahuta (6.8%), Jones (6.1%).

Occupation

Adern is preferred by

- Business managers (12.9%), Self-employed (20.4%), Labourers (18.7%), Professionals / Senior Government Officials (14.2%), Retirees (15.8%), Students (17.3%) and Service workers/Nurses/ Teachers, Police (12.6%)

Mahuta is preferred by

- Business managers (9.2%), Sales Employees (10.2%), Homemakers (10.1%), Retirees (7.3%), Students (10.6%), Service workers (12%), Technical/Skilled workers (8.8%)

Jones is preferred by

- Business managers (9.7%), Self-employed (13.9%), Sales Employees (11.7%), Farm owners (39.3%), Homemakers (11%), Labourers (9.5%), Professionals / Senior Government Officials (10.5%), Retirees (13.2%)

Robertson is preferred by

- Self Employed is (11%), Sales Employees (8.1%), Homemakers (7.6%), Professionals / Senior Government officials (13.2%), Technical / Skilled workers (9.7%)

CONTACT

Full results of this survey are available from Horizon Research.

Graeme Colman
Principal
Horizon Research Limited.
Telephone: 021 325 377
E-mail: gcolman@horizonresearch.co.nz;

Manager: Grant McInman
Telephone: 021 076 2040
E-mail: gmcinman@horizonresearch.co.nz

APPENDIX















Labour leadership

The Labour Party has announced its MPs will elect new Parliamentary leaders on December 13 to replace Phil Goff and Annette King.















If you were voting for the leader and deputy leader of the Labour party, which of these people would you select?

Leader

Please select just one leader and one deputy leader

A. Jacinda Ardern, list MP		2.2%
B. Clayton Cosgrove, List MP		1.5%
C. David Cunliffe, MP New Lynn		16.9%
D. Lianne Dalziel, MP Christchurch East		3.1%
E. Ruth Dyson, MP Port Hills		0.5%
F. Andrew Little, list MP		0.9%
G. Manaia Mahuta, MP Hauraki-Waikato		2.3%
H. Damien O'Connor, MP West Coast-Tasman		2.1%
I. Shane Jones, list MP		2.8%
J. David Parker, list MP		3.5%
K. Grant Robertson, MP Wellington Central		2.1%
L. David Shearer, MP Mt Albert		35.4%
M. Maryan Street, list MP		0.3%
N. None of these people		26.3%

Deputy

A. Jacinda Ardern, list MP		12.2%
B. Clayton Cosgrove, List MP		2.1%
C. David Cunliffe, MP New Lynn		7.3%
D. Lianne Dalziel, MP Christchurch East		6.3%
E. Ruth Dyson, MP Port Hills		2.9%
F. Andrew Little, list MP		2.5%
G. Manaia Mahuta, MP Hauraki-Waikato		7.9%
H. Damien O'Connor, MP West Coast-Tasman		4.7%
I. Shane Jones, list MP		8%
J. David Parker, list MP		5.7%
K. Grant Robertson, MP Wellington Central		4.4%
L. David Shearer, MP Mt Albert		8.2%
M. Maryan Street, list MP		0.8%
N. None of these people		27%



Thinking about the Labour leadership, which of the following MPs do you feel best and least represent the sorts of things you believe in?

18. Jacinda Ardern, list MP

Please select an answer for each MP

A. Best		22.5%
B. Least		11.6%
C. Not sure		65.8%

Clayton Cosgrove, List MP

A. Best		9.7%
B. Least		18.7%
C. Not sure		71.6%

David Cunliffe, MP New Lynn

A. Best		28.6%
B. Least		19.8%
C. Not sure		51.5%

Lianne Dalziel, MP Christchurch East

A. Best		21.1%
B. Least		19.6%
C. Not sure		59.3%

Ruth Dyson, MP Port Hills

A. Best		11.6%
B. Least		23.8%
C. Not sure		64.6%

Andrew Little, list MP

A. Best		11.8%
B. Least		23.2%
C. Not sure		64.9%

Manaia Mahuta, MP Hauraki-Waikato

A. Best		16.8%
B. Least		18.3%
C. Not sure		64.9%

Damien O'Connor, MP West Coast-Tasman

A. Best		18.6%
B. Least		13.9%
C. Not sure		67.5%

Shane Jones, list MP

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A. Best		21.2%
B. Least		18.7%
C. Not sure		60.2%

David Parker, list MP

A. Best		22.4%
B. Least		18.1%
C. Not sure		59.6%

Grant Robertson, MP Wellington Central

A. Best		13.2%
B. Least		15.1%
C. Not sure		71.6%

David Shearer, MP Mt Albert

A. Best		42.7%
B. Least		8.4%
C. Not sure		48.9%








Maryan Street, list MP

A. Best		6.4%
B. Least		20.6%
C. Not sure		73%








Which of the following qualities, if any, do you see in these Members of Parliament?

Jacinda Ardern, list MP

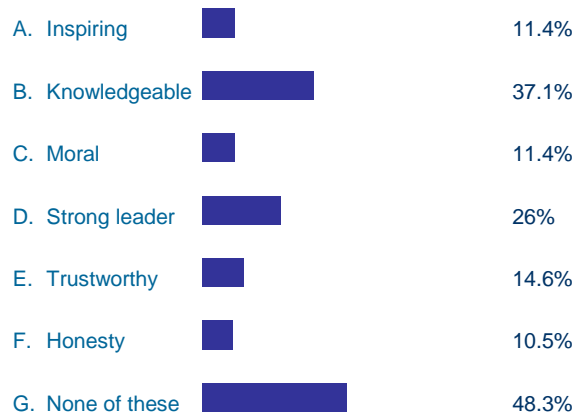
Please select all that apply for each MP

A. Inspiring		19.2%
B. Knowledgeable		21.8%
C. Moral		18%
D. Strong leader		7.8%
E. Trustworthy		20.3%
F. Honesty		19.6%
G. None of these		54.4%

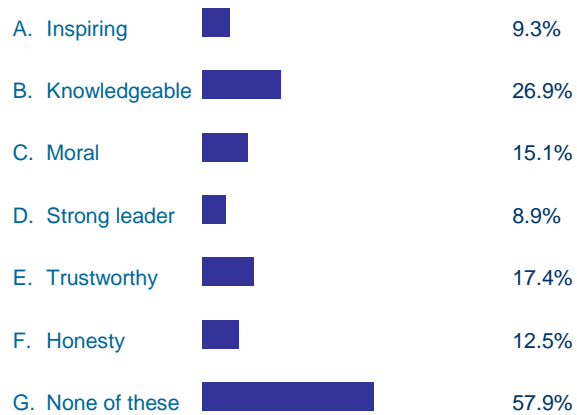
Clayton Cosgrove, list MP

A. Inspiring		3.1%
B. Knowledgeable		22.3%
C. Moral		9.3%
D. Strong leader		4.6%
E. Trustworthy		9.5%
F. Honesty		6.8%
G. None of these		64.5%

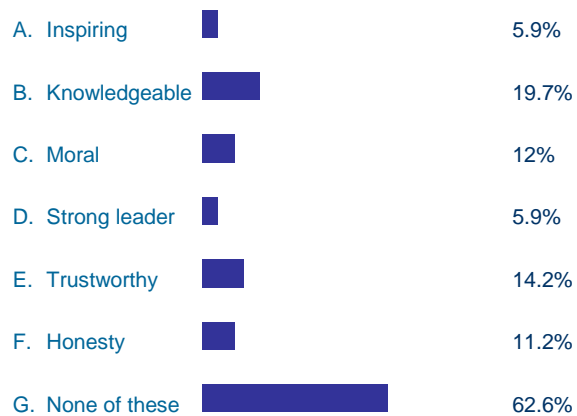
David Cunliffe, MP New Lynn

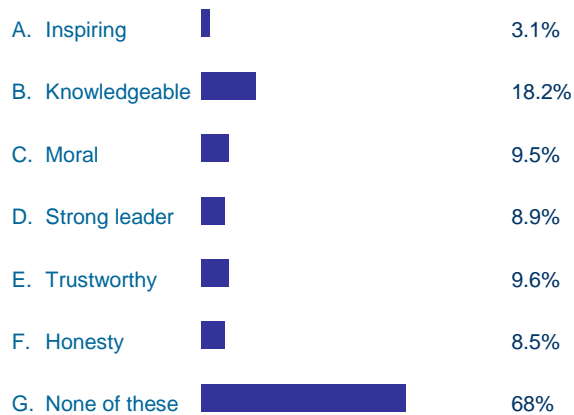
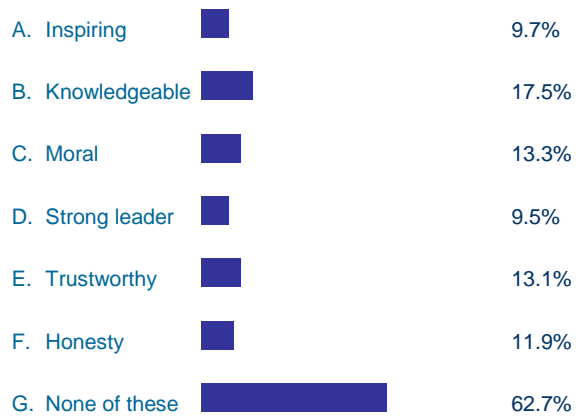
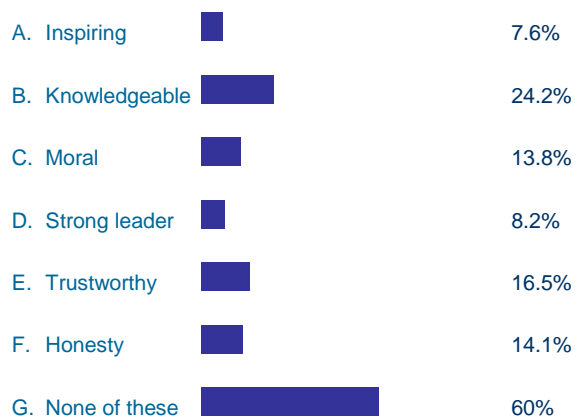


Lianne Dalziel, MP Christchurch East

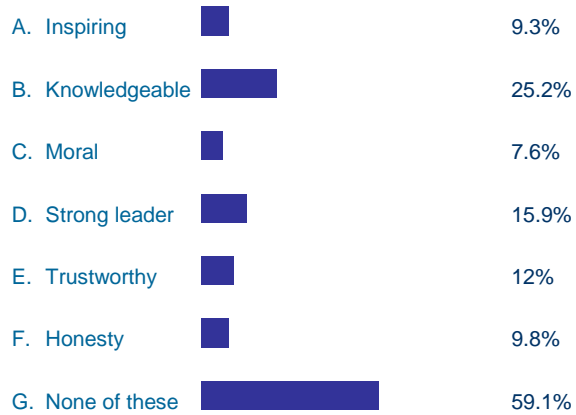


Ruth Dyson, MP Port Hills

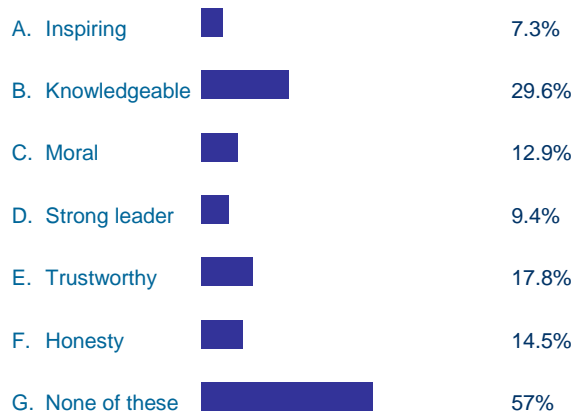


Andrew Little, list MP

Manaia Mahuta, MP Hauraki-Waikato

Damien O'Connor, MP West Coast-Tasman


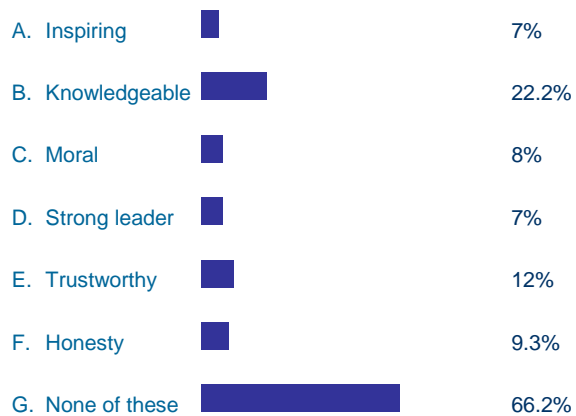
Shane Jones, list MP



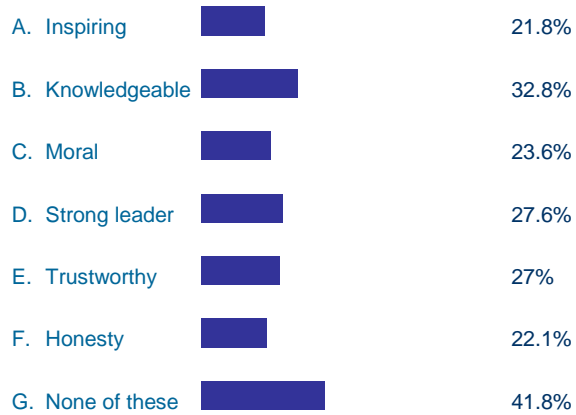
David Parker, list MP



Grant Robertson, MP Wellington Central



David Shearer, MP Mt Albert



Maryan Street, list MP

