

Horizon Research:

Public Interest Research Series

Political Conduct Survey

August 2014

1. METHODOLOGY

This reports results of a Horizon Research survey of 1,752 respondents conducted between August 18 and 25, 2014.

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

The survey is weighted by age, gender, region, personal income, educational qualification level, and party vote 2011 to provide a representative sample of the New Zealand adult population. At a confidence level of 95%, the maximum margin of error is +/- 2.3%.

2. BACKGROUND

The book "Dirty Politics" by Nicky Hager was published on August 13, 2014, using large numbers of personal e-mails and social media information taken in January this year from Cameron Slater of the "Whale Oil Beef Hooked" blog site.

The book aims to paint John Key's National government as one which allows and encourages dirty political tactics by using a "two track" tactic through which attacks are made on political opponents, while keeping the Prime Minister and other Ministers at a distance.

Horizon Research undertook this Political Conduct Survey independently as part of its public-interest research programme to measure New Zealanders' views on publication of the e-mails and what, if anything, should be done as a result. The survey also looked at how the issues raised by the publication might affect respondents' party vote at the September 20 general election and at the range of feelings people have toward the main players associated with the book, based on the way they managed the issues it raises.

Tables of results, according to parties respondents voted for at the 2011 general election, are available with this report at Horizon's web site: www.horizonpoll.co.nz.

3. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Large numbers of New Zealanders are aware of and talking about the issues raised as a result of the publication of Nicky Hager's book, Dirty Politics.

By large majorities, they find dirty politics unacceptable and would prefer them not to be practised.

- They are unacceptable to 59.9% of adults and acceptable to 25.8% as a part of overall political behaviour.
- 81.9% of adults prefer that dirty politics were not practised in New Zealand.

73.7% believe that, if it is true as alleged in the book that a member of the staff of Prime Minister John Key's office accessed confidential information held in a Labour Party web site, the behaviour is unacceptable.

They tend to believe the Prime Minister knew in advance about attacks on political opponents planned by pro-National bloggers and that the bloggers did not act totally independently of the National-led government.

More than half of adult New Zealanders (53.1%) believe mainstream media (newspapers, radio and television) have failed to act impartially in relation to material provided to them by bloggers. While 40.9% are not sure whether the media's coverage of all aspects of the allegations made in Mr Hager's book has been adequate, there is a small tendency to believe that it has not been.

Respondents tend to support the use of hacked e-mails and social media information of blogger Cameron Slater in the public interest than oppose it based on the information allegedly being private and obtained illegally.

More want the Prime Minister to launch an independent inquiry into the book's allegations than not take this action (45.9% support, 24.7% oppose). However, more think he should stay in office rather than resign over the allegations made in the book.

Large numbers of New Zealanders are feeling angry, disappointed and disgusted as a result of the Prime Minister's management of the issues raised in the book in the 12 days from its first publication.

The results indicate the Prime Minister, John Key, has made 135,700 people who voted National in 2011 feel angry, or disappointed or disgusted. This is 12.8% of those who voted National at the last election.

The survey finds

- While voting intention shifts from poll to poll, National's level of retention this year of those who said they intended to cast their party vote for the National Party at the next election had been particularly strong in polls conducted by Horizon up to the July/August survey (before the Hager book's release), at around 92%. In this survey, conducted after the release of the "Dirty Politics" book, National retains only 82% of those who said in July/August they would give their party vote to the National Party. Note that around 8% of those who said in the July/August poll they would vote for National are now **undecided** about which party they will give their party vote to.
- National appears to have at least 3% less support overall from the 18+ population following the book's publication in comparison with its position prior to the publication. Analysis poll by poll since March 2014 indicates that the decline is probably greater, around 3.8% less support.
- While it remains the strongest political party in terms of support from the 18+ population, if the current party vote intentions hold National would have insufficient party votes to be able to govern alone after the election.

This is a change from earlier results showing it might have an opportunity to govern alone. This issue also appears to have driven up Green party support among younger voters and resulted in New Zealand First having sufficient support to determine which main party would lead a coalition government after September 20.

4. WIDESPREAD PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT

The survey finds adult New Zealanders were extensively engaging in reading, using media and discussing the Dirty Politics book in the 12 days after its release.

4.1 Book readership and discussion

- 35.3% had read articles in news media about the book, the equivalent of about 1,129,200 adults nationwide
- 51.4% had heard news or comment about the book on radio or television, equivalent to 1,644,200 adults
- 24.5%, equivalent to about 783,700 adults, had discussed it with others.
- 2.6% of respondents, equivalent to about 83,200 adults, said they had read the book
- 14% (447,800) said that had not read it but intended to, while
- 31.9% said they had not read it (1,020,400) and
- 51.4% (1,644,200) said they had not read it and did not intend to.

Among those who cast their party vote for National at the 2011 general election, 0.6% had read the book, the equivalent of about 6,400 of the 1,058,636 who voted for the party. A further 5.3% of 2011 National party voters said they would be reading it, equivalent to 56,100 people.

Nearly a quarter of those who voted National in 2011 (24.3%) have discussed the book with others, the equivalent of 256,200 people.

I have read Mr Hagar's book	2.6%
I have not read it but intend to	14.0%
I have not read the book	31.9%
I have not and do not intend to read the book	45.4%
I have read articles in the news media about the book	35.3%
I have heard news or comment about the book on radio or TV	51.4%
I have discussed issues raised in the book with others	24.5%
I'm not sure	2.8%

4.2 Political blog audiences:

One of the issues raised in Mr Hager's book relates to the influence and reach political blogs now have in New Zealand.

The survey confirms they had significant audiences in the 12 days following the book's publication.

Some 7.6% of respondents, equivalent to about 243,100 adults, said they had visited the Whale Oil Beef Hooked blog, run by Cameron Slater, during the past week.

Kiwiblog, run by David Farrar, who is also the subject of allegations in Mr Hager's book of engaging in attack politics in concert with Mr Slater and others, attracted 4.7% of adults, equivalent to about 150,300 users.

Of the other main political blogs:

- The Standard had 5.2% of respondents visiting in the past week (equivalent to about 166,300 adults), and
- The Daily Blog 4.9% (156,700 adults), while
- Other blogs of any type attracted 11.4% (364,700).

Note: respondents could select any or all of the blog-use options.

5. HACKING

5.1 Mr Hager's use of hacked material

One of the issues argued since the release of Dirty Politics is whether or not Mr Hager should have published content provided to him by someone who hacked e-mails and social media content.

Overall slightly more support Mr Hager publishing hacked content (42.4%) than oppose (39.5%).

- 36.1% support use of the hacked material only because publication is in the public interest
- 27.3% do not support publication because information was allegedly obtained illegally.

Respondents were told: *"It is argued that Mr Hager should not have used content provided from someone who had hacked e-mails and social media files to obtain it. Mr Hager argues it is in the public interest to publish some of the material. Others argue he is publishing material allegedly obtained illegally"*.

Which of these statements best reflects your view on whether or not Mr Hager should have used the Mr Slater's e-mails and social media information?	ALL
Yes, use for any reason	6.3%
Yes, but only because publication is in the public interest	36.1%
No, because they were private	12.3%
No, because they were allegedly obtained illegally	27.3%
I'm not sure	18.0%
Total "Yes"	42.4%
Total "No"	39.6%

6. VIEWS ON TWO MAIN ALLEGATIONS

The survey asked for views on two of the main allegations made in Mr Hager's book and results indicate the extent of ethical and credibility issues faced by those involved in and managing issues raised by its publication:

- Asked about the acceptability of a person employed in the office of the Prime Minister, John Key, accessing confidential files at the Labour Party web site, 73.7% found this unacceptable, 14.3% acceptable.
- Asked whether or not they believed allegations that the Prime Minister's Office worked to provide Mr Slater with a Security Intelligence Service (SIS) document which was then used to attack then Opposition leader Phil Goff, 33.3% believe this, 11.5% do not while 33.3% said they needed more information before they could say and 21.9% were not sure.

6.1 Acceptability of PM office employee engaging in alleged hacking

Respondents were told: *"In the book, Mr Hager alleges that e-mails and social media records show that Jason Ede (then a senior advisor to the Prime Minister, John Key), Cameron Slater and a person employed by the National Party accessed membership, credit card and other supporter data hosted on a Labour Party computer. The Labour Party computer had a security weakness.*

"Mr Hager's book alleges computer records show that on June 7, 2011, Mr Ede's computer accessed the Labour site at 10.11 pm and Mr Slater at 10.13 pm. The book publishes e-mails between Messrs Slater and Ede discussing the content and its possible uses before a public attack on Labour relating to the records. The attack was launched on June 12, 2011. The book alleges Slater, Ede and a National Party IT technician were the only people working on accessing the Labour computer files".

If true, is it acceptable or unacceptable for a person employed in the office of the Prime Minister, John Key, to have accessed confidential files hosted at the Labour Party web site?	ALL
Totally acceptable	4.9%
Acceptable	9.4%
Not acceptable	28.2%
Totally unacceptable	45.5%
I really don't know	11.9%
Total acceptable	14.3%
Total unacceptable	73.7%
N (unweighted)	1752

Among those who cast their party vote for National at the 2011 election the alleged behaviour is:

- Totally acceptable to 5.2% and acceptable to 16.7% (total acceptable 21.9%), and
- Totally unacceptable to 24.1% and not acceptable to 39.1% (total unacceptable 63.2%) while 15.0% said “I really don’t know”.

Among those who voted in 2011 for National’s 2011-2014 coalition partners

- 62.6% of Act voters think it unacceptable
- 74.8% of Maori party voters, and
- 90.3% of United Future voters.

More than 89% of voters for other parties think the behaviour unacceptable.

	ACT New Zealand	Conservative	Green Party	Labour Party	Mana Party	Maori Party	National Party	New Zealand First Party	United Future
Not acceptable	50.3%	20.6%	22.1%	14.9%	0.0%	15.5%	39.1%	20.7%	15.3%
Totally unacceptable	12.3%	56.4%	64.5%	68.6%	89.3%	59.3%	24.1%	66.5%	75.0%

62.6% 77.0% 86.6% 83.5% 89.3% 74.8% 63.2% 87.2% 90.3%

6.1 Credibility of claims relating to release of SIS information

Respondents were told: *“In July, 2011, four months before that year’s general election, the book by Mr Hager says then Labour leader Phil Goff had criticised Mr Key’s handling of two foreign affairs issues.*

“One involved a group of Israeli backpackers who had hurriedly left New Zealand after one died in the February 2011 Canterbury earthquake. Mr Hager’s book alleges documents like SIS briefing notes were not usually released to the public. However, the released documents were stamped declassified on July 26, 2011, the same day Mr Slater sent an Official Information Act request seeking the information

“It was provided to Mr Slater in early August and used to attack Mr Goff publicly. Mr Key said Mr Goff had been briefed on the backpackers by the Security Intelligence Service. Mr Goff mistakenly at first said he had not. Mr Hager alleges the leaked e-mails and social media information show that Mr Slater ‘was working clandestinely with insiders who knew what the briefing paper said and were involved in its release to him under the Official Information Act’.

“Mr Hager also alleges ‘it was the Prime Minister’s staff and there seems no doubt that John Key knew what was happening, approved it and had his staff liaise with Slater about the release’. Mr Key has since

said he did not personally sign off or know about the information being released to Mr Slater and media would need to ask the SIS about how it were released”.

Respondents were then asked

Do you believe or disbelieve the allegation that the Prime Minister's office worked to provide Mr Slater with a SIS briefing document which was then used to attack Mr Goff?	ALL
Believe it	33.3%
Don't believe it	11.5%
I would need more information before I could say	33.3%
I'm really not sure	21.9%

33.3% believe this claim, 11.5% don't believe it, while 33.3% said would need more information before they could say.

Among those who voted for the National Party at the 2011 general election 8.3% believe it, 26.0% don't and 47.4% would like more information.

Note: The survey was in the field a few hours before the SIS said it had informed Mr Key's office, not the Prime Minister personally, of the intended release of the SIS briefing note to Mr Goff.

7. CREDIBILITY ON MAIN ISSUES AND CLAIMS

Respondents were asked what they believed on a number of issues raised by the publication of and responses to Mr Hager's book.

7.1 PM's office engaged in secret attack activities

57.4% (the equivalent of 1,836,200 New Zealanders 18+) believe a person in the Prime Minister's Office has allegedly been involved in secret activities to attack the National-led Government's political opponents. 11.6% only disbelieve this while 30.9% say they are not sure.

Substantially more of those who voted National in 2011 (44.2%) believe this claim than disbelieve it (25.6%).

A person in the Prime Minister's office has allegedly been directly involved in secret activities to attack the National-led Government's political opponents	ALL
Totally believe	29.0%
Somewhat believe	28.4%
Somewhat disbelieve	7.8%
Totally disbelieve	3.8%
Not sure	30.9%
Total believe a person in PM's office was involved	
Total do not believe a person in PM's office was involved	
57.4%	
11.6%	

7.2 PM has known in advance of some attacks

51.6% (the equivalent of about 1,650,600 adults) believe the Prime Minister knew in advance about some attacks planned on his political opponents by a group of pro-National bloggers. 29.4% totally believe this, 22.2% somewhat believe it.

18.4% disbelieve this, 7.5% totally, while 30.0% are not sure.

The Prime Minister has known in advance about some attacks planned on his political opponents by a group of pro-National bloggers	ALL
Totally believe	29.4%
Somewhat believe	22.2%
Somewhat disbelieve	10.9%
Totally disbelieve	7.5%
Not sure	30.0%
Total believe PM knew in advance	
Total do not believe PM knew in advance	
51.6%	
18.4%	

A quarter of those who voted National in 2011 (25.4%) believe the Prime Minister has known of attacks in advance while 47.0% disbelieve it and 27.6% are unsure.

7.3 Slater and other pro-National bloggers acted independently at all times

Among all respondents, 32.5% believe Cameron Slater and other pro-National bloggers acted independently at all times in making attacks on National government and party opponents.

36.9% disbelieve this while 30.5% are not sure.

Cameron Slater and other pro-National bloggers acted independently at all times in making attacks on National government and party opponents	ALL
Totally believe	8.5%
Somewhat believe	24.0%
Somewhat disbelieve	18.5%
Totally disbelieve	18.4%
Not sure	30.5%
Total believe bloggers acted independently at all times	32.5%
Total do not believe bloggers acted independently at all times	36.9%

More than half of National's 2011 voters either don't believe this or are unsure.

Among those who voted for the National Party at the 2011 general election 48.2% believe this (12.4% totally), 25.1% don't believe it (7.3% totally) and 26.8% are unsure.

7.4 Belief in descriptions of main players

Since the book's publication the Prime Minister, Mr Key, has described the author Nicky Hager as a "screaming left wing conspiracy theorist".

Mr Slater, in turn, has been described as a "right wing conspiracy theorist".

Slightly more (33.2%) believe the claim about Mr Hager than disbelieve (28.8%).

Nicky Hager is a "screaming left wing conspiracy theorist"	ALL
Totally believe	19.0%
Somewhat believe	14.2%
Somewhat disbelieve	11.0%
Totally disbelieve	17.8%
Not sure	38.0%
Total believe Mr Hager is a "screaming left wing conspiracy theorist"	33.2%
Total do not believe Hager is a "screaming left wing conspiracy theorist"	28.8%

Significantly more believe Mr Slater is a right wing conspiracy theorist (37.6%) than disbelieve this (19.5%).

Mr Slater is a "right wing conspiracy theorist"	ALL
Totally believe	15.7%
Somewhat believe	21.9%
Somewhat disbelieve	12.5%
Totally disbelieve	7.0%
Not sure	43.0%
Total believe Mr Slater is a "right wing conspiracy " theorist	37.6%
Total do not believe Slater is a "right wing conspiracy" theorist	19.5%

7.5 “Smear campaign” argument credibility

One of the arguments used by the Prime Minister and others since the book’s publication is that it is an attempt to smear him and the National Party before the September 20 general election.

More believe this claim (42.5%) than disbelieve it (30.7%).

Mr Hager is trying to incorrectly smear the Prime Minister and the National Party before this year's September 20 general election	ALL
Totally believe	25.4%
Somewhat believe	17.1%
Somewhat disbelieve	13.6%
Totally disbelieve	17.1%
Not sure	26.9%
Total believe Mr Hager is trying to incorrectly smear PM and National	42.5%
Total do not believe Mr Hager is trying to incorrectly smear PM and National	30.7%

This argument resonates well with 2011 National votes, however, with 82.8% believing this is the case.

8. ACTIONS SOUGHT ON DIRTY POLITICS ALLEGATIONS

8.1 Independent inquiry supported

There is significantly more support for Mr Key launching an independent inquiry into allegations made in the Dirty Politics book (45.9%) than opposition (24.7%).

Mr Key needs to launch an independent inquiry into allegations made in the "Dirty Politics" book	ALL
Totally believe	31.8%
Somewhat believe	14.1%
Somewhat disbelieve	10.0%
Totally disbelieve	14.7%
Not sure	29.4%
Total believe an independent inquiry should be launched	45.9%
Total do not believe an independent inquiry should be launched	24.7%

Among those who voted National in 2011, 30.3% support an independent inquiry, 42.0% oppose while 27.7% are not sure. The equivalent of about 320,800 of the party's 2011 voters want an inquiry, 444,600 do not.

Put conversely, that there is no need for an independent inquiry, 45.3% of all respondents still support an inquiry, 15.2% do not, while 28% are unsure.

There is no need for an independent inquiry into allegations made in the "Dirty Politics" book	ALL
Totally believe	15.2%
Somewhat believe	11.5%
Somewhat disbelieve	15.2%
Totally disbelieve	30.1%
Not sure	28.0%
Total believe there is no need for an independent inquiry	15.2%
Total do not believe there is no need for an independent inquiry	45.3%

8.2 Mr Key's resignation not supported

Asked if Mr Key should resign over allegations made in the Dirty Politics book, 43.1% say they don't believe he should (equivalent to about 1,378,700 adults), while 31.1% (1,007,700) say he should and 25.3% (809,300) are not sure.

Mr Key should resign over allegations made in the "Dirty Politics" book	ALL
Totally believe	17.9%
Somewhat believe	13.6%
Somewhat disbelieve	10.6%
Totally disbelieve	32.5%
Not sure	25.3%
Total believe Mr Key should resign	31.5%
Total do not believe Mr Key should resign	43.1%

2.8% of National's 2011 voters (29,600) totally believe Mr Key should resign and 2.6% (27,500) somewhat believe he should resign.

Put conversely, that Mr Key should not resign, 42.1% believe he should not resign and 30.9% believe he should, while 26.9% are not sure.

Mr Key should not resign over allegations made in the "Dirty Politics" book	ALL
Totally believe	30.9%
Somewhat believe	11.2%
Somewhat disbelieve	11.1%
Totally disbelieve	19.8%
Not sure	26.9%
Total believe Mr Key should not resign	42.1%
Total do not believe Mr Key should not resign	30.9%

9. ACCEPTABILITY AND PRACTICE OF DIRTY POLITICS

Dirty politics are unacceptable to six out of 10 adults.

59.9% don't believe dirty politics are an acceptable part of political behaviour in New Zealand while 25.8% think they are acceptable.

Of 59.9% who think they are unacceptable 47% believe this strongly, while 8.5% only believe they are totally acceptable.

The 59.9% opposed to dirty politics is the equivalent of about 1,916,100 adults nationwide.

Dirty politics are an acceptable part of political behaviour in New Zealand	ALL
Totally believe	8.5%
Somewhat believe	17.3%
Somewhat disbelieve	12.9%
Totally disbelieve	47.0%
Not sure	14.3%
Total believe dirty politics are acceptable	25.8%
Total do not believe dirty politics are acceptable	59.9%

Some 56.3% of those who voted for National in 2011 think dirty politics are unacceptable, while 34.7% think they are acceptable. This is a higher level than with the 2011 supporters of any other main party.

When asked if they would prefer if dirty politics were or were not practised in New Zealand, opposition to this behaviour rose to 81.9%.

7.5% supported these practices while 10.6% were not sure.

I would prefer dirty politics were not practised in New Zealand	ALL
Totally believe	68.4%
Somewhat believe	13.5%
Somewhat disbelieve	4.6%
Totally disbelieve	2.9%
Not sure	10.6%
Total prefer dirty politics were not practised in NZ	81.9%
Total do not prefer dirty politics were not practised in NZ	7.5%

Among those who voted in 2011 results for those who believe dirty politics should not be practised in New Zealand are:

- Act 76.3%
- Conservative 94.3%
- Green 91.1%
- Labour 85.5%
- Mana 100%
- Maori 80.4%
- National 87.6%
- NZ First 76.6%
- United Future 89.7%

10. ROLE OF NEWS MEDIA IN DIRTY POLITICS

Central to some allegations in Mr Hager's book is that some main stream media journalists acted in concert with pro-National bloggers who were making political attacks. Some media also published columns from some bloggers while others were allegedly given first use of material to publish at times specified by Mr Slater.

It raises questions over the independent role of mainstream media and the role of new media, like political attack blogs.

The survey finds more than half of adult New Zealanders (53.1%) believe mainstream media (newspapers, radio and television) have failed to act impartially in relation to material provided to them by bloggers.

Only 15.2% disbelieve this while 31.7% are unsure.

The mainstream media (newspapers, radio and television) have <u>failed</u> to act impartially in relation to material provided to them by bloggers	ALL
Totally believe	25.6%
Somewhat believe	27.5%
Somewhat disbelieve	11.8%
Totally disbelieve	3.4%
Not sure	31.7%
Total believe mainstream media have failed to act impartially	53.1%
Total do not believe mainstream media have failed to act impartially	15.2%

The question was also put conversely.

Asked if they believed or disbelieved the mainstream media had acted impartially in relation to material provided to them by bloggers, 23.1% believed they had (5.4% totally), while 45.2% believed they had not (21.1% totally disbelieving they had).

This indicated mainstream media's alleged association with political attack bloggers concerns between 1,445,496 and 1,693,559 adult New Zealanders.

The mainstream media (newspapers, radio and television) <u>have</u> acted impartially in relation to material provided to them by bloggers	ALL
Totally believe	5.4%
Somewhat believe	17.7%
Somewhat disbelieve	24.1%
Totally disbelieve	21.1%
Not sure	31.7%
Total believe mainstream media have acted impartially	23.1%
Total do not believe mainstream media have acted impartially	45.2%

Opinion is almost evenly split of whether or not mainstream media have so far adequately covered all aspects of allegations made in Mr Hager's book.

In the first 12 days after publication, 27.9% believed coverage was adequate, 31.2% believed it was not.

Those who totally believed it was not adequate (12.4%) were almost twice as many as those who totally believed it was (6.5%).

The mainstream media (newspapers, radio and television) have so far adequately covered all aspects of allegations made in Mr Hager's book	ALL
Totally believe	6.6%
Somewhat believe	21.3%
Somewhat disbelieve	18.8%
Totally disbelieve	12.4%
Not sure	40.9%
Total believe mainstream media have adequately covered	27.9%
Total do not believe mainstream media have adequately covered	31.2%

Horizon Research can provide results filtered by users of each mainstream media outlet, including daily newspapers, web sites and radio and television stations.

11. FEELINGS GENERATED BY MAIN PLAYERS

Respondents were asked how those mainly involved in publicly responding to and managing allegations and issues arising from the publication of Mr Hager's book were making them feel.

Some research, particularly by the American National Election Studies, has found electors' feelings toward politicians can have more influence on how they will vote than policy detail. The ability to impart hope has been found by the American National Election Studies to be important in explaining people's voting choices and has an important relationship to voting success.

Respondents were asked: *Thinking about how each of the following people have managed the issues raised in Mr Hager's book, how are they making you feel right now?*

They were asked if the main players were making them feel angry, afraid, nervous, concerned, disappointed, disgusted, hopeful, proud, excited, comfortable, pleased, none of these or did not know the name of the person mentioned.

The results indicate the Prime Minister, John Key, has made 135,700 people who voted National in 2011 feel angry, or disappointed or disgusted. This is 12.8% of those who voted National at the last election. Of these 4.5% of National's 2011 voters (47,400) were feeling angry or disgusted.

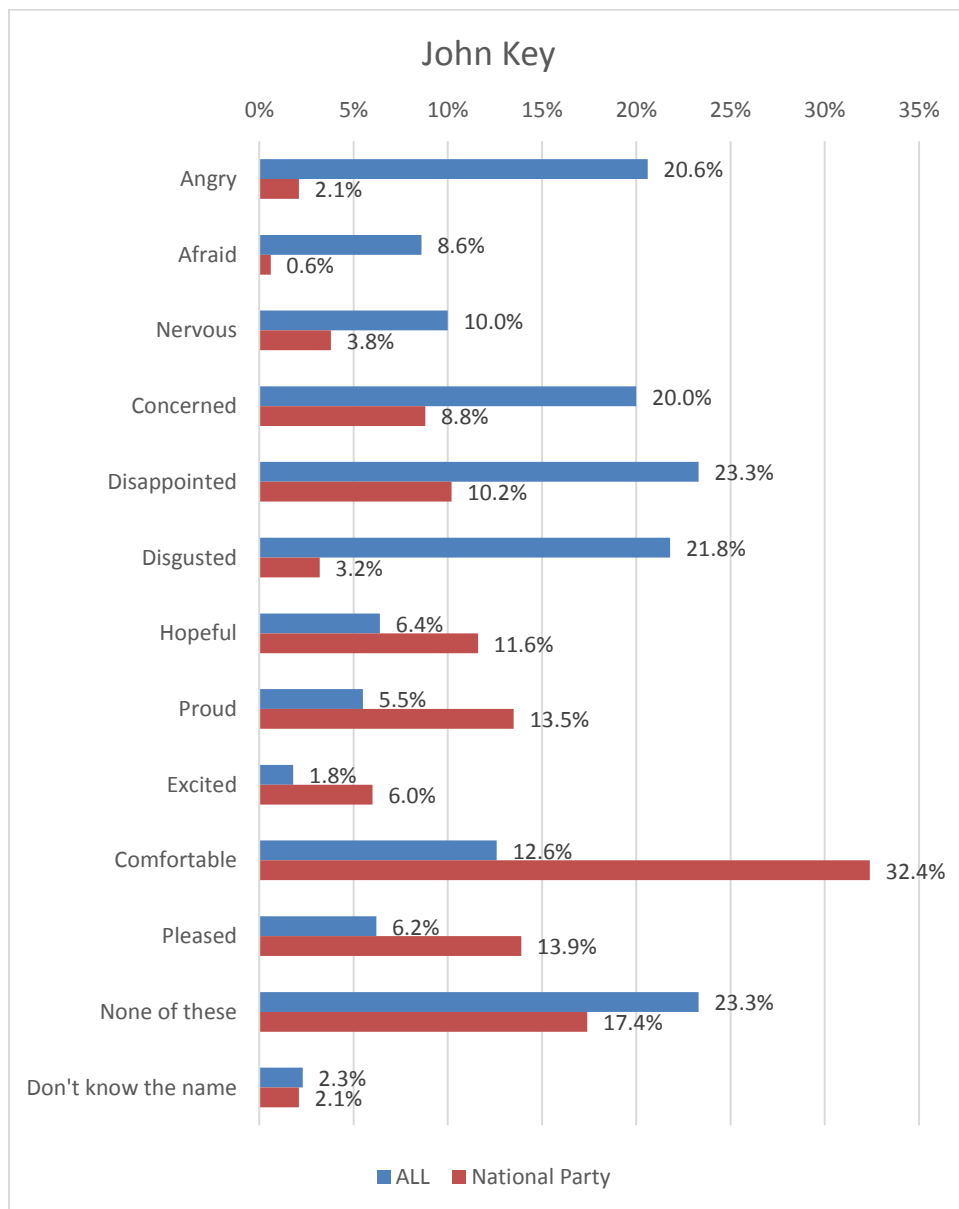
Overall, he was making 6.4% of respondents feel hopeful. 11.6% of National Party voters at the last election felt this way.

Labour Party leader David Cunliffe was making 13.0% hopeful.

Mr Key was making 20.6% of respondents overall (equivalent to about 659,000 adults nationwide) feel angry.

20% were concerned, 23.3% disappointed and 21.8% disgusted.

His ratings on positive feelings were: 6.4% hopeful, 5.5% proud, 1.8% excited, 32.4% comfortable and 6.2% pleased. 23.8% felt none of these while 2.3% did not know his name,



Overall the Minister of Justice, Judith Collins, was making 25.2% feel disgusted, 24.7% disappointed 20.4% concerned and 22.3% angry.

Among those who voted National in 2011 a quarter were disappointed with her, 19.5% concerned, 2% pleased, and 13.5% comfortable.

Judith Collins	ALL	Party vote National in 2011
Angry	22.3%	6.9%
Afraid	4.0%	1.9%
Nervous	4.9%	3.6%
Concerned	20.4%	19.5%
Disappointed	24.7%	25.0%
Disgusted	25.2%	10.2%
Hopeful	1.5%	4.1%
Proud	0.9%	1.9%
Excited	0.2%	0.0%
Comfortable	4.4%	13.5%
Pleased	0.9%	2.0%
None of these	26.7%	26.3%
Don't know the name	7.0%	4.9%

Jason Ede, the former advisor in the Prime Minister's office, whom the Hager book alleges worked closely with pro-National attack bloggers and whose computer was said to have accessed confidential files in a Labour Party computer, made 16.8% of respondents feel disgusted, 10.3% angry, 10.2% nervous. None felt pleased with him and 1.7% only felt comfortable.

Jason Ede	ALL
Angry	10.3%
Afraid	2.5%
Nervous	3.4%
Concerned	10.2%
Disappointed	11.5%
Disgusted	16.8%
Hopeful	0.6%
Proud	0.2%
Excited	0.2%
Comfortable	1.7%
Pleased	0.0%
None of these	28.9%
Don't know the name	32.3%

Cameron Slater made 25.6% of respondents feel disgusted, 14.3% concerned, 14.3% angry, 5.9% afraid and 13% disappointed. He made 2.4% only overall feel comfortable (5.5% of 2011 National Party voters).

Cameron Slater	ALL	Party vote National in 2011
Angry	14.3%	9.1%
Afraid	5.9%	1.4%
Nervous	6.7%	5.5%
Concerned	14.3%	11.6%
Disappointed	13.0%	13.7%
Disgusted	25.6%	14.2%
Hopeful	2.3%	5.7%
Proud	0.5%	1.1%
Excited	0.2%	0.6%
Comfortable	2.4%	5.5%
Pleased	2.0%	0.4%
None of these	30.1%	30.2%
Don't know the name	14.2%	9.7%

Anger was high among 2011 Green Party voters (45.3%) and Mana voters (89.7%).

Cameron Slater	ALL	PARTY VOTE 2011			
		Green Party	Labour Party	Mana Party	New Zealand First Party
Angry	14.3%	43.2%	26.3%	91.1%	27.9%
Afraid	5.9%	13.4%	6.6%	4.3%	8.7%
Nervous	6.7%	13.1%	7.7%	11.4%	10.0%
Concerned	14.3%	25.5%	18.1%	13.6%	26.4%
Disappointed	13.0%	23.9%	17.3%	0.0%	16.2%
Disgusted	25.6%	54.2%	40.0%	53.3%	35.4%
Hopeful	2.3%	0.0%	1.3%	0.0%	1.3%
Proud	0.5%	0.0%	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%
Excited	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Comfortable	2.4%	0.0%	2.1%	0.0%	2.3%
Pleased	2.0%	1.3%	1.0%	0.0%	2.2%
None of these	30.1%	24.8%	20.9%	0.0%	18.1%
Don't know the name	14.2%	2.5%	13.4%	0.0%	7.5%

Among those who voted for National-led government support parties, Mr Slater generated more positive than negative feelings among ACT voters, with only 1.3% angry, 21.1% pleased and 15.7% proud.

Act received 23,889 party votes in 2011.

Cameron Slater	ALL	PARTY VOTE 2011				
		ACT New Zealand	Conservative	Maori Party	National Party	United Future
Angry	14.3%	1.3%	8.8%	0.0%	9.1%	10.3%
Afraid	5.9%	0.0%	4.3%	0.0%	1.4%	2.4%
Nervous	6.7%	2.8%	4.2%	0.0%	5.5%	0.0%
Concerned	14.3%	1.1%	14.6%	33.7%	11.6%	47.6%
Disappointed	13.0%	7.3%	18.0%	5.4%	13.7%	3.9%
Disgusted	25.6%	3.4%	17.4%	14.3%	14.2%	35.5%
Hopeful	2.3%	24.7%	2.0%	0.0%	5.7%	0.0%
Proud	0.5%	15.7%	0.8%	4.9%	1.1%	0.0%
Excited	0.2%	5.0%	0.8%	0.0%	0.6%	0.0%
Comfortable	2.4%	15.0%	12.0%	0.0%	5.5%	0.0%
Pleased	2.0%	21.1%	0.8%	0.0%	0.4%	0.0%
None of these	30.1%	34.7%	29.9%	41.7%	30.2%	17.5%
Don't know the name	14.2%	0.0%	7.9%	0.0%	9.7%	2.4%

Overall, author Nicky Hager is making people equally as angry as Mr Slater (13.1%). However, fewer are disgusted 16%, compared with 22.5% for Mr Slater. Mr Hager makes 7.2% feel hopeful, 10.8% proud and 11.4% pleased.

He particularly angers and disgusts those who voted National at the last election.

Nicky Hager	ALL	PARTY VOTE 2011			
		Green Party	Labour Party	National Party	NZ First Party
Angry	13.1%	3.7%	3.0%	33.4%	6.7%
Afraid	3.8%	1.6%	2.1%	6.1%	1.4%
Nervous	4.2%	2.5%	2.2%	5.8%	2.7%
Concerned	8.7%	8.5%	8.3%	10.5%	12.1%
Disappointed	6.7%	4.3%	4.5%	11.3%	2.1%
Disgusted	16.0%	3.0%	4.3%	35.3%	4.4%
Hopeful	7.2%	22.9%	13.2%	0.8%	17.4%
Proud	10.8%	31.0%	18.4%	1.1%	12.8%
Excited	4.9%	20.1%	7.8%	0.4%	8.5%
Comfortable	5.9%	21.0%	14.3%	1.7%	6.5%
Pleased	11.4%	32.9%	21.7%	0.8%	23.9%
None of these	27.8%	24.1%	21.9%	17.2%	21.4%
Don't know the name	11.7%	6.6%	14.0%	8.4%	2.1%

Full tables, by 2011 party vote, for all of those surveyed, are available from Horizon Research at www.horizonpoll.co.nz.

12. IMPACT ON LIKELY PARTY VOTE

Horizon Research has compared findings of party vote surveys it conducted between March and late July/early August with this post Hager book publication survey's findings.

This survey finds

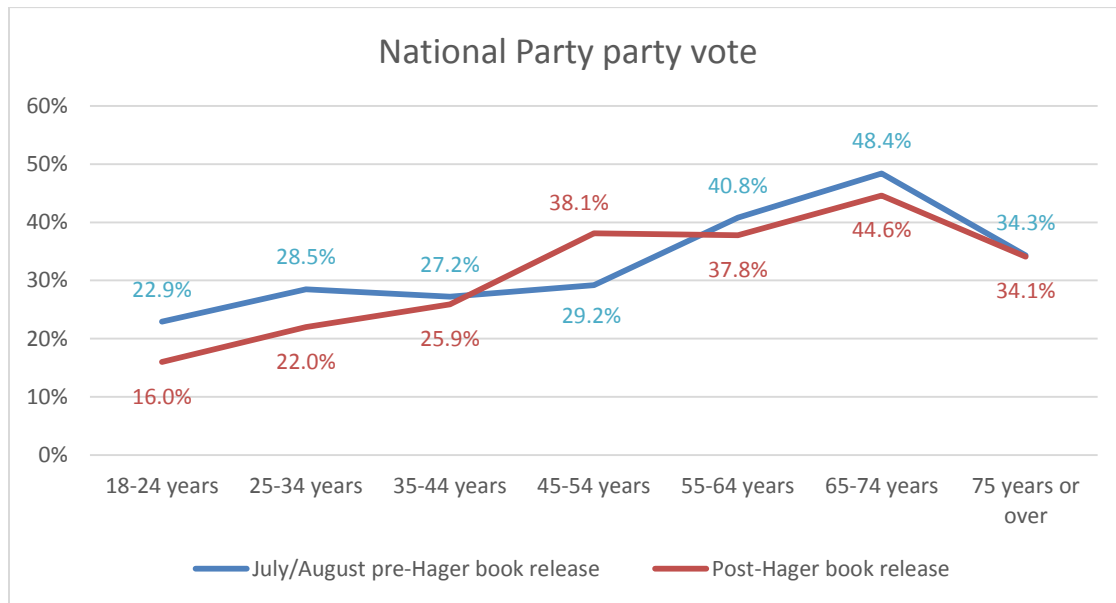
- While voting intention shifts from poll to poll, National's level of retention this year of those who said they intended to cast their party vote for the National Party at the next election had been particularly strong up to the July/August survey (before the Hager book's release), at around 92%. In this survey, conducted after the release of the "Dirty Politics" book, National retains only 82% of those who said in July/August they would give their party vote to the National Party. Note that around 8% of those who said in the July/August Horizon poll they would vote for National are now **undecided** about which party they will give their party vote to.
- National appears to have at least 3% less support overall from the 18+ population following the book's publication in comparison with its position prior to the publication. Analysis poll by poll

since March 2014 indicates that the decline is probably greater, around 3.8% less support. As a result, National appears to have lost the gains made since March 2014 and to have returned to the party vote position it held at that time.

- While it remains the strongest political party in terms of support from the 18+ population, if the current party vote intentions hold National would have insufficient party votes to be able to govern alone after the election.

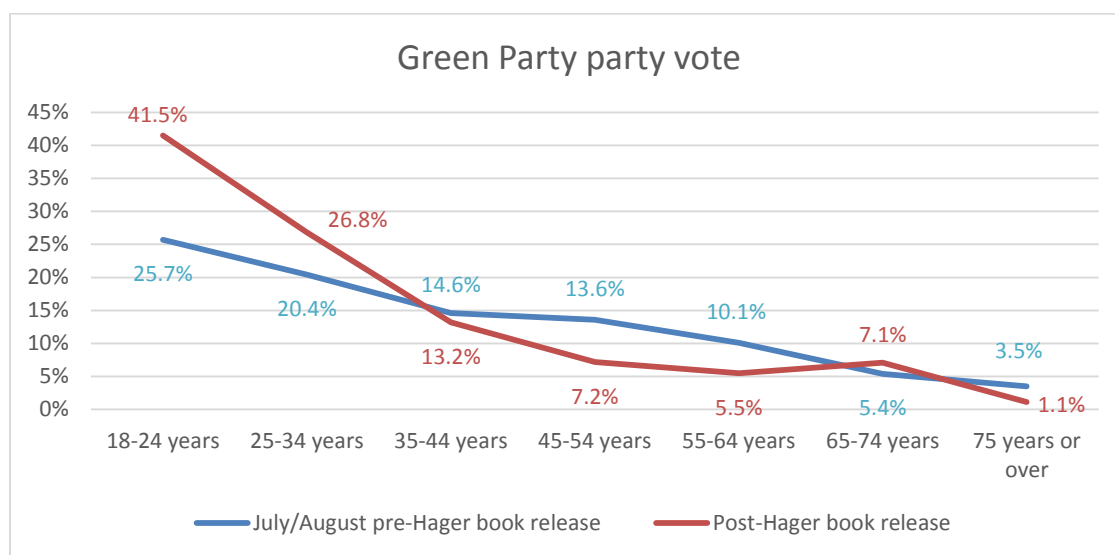
The following table and chart indicates by age how Intended party vote for National has fallen, especially among those aged 18-34 years:

National Party	18-24 years	25-34 years	35-44 years	45-54 years	55-64 years	65-74 years	75 years or over
July/August pre-Hager book release	22.9%	28.5%	27.2%	29.2%	40.8%	48.4%	34.3%
Post-Hager book release	16.0%	22.0%	25.9%	38.1%	37.8%	44.6%	34.1%



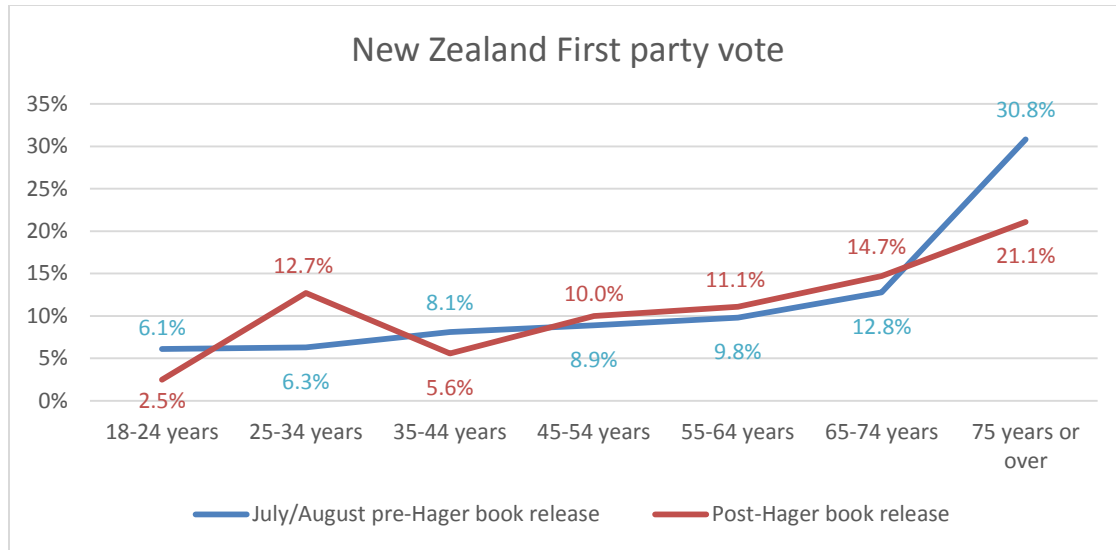
It appears that for younger people, the Green Party is one of the main beneficiaries of the book's publication. Among those who intend to cast a party vote for it at the September 20 election, the number of those aged 18-24 has increased from 25.7% to 41.5%. Among 25-34 year-olds it has risen 6.4%.

Green Party	18-24 years	25-34 years	35-44 years	45-54 years	55-64 years	65-74 years	75 years or over
July/August pre-Hager book release	25.7%	20.4%	14.6%	13.6%	10.1%	5.4%	3.5%
Post-Hager book release	41.5%	26.8%	13.2%	7.2%	5.5%	7.1%	1.1%



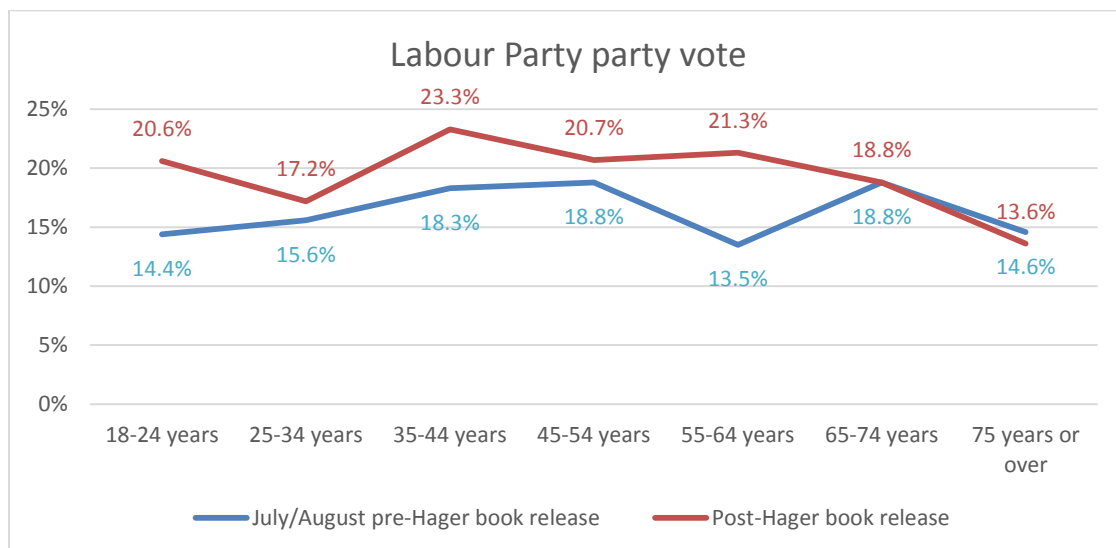
There are small increases in support for New Zealand First in four of seven age groups following the book's publication. However, these movements are within the margin of error for the survey and are not statistically significant.

New Zealand First	18-24 years	25-34 years	35-44 years	45-54 years	55-64 years	65-74 years	75 years or over
July/August pre-Hager book release	6.1%	6.3%	8.1%	8.9%	9.8%	12.8%	30.8%
Post-Hager book release	2.5%	12.7%	5.6%	10.0%	11.1%	14.7%	21.1%



Labour support has risen slightly across most age groups since the book's publication: among those who intend to cast a party vote for it at the September 20 election, there are more 18-64 year-olds.

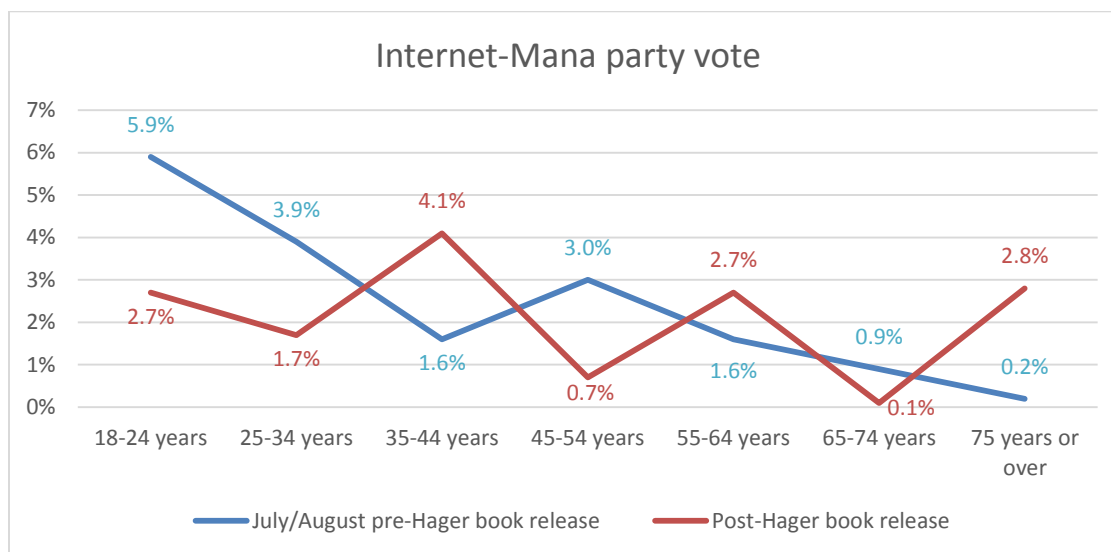
Labour Party	18-24 years	25-34 years	35-44 years	45-54 years	55-64 years	65-74 years	75 years or over
July/August pre-Hager book release	14.4%	15.6%	18.3%	18.8%	13.5%	18.8%	14.6%
Post-Hager book release	20.6%	17.2%	23.3%	20.7%	21.3%	18.8%	13.6%



The issue may have cost the Internet-MANA Party support among its primary 24-35 year-old target population.

It appears some younger adults have moved, mainly to the Green Party.

Internet-Mana Party	18-24 years	25-34 years	35-44 years	45-54 years	55-64 years	65-74 years	75 years or over
July/August pre-Hager book release	2.5%	2.4%	0.7%	1.4%	1.1%	1.8%	1.6%
Post-Hager book release	0.7%	1.8%	0.5%	0.3%	0.2%	0.8%	2.9%



13. FURTHER DETAIL

Detailed tables for results presented in this report, including results filtered by party voted for in 2011, are available separately from Horizon Research, as attachments or at www.horizonpoll.co.nz.

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Horizon Research is a member of Research New Zealand and follows its code of ethics and guidelines for conducting online research. It also adheres to international standards for conducting research and online research.

The manager of this survey has been engaged in running market research companies since 1973. Horizon's principals have been specialising in online research since 2005.