UNIVERSITY OF
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Waipapa Taumata Rau
NEW ZEALAND

KOI TŪ:
THE CENTRE FOR
INFORMED FUTURES

Perceptions of fairness in New Zealand

Phase 2 report

Koi Tū report to the New Zealand Treasury

Update August 2024

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June 2024

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Executive Summary

Koi Tū: The Centre for Informed Futures is working in partnership with NZIER and the New Zealand Treasury to better understand New Zealanders' perceptions of fairness.

This project aims to address the following research questions:
• What does fairness mean to New Zealanders?
• What economic conditions drive perceptions of fairness?
• To what extent are New Zealander's perceptions of fairness grounded in reality?

Phase 1 of the project was led by NZIER and took place from December 2023 to April 2024. It involved a stated-preference survey using a representative sample to develop an initial understanding of what fairness means to New Zealanders. Phase 2 (this phase) builds on the survey results using the public conversation forum Pol.is to develop a more nuanced understanding of New Zealand's perceptions of fairness. Pol.is inherently focuses attention on major differences of opinion and on areas of common ground.

Combining these approaches, the project aims to better understand New Zealanders' different perspectives on fairness and economic inequality, supporting more informed public discussion. Insights will help to provide advice on the distributional and equity implications of policy choices.

The conceptual framework for the project considered different conceptions of fairness – views about what ultimately matters about fairness (e.g. outcomes vs processes), as well as the 'currency' of fairness – what types of economic or social outcomes people feel are most important for fairness (e.g. income, wealth, quality of life, access to opportunities and services, or rights and freedoms).

Phase 2 approach
This phase utilised the online 'wiki survey' tool Pol.is, which allows participants to express their views by responding to short statements about an issue and adding their own statements for others to 'vote' on (agree, disagree or pass). In doing so, they are contributing to an evolving conversation that seeks to find areas of common ground, while also identifying differences of opinion. By combining qualitative and quantitative methodologies, Pol.is is well suited to opinion mapping and refining points of consensus. The visual representation that the software provides aims to ensure that participants can see all voices represented, and discern areas of agreement and disagreement amongst the groups.

The framing of the Pol.is conversation was based on the conceptions of fairness introduced in phase 1. A set of 22 seed statements were introduced to start the conversation, and voting patterns on these statements serve as a comparison between respondents in phase 1 vs phase 2.

Although the recruitment strategy did not aim for a representative sample, the demographics did not differ markedly from phase 1, aside from being dominated by residents of Auckland. Recruitment occurred via email and social media, with a total of 677 ultimately participating in the conversation. Participants were able to submit their own ideas and proposals for other participants to consider for a total of three weeks. The Pol.is closed on 7 June 2024.

Key findings

The Pol.is conversation was seeded with a set of 22 statements derived from the conceptual framing of phase 1, and evolved from there as participants added their own statements to be voted on by others. A total of 172 statements were moderated into the conversation.

Voting behaviours on the seed statements and related statements submitted by participants allowed a comparison of perceptions expressed in phase 1 vs phase 2. Overall these showed similar patterns regarding alignments with standard conceptions of fairness. However, the Pol.is conversation quickly surfaced areas of consensus and division between two distinct opinion groups.

Both groups believed that equality of opportunity was important for fairness. The larger group A did not feel that New Zealand currently offers fair opportunities for all. They also felt strongly that fairness of outcomes is quite important for overall societal fairness, and that having a large wealth gap is a problem for society. Group A firmly supported the idea that people have different starting points or barriers to overcome, with fairness requiring adjusting resources or opportunities to achieve better outcomes given these differences. In contrast, group B felt strongly that New Zealand offers fair opportunities for progress and that it is each individual's choice and responsibility to make the most of these. They believed that this equality of opportunity makes society fair and individuals should be rewarded for their effort or choices rather than being propped up by redistributive policies.

Less than a third of all respondents (28%) agreed that New Zealand is fairer for the current generation compared to previous generations. This is in line with the phase 1 results where about 26% of respondents said that life is fairer today than 30 years ago. However, a larger proportion of group B (42%) agreed with this statement when compared to group A (22%). Compared with group A, group B comprised a higher proportion of males (50% in group A vs. 72% in group B), and of older individuals (25% over age 60 in group A, vs. 46% in group B), but were otherwise similar with regard to ethnicity, income, education and other demographic characteristics.

The combination of the two survey methodologies used in this project provides a rich view of how New Zealanders think about fairness – both empirically and conceptually. Nonetheless, there are several areas that would benefit from further exploration. In some cases, the more nuanced framing of statements added to the Pol.is conversation may have brought up contradictions in voting patterns within one or the other opinion groups. This would be interesting to explore further in facilitated deliberations, enhancing the discussion with additional evidence and reasoning between people holding differing opinions which could further clarify the basis for these perceptions.

1. Introduction

Koi Tū: The Centre for Informed Futures is working in partnership with NZIER and the New Zealand Treasury on a research project to better understand New Zealanders' perceptions of fairness. We are asking the broad question: *"What does fairness mean to New Zealanders?"* This project aims to raise awareness of different perspectives on fairness and economic inequality, supporting more informed public discussion.

The research follows a mixed-methods approach consisting of two phases:
- Phase 1 took place from December 2023 to April 2024, and involved a stated-preference survey using a representative sample to develop an initial understanding of what fairness means to New Zealanders.
- Phase 2 (this phase) builds on the survey results using the public conversation forum Pol.is to develop a more nuanced understanding of New Zealand's perceptions of fairness. Pol.is inherently focuses attention on major differences of opinion and on areas of common ground.

This report provides a detailed analysis of the phase 2 Pol.is data and also integrates these findings with the results of the phase 1 survey.

1.1 What is Pol.is?

Pol.is is an interactive online tool used to gather and help make sense of ideas and feedback from large groups of people. It can provide rich knowledge about group support for ideas in a way that helps the participants themselves identify common ground. It has been referred to as a 'wiki-survey' in that it allows participants to both contribute (by voting) and respond by adding their own ideas based on prompts from statements already present in the survey.

Pol.is conversations begin from a set of short seed statements (up to 140-characters) that help to frame the discussion by offering a range of possible perspectives on the question at hand. Participants 'vote' on the statements by agreeing or disagreeing (or passing), and can add their own short statements for others to vote on. Because statements must be very short, the emphasis is on voting rather than writing, which lowers the barriers to entry into the conversation.

Statements are presented to participants in a semi-random order so that all statements can be considered on their own merit. Slight priority is given to newer statements, which tend to reflect refinement or nuanced reasoning as the conversation evolves. It is assumed that not all participants will consider all statements. People could participate at any time in the life cycle of the conversation.

Pol.is records the sentiments of participants, producing a visualisation of clusters of support for various positions. The graphical representation of voting patterns shows participants how their opinions compare with those of others. Participants who vote similarly on multiple statements are grouped together to form an 'opinion group' using Principal Component

Analysis (PCA).[1] Participants can explore what agreements or disagreements define each group, the differences between the groups, as well as areas that are agreed across groups.

Participants are encouraged to return to the Pol.is forum regularly over multiple weeks to review emerging patterns, vote on new statements and add their own ideas, perspectives, and proposals for all other participants to consider. These features promote greater learning and ownership amongst participants.

1.2. Project phase 2 - Pol.is forum on fairness

Following on from the NZIER survey method of phase 1, this phase 2 Pol.is project aims to further understand New Zealanders' views and ideas on fairness. Using Pol.is for this purpose allows a richer understanding of the different viewpoints and areas of agreement, while also identifying points of contention and uncertainty.

Recruitment for this phase utilised Koi Tū's email databases, encompassing around 2500 individuals who previously expressed interest in participating in Koi Tū projects and deliberative conversations. Broader invitations to join the conversation were made via LinkedIn, Twitter and Facebook, and to some student organisations. People were also encouraged to share the survey link with others.

From the pool of potential participants, a total of 677 people were actively involved in the Pol.is forum. This group voted (agreed or disagreed with, or passed) on at least one of the 172 statements that were moderated into the conversation. In total, 45,159 votes were cast and 266 people submitted 807 statements. On average, each participant considered and voted on 66 statements. Around 39% of participants added their own statements, providing 1.95 statements on average per contributor. The large number of statements proposed by the participants indicates high engagement in the process. The number of statements was moderated down to a more manageable number that didn't include duplications. Details of the Pol.is moderation, participant instructions, and privacy policies can be found in Appendix 1.

Figure 1 shows the number of people engaging in the conversation, from the time of first voting. Note that participants continued to join the conversation up until the Pol.is was closed, though the biggest jump in new participants occurred in the first week of the recruitment campaign.

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[1] PCA is a machine-learning method used to simplify a dataset by reducing the number of variables, while preserving as much information as possible.
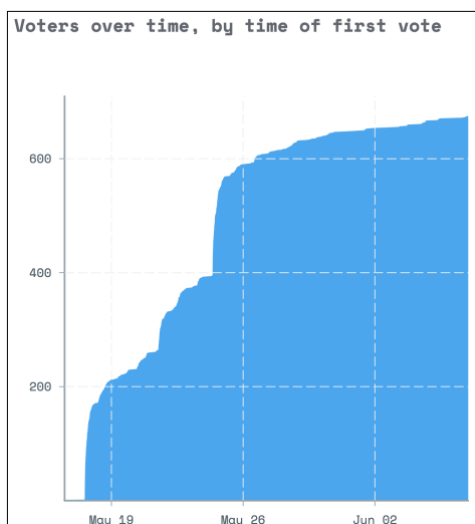
Figure 1. Number of new voters over time

1.3 Who participated?

To participate in the Pol.is, respondents registered by providing an email address and filling out a brief questionnaire to provide demographic information. The engagement did not attempt to achieve representativeness in the participant sample; but analysed a sample approximating the phase 1 data on most demographic characteristics, except region. The database used for recruitment contains email addresses of individuals who have expressed interest in participating in various Koi Tū projects. Most of these projects were based within the Auckland region. Although attempts were made to recruit participants outside of Auckland, the final participant list remain skewed towards Aucklanders.

Of the 677 total participants, demographic information was collected from 611 individuals, 56% of whom were male (n = 337), 43% were female (n = 259) and 1% were gender diverse or not specified (n = 10). The majority of the participants (56%) were aged between 30 and 60 (n = 344), with a large outlier population (19%) at over 70. 81% of participants are from Auckland (n = 469), and 77% of participants have tertiary qualifications (n = 469). In terms of ethnicity, 68% are NZ European/Pākehā (n = 414), 11% are Māori (n = 70), and 5% are Pacific Peoples (n = 37).

Details of the participant demographics are listed in Appendix 2.

2. Framing the conversation

The Pol.is conversation broadly looked at what fairness means to New Zealanders. There are four main questions we aimed to answer:
1. How do New Zealanders think social and economic outcomes should be distributed across society?
2. What types of outcomes do they think are most important for fairness?
3. How do they think social and economic outcomes are currently distributed?
4. To what extent do features of our society make New Zealand fair or unfair?

These questions cover both values-based judgements (questions 1 and 2) and perceptions of how fair New Zealand is currently (regardless of whether or not these reflect reality). Understanding New Zealanders' views on these questions will support public sector agencies to provide advice on the distributional and equity implications of policy choices.

Phase 1 focussed on fairness in relation to how social and economic outcomes (such as income, wealth, quality of life, and access to services and opportunities) are distributed in society, but recognised that fairness can also relate to how the law is administered or how disputes are resolved. The nature of the Pol.is discussion, which allows participants to expand the conversation into related areas, provides the opportunity for additional insight into how people view this complex topic.

Table 1 outlines the seven standard conceptions of fairness from political philosophy, as outlined by the Treasury in Te Tai Waiora, New Zealand's first Wellbeing Report.[2] These conceptions can be difficult to grasp so we developed simplified statements that relate to each concept.

Table 1. Conceptions of fairness

Conception of fairness	Description
Utilitarianism	The goal should be to maximise the total, aggregate amount of wellbeing in society; how this wellbeing is distributed across different people doesn't matter, except insofar as it impacts on the aggregate amount.
Maximin	What matters most is the absolute position of the people who are worst off (and not how badly they are off compared to others). Inequality of things such as income or wealth is only permissible if it is to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged, for example, if it increases the amount of economic product that is redistributed to the worst off.
Prioritarianism	Inequality of wellbeing itself is not necessarily a problem. What lies behind a concern with unequal wellbeing and economic inequality is an intuition that we ought to give weighted priority to those who are worst off.
Sufficientarianism	Inequality of wellbeing itself is not necessarily a problem. What lies behind a concern with unequal wellbeing and economic inequality is a concern with poverty. We need to ensure that each and every person has enough, or sufficient, wellbeing.
Libertarianism	We should avoid trying to impose a particular distribution of outcomes (including wellbeing outcomes), and instead focus on the process that leads to those outcomes. If the actions and processes that led to a given distribution of wellbeing were fair and just, then the distribution is fair and just.
Luck egalitarianism	Inequality of wellbeing could be the result of peoples' choices, or it could be caused by factors beyond their control. It is fair to let people experience the consequences (including impacts on their wellbeing) of their own choices, starting from a place of equal opportunity; but it is not fair or just to let them suffer for things that they could not control.
Relational egalitarianism	What matters, ultimately, is the moral equality of people, and this requires that we can relate to each other as social equals. Inequality of wellbeing and economic inequality is morally problematic when it impacts on people's ability to live in society as equals.

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[2] See https://www.treasury.govt.nz/publications/wellbeing-report/te-tai-waiora-2022

The Pol.is conversation was initially framed around these concepts and the four main questions relating to fairness, to catalyse participants' thinking. The information was available to participants on the project website. A set of 22 seed statements that reflected these conceptions were input into the Pol.is survey to get the conversation started (see **table 2**), after which participants added their own statements for others to vote on.

Table 2. 'Seed' statements prepared by the project team to provide framing for the Pol.is conversation, based on project phase 1.

ID#	Statement
0	Economic inequality is a problem because it does not help those who are worse off.
1	Economic inequality is a problem because people are not treated as social, legal and political equals.
2	Economic inequality is a problem because people have not had equal opportunities and reward for effort.
3	Economic inequality is a problem because it comes from failing to respect individual rights and freedoms.
4	Economic inequality is a problem because not everyone has enough.
5	Economic inequality is a problem because it makes society less well off overall.
6	In New Zealand today, differences in quality of life across society are fair.
7	In New Zealand today, there is fair access to opportunities and services.
8	In New Zealand today, income and wealth differences across society are fair.
9	Access to opportunities and services matters more for fairness than income or wealth.
10	Quality of life matters more for fairness than income or wealth.
11	I think New Zealand is fairer for the current generation compared to previous generations.
12	Life is fair for me compared to most people in New Zealand.
13	Life is fair for most people in New Zealand.
14	Life is fair for me in New Zealand.
15	The government rather than individuals should be responsible for making New Zealand society more fair.
16	Equal opportunities and reward for effort matter more for fairness than ensuring everyone has enough.
17	Making society as a whole as well off as possible matters more for fairness than ensuring everyone has enough.
18	Social, legal and political equality matter more for fairness than equal opportunities and reward for effort.
19	Economic inequality is a problem because it does not help those who are worse off.
20	Social, legal and political equality matter more for fairness than respect for individual rights and freedoms.
21	Equal opportunities and reward for effort matter more for fairness than respect for individual rights and freedoms.
22	Processes (i.e., rights, opportunities and how people are treated) matter more for fairness than outcomes (i.e., how well off people are).

3. Key findings

This section presents the key findings of the Pol.is forum. The technical report generated by the Pol.is software can be found here.

As expected, the Pol.is conversation evolved over time. Once voting began, two distinct opinion groups quickly emerged. Among the 677 total participants, 598 could be sorted

based on voting patterns into one of the two opinion groups. At the end of the Pol.is, group A had 453 participants and group B had 145 participants (see Appendix 2).

A number of consensus statements emerged early on and retained high support throughout the conversation, while there were also some very stark disagreements on some statements, with groups A and B holding opposing views on a number of key issues. Because group B represented a much smaller proportion of the full participant group, the majority option was generally different from the views of Group B.

The 'seed' statements that were prepared by the project team to frame the Pol.is conversation were based on phase 1 survey questions and the different conceptions of fairness. The results from the seed statements generally align closely with the phase 1 results. These are explored in the sections 3.3 to 3.7.

3.1 Opinion groups

Group A had the highest percentage of younger participants (33% under the age of 40, compared with 15% for Group B), while group B had the highest percentage of older participants (46% over the age of 60, compared with 25% for Group A). Group A participants consisted of 50% male, 48% female and 2% gender diverse, whilst group B consisted of 72% Male, 27% female and 1% gender diverse. Groups A and B had similar demographic makeup in terms of ethnicity, highest qualifications, employment status and home ownership.

Tables 3 and **4** presents statements that make groups A and B unique, respectively.

Table 3: Statements characteristic of Group A

ID	Statement	Overall votes of Group A %agree %disagree %pass (# of votes)	Group B %agree
	Statements with which the majority Group A agree		
84	It is unfair that poor social and economic outcomes are experienced more by some groups of people than others.	**94%** 1% 4% (260)	25%
86	Economic inequality is a problem because our policies concentrate wealth to a small part of society	**88%** 6% 4% (304)	15%
158	New Zealand needs to do more to address the ongoing impacts of colonisation.	**78%** 11% 9% (262)	8%
	Statements with which the majority Group A disagree		
166	I believe New Zealand offers fair opportunities for progress. Some people choose to not seize those opportunities. It is their choice.	13% **75%** 10% (283)	85%
118	NZ has gone too far down the road of giving handouts without promoting responsibility.	16% **70%** 12% (314)	89%

Table 4: Statements characteristic of Group B

ID	Statement	Overall votes of Group B %agree %disagree %pass (# of votes)	Group A %agree
	Statements with which the majority Group B agree		
118	NZ has gone too far down the road of giving handouts without promoting responsibility.	**89%** 6% 3% (127)	16%
166	I believe New Zealand offers fair opportunities for progress. Some people choose to not seize those opportunities. It is their choice.	**85%** 9% 4% (114)	8%
	Statements with which the majority Group B disagree		
158	New Zealand needs to do more to address the ongoing impacts of colonisation.	8% **85%** 5% (104)	78%
186	Economic inequality is a problem because our policies concentrate wealth to a small part of society	15% **72%** 11% (113)	88%
84	It is unfair that poor social and economic outcomes are experienced more by some groups of people than others.	25% **61%** 12% (104)	94%

Both groups believed that equality of opportunity was important for fairness. Group A did not feel that New Zealand currently offers fair opportunities for all. They also felt strongly that fairness of outcomes is quite important for overall societal fairness, and that having a large wealth gap is a problem for society. Group A thought that redistributive policies could potentially make society fairer. In contrast, group B felt strongly that New Zealand offers fair opportunities for progress and that it is each individual's responsibility to make the most of these. They believed that this equality of opportunity makes society fair and individuals should be rewarded for their effort or choices rather than being propped up by redistributive policies.

There were stark differences in how each group views the impact of colonisation. Almost 80% of Group A respondents agreed that there are ongoing impacts of colonisation that need to be addressed, whereas only 8% of Group B respondents agreed with this view.

3.2 Common definition of fairness

Table 5 presents some of the statements that were submitted and agreed upon by both groups of participants. This set of statements provides an understanding of how New Zealanders as a whole might define fairness. They suggest that a fair society is one in which each individual has the opportunity to thrive and has enough to live a good life, regardless of differences in characteristics such as economic standing, ethnicity, gender or age. A fair society also provides individuals the freedom to express their cultural values and differing views, without bias or discrimination.

Table 5: Agreed-upon statements that define fairness

ID	Statement	Support overall (# votes)	Support by group (# votes)
311	Fairness = opportunity to participate in nz society without constraints imposed by gender, ethnic background, or family/financial standing	90% agree (259)	A - 93% (186) B - 84% (73)
189	A fair society cares for all babies and children, regardless of the circumstances of their parents	88% agree (308)	A - 96% (214) B - 72% (94)
209	Fairness is making sure no one has to leave school because their family needs more income	87% agree (315)	A - 96% (218) B - 67% (97)
212	Fairness is being able to embrace your own culture and that doesn't mean you're excluded from nz culture	85% agree (308)	A - 89% (215) B - 76% (93)
415	Fairness isn't just about the redistribution of material wealth. It extends to changing cultural attitudes to reduce discrimination & bias.	85% agree (227)	A - 93% (163) B - 65% (64)
95	In a fair New Zealand we respectfully hear and consider each other's perspectives	84% agree (359)	A - 84% (249) B - 83% (110)
282	It is not fair that the opportunities and future of a child is determined by the wealth their parents.	80% agree (311)	A - 93% (224) B - 45% (87)
58	Fairness requires that we are not treated differently for things we can't change; gender, ethnicity, age	79% agree (362)	A - 75% (247) B - 86% (115)

3.2. Areas of consensus and division

The statements with the highest overall consensus at the end of the conversation are listed in **table 6**, while the most contentious statements – those with the highest level of disagreement between groups – are listed in **table 7**.

The statements which garnered strong agreement across both opinion groups related to valuing different types of contributions to society, and the idea that everyone has a role to play in making society more fair. There was also universal empathy for people who are struggling, and acknowledgement that personal circumstances might mean that people can't take up opportunities even if they are fairly accessible.

While the majority did not feel that differences in income, wealth and quality of life across New Zealand society today are fair, this mostly reflected the views of the larger opinion group A. Both groups believed that inequality of outcomes were not necessarily unfair if they resulted from choice rather circumstance, but group B differed markedly from group A in their view that circumstances in New Zealand did not make outcomes unfair for certain groups of people.

Table 6: Statements with the highest consensus (either agree or disagree) across the groups

ID	Statement	Overall votes %agree %disagree %pass (# of votes)
	Statements with which the majority agrees	
188	A fair society is one that values many different kinds of contributions	**95%** 2% 2% (305)
130	Investment in good public education, free to all, makes for a fairer NZ	**92%** 3% 4% (321)
152	I am saddened when I see other people struggling	**92%** 4% 3% (297)
91	Personal circumstances mean that not everyone can take advantage of opportunities in the same way, even when they are open to everyone	**90%** 7% 1% (361)
126	The government, organisations and individuals are all responsible for making society fair.	**87%** 9% 3% (242)
	Statements with which the majority disagrees	
14	In New Zealand today, income and wealth differences across society are fair.	16% **74%** 8% (424)
16	In New Zealand today, differences in quality of life across society are fair.	16% **74%** 9% (409)

Table 7: Statements eliciting the largest differences in opinions between groups

ID#	Statement	Overall votes %agree %disagree %pass (# of votes)	Votes by group %agree %disagree %pass (# of votes)
15	In New Zealand today, there is fair access to opportunities and services.	29% 62% 7% (506)	A – 12% 78% 8% (370) B – 75% 19% 5% (136)
118	NZ has gone too far down the road of giving handouts without promoting responsibility.	37% 52% 9% (441)	A – 16% 70% 12%(314) B – 89% 6% 3% (127)
123	There is fair access for most people if they wish to participate	40% 50% 8% (437)	A – 23% 66% 10% (311) B – 84% 12% 2% (126)
6	Equal opportunities and reward for effort matter more for fairness than ensuring everyone has enough.	40% 46% 13% (508)	A – 24% 59% 15% (371) B – 82% 10% 7% (137)
9	Life is fair for most people in New Zealand	32% 56% 11% (507)	A – 16% 71% 11% (372) B – 74% 14% 10% (135)
39	Everyone starts off equal. It is up to educators to help improve and individuals to do their best to learn for best future opportunities.	24% 69% 6% (372)	A – 10% 83% 5% (262) B – 57% 35% 7% (110)
5	Making society as a whole as well off as possible matters more for fairness than ensuring everyone has enough.	30% 51% 17% (454)	A – 17% 63% 19% (325) B – 62% 24% 13% (129)
166	I believe New Zealand offers fair opportunities for progress. Some people choose to not seize those opportunities. It is their choice.	34% 56% 9% (397)	A – 13% 75% 10% (283) B – 85% 9% 4% (114)

3.3 Concepts of fairness

Statements relating to different conceptions of fairness (outlined in **table 1**) are shown in **table 8**. These statements signal how New Zealanders think social and economic outcomes should be distributed across society. The conceptions of fairness that were most agreed upon in phase 1 were those associated with the fairness of processes rather than outcomes [luck egalitarianism (86%), libertarianism (85%), relational egalitarianism (83%)], with significant additional support for sufficientarianism (65%). In this phase, we gain a more nuanced understanding of how each group prioritises the different concepts of fairness.

Table 8: Statements relating to concepts of fairness (how social and economic outcomes should be distributed), sorted according to overall support (% agree).

ID	Statement	Support overall (# votes)	Support by group (# votes)
	Seed Statements		
1	Processes (i.e., rights, opportunities and how people are treated) matter more for fairness than outcomes (i.e., how well off people are).	54%agree (404)	A - 51% (282) B - 60% (122)
6	Equal opportunities and reward for effort matter more for fairness than ensuring everyone has enough.	40% agree (508)	A - 24% (371) B - 82% (137)
3	Social, legal and political equality matter more for fairness than respect for individual rights and freedoms.	38% agree (391)	A - 42% (273) B - 29% (118)
4	Social, legal and political equality matter more for fairness than equal opportunities and reward for effort.	38% agree (412)	A - 44% (292) B -25% (120)
2	Equal opportunities and reward for effort matter more for fairness than respect for individual rights and freedoms.	32% agree (403)	A - 28% (282) B - 22% (121)
5	Making society as a whole as well off as possible matters more for fairness than ensuring everyone has enough.	30% agree (454)	A - 17% (325) B- 62% (129)
	Statements submitted by participants		
35	A society where not everyone has enough to survive or live well can never be fair	77% agree (297)	A - 93% (281) B - 38% (116)
127	Ensuring everyone has enough makes society as a whole well off and ensures fairness.	76% agree (397)	A - 91% (278) B - 42% (119)
124	People should be able to keep more of what they earn. Be rewarded for hard work.	45% agree (415)	A - 30% (298) B - 84% (117)
463	Sometimes you can't do what you want, it's part of living in a society that respects others. Rights have responsibilties.	87% agree (184)	A - 84% (125) B - 93% (59)

When asked what matters more between two different conceptions of fairness, respondents from both groups A and B prioritised libertarianism above maximin, prioritarianism, luck egalitarianism and relational egalitarianism. Both groups A and B prioritised luck egalitarianism over relational egalitarianism, with stronger agreement from group B. However, there were distinct differences between the groups over the remaining conceptions of fairness. Group A prioritised utiliarianism and luck egalitarianism above sufficientarianism, while Group B prioritised sufficientarianism above utilitarianism and luck egalitarianism. Overall, both groups favoured fairness of processes and opportunities over equality of outcomes.

Participants also submitted statements potentially related to different conceptions of fairness.

- Statement #35 suggests that 77% of participants' views aligns with the concept sufficientarianism, with 93% of Group A and 38% of Group B in agreement.
- Statement #127 suggests that 76% of participants' views align with the concept of utilitarianism, with 91% of Group A and 42% of Group B in agreement.
- Statement #124 suggests that under half of participants (45%) align with the concept of luck egalitarianism, with 84% Group B and 30% of Group A in agreement.
- Statement #463 suggests that 87% of participants' views align with the concept of libertarianism, with 84% of Group A and 93% of Group B in agreement.

3.4. Perceptions of fairness in New Zealand

A key part of understanding how New Zealanders perceive fairness revolves around how fair they think life is for themselves, others and compared to past generations, and how they think social and economic outcomes are currently distributed. Seven of the original seed statements touched on these issues. Some of these statements were the most divisive in the conversation. **Table 9** presents statements relating to perceptions of fairness in New Zealand currently.

Table 9: Statements relating to perceptions of fairness in New Zealand, ordered according to level of overall support

ID	Statement	Support overall (# votes)	Support by group (# votes)
8	Life is fair for me in New Zealand.	59% agree (491)	A - 51% (357) B -79% (134)
10	Life is fair for me compared to most people in New Zealand.	51% agree (453)	A - 54% (323) B - 44% (130)
9	Life is fair for most people in New Zealand.	32% agree (507)	A -16% (372) B - 74% (135)
15	In New Zealand today, there is fair access to opportunities and services.	29% agree (506)	A - 12% (370) B - 75% (136)
11	I think New Zealand is fairer for the current generation compared to previous generations	28% agree (444)	A - 22% (315) B - 42% (129)
14	In New Zealand today, income and wealth differences across society are fair.	16% agree (424)	A - 3% (298) B - 49% (126)
16	In New Zealand today, differences in quality of life across society are fair.	16% agree (409)	A - 4% (288) B - 45% (121)

Among all respondents, 59% agreed with the statement "Life is fair for me in New Zealand", with 79% of group B respondents agreeing with this statement versus about half of group A respondents (51%). In phase 1, about half of all respondents (51%) said that life is fair for them.

About a third of respondents (32%) agreed that life is fair for most people in New Zealand (compared to 30% of phase 1 participants who said that life is fair for others). Group B overwhelmingly agreed that life is fair for most people in New Zealand (74%), while only 16% of group A respondents in agreement. This was a major point of disagreement between the groups. About half of all respondents (51%) agreed that life is fair for them compared to most people in New Zealand, with 54% of group A agreeing and 44% of group B agreeing.

Less than a third of all respondents (28%) agreed that New Zealand is fairer for the current generation compared to previous generations. This is in line with the phase 1 results where about 26% of respondents said that life is fairer today than 30 years ago. However, a larger proportion of group B (42%) agreed with this statement when compared to group A (22%).

Only 16% of all respondents agree that income and wealth differences across society are fair, with 3% of respondents in group A agreeing and 49% of respondents in group B agreeing. Group B participants were more likely to pass on this question, with only 33% disagreeing compared with 92% for group A. Phase 1 results show that less than 20% of all participants think that income and wealth differences are either fair or very fair in New Zealand, i.e., 19% think income differences are fair, while 16% think that wealth differences are fair.

Of all respondents, 29% agreed that New Zealanders have fair access opportunities and services. This differed markedly between opinion groups, with only 12% of respondents in group A agreeing, compared with 75% of respondents in groups B. In phase 1, 36% of all respondents thought that access opportunities and services are either fair or very fair.

Overall, only 16% of respondents agreed that differences in quality of life in New Zealand are fair, with 4% of respondents in group A agreeing and 45% of respondents in groups B agreeing. In phase 1, 35% of all respondents agreed that quality of life is either fair for very fair in New Zealand.

The results in **table 9** show substantial points of disagreement between the groups in their perceptions of the state of fairness in New Zealand. This is also observed in statements within the conversation relating to topics such as systemic discrimination, colonisation and racism. There were over 25 statements related to these themes which appear to corroborate some of the areas of contention in **table 9**. **Table 10** presents statements related to these areas. Responses suggest that group A is more likely to agree that racism and/or systemic discrimination exists within New Zealand society and need to be addressed. Group A is also more likely to agree that people are treated differently based on concepts such as ethnicity, gender, religion, etc., and that discrimination causes some groups to miss out on opportunities. Both groups A and B agree that people should be treated equally regardless of differences.

Table 10: Statements on systemic discrimination, colonisation and racism

ID	Statement	Support overall (# votes)	Support by group (# votes)
73	There is a quality of life that every New Zealander should have, no matter their circumstances or choices.	80% agree (385)	A - 92% (271) B - 50% (114)
260	Some people have less opportunities in life because of their race, gender, income, etc. Affirmative action provides them with opportunities.	72% agree (327)	A - 85% (235) B - 38% (92)
259	Systemic discrimination is rife in New Zealand. However, many deny this because it is difficult to see if you are not a victim of it.	68% agree (302)	A - 85% (215) B - 26% (87)
288	Fairness in NZ should include all races and ethnicities, and not single out some ethnicities over others.	68% agree (286)	A - 59% (203) B - 92% (83)
158	New Zealand needs to do more to address the ongoing impacts of colonisation	58% agree (366)	A - 78% (262) B - 8% (104)

3.5. Currency of fairness

Questions around the 'currency of fairness' seek to understand what outcomes are viewed as most important for fairness. **Table 11** lists statements relating to the types of outcomes that New Zealanders think are most important for fairness. The first two (statements 11 and 12) are seed statements and the rest were submitted by participants. Some of these statements had general consensus from both groups in the conversation, with the majority of each group agreeing. Others, although they garnered high overall support, illustrated the difference between the groups, with group B showing significantly less support compared with group A and with the overall agreement score. The way people voted on some of these statements might appear to be in contradiction to other voting behaviour by the same group, and would be interesting to explore further.

Table 11: Statements on outcomes

ID	Statement	Support overall (# votes)	Support by group (# votes)
	Consensus statements		
12	Quality of life matters more for fairness than income or wealth.	72% agree (403)	A - 72% (282) B - 73% (121)
13	Access to opportunities and services matters more for fairness than income or wealth.	69% agree (433)	A - 66% (307) B - 78% (126)
91	Personal circumstances mean that not everyone can take advantage of opportunities in the same way, even when they are open to everyone	90% agree (361)	A - 97% (248) B -73% (113)
209	Fairness is making sure no one has to leave school because their family needs more income	87% agree (315)	A - 96% (218) B - 67% (97)
200	Fairness means having a child with disabilities wouldn't stop you from having a good life	84% agree (300)	A - 92% (206) B - 64% (94)
245	When society is fair and equitable, everyone flourishes and lives happy and healthy lives	75% agree (334)	A - 84% (241) B - 52% (93)
	Contentious/divisive statements		
73	There is a quality of life that every New Zealander should have, no matter their circumstances or choices.	80% agree (385)	A - 92% (271) B - 50% (114)
35	A society where not everyone has enough to survive or live well can never be fair	77% agree (297)	A - 93% (281) B - 38% (116)
84	It is unfair that poor social and economic outcomes are experienced more by some groups of people than others.	74% agree (364)	A - 94% (260) B - 25% (104)
260	Some people have less opportunities in life because of their race, gender, income, etc. Affirmative action provides them with opportunities.	72% agree (327)	A - 85% (235) B -38% (92)
47	Supporting everyone to reach equitable outcomes is more important than offering equal opportunities	50% agree (388)	A - 61% (269) B - 23% (119)

At least 72% of participants in both groups A and B agreed that quality of life matter more for fairness than income and wealth. At least 66% of participants in both groups agreed that access to opportunities and services matter more for fairness than income or wealth. In phase 1, the majority of participants also prioritised quality of life and access to opportunities and services over income and wealth.

Table 11 also shows statements that were added by participants that also relate to outcomes. The high support from participants in both groups (72-73%) for statement #12 is

also reflected in statements submitted on happiness (e.g., statement #245). A large majority (75%) of all respondents believe that a fair and equitable society drives happy and healthy lives. Happiness is commonly accepted as a component of quality of life.

Another theme within the conversation that supported the results in Table 11 surrounds respondents' thoughts on disability. There were seven very similar disability-themed statements submitted to the forum, with one statement being moderated into the conversation (see statement #200). Both groups A and B believe that in a fair society, people of varying abilities should be afforded equitable access to support services and the ability to live a good life.

Several statements focus on the concepts of equity and equality (e.g., statements #209, 84, 47, 91 and 260). This was an area of contention with some holding the belief that everyone should be treated equally (in terms of opportunities, etc.), and no group(s) should be prioritised based on differences (equality). Others believe that some people may require extra support based on each individual's circumstances to reach an equal outcome (equity). Nonetheless, 90% of all participants, and the majority of participants in both Groups A and B, acknowledge that differences in personal circumstances means that not everyone can take advantages of opportunities in the same way.

3.6. Relationship between fairness and economic inequality

The statements in **table 12** relate to the circumstances that participants think make economic inequality a problem, and also align with the different conceptions of fairness. These results look a little different to phase 1, possibly because of the way the statements are framed. In the first survey, the most supported concepts were luck egalitarianism (83%), which only garnered 62% support in the Pol.is, though was strongly supported by group A (77%).

Table 12: Statements relating to economic inequality and fairness conceptions, ordered according to overall agreement.

ID	Statement	Related fairness concept	Support overall (# votes)	Support by group (# votes)
17	Economic inequality is a problem because it makes society less well off overall.	Utilitarian	72% agree (461)	A -84% (332) B - 38% (129)
18	Economic inequality is a problem because not everyone has enough.	Sufficient-arian	72% agree (485)	A - 88% (353) B - 30% (132)
22	Economic inequality is a problem because it does not help those who are worse off.	Prioritarian /maximin	62% agree (486)	A - 77% (351) B - 22% (135)
20	Economic inequality is a problem because people have not had equal opportunities and reward for effort.	Luck egalitarian	61% agree (473)	A -76% (342) B - 22% (131)
21	Economic inequality is a problem because people are not treated as social, legal and political equals.	Relational egalitarian	61% agree (484)	A - 72% (350) B - 23% (134)
19	Economic inequality is a problem because it comes from failing to respect individual rights and freedoms.	Libertarian	26% agree (416)	A - 29% (294) B - 18% (122)

Most (72%) respondents agreed that economic inequality is a problem because it makes society less well-off overall (utilitarianism), and because not everyone has enough (sufficientarianism). Group A overwhelmingly agreed with these statements (84% and 88% respectively) when compared with group B (38% and 30%).

About a quarter of respondents (26%) agreed that economic inequality is a problem because it comes from failing to respect individual rights and freedoms (libertarianism), with 19% from group A in agreement and 18% in group B. This differed from phase 1 where 85% agreed with libertarianism. Interestingly, group B did not appear to agree with any of the above statements, with the highest level of support being 38% with utilitarianism.

In phase 1, respondents were asked about when they think a change in income or wealth inequality would be fair. The highest proportion of participants selected a response that aligns with luck egalitarianism, followed by (in descending order of agreement) sufficientarianism, utilitarianism, prioritarianism/maximin, relational egalitarianism and libertarianism. In this phase, most respondents were aligned with utilitarianism and sufficientarianism, followed by luck egalitarianism, prioritarianism/maximin, and relational egalitarianism. The lowest level of alignment was with libertarianism, which more or less matches the Phase 1 results where participants were asked which of the seven conceptions were most important when determining whether a change in income or wealth inequality is fair.

3.7 Responsibility for fairness

The statements in **table 13** relate to whose job participants think it is to make society more fair in New Zealand. In phase 1, 57% ranked government first, 38% ranked individuals first and 10% ranked families/whānau first.

In this phase, seed statement #7 focused on the responsibility for fairness. Overall, 44% of respondents agreed that the government rather than individuals should be responsible for making New Zealand society more fair. This view was supported by 54% of group A, whereas most of group B (75%) placed the onus on individuals.

Further statements were submitted regarding responsibilities for fairness, including individual and familial/whānau responsibility, and the responsibility of the education system and charity groups. A statement added late in the conversation suggested that "It is not fair that the Government is expected to pay for parental responsibilities", and although few participants had a chance to vote on this, there was a stark difference between group A voters (who largely disagreed) and group B voters (who largely agreed). Group B tended to believe that there is too much looking to the government to make life fair, and that we all have a part to play by taking responsibility for life choices. The general theme is that society as a whole has some role to play in fairness, not just government, but also individuals, charities, whānau and other groups.

Table 13: Statements relating to responsibility for fairness

ID	Statement	Support overall (# votes)	Support by group (# votes)
7	The government rather than individuals should be responsible for making New Zealand society more fair.	44% agree (478)	A - 54% (347) B - 19% (131)
126	The government, organisations and individuals are all responsible for making society fair.	87% agree (366)	A - 92% (347) B - 76% (109)
49	It is unfair that food banks in NZ are funded by volunteer organizations and private donations rather than the government funding	52% agree (350)	A - 67% (246) B - 17% (104)
388	Everyone should play a part in making our society more fair, but government has the most power and influence	83% agree (197)	A - 90% (135) B - 67% (62)
463	Sometimes you can't do what you want, it's part of living in a society that respects others. Rights have responsibilties.	87% agree (184)	A - 84% (125) B - 93% (59)
39	Everyone starts off equal. It is up to educators to help improve and individuals to do their best to learn for best future opportunities.	24% agree (372)	A - 10% (125) B - 57% (59)

There were over 45 tax-themed statements submitted to the forum, which could lend support to the over 50% of Group A's participants who think that the government holds the greater share of the responsibility for making New Zealand fairer. Of the 19 tax-themed statements that were moderated into the conversation, group A participants were more likely to agree that a wealth or capital gains tax would create a fairer society, decrease wealth hoarding and help break cycles of poverty. Statement #628, which had relatively fewer votes as it was submitted later in the conversation, suggests that Group A participants were also happier to pay higher taxes to ensure fairer society. Group B generally thinks the current tax system is fair. Some of the statements on taxation which garnered the most votes are shown in **table 14**.

Table 14: Statements on tax policies

ID	Statement	Support overall (# votes)	Support by group (# votes)
384	Mega wealthy institutions would pay a much bigger share of tax in a fair society	82% agree (211)	A - 96% (144) B - 53% (67)
299	Tax policy that enables students & those coming off the benefit/jobseeker to get ahead before paying full tax may help break poverty cycles	70% agree (265)	A - 76% (187) B - 57% (78)
194	In a fair society, tax structures would discourage people from hoarding their wealth	60% agree (355)	A - 75% (255) B - 21% (100)
210	Fairness is a tax on luxury goods to ensure everyone gets the basics	50% agree (352)	A - 64% (252) B - 15% (100)
628	I am happy to pay a higher income tax rate if it creates a fairer society.	73% agree (97)	A – 90% (73) B – 20% (24)
302	Tax brackets are adequately targeted to ensure fair contribution to a fair society according to personal circumstances	23% agree (233)	A – 11% (163) B – 52% (70)
237	Individuals work hard to obtain luxury goods, taxing this would be unfair.	20% agree (306)	A – 6% (216) B – 56% (90)

3.8. Other common themes

There were some other themes that have emerged repeatedly in the conversation.

There were several statements submitted that focused on the gap between the rich and poor (see **table 15**). Overall, 81% of respondents agreed that social cohesion is damaged when the gap between rich and poor is too large. The opinion groups voted differently on this, with 97% of group A respondents agreeing with this statement, compared with only 45% of group B.

Table 15: Statements relating to the gap between rich and poor

ID	Statement	Support overall (# votes)	Support by group (# votes)
31	Economic inequality is a problem because it damages social cohesion when the gap between rich and poor is too big	81% agree (392)	A – 97% (275) B – 45% (117)
86	Economic inequality is a problem because our policies concentrate wealth to a small part of society	69% agree (417)	A – 88% (304) B –15% (113)
94	In a fair New Zealand the difference in wealth between richest and poorest is much smaller	64% agree (402)	A – 79% (286) B – 29% (116)

There were six submitted statements related to wealth 'hoarding'. The general consensus amongst group A participants was that wealth hoarding and the accumulation of intergenerational wealth creates an unequal society, while group B more was more likely to disagree (see **table 16**).

Table 16: Statement on wealth hoarding

ID	Statement	Support overall (# votes)	Support by group (# votes)
194	In a fair society, tax structures would discourage people from hoarding their wealth	60% agree (355)	A – 75% (255) B - 21% (100)

There were six submitted statements mentioning the influence that wealthy individuals have on government. Group A overwhelmingly believes that the wealthy have power and influence over the government, while less than half of group B respondents hold this belief (see **table 17**).

Table 17: Statement on wealth and influence

ID	Statement	Support overall (# votes)	Support by group (# votes)
139	It is unfair that rich people have more influence over government	80% agree (318)	A - 96% (220) B - 43% (98)

4. Overall project summary – phase 1 and 2.

The Pol.is tool has provided a rich forum for ideas about fairness in New Zealand to be expressed and considered. Comparing the results of this forum with those of the phase 1 survey brings up some interesting findings.

The results gathered from the Po.is phase 2 seed statements were, in most cases, similar to the phase 1 results. The phase 2 results presented a more nuanced understanding of fairness by highlighting differences of opinions between the two distinct groups, which in some cases were quite pronounced. Moreover, as the conversation progressed and unique statements were added by participants, we observed extra support for the responses to some seeds statements, and contradictions in thought processes for others.

The conversation showed that despite some clear differences in world views, both groups were in general agreement as to what they believe should underpin fairness in New Zealand. These themes centered on access to opportunities for all to thrive and live a good life regardless of background, freedom to express one's cultural values without discrimination, and empathy for those who are less fortunate.

Phase 1 participants were more likely to align with the conceptions of fairness that were associated with fairness of processes rather than outcomes (e.g., luck egalitarianism, libertarianism and relational egalitarianism). In phase 2, seed statements were used to ask participants to make trade-offs between different conceptions of fairness, and participants also tended to favoured fairness of processes and opportunities over equality of outcomes. However, when participants responded to submitted statements relating to specific conceptions, group A were more likely to align with statements related to outcomes (e.g., sufficientarianism and utilitarianism) while group B were more likely to align with statements related to processes and opportunities (e.g., luck egalitarianism and libertarianism).

There were several areas where the results of the Pol.is conversation aligned with phase 1 results. Generally, participants in both phases tended to agree that quality of life and access to opportunities and services matter more for fairness than income and wealth. They also felt that the responsibility for fairness should not fall solely on the government; but individuals, charities, whānau and other groups all have a role to play. Regarding their perceptions of how fair New Zealand society is today, the majority of participants thought that income and wealth differences as well differences in quality of life across society are unfair. Participants also tended to think life is less fair today compared to the past.

The Pol.is forum surfaced some clear areas of contention, where differences between groups A and B were prominent. Over half of all respondents in both phases 1 and 2 expressed the belief that life is fair for them in New Zealand, but a higher proportion of group A participants in phase 2 disagreed with this. Similarly, while about a third of participants agreed that life is fair for most people, group A members were less likely to believe this to be true. Although both groups believed people should be treated equally, regardless of differences, a much larger portion of group A respondents agreed that discriminatory practices exist in New Zealand and need to be addressed, and that some groups miss out on opportunities because of this. In contrast, group B was more likely to agree that there is fair access to opportunities and services in New Zealand.

What did Pol.is add to our understanding?

It should be noted that before preferences can be expressed, they must be formed, and this often comes through participation in the type of discussion that Pol.is allows for. We would expect that over time, if the same statements were repeated, some engaged participants might change their mind on matters that they have previously answered (i.e. changing their answer from disagree to agree, or *vice versa*) or answer when they previously passed. Pol.is as it is currently configured does not give the option to reconsider the same statement more than once. It does, however, allow participants (or moderators) to add statements that might clarify confusing or contentious points by including a justification or reasoning within the statement text. This shows the beginning of a form of deliberation that may be useful for setting up further engagement, for example in deliberative mini-public forums or citizens' assemblies.

There are several areas that would benefit from further exploration. Topics on which contention remains high provide points to focus further deliberation in other engagement fora. For example, there appeared to be an entrenched divide around whether or not all New Zealanders have equal access to opportunities to advance themselves. Although most participants agreed that people can't all take up opportunities in the same way, there was a divide about how much help should be offered to those who may not be starting from the same position as others. Bringing more evidence and reasoning to the debate may clarify positions and determine whether perceptions on this issue are able to be shifted.

Appendices

Appendix 1 – Pol.is moderation policies and instructions

The participation instructions, statement moderation policy, and privacy policy used for the polis are listed below. This information was available to participants on the survey website.

Instructions
- o Answer a statement by clicking 'agree,' 'disagree,' or 'pass/unsure.' The next statement will automatically appear.
- o If you can't bring yourself to categorically agree or disagree with a statement, the challenge is to write and submit a 'better' one!
- o To add a statement, fill out the 'share your perspective' box and click submit.
- o Click on opinion groups or the 'majority opinion' button to explore areas of agreement and difference. Note that the opinion groups will not be shown to start with but will be displayed once enough people have voted on enough statements.
- o You don't need to 'vote' on all the statements at one time – Pol.is will only present you with statements you haven't considered
- o More detailed instructions are available [here](#).

Statements and moderation
- o You cannot reply directly to a statement
- o Statements should be about a standalone idea that improves existing statements, or presents new perspectives, experiences, issues, or proposals.
- o Statements can be a maximum of 140 characters, so be concise.
- o Statements should not include multiple ideas.
- o Statements must be on topic, clear and should not name people, be offensive or be duplicates of other published statements.
- o The moderation team will aim to accept, or decline submitted statements within 72 hours.

Voters and statements are anonymous
- o Participants cannot see who has submitted a statement or how any individual has voted.
- o The moderators cannot see who has submit a statement or how any individual has voted.
- o The reports that Pol.is generates do not identify anyone.
- o The Pol.is is on a member-only page of the dashboard.
- o The project team will not identify individuals when it analyses the data and reports findings.

Koi Tū Pol.is Privacy Statement
- o We ask for your email address in order to send occasional reminders while the Pol.is conversation is running, and to share the results of the Pol.is after it closes. Your email is assigned a unique identification code, which is associated with the information you provided in the registration form. This code is used as your Pol.is login code. Neither your email address nor any of the personal information you provide is passed on to the Pol.is application or to other parties. This information is stored in an encrypted database managed by Koi Tū and the University of Auckland. Results of the Pol.is conversation will be compiled into a report to help New Zealand Treasury to understand participants' perspectives on fairness. No information that could

identify any individual will be included in this report or any other publication. By participating in the Pol.is you are giving Koi Tū consent to use the information you provide in the registration form.

Appendix 2 – Participant demographics

Demographic information is available for 611 out of the 677 total participants. The table shows the total number of participants at the top, and then the total for each demographic.

Categories	Total #	Group A	Group B	Ungrouped	Phase 1 %
Total # of participants	677	453	145	79	
Age					
18 to 19 years	2 (0%)	2 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	5%
20 to 24 years	24 (4%)	17 (4%)	3 (2%)	4 (7%)	9%
25 to 29 years	39 (6%)	37 (9%)	2 (2%)	0 (0%)	9%
30 to 34 years	53 (9%)	44 (10%)	5 (4%)	4 (7%)	9%
35 to 39 years	54 (9%)	42 (10%)	9 (7%)	3 (5%)	9%
40 to 44 years	63 (10%)	42 (10%)	16 (12%)	5 (8%)	11%
45 to 49 years	42 (7%)	36 (9%)	5 (4%)	1 (2%)	10%
50 to 54 years	70 (11%)	56 (13%)	10 (8%)	4 (7%)	8%
55 to 60 years	62 (10%)	36 (9%)	21 (16%)	5 (8%)	11%
60 to 64 years	45 (7%)	27 (6%)	13 (10%)	5 (8%)	7%
65 to 69 years	41 (7%)	21 (5%)	15 (12%)	5 (8%)	7%
70 years and over	116 (19%)	60 (14%)	31 (24%)	25 (41%)	6%
Total	611	420	130	61	
Gender					
Female	259 (43%)	208 (50%)	93 (72%)	36 (60%)	49%
Male	337 (56%)	200 (48%)	35 (27%)	24 (40%)	51%
Another gender	10 (2%)	9 (2%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0%
Total	606	417	129	60	
Ethnicity					
NZ European	414 (68%)	296 (70%)	84 (65%)	34 (57%)	69%
Māori	70 (11%)	51 (12%)	10 (8%)	9 (15%)	19%
Samoan	21 (3%)	14 (3%)	4 (3%)	1 (2%)	2%
Cook Islands Māori	12 (2%)	6 (1%)	4 (3%)	0 (0%)	0%
Tongan	1 (0%)	1 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1%
Niuean	3 (0%)	2 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2%)	1%
Chinese	24 (4%)	19 (5%)	4 (3%)	1 (2%)	7%
Indian	28 (5%)	19 (5%)	4 (3%)	4 (7%0	6%
Other	142 (23%)	66 (16%)	32 (25%)	19 (32%)	11%
Total	611	420	130	60	
Region					
Northland	5 (1%)	5 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3%

Auckland	469 (81%)	301 (76%)	114 (90%)	54 (92%)	34%
Waikato	12 (2%)	11 (3%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	9%
Bay of Plenty	8 (1%)	5 (1%)	2 (2%)	1 (2%)	6%
Gisborne	1 (0%)	1 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1%
Hawkes Bay	2 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	1 (2%)	4%
Taranaki	3 (1%)	3 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3%
Manawatū-Whanganui	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	5%
Wellington	49 (8%)	41 (10%)	5 (4%)	3 (5%)	11%
Tasman	3 (1%)	3 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2%
Nelson	4 (1%)	2 (1%)	2 (2%)	0 (0%)	1%
Marlborough	1 (0%)	1 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1%
West Coast	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1%
Canterbury	12 (2%)	11 (3%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	13%
Otago	13 (2%)	13 (3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4%
Southland	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3%
Total	582	397	126	59	
Highest qualification					
No qualification	11 (2%)	4 (1%)	4 (3%)	3 (5%)	5%
School qualification	45 (7%)	28 (7%)	10 (8%)	7 (11%)	22%
Post-school qualification	84 (14%)	55 (13%)	25 (19%)	4 (7%)	32%
Bachelors degree or higher	469 (77%)	331 (79%)	91 (70%)	47 (77%)	40%
Total	609	418	130	61	
Employment status					
In paid work	410 (67%)	299 (71%)	81 (62%)	30 (50%)	72%
Looking for a job	41 (7%)	31 (7%)	8 (6%)	2 (3%)	9%
Not looking for a job	159 (26%)	90 (21%)	41 (32%)	28 (47%)	20%
Total	610	420	130	60	
Home ownership					
Yes	444 (73%)	292 (70%)	111 (85%)	41 (67%)	64%
No	167 (27%)	128 (30%)	19 (15%)	20 (33%)	36%
Total	611	420	130	61	

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