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Te Pātaka Rangahau a Te Whare Pāremata

Final Results for the 2008 New Zealand General Election

24 December 2008

Parliamentary Library Research Paper

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- ▶ This paper provides a summary of the New Zealand General Election of 8th November 2008, based on the final (official) results released by the Chief Electoral Office, following the counting of special votes.
- ▶ The final results confirm the total number of seats in Parliament will be 122. In MPs per capita, New Zealand ranks below the OECD average of 4.83 MPs per 100,000 population among unicameral parliaments.
- ▶ Although the National Party has lost one list seat compared to election night — and now has 58 seats in total – its share of the party vote (44.93%) is the highest it has achieved under MMP.
- ▶ The Green Party has gained one list seat compared to election night, and now has nine seats in total, after its share of the party vote increased to 6.72 % following the counting of special votes.
- ▶ There are no changes to the number of seats held on election night by other parties, although their share of the party vote has changed.
- ▶ All electorate candidates leading on election night have been confirmed as winning their seats. The electorate with the largest winning margin (20,547) was Helensville, while New Plymouth was the electorate with the smallest winning margin (105).
- ▶ Women comprise 34% of the new Parliament, the highest proportion to date of any New Zealand Parliament. Internationally, this level of representation of women in Parliament now places New Zealand among the top fifteen countries on this measure.
- ▶ The median age of the 2008 parliament is 51.0 years. The youngest MP is 28 years old – the oldest, 71 years. In generational terms, over two-thirds (67%) of the 49th Parliament are ‘baby boomers’, one-quarter (25%) are ‘generation X’, and 8% are from the pre World War Two generation.
- ▶ In 2008 20 MPs (16% of MPs) listed their previous occupation as a ‘manager or administrator’, confirming the trend for increasing numbers of these professionals (which include public servants) to enter Parliament.
- ▶ The next election must be held by Saturday 7th January, 2012.

Final Results after Special Votes

The General Election of 8th November was New Zealand's 49th since general elections began in 1853, and the fifth election conducted under the Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) electoral system. This research paper summarises differences between the provisional and final election results, shows trends in the share of the vote and seats over time, analyses the demographic makeup of the 49th Parliament, and provides international comparisons where possible.

Following the counting of special votes and the release of the official results for the 2008 New Zealand General Election, there are seven political parties and 122 members represented in the 49th Parliament. An overhang of two seats has been created by the Māori Party winning five of the seven Māori electorates; it would otherwise have been entitled to three seats based on its 2.39 % share of the party vote. Table 1 shows trends in the number of candidates, seats, and parties since 1938. It shows, for example, that the number of electorate candidates and total candidates for the 2008 election was the lowest in MMP elections to date. The number of MPs per capita in 2008 was 2.9 per 100,000 people, below the average over the 1938-2008 period of 3.4 per 100,000 people. This level of representation ranks New Zealand 9th highest among the 30 industrialised countries of the OECD for lower chambers, just above the OECD average of 2.83 MPs per 100,000 people. However, when just OECD unicameral

Table 1: Candidates, Seats, Parties at New Zealand General Elections, 1938-2008

| Year General Election | Electorate candidates (1) | List only candidates | Total candidates | General electorates | Māori electorates | Total electorates | List seats | Total Seats / MPs | MPs per 100,000 population | Parties (2) |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------|-------------------|----------------------------|-------------|
| 1938 | 192 | – | 192 | 76 | 4 | 80 | – | 80 | 3.6 | 2 |
| 1943 | 312 | – | 312 | 76 | 4 | 80 | – | 80 | 5.0 | 2 |
| 1946 | 183 | – | 183 | 76 | 4 | 80 | – | 80 | 4.9 | 2 |
| 1949 | 214 | – | 214 | 76 | 4 | 80 | – | 80 | 4.5 | 2 |
| 1951 | 181 | – | 181 | 76 | 4 | 80 | – | 80 | 4.3 | 2 |
| 1954 | 271 | – | 271 | 76 | 4 | 80 | – | 80 | 4.1 | 2 |
| 1957 | 278 | – | 278 | 76 | 4 | 80 | – | 80 | 3.6 | 2 |
| 1960 | 283 | – | 283 | 76 | 4 | 80 | – | 80 | 3.4 | 2 |
| 1963 | 307 | – | 307 | 76 | 4 | 80 | – | 80 | 3.2 | 2 |
| 1966 | 273 | – | 273 | 76 | 4 | 80 | – | 80 | 3.0 | 3 |
| 1969 | 317 | – | 317 | 80 | 4 | 84 | – | 84 | 3.0 | 2 |
| 1972 | 467 | – | 467 | 83 | 4 | 87 | – | 87 | 3.0 | 2 |
| 1975 | 433 | – | 433 | 83 | 4 | 87 | – | 87 | 2.8 | 2 |
| 1978 | 437 | – | 437 | 88 | 4 | 92 | – | 92 | 2.9 | 3 |
| 1981 | 339 | – | 339 | 88 | 4 | 92 | – | 92 | 2.9 | 3 |
| 1984 | 466 | – | 466 | 91 | 4 | 95 | – | 95 | 2.9 | 3 |
| 1987 | 424 | – | 424 | 93 | 4 | 97 | – | 97 | 2.9 | 2 |
| 1990 | 677 | – | 677 | 93 | 4 | 97 | – | 97 | 2.9 | 3 |
| 1993 | 689 | – | 689 | 95 | 4 | 99 | – | 99 | 2.8 | 4 |
| 1996 | 611 | 231 | 842 | 60 | 5 | 65 | 55 | 120 | 3.2 | 6 |
| 1999 | 679 | 286 | 965 | 61 | 6 | 67 | 53 | 120 | 3.1 | 7 |
| 2002 | 593 | 90 | 683 | 62 | 7 | 69 | 51 | 120 | 3.0 | 7 |
| 2005 | 597 | 142 | 739 | 62 | 7 | 69 | 52 | 121 | 2.9 | 8 |
| 2008 | 522 | 160 | 682 | 63 | 7 | 70 | 52 | 122 | 2.9 | 7 |

Notes:

1. Includes candidates for Māori electorates.
2. Parties gaining Parliamentary representation; excludes Independents.

Sources: For 1957 - 1978: J O Wilson, *NZ Parliamentary Record 1840-1984*, p. 295-296; For 1981 - 2008: NZ Electoral Commission, *The NZ Electoral Compendium 2002*, p. 176; NZ Electoral Commission, <http://www.elections.org.nz/news/candidate-and-party-lists-media-release.html>

parliaments are considered, New Zealand ranks below the OECD average of 4.83 MPs per 100,000 population.

Table 2 shows the impact of the 251,779 valid special votes – counted after the provisional results of Election Day (November 8th, 2008) – on the final allocation of seats. The National Party's final share of the party vote dropped 0.52 percentage points to 44.93%, while the Green Party's share rose 0.29 percentage points to 6.72%. This resulted in the National Party's initial allocation of 59 seats being reduced to a final entitlement of 58 seats, and the Green Party's initial allocation of 8 seats being increased to a final entitlement of 9 seats. Both changes affected the number of list MPs in each party, although the total number of MPs in Parliament was not affected.

Table 2: 2008 Final Party Vote and Seat Count

| Party | Valid Party Votes | | | | Seats | | |
|--|----------------------------------|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|------------------|------------|-------------|
| | Provisional Total ⁽¹⁾ | Final Total | Provisional Share (%) | Final Share (%) | Final Electorate | Final List | Final Total |
| National Party | 951,145 | 1,053,398 | 45.45 | 44.93 | 41 | 17 | 58 |
| Labour Party | 706,666 | 796,880 | 33.77 | 33.99 | 21 | 22 | 43 |
| Green Party | 134,622 | 157,613 | 6.43 | 6.72 | 0 | 9 | 9 |
| ACT New Zealand | 77,843 | 85,496 | 3.72 | 3.65 | 1 | 4 | 5 |
| Māori Party | 46,894 | 55,980 | 2.24 | 2.39 | 5 | 0 | 5 |
| Jim Anderton's Progressive | 19,536 | 21,241 | 0.93 | 0.91 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| United Future | 18,629 | 20,497 | 0.89 | 0.87 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| New Zealand First | 88,072 | 95,356 | 4.21 | 4.07 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Other ⁽²⁾ | 49,380 | 58,105 | 2.36 | 2.48 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total Valid Party Votes | 2,092,787 | 2,344,566 | 100% | 100% | | | |
| Informal / Disallowed Votes ⁽³⁾ | 12,316 | 31,914 | 0.59 | 1.34 | | | |
| TOTAL VOTES CAST / SEATS | 2,105,103 | 2,376,480 | | | 70 | 52 | 122 |

Notes:

1. Provisional figures share as at 8 November; See John Wilson and Geoffrey Anderson, *The 2008 New Zealand General Election: Provisional Results*, Parliamentary Library Research Paper, 2008/04; Final figures as at 22 November.

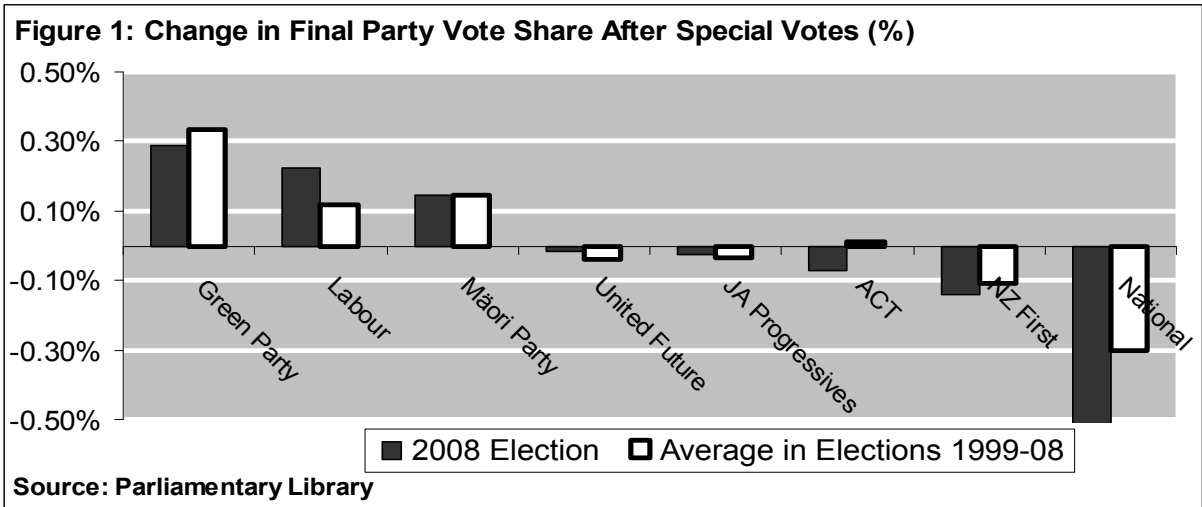
2. Final party vote share for parties in the 'Other' category include: The Bill and Ben Party (0.56%), Kiwi Party (0.54%), Aotearoa Legalise Cannabis Party (0.41%), New Zealand Pacific Party (0.37%), Family Party (0.35%), Alliance (0.08%), Democrats for Social Credit (0.05%), Libertarianz (0.05%), Workers Party (0.04%), RAM – Residents Action Movement (0.02%), and The Republic of New Zealand Party (0.01%).

3. 'Informal Votes' are votes cast by electors, qualified to vote, which are not counted because the ballot paper did not clearly indicate the party or the electorate candidate vote, or both. 'Disallowed votes' are votes disallowed for one of the following reasons: no ground stated for a special vote, arrived late, declaration not enclosed, incomplete declaration, ballot paper not enclosed, or address invalid for electorate.

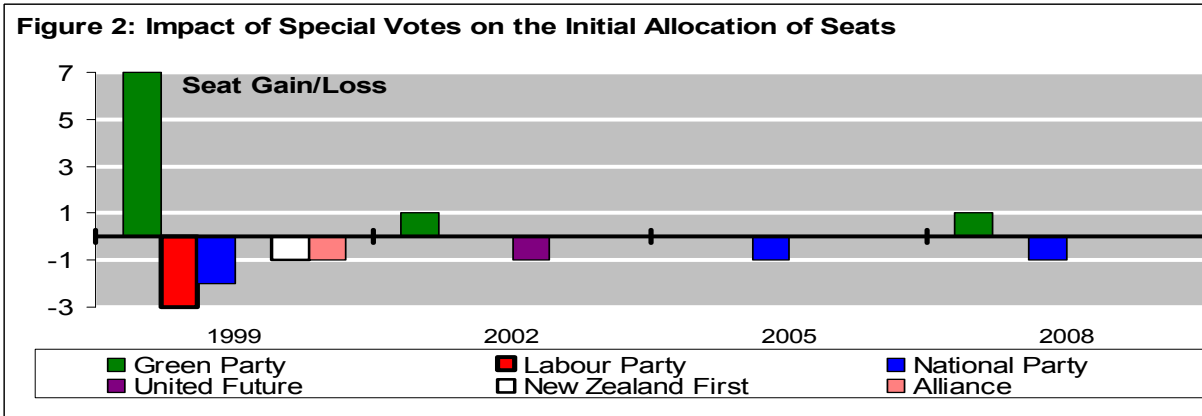
Source: Ministry of Justice, Chief Electoral Office, <http://2008.electionresults.govt.nz/e9/html/statistics.html>

Apart from the National Party and the Green Party, special votes had no impact on the initial allocation of seats for all other parties made on election night. However, special votes saw both the Labour Party and the Māori Party increase their share of the party vote by 0.22 percentage points and 0.15 percentage points respectively. ACT New Zealand, Jim Anderton's Progressive, and United Future saw slight declines in their share of the party vote (see Table 2 and Figure 1).

Figure 1 shows the change in the share of the party vote held by each party after the counting of special votes in 2008, and compares that with the average change seen in elections from 1999-2008. The Green Party, for example, had the largest gain in its share of the party vote in 2008 – an increase of 0.29 percentage points. On average, in elections from 1999 to 2008, the Green Party has seen its share of the party vote increase 0.33 percentage points. By contrast, the National Party saw the largest decrease among parliamentary parties in its share of the party vote (0.52 percentage points). Overall, the National Party has averaged a 0.33 percentage point decline between provisional and final results in elections from 1999 to 2008.



Although special votes result in only minor changes to the parties' final percentage share of the party vote, special votes (accounting for about 10% of the votes cast in New Zealand general elections) have had substantial impacts on the final election outcome. Figure 2 shows the number of seats affected by special votes in MMP elections since 1999. In 1999, for example, the impact of special votes meant five parties and 14 seats were affected, resulting in the Labour-Alliance majority coalition government becoming a minority coalition government. In the 1999 election, the Green Party went from having no seats in Parliament to seven seats (including an electorate seat) once the special votes had been counted. In 2005 special votes reduced the total number of MPs in Parliament from 122 to 121 and thereby reduced the threshold required for confidence and supply for the governing coalition parties.



Party Vote Share and Parties in Parliament: 1981-2008

When the 2008 election is compared with the 2005 election, the National, Green, ACT, and Māori Parties increased both their share of the party vote and their total seats, while the Labour, United Future, and New Zealand First Parties saw both a decrease in their share of the party vote and their seats in the House (Table 3). The National Party increased its party vote by 5.8 percentage points above its 2005 election result and gained 10 seats, the Green Party gained 1.4 percentage points and three seats, ACT New Zealand gained 2.1 percentage points and 3 seats, and the Māori Party gained 0.3 percentage points and 1 seat. The Labour Party lost 7.1 percentage points and 7 seats, United Future lost 1.8 percentage points and 2 seats, and New Zealand First lost 1.7 percentage points but all 7 of its parliamentary seats. Jim Anderton's Progressive lost 0.3 percentage points from 2005, but retained its 1 seat in Parliament.

Table 3: Party Vote Share and Seats by Parliamentary Party, 2005 and 2008

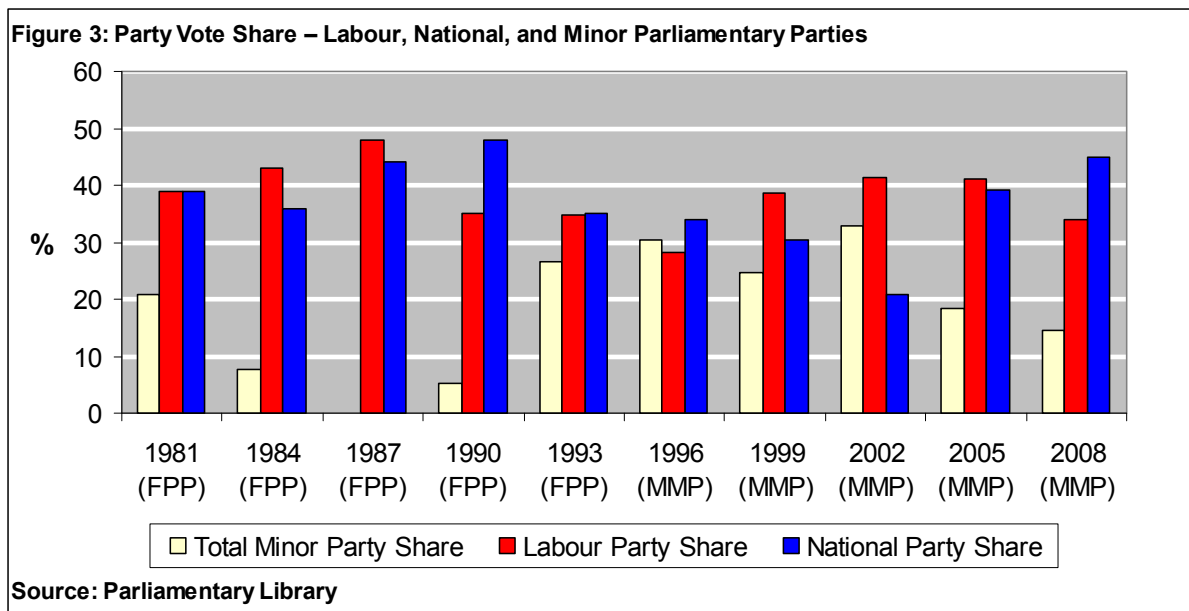
| Party | Final Party Vote Share | | | Total Seats (at election) | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------|--------|-------------------|---------------------------|------|----------------|
| | 2005 | 2008 | Change (% points) | 2005 | 2008 | Change (seats) |
| National Party | 39.10% | 44.93% | +5.83 | 48 | 58 | +10 |
| Labour Party | 41.10% | 33.99% | -7.11 | 50 | 43 | -7 |
| Green Party | 5.30% | 6.72% | +1.42 | 6 | 9 | +3 |
| ACT New Zealand | 1.51% | 3.65% | +2.14 | 2 | 5 | +3 |
| Māori Party | 2.12% | 2.39% | +0.27 | 4 | 5 | +1 |
| Jim Anderton's Progressive | 1.16% | 0.91% | -0.25 | 1 | 1 | No change |
| United Future | 2.67% | 0.87% | -1.80 | 3 | 1 | -2 |
| New Zealand First Party | 5.72% | 4.07% | -1.65 | 7 | 0 | -7 |

Sources: Ministry of Justice, Chief Electoral Office, The General Election 2005; Ministry of Justice, Chief Electoral Office, <http://2008.electionresults.govt.nz/e9/html/statistics.html>

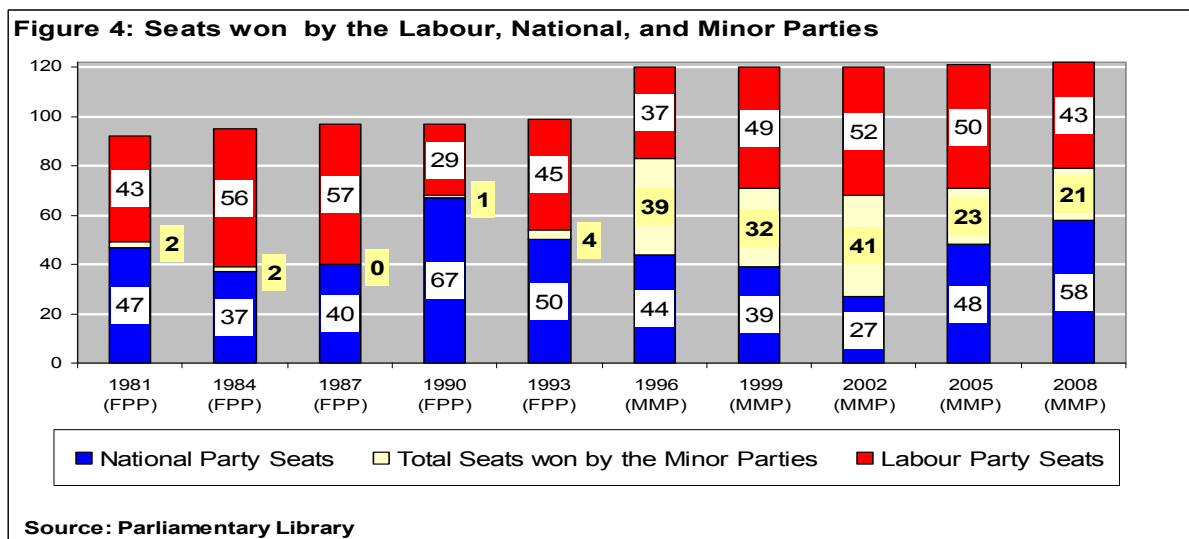
Under First-Past-the-Post (FPP) elections, from 1981 to 1993, the National Party averaged 40.31% of the vote while the Labour Party averaged 39.96%. Under Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) elections, from 1996 to 2008, the National Party has averaged 33.86% of the party vote compared to the 36.66% average for the Labour Party. Figure 3 shows that the National Party's share of the party vote in 2008 (44.93%) is the highest it has achieved under MMP and, since 1981, was only surpassed by its 1990 election result when it achieved 47.82%. The National Party's total of 58 seats is also the highest it has achieved under MMP. The Labour Party's share of the vote in 2008 (33.99%) is the lowest it has achieved in any election since 1981, apart from the 1996 MMP election when it achieved 28.19%. Across MMP elections to date, for the current parliamentary parties, the average party vote share has been 6.05% for the Green Party, 5.09% for ACT New Zealand, 2.33% for United Future, 2.26% for the Māori Party, and 1.26% for Jim Anderton's Progressive.

The total vote share for the minor parties gaining representation in Parliament has doubled under MMP compared to FPP elections – from an average 12% over the FPP elections from 1981 to 1993 to an average 24% under MMP

elections from 1996 to 2008. The five minor parties gaining parliamentary representation in 2008 gained a total 14.5% share of the party vote – the lowest share of any MMP election to date (see Figure 3).



Under First-Past-the-Post elections, from 1981 to 1993, representation in Parliament was dominated by the two major parties, Labour and National. On average, these two parties captured 98% of the seats in Parliament from a combined average of 80% of the vote from 1981 to 1993. In MMP elections between 1996 and 2008, Labour and National won a combined average of 74% of the seats from a combined average of 70% of the total party vote. In the 2008 election, the two major parties won 101 seats between them (83% of the seats) from 79% of the total party vote (see Figure 4).



Under FPP elections from 1981 to 1993 minor parties that gained parliamentary representation won about 2 seats on average each election – about 2% of the seats from an average 12% of the vote. In MMP elections, from 1996 to 2008, minor parties that gained parliamentary representation won, combined, around 31 seats on average each election – or 26% of the seats from about 24% of the vote. In the 2008 election, the minor parliamentary parties won 21 of the 122 seats (17%) – the lowest number of seats and the lowest share of seats in any MMP election to date (see Figure 4).

The Electorates

All 70 electorate candidates who won their seats on election night were confirmed as the electorate representative after the counting of special votes. A majority of the electorates were won by the National Party which won 41 electorates, 10 more than their electorate total after the 2005 election. The National Party gained 9 electorates previously held by the Labour Party (Auckland Central, Hamilton West, Maungakiekie, New Plymouth, Ōtaki, Rotorua, Taupō, Waitakere, and West Coast-Tasman) and also won the new electorate of Botany. The Labour Party won 21 electorates, 10 fewer than its 2005 election total, losing 9 electorates to the National Party and the Te Tai Tonga electorate to the Māori Party. Its 2008 electorate seat total is the lowest it has won in any MMP election, the lowest in any election since 1931, and the first time under MMP that it has won fewer electorate seats than list seats.

Table 4 below shows both the ten electorates with the highest winning margin (majority), and the ten electorates with the smallest winning margin. For example, the Helensville electorate had the biggest winning margin among the 70 electorates, as well as the highest share of valid electorate votes. The average winning margin and average electorate vote share were 7,858 and 55.34% respectively. Of 70 electorates, 53 winning candidates won with a majority (over 50%) of the valid electorate votes, while 17 electorates were won with a plurality of the valid electorate votes.

Table 4: The Winning Candidate's Margin and Electorate Vote Share

| The 10 Electorates with the Largest Winning Margin | | | | The 10 Electorates with the Smallest Winning Margin | | | |
|--|----------|--------|-----------------------------|---|---------------|--------|-----------------------------|
| Electorate | Party | Margin | Valid Electorate Vote Share | Electorate | Party | Margin | Valid Electorate Vote Share |
| Helensville | National | 20,547 | 73.61% | Palmerston North | Labour | 1,117 | 46.82% |
| Bay of Plenty | National | 17,604 | 64.88% | Te Tai Tonga | Māori Party | 1,049 | 47.30% |
| Tāmaki | National | 17,020 | 65.74% | Ōhariu | United Future | 1,006 | 32.61% |
| Hunua | National | 15,858 | 64.41% | West Coast-Tasman | National | 971 | 46.51% |
| Rodney | National | 15,635 | 60.41% | Christchurch Central | Labour | 935 | 43.83% |
| Taranaki-King Country | National | 15,618 | 68.67% | Hauraki-Waikato | Labour | 888 | 52.49% |
| Clutha-Southland | National | 15,475 | 67.87% | Rimutaka | Labour | 753 | 39.27% |
| Whangarei | National | 14,663 | 64.16% | Waitakere | National | 632 | 44.90% |
| North Shore | National | 14,574 | 61.85% | Waimakariri | Labour | 390 | 44.09% |
| Coromandel | National | 14,560 | 63.05% | New Plymouth | National | 105 | 48.18% |
| Average: General Electorates | | 8,222 | 55.07% | | | | |
| Average: Māori Electorates | | 4,580 | 59.77% | | | | |
| Average NZ Electorates | | 7,858 | 55.34% | | | | |

Source: Ministry of Justice, Chief Electoral Office, <http://2008.electionresults.govt.nz/e9/html/statistics.html>

The electorate where the winning candidate won with the lowest share of the electorate votes cast was Ōhāriu (32.61%).

The Māori Party won 5 electorates in total, holding the 4 previously held after the 2005 election (all with increased majorities) and gaining the electorate of Te Tai Tonga (see Appendix 1 for details concerning all electorates).

ACT New Zealand leader, Rodney Hide, was re-elected to the Epsom seat with a final majority of 12,882 votes – an increase of 9,780 votes on his 2005 margin of 3102.

Jim Anderton's Progressive leader, the Hon Jim Anderton, was re-elected to the electorate seat of Wigram with a majority of 4,767 – a decrease of 3,781 votes on his 2005 margin of 8,548.

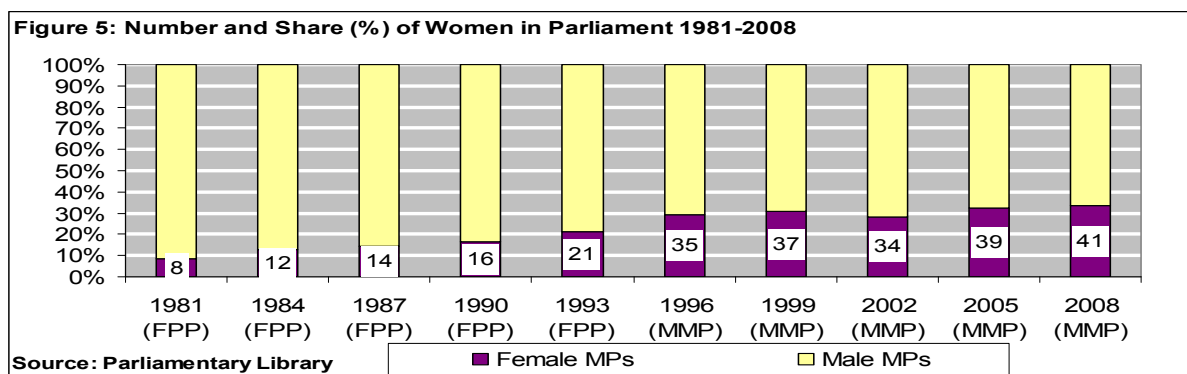
United Future New Zealand leader, the Hon Peter Dunne, was re-elected to the electorate seat of Ōhāriu with a majority of 1,006 – a decrease of 6,696 votes on his 2005 margin of 7,702. The Green Party was the only parliamentary party not to win any electorate seats.

Demographic Makeup of the 49th Parliament

In 2008 2.38 million New Zealand voters elected 122 members of Parliament to represent their views and interests. One view of the representation of such interests places importance on representativeness – the degree of similarity between members of Parliament and the population as a whole, or whether Parliament can be seen as a microcosm of society.¹

As a proportional representation system, MMP ensures that voters' party preferences are proportionally reflected in the party composition of Parliament. However, whether Parliament reflects the general composition of the New Zealand population – in terms of general demographic characteristics – is determined more by the political parties themselves, through their choice and ranking of candidates. Indirectly, however, MMP may help to increase the representativeness of Parliament by broadening the number and type of political parties that achieve representation. In turn these newer political parties may achieve representation by choosing candidates who appeal to the electorate on a variety of demographic characteristics such as gender, ethnicity, and age. Consequently, it is argued that *"one central virtue of proportional systems is the claim that they are more likely to produce a Parliament which reflects the composition of the electorate"*.²

Figure 5 shows that on gender grounds, the representativeness of Parliament has increased significantly since the advent of MMP, although it still falls short as a microcosm of New Zealand society as a whole.



¹ This is of course not the only view of representation. See, for example, Hanna Pitkin (1991), 'Representation', *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Political Thought*, (ed) David Miller, Basil Blackwell.

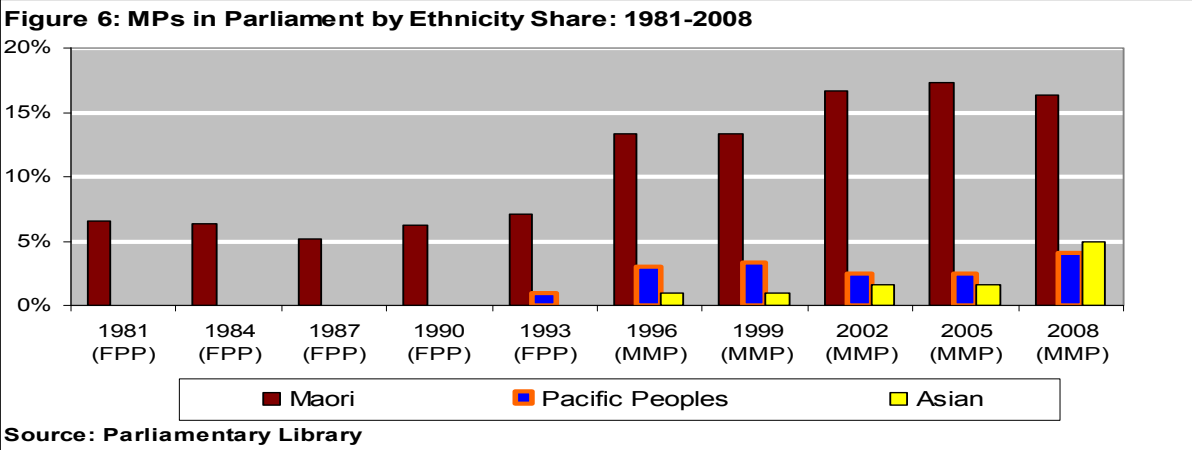
² P. Norris, 'Choosing Electoral Systems: Proportional, Majoritarian and Mixed Systems', *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 18, 1997, p. 309.

Although New Zealand was the first country in the world to grant women the vote (in 1893), women were not allowed to stand for Parliament until 1919. In 1933 New Zealand's first woman MP, Elizabeth McCombs, was elected as the MP for Lyttelton. Since then the representation of women in Parliament has increased markedly with a record 41 women MPs in the 49th Parliament, compared with the 39 elected to the previous Parliament (see Figure 5). Overall, women comprise 34% of the new Parliament, the highest proportion to date of any New Zealand Parliament.

Internationally, this level of representation of women in Parliament now places New Zealand among the top fifteen countries on this measure. According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union, Rwanda (56%), Sweden (47%), and Cuba (43%) have the greatest proportions of women represented in their parliaments among the 188 countries surveyed. Belgium (35%), Iceland (33%), and South Africa (33%) have similar proportions of women to New Zealand represented in Parliament.³

On ethnicity grounds, the representativeness of Parliament has also increased significantly since the advent of MMP (see Figure 6). The new Parliament has 20 MPs who have self-identified as being of Māori descent, compared with 21 in the previous Parliament. Overall, MPs who identify as being of Māori descent comprise 16% of the Parliament, which compares to the 18% of the population identifying as being of Māori descent in the 2006 census.

The new Parliament has 5 MPs who identify as being of Pacific Peoples ethnicity, compared with 3 in the previous Parliament. Overall, MPs who identify as being of Pacific Peoples ethnicity comprise 4% of the Parliament, which compares to the 7% of the population who identified as being of the Pacific Peoples ethnic group in the 2006 census.



The new Parliament has 6 MPs who identify as being of Asian ethnicity, compared with 2 in the previous Parliament. Overall, MPs who identify as being of Asian ethnicity comprise 5% of the Parliament, which compares to the 9% of the population who identified as being of the Asian ethnic group in the 2006 census.

In terms of age, Figure 7 shows that those aged 18-29 years are underrepresented in the 49th Parliament, since this age group comprises over 21% of the New Zealand voting age population (VAP), but just 2% of Parliament. By contrast, those aged 40-59 are over-represented in Parliament when compared to the general 18+ population. In generational terms, over two-thirds (67%) of the 49th Parliament are 'baby boomers', one-quarter (25%) are generation X, and 8% are from the generation born prior to World War Two (also known as the 'silent generation').⁴ The median age of the 2008 Parliament is 51.0 years. The youngest MP is 28 years old – the oldest, 71 years.

³ Inter-Parliamentary Union, 'Women in National Parliaments', 18 December, 2008. Available at: <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>

⁴ Although there is much debate about the dates and lengths of these generational cohorts, it is generally accepted that a generation is about 20 years long. Here the pre World War Two generation is defined as those born from 1926 to 1945 inclusive, baby boomers are those born from 1946 to 1965 inclusive, and Generation X are those born from 1966 to 1985 inclusive.

Figure 7: The Composition of the 49th Parliament by Age Group

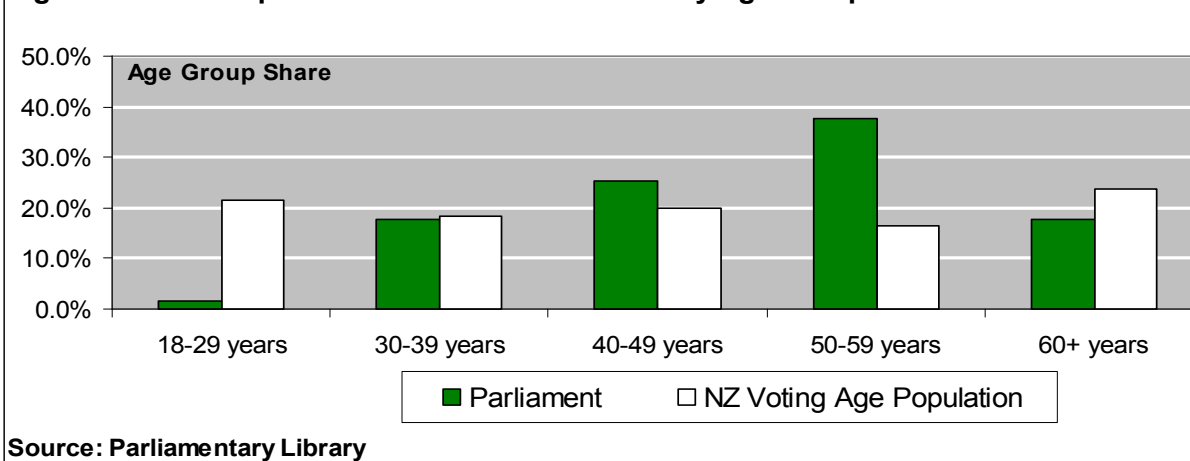


Table 5 below sets out the previous occupations of MPs as a share of successive Parliaments since 1990. In 2008 20 MPs (16% of MPs) listed their previous occupation as a 'manager or administrator', confirming the trend for increasing numbers of these professionals (which include public servants) to enter Parliament. In previous parliaments since 1990, 'businessperson' had usually been the single biggest occupational category in New Zealand Parliaments – but in 2008 this category ranked as just the 4th largest. The legal profession, teaching, and farming are the other commonest occupational backgrounds for MPs – farmers were commoner in the Parliaments of 1990-1996, while teachers have outnumbered farmers in Parliaments since. In 2008 there are a record 18 lawyers in Parliament, double the number present in 2005. The share of MPs who were previously union workers (5%) is the lowest in the 1990-2008 period, while the number of accountants, engineers, and media workers has remained in the single figures over that time. Among the 20 MPs in the 'other' category in 2008 are 5 diplomats, 3 doctors, and two ministers of religion.

Table 5: Previous Occupations of MPs 1990-2008

| Occupation | 1990 | 1993 | 1996 | 1999 | 2002 | 2005 | 2008 |
|-----------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Manager/Administrator | 4% | 4% | 8% | 6% | 8% | 9% | 16% |
| Lawyer | 12% | 12% | 13% | 8% | 10% | 7% | 15% |
| Teacher | 10% | 10% | 17% | 18% | 18% | 15% | 14% |
| Businessperson | 20% | 19% | 18% | 17% | 19% | 20% | 11% |
| Farmer | 16% | 16% | 8% | 12% | 8% | 10% | 8% |
| Trade Unionist | 6% | 6% | 7% | 6% | 8% | 7% | 5% |
| Accountant | 6% | 6% | 4% | 3% | 2% | 2% | 4% |
| Media | 4% | 4% | 3% | 2% | 2% | 1% | 3% |
| Local Govt. | 2% | 2% | 3% | 5% | 6% | 3% | 2% |
| Engineer | 4% | 4% | 3% | 3% | 3% | 2% | 2% |
| Consultant | 2% | 2% | 6% | 8% | 6% | 7% | 2% |
| Other (or not stated) | 12% | 14% | 11% | 13% | 12% | 17% | 16% |
| TOTAL | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |

Notes: Businessperson includes company directors, managing directors, self-employed, real estate agents, investment bankers, and chairpersons of private businesses. 'Teacher' includes lecturers and school principals. 'Lawyer' excludes MPs who have been lawyers but whose most recent occupation has been in another sector. The category of manager/administrator includes financial administrator, voluntary sector administrator, executive officers of public agencies, executive assistant, public servants. 'Other' includes doctors, nurses, veterinarians, librarians, ministers of religion, community workers or coordinators of community organisations, diplomats, and MPs whose previous occupation is publicly unavailable.

Source: Statistics New Zealand, NZ Official Yearbook; MPs' biographies as listed on political party websites.

Voter Enrolment and Turnout

A total of 2.99 million people were enrolled to vote in the 2008 general election, or 95.3 percent of the estimated eligible voting age population (VAP) – the highest proportion of the VAP enrolled since 1981 when 97.2 percent of the eligible population enrolled, and slightly above the 95.2 percent who were enrolled in 2005.

A total of 405,430 voters of Māori descent were enrolled – 229,666 (57%) were enrolled on the Māori roll and 175,764 (43%) were enrolled on the general roll. There were 59,667 voters enrolled with an overseas postal address compared to the 43,535 who were enrolled in 2005.

However, differences in enrolment by age group can be noted. Figure 8 shows, for example, that while eligible voters under 30 years represent 21.4% of the total voting age population, this age group accounts for almost two-thirds (64%) of the total eligible voters who were not enrolled in 2008. In the context of the party vote, the 93,540 voters under 30 who were not enrolled was the 4th largest bloc of voters – similar to the level of support for the New Zealand First Party which received 95,356 party votes.

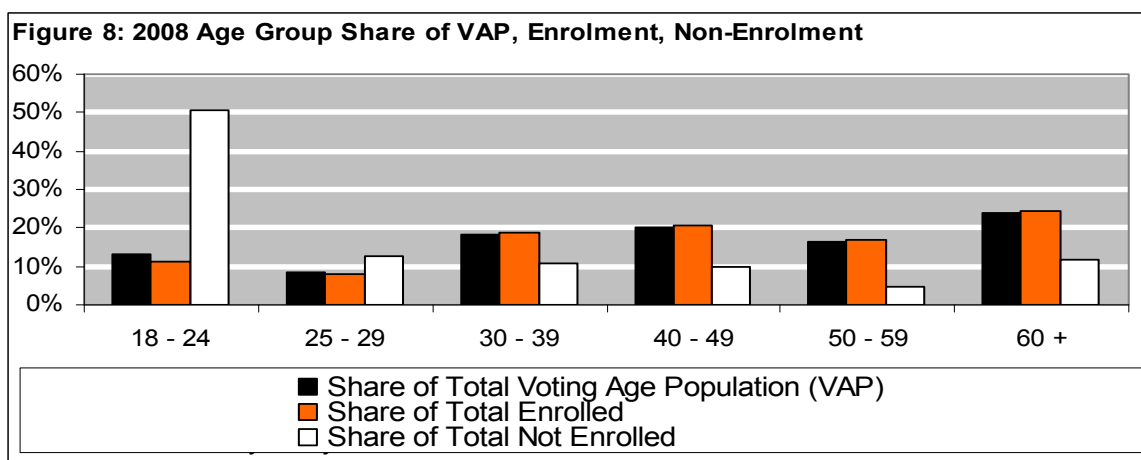
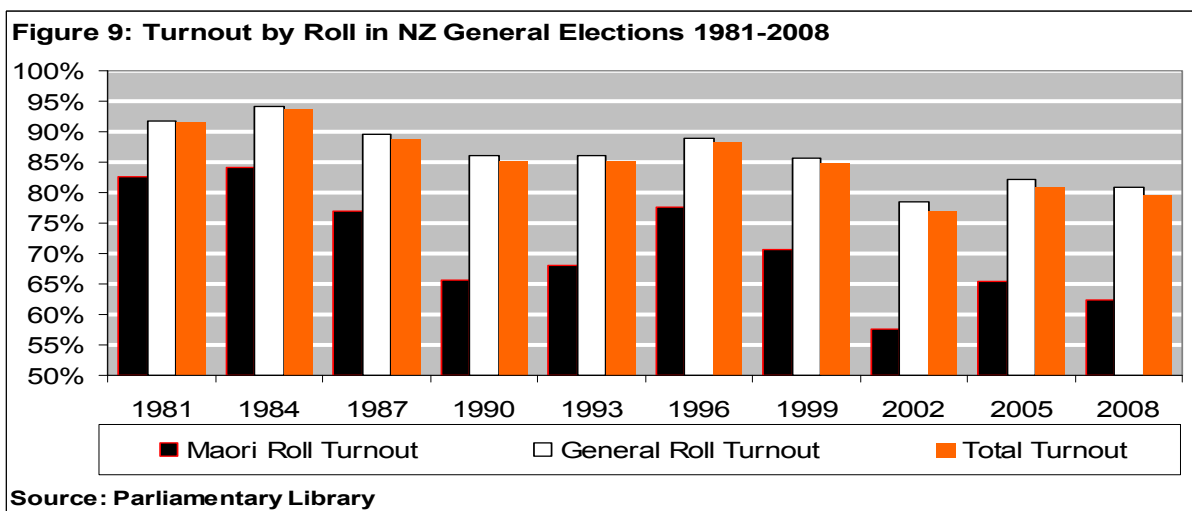


Figure 9 shows that voter turnout (total party votes cast as a proportion of enrolled electors) for the 2008 General Election was 79.5% overall, a slight decrease on the 80.9% overall turnout of those enrolled in 2005. As a measure of political participation, total voter turnout in New Zealand between 1981 and 2008 has averaged 85.5% – a high level of voter participation when compared with other Western democracies.

In FPP elections from 1981 to 1993, the average overall turnout was 88.9% while in MMP elections from 1996 to 2008 the average overall turnout was 82.1%.



Voter turnout of those on the Māori roll generally falls below that of those on the general roll. In the 2008 election the turnout of those on the Māori roll was 62.4% – a decrease from the 2005 Māori roll turnout of 65.5%. The 2008 Māori roll turnout was the lowest in any election since 1981, apart from 2002 when it was 57.6%. The 2008 turnout was also below the average Māori roll turnout of 71 percent for elections between 1981 and 2008. MMP also does not appear to have increased voter participation by those on the Māori roll. About three quarters (76%) of those on the Māori roll voted on average in FPP elections between 1981 and 1993, while two thirds (66.7%) of these electors voted on average in MMP elections between 1996 and 2005. As can be seen from Table 6, the general electorate with the lowest turnout had a higher turnout than the Māori electorate with the highest turnout.

The next election must be held by Saturday 7th January, 2012.

| Table 6: Turnout in Selected General Electorates and the Māori Electorates, 2005, 2008 | | | | | |
|--|-----------------|-----------------|--|-----------------|-----------------|
| The 10 General Electorates with the Highest Turnout | | | The 10 General Electorates with the Lowest Turnout | | |
| | 2005 Turnout | 2008 Turnout | | 2005 Turnout | 2008 Turnout |
| Ötaki | 84.78% | 85.00% | Whanganui | 80.87% | 79.06% |
| Wellington Central | 86.58% | 84.94% | Wigram | 79.87% | 79.03% |
| Selwyn | .. | 84.39% | Hamilton West | 80.22% | 78.63% |
| Öharius | 85.77% | 84.30% | New Plymouth | 81.31% | 78.56% |
| Rongotai | 85.70% | 84.23% | Mt Roskill | 79.76% | 77.67% |
| Rodney | 84.31% | 83.89% | Te Atatü | 79.01% | 77.46% |
| Waitaki | .. | 83.42% | Botany | .. | 76.29% |
| Dunedin South | 84.80% | 83.36% | Manurewa | 75.81% | 73.58% |
| Port Hills | .. | 83.32% | Māngere | 72.89% | 71.56% |
| North Shore | 82.98 | 83.24% | Manukau East | 73.26% | 71.55% |
| Average: All General Electorates | | | | 82.01% | 80.88% |
| Māori Electorates | | | | 2005 Turnout | 2008 Turnout |
| Waiariki | | | | 69.43% | 64.54% |
| Te Tai Tonga | | | | 67.25% | 64.18% |
| Te Tai Tokerau | | | | 69.79% | 63.25% |
| Te Tai Hauāuru | | | | 68.52% | 63.24% |
| Ikaroa-Rāwhiti | | | | 67.38% | 62.69% |
| Hauraki-Waikato (Tainui) | | | | 65.74% | 60.89% |
| Tāmaki Makaurau | | | | 62.05% | 58.48% |
| Average: All Māori Electorates | | | | 67.07% | 62.41% |
| Combined Average All Electorates | | | | 80.92% | 79.46% |
| Notes: | | | | | |
| 1. Turnout is based on total votes cast as a share of the enrolled electors. | | | | | |
| 2. Because of boundary changes between 2005 and 2007, not all electorates are strictly comparable. | | | | | |
| Source: Ministry of Justice, Chief Electoral Office, The General Election 2005; Ministry of Justice, Chief Electoral Office, http://2008.electionresults.govt.nz/e9/html/statistics.html | | | | | |

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Appendix 1: Members of Parliament by Electorate – Final Results

| Electorate | Member | Party | Margin in Seat | Party Change | New MP |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|---------------|----------------|--------------|--------|
| Auckland Central | KAYE, Nikki | National | 1,497 | Yes | Yes |
| Bay of Plenty | RYALL, Tony | National | 17,604 | No | No |
| Botany (new electorate) | WONG, Pansy | National | 10,872 | – | No |
| Christchurch Central | BURNS, Brendon | Labour | 935 | No | Yes |
| Christchurch East | DALZIEL, Lianne | Labour | 5,765 | No | No |
| Clutha-Southland | ENGLISH, Bill | National | 15,475 | No | No |
| Coromandel | GOUDIE, Sandra | National | 14,560 | No | No |
| Dunedin North | HODGSON, Pete | Labour | 7,155 | No | No |
| Dunedin South | CURRAN, Clare | Labour | 6,449 | No | Yes |
| East Coast | TOLLEY, Anne | National | 6,413 | No | No |
| East Coast Bays | McCULLY, Murray | National | 13,974 | No | No |
| Epsom | HIDE, Rodney | ACT | 12,882 | No | No |
| Hamilton East | BENNETT, David | National | 8,820 | No | No |
| Hamilton West | MACINDOE, Tim | National | 1,618 | Yes | Yes |
| Helensville | KEY, John | National | 20,547 | No | No |
| Hunua (new name) | HUTCHISON, Paul | National | 15,858 | No | No |
| Hutt South | MALLARD, Trevor | Labour | 4,086 | No | No |
| Ilam | BROWNLEE, Gerry | National | 11,893 | No | No |
| Invercargill | ROY, Eric | National | 6,664 | No | No |
| Kaikōura | KING, Colin | National | 11,077 | No | No |
| Mana | LABAN, Winnie | Labour | 6,155 | No | No |
| Māngere | SIO, Su'a William | Labour | 7,126 | No | No |
| Manukau East | ROBERTSON, Ross | Labour | 12,445 | No | No |
| Manurewa | HAWKINS, George | Labour | 6,726 | No | No |
| Maungakiekie | LOTU-IIGA, Peseta Sam | National | 1,942 | Yes | Yes |
| Mt Albert | CLARK, Helen | Labour | 10,351 | No | No |
| Mt Roskill | GOFF, Phil | Labour | 6,418 | No | No |
| Napier | TREMAIN, Chris | National | 9,018 | No | No |
| Nelson | SMITH, Nick | National | 8,471 | No | No |
| New Lynn | CUNLIFFE, David | Labour | 4,025 | No | No |
| New Plymouth | YOUNG, Jonathan | National | 105 | Yes | Yes |
| North Shore | MAPP, Wayne | National | 14,574 | No | No |
| Northcote | COLEMAN, Jonathan | National | 9,360 | No | No |
| Northland | CARTER, John | National | 10,054 | No | No |
| Ōhāriu (new name) | DUNNE, Peter | United Future | 1,006 | No | No |
| Ōtaki | GUY, Nathan | National | 1,354 | Yes | No |
| Pakuranga | WILLIAMSON, Maurice | National | 13,906 | No | No |
| Palmerston North | LEES-GALLOWAY, Iain | Labour | 1,117 | No | Yes |
| Papakura (new name) | COLLINS, Judith | National | 10,277 | No | No |
| Port Hills (new name) | DYSON, Ruth | Labour | 3,452 | No | No |
| Rangitāta (new name) | GOODHEW, Jo | National | 8,112 | No | No |
| Rangitīkei | POWER, Simon | National | 12,042 | No | No |
| Rimutaka | HIPKINS, Christopher | Labour | 753 | No | Yes |
| Rodney | SMITH, Lockwood | National | 15,635 | No | No |
| Rongotai | KING, Annette | Labour | 9,020 | No | No |
| Rotorua | McCLAY, Todd | National | 5,065 | Yes | Yes |
| Selwyn (new name) | ADAMS, Amy | National | 11,075 | No | Yes |
| Tāmaki | PEACHEY, Allan | National | 17,020 | No | No |
| Taranaki-King Country | ARDERN, Shane | National | 15,618 | No | No |
| Taupō | UPSTON, Louise | National | 6,445 | Yes | Yes |
| Tauranga | BRIDGES, Simon | National | 11,742 | No | Yes |
| Te Atatū | CARTER, Chris | Labour | 5,298 | No | No |
| Tukituki | FOSS, Craig | National | 7,811 | No | No |
| Waikato (new name) | TISCH, Lindsay | National | 12,850 | No | No |
| Waimakariri | COSGROVE, Clayton | Labour | 390 | No | No |
| Wairarapa | HAYES, John | National | 6,758 | No | No |

| | | | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|-------------|--------|-----|-----|
| Waitakere | BENNETT, Paula | National | 632 | Yes | No |
| Waitaki (new name) | DEAN, Jacqui | National | 11,039 | No | No |
| Wellington Central | ROBERTSON, Grant | Labour | 1,904 | No | Yes |
| West Coast-Tasman | AUCHINVOLE, Chris | National | 971 | Yes | No |
| Whanganui | BORROWS, Chester | National | 6,333 | No | No |
| Whangarei | HEATLEY, Phil | National | 14,663 | No | No |
| Wigram | ANDERTON, Jim | Progressive | 4,767 | No | No |
| Hauraki-Waikato (new name) | MAHUTA, Nanaia | Labour | 888 | No | No |
| Ikaroa-Rāwhiti | HOROMIA, Parekura | Labour | 1,645 | No | No |
| Tāmaki Makaurau | SHARPLES, Pita | Māori Party | 7,540 | No | No |
| Te Tai Hauāuru | TURIA, Tariana | Māori Party | 7,817 | No | No |
| Te Tai Tokerau | HARAWIRA, Hone | Māori Party | 6,308 | No | No |
| Te Tai Tonga | KATENE, Rahui | Māori Party | 1,049 | Yes | Yes |
| Waiariki | FLAVELL, Te Ururoa | Māori Party | 6,812 | No | No |

Appendix 2: Members of Parliament Ranked by Party List Position – Final Results

| NATIONAL PARTY | | LABOUR PARTY | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| Member | Electorate / List (Rank) | Member | Electorate / List (Rank) |
| KEY, John | Helensville (1) | CLARK, Helen | Mt Albert (1) |
| ENGLISH, Bill | Clutha-Southland (2) | CULLEN, Michael | List (2) |
| BROWNLEE, Gerry | Ilam (3) | GOFF, Phil | Mt Roskill (3) |
| POWER, Simon | Rangitikei (4) | KING, Annette | Rongotai (4) |
| SMITH, Nick | Nelson (5) | HOROMIA, Parekura | Ikaroa-Rāwhiti (5) |
| RYALL, Tony | Bay of Plenty (6) | HODGSON, Pete | Dunedin North (6) |
| COLLINS, Judith | Papakura (7) | CARTER, Chris | Te Atatū (7) |
| WILLIAMSON, Maurice | Pakuranga (8) | CUNLIFFE, David | New Lynn (8) |
| CARTER, David | List (9) | STREET, Maryan | List (9) |
| TOLLEY, Anne | East Coast (10) | MAHUTA, Nanaia | Hauraki-Waikato (10) |
| McCULLY, Murray | East Coast Bays (11) | LABAN, Winnie | Mana (11) |
| SMITH, Lockwood | Rodney (12) | PRASAD, Rajen | List (12) |
| MAPP, Wayne | North Shore (13) | DYSON, Ruth | Port Hills (13) |
| FINLAYSON, Christopher | List (14) | MALLARD, Trevor | Hutt South (14) |
| GROSER, Tim | List (15) | DALZIEL, Lianne | Christchurch East (15) |
| JOYCE, Steven | List (16) | JONES, Shane | List (16) |
| te HEUHEU, Georgina | List (17) | PARKER, David | List (17) |
| GUY, Nathan | Ōtaki (18) | COSGROVE, Clayton | Waimakariri (18) |
| TISCH, Lindsay | Waikato (19) | HUGHES, Darren | List (19) |
| WONG, Pansy | Botany (20) | ARDERN, Jacinda | List (20) |
| CARTER, John | Northland (21) | HUO, Raymond | List (21) |
| HEATLEY, Phil | Whangarei (22) | MORONEY, Sue | List (22) |
| HUTCHISON, Paul | Hunua (23) | RIRINUI, Mita | List (23) |
| ARDERN, Shane | Taranaki-King Country (24) | SIO, Su'a William | Māngere (24) |
| WORTH, Richard | List (25) | MACKEY, Moana | List (25) |
| HENARE, Tau | List (26) | TWYFORD, Phil | List (26) |
| GOUDIE, Sandra | Coromandel (27) | CHAUVEL, Charles | List (27) |
| ROY, Eric | Invercargill (28) | BEAUMONT, Carol | List (28) |
| COLEMAN, Jonathan | Northcote (29) | DAVIS, Kelvin | List (29) |
| WILKINSON, Kate | List (30) | CHADWICK, Steve (Stephanie) | List (30) |
| TREMAIN, Chris | Napier (31) | CHOUDHARY, Ashraf | List (31) |
| BORROWS, Chester | Whanganui (32) | PILLAY, Lynne | List (32) |
| FOSS, Craig | Tukituki (33) | FENTON, Darien | List (33) |
| PEACHEY, Allan | Tāmaki (34) | BARKER, Rick | List (34) |
| LOTU-IIGA, Peseta Sam | Maungakiekie (35) | SEPULONI, Carmel | List (35) |
| PARATA, Hekia | List (36) | NASH, Stuart | List (36) |
| LEE, Melissa | List (37) | CURRAN, Clare | Dunedin South (45) |
| BAKSHI, Kanwaljit Singh | List (38) | ROBERTSON, Grant | Wellington Central (46) |
| GOODHEW, Jo | Rangitata (39) | HIPKINS, Christopher | Rimutaka (47) |
| DEAN, Jacqui | Waitaki (40) | LEES-GALLOWAY, Iain | Palmerston North (48) |
| BENNETT, Paula | Waitakere (41) | BURNS, Brendon | Christchurch Central (49) |
| AUCHINVOLE, Chris | West Coast-Tasman (42) | ROBERTSON, Ross | Manukau East (none) |
| WAGNER, Nicky | List (43) | HAWKINS, George | Manurewa (none) |
| BENNETT, David | Hamilton East (44) | | |
| BLUE, Jackie | List (45) | TOTAL Electorate MPs | 21 |
| SHANKS, Katrina | List (46) | TOTAL List MPs | 22 |
| KING, Colin | Kaikōura (47) | TOTAL MPs | 43 |
| QUINN, Paul | List (48) | | |
| WOODHOUSE, Michael | List (49) | | |
| HAYES, John | Wairarapa (50) | | |
| BRIDGES, Simon | Tauranga (51) | | |

| NATIONAL PARTY (cont'd) | | GREEN PARTY | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Member | Electorate / List (Rank) | Member | Electorate / List (Rank) |
| ADAMS, Amy | Selwyn (52) | FITZSIMONS, Jeanette | List (1) |
| UPSTON, Louise | Taupō (53) | NORMAN, Russel | List (2) |
| McCLAY, Todd | Rotorua (54) | BRADFORD, Sue | List (3) |
| MACINDOE, Tim | Hamilton West (55) | TUREI, Metiria | List (4) |
| GILMORE, Aaron | List (56) | KEDGLEY, Sue | List (5) |
| KAYE, Nikki | Auckland Central (57) | LOCKE, Keith | List (6) |
| YOUNG, Jonathan | New Plymouth (none) | HAGUE, Kevin | List (7) |
| | | DELAHUNTY, Catherine | List (8) |
| | | GRAHAM, Kennedy | List (9) |
| TOTAL Electorate MPs | 41 | TOTAL Electorate MPs | 0 |
| TOTAL List MPs | 17 | TOTAL List MPs | 9 |
| TOTAL MPs | 58 | TOTAL MPs | 9 |
| MĀORI PARTY | | ACT NEW ZEALAND | |
| Member | Electorate / List (Rank) | Member | Electorate / List (Rank) |
| TURIA, Tariana | Te Tai Hauāuru (1) | HIDE, Rodney | Epsom (1) |
| SHARPLES, Pita | Tāmaki Makaurau (2) | ROY, Heather | List (2) |
| HARAWIRA, Hone | Te Tai Tokerau (3) | DOUGLAS, Roger (Sir) | List (3) |
| FLAVELL, Te Ururoa | Waiariki (4) | BOSCAWEN, John | List (4) |
| KATENE, Rahui | Te Tai Tonga (7) | GARRETT, David | List (5) |
| TOTAL Electorate MPs | 5 | TOTAL Electorate MPs | 1 |
| TOTAL List MPs | 0 | TOTAL List MPs | 4 |
| TOTAL MPs | 5 | TOTAL MPs | 5 |
| UNITED FUTURE | | JIM ANDERTON'S PROGRESSIVE | |
| Member | Electorate / List (Rank) | Member | Electorate / List (Rank) |
| DUNNE, Peter | Ōhāriu (1) | ANDERTON, Jim | Wigram (1) |
| TOTAL Electorate MPs | 1 | TOTAL Electorate MPs | 1 |
| TOTAL List MPs | 0 | TOTAL List MPs | 0 |
| TOTAL MPs | 1 | TOTAL MPs | 1 |