



**FIX OUR FUTURE**  
**WE HAVE THE TOOLS. LET'S USE THEM.**

## Survey Report

Prepared for: Generation Zero

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

### **Objective**

This paper presents findings from a 2014 membership survey of Generation Zero, a youth-led climate change activist organization, in existence since 2010. The survey was conducted as part of the Generation Zero: online activism in NZ research project.

### **Findings**

The research finds that Generation Zero's membership is very significantly homogenous, across several demographic indicators, such as geographic location, age, socio-economic class and political preference. As expected, the data shows the Generation Zero membership is politically engaged and highly supportive of pro-climate policies and rhetoric.

### **Recommendations**

If Generation Zero seeks wider engagement and participation beyond a highly engaged, homogenous and activist core, to deepen public engagement with issues of climate politics and communication, and to achieve change in these areas, broadening the appeal of the organisation to diverse membership may be required. The analysis of the findings offers some preliminary insights in this regard.

Multivariate regression analysis indicates several opportunities for Generation Zero to shape its campaigns and communication towards a more diverse membership, primarily among supporters of centrist political parties.

## METHOD

The research findings are based on a preliminary Generation Zero membership survey (see Appendix 1). The survey was conducted in July 2014, prior to the New Zealand General Election held on 15 September 2014. The survey sought to establish a profile of Generation Zero's membership, to understand the membership's level of engagement with climate change issues and to assess the memberships level of political engagement and participation. The electronic survey was designed by both Unitec researchers and Generation Zero and distributed via Generation Zero's customer management database, Nation Builder, a common organising tool among 'progressive' political groups. In total 8148 Generation Zero members were invite to participate, with the survey receiving 693 completed responses.

Initially the survey was A/B tested (Survey A 495 recipients; Survey B 491 recipients) and subsequently sent to 7162 Generation Zero members. In total these invitations achieved a 34.54% open-rate and 10.36% click-rate. The total number of completed surveys 693.

*Fig. 1. Survey responses*

	Send to	Opens	Clicks
<b>Survey B</b>	495	174 (35.15%)	46 (9.29%)
<b>Survey A</b>	491	170 (34.62%)	54 (11.00%)
<b>Survey Final</b>	7162	2424 (33.85%)	773 (10.79%)

The survey contained 22 questions, divided into 4 sections: political profile; engagement with climate change issues; media and communication habits and demographic profile. Respondents answered using a variety of check-box, Likert scale and verbatim answers (see appendix for the survey questions). Participants in the survey were induced to participate by the chance to win one of two grocery vouchers.

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The data collection took place over a 2-week period. Data analysis included basic statistical analysis using Microsoft Excel and SPSS software. Multi-linear regression<sup>1</sup> modeling using 'R'<sup>2</sup> was subsequently conducted in order to produce insights into the relationships between different membership profiles and, level, character and likelihood of political engagement.

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<sup>1</sup> Multi linear regression modelling is a statistical method used to model the relationship between one or more dependent variables (predictors) and a response variable. Multi-linear regression modeling permits the likelihood of certain characteristics to be expressed as *significantly likely, much more likely, somewhat likely and less likely, much less likely*, when all other preferences are taken into account.

<sup>2</sup> Statistical analysis software.

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## FINDINGS

The research findings clearly demonstrate a high level of political engagement among Generation Zero membership. However also clear is the concentration of Generation Zero members around particular political parties, demographic and socio-economic profiles. The findings indicate high levels of political engagement across the political spectrum, and importantly strong links between concern for environmental issues and for issues relating to structural inequality in New Zealand – for instance, housing, poverty and education. In general the Generation Zero membership is strongly engaged with the issue of climate change and its potential impacts on themselves and the wider community. Nonetheless, significant differences in attitudes exist within those minority groups within Generation Zero whose political affinities are other than with the Green Party. Clearly conservative respondents (National party supporters) find ‘the environment’ and ‘climate change’ to be important issues in general, but are less concerned about the specific impacts of climate change at community, national and international levels.

In terms of ‘*lifestyle*’ influences, findings demonstrate Generation Zero members are consistently influenced by their personal networks, including substantial, consistent engagement online, and by scientific voices. Very clear distinctions are apparent among the politically conservative however, with low influence reported from ‘NGOs’ and substantial influence from politicians.

Similarly, there are high levels of political engagement across the board, including online engagement in political issues. Conservative respondents however, distinguish themselves by indicating they are not influenced by community or non-governmental agencies (policy and issue-related experts) and much more likely to be influenced by politicians.

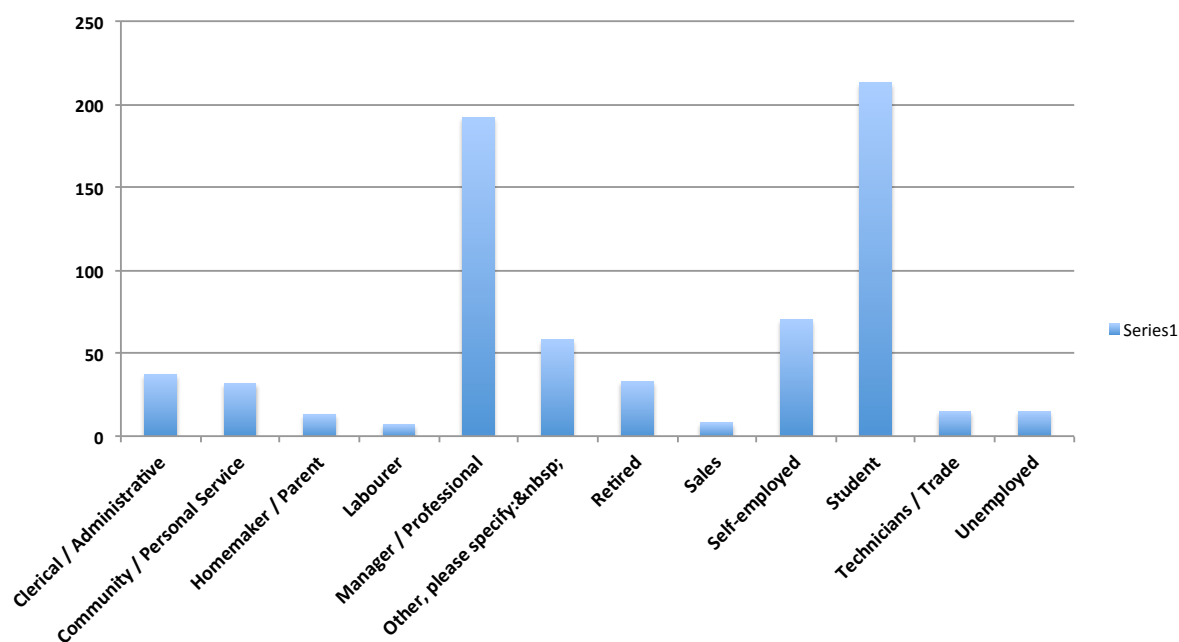
Media consumption among respondents reflects the demographic profile of the Generation Zero, as an educated, middle class, predominantly urban organization, clearly centred central Auckland. In line with findings on online engagement, social media usage is high among the membership, reflecting the high levels of social media engagement in New Zealand and the level of political engagement online indicated in the findings.

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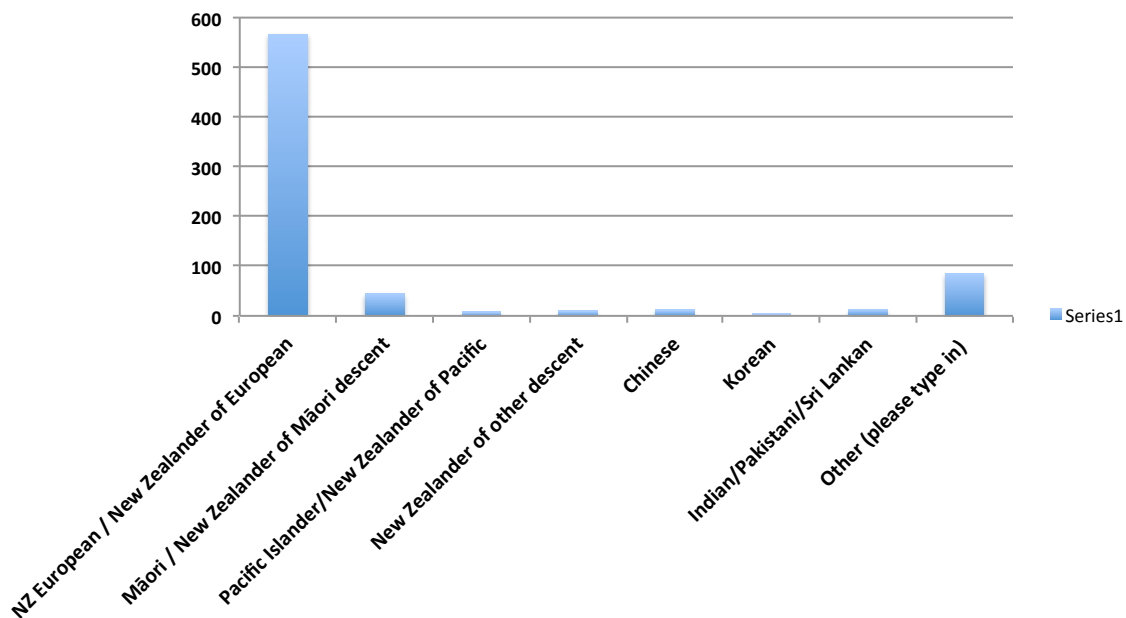
The findings conclude with a section providing membership profiles, differentiated by political preference.

### Demographics

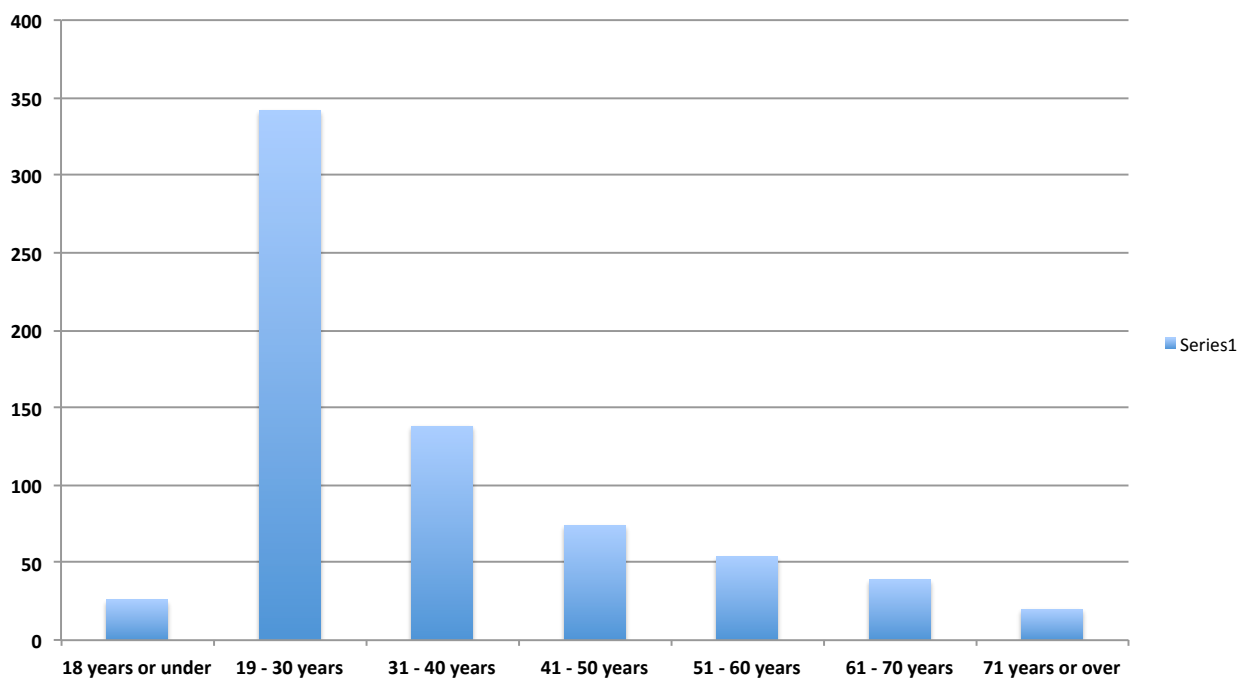
Clearly Generation Zero’s membership is characterized by being very significantly concentrated in certain demographic categories. While the membership is somewhat more female (54%) than male (46%), it is disproportionately Pākehā (81.8%), living in Auckland (56.9%), and particularly based in central (Auckland isthmus) Auckland (38.5%) and either employed managerial/professional work (27.7%) or studying (30.7%). Notably, the combined occupational clusters clerical/administrative (5.3%); homemaker/parent (1.9%); labourer (1.0%); technical/trade (2.2%) and unemployed (2.2%) constitute just 12.6% of the membership in total.

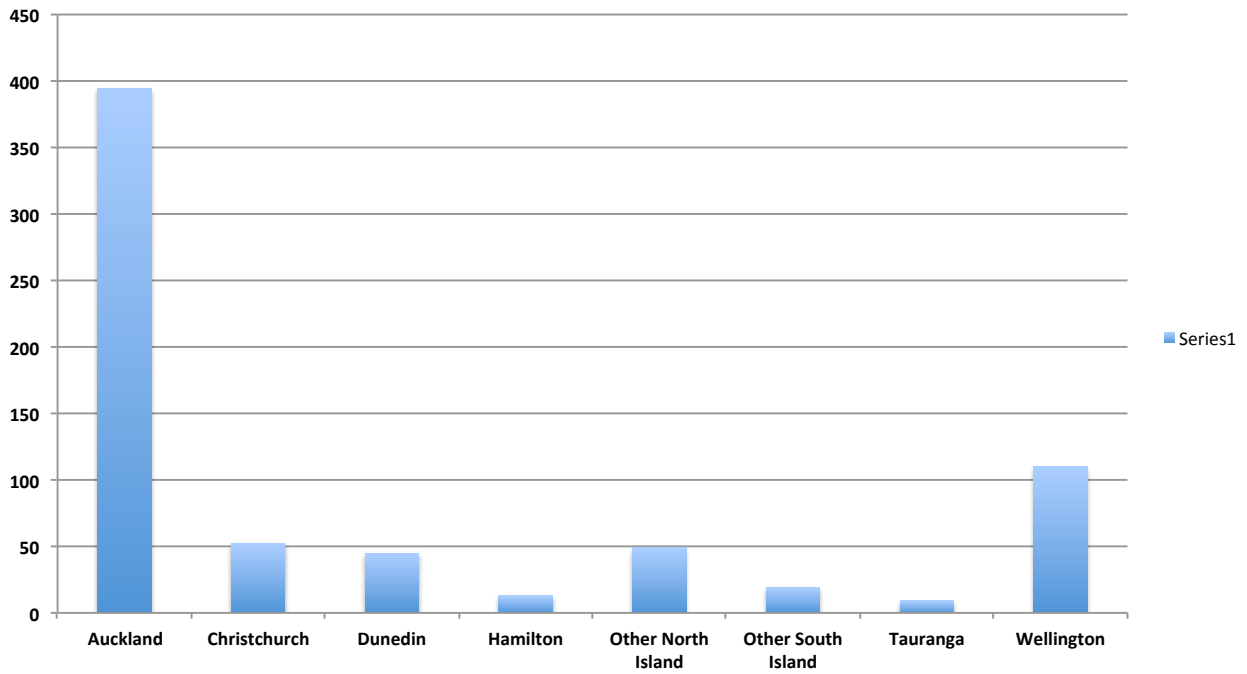


Income data also reveals high levels of reported income in the upper income brackets; 80K-100K (8.4%); 100K-120K (6.5%); 120K+ (17.2%). New Zealand median income is approximately 48K (Statistics NZ, June Quarter, 2012, accessed 13 March 2015).



Generation Zero defines itself as a 'youth-led' organization (Generation Zero, 2015) and this very significantly reflected in its membership profile, with 73.1% of the membership under 40 and 53.2% under 30.

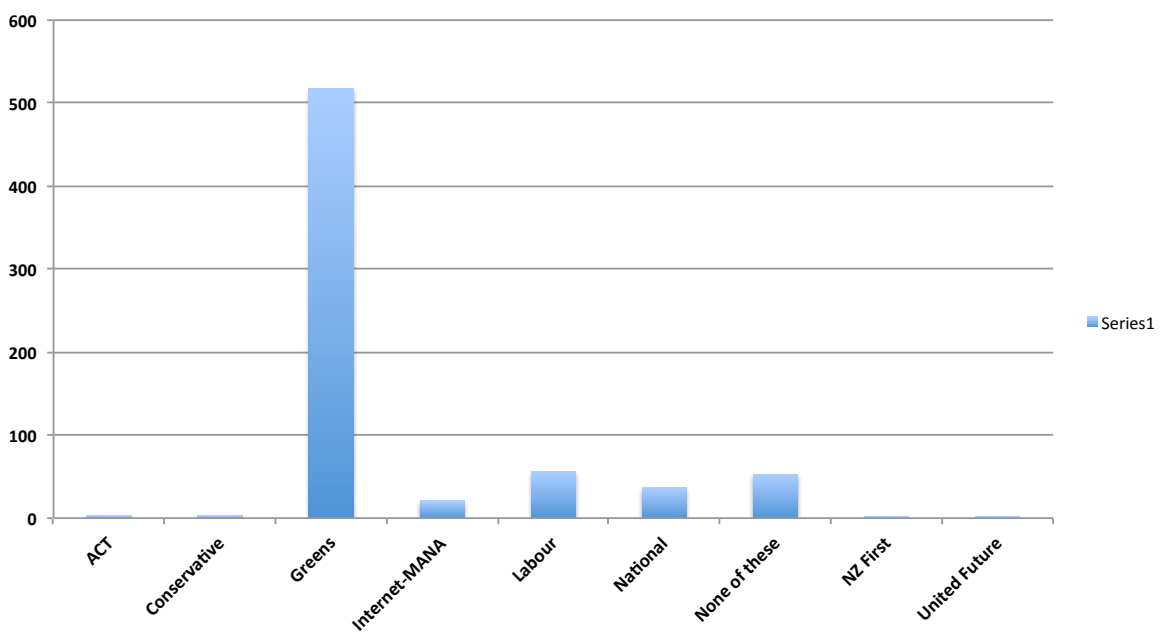




## Political Engagement

### *Enrolment and political support*

A significant majority (95.7%) of Generation Zero members are enrolled to vote, with 93.4% on the general roll and 2.3% on the Māori roll. This level of political enrolment



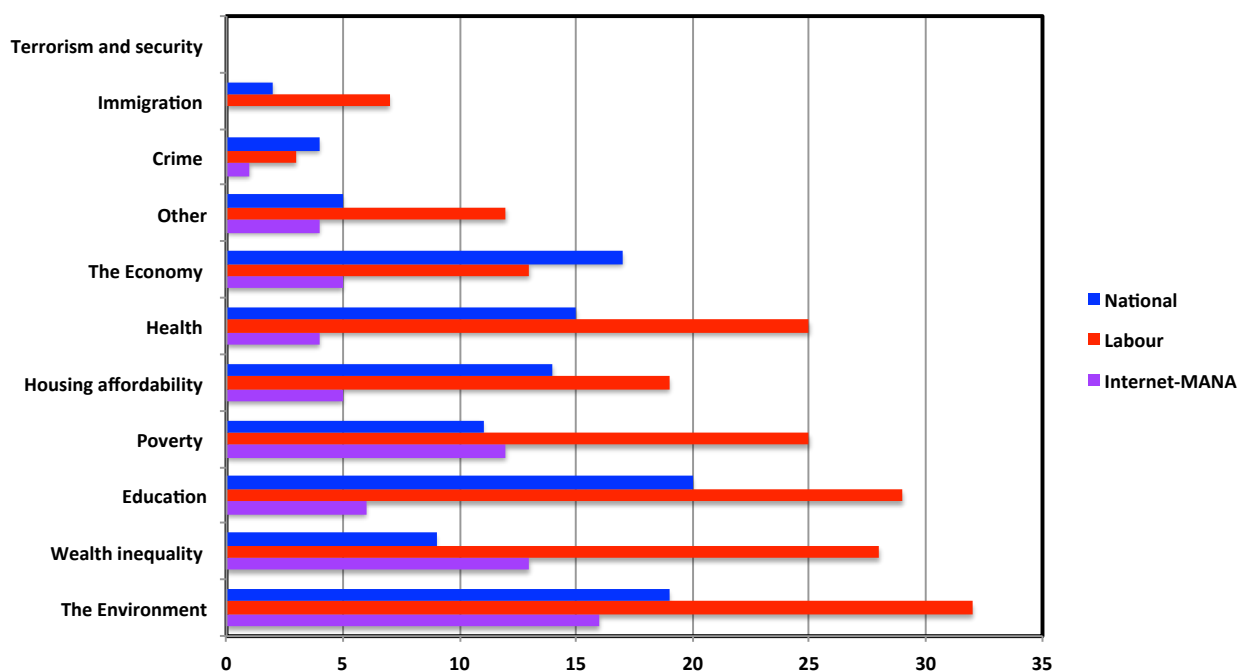


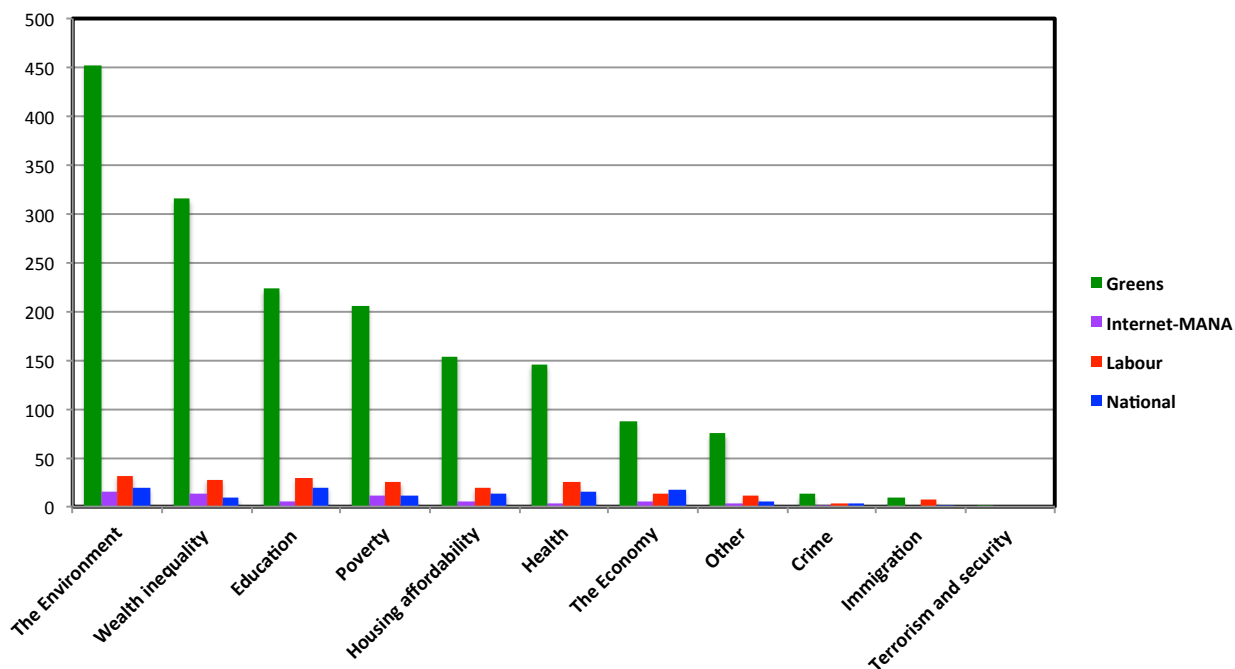
compares against the national average for electors under the age of 40, which is 84.21% enrolled. When compared against the Auckland Central average enrollments level (60.54%), GZ supporters are significantly more likely to be enrolled to vote (All statistics, NZ Electoral Commission, 2015).

In terms of political preference the membership is overwhelmingly supportive of the Green Party (74.7%; n=518). The Labour and National parties attracted 8.1% (n=56) and 5.3% (n=37) support respectively. The next most significant level of support was for 'none' 7.6% (n=53). Notably, the Internet-Mana alliance received 3.0% (n=21) support, while the remaining minor parties received 1.0% (n=8) collectively.

### Main Issues

When asked to decide the main issues facing New Zealand across all political preferences 'the environment' rated as the most important issue (81.4%). Wealth inequality (57.2%), education (44.2%), poverty (39.2%) and housing affordability (32.1%) were other 'most important' issues. Other commonly high-importance issues such as health (30.1%) and 'the economy' (20.5%), registered less importantly, and other issues, such as immigration (3.0%) and terrorism and security (0.1%) registered very little importance.





However when issue importance is cross-tabulated with political preference a somewhat different picture emerges. As expected among Green Party supporters (74.7%), ‘the environment’ is overwhelmingly the most important political issue, with 87.3% of Greens supporters rating this issue as most important. Although ‘the environment’ remains the key issue across the political spectrum, when ‘Labour’ and ‘National’ supporters are considered separately, unsurprisingly other issues become important. For instance, among Labour supporters, while ‘the environment’ continues as the most important issue (57.1%), education (51.8%), wealth inequality (50%), health (44.6%) and poverty (44.6%) are the main issues. While immigration is an important issue for a minority of Labour supporters (12.5%), this is substantially higher than any other group. Among National Party supporters the picture is somewhat different again, with education (54.1%) the main issue, ‘the environment’ (51.4%), the economy (45.9%) and health (40.5%) the secondary issues. Among the now-defunct Internet-MANA alliance, again ‘the environment’ dominates with 76.2% identifying it as among the three most important issues, followed by wealth inequality (61.9%), poverty (57.1%), and education (28.6%). Among those respondents who identified ‘none of these’ as their preferred political party, again ‘the environment’ was most important (75%), followed by housing affordability (50%) and wealth inequality (50%).

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### *Climate Issues*

The membership was asked to respond to a series of questions relating to climate change and the extent to which they felt that climate change was occurring and a threat. This section of the survey asked respondents whether or not they felt climate change was a reality and whether or not this posed a threat to respondents and the wider community and economy.

The first two questions asked whether or not respondents believed the 'climate was changing' and whether or not they believed there was a strong consensus that human activity was changing the climate. Of Green Party supporters, 97.7% either strongly agreed the climate is changing. Similarly, 95.9% strongly agreed there to be a "strong consensus" that human activity is causing climate change. This is similarly reflected across the political spectrum with Labour (100%), National (91.9%) Internet-MANA (100%) and non-aligned (92.5%) responding strongly to the question of whether or not the climate is changing. Likewise, Labour (92.9%), National (91.9%), Internet-MANA (100%) and 'none of these' (83%) all strongly agree on a consensus on climate change, significant variation in levels of agreement notwithstanding.

When asked whether or not climate change was a threat to friends and family and to the local community, Green Party supporters responded with 42.9% and 53.7% high or extremely high levels of threat respectively. Lower levels of threat were felt by Labour (35.7%/35.7%), National (24.3%/32.4%) supporters and non-aligned respondents (35.8%/35.8%). Internet-MANA supporters felt the threat of climate change more urgently, with 61.9% and 52.4% responding that climate change posed a high or extremely high threat to friends and family and to local communities respectively.

Q: How serious a threat do you consider climate change to be to:

Fig. 2. Friends and Family

	Greens	I-M	LAB	NAT	NONE
<b>Not Answered</b>	0.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
<b>None</b>	0.2%	0.0%	1.8%	5.4%	5.7%
<b>Low</b>	13.7%	19.0%	26.8%	35.1%	26.4%
<b>Moderate</b>	42.7%	19.0%	35.7%	35.1%	32.1%
<b>High</b>	29.2%	42.9%	33.9%	21.6%	24.5%
<b>Extremely high</b>	13.7%	19.0%	1.8%	2.7%	11.3%

Fig. 3. Local Communities

	Greens	I-M	LAB	NAT	NONE
<b>Not Answered</b>	0.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.9%
<b>None</b>	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.7%	3.8%
<b>Low</b>	9.7%	9.5%	23.2%	29.7%	13.2%
<b>Moderate</b>	36.1%	38.1%	41.1%	35.1%	45.3%
<b>High</b>	37.8%	28.6%	30.4%	24.3%	22.6%
<b>Extremely high</b>	15.8%	23.8%	5.4%	8.1%	13.2%

By comparison, 'the economy' and 'New Zealand' appear to be considered less threatened by climate change. Notably, although Green Party supporters still consider this threat either 'high' or 'extremely high' (80.3%), the threat is perceived to be more moderate by Labour and National supporters – only 14.3% and 13.5% rated the risk to the economy as 'extremely high'. The threat to New Zealand is considered moderate, with only 8.9% (Labour) and 5.4% (National) rating the threat 'extremely high'.

Fig. 4. The economy

	Greens	I-M	LAB	NAT	NONE
<b>Not Answered</b>	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
<b>None</b>	0.2%	4.8%	0.0%	0.0%	1.9%
<b>Low</b>	3.5%	0.0%	1.8%	8.1%	9.4%
<b>Moderate</b>	14.7%	9.5%	42.9%	43.2%	18.9%
<b>High</b>	43.8%	47.6%	41.1%	35.1%	43.4%
<b>Extremely high</b>	36.5%	38.1%	14.3%	13.5%	26.4%

Fig. 5. New Zealand

	Greens	I-M	LAB	NAT	NONE
<b>Not Answered</b>	0.6%	0.0%	1.8%	0.0%	1.9%
<b>None</b>	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
<b>Low</b>	2.9%	4.8%	8.9%	18.9%	7.5%
<b>Moderate</b>	27.4%	28.6%	30.4%	48.6%	39.6%
<b>High</b>	48.3%	42.9%	50.0%	27.0%	34.0%
<b>Extremely high</b>	20.8%	23.8%	8.9%	5.4%	17.0%

In relation to 'other countries' and to 'the environment' generally, as expected 'high' and 'extremely high' levels of threat are perceived by Green Party supporters. While obviously for all respondents these risks continue to be recognized, they are considered more moderate among Labour and National party supporters. Notably, Internet-MANA supporters and non-aligned respondents perceived higher degrees of risk than the supporters of the two major parties.

Fig. 7. Other countries

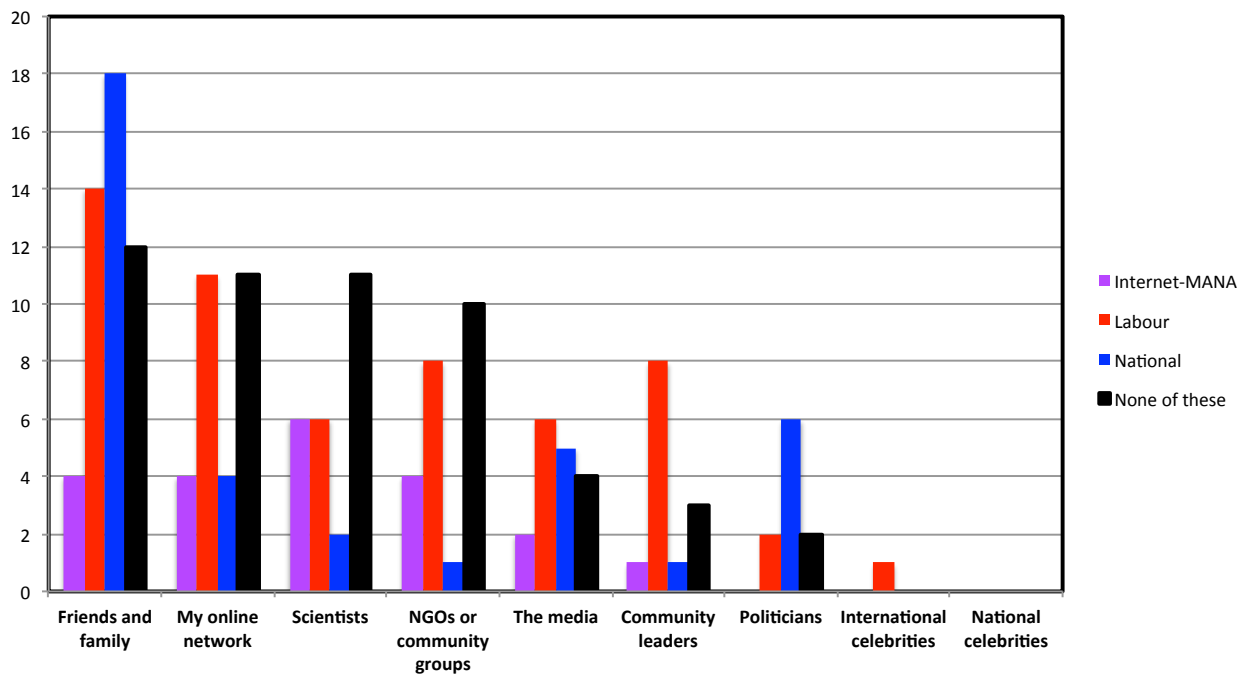
	Greens	I-M	LAB	NAT	NONE
<b>Not Answered</b>	0.6%	4.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
<b>None</b>	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
<b>Low</b>	0.6%	0.0%	0.0%	2.7%	1.9%
<b>Moderate</b>	5.2%	4.8%	14.3%	37.8%	9.4%
<b>High</b>	32.6%	28.6%	41.1%	40.5%	35.8%
<b>Extremely high</b>	61.0%	61.9%	44.6%	18.9%	52.8%

Fig. 8. The environment

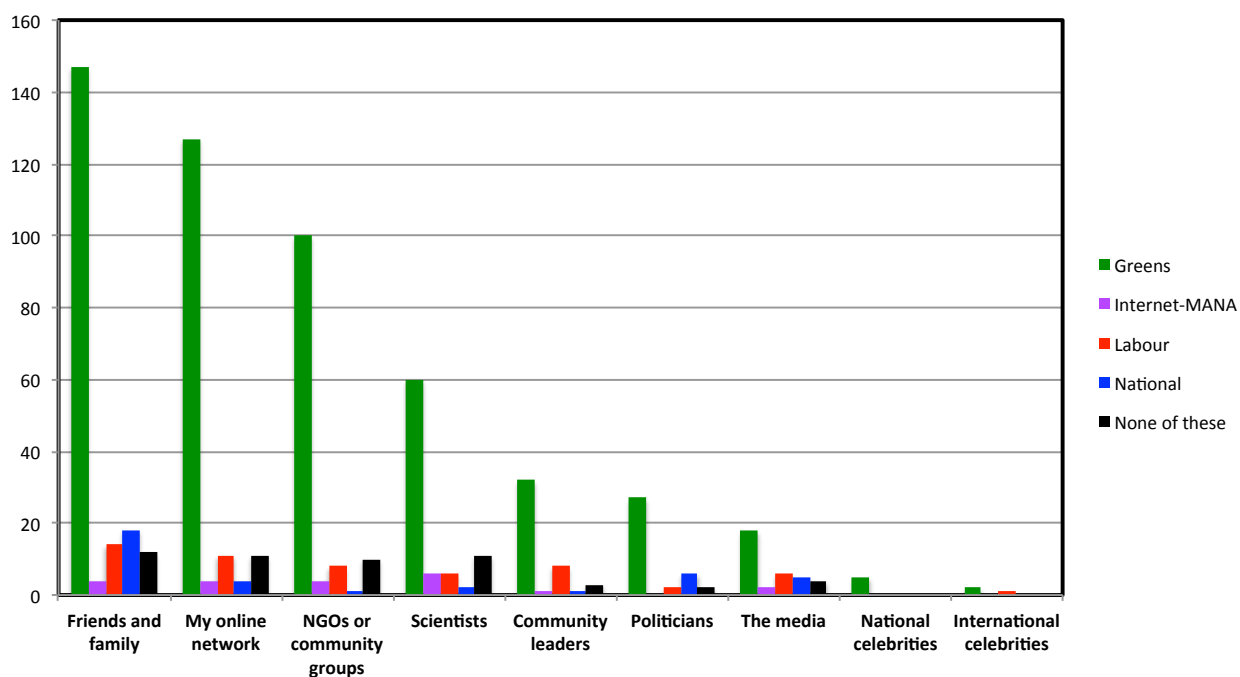
	Greens	I-M	LAB	NAT	NONE
<b>Not Answered</b>	0.6%	4.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
<b>None</b>	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
<b>Low</b>	0.6%	0.0%	0.0%	2.7%	1.9%
<b>Moderate</b>	5.2%	4.8%	14.3%	37.8%	9.4%
<b>High</b>	32.6%	28.6%	41.1%	40.5%	35.8%
<b>Extremely high</b>	61.0%	61.9%	44.6%	18.9%	52.8%

### Influence, Political Behaviour and Media Usage

The survey asked the respondents to indicate the likelihood of certain behavior – purchasing or using a fuel-efficient or electric vehicle; building or living in an energy efficient home or using non-private motor vehicle modes of transport. Unsurprisingly



these questions were answered in the affirmative across the board, with high levels of likelihood indicated for each political group.



### Lifestyle influence

When asked who was most influential with respect of these behaviours, quite a different picture emerges. For instance, although ‘friends and family’ are important influencers across the board (47.2%~33%) and ‘online networks’ are consistently identified as somewhat important (10.8%~7.8%), attitudes towards community organisations and NGOs, politicians and the media are differentiated by political persuasion. National party supporters for instance indicate no influence at all (0.0%) from NGOs, whereas the mean of 9.37% of non-National party supporters were influenced by NGOs. Likewise, while 1.0% of non-National Party respondents indicated politicians were not at all influential, 8.1% of National Party supporters indicated being influenced by politicians. While across the board ‘scientists’ were seen as influential (23.9%~30.9%), Internet-MANA supporters (14.3%) indicated being influenced by ‘the media’, whereas among the general sample the range was 3.3%-8.1%.

Fig. 9 Lifestyle influence

	Greens	I-M	LAB	NAT	NONE
<b>Friends and family</b>	44.4%	33.3%	44.6%	43.2%	47.2%
<b>Online networks</b>	10.8%	9.5%	7.1%	10.8%	9.4%
<b>NGOs/community groups</b>	11.6%	9.5%	10.7%	0.0%	5.7%
<b>Politicians</b>	1.0%	0.0%	0.0%	8.1%	0.0%
<b>Scientists</b>	23.9%	28.6%	30.4%	29.7%	30.2%
<b>The media</b>	3.3%	14.3%	5.4%	8.1%	7.5%

### Political behavior and influence

Respondents were asked a series of questions about their level of political engagement, beyond voting behavior. In a series of questions respondents were asked to indicate the likelihood of attending a public demonstration on climate issues; signing an online petition on the same issues; participating in a public meeting on community or urban issues; contacting politicians about climate change and finally, who was most influential in making decisions about political engagement.



Although again high levels of political engagement are observed in the Generation Zero membership, there is differentiation by political affiliation. For Green Party supporters and Internet-MANA supporters the level of engagement is high with 70.8% and 80.9% respectively indicating they would 'likely' or 'extremely likely' attend a public demonstration. For Labour supporters this drops to 51.8% 'likely/extremely likely', with 46.4% indicating 'unlikely' or 'neutral'. For National supporters 64.8% indicate they are 'likely/extremely likely' to participate, with 21.6% indicating either 'unlikely/extremely unlikely'. Notably, while 49.1% of unaffiliated respondents indicated 'likely/extremely likely', 39.6% indicated either 'unlikely/extremely unlikely'.

**Q: How likely are you to do the following?**

Fig. 10 Attend a demonstration

	Greens	IM	LAB	NAT	NONE
Extremely unlikely	1.4%	0.0%	1.8%	5.4%	1.9%
Unlikely	7.9%	0.0%	23.2%	16.2%	37.7%
Neutral	19.3%	19.0%	23.2%	35.1%	9.4%
Likely	41.5%	23.8%	37.5%	29.7%	32.1%
Extremely likely	29.3%	57.1%	14.3%	13.5%	17.0%

There is similar differentiation among respondents when asked about political actions such as signing petitions or attending meetings. Notably, very high levels of support for these kinds of actions are clear, however, there is less support among Labour and National supporters, and in the case of National supporters and public meetings, this is significant with over 50% either unlikely or neutral to engage in this kind of action.

Fig. 11 Sign a Petition

	Greens	IM	LAB	NAT	NONE
Extremely unlikely	0.6%	0.0%	0.0%	5.4%	3.8%
Unlikely	1.2%	4.8%	1.8%	2.7%	3.8%
Neutral	3.3%	0.0%	8.9%	13.5%	13.2%
Likely	16.8%	14.3%	37.5%	40.5%	26.4%
Extremely likely	78.0%	81.0%	51.8%	37.8%	52.8%

Fig. 12 Attend a meeting

	Greens	I-M	LAB	NAT	NONE
Extremely unlikely	0.6%	4.8%	1.8%	8.1%	0.0%
Unlikely	8.3%	4.8%	14.3%	5.4%	17.0%
Neutral	23.0%	14.3%	30.4%	40.5%	20.8%
Likely	43.4%	57.1%	42.9%	37.8%	37.7%
Extremely likely	24.1%	19.0%	10.7%	8.1%	24.5%

There appears to be less enthusiasm for contacting politicians directly, with much smaller percentages of respondents across the political spectrum indicating they were 'likely/ extremely likely' to contact a politician about climate issues.

Fig. 13 Contact a politician

	Greens	I-M	LAB	NAT	NONE
Extremely unlikely	2.5%	0.0%	7.1%	13.5%	7.5%
Unlikely	16.2%	19.0%	30.4%	29.7%	26.4%
Neutral	23.6%	14.3%	25.0%	18.9%	30.2%
Likely	37.6%	47.6%	30.4%	21.6%	20.8%
Extremely likely	20.1%	19.0%	7.1%	16.2%	15.1%

In terms of political influence, again, clearly 'friends and family' is the most important influencer. Online networks are also important, and significantly more important for political choices than for lifestyle choices (see above). Notably, National party supporters differentiate themselves from the sample by their distain for NGO/community organization influence, and the extent of their being influenced by politicians, which is significantly higher than other respondents in the sample. On the other hand, National party supporters are much less likely to be influenced by scientists on political issues.

**Q: When it comes to your level of political engagement, who is most likely to influence you?**

Fig. 14 Political Influence

	Greens	I-M	LAB	NAT	NONE
<b>Friends and family</b>	28.4%	19.0%	25.0%	48.6%	22.6%
<b>Online networks</b>	24.5%	19.0%	19.6%	10.8%	20.8%
<b>NGOs community org</b>	19.3%	19.0%	14.3%	2.7%	18.9%
<b>Politicians</b>	5.2%	0.0%	3.6%	16.2%	3.8%
<b>Scientists</b>	11.6%	28.6%	10.7%	5.4%	20.8%
<b>The media</b>	3.5%	9.5%	10.7%	13.5%	7.5%

**Media Consumption**

The Generation Zero membership registered high levels of media usage. In particular respondents indicated high daily usage levels of newspapers and books, at average rates of 54.6% (newspapers) and 38.12% (books) across the five political groupings, although some variation is observed (see Fig. 15). Greater variation is observed in relation to television consumption, with low rates (9.5%) among Internet-MANA supporters, moderate rates among Green supporters (26.8%) and similar levels between Labour and National supporters (50.0% and 51.4% respectively).

Clearly social media usage is high among the Generation Zero membership, with moderate levels of blog consumption (again with variations between groupings). Facebook is clearly the most popular social media platform. Notably, other popular social media and content sharing platforms and services such as LinkedIn, BuzzFeed, Upworthy, Sky Kiwi all registered comparably low rates of daily or occasional usage.

	Greens	I-M	LAB	NAT	NONE
<b>TV</b>	26.8%	9.5%	50.0%	51.4%	24.5%
<b>Radio</b>	40.5%	28.6%	44.6%	43.2%	22.6%
<b>Newspapers</b>	43.4%	61.9%	62.5%	56.8%	47.2%
<b>Books</b>	36.7%	47.6%	46.4%	29.7%	30.2%
<b>Internet Blogs</b>	25.7%	23.8%	39.3%	18.9%	20.8%
<b>Social Media</b>	75.5%	85.7%	71.4%	64.9%	71.7%
<b>Facebook</b>	77.0%	65.0%	69.2%	74.3%	72.0%
<b>Twitter</b>	16.9%	25.0%	21.2%	8.6%	10.0%

Fig. 15 Daily Media Usage

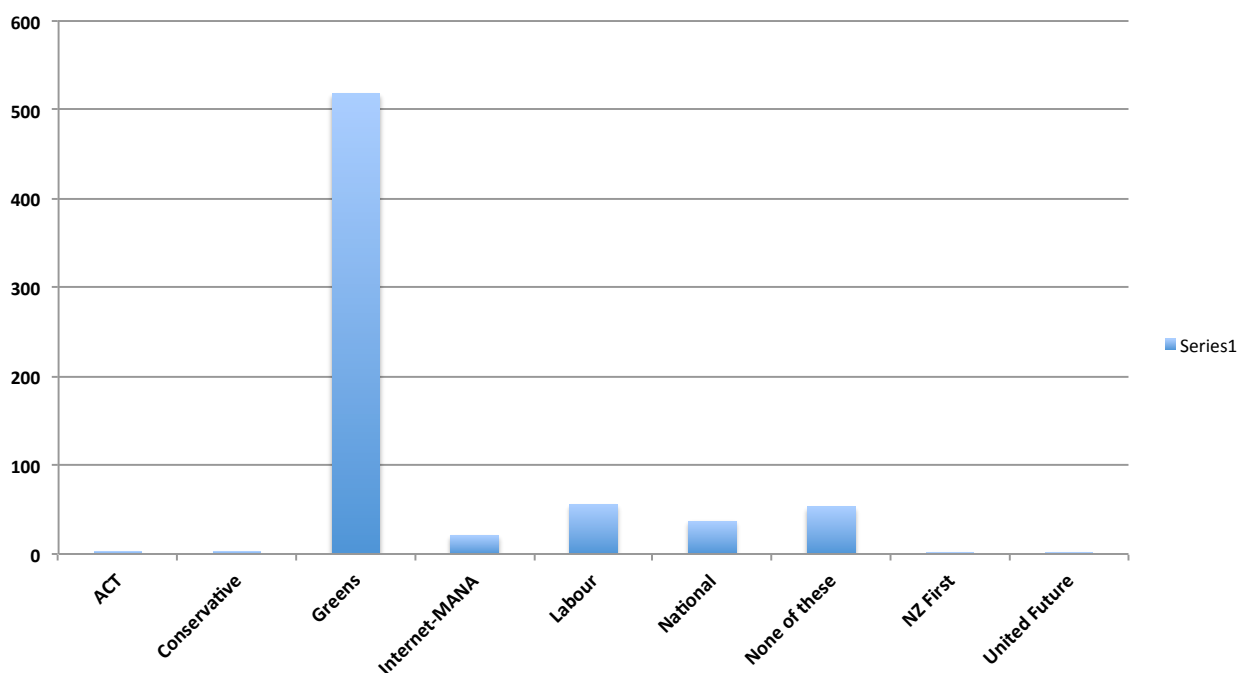
### Generation Zero Membership Profiles

In this section, brief profiles of the Generation Zero membership are presented, based on political persuasion. These findings draw upon both the qualitative data presented above and the multi-linear regression modeling that formed part of the research method. Multi-linear regression modeling permits understanding the likelihood of certain behaviours or attitudes occurring within particular groups within the survey respondents. For the purposes of the present analysis data has been grouped within political preference groups, permitting behavioral and attitudinal comparison between groups to be made. Multi-linear regression modeling permits the likelihood of certain characteristics to be expressed as *significantly likely*, *much more likely*, *somewhat likely* and *less likely*, *much less likely*, when all other preferences are taken into account.

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### Green Party Supporters

As a starting point, Green Party supporters are significantly more likely than other respondents to view 'the environment' and 'wealth inequality' as important political issues, and much less likely than other respondents in the sample to consider immigration and, notably, the economy, as important issues. Green voters, unsurprisingly, are more likely to agree there is a strong consensus on 'climate change' and that 'the environment' is under serious threat from climate change. In terms of gaining access to news and information, Green supporters are active Facebook users, but less likely to read a newspaper. Green supporters are much less likely to be Pacifica, than the broader sample group.



### Labour Party

Labour party supporters, by contrast are significantly more likely to be Pacifica, and not to identify as 'New Zealand other', in terms of ethnicity. Labour supporters are also significantly more likely to consider immigration an important issue. Labour supporters appear relatively unengaged in certain forms of environmental and political activity, and are less likely to discuss climate change with friends and family, or through online

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networks. Notably too, Labour supporters, in this sample, are less likely to engage with NGOs or community groups, or to be engaged by politicians or scientists in climate change issues.

### ***National Party***

While environmental concerns rate highly across the sample, for National Party supporters there is less concern about the environment and inequality and less personal concern about climate change. In contrast to Labour supporters, National party supporters are significantly more likely to engage with politicians and to be influenced by politicians. In terms of media consumption, National party supporters are more likely to watch television and use the internet. National supporters are much less likely to be Pacifica and much more likely to be Chinese.

### ***Internet-Mana***

Internet-Mana supporters appear to be somewhat more likely to become directly involved in political participation, such as public meetings and vote. Notably this group is significantly more likely to participation in political direct action, such as demonstrations. Importantly too this group is significantly more likely to be male and to be New Zealand European or 'NZ other' in terms of ethnicity. Also noteworthy is the similarity with other groups in terms of digital media use and consumption. Internet-MANA supporters are only somewhat more likely to use non-specific social media, and not significantly more or less likely to use other identified social media platforms when compared to other groups.

### ***Undecided***

Respondents who did not select a party that best represented their views were nonetheless significantly more likely to be enrolled to vote than the rest of the sample, irrespective of the low number of respondents in this category. These respondents were also somewhat less likely to view climate change as a threat to New Zealand or to other countries, or to feel there is a strong consensus that human activity is causing climate change. Lastly, although this group is less likely to attend a public political demonstration, they are somewhat more likely to attend a public 'meeting' and more likely to use the internet as a source of news and information.

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## RECOMMENDATIONS

- **Membership and supporters**

It is recommended that Generation Zero strategise the broadening of its membership base. At present the membership appears highly concentrated within the urban, educated, Pākehā middle class, centred on central Auckland. With 32.1% of respondents reporting incomes above \$80000, and 81.8% Pākehā, the organization is clearly not only narrowly focused, but rather it is elite in its membership profile. The New Zealand median income is currently \$48000.

As recent election results have demonstrated, mobilization around single or narrow issues (such as surveillance) are not necessarily effective electorally. Similarly the level of support for the New Zealand Green Party is not increasing. Although strategies to mobilise membership and supporters to engage in policy and political debate and activity should be consistent with Generation Zero's theory of political mobilization or change, careful consideration of how to broaden the membership profile of the organization is recommended.

- **Political engagement**

One strategy for doing this, beyond **prioritizing engagement with diverse audiences** (ample opportunity exists for engaging with non-Pākehā audiences for instance), involves connecting 'environmental' and 'climate' issues with other issues of structural inequality, such as housing, transport and wealth inequality, in ways that resonate beyond the urban, educated, Pākehā middle class. Indeed the findings suggest this approach may be effective in attracting now defunct Internet-MANA supporters to climate-related politics. Likewise, connecting environmental/policy issues to related structural issues may attract conservatives, for whom the immediate threats of climate change (to communities, New Zealand, internationally) are less pressing.

Similarly, **personal networks**, both on and offline, are important influencers in shaping lifestyle and political choices. The findings indicate that among the most politically engaged members (Green Party supporters) higher levels of online activity pertain.

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The role of **scientists as communicators** is also important, however the impact of science-rationality on the existing membership should not be confused with science-rationality appealing to a broader (**non-Pākehā**) audience. Indeed, conservatives continue to place emphasis on the role of personal networks and on establishment voices – politicians – in influencing them. It is likely too that currently non-engaged demographics, such as **non-Pākehā groups**, may be engaged through communication strategies which consider the socially and culturally relevant (as opposed to individualized) dimensions of political engagement.

Opportunity clearly exists for Generation Zero to build support from within the now defunct **Internet-MANA and 'undecided' groupings**. Internet-MANA supporters have demonstrated high levels of political engagement (such as protests and meetings), and may be engaged through the clear connection of environmental and climate issues, with issues of social justice, such as inequality and poverty. Similarly, 'undecided' members demonstrated high-levels of preparation for political activity (enrolment to vote) and high levels of internet usage for political information. For this group the most important issues, following 'the environment' were housing and inequality.

Findings concerning modes of political engagement suggest that strongly political motivated members (Green Party) are substantially more engaged online, than more conservative members (Labour; National). National party supporters distinguish themselves by being skeptical towards scientists, much more receptive to politicians and to their friends and family. Communication and engagement strategies that build upon these insights into **conservative attitudes**, combined with insights into issue-salience presented above, provides useful guidance in developing strategies to engage this substantial demographic.

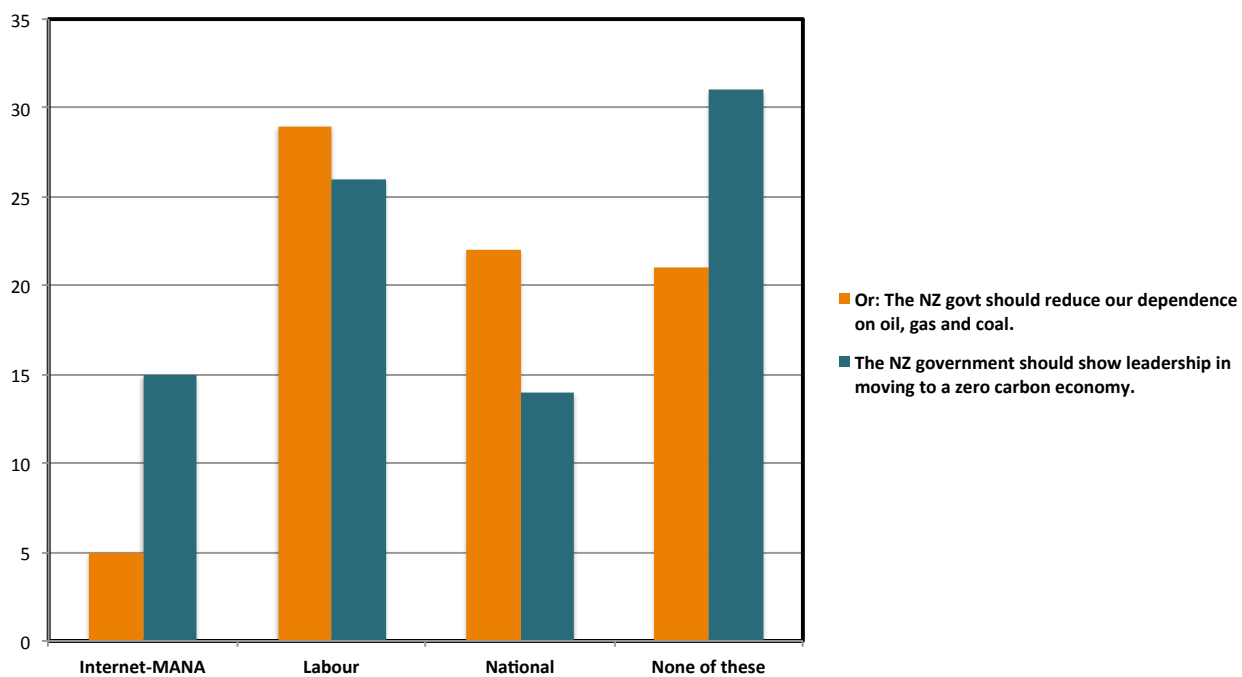
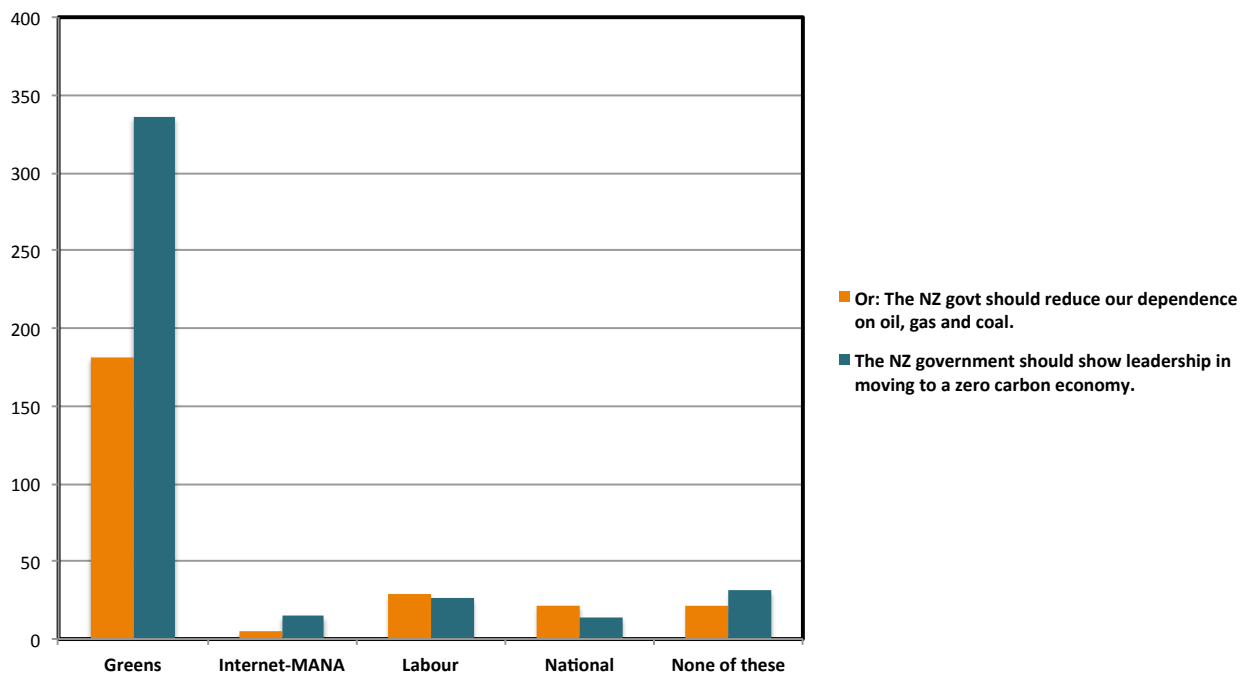
Lastly, the empirical examination of Generation Zero's membership is located within the field of online activism and political participation, primarily focused on international organisations such as MoveOn.org (US), avaaz.org (global) and GetUp! (Australia). The research demonstrates Generation Zero shares characteristics with these organisations and may offer new ways for New

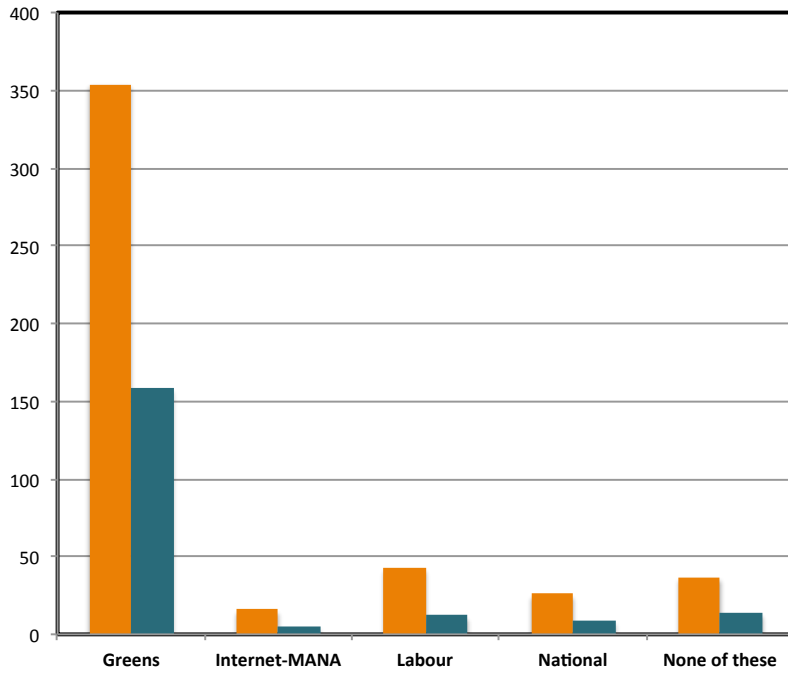


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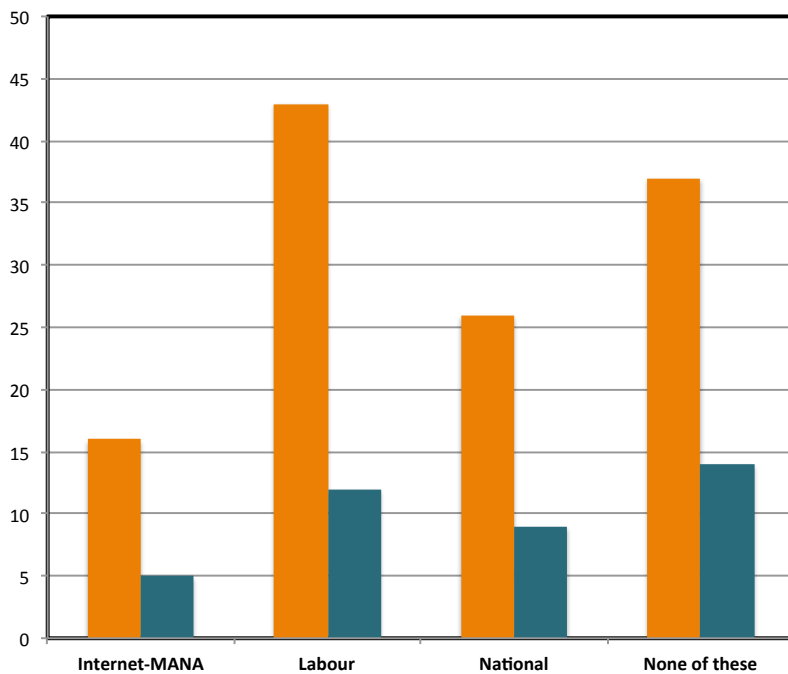
Zealanders – particularly young New Zealanders – to engage in citizen political participation.

## Appendix: Preferred statements





- Or: We should commit to powering our electricity, industries and transport from 100% renewable energy sources.
- We should set a goal of phasing out coal, oil and gas for all our energy and transport by 2050.



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