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Occasional Paper No. 4: a Research Paper

A SAMPLE OF ATTITUDES IN THE  
NEW ZEALAND PEACE MOVEMENT  
1993

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## EDITORIAL NOTE

It is not often that a second year Social Science student is able to produce research which is of a sufficiently high calibre to be published, let alone be of considerable interest to a wide group of people. The placement system operated by the University of Ulster propels its students into real-life situations and Fiona went into a fast learning-curve in how to do social research, producing quite credible results. But her study not only provides a useful set of information about the contemporary Peace Movement in New Zealand, but provides information of considerable interest and usefulness to the leaders and members of the Peace Movement. The Centre for Peace Studies hopes that perusal of this report will lead to useful reflection on the current goals, images, strengths and weaknesses of the Peace Movement in New Zealand. The support given Fiona in her pursuit of this data should be rewarded by being able to read her report.

It may be possible that more detailed analysis of this data will be available.

Edited by  
CHARLES CROTHERS

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PREFACE  
1st November 1993

It was an all too familiar sight. Tearful women and children laying flowers at the scene of yet another terrorist atrocity in Ulster.

*(Financial Times, 1st November 1993)*

There have been twenty four people killed in Northern Island in the last eight days. Nine died in the bombing of a Fish Shop, in the Shankill area of Belfast, by the IRA (Irish Republican Army). Seven were shot dead in the "Rising Sun" bar on Saturday night in Greysteel, seven miles out of Derry, by the UVF (Ulster Freedom Fighters).

My reality in Derry at the moment seems far removed from the experience I had in New Zealand and the relevance of this research seems of minimal use as the upsurge in violence here effects all our everyday lives.

I am hopeful, however, that what I have learnt and (with luck and goodwill) what you will learn from this study is some useful information and that it will provide encouragement to continue to believe in peaceful solutions.

Offering alternatives and different options is a really good place to start. (Julie Cuttance)

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the people in the Centre For Peace Studies for all their help and the support of numerous others when I convinced myself this paper would never be written, especially by me.

Many thanks to my friends and family in England and Northern Ireland who have helped me since I returned to university.

Finally I wish to express my thanks to all of those who completed the questionnaires and gave their time to be interviewed, without these people this research would have proved impossible.

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## APOLOGIES

My apologies first are that a lot more work could have been spent on this study. I became involved in the practical aspects of the New Zealand peace movement and for some time I lost track of my academic responsibilities.

Secondly, returning to Northern Ireland to continue with the final year of my Peace and Conflict Studies degree has left me with inadequate time to finish this report properly. I am writing this now as to leave it any longer may render it outdated.

# INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

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## BACKGROUND:

In August of 1992 the Centre For Peace Studies at the University of Auckland accepted me as a placement student for five months to carry out research into the New Zealand peace movement. This research took the form of questionnaires and interviews to establish the reasons why people became involved, what these people regarded as the most important issues and their hopes for the future. The questionnaires were sent out between March and June of 1993 and the interviews conducted between July and September of 1993.

## ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY:

Originally I spoke to Bob White about my research study and it was decided that Charles Crothers (Department of Sociology) would be the best supervisor for the research I was interested in doing. Information for the general background was provided by Bob White, Charles Crothers, Nora West, the New Zealand Foundation for Peace Studies and help was continuous from the people I met as I continued the study.

## AIMS OF THE STUDY:

The basic aim of this study is to get some idea of the kind of people involved in the peace movement. I was interested in the reasons people became active, what issues they felt were the most important and the best methods to achieve the goals pursued.

On a personal basis it gave me the opportunity to meet various people and obtain a real insight into the wide range of people involved and their motivations for being so.

The objectives were to give those people involved an idea of what others found important and why. Knowing the reasons behind people's activeness and continued commitment can help with the direction of people's energies and with the encouragement of others.

# STUDY DESIGN

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Questionnaires, with accompanying letters, and interviews were the formal structure of the research. I also spent a lot of time learning from the people I met and talking with them. (Those at the Peace, Power and Politics Conference of June 1993 helped enormously with this.) The research was carried out under the procedures of the University of Auckland Human Subjects Ethics Committee.

## THE SAMPLE:

The first set of questionnaires were sent to various groups mentioned in the 'Leap Directory 1993' (the New Zealand Foundation for Peace Studies) and following suggestions made by people I met through the Centre for Peace Studies (March 1993). Later the questionnaires were sent through a random selection of 'Peacelink' readers and people involved with Peace Movement Aotearoa (April 1993).

The last of the questionnaires were sent through people I met at the Peace, Power and Politics Conference and the contact names I had been given. Altogether two hundred and eighty questionnaires were sent out and I had received one hundred and sixty by July of 1993.

The people I chose to interview were those recommended to me. There were many more people I would have liked to have interviewed but time ran short for various reasons. By October 1993 I had interviewed twenty people.

## SUGGESTIONS FOR UNDERSTANDING THE TABLES:

The data has not been obtained from a "simple random sample" of people involved in the peace movement but it is possible to provide estimates of the accuracy of data from a sample of this size, under the assumption that it approximates a simple random sample. The sample I gathered has a minimum accuracy of approximately plus or minus 8%. In reading the following tables it should be assumed that the errors from the sample could be at least as large as this 8%. For example if a table indicates that 50% of the questionnaires were filled in by women it should be assumed that the "true" proportion in the population being studied actually lies somewhere between 42% and 58%.

The tables you are going to be looking at are arranged in three different formats:

- Frequency tables
- Multiple response tables
- Report tables

The frequency tables report the numbers and the proportions that fall into various categories. The most important column to look at is the "Valid Percentages" (these exclude those respondents who did not answer the question and are therefore to be ignored).

Report tables array several frequency tables across the page, which facilitates comparison.



The multiple response tables have been used for the open ended questions. Up to five responses were coded for each of these kind of questions and these responses can be added up in separate tables.

There are two ways of reading these tables:

- The proportion of each category as a percentage of all the respondents recorded.
- The proportion in each category as a percentage of all the respondents.

The latter is the most appropriate but it can have the strange effect of adding up to more than 100% as most of the people filling in the questionnaire offer several answers!

There needs to be some care taken when reading these kind of tables because:

- It is possible to put a different emphasis on the data depending on the categories used.
- It is possible to misunderstand what is included in particular categories because the labels for them are so short.

I have tried to make them as clear as possible and there is a copy of the questionnaire in the appendix to clarify anything that may be unclear.

In addition to the straightforward reporting of the distribution of the sample across the questions included in the questionnaire, some cross-tabulations were also run to identify differences by age, gender and so on. These are not included in this report, but in a few places comments based on the cross-tabulations are incorporated into the text, and marked off by brackets).

## QUESTIONNAIRE:

The questionnaire was divided into four main parts. The first was to collect general information about those filling the questionnaire.

The second section was designed to find out what definitions, if any, people can place around the peace movement and the basic beliefs that brought people into the movement.

The third section was out of interest about how people within the peace movement are viewed by those not actively involved. It was also to discover how activists see themselves and the people they work with.

The last section aimed to establish the amount of optimism in the New Zealand peace movement and to find out what people's hopes for the future were.

# PART ONE: GENERAL INFORMATION

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## QUESTION 1

TABLE 1: GENDER

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Female	1	94	58.4	59.5	59.5
Male	2	64	39.8	40.5	100.0
	0	3	1.9	Missing	
		-----	-----	-----	-----
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	158	Missing cases	3		

Table One shows that 60% of the respondents were female. (When comparing the gender statistics with the figures from Question Fifteen it was not surprising to see that 14% more women than men thought that "Equality and respect for all" was an extremely important issue for the peace movement.)

"I think women in the movement are quite strong and there is no way that they will be overshadowed".  
(Hilda Halkyard-Harawira)

This was something that was pleasingly obvious from my experience of the New Zealand peace movement.

## QUESTION 2

TABLE 2: AGE

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
0-20	1	10	6.2	6.3	6.3
21-29	2	15	9.3	9.4	15.7
31-40	3	19	11.8	11.9	27.7
41-50	4	34	21.1	21.4	49.1
51-60	5	27	16.8	17.0	66.0
61-70	6	29	18.0	18.2	84.3
71+	7	25	15.5	15.7	100.0
	0	2	1.2	Missing	
		-----	-----	-----	-----
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	159	Missing cases	2		

The highest figure of 21% is for the age range between 41-50 years old. Those respondents whose ages were between 51-70+ years accounted for 50% of the completed questionnaires. Several people mentioned how the older people involved

in the movement constantly amazed and inspired them. It was, then, great to hear Betty Cole, a long-term activist, state;

"I get the motivation for my hope for the future because of the excitement I feel meeting young people".

(Comparing age and the perceived effectiveness of certain activities used by the peace movement (Question Thirteen) showed that the younger people regarded letter writing as less effective than the older generations. Young people (0-29 years old) favoured other activities, 81% more of this age group thought peace slogan graffiti was extremely effective than those in the 61-71 years bracket. Entering and occupying private property was also thought to be very effective by 63% more young people than their elders.)

### QUESTION 3

TABLE 3: NATIONALITY

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Maori	1	1	.6	.6	.6
Polynesian	2	3	1.9	1.9	2.5
Pakeha (White N.Zer.)	3	121	75.2	75.2	77.6
British	4	19	11.8	11.8	89.4
American/Canadian	5	7	4.3	4.3	93.8
Other	6	10	6.2	6.2	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	161	Missing cases	0		

The table shows how Pakeha dominate the New Zealand peace movement. I am aware, however, that there are Maori and other Polynesians working in the movement and it was something I should have been more aware of when I began this study. I have learnt from this. Talking to Grant Pakihana Halke was very positive when it came to the relationship between Maori self-determination and the peace movement:

"Within the Land Claims there is room for the peace movement to develop an response to the repercussions that will follow".

## QUESTION 4(A)

TABLE 4: TIME IN NEW ZEALAND

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Born in N.Z	1	105	65.2	65.6	65.6
0 5 (years.)	2	7	4.3	4.4	70.0
6 10	3	8	5.0	5.0	75.0
11 20	4	10	6.2	6.3	81.3
21+	5	30	18.6	18.8	100.0
	0	1	.6	Missing	
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	160	Missing cases	1		

It is very clear from these statistics that a significant majority (65%) of the people that I surveyed were born in New Zealand. Discussing the "New Zealand National Identity" was incredibly interesting. Nora West's comment on the New Zealand population was:

"They can say what they think and think what they like".

New Zealanders were also described as "jay-walkers" by Noriko Senda in 1986 because of their healthy scepticism of authority. This is something that became more than apparent as I attempted to statistically analyse the completed questionnaires because of the honesty and the positive additions made by people who refused to be "boxed in" by definitions and categories!

## QUESTION 4(B)

TABLE FIVE: REGIONS

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
North Island/ above	1	11	6.8	7.3	7.3
North Island/ Auckla	2	29	18.0	19.3	26.7
North Island/ betwee	3	18	11.2	12.0	38.7
North Island/ Wellin	4	47	29.2	31.3	70.0
South Island/ top pa	5	21	13.0	14.0	84.0
South Island/ betwee	6	16	9.9	10.7	94.7
South Island/ Dunedi	7	4	2.5	2.7	97.3
South Island/below D	8	4	2.5	2.7	100.0
	.	2	1.2	Missing	
	0	9	5.6	Missing	
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	150	Missing cases	11		

16% of the people who completed the questionnaire were from the South Island. I am aware that this survey was regionally biased because I spent most of my time in Auckland and Wellington.

## QUESTION 5

TABLE 6: PRESENT OCCUPATION

Category label	Code	Count	Pct of Responses	Pct of Cases
Fulltime un/paid worker in progressive o	1	11	5.3	6.9
Educational	2	44	21.4	27.7
Medical	3	12	5.8	7.5
Artist/writer/actor	4	7	3.4	4.4
Social/community worker	5	12	5.8	7.5
Student	6	15	7.3	9.4
Techican/skilled	7	12	5.8	7.5
Govt/public sector employee	8	12	5.8	7.5
Private sector	9	14	6.8	8.8
Unemployed	10	7	3.4	4.4
Retired	11	44	21.4	27.7
Unskilled	12	1	.5	.6
Religious minister	13	5	2.4	3.1
other	15	10	4.9	6.3
		-----	-----	-----
Total responses		206	100.0	129.6

2 missing cases; 159 valid cases

The highest figures in the table (on the next page) are the number of people involved in educational occupations (21%) and those who are retired (21%). (It was notable that all those in social/community occupations thought the environment was extremely important, three quarters of those involved in education and artistic professions thought the same and 86% of students also put the environment at the top of the list Question Fifteen. Those who had a strong spiritual basis for their concern for peace were an interesting mixture Question Eleven). The highest figures came from the full-time workers in the peace movement, technical and skilled workers (which included gardeners), those who were retired and religious ministers.

## QUESTION 6

TABLE 7: LEISURE ACTIVITIES

Category label	Code	Count	Pct of Responses	Pct of Cases
Tramping/walking	1	88	17.7	55.7
Reading	2	96	19.3	60.8
Socializing/talking/spending time with f	3	44	8.8	27.8
Music	4	41	8.2	25.9
Sports	5	66	13.3	41.8
Gardening	6	35	7.0	22.2
TV/films	7	27	5.4	17.1
Theatre	8	16	3.2	10.1
Dancing	9	10	2.0	6.3
Enjoying art/painting/sketching	10	14	2.8	8.9
Travel	11	10	2.0	6.3
Writing	12	13	2.6	8.2
Knitting/sewing	13	11	2.2	7.0
Learning	14	8	1.6	5.1
Singing	15	9	1.8	5.7
Other	16	10	2.0	6.3
		-----	-----	-----
Total responses		498	100.0	315.2

3 missing cases; 158 valid cases

The leisure activities of the respondents were as varied as the diversity of people involved in the peace movement. Tramping/walking (18%), reading (19%) and sport (13%) were the most popular activities I categorised. Those that did not fit into my inadequate categorisation ranged from pensioners who liked to fight the warmongers to university lecturers who liked to party!

"If I can't dance I don't want to be part of your revolution".

## QUESTION 7

TABLE 8: POLITICAL AFFILIATION

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Labour	2	27	16.8	18.1	18.1
Alliance	3	15	9.3	10.1	28.2
Anarchist	4	1	.6	.7	28.9
Socialist	5	27	16.8	18.1	47.0
Green	6	40	24.8	26.8	73.8
Other	7	39	24.2	26.2	100.0
	0	12	7.5	Missing	
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 149 Missing cases 12

The largest percentages were those who considered themselves as "Green" (27%) followed by Labour supporters (18%). Once again the fact that New Zealanders think for themselves and don't like to be "boxed in" was clear. 26% of respondents filled in the "other" category. These included humanitarians, radical feminists, "confused" and those who were not yet eligible to vote! (The comparisons showed that more "Greens" and Socialists were more inclined to picketing as an effective activity for the peace movement and twice as many women were Labour supporters than men.)

## QUESTION 8

TABLES 9 AND 10: LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT

Number of groups involved in

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
	0	6	3.7	3.7	3.7
	1	66	41.0	41.0	44.7
	2	36	22.4	22.4	67.1
	3	21	13.0	13.0	80.1
	4	15	9.3	9.3	89.4
	5	11	6.8	6.8	96.3
	6	6	3.7	3.7	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 161 Missing cases 0

## Level of involvement

Category label	Code	Count	Pct of Responses	Pct of Cases
Fulltime paid worker	1	9	2.5	5.6
Parttime paid worker	2	1	.3	.6
Unpaid worker	3	13	3.6	8.1
Active involvement	4	108	30.3	67.1
Supporter/member	5	138	38.7	85.7
A Minimal involvement	6	80	22.4	49.7
	15	8	2.2	5.0
		-----	-----	-----
	Total responses	357	100.0	221.7

0 missing cases; 161 valid cases

Table nine shows that the majority of people (41%) were involved in one peace group/organisation. Those involved in two or three groups were a fairly high overall percentage of 35%. The second table revealed that 67% of people were actively involved or a supporter. Kevin Hackwell made it clear that for a successful movement people have to be active within it;

"People know that their involvement counts and still counts".

## QUESTION 9

TABLE 11: INFLUENCE IN THE COMMUNITY

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Positive influence	1	140	87.0	90.3	90.3
No influence	2	15	9.3	9.7	100.0
	0	6	3.7	Missing	
		-----	-----	-----	
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 155 Missing cases 6

This question had a very positive response. 87% felt that their particular group/organisation had a good influence in their community. It is widely believed that the peace movement has great support in New Zealand;

"We have an impact such that of all New Zealanders polled on their attitudes to an issue we find that the public support us almost wholeheartedly".

(Steve Dixon)

## QUESTION 10(A) AND 10(B)

TABLE 12 : PREVIOUS INVOLVEMENT

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Yes	1	101	62.7	63.9	63.9
No	2	57	35.4	36.1	100.0
	0	3	1.9	Missing	
		-----	-----	-----	
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	158	Missing cases	3		

TABLE 13: WHY HAS YOUR INVOLVEMENT FINISHED

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Involvement hasn't f	1	34	21.1	29.8	29.8
Groups became irrele	2	3	1.9	2.6	32.5
Issues changed	3	10	6.2	8.8	41.2
Group folded	4	20	12.4	17.5	58.8
Group achieved it's	5	5	3.1	4.4	63.2
Left the area/countr	6	23	14.3	20.2	83.3
Not enough time	7	8	5.0	7.0	90.4
Personal reasons	8	5	3.1	4.4	94.7
Age restrictions (ol	9	6	3.7	5.3	100.0
	0	47	29.2	Missing	
		-----	-----	-----	
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	114	Missing cases	47		

Two thirds of the people surveyed had previously been involved in other peace groups/organisations. When asked why they had left the group/organisation 21% were adamant in saying that their involvement had not finished. Hamish Bruce described being involved as "a real buzz" and Jenny Easton believes that:

"Once you get involved in a group and like what you're doing you stay involved".

One fifth of people had left their group/organisation because they had moved from the area or left the country and 18% noted that their group/organisation had folded. The statistics showed also, that 12% more women than men felt that joining a group/organisation was an extremely effective activity (Question Thirteen).



## PART TWO: DEFINITIONS AND BELIEFS

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### QUESTION 11(A)

TABLE 14: BASIC CONCERN FOR PEACE

Spiritual basis	Religious basis	Political basis	Moral basis	Ecological basis
Very Strongly 41.8%	17.1%	32.9%	73.9%	58.7%
Considerable 20.5%	15.7%	33.6%	20.4%	26.7%
To some extent 18.0%	16.4%	27.6%	3.2%	13.3%
Not at All 19.7%	50.7%	5.9%	2.5%	1.3%
N 122	140	152	157	150

From the statistics it is obvious that the majority of people asked were part of the peace movement on a moral basis. There were also high percentages for a spiritual (42%) and an ecological (59%) basis for people's concern for peace although one fifth of all the people asked felt their reasons for being involved were not at all spiritual.

(Comparing genders for this particular table showed that figures for a political basis for concern were very similar for men and women but 12% more women than men had a very strong ecological basis to their reasons for becoming active.)

Molly Laxton, one of the inspiring older women, told me that she had always said to her son:

"I have always told you to have principles, if you then don't live by them you become unprincipled".

Several people added that commonsense was also one of the reasons they got involved. A strong sense of compassion was also seen as extremely important and parents in numerous cases said it was their children that created their concern:

"My kids have hope. It's worth the cost because the legacy I am leaving them is hope, that little people doing little things together can actually change things".

(Katie Boanas-Dewes in "Feminist Voices, Women's Studies Text from Aotearoa/New Zealand", ed; Rosemary du Plessis, 1990-1.)

## QUESTION 11(B)

TABLE 15: REASON FOR INVOLVEMENT

Category label	Code	Count	Pct of Responses	Pct of Cases
Threat/fear of nuclear war	1	31	12.9	20.3
Militarism (threat and cost)	2	24	10.0	15.7
WW2	3	16	6.6	10.5
Violence generally	4	13	5.4	8.5
Injustice/inequality	5	24	10.0	15.7
Environment issues	6	10	4.1	6.5
Ethical/moral obligations	7	8	3.3	5.2
Influence of parents/peers/role models/f	8	23	9.5	15.0
For future generations	9	16	6.6	10.5
Religious/spiritual reasons	10	8	3.3	5.2
Development issues	11	3	1.2	2.0
To be involved in 'positive change'	12	22	9.1	14.4
Other	13	34	14.1	22.2
	15	4	1.7	2.6
	22	5	2.1	3.3
		-----	-----	-----
	Total responses	241	100.0	157.5

8 missing cases; 153 valid cases

The diversity and sincerity of the answers to this question was amazing. Nuclear war (13%) and militarism (10%) were the highest figures charted for people actively involved in peace issues. Injustice and equality was also the reason for one tenth of the respondents' activism. Vietnam was also mentioned by several people and the race issues surrounding the Springbok Tours was also another important stimulus for people's active interest in the peace movement. Personal gain was also cited. One reason given was to meet "nice people", another to "enjoy contact with people of similar views". The activity of politicians seemed to make a significant number of people motivated against the feeling of disempowerment created by politicians and the system used by governments". Jenny Easton believes that;

" A great strength of an organisation is if it can empower people".

It seems the peace movement has helped people feel they can make a difference:

"A small number of people prepared to get together and do things ... gives me a lot of faith and the commitment to carry on".  
(Warren Thompson)

## QUESTION 12

### TABLES 16, 17 AND 18: BEST DIRECTION FOR THE PEACE MOVEMENT

#### GRASS-ROOTS SUPPORT

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Most important way f	1	112	69.6	70.9	70.9
Next important way f	2	38	23.6	24.1	94.9
Least important way	3	8	5.0	5.1	100.0
	0	3	1.9	Missing	
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 158 Missing cases 3

Table sixteen shows that the majority of people who responded to the questionnaire (71%) felt that increasing the movement's grass-roots support was the best way forward. Owen Wilkes commented that "by concentrating on our local issues we do have an effect globally".

#### LOBBYING OF THOSE IN POWER

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Most important way f	1	50	31.1	32.7	32.7
Next important way f	2	76	47.2	49.7	82.4
Least important way	3	27	16.8	17.6	100.0
	0	8	5.0	Missing	
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 153 Missing cases 8

In table seventeen 32% thought that lobbying those in power was the best activity to focus on. When asked about politicians Wendy John's comment was;

"We are continually educating them".

#### MAINSTREAM POLITICS

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Most important way f	1	26	16.1	16.7	16.7
Next important way f	2	26	16.1	16.7	33.3
Least important way	3	104	64.6	66.7	100.0
	0	5	3.1	Missing	
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 156 Missing cases 5

Table eighteen makes it clear that two thirds of people asked felt that moving into mainstream politics was not important for the peace movement.

## QUESTION 13

TABLE 19: EFFECTIVE ACTIVITIES FOR THE PEACE MOVEMENT

	Signing petitions	Joining a peace grp/organ.	Participating in a march/rally	Writing letters	Peace education	Picketing	Sponsoring MP's\ political parties	Peace camps	Peace slogan graffiti	Entering/occupying private/govt. property
Very Effective 7.7%		47.1%	26.8%	35.7%	73.4%	13.2%	10.5%	18.8%	11.0%	12.8%
Considerable 74.4%		48.4%	62.4%	53.5%	25.9%	47.7%	30.8%	51.4%	32.5%	30.2%
Not Effective 16.7%		4.5%	10.2%	10.2%	.6%	27.2%	29.4%	25.7%	36.4%	24.8%
Harmful 1.3%		0.0	.6%	.6%	0.0	11.9%	29.4%	4.2%	20.1%	32.2%
N	156	157	157	157	158	151	143	144	154	149

The most significant figure of 73% was for that of respondents who thought that peace education was very effective as an activity for the peace movement. For those activities that were seen as harmful sponsoring MPs/political parties got 29% of the total and peace slogan graffiti one fifth of the "votes". Entering and occupying private property was, overall, the most unpopular activity according to 32% of the respondents.

(It is worth noting that 71% of those between the ages of 21-29 years thought that sponsoring MPs/political parties was particularly harmful. It was also interesting to observe that 5% more women than men thought that sponsoring would be effective as an activity for the movement. 40% of women thought that letter writing was extremely effective in comparison to 28% of men. However the number of men who approved of marches/rallies was higher than that of women by 8%.)

## QUESTION 14

TABLE 20: DEFINITIONS OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT

	Move. for disarmament	Anti-nuclear move.	New ways of thinking, peace, equality and justice	Total change in lifestyle, a sustainable society	Move. for education	A146	Nuclear threat	Militarism	Environmental destruction	1st/3rd World issues	Equality and respect for all
Accurately 42.9%		54.4%	87.5%	58.8%	72.3%		58.2%	58.6%	61.5%	53.8%	43.7%
Fairly Well 33.5%		25.6%	11.9%	23.1%	15.7%		32.9%	37.6%	30.8%	40.4%	44.9%
To some extent 21.1%		16.9%	.6%	15.0%	8.8%		7.0%	2.5%	7.1%	5.8%	9.5%
Not Especially 1.9%		1.9%	0.0	2.5%	3.1%		1.3%	1.3%	.6%	0.0	1.9%
Not at all .6%		1.3%	0.0	.6%	0.0		.6%	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
N	161	160	160	160	159	161	158	157	156	156	158

It is obvious from the table that a large majority (88%) of the respondents believed that an accurate way to describe the peace movement was "a movement towards a new way of thinking, not just the absence of war but towards peace, equality and justice".

"It's hard to have an effect unless you challenge what the conventional, materialistic systems present you with".  
(Nicky Hager)

72% of the people asked thought an accurate definition of the movement could be one that works towards education for peace. (The older generations (41-71+ years) saw the movement as an anti-nuclear one more than the younger generations (0-40 years). A movement to disarm was also favoured more by those respondents that were over 40 years.) Robin Byrant believes that when it comes to the disarmament;

"Information about the military is so compelling you don't need propaganda".

The additions to my definitions were imaginative and increased my awareness of the number of issues that can be covered by the peace movement. The Economic order featured frequently, especially New Zealand's position in it. Also fairer treatment for indigenous people, learning on a personal as well as a political level, the example of Jesus Christ and non-violence as a means of alternative defense.

## QUESTION 15

TABLE 21: IMPORTANCE OF ISSUES

	Nuclear threat	Militarism	Environmental destruction	1st/3rd World issues	Equality and respect for all	Social issues	Structural violence
Very Important	58.2%	58.6%	61.5%	53.8%	43.7%	42.4%	59.5%
Considerable	32.9%	37.6%	30.8%	40.4%	44.9%	38.6%	36.1%
Not really	7.0%	2.5%	7.1%	5.8%	9.5%	13.3%	2.5%
Not an Issue	1.3%	1.3%	.6%	0.0	1.9%	5.1%	1.9%
Insignificant	.6%	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.6%	0.0
N	158	157	156	156	158	158	158

62% of those surveyed saw environmental destruction as an extremely important issue for the peace movement. 58% viewed the nuclear threat as extremely important also.

"... if you're a road sweeper or a drunkard living on the streets of Wellington it is still to your benefit that we don't have nuclear warships coming into our ports, these issues are important to any person no matter how poor".  
(Jean Robertson)

Also three fifths of people regarded structural violence as an important issue for the movement.

"Peace is as much about the freedom to walk the urban streets at night as it is about countries signing peace treaties".

(Wally Hirsh, Race Relations Conciliator in "Peace ... More Than Just An Absence of War", New Women's Press, 1986)

Basically a large proportion of the respondents saw all the issues in the question as important for the movement to address.

## PART THREE: IMAGES OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT

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### QUESTION 16

TABLE 22: RANGE OF FRIENDS

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
All	1	2	1.2	1.3	1.3
Most	2	45	28.0	28.1	29.4
Some	3	76	47.2	47.5	76.9
A few	4	36	22.4	22.5	99.4
None	5	1	.6	.6	100.0
	0	1	.6	Missing	
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 160      Missing cases 1

As you can see from the statistics almost half the people surveyed have "some" friends involved in the peace movement. It was good to see that everyone who completed the questionnaire had made friends within the movement. As I have already mentioned, respondents wanted to met like-minded people and enjoy their involvement - it seems that all the people have met people through their groups/organisations that they consider friends.

### QUESTION 17

TABLE 23: PREVIOUS IMAGE OF PEACE ACTIVISTS

Category label	Code	Count	Pct of Responses	Pct of Cases
No image formed	1	20	9.9	13.0
Background/family involvement	2	17	8.4	11.0
People with similar beliefs to themselves	3	12	5.9	7.8
Respect/admiration/gratitude	4	29	14.3	18.8
Committed/dedicated	5	21	10.3	13.6
Lefties	6	5	2.5	3.2
Socialists	7	1	.5	.6
Communists	8	3	1.5	1.9
Radical/extreme	9	8	3.9	5.2
Activists/stirrers	10	6	3.0	3.9
Well educated	11	7	3.4	4.5
Young	12	5	2.5	3.2
Hippy/naive/idealist	13	12	5.9	7.8
People with time on their hands	15	3	1.5	1.9
People/issues irrelevant to other's ever	16	1	.5	.6
No image/no idea/no understanding	17	5	2.5	3.2
A change of image, more positive since t	18	1	.5	.6
Other	19	47	23.2	30.5
	Total responses	203	100.0	131.8

7 missing cases; 154 valid cases

10% of the people who filled in this question had formed no image of the people involved in the peace movement before they themselves became involved. A quarter of the people had respect and admiration for the people they knew in the movement because they were seen as committed and dedicated. But once again the categorising of this question was difficult and 23% of the answers did not fit into my narrow categories. The "other" section contained a wide variety of images: Dope smoking hippies in house trucks to people from a church background, lunatics who were noisy and boring to pinko liberal woolly woofers! One respondent (before being personally involved) thought that all those who were part of the peace movement ought to be locked up for a very long time!

## QUESTION 18

### TABLES 24 AND 25: CHANGES IN THE IMAGE

#### HAS THE IMAGE CHANGED

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Change	1	75	46.6	89.3	89.3
No change	2	9	5.6	10.7	100.0
	.	77	47.8	Missing	
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 84 Missing cases 77

#### CHANGE IN IMAGE OF PEACE ACTIVISTS

Category label	Code	Count	Pct of Responses	Pct of Cases
Realisation of the diversity of people i	1	33	30.6	38.4
Diversity of commitment and interest	2	16	14.8	18.6
Variety of reasons for being involved	3	11	10.2	12.8
Image changed because of personal involv	4	14	13.0	16.3
Some criticism	5	11	10.2	12.8
Other	6	16	14.8	18.6
	7	1	.9	1.2
	19	6	5.6	7.0
	Total responses	108	100.0	125.6

75 missing cases; 86 valid cases

A large proportion of those who answered this question had changed their mind (90%) about peace activists once they got personally involved and a third believed it was because they realised the diversity of people involved. 15% of these people had also realised what a wide variety of interests and commitment the movement contained. The "other" section (15%), again, was very honest. It was felt that people in the movement were more realistic than those who "opt out, most were well informed although there were still some vague dippy types! One respondent described the people they had met as: "ordinary in someways and extraordinary in others". A positive statement made was;

"Religious, political, moral and spiritual have all come together".



## QUESTION 19

TABLE 26: STEREOTYPES OF PEACE ACTIVISTS

Category label	Code	Count	Pct of Responses	Pct of Cases
People with similar beliefs to themselve	3	1	1.3	2.0
Respect/admiration/gratitude	4	2	2.6	4.0
Lefties	6	2	2.6	4.0
Socialists	7	3	3.9	6.0
Communists	8	2	2.6	4.0
Activists/stirrers	10	2	2.6	4.0
Well educated	11	2	2.6	4.0
Young	12	3	3.9	6.0
Hippy/naive/idealist	13	13	16.9	26.0
Scruffy (in appearance)	14	9	11.7	18.0
People with time on their hands	15	2	2.6	4.0
People/issues irrelevant to other's ever	16	2	2.6	4.0
No image/no idea/no understanding	17	2	2.6	4.0
A change of image, more positive since t	18	5	6.5	10.0
Other	19	27	35.1	54.0
		-----	-----	-----
	Total responses	77	100.0	154.0

111 missing cases; 50 valid cases

Basically there is no stereotype because firstly they don't exist and secondly because of the variety of descriptions given by respondents. The hippy, naive idealist was popular (17%) and the scruffy appearance of activists was mentioned by 12% of people. The "other" category was amusing and informative. The images ranged from muesli-munching, honest but weird unemployed people to those who liked to stir confrontational action to white male middle class intellectuals! From the interviews there was an expected positive view of activists;

"The peace movement is people who have a vision of a better world".  
(Wendy John)

## QUESTION 20

TABLE 27: USEFUL PEOPLE FOR THE PEACE MOVEMENT

Politicans	Musicians, artists, performers	Authors, journalists	T.V. stars, movie stars	Professionals i.e; Doctors, lawyers
Very Useful 54.3%	60.3%	71.6%	42.0%	51.3%
Considerable 27.2%	35.8%	25.0%	40.7%	37.3%
Not Very 17.2%	4.0%	2.7%	14.0%	8.7%
Not at All 1.3%	0.0	.7%	3.3%	2.0%
N 151	151	148	150	150

With 72%, Authors/Journalists were the most popular sort of people seen to be useful to the peace movement. T.V. and movie stars scored the lowest figure with 42%. Professional people were seen by more than half the respondents as useful. Bob White believes that;

"You should use your experience and knowledge to share and clarify information".

## PART FOUR: HOPES FOR THE FUTURE

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### QUESTIONS 21 AND 22

Hopes for the future

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Very hopeful	1	68	42.2	48.2	48.2
Quite hopeful	2	54	33.5	38.3	86.5
Not sure	3	14	8.7	9.9	96.5
Not really hopeful	4	4	2.5	2.8	99.3
Pessimistic	5	1	.6	.7	100.0
.	16		9.9	Missing	
0	4		2.5	Missing	
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 141 Missing cases 20

Categorising one hundred and six four people's ideal worlds is an impossible task! Over half the respondents were very hopeful that the New Zealand peace movement will have a lasting effect on New Zealand society and government. No one was pessimistic and only a handful of people were not hopeful about the effect the movement has or will have.

Several themes were running through the ideal worlds described.

- One with justifiable and legitimate means of solving disputes.
- A global society/economy/ecology.
- Where diversity is valued in a multi-cultural society which has respect for all and the planet.
- Where resources are shared through democracy and tolerance not exploitation.
- A world following the feminist principles of non-violence, cooperation and empowerment.

Certain specific examples are worth mentioning:

"An impossible question to answer".

"A place where people have the same ideals as me - Why? - because I think I'm right!"

"A global view with local action".

"I'm sitting in a house surrounded by native birds and bush looking over the Tasman Sea with the Te Miko Cliffs behind me. There's food in the cupboard and beer in the fridge and I don't have to go to work for four more days. That's paradise!"

## SUMMARY

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Reading these quotes and statistics an Irish friend of mine commented:

"They're very strong minded and positive aren't they?"  
(Ceara Treacy)

It is easy to forget the positive side of people when living in Northern Ireland although there have been large scale protests named "STOP THE KILLING" throughout the province and in the Republic of Ireland.

I will remember what I have learnt from the people I met in New Zealand and from those I haven't met who filled in this questionnaire. I agree with Nora West in saying;

"I am very grateful to the New Zealand peace movement for all it has done to change my life".

I will also always remind myself what Margaret Mead is often quoted as saying

"Don't ever think that a few committed informed people can't change the world, it's the only thing that ever has".

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## THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND

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NEW ZEALAND

TELEPHONE 373-7999

# STUDY OF NEW ZEALAND PEACE MOVEMENT

## INTRODUCTION

It seems unreasonable for you to be expected to fill in this questionnaire without an explanation of how it came about and what it will be used for so...

My name is Fiona McMahon. I am a third year student doing a Peace and Conflict Studies degree at the University of Ulster. I am spending five months in New Zealand attached to the Centre for Peace Studies at the University of Auckland doing a research project. This involves observing different peace groups in various areas of New Zealand. I am interested in the kind of people involved in the peace movement, their hopes for it's future and the factors that make the New Zealand peace movement different to any other.

A Report based on the information collected will be presented to the Centre for Peace Studies at the end of my stay.

If you don't want to fill in the questionnaire, for whatever reason, please feel free to 'give it a miss'. If you do, thank you for doing so, and please be as honest as possible. This is confidential and shall only be seen by me and perhaps my supervisor, Dr Charles Crothers (Sociology Department, University of Auckland).

I'm keen to learn more about the history of the peace movement here and to improve my skills in this sort of research.

Thanks for reading and please continue.

If you have any queries please contact:

Fiona McMahon - Ph (09) 630 5797

Dr Charles Crothers - Ph (09) 3737999, extension 8662

If you are concerned about this study you may contact the Chair of the University of Auckland Human Subjects Ethics Committee - Ph (09) 3737999, extension 7869

# PART 1: GENERAL INFORMATION

- 1 What gender are you? Circle One. **Male/Female**
- 2 What is your age? Please tick the appropriate space -
- 0-20 \_\_\_\_\_  
21-30 \_\_\_\_\_  
31-40 \_\_\_\_\_  
41-50 \_\_\_\_\_  
51-60 \_\_\_\_\_  
61-70 \_\_\_\_\_  
71+ \_\_\_\_\_
- 3 What is your nationality/ethnic background?  
\_\_\_\_\_
- 4A If you are not from New Zealand/Aotearoa, how long have you lived here?  
\_\_\_\_\_
- 4B What region of New Zealand do you live in?  
\_\_\_\_\_
- 5 What is your present occupation? (If not currently employed what is your usual occupation?)  
\_\_\_\_\_
- 6 What are your favourite leisure activities?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- 7 Would you classify yourself as (please circle one answer) - Nationalist/ Labour supporter/  
Alliance supporter/Anarchist/Socialist/Green/Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
- 8 What is the name of the peace group/organisation/s you are currently involved with?  
Please specify your level of involvement in each.
- | GROUP/ORGANISATION | LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT |
|--------------------|----------------------|
| _____              | _____                |
| _____              | _____                |
| _____              | _____                |
| _____              | _____                |
- 9 Do you think that your peace group/organisation/s have an influence in your community?  
Please circle one option.  
1 - Positive influence, 2 - No influence, 3 - Negative influence
- 10 Have you previously been a member of any other peace group/organisation/s?  
(Circle one) - **YES/NO**



10B Why has your involvement finished?

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## PART 2: YOUR DEFINITIONS AND BELIEFS

11A What foundation is your concern for peace based on? Please circle one number for each basis.  
1 - Very strongly, 2 - Considerable, 3 - To some extent, 4 - Not at all

i)	A spiritual basis	1	2	3	4
ii)	A religious basis	1	2	3	4
iii)	A political basis	1	2	3	4
iv)	A moral basis	1	2	3	4
v)	An ecological basis	1	2	3	4
vi)	Other (please specify) _____				

11B Why did you get actively involved in the peace movement?

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12 Do you think the peace movement, as a non-government organisation should be: Please rank in order of preference -

1 As the most important way forward - 2 The next important direction - 3 As the least important

i)	Increasing its 'grass roots' support	_____
ii)	Increasing the lobbying of those in power, IE. politicians, companies, multinationals etc	_____
iii)	Moving into mainstream politics	_____

13 What kind of activities do you think are the most effective for the peace movement? Please circle one number for each category.

1 Extremely effective - 2 Effective - 3 Not effective - 4 Harmful

i)	Signing petitions	1	2	3	4
ii)	Joining a peace group/organisation/s	1	2	3	4
iii)	Taking part in a march or a rally	1	2	3	4
iv)	Writing letters to politicians or newspapers	1	2	3	4
v)	Education on peace issues	1	2	3	4
vi)	Picketing	1	2	3	4
vii)	Sponsoring particular MP's or political parties	1	2	3	4
viii)	Establishing peace camps	1	2	3	4
ix)	Peace slogan graffiti	1	2	3	4
x)	Entering and occupying private/government property	1	2	3	4

14 Please compare these definitions of the peace movement with your own and circle the most appropriate number next to each one. Does the definition fit your view -

1 Accurately - 2 Fairly well - 3 To some extent - 4 Not especially - 5 Not at all

- |      |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| i)   | Movement for disarmament  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| ii)  | Anti-nuclear movement (for power as well as military purposes)  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| iii) | Not just the absence of war but as new ways of thinking: a movement for peace, equality and justice                       | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| iv)  | A movement towards a total change in lifestyle: issues of conservation and environment to achieve a 'sustainable society' | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| v)   | A movement for the education of future generations in active co-operation and interpersonal relationships                 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Please add to the list any issues you feel are too important to be left out.

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15 How important are the following issues in the peace movement in New Zealand? Please circle the appropriate number next to each issue. Do you feel it is -

1 Extremely important - 2 Quite important - 3 Not really important - 4 Not an issue - 5 Insignificant

The categories are -

- |      |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| i)   | The nuclear threat  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| ii)  | Militarism in general   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| iii) | Environmental destruction   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| iv)  | First/Third World issues  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| v)   | Equality and respect for all: campaigns against sexism, racism and homophobia                       | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| vi)  | Social campaigning for better housing, social benefits, employment, childcare, education and health | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| vii) | Structural violence in the media, the playground, the home and the streets of New Zealand           | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

## PART 3: IMAGES OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT

16 Consider your range of friends. Would you say that - **All / Most / Some / A Few / None** of them are involved in the peace movement? Please circle one option.

17 What image did you have of peace activists before you became personally involved?

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18 Has this changed? If so, in what ways?

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19 What stereotype do you think 'the person on the street' has of a peace activist?

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20 What type of people could be most useful to promote the peace movement? Please circle the appropriate number next to each category - 1 Extremely useful - 2 Quite useful - 3 Not very useful - 4 Not at all useful. The categories are -

i)	Politicians	1	2	3	4
ii)	Musicians/Artists/Performers	1	2	3	4
iii)	Authors/Journalists	1	2	3	4
iv)	Television Stars/Movie Stars	1	2	3	4
v)	Professionals ie; Doctors/Lawyers	1	2	3	4

## PART 4: HOPES FOR THE FUTURE

21 Are you hopeful the peace movement in New Zealand will have/is having a lasting effect on the country's society and government. Please tick the appropriate answer below.

- |      |                    |       |
|------|--------------------|-------|
| i)   | Very hopeful       | _____ |
| ii)  | Quite hopeful      | _____ |
| iii) | Not sure           | _____ |
| iv)  | Not really hopeful | _____ |
| v)   | Pessimistic        | _____ |

22 In one or two sentences describe your ideal world.

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Thank you for your co-operation and time, it is much appreciated. Please add any further comments you would like to make.

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