

0620REPORT/NZ14

CPA UK DELEGATION TO NEW ZEALAND 26 – 31 MAY 2014 REPORT

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1. UK DELEGATION

Leader:	Rt Hon. Lord McNally (Liberal Democrat) - Delegation Leader Chair of the Youth
	Justice Board
Members:	Sharon Hodgson MP (Labour) Shadow Minister for Women and Equalities
	Andrew Rosindell MP (Conservative)
	Gavin Shuker MP (Labour Co-op) Shadow Minister for International Development
	Rt Hon. John Spellar MP (Labour) Shadow Minister for the Foreign and
	Commonwealth Office
	Dame Angela Watkinson DBE MP (Conservative)
Delegation Secretary:	Morna Richards, Team Leader Asia-Pacific, CPA UK

2. **PACIFIC DELEGATION**

Cook Islands:	Hon. Wilkie Rasmussen
	Hon. Tai Tura
Kiribati:	Hon. Taneti Maamau MP
	Hon. Mote Terukaio MP
Samoa:	Mr Lefau Harry Schuster MP
	Mr Afoafouvale John Moors MP
Tonga:	Mr Sione Havea Taione
	Mr 'Akilisi Pohiva
Tuvalu:	Hon. Otinielu Tauteleimalae Tausi
	Hon. Leneuoti Maatusi

3. **AIM**

The aim of this programme was to enable Westminster parliamentarians to understand better the challenges and issues faced by their colleagues in New Zealand and the South Pacific.

4. **OBJECTIVES**

4.01. To gain an insight into:

- The current political situation in New Zealand in relation to the upcoming election
- The New Zealand electoral system
- The representation of women and minority groups in politics
- Working relationships between the political parties

4.02. To gain a greater understanding of:

- The 'Five Eyes' intelligence alliance and the GCSB & Related Legislation Amendment Bill
- Christchurch's recovery following the earthquake in February 2011
- The referendum over the national flag and wider related issues
- New Zealand's foreign policy and regional relations
- UK- New Zealand bilateral relations and trade issues
- Issues around minorities and indigenous peoples
- New Zealand colleagues' views on the opportunities of the Commonwealth

4.03. To discuss with colleagues from the South Pacific:

- Constituency work and the challenges of representing highly dispersed and geographically fragmented populations
- The role of women in the decision-making process; and the roles of men, women and children in society
- The impact of climate change in the South Pacific region
- The effectiveness of assistance provided by international donors, in particular the European Parliament, and the region's progress towards the Millennium Development Goals
- The role of the Pacific Islands Forum and other regional organisations

5. **VISIT SUMMARY**

5.01. A cross-party delegation of six UK parliamentarians visited New Zealand in May 2014 to gain an insight into the political landscape and current issues in New Zealand and the wider South Pacific region.

5.02. The visit began with a multilateral workshop in Auckland with colleagues from the Pacific. Ten parliamentarians from the Cook Islands, Kiribati, Samoa, Tonga, and Tuvalu joined the UK delegation for two days of discussions on issues relevant to the CPA Pacific Region. The programme is included under Annex A.

5.03. The delegation then travelled to Wellington for a comprehensive and engaging programme of meetings and visits with Members, Officers and staff of the New Zealand Parliament and Government Ministries to gain a deeper understanding of issues on the political agenda in the lead up to New Zealand's General Election in September 2014. The programme is included under Annex B.

5.04. This is the first CPA UK delegation to New Zealand since the devastating earthquake which hit Christchurch in February 2011, claiming 185 lives. As well as undertaking programmes in Auckland and Wellington, the delegation travelled to Christchurch to learn of the progress being made in the rebuild and to show support for the Christchurch community in their recovery process.

5.05. The visit achieved its aim by enabling the UK parliamentary delegates to understand better the challenges faced by their colleagues in New Zealand and the South Pacific Region. Delegates came away with a well-rounded insight into the current political situations in New Zealand and the South Pacific, as well as with a good knowledge of wider issues around aid, trade, foreign policy, regional relations, immigration, climate change, and views on the Commonwealth.

5.06. CPA UK would like to thank and acknowledge the work of the British High Commissioner Vicki Treadell CMG MVO and her team in producing a very comprehensive programme. The delegation were extremely impressed with the support they received from British High Commission staff throughout their visit in-country.

6. **KEY MESSAGES**

6.01. The following key points came out of the delegation's discussions with Pacific colleagues:

- There is a great warmth for the UK in the Pacific but a need for the UK to re-engage in the Pacific Region. Parliamentary diplomacy has a role to play in this re-engagement and CPA UK will seek to increase its activity in the CPA Pacific Region.
- UK aid is not visible in the Pacific because it is tied up in the contribution from the European Union. The closing of UK Missions has had a further impact on the UK's visibility. It was suggested that a small amount of bilateral aid sent directly from the UK to the Pacific could go a long way in reinstating the UK's visibility in the region.
- China's presence as a donor in the Pacific is increasing, creating both opportunities for development and a wariness around accountability and influence. Whilst China is willing to offer cash for development, long-term sustainability is not being taken into account.
- 6.02. The following key points came out of the delegation's discussions with New Zealand colleagues:
 - The UK enjoys a very warm relationship with New Zealand which should continue to be nurtured to ensure ties remain strong. New Zealand is a valuable ally for the UK in the Asia-Pacific region.
 - New Zealand shares historical ties and mutual values with the UK but is in the process of repositioning itself in the world, moving away from its links to the UK and strengthening ties with its Asia-Pacific neighbours.
 - New Zealand has become a vibrant, multicultural, and ethnically diverse country which has successfully integrated migrants from the Asia-Pacific region into its population. Over 200 ethnicities were identified in New Zealand's 2013 census.

- This visit has contributed to reinforcing parliamentary ties between the UK and New Zealand Parliaments and has reaffirmed a mutual willingness to strengthen this relationship.
- The Centenary of the First World War is a major event in New Zealand's history. It is recommended that commemoration events held in New Zealand in 2015 are attended by HMG representatives at the highest level.

6.03 The earthquakes of September 2010 and February 2011 in Christchurch caused immense destruction. The UK delegation was shocked at the extent of the devastation they witnessed in Christchurch, still evident 3 years after the earthquakes. The Christchurch community has shown incredible resilience and patience in the recovery and rebuild process, and is taking advantage of the unique opportunity to rebuild the city in a modern environment.

7. PACIFIC ENGAGEMENT – PROGRAMME DETAILS AND COMMENTS

The Role of an MP – comparisons between the UK and the Pacific Chair: Rt Hon. Lord McNally, UK

7.01 In the programme's opening session, members of the Pacific delegations gave an overview of the role of an MP in the Pacific. In Kiribati, a country comprising of 33 atolls spread over a vast region, there are issues with communication and the internet is yet to reach many of the outer islands. MPs therefore communicate with their constituents in person through individual consultations and village meetings. The Kiribati parliament sits three times a year, for two weeks at a time. Parliamentary sessions are broadcast over the radio. Although parliament sits infrequently, MPs are not permitted to have second jobs.

7.02 Pacific MPs are not expected to use their own money to assist with constituents' needs, but there is an expectation that MPs will bring small gifts, such as tobacco, to their constituents. In the Cook Islands, for example, MPs are expected to contribute towards medical bills for their constituents. The level of generosity displayed by an MP can affect his or her re-election prospects, as MPs can be voted in or out depending on whether they have been a good supplier of gifts to their constituents.

7.03 Implementing government policy is a major issue in Tonga. Tonga has a smaller population than many other Pacific nations, and a lack of resources hinders the implementation of legislation.

7.04 Individual MPs in some Pacific legislatures have little scope to vote against their party. Norms have been established which keep the governing party very strong. In Samoa for example, MPs wishing to move away from their party and become independent will be advised that their seat will be put to a by-election. In theory MPs are entitled to free party association, but in practice MPs are expected to support their party or they will lose their seat.

7.05. The UK is perceived to have been largely absent in the Pacific in recent years and could be doing more to ensure Pacific parliamentary systems receive enough support to function effectively. The Pacific has come to rely on New Zealand and Australia for support in the UK's absence and the Pacific is now expected to vote along the lines of Australia and New Zealand on international issues. In the last decade the Pacific has forged close relations with Asian countries such as China which do not share the same parliamentary traditions. In some Pacific countries there is a feeling that following the Second World War the British 'handed over' the Pacific to New Zealand to 'look after'.

7.06. Few people in the Pacific are aware that the UK still provides development assistance in the Pacific through its 15% contribution to the European Development Fund (EDF) and the perception is that the British have lost interest in providing financial support. It was suggested that a small amount of aid sent bilaterally from the UK to the Pacific, whilst perhaps not economical in the long-term, would have a disproportionate effect politically in reinstating the UK's visibility in the Pacific.

7.07. Some people view China to be a new colonial force in the Pacific. China presents itself as a cashgiving country asking for little in the way of return for its investments. When China agrees to strengthen infrastructure in the Pacific, they bring their own workforce and materials with them to do so.

7.08. Whilst it was natural for Pacific countries to engage with neighbours in the Pacific Rim on trade and economic issues, for parliamentary and constitutional assistance Pacific links with the UK should be much stronger. The UK should be playing more of a partnership role in development, to assist the Pacific in tackling some of its inherent problems. The UK should not play a political role.

The Role of Women in Politics. Chair: Sharon Hodgson MP (UK)

7.09. The worldwide percentage of parliamentary seats held by women is 21.8%¹. In the UK 23% of seats are held by women which places the UK Parliament 74th in the world. Since 1918, 369 women have been elected to the House of Commons. Until 1997 women had never held more than 10% of House of Commons seats at any one time. In 1997 there was a marked increase to 18% through the introduction of all–women shortlists by the Labour Party.

7.10. The average percentage of parliamentary seats held by women in the Pacific is 16.2%. In the Pacific region in 1995 the average percentage of women in parliament was 7.7%. Therefore progress has been made, although for the last 10 years the figures have remained stable at around 15%.

7.11. The current figures for women parliamentarians in the Pacific legislatures represented are:

¹ http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/WIP2013-e.pdf

- Cook Islands 24 seats, 3 women
- Tonga 26 seats, 1 woman
- Samoa 49 seats, 2 women
- Tuvalu 15 seats, 1 woman
- Kiribati 46 seats, 4 women

7.12. Dame Angela suggested two reasons why women are underrepresented in parliaments across the world. Firstly, women have children and there are practical issues around juggling work commitments with a family life. The long working hours required of an MP can cause an erosion in family time which is not so erroneous in other professions. If a woman represents a constituency far from parliament, she must decide whether to relocate the family to the legislative capital or to keep the family in the constituency and commute. The second reason relates to the cultural role of women in society. In some contexts women do not have the freedom to determine their role in life and there are expectations that their primary role will be as caregiver to the family.

7.13. In Samoa there is a chief system which guides the issue of women in politics. To stand for parliament a candidate must first obtain a title. Women are able to obtain chiefly titles, although in some villages a taboo still remains. Most women wish to take care of their immediate family, and to become a chief and politician requires extending these responsibilities to the wider community and lessens time available to spend with immediate family. This can deter women from wishing to put themselves forward for public officer. However, women who have obtained a chiefly title and wish to play a role in politics largely have the same opportunities as men in Samoa.

7.14. In Kiribati there are no formal rules or legal barriers to women standing as politicians but there are cultural barriers - in the *mana* system women are not allocated positions of power. However in recent years women have become very active decision-makers in the church community which has led to an increased call for women to become decision-makers on the political stage. Women are dominant in the public service in Kiribati and many hold senior positions in government departments.

7.15. In the Cook Islands women have the same rights as men to stand in local and national politics. However, women voters don't tend to vote for women candidates, and very few women win elections at either a local or national level. This is a pattern repeated across the Pacific.

7.16. In Samoa legislation has been introduced which guarantees that 5 women will be elected at the next General Election. There are currently 2 women MPs in Parliament. If the election fails to produce 5 women MPs than the votes will be recounted to ensure 5 women win seats. This legislation has received negative feedback from some women who have argued that women should be elected on merit and not through positive action.

The Impact of Climate Change in the South Pacific Region. Chair: Hon. Wilkie Rasmussen (Cook Islands)

7.17. The effects of climate change are beginning to show in the Pacific through the rise of sea levels impacting on fresh water supplies and food security, and an increase in extreme weather events. For the past 15 years Tuvaluans have attempted to raise awareness in the international community of the issues around climate change. If no action is taken to mitigate the effects of climate change, the future for low-lying islands in the Pacific is very uncertain. At current rates, Tuvalu and Kiribati will both be uninhabitable within 50 years.

7.18. There is a feeling expressed by the Pacific delegates that the European Union's focus on research into climate change is not helpful to those already experiencing its effects. Resources and money should be directed towards direct mitigation and adaptation action.

7.19. China has not engaged with climate change issues in the Pacific. Some people feel that the Pacific should not accept any further investment from China until the Chinese engage on climate change issues or act to curb their own carbon emissions.

Aid Effectiveness and Progress towards reaching the Millennium Development Goals. Chair: Hon. Taneti Maamau MP (Kiribati)

7.20. A number of the Millennium Development Goals $(MDGs)^2$ have been too ambitious for the Pacific to achieve. Meeting the goals can depend on the amount of donor assistance received. Although the goals set are realistic, the timeframe for meeting them – 15 years - has been far too short.

7.21. Without good governance, progress that has been made in the Pacific on MDGs will be wasted. Some development partners state that good governance is a condition of development assistance.

7.22. If the UK is to retain domestic support for its aid programmes, recipient governments will need to show they are transparent and that aid is being spent effectively.

Roundtable Discussion with Pacific Law Students

7.23. At the close of the first day, the delegations took part in a lively roundtable discussion with Pacifica students studying law at the University of Auckland. The students spoke about the opportunities and challenges they feel are associated with being students of Pacific origin in New Zealand.

² http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/

The Work of the Pacific Cooperation Foundation.

Speaker: Mac Leauanae, CEO of the Pacific Cooperation Foundation. Chair: Rt Hon. John Spellar MP (UK)

7.24. The Pacific Cooperation Foundation³ is a public/private sector partnership based in New Zealand which works to leverage relationships to promote wealth creation in Pacific communities and to increase trade in the areas of food and beverage products, and the beauty and spa industry. The Foundation has four strategic programmes:

- *True Pacific Transition*, a programme promoting Pacific products in international markets
- Business accelerator programme, offering Pacific businesses investment to promote export growth
- *Pacific engagement programme*, forging partnerships between organisations in order that they can levy strength from each other
- *Events management programme*, promoting the best of the Pacific at trade and cultural events

7.25. The delegations were extremely impressed with the work being undertaken by the Foundation, and appreciative of the support provided by the Foundation throughout their programme in Auckland.

Scrutiny of the executive in small legislatures. Chair: Dame Angela Watkinson DBE MP (UK)

7.26. The select committee system in Samoa is similar to that which operates in the UK. There are 8 committees whose members are selected by the Speaker and the Officer of the House. The committee system is effective in calling Ministers to account, as demonstrated through a recent example where the Finance Minister resigned from cabinet in response to a select committee report criticising his performance as Minister⁴.

7.27. The select committee system in Tonga is less influential than in Samoa. A select committee has recently been taken to court over its findings of the spending of a loan given by China for the reconstruction of the central business district partially burnt down following a riot in 2006. The committee produced a report accusing the former government of misappropriation of funds. As a result, the former Prime Minister has taken the committee to court for judicial review claiming the report has damaged his reputation. The case is ongoing.

7.28. In Kiribati the issue of scrutiny is compromised through a lack of committees. The Opposition has argued for establishing a committee system - particularly a committee looking at health spending - but to

³ <u>http://www.pcf.org.nz/whoweare/visionmissionandgoals/</u>

⁴ <u>http://www.talamua.com/minister-finance-faumuina-tiatia-liuga-resigns/</u>

date the only permanent committee is the Public Accounts Committee. In Tuvalu, an even smaller legislature with only 15 MPs, it is very difficult to form committees. The constitution states that over half of members must form the majority. 10 MPs form the government today and it is therefore very difficult for the opposition to hold the government to account.

7.29. There is an international interest in small jurisdictions being administered transparently. Issues including the proper approval of passports, curbing money laundering, and administering aid all depend on an effective and transparent executive. International security cannot be secured unless jurisdictions are governed effectively.

The Role of the Media. Chair: Rt Hon. Lord McNally (UK)

7.30. In Kiribati the largest newspaper and broadcaster are each run by the government which can affect the transparency of reporting. There are also two smaller private newspapers. Press should have a scrutiny role in its own right and the media in Kiribati therefore needs to become more transparent. In contrast, the media in the Cook Islands is free and transparent. There are three newspapers, two TV stations and a state broadcaster. Cook Islands politicians can be wary of the media due to its influence.

7.31. 'Akilisi Pohiva shared his experiences of working as a journalist in Tonga in the 1980. Mr Pohiva set up a radio programme in 1982 to provide alternative views to the information government media was providing. After a year the government warned him to end the programme and in early 1985 he was ordered to close the programme and was fired from the government service. Mr Pohiva took the government to court with support from a civil lawyer from New Zealand in 1986 and won. In 1986 he started a newspaper as an alternative medium for communicating information. Freedom of the press in Tonga has improved dramatically since the 1980s. There are now three independent newspapers and an independent radio station. Tonga's parliamentary sessions are also broadcast live on the radio.

7.32. The UK delegation spoke about their relationships with the local media in their constituencies and discussed ways in which MPs can connect with a younger generation. The influence of social media such as Twitter and Facebook is increasing both in the UK and the Pacific. A rise in online forums such as Mums Net have resulted in new opportunities for parliamentarians to connect with young voters.

7.33. In the UK if an online petition reaches 100,000 signatures, it will be passed to a back bench business committee for a decision on whether the issue is of sufficient public opinion to warrant a debate on the floor of the house. The first petition to reach 100,000 related to the Hillsborough disaster in 1989. Petitions in the Pacific are still administered by hard copy.

Closing Session and Wash-Up

7.34. The delegations felt the informal format of this programme had worked well and involved the right number of people to produce an environment conducive to holding frank and constructive discussions.

7.35. The Pacific delegations were appreciative that this programme has placed the Pacific firmly on CPA UK's agenda, and had provided a platform to highlight the importance of the Pacific region and its potential. The programme has been a step in demonstrating the UK's interest in re-engaging with the Pacific.

8. BILATERAL ENGAGEMENT – PROGRAMME DETAILS AND COMMENTS

Formal Welcome meeting with Moana Mackey MP

8.01. Moana welcomed the delegation to parliament as the permanent delegate to New Zealand's CPA. Moana has spent seven years on the International Executive Committee of the CPA, and spoke about the value of the CPA as an organisation able to provide unique practical support and assistance to Commonwealth legislatures. Moana gave an overview of the work of the New Zealand CPA Branch which was formed in 2007 and outlined New Zealand's decision to decrease its subscription to the CPA in order to free up funding to increase CPA New Zealand's work in the Pacific. The CPA Pacific Region is headquartered in Wellington.

Meeting with Members of the Government Administration Select Committee

8.02. The Government Administration Committee has a wide brief, considering matters relating to civil defence, cultural affairs, sport and leisure, internal affairs, Pacific Island affairs, Prime Minister and Cabinet, racing, services to Parliament, State services, statistics, tourism, women's affairs, and youth affairs⁵. Members are selected by the Party Whips and confirmed by the Business Committee of the House. Permanent members can be replaced by a voting alternative. The Committee currently comprises two National MPs, two Labour MPs, and one Green Party MP.

8.03. The Committee Chair, Ruth Dyson MP, gave the delegation a very comprehensive overview of the Committee's recent work which has included consideration of the Equal Marriage Bill and a review of the remuneration of parliamentarians. As the New Zealand parliament is unicameral the scrutiny role played by select committees is very important.

8.04. In the UK Whips have become less influential in recent years and that it is not uncommon for MPs to vote against their party even on mainstream policy issues. In contrast the influence of the Whips has grown

⁵ <u>http://www.parliament.nz/en-nz/pb/sc/details/government-administration/00DBHOH_BBSC_SCGA_1/business-before-the-government-administration-committee</u>

in New Zealand in the last few years. Members are reliant on the support of their parties for re-election and therefore they rarely vote against the party line. Weekly party caucus meetings are held which reinforce the Whip's control of party members. Only on rare occasions are Members granted a free vote on conscience issues.

Meeting with the Electoral Commission on MMP

8.05. New Zealand switched to a Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) voting system in 1994 following a referendum on the electoral system. It was first used in the 1996 General Election. Under MMP, electors have two votes on their ballot papers – one for their preferred political party and one for their preferred electorate MP. Candidates are therefore elected either from the Party List, or directly as Electorate MPs. A political party must win at least 5% of the total party vote or at least one electorate seat to again a seat in parliament. Parliamentary terms are three years.

8.06. The objective of the MMP system is to provide a combination of first past the post and list proportional seats. New Zealanders like having a personal connection to their Member of Parliament, and also recognise that political parties are important. In the current parliament there are 71 electorate seats and 49 list seats. One of the aims of the list system is to increase diversity. 43% of people elected to parliament from the list are women and 24% of people elected to parliament from electorate seats are women.

8.07. The New Zealand parliament includes seven seats reserved for representatives of the Maori population. Electors who identify themselves to be of Maori descent can choose to place their names on the general roll or on a separate Maori roll. Should they opt to be on the Maori roll they then vote in a Maori election on the Maori-only seats. 57% of people identifying themselves as of Maori descent currently opt to be on the Maori roll. Maori voters have the opportunity to switch voter rolls every 5 years. The Maori population are disproportionately young, and as younger people are less likely to vote, Maori roll voting figures are lower than voting figures for the general roll.

8.08. It is compulsory for eligible voters to be on the electoral register, however it is not compulsory to vote. Voters can enrol onto the electoral register any time up to the day before an election. The Electoral Commission provides local authorities with the voter roll for local elections. Voter turnout at local elections turnout is around 40%. In the last General Election 74% of the electorate voted; this is the lowest percentage recorded since the 1980s. In the UK people are assigned to a particular polling booth to cast their vote. In New Zealand electors can vote in any one of 2500 polling stations across the country. Votes are then checked against a central register, not against a register in the local polling station as in the UK.

8.09. Voters are eligible to vote up to 17 days in advance of polling day without providing a reason, however voting by proxy is not permitted. There is a high level of trust in the New Zealand voting system and concerns over electoral fraud are low.

Meeting on Minority Representation in Parliament with Dr Rajen Pradad MP (NZ) and Khanwaljit Bakshi MP (NZ)

8.10. New Zealand political parties have tried very hard to bring in Members from diverse backgrounds. The party lists are split into six regions. Each region has a list and then these 6 lists are moderated to ensure that disability groups, gender, and ethnicity are taken into account.

8.11. In New Zealand, Maori and Pacifica populations are not regarded as 'ethnic'. 'Ethnic' people are any populations not of European, Pacifica, or Maori descent. Institutional racism has not yet been eradicated in New Zealand and ethnic communities are over populated in New Zealand prisons. Dr Rajen and Khanwaljit are the two ethnic minority representatives in parliament.

8.12. Progressively, New Zealand is identifying itself firstly with the Pacific, and then with the wider Asia-Pacific community. Historically New Zealand has a protective relationship with the Pacific. Pacific citizens move to New Zealand for economic reasons to escape poverty in their own countries.

Wreath Laying Ceremony with guests from the New Zealand Defence Force and Invictus Games Athletes

8.13 The delegation took part in a wreath laying ceremony to commemorate the Centenary of the First World War and to recognise the service of New Zealanders in World War One. They were joined by members of the New Zealand Defence Force and New Zealand athletes taking part in the Invictus Games⁶ being held in London later this year. The Invictus Games is an international sporting event for wounded, sick and injured servicemen and women. An initiative of HRH Prince Harry and the UK Ministry of Defence, the Games aim to use the power of sport to inspire recovery, support rehabilitation, and generate a wider understanding and respect for those who serve their country.

Meeting with Rt Hon. David Carter MP, Speaker of the House of Representatives and Mary Harris, Clerk of the House

8.14. Rt Hon. David Carter welcomed the delegation to Parliament and reaffirmed the importance of the relationship between the UK and New Zealand. He acknowledged the work conducted by the British High

⁶ <u>http://invictusgames.org/</u>

Commissioner during her Posting and thanked her for the measures she had taken to strengthen ties between the two countries.

8.15. There is a three-member commission which determines salaries for parliamentarians and members of the judiciary. A parliamentarian's base salary is currently \$150,000. List MPs are provided with funding for one staff member in their electorate, electorate MPs are provided with funding for two. In addition, all MPs are provided with funds to employ one staff member in Wellington. MPs are permitted to travel anywhere in the country as frequently as required, their allowances are published every quarter.

8.16. Votes in Parliament are cast by proxy, submitted by the Whips for all their party members. Members are not required to be present in the Chamber to cast a vote. The Speaker spoke about the paid paternal leave bill which had failed at its second reading by 63 votes to 58 the previous evening. The legislation would have seen paid paternal leave extended to six months but the Maori Party Whip didn't show up to cast his party's votes. As a result the National Party Whips cast three Maori party votes in opposition of the bill despite the Maori party having publicly states they were in support of it.

Meeting with Select Committee Clerks Lesley Ferguson (Clerk of the Intelligence & Security Committee) and Graeme Roberts (Intelligence & Coordination Group, Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet)

8.17. Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States are members of an intelligence-sharing alliance known as the 'five eyes'. With very few visible security threats in New Zealand, there is a degree of public scepticism around the value to New Zealand of remaining in the alliance. However, being a member gives New Zealand access to a huge amount of intelligence information. Geographical isolation is no longer a factor in keeping New Zealand safe from terrorist threats.

8.18. The Prime Minister has oversight across the intelligence community in New Zealand. He is the Minister responsible for the Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB) and Minister-in-charge of the Special Air Service (SAS). The Prime Minister also chairs the Intelligence & Security Committee (ISC), New Zealand's only statutory committee. The Committee also comprises two MPs nominated by the Prime Minister, the Leader of the Opposition, and one MP nominated by the Leader of the Opposition. As Minister with responsibility for security, the Prime Minister can stand aside temporarily as ISC Chair when contentious business comes before the committee. When legislative changes to the GCSB's powers were made in 2013, the Prime Minister stood aside temporarily as ISC Chair.

8.19. In 2012 it was revealed that the GCSB had been illegally spying on Kim 'Dotcom', a German multimillionaire internet entrepreneur resident in New Zealand. Mr Dotcom is facing extradition to the United States on charges of copyright infringement, but as a permanent resident of New Zealand the

government had not been permitted to put him and his associates under surveillance. As a result of the controversy and Mr Dotcom's subsequent arrest in January 2012, the government introduced the Government Security Communications Bureau and related Legislation Amendment Bill in 2013, which aimed to clarify the statutory framework governing the activities of the GCSB and to enhance external oversight of New Zealand's intelligence agencies. The introduction of the GCSB Amendment Bill is the first time there has not been a bipartisan approach in New Zealand to security legislation. The Prime Minister argued that the Bill was necessary to clarify laws around surveillance, whereas the opposition wished to see a systematic review of the intelligence agencies before any changes to legislation were made. The Bill passed on its third reading by 61 votes to 59.

8.20 In early 2014 Mr Dotcom established the 'Internet Party', a party advocating for a cheaper internet, copyright freedom, and less mass surveillance of citizens. Not being a citizen of New Zealand, Mr Dotcom is unable to stand as a candidate for the Party but he provides funding towards it. In May 2014 the Internet Party merged with the Mana Party, a Maori party currently holding one electorate seat in parliament. The Parties have signed a short-term agreement whereby they will stand as a single entity at the forthcoming General Election. The agreement is aimed at increasing the chances of both Parties gaining seats in the next Parliament. Mana Party representatives will have the first, third and fourth places on the joint list, Internet Party members will have the second, fifth and sixth places. If the incumbent Mana Party MP retains his electorate seat at the next election, the alliance will be able to claim its percentage of the party vote even if it falls beneath the 5% threshold.

Meeting with Members of the Foreign Affairs Select Committee

8.21. There is a 'residual hurt' in New Zealand at the events of the 1970s within which successive UK governments diverted trade away from Commonwealth preference towards partners within Europe. New Zealand, having since realigned its principal trading links with neighbours in Asia, is very comfortable in its current economic position. It is unlikely that a return to preferential Commonwealth trading will occur.

8.22. Some New Zealanders feel there is a tension between New Zealand's modern engagement with China and its historical alliance with the United Kingdom and the United States. China has a free trade agreement with New Zealand and is New Zealand's top trading partner, accounting for 20.7% of New Zealand exports. This gives China significant economic leverage over New Zealand. However, China is at odds with New Zealand values in that its governance system is non democratic and because of its poor human rights record. Members of the Foreign Affairs Select Committee suggested that New Zealand would like to see a similar free trade agreement with Europe.

8.23. The Prime Minister recently announced that the next Parliament will hold a referendum on changing New Zealand's national flag. Advocates for change say that as New Zealand evolves and becomes more

cosmopolitan the current national flag less represents a modern New Zealand. Supporters of the flag, especially veterans, say the existing design represents New Zealand's history and cultural heritage. There is no great move for change and the public do not see a change in flag to be an important issue. If a change is made it will likely involve the union jack being removed from the flag.

Meeting with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Trade

8.24. China has a reputation for taking neither build quality nor sustainability into account in its aid spending in the Pacific. In an effort to improve transparency and to harness the opportunity for joint working, New Zealand is currently piloting an aid delivery partnership with China in the Cook Islands through the joint management of a water project. The Chinese are contributing the majority of the labour and materials, and the New Zealanders are providing some of the capital. This innovative partnership is being seen by both partners as a unique opportunity to observe how the other works, and the New Zealanders view it as a way to ensure transparency and accountability in China's aid spending. New Zealand hopes to enter into similar partnerships with China in the future.

8.25. Each of New Zealand's Realms - the Cook Islands, Niue, Tokelau, and the Ross Dependency in Antarctica - is self-governing in free association with New Zealand. Realm States do not have an independent vote at the United Nations. The Commonwealth Parliamentary Association is the only international forum within which Realm States receive recognition.

Meeting with Commonwealth Youth New Zealand

8.26. The delegation had a very fruitful discussion with members of Commonwealth Youth New Zealand, an organisation aimed at providing opportunities for young New Zealanders to engage in meaningful diplomatic discourse about Commonwealth issues. Commonwealth Youth works to educate young New Zealanders about the purpose of the Commonwealth and to present the views of young New Zealanders to Commonwealth decision makers. Within the meeting, issues around the continuing relevance of the Commonwealth, the role of women in politics, ways to achieve gender equality in parliaments, the changing position of New Zealand in the world, and perceptions of the United Kingdom were discussed. The members of Commonwealth Youth stated that in their view most young New Zealanders wish for New Zealand to remain a Monarchy, and to retain the Union Jack as New Zealand's national flag. The delegation was very impressed with the Group's work promoting and celebrating the Commonwealth.

Discussions around the Pitcairn Islands

8.27 The British High Commissioner, Vicki Treadell CMG MVO, gave the delegation an overview of her role as Governor of the Pitcairn Islands, a British Overseas Territory comprising of four very small islands in

the South Pacific – Pitcairn, Henderson, Ducie, and Oeno. Of the four, only Pitcairn is inhabited and currently has 56 residents. Pitcairn has an Island Council of 10 members, 5 of whom are elected. The Governor maintains a permanent representative on Pitcairn.

Meeting with the Mayor of Christchurch and the Mayoral Forum

8.28. The delegation received a very warm welcome to Christchurch from Mayor Lianne Dalziel and members of the District Mayoral Forum. The Mayoral Forum meets to discuss issues of collective interest, such as the regional management of water resources.

Meeting with the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (CERA) Social and Cultural Recovery Team

8.29. The Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (CERA) was established in March 2011 to coordinate the recovery effort following the devastating earthquakes in Christchurch in September 2010 and February 2011. CERA's work has authority through the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act which passed in 2011 to provide appropriate measures to ensure that Christchurch and the councils and their communities respond to, and recover from, the impacts of the Canterbury earthquakes⁷. The powers under the Act are due to expire in 2016.

8.30. CERA's priorities for 2014/15 are to:

- Build and maintain confidence in the rebuild and recovery
- Strengthen community resilience and social infrastructure
- Action on central city rebuild
- Support the residential repair and rebuild of greater Christchurch's housing stock
- Facilitating land use planning and infrastructure delivery

8.31. Houses in Christchurch are selling 35-40% higher than before the earthquake due to rising demand and short supply. There is a blockage in homes being rebuilt as the earthquakes caused such extensive damage to the ground that new foundation designs have to be tested to determine what form of foundations will work in this new environment. The problem of ground damage has been compounded by high levels of soil liquefaction in the low lying ground close to the river, and rock rolling and landslide risks affecting homes on the higher ground.

8.32. Following the earthquake in February 2011 the government declared the central land most badly damaged to be a 'residential red zone' – unfit to be rebuilt on for a prolonged period of time. Over 8000

⁷ <u>http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/2011/0012/latest/DLM3653522.html</u>

residential properties have been declared to be in the red zone⁸. Home owners are required to sell their houses to the Crown and relocate. All homes in the red zone will be pulled down in due course. There are 133 people who still own properties in the red zone, and issues around selling and resettlement are ongoing. Delays in the settlement of insurance claims remain a contentious issue between residents and the government.

Discussion at Canterbury University

8.33. There are 8 universities in New Zealand, all rated within the top 500 universities in the world. Approximately 50-55% of school leavers apply to University, with 80% of that cohort completing their university studies.

8.34. Canterbury University has a particular focus on ensuring the achievement of Pacific and Maori students. Scholarships are available to students from both these groups, and most students from Pacific backgrounds pay domestic fees rather than international fees

8.35. The University has noticed a change in the student demographic since the earthquakes. A trend has been observed of students from high-economic schools moving away from Canterbury for their University education, to escape the disruption the earthquakes have brought to their lives over the last three years. This has resulted in an increase in enrolment rates of students from lower-economic schools.

8.36. The delegation received a tour of the University's National Centre for Research on Europe (NCRE)⁹, a centre of expertise on the European Union cofounded by the European Commission and the University of Canterbury. The NCRE is the only EU-dedicated tertiary level centre in New Zealand. The Centre's Director, Dr Martin Holland, gave the delegation a very comprehensive presentation on the Centre's research around EU development policy in the Pacific, the EU identity in the Asia-Pacific region, and spoke about some of the achievements of the Centre's alumni.

Meeting with Social Sector Non-Governmental Organisations on the Christchurch Re-build

8.37. In a roundtable discussion with representatives from social sector non-governmental organisations, the delegation learnt of the extent of the social and psychological trauma experienced by the community in Christchurch following the earthquake. All sections of society have experienced a degree of trauma and demand for social services is currently at its highest level than at any other time in the past 20 years. Drug and alcohol use has increased, and domestic violence figures have gone up. Many staff working in social

⁸ http://cera.govt.nz/residential-red-zone

⁹ <u>http://www.europe.canterbury.ac.nz/</u>

services have themselves been as traumatised by the earthquake as the people whom they support; this has added an extra complexity in dealing with the after effects of such a traumatic event.

8.38. Large-scale population displacement has resulted in difficulties for child protection services in keeping track of children under their attention, and high moving rates has meant it has been difficult to ensure children with poor school attendance records continue their schooling. Despite the difficulties, the delegation were extremely impressed to hear of the range of readily available services offered to people suffering trauma as a result of the earthquake.

Meeting at the Office of Ethnic Affairs

8.39. In their final engagement, the delegation took part in a lively discussion with participants in the government's Young Leaders Programme. The Programme offers nine months' intensive leadership training to selected young people ages 16 - 24 to provide them with a head start into their chosen careers.

9. OUTCOMES AND FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITES

9.01. This visit contributed to reinforcing the parliamentary ties between the UK and New Zealand Parliaments and reaffirmed a mutual willingness to strengthen this relationship. Following New Zealand's General Election in September CPA UK will invite a cross-party delegation of New Zealand parliamentarians to Westminster for a reciprocal programme.

9.02. Issues discussed during the course of this visit will be raised by the delegation back in London with the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, and a meeting with the Minister responsible for Australasia and the Pacific, Rt Hon. Hugo Swire MP, will be requested.

9.03. Issues discussed will be raised by Rt Hon. Sir Alan Haselhurst MP, Chairperson of the CPA UK and CPA International Executive Committees, when he attends the annual Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference in Cameroon in September 2014.

9.04. The Delegation Leader, Rt Hon. Lord McNally, will invite the New Zealand Invictus Team to parliament during their time in London in September 2014.

9.05. CPA UK stands ready to work in partnership with the New Zealand Parliament and the wider CPA Pacific Region on further programmes.

10. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

10.01. CPA UK acknowledges the very warm welcome the delegation received in New Zealand and is grateful to the Parliament of New Zealand; its Members, Officers and staff who planned, organised and delivered an interesting and informative programme of meetings and extended a warm welcome to the delegation throughout. It would especially like to acknowledge the time spent with the delegation by Members of the Government Administration and Foreign Affairs Committees whose kindness, openness and good humour were unstinting.

10.02. CPA UK would also like to thank British High Commissioner Vicki Treadell CMG MVO, Deputy High Commissioner Patrick Reilly, and their team for their hospitality, producing a very comprehensive programme, and ensuring all ran smoothly during the delegation's time in New Zealand. The delegation were extremely impressed with the support and quality of briefings they received from High Commission staff throughout their visit.

ANNEX A - PACIFIC PROGRAMME

Time	Programme
10:00 - 10:30	Meet and greet and opening of workshop
10:30 - 11:30	Session 1: The role of an MP – comparisons between the UK and the Pacific
	The role of an MP varies considerably between legislatures and there are often
	vast differences between the needs of constituents. What is the role of an MP in
	his/her constituency? What are the differences in serving highly dispersed rural
	and densely populated urban electorates? Is constituency work increasing?
	Areas for discussion:
	- Constituency work in the Pacific and the challenges of representing
	highly dispersed and geographically fragmented populations
	- Constituency work in the UK
	- The debate around redrawing boundaries in the UK
	- The role of parliamentarians in legislation and holding government to
	account
	- The importance of traditional, community-based governance systems in
	the Pacific
	- The political situation in the UK in the context of the upcoming election
11:30 - 12:30	Session 2: The role of women in politics
	The number of women in politics and the empowerment of women
	parliamentarians are big challenges in some Parliaments. How can an increase
	in women's participation in politics be achieved? What are the continuing
	challenges faced by women in politics and how should they be addressed?
	Areas for discussion:
	- Increasing the representation and visibility of women in politics; from
	party politics to parliament, the role of reserve seats and quota systems
	- Legislation and safeguarding human rights; developing and enforcing
	pro-women laws
	- Ensuring equal participation of women in local, national and
	international governance structures
	- The role of all parliamentarians and community leaders as advocates for
	enhancing the role of women in society and development
	 Gender based development policies and gender-responsive budgeting
12:30 - 13:30	Lunch
12:30 - 13:30 13:30 - 14:30	Session 3: The impact of climate change in the South Pacific region
13.30 - 14:30	session 5: The impact of chinate change in the South Pacific region

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	A discussion on the impact and consequences of climate change, variability and
	extreme weather events in the Pacific. What steps can be taken to protect Pacific
	Island countries from the effects of climate change?
	Areas for discussion:
	- Marine ecosystems and the fishing industry
	- Agriculture and food security
	- Security of freshwater supplies
	- Biodiversity, including terrestrial and marine species
	- Human health
	- Demographics and migration
	- Natural disasters, disaster planning and management
14:30 - 15:00	Tea break
15:00 - 16:00	Session 4: Aid effectiveness and progress towards reaching
	the Millennium Development Goals
	Donor and recipient countries each have a responsibility to deliver and manage
	aid effectively. How can mutual accountability of aid spending be encouraged?
	How has development aid assisted Pacific nations in making progress on
	reaching the Millennium Development Goals? What gaps in progress remain?
	Areas for discussion:
	- The effectiveness of assistance provided by international donors, in
	particular the European Commission
	- The impact of recent changes to Australia's aid budget
	- Progress towards the Millennium Development Goals
	- Life after the MDGs: the Post-2015 Development Agenda
16:00 - 17:00	Session 5: Roundtable discussion with Pacific law students

TUESDAY 27 MAY 2014

Time	Programme
09:00 - 10:00	Session 6: The role of the Pacific Islands Forum
	and other regional organisations
	Regional organisations in the Pacific work to enhance cooperation, security,
	political governance, and economic growth in their member states. How
	effective are these organisations in delivering these goals? What are Pacific
	colleagues' views on the opportunities of the Commonwealth, the outputs from
	CHOGM 2013 and next steps?

	Areas for discussion:
	- The role the UK can take in supporting the Pacific's voice within the
	international community
	- The work of the Commonwealth and the importance of the
	Commonwealth Charter
	- The importance of the European Union in Europe and in the Pacific
10:00 - 11:00	Session 7: Scrutiny of the executive in small legislatures
	The Select or Departmental Committee system can be a powerful parliamentary
	tool to scrutinise the Executive, yet in some small legislatures it can be difficult
	to operate an effective committee system. How are Committees structured and
	how do they function? In what ways can the executive be held to account in the
	absence of committees?
11:15 - 13:00	Field visit: Auckland Museum
	A visit to Auckland's Museum to visit the Pacific Exhibition, WW1 Centenary
	work and the war memorial hall.
13:00 - 13:15	Shuttle bus to Auckland University
15.00 15.15	Shalle bus to Machana Chiversity
13:15 - 14:20	Session 8: Non-governmental organisations, civil society, and the media
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ANNEX B – BILATERAL PROGRAMME

Wednesday 28 May

Time	Programme
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09:00 - 10:00	Formal Welcome to Parliament and discussion on CPA matters
	Welcome by Moana Mackey MP, Labour Spokesperson for Environment and
	Climate Change
10:00 - 10:30	Meeting with members of the Government Administration Select
10.00 - 10.50	Committee
	Ruth Dyson MP, Kanwaljit Singh MP, Trevor Mallard MP, Mojo Mathers MP,
	Eric Roy MP
	Areas for discussion:
	- Gain a deeper understanding of NZ's government administration
	methods in the parliamentary context
	- Gain a deeper understanding of the inner workings of the NZ
	government and parliamentary select committees
	- Share best practice on parliamentary procedures and management of
	government departments
10:45 - 12:00	Meeting with the Electoral Commission
	Robert Peden, Chief Executive and Chief Electoral Officer
	Kristina Temel Policy Manager, Electoral Commission
	Areas for discussion:
	- Discuss how NZ's political system has changed since MMP
	- Explore the strengths and weaknesses of the system in the context of the
	2012 review and scope for future reform
	- Gain a deeper understanding of NZ's electoral finance regulations
	- Learn more about the rules governing political advertising and
	broadcasting during the three-month election campaign period
12:30 - 13:30	Lunchtime Reception with New Zealand MPs
	Areas for discussion:
	- Meet and greet NZ MPs and the NZ CPA
	- Informally discuss and compare NZ and UK politics
13:45 - 15:00	Observe Parliamentary Question Time from the Speaker's Gallery
15:00 - 15:30	Tour of Parliament
15:30 - 16:30	Cross-party meeting on minority representation in Parliament
	Dr Rajen Pradad MP, Kanwaljit Bakshi MP, Alfred Ngaro MP
	Areas for discussion:
	- Gain a deeper understanding of the representation of minority groups in
	NZ parliament
	- Share best practice with ethnic representation in parliament
19:30	Dinner at the High Commissioner's Residence

HE Vicki Treadell CMG MVO and invited guests
Areas for discussion:
- Discuss and compare the roles of UK and NZ parliamentarians

Thursday 29 May

Time	Programme
09:00 - 09:45	Wreath Laying Ceremony
	Attended by the British High Commissioner and guests from the NZ Defence
	Force and NZ Invictus Games athletes
10:00 - 10:45	Meeting with the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Hon. David
	Carter MP
	Area for discussion:
	- Discuss workings of parliament in NZ and the role of the Speaker
10:45 - 11:45	Meeting with select committee clerks
	Lesley Ferguson, Manager, Select Committees, House of Representatives
	Graeme Roberts, Intelligence and Coordination Group, Department of Prime
	Minister and Cabinet
	Areas for discussion:
	- Gain a deeper understanding of the relationship between parliament and
	the NZ intelligence agencies
	- Gain a deeper understanding of NZ's recent intelligence legislation
11:45 – 12:45	Meeting with members of the Foreign Affairs Select Committee
	Phil Goff MP, Shadow Trade Minister
	David Shearer MP, Shadow Foreign Minister
	Lindsay Tisch, FAC committee member
	Areas for discussion:
	- Discuss NZ's foreign and trade relations in a Commonwealth context
	- Gain a deeper understanding of NZ's position as an Asia-Pacific nation
	- Explore the role of parliament in relation to MFAT in determining NZ's
	foreign and trade policy approach
	- Share best practice on aid delivery and international development,
	particularly in the Pacific
12:45 - 14:00	Lunch with civic service Chief Executives
	Peter Lennox, CEO, Metservice New Zealand
	Gabriel Makhlouf, Secretary to the Treasury
	Michael Houlihan, Special Adviser, Ministry of Culture and Heritage
	Kevin Laverly, CEO of Wellington Council

14:30 - 15:30	Meeting with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade
	Andrew Needs, Divisional Manager, Pacific Division
	Gareth Smith, Deputy Director, Pacific Development Group
	Anton Ojala, Unit Manager, Pacific Division
	Areas for discussion:
	- Gain a deeper understanding of the work of NZ in the Pacific region
	 Gain a deeper understanding of NZ's position as an Asia-Pacific nation
	- Share best practice on aid delivery and international development,
	particularly in the Pacific
	- Discuss NZ's foreign relations in a Commonwealth context
17:00 - 18:00	Meeting with Commonwealth Youth New Zealand
	Areas for discussion:
	- Discuss the future of the Commonwealth as an institution
	- Share ideas on future-proofing the UK-NZ relationship in a
	Commonwealth context
19:30	Dinner for Rt Hon. Lord McNally with Associate Justice Minister Chester
	Borrows
	Areas for discussion:
	- Understand the work of the NZ justice sector on youth justice and youth
	crime
	- Share best policy practice on justice and youth crime

Friday 30 May

Time	Programme
10:30 - 11:00	Meeting with the Mayor of Christchurch, Hon. Lianne Dalziel
	Area for discussion:
	- Discuss the central and local government relationship in New Zealand
11:00 - 12:00	Meeting with the Christchurch Earthquake Rebuild Authority (CERA)
	Social and Cultural Recovery Team
	Areas for discussion:
	- Gain a deeper understanding of the process of the Christchurch rebuild
	- Understand the social and cultural recovery process
	- Explore the rebuild from an individual welfare perspective
12:30 - 14:30	Lunch and meeting with the University of Canterbury Deputy Vice-
	Chancellor and faculty staff
	Dr Hamish Cochrane

	Professor Jonathan Le Cocq
	Professor Sonia Mazey
	Darryn Russell
	Associate Professor Natalia Chaban
	Toby Mortenson
	Dr Laura Meriluoto
	Dr Kuntal Das
	Areas for discussion:
	- Discuss educational links between the UK and University of Canterbury
	- Gain a deeper understanding of the effect of the 2010 and 2011
	earthquakes on the university campus
	- Tour of the University's National Centre for Research on Europe
15:30 - 16:45	Meeting with social sector NGOs on the Christchurch rebuild
	Michael Gorman, Christchurch City Missioner
	Glenn Dodson, Director, Stepping Stone Trust
	Mary Richardson, Executive Director, Methodist Missoin
	Libby Robins, Family Help Trust
	Maggie Tai Rakena, Manager at START inc
	Penny Taylor, Regional Manager Presbyterian Support
	Jan Spence, manager of Alcohol and Other Drug Services, Christchurch City
	Mission
	Areas for discussion:
	- Discuss impact of the earthquake and progress of recovery from a
	social-sector perspective
	- Share practice on community resilience
17:45 - 19:00	Reception with the Mayor and Christchurch-based Consular Corps
	A reception to recognise local support for British nationals in Christchurch
	before and after the 2011 earthquake, and to engage with key consular contacts
	in Christchurch to understand the support provided and their perspectives on the
	rebuild progress
19:30 - 20:30	Dinner with Christchurch-based Constituency MPs
	Nicky Wagner MP, MP for Christchurch Central
	Dr Megan Woods MP, Labour Party MP for Wigram

Saturday 31 May

Time	Programme
14:30 - 16:00	Discussion with young leaders on multiculturalism

	Office of Ethnic Affairs
	Areas for discussion:
	- Discuss NZ's changing demographic make-up
	- Discuss representation of minorities in the public sector
	- Share ideas on celebrating multiculturalism
16:30 - 17:00	Wash-up with the British High Commission Team
18:00 - 20:00	British High Commission Reception at Auckland waterfront

