Inquiry into the 2013 local authority elections

Report of the Justice and Electoral Committee

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Summary of recommendations

The Justice and Electoral Committee makes the following recommendations to the Government:

- That it provide local authorities with good-practice guidance on placing information online, and on preparing plain English records of decisions made (p. 4).

- That it review the available teaching material in civics education and investigate the commissioning of research into the impact of civics education in New Zealand on voter turnout and voter behaviour (p. 5).

- That it consider providing local authorities with guidelines on promoting local authority elections (including the voting period, how to vote, and the importance of voting—linking this to key local issues); and examples of good practice (p. 6).

- That it investigate the feasibility and desirability of a national campaign to inform the public about, and encourage participation in, local elections (p. 6).

- That it encourage the New Zealand Society of Local Government Managers to amend its Code of Good Practice to provide guidance on the format and design of candidate profile statements and pre-election reports, and the use of these reports to inform candidate profile statements (p. 7).

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- That trials of any online voting systems be conducted successfully before any system is introduced nationwide (p. 10).

- That any implementation of online voting be supported by public information explaining how to vote online, and addressing security and transparency concerns (p. 10).

- That it shorten the voting period to two weeks, provide alternatives to postal voting, and publicise the changes (p. 10).

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- That it give local authorities access to the supplementary roll and the deletions file held by the Electoral Commission (p. 12).

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- That it investigate providing electoral officers with access to the unpublished roll (p. 12).

- That enrolment on the ratepayer electoral roll be made continuous, unless a ratepayer no longer wishes to remain enrolled, or is no longer eligible (p. 12).

Introduction

By convention, the Justice and Electoral Committee inquires into the conduct of local authority elections. On 17 October 2013 we initiated an inquiry into the 2013 local authority elections. The terms of reference for the inquiry were to examine the law and administrative procedures surrounding the conduct of the 2013 local authority elections, with specific focus upon

- the factors behind the low voter turnout

- voting methods and processes

- matters in regulations (including voting documents and informal votes)

- methods of increasing voter participation in local authority elections

- the appropriateness of the three-week voting timeframe

- the potential for confusion when voters are presented with two voting systems on the same ballot paper

- the security of, and potential for increased participation as a result of, the introduction of electronic voting

- other initiatives that would lift voter turnout

- the conduct and performance of the electoral institutions including the Electoral Commission.

Local authority elections include elections to territorial and unitary authorities, regional councils, local boards (currently only Auckland Council), community boards, district health boards (for elected members rather than appointed members), and district licensing trusts. The 2013 local elections were the fifth conducted under the Local Electoral Act 2001. The Act sets out the desired outcomes, the principles and the expectations of the local electoral system, while the Local Electoral Regulations 2001 deal with detailed matters including procedures for enrolment, vote counting, and voting methods. The Code of Good Practice

for the Management of Local Authority Elections and Polls prepared by the Society of Local Government Managers also forms part of the local electoral framework.

Voter turnout

The total turnout at the 2013 local elections was 41.4 percent, 8 percent less than that in 2010. We noted this result. However we received no evidence that the decline had any negative impact on the quality of local representation and governance.

We are aware that the participation rate of Asian voters is low, and note the need for local authorities, such as Auckland city, to encourage participation by Asian voters.

We understand that voting appears to be habit-forming, meaning an elector who did not vote in 2013 is more likely than others not to vote in the future. The high incidence of non-voting among younger electors may also predict a further declining trend in turnout.

In our inquiry we investigated three possible causes of low turnout:

- the low salience (perceived relevance) to electors of local government and local elections

- variation in the availability of information about candidates and issues

- aspects of the electoral process that may inhibit registration and voting.

Salience

We were advised that some non-voters considered their vote would make no difference to the way their local authority was run and that local government had no relevance for them. Research also shows that as the size of an electorate increases, turnout decreases.

The declining salience of local elections and local governance may be related to how engaged citizens feel with their local authority. Local Government New Zealand is investigating community governance, including the use of local and community boards, as a means of promoting community engagement. Encouraging local authorities to explore and trial a wider range of community engagement processes may help to increase relevance. Although local authority affairs are not always well understood by the general public, information technology provides an inexpensive way of making a wide variety of information accessible. We are aware that the Association of Local Government Information Management audits websites annually, but consider it may be useful to provide local authorities with good practice guidance on what information should be on a website for how long, and on effective website design. Plain English summaries of important decisions made at council or committee meetings would also improve understanding of local authority decision-making.

Recommendation

We recommend to the Government that it provide local authorities with good-practice guidance on placing information online, and on preparing plain English records of decisions made.

Civics education

A number of submitters considered there was a need for more civics education: education on what democracy is, how governments operate, an individual's rights to participate in a democratic society, and their means of doing so. In particular they saw a need for

education on what local authorities do and how local government affects our daily lives, to increase the salience of the election for individuals. In a 2009 Australian study, Saha and Print found students who had taken a course in civics or government were 10 percent more likely to vote in federal elections. Bachner (2010) found that American students with a year's coursework in civics and government were 3 to 6 percent more likely to vote than those who had not completed such a course.[1] We did not receive any New Zealand-specific evidence about the impact of civics on turnout and voting behaviour.

In New Zealand civics is not taught as a specific subject but it is embedded in the principles, values, and key competencies of the New Zealand curriculum, particularly in social studies. This approach is not uncommon; of 38 countries that participated in an International Civic and Citizenship Education Study in 2008, 21 taught civics as a separate subject and 17 incorporated elements of civics into other subject areas. In this study New Zealand students were found to have above-average civics knowledge.

The Electoral Commission informed us that providing public information and education resources that increase participation is part of its voter participation strategy. Local Government New Zealand and local authorities have also developed civics teaching resources. Evidence shows programmes that are experiential, for example simulations and field trips, are generally more effective. Some of us would like to see a central government agency with overall responsibility for civics education.

Recommendation

We recommend to the Government that it review the available teaching material in civics education and investigate the commissioning of research into the impact of civics education in New Zealand on voter turnout and voter behaviour.

Promotion of elections

A number of submitters suggested information and promotional activity concerning local authority elections is not well coordinated. We agree; there has never been a comprehensive national campaign to inform people about and encourage voting in local elections. The Electoral Commission conducts a campaign encouraging people to register as residential electors, the Society of Local Government Managers (SOLGM) coordinates a similar campaign for ratepayer electors, and the Ministry of Health runs a campaign encouraging people to stand for election to district health boards. In 2013, Local Government New Zealand provided councils with media articles on the importance of voting, and sample press releases to remind electors of the election period.

A SOLGM survey found that in 2013 approximately 30 percent of local authorities undertook their own elector information and awareness campaigns. In our view many local authorities could do more to publicise matters such as the voting period, the importance of voting, and how to vote. We would like to see examples of good practice in the local promotion of elections (including from overseas) recognised and shared around the sector.

We consider that coordinated promotion of consistent messages around local elections is likely to improve turnout. Centralised promotion of local elections would be more effective if supported by complementary programmes at the local level focussing on particular issues of local significance.

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[1] Bachner, *From classroom to voting booth: the effect of high school civic education on turnout,* 2010. Bachner found civics coursework increased turnout by 7 to 11 percentage points among students who reported not discussing politics with their parents.

Recommendations

We recommend to the Government that it consider providing local authorities with guidelines on promoting local authority elections (including the voting period, how to vote, and the importance of voting—linking this to key local issues); and examples of good practice.

We recommend to the Government that it investigate the feasibility and desirability of a national campaign to inform the public about, and encourage participation in, local elections.

Information about candidates and issues

Another reason cited for lower turnout was a lack of information about the candidates or the issues, and the quality and format of the information available. We heard that common reasons for not voting were not knowing the candidates, a lack of information about candidates, and a lack of information about their policies.

The Local Electoral Act limits a candidate profile to 150 words. It must contain a statement on the positions the candidate is standing for, and whether or not the candidate lives in the area for which they are seeking election, and be limited to providing information about themselves and their intentions if elected. The SOLGM Code of Good Practice gives no guidance on the format or design of candidate profile statement booklets. We consider that the small size of the booklets and the small typeface used mean people cannot easily read the booklets and may be deterred from doing so. We appreciate that the booklets have needed to fit in a standard envelope for posting, but we consider that to increase readability larger booklets and larger envelopes may be needed. We would like to see alternative methods of communication used, such as local authority websites. Candidate profiles could then be presented in audio or audio-visual formats, increasing their accessibility.

A Department of Internal Affairs review of profile statements from 24 local authorities found that mayoral candidates generally used theirs to discuss policies and issues, but this was less common among candidates for other offices who tended to make broad statements like "I will work to contain rates".

The 2013 elections were the first where local authorities were required to produce pre-election reports. The reports were introduced to facilitate an informed debate about the issues facing each local authority; they discuss the financial stewardship of the outgoing council, and set out their major financial and non-financial issues for the next triennium. They are also intended to encourage candidacy, and to help electors to make a more informed choice. The Department of Internal Affairs reviewed 24 reports and found that many local authorities took a compliance approach to the production and circulation of their reports, producing a collection of information rather than a report. However, the review cited four examples of good practice, and Internal Affairs is working with the local government sector to disseminate them and integrate them into guidance for the sector on pre-election reports.

We consider that using the candidate profile statements to comment on issues raised in pre-election reports would help electors to understand a candidate's views on local issues.

Recommendation

We recommend to the Government that it encourage the New Zealand Society of Local Government Managers to amend its Code of Good Practice to provide guidance on the format and design of candidate profile statements and pre-election reports, and the use of these reports to inform candidate profile statements.

Accessibility of information

We discussed with submitters the accessibility of information to people who are blind, deaf-blind, or have low vision. They said that the existing electoral systems and processes do not enable the 11,000 electors who are blind or have low vision to stand for office or to vote independently and confidentially, despite New Zealand having signed the United Nations Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities. Particular issues raised included the Electoral Commission's use of CAPTCHA (the distorted writing test used to tell computers and humans apart) which most adaptive technology cannot read; candidate information in small fonts in printed or electronic versions that are also not readable by adaptive technology; and voting documents that cannot be completed independently.

We understand that the Electoral Commission has amended its systems for detecting spam so that CAPTCHA is used as a filter only if there are multiple attempts to re-enrol or search electoral databases from the same source. This means that an individual attempting to enrol online is unlikely to face a CAPTCHA test.

The New Zealand Government Web Standards contain useful information on making documents accessible for vision-impaired people. SOLGM supplies guidance to local authorities on producing accessible plans and reports. We would like to see this advice enhanced to reflect established standards, and promoted more effectively. We are aware that SOLGM's Electoral Working Party is seeking to improve the accessibility of documents, including voting documents, for electors with vision impairments.

Recommendation

We recommend to the Government that local electoral officers develop more accessible documents for electors with vision impairments.

Electoral processes

In addition to a lack of salience, and of information about candidates and issues, submitters told us that aspects of the electoral process itself discourage participation. We have examined whether the Local Electoral Act provides sufficient mandate to improve participation, and investigated the use of multiple voting systems, voting methods, online voting, the voting period, special voting, access to the unpublished roll, residential disclosure, and the ratepayer vote.

Legislative mandate to improve participation

The Local Electoral Act sets out the rules concerning participation in elections. It does not directly recognise that participation is desirable. This means that a local authority that undertakes some action to improve participation may leave itself open to claims of bias and a subsequent electoral inquiry. By contrast, section 4C(a) of the Electoral Act 1993 places the Electoral Commission under a duty to facilitate participation in our parliamentary democracy. We consider that the facilitation of participation in local authority elections is also desirable and would like to see a parallel provision added to the Local Electoral Act.

Recommendation

We recommend to the Government that it consider amending the Local Electoral Act 2001 to provide a clear mandate to improve the facilitation of participation.

Order of candidates' names on ballot papers

In its 2010 local authority elections inquiry report the Justice and Electoral Committee of the day recommended that the order of candidate names on all ballot papers be completely randomised. Cabinet agreed to defer work on this until after the 2013 elections.

Candidate order is one of the few electoral decisions that must be made by the sitting elected members. If the elected members make no decision, the Local Electoral Act presumes names on ballot papers should be in alphabetical order. The number of local authorities using alphabetical order is declining, however. In 2013, 21 local authorities ordered ballot papers randomly, and 11 used pseudo-random order (determined by lot, with the same order applied to all ballot papers), slightly more in each category than in 2010. The main argument against random order has traditionally been cost. However, New Zealand Post, as the main printer of electoral documents, expects there will be little or no difference in 2016 between the cost of printing lists in alphabetical order and random order. We would like to see candidate names listed randomly. We consider that documents other than ballot papers need not be randomised.

Recommendation

We recommend to the Government that the order of candidate names on all ballot papers in local authority elections be completely randomised.

Multiple voting systems

The existence and effect of multiple voting systems in local elections attracted a large number of submissions, referring particularly to the potential for confusion on the part of voters. All district health board elections are conducted under the single transferable vote (STV) method, where voters rank the candidates in order of preference. Local authorities can choose between the first past the post (FPP) voting system or STV. In 2013, 90 percent of local authorities used FPP in their own elections. Therefore, voting in most local elections involved a combination of FPP and STV. We understand that generally the STV councils have a higher turnout, but the incidence of invalid voting is usually far higher in DHB elections, because people tick their preferred candidates rather than ranking them.

In 2008, the Local Government Commission conducted a post-election survey of voters; 52 percent of the respondents said that having two systems was confusing, while 46 percent said it was not. A large majority of respondents (82 percent) said they would prefer a single system.

We consider that there is potential for confusion where multiple systems are operating.

Voting methods

Some submitters were keen for at least two methods for casting votes (such as postal and booth voting) to be made available, and largely supported the introduction of online voting. There is no statutory restriction on local authorities using a combination of postal and booth voting. Nor is there any prohibition on local authorities placing collection boxes in locations other than voting booths, provided they can guarantee their security. However,

judgment is needed to avoid perceptions of bias; in 2013, Wellington and Dunedin City Councils had to withdraw boxes placed on tertiary campuses after complaints from candidates.

Local authorities make little use of additional ways to collect votes, such as mobile stations at supermarkets and libraries. Publicising the location of postshops and postboxes would also be a useful proactive step.

Recommendation

We recommend to the Government that it encourage the use of alternative methods for casting votes and the collection of ballot papers (such as postal and booth voting, and placing ballot boxes at various locations).

Online voting

The introduction of online voting was supported by a large majority of the submitters to our inquiry, who were generally optimistic about its likely impact on turnout. They argued that it would also provide other benefits: worldwide access to the system, an efficient and effective alternative to postal and booth voting (particularly considering NZ Post's proposal to deliver mail only three days per week), better accessibility and opportunities for people with disabilities to vote independently and in secret, and potentially a shorter voting period. It was suggested that online voting should be in place for the 2016 elections, if not sooner. Reservations about online voting centred on the availability of and people's ability to use the necessary technology, and the security of online voting.

We are aware of 11 countries that have trialled or used online voting in one or more elections. However, online voting is still a new technology, and there is no conclusive evidence that it increases turnout. It does not address the many institutional, socioeconomic, demographic, and election-specific contextual factors that influence an individual's decision to vote; it is a device for making the act of voting more convenient.

Data from the 2013 Census showed that only 77 percent of households have access to the internet, meaning a supplementary method of voting would be needed alongside online voting. Statistics New Zealand's report on online completion of the 2013 Census indicates that young people would not be the only candidates for online voting; online usage rates were at or above average in the younger than 14 and 25 to 54 age groups, and markedly declined only in the over-65 age groups.

Although online voting has much in its favour, we are concerned about the need to maintain data security. This is not easy because the internet is globally accessible and difficult for election officials to monitor. As a medium for any transaction, the internet can never be 100 percent secure—only secure enough to be trusted.

We consider that two of the key factors in successfully implementing online voting are the establishment of trust, and demonstrable transparency in the system. The principal risks to trust are personation (voting on behalf of another voter who has proper authorisation), and unauthorised access to or compromising of the systems. Ways of preventing personation include requiring voters to pre-register, and providing them with access codes. For robust security, best-practice software development involves considering security needs in the design of the necessary systems, rather than at the end of the process. This means developing a system with an acceptable level of security is slow and difficult, and because

security threats are constantly evolving, scanning for potential threats and redeveloping of systems in response must be continual.

Implementation of online voting

Successful implementation of online voting relies on addressing technical aspects of security, and public perception issues. Overseas experience suggests that public information initiatives are needed to explain how to vote online and to address concern about security and transparency. It also indicates that substantial trials of a system are necessary to familiarise voters with the technology and to ensure that the system works as intended; a failure of online voting technology in a "live" election would severely damage public confidence in local democracy.

We consider that online voting should first be tested in small trials with non-binding results, to test user interfaces and build credibility before its implementation in a real election. However, testing that replicates the full scale and complexity of local elections is also necessary to test the full capacity and capability of any online voting system.

Recommendations

We recommend to the Government that trials of any online voting systems be conducted successfully before any system is introduced nationwide.

We recommend to the Government that any implementation of online voting be supported by public information explaining how to vote online, and addressing security and transparency concerns.

Reducing the voting period

New Zealand's three-week voting period is longer than those in some other jurisdictions; the Australian jurisdictions that offer postal voting as an option generally have a voting period of only two weeks. It has been suggested that shortening the voting period to two weeks would create more incentive to vote upon receiving the papers, and reduce the risk of fraud.

We are aware that research shows shortening the response time on a task appears to bring about a greater sense of urgency. A shorter voting period would also allow more concentrated publicity efforts and media coverage of the election campaign. However, the implications of less frequent delivery by New Zealand Post together with delivery to remote areas of the country must be taken into consideration. It is important that all eligible voters are able to vote regardless of their location. Therefore, we consider that reducing the voting period is likely to be effective only if alternatives to postal voting are offered, and the process and timeframes are extensively publicised.

Recommendation

We recommend to the Government that it shorten the voting period to two weeks, provide alternatives to postal voting, and publicise the changes.

Polling date

The school holiday period now coincides with the voting period, which may restrict the time people have available for voting. We have considered moving polling day; a move to the end of October would conflict with Labour weekend, while moving the day into November would mean some local authorities might not hold their first meeting until early

December, and might not resume a normal meeting cycle before Christmas. Moving the date to mid-September would mean local authorities would not have adopted annual reports before the election. This would require the incoming council to adopt a report on the achievements of the outgoing council. A move to the beginning of September, or earlier, would mean the election process would overlap with the final stages of the annual plan process, but discussions with the sector suggest this difficulty would not be insurmountable.

Recommendation

We recommend to the Government that the polling date be moved to early September to avoid the school holiday period coinciding with the voting period.

Residential disclosure

One of the amendments made to the Local Electoral Act in 2013 requires candidates to disclose in their candidate profile statement whether or not they live in the area for which they are seeking election. We are aware that candidates standing in general elections are not required to state whether they live or do not live in the area to which they are seeking election. Therefore, we do not consider that candidates standing in local elections should be required to provide this information.

Recommendation

We recommend to the Government that candidates standing in local elections not be required to state on their candidate profile statement whether or not they live in the area for which they are seeking election.

Special voting

In 2013 approximately 13,000 special votes were cast in the 65 contested mayoral and council elections. Approximately 88 percent of them were allowed, with considerable variation in the proportion between local authorities. For example only 54 percent of special votes cast in the Whangarei District were allowed. We heard suggestions that the process for casting and verifying special votes could usefully be simplified.

The main difference between special voting requirements in local elections and general elections is that special voting documents for local elections may only be sent and returned by post or picked up in person; in practice most special votes in local elections are returned by post. This means that if an elector completes the declaration incorrectly there is little opportunity to correct the error, particularly if the person registers late in the voting period or is overseas. Amendments made in February 2014 to the Electoral Regulations 1996 now permit electronic transmission of special voting documents for parliamentary elections to electors who are overseas, provided a secure means of transmission is available. We would like to see this extended to local elections.

Electoral officers are legally required to send special votes to the Electoral Commission for them to check whether the potential elector is on the roll, or is eligible to be on it. This process could be simplified if local authorities had access to the supplementary roll and the deletions file, and could thus check who had become eligible or ineligible to vote in their area.

We consider that it may also be possible to make voting from the unpublished roll easier. The personal circumstances of electors on the unpublished roll are such that publication of

their names and addresses on the electoral roll might compromise their personal safety. Details on this roll cannot be disclosed to any person outside the Electoral Commission, including local authority electoral officers. Therefore, the Commission notifies electors on the unpublished roll that they are eligible to vote as residential electors, and it is then up to them to contact the local electoral officer to make special votes. We understand there were approximately 15,600 electors on the unpublished roll as of 26 November 2011.

Electoral officers make a declaration undertaking not to disclose any fact coming to their knowledge during the electoral process unless authorised by the Act, so it is not clear why their access to the unpublished roll is prohibited. We recommend reconsidering this prohibition. We are aware that local authorities contract mailhouses to dispatch, receive and process voting documents; we suggest mailhouse staff could be treated as electoral officials, being required to make the same declaration as council staff.

Electors who are usually resident in one local authority but are also ratepayers elsewhere may enrol in a second local authority through the ratepayer franchise. The number of enrolled ratepayer electors has steadily declined over the past 20 years, from 22,620 in 1992 (2.1 percent of the roll) to 6,901 in 2013 (0.2 percent of the roll). The process for enrolling as a ratepayer is different from that for a resident. Once on the electoral roll, a residential ratepayer stays on the roll for that district until they cease to be qualified. However, a ratepayer elector must apply afresh each election. Local authorities are required to write to all non-resident ratepayers in the year before local elections advising them of their right to vote as a ratepayer elector and attaching an enrolment form. Turnout of ratepayer electors is in the 70 to 80 percent range, far higher than for the residential franchise. We consider that enrolment on the ratepayer electoral roll could be made continuous up to the point where the ratepayer no longer wished to remain enrolled, or was no longer eligible.

Recommendations

We recommend to the Government that it provide for the electronic transmission of special voting documents for local authority elections for electors overseas.

We recommend to the Government that it give local authorities access to the supplementary roll and the deletions file held by the Electoral Commission.

We recommend to the Government that staff who are contracted to process voting documents be treated as electoral officials, subject to the same legal sanction as council staff and required to make the same declaration.

We recommend to the Government that it investigate providing electoral officers with access to the unpublished roll.

We recommend to the Government that enrolment on the ratepayer electoral roll be made continuous, unless a ratepayer no longer wished to remain enrolled, or was no longer eligible.

Other matters

In the course of our inquiry we have considered a number of matters that do not relate directly to options for increasing turnout, and for which we are not recommending change. However, we would like to take this opportunity to present our thinking in these areas.

Electoral Commission oversight of local elections

In its report on the Inquiry into the 2010 Local Authority Elections, the Justice and Electoral Committee of the time recommended that the Government explore the option of making the Electoral Commission responsible for the oversight of local authority elections. We are aware that this has not been taken any further. We consider that to have the Electoral Commission conduct the local authority elections would be a fundamental change to the local electoral framework, in terms of resourcing implications for central government, and the degree of change to the local electoral process. After the 2013 local elections the Department of Internal Affairs concluded that the local electoral legislative framework is working well; the small number of issues that arose, including errors in candidate profile booklets and duplicate voting papers being issued, did not have a material impact on election outcomes; and all but the non-delivery of a mailbag containing 40 voting packs were resolved during the election period.

When the last review of local electoral legislation in New Zealand took place in 2001, a key policy decision was that local authorities should have the flexibility to determine their electoral arrangements and voting systems, and appoint their own electoral officers. Local authorities are best placed, we think, to deal with issues that have a local dimension, and centralising the administration of local elections would mean the Commission would need to employ more staff, greatly reducing any savings.

Mandatory voting

We are aware that while mandatory voting would increase turnout, it might impinge on democratic freedoms; New Zealand's model of democracy has always recognised the right to abstain from voting as a legitimate form of democratic expression. Submitters who opposed mandatory voting suggested that coercing people into voting would lead to lower-quality votes, and that the health of a democracy should be measured by more than numbers of votes. Evidence from Australia and other democracies suggests that mandatory voting is generally as effective as the degree of sanction applied.

Separation of district health board elections

Some submitters suggested that the voting system in DHB elections was complex and had resulted in decreased turnout. This is something we would prefer to see addressed by redesigning voting papers and educating electors more effectively. We are aware that international evidence slightly favours concurrent rather than separate elections, suggesting that they increase turnout. Concurrent elections are also usually less costly to administer; in the local elections local authorities and DHBs share some of the costs.

Appendix A

Committee procedure

We called for public submissions on the inquiry. The closing date for submissions was 20 December 2013. We received 45 submissions from the organisations and individuals listed in Appendix B and the committee heard 20 of the submissions orally. The committee heard evidence at Wellington and Auckland. The committee met between 17 October 2013 and 24 July 2014 to consider the inquiry.

Committee members

Scott Simpson (Chairperson)
Paul Foster-Bell
Joanne Hayes
Raymond Huo
Andrew Little
Alfred Ngaro
Denis O'Rourke
Holly Walker
Hon Kate Wilkinson

Appendix B

List of submitters

Alastair Bell
Andrew Sheldon
Ashburton District Council
Association of Blind Citizens of New Zealand
Auckland Council
Auckland District Council of Social Services
Bill Capamagian
Blind Foundation
Christchurch City Council
Christine Cheyne
City Vision
David Farrar
David Maclure
Disabled Persons Assembly New Zealand
Dr Grant Gillon
Electoral Commission
Greater Wellington Regional Council
Grey Power (Ashburton)
Grey Power (Matamata)
Grey Power (North Canterbury)
Helga Arlington
Ian Tinkler
Janine Hayward
John Lawson
Kirstyn Barnett
Law for Change Dunedin and Dunedin Community Law Centre
Local Government New Zealand
Martine Abel
Mary Schnackenberg
National Council of Women of New Zealand
New Zealand Society of Local Government Managers
Nicholas Wiseman
Orakei Local Board
Palmerson North City Council
Roger Gummer
Rural Women New Zealand
Shirin Brown
Steve Wrathall
Trevor Helson
Verdon Chettleburgh
Waikato District Council
Waitemata District Health Board

Waitomo District Council
Wellington City Council
Wellington Employers' Chamber of Commerce