The Impact of MMP on Representation in New Zealand's Parliament – a view from outside Parliament

Dr. Therese Arseneau

Convenor, New Zealand Branch ASPG

In the 1990s New Zealand did something quite extraordinary – it changed its voting system. Substantive electoral reform is rare, especially in a well-established and stable democracy like New Zealand. Alan Renwick (2010) described it as the most momentous post-war electoral reform:

> [Since 1911] New Zealand had never deviated from plurality rule, and single-member plurality became universal there before even in the UK. In 1993, New Zealand broke all Westminster tradition. Not only did it adopt proportional representation: it also opted for a form of PR – mixed-member proportional (MMP) – never before used in the Westminster world. A country that previously had shown exceptional electoral system conservatism stepped decisively into the unknown (p. 6).

How it came about was also extraordinary. An improbable and unique set of circumstances – a respected Royal Commission report recommending a change to MMP; back to back first-past-the-post (FPP) elections in 1978 and 1981 which produced a National majority government when Labour had received more votes; a voters' revolt against the neo-liberal economic reforms by successive Labour and National governments – raised concerns among an increasingly disillusioned and angry public that FPP was 'broken'.

Ultimately the National government led by Prime Minister Jim Bolger bowed to public pressure and two referendums were held on the electoral system. In the 1992 indicative referendum, 84.7% of those voting rejected FPP and 70.5% chose MMP as their preferred option to replace it. In the 1993 binding 'run-off' referendum, 53.9% voted for a change to MMP and 46.1% to keep FPP. The first MMP election was held in 1996.

MMP was expected to fundamentally change the operation and face of Parliament. After a long tradition of two party dominance and 'unbridled' single party majority governments, MMP was expected to break the 'elective dictatorships' and revitalise Parliament to more effectively 'check' government (Palmer, 1979). A proportional system, MMP was also expected to result in greater fairness in terms of a more accurate translation of the nation-wide vote into parliamentary seats, including the election of MPs from smaller parties. Finally MMP held the promise of electing a more 'representative' Parliament with greater socio-demographic diversity including more women, Māori, Pasifika and Asian MPs.

This paper and presentation focus on this last promise and analyse the impact of MMP on New Zealand's representative democracy, from two distinct vantage points – from outside and inside Parliament. The first part, drawing on academic research, examines the extent to which MMP has lived up to its promise of electing more representative and diverse Parliaments. The prime focus will be on the election of women and Māori under MMP. The second part, drawing on the experience of two Parliamentarians – National's Louise Upston and Labour's Louisa Wall – examines how this greater diversity is reflected in the operation of New Zealand's 51st Parliament.

Representation and Electoral Systems

Various studies have found that type of electoral system is a principal variable in explaining cross-national differences in the level of electoral representation of both women and minorities (Rule & Zimmerman, 1994). With a few exceptions, countries with proportional systems elect more representative legislatures than those using plurality/majority voting systems – or as Ivana Bacik puts it, PR produces parliaments that are "less pale, male and stale" (Farrell, 2011). Although this can be partly explained by country-specific differences (Siaroff, 2000) – more egalitarian societies, parties committed to more equity and successful parties on the left – the bottom line is that PR systems, especially party list systems, pose fewer barriers to achieving representative outcomes than do plurality/majority systems.

Access to winnable candidacies is the key and proportional systems tend to do a better job of providing this access to diverse groups of people. In single-member districts experience shows that women and minorities have difficulty being selected and when they are, they are often in electorates where their party is not competitive. But PR systems have higher district magnitudes[1] and this allows parties to select multiple candidates providing more scope to select a diverse list of candidates. The higher the district and party magnitude the more likely women and minorities will be selected and elected (Rule, 1987) (Engstrom, 1987).

Thus the stage at which party gatekeepers choose the candidates is the most critical one for achieving diversity (Matland, 2005). PR – and party list systems in particular – provide incentives for these gatekeepers to 'balance the ticket'. First, parties see a balanced list as a way to attract votes. Having a wide range of candidates including women and other minorities is seen as beneficial and potentially an effective way to attract more diverse voters. Conversely not providing balance runs the risk of driving these voters elsewhere. Second, a balanced ticket is also seen to be a matter of equity and fairness, which is important when presenting a national list. The list is a statement of how a party sees itself and who it represents; failure to present balance is both highly visible and potentially damaging.

[1] District magnitude is the number of members elected in each district. This in turn leads to party magnitude which is the number of members elected from a party in each district.

PR also leads to more political parties being elected including more small parties. This too is an important factor in achieving greater diversity. As Gilling and Grey (2010, p. 7) point out, there tend to be more women candidates and leaders in small parties; similarly the Royal Commission on the Electoral System anticipated the formation of Māori parties under MMP (and recommended waiving the party vote threshold for them). In FPP systems these smaller parties have difficulty getting elected; in PR systems, however, they have more success, thus bringing in more women and minorities with them. Moreover, the success of smaller parties can have a 'contagion effect' in PR systems. Larger parties see smaller parties successfully putting forward more diverse lists of candidates and as a result follow suit (Gilling & Grey, 2010) (Matland 2005).

MMP was expected to achieve more 'descriptive' representation, that is, Parliament would better 'mirror' the society it represents. This greater diversity was expected mainly through the party lists, with more diverse candidates being selected and elected. Also by creating what is essentially a national electorate, minorities would become electorally significant and list MPs were expected to give voice to this new constituency of representation – based on broader communities and diverse society.

New Zealand's Māori electorates provide a further valuable dimension to this study. Established in 1867, initially temporarily, the four electorates were allocated on a geographic basis. The reasons for their creation were varied, but the primary intention was to enfranchise Māori, the tangata whenua of New Zealand, as communal rather than private property owners – the latter being the rule for enfranchisement in New Zealand at the time. The separate seats based on separate rules allowed Māori to vote and maintain representation in Parliament, albeit a representation limited to four electorates (Chauvel & Upston, 2012).

When the move to MMP was initially proposed, it was suggested the separate Māori electorates would no longer be needed as Māori would be effectively represented through new Māori parties, existing parties, or both. This was not popular with Māori who staunchly opposed the seats' abolition. They won their case: not only were the Māori electorates retained but for the first since their creation the seats were to be redistributed and potentially increased in number. Not surprisingly, there was significant Māori support for MMP (Vowles & Lamare, 1994).

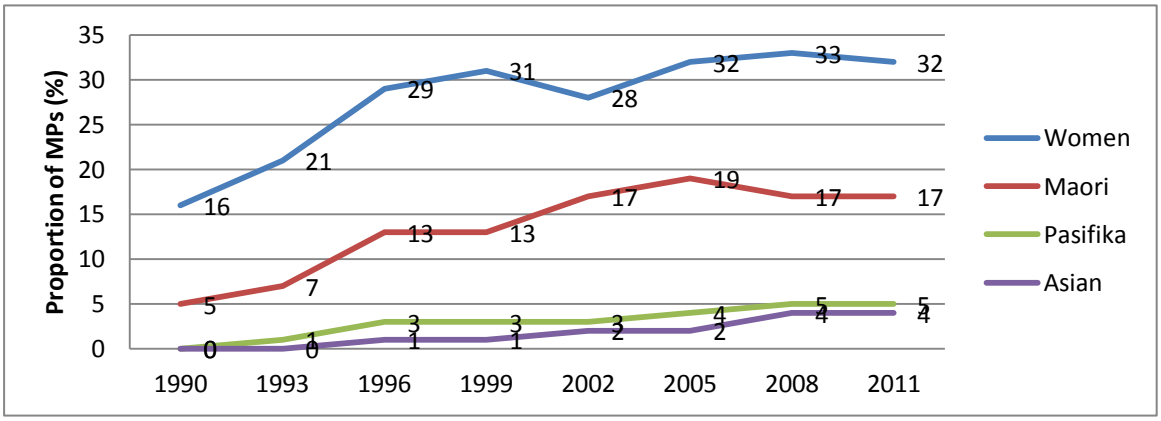
Analysing the impact of New Zealand's shift to MMP provides a rare opportunity to test the impact of electoral systems on representative outcomes while controlling for cross-country differences. This study allows not only comparisons between pre-1996 FPP and post-1996 MMP but also, as a mixed system, comparisons between FPP and PR party-list within the same election, including the impact of the Māori electorates.

New Zealand's Experience with MMP

New Zealand has now held seven elections using the MMP voting system. The last one, held less than two weeks ago on 20 September 2014, has provisional results available but still awaits final results. The effect of electoral system change on Parliament has been profound, and largely as predicted in terms of a greater number of parties in both Parliament and Government and a high degree of proportionality.

Figure 1 confirms that MMP also had an immediate and significant impact on the diversity of parliamentary representation. Based on election result data, women went from 21 per cent of the House of Representatives in the last FPP election to 29 per cent in the first one held using MMP. Similarly the percentage of Māori MPs jumped from seven to 13 per cent – roughly proportionate to Māori's percentage of the population at the time. Women's representation has averaged around 31 per cent of the House of Representatives, reaching a high in 2008 before falling back slightly in the 50th Parliament elected in 2011. Over the same period, Māori MPs averaged around 16 per cent of the House of Representatives, reaching a high of 19 per cent in New Zealand's 48th Parliament elected in 2005.

Figure 1: Diversity in Parliament: Women, Māori, Pasifika and Asian as per cent of total MPs



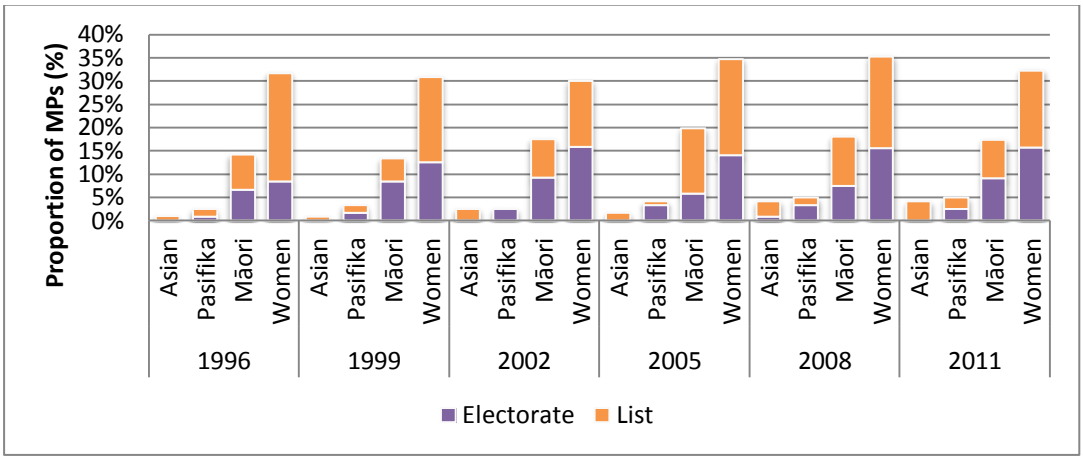
Source: www.electionresults.govt.nz; Wall and Wagner 2014, p. 3

MMP has also resulted in greater numbers of Pasifika and Asian MPs. Neither were present in Parliament in 1990; by the 2008 election, Pasifika and Asian MPs made up five and four per cent of the House respectively.

As expected, this diversity has come predominantly from party lists. Figure 2 is taken from the New Zealand Electoral Commission's 2012 report on the review of MMP and is based on data that include changes in Parliament's composition between general elections. It shows that the majority of women and Māori MPs are list MPs despite there being more electorate MPs overall. What is more, of all MPs elected to Parliament from party lists, 43 per cent have been women compared to only 24 per cent of MPs elected from electorates. More Māori are elected from party lists than electorates, even taking into account the Māori seats. That is, 21 per cent

of all list MPs have identified as Māori compared with 14 per cent of all electorate MPs – Māori and general electorates. Only five per cent of general electorate MPs identified as Māori.

Figure 2: Diversity in MMP Parliaments 1996-2011: comparison of Asian, Pasifika, Māori and Women elected (%) in electorates versus list



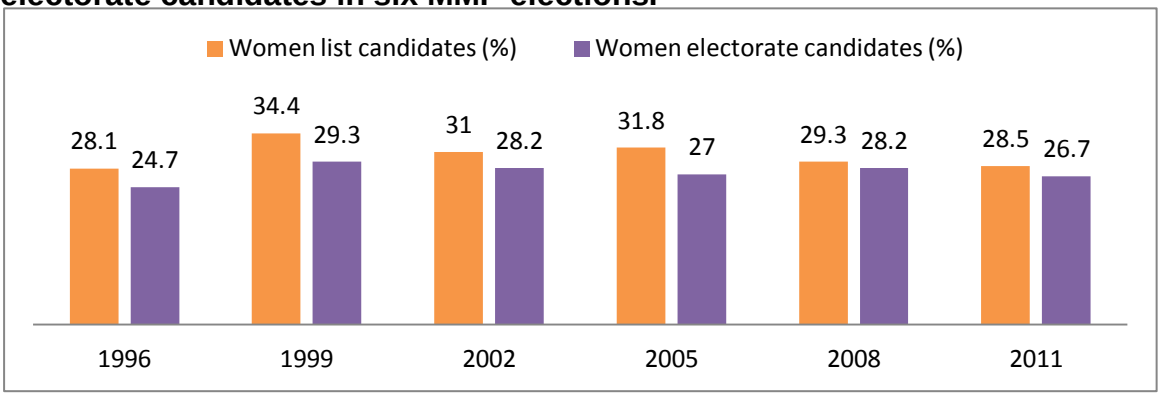
Source: NZ Electoral Commission's Report on the Review of MMP. Data from the Parliamentary Library include changes in Parliament's composition between general elections.

Women's Representation under MMP: the importance of *selection* to *election*

The party lists have been the main vehicle for increased numbers of women in Parliament; and yet, there have been some significant fluctuations. In 1996 45.5 percent of list MPs were women compared to 29 per cent in 2002; in the last four elections, on average, around 40 per cent of list MPs have been women, ranging from a high of 44 per cent in 2005 to a low of 34 per cent in the 2014 provisional results (www.electionresults.govt.nz).

Jennifer Curtin (2014) argues that women's selection and positioning on party lists is critical in explaining both the increased numbers and the fluctuations. She draws several important conclusions about women's selection and election. First, as is illustrated in Figure 3, parties are more likely to choose women as candidates for party lists than for electorate seats. Although the gap begins to close in 2008, at no election has the proportion of women electorate candidates reached 30 per cent. Second, fluctuations in the election rate of women list MPs are due in part to the placement of women on party lists. Third, ideology matters – parties of the left are more likely to place women in their top 10 list positions. Finally, the context of the election is also important – a National or Labour victory, close or not, and the relative mix of electorate and list MPs elected – all have an effect.

Figure 3: A comparison of women candidates by per cent of total list and electorate candidates in six MMP elections.



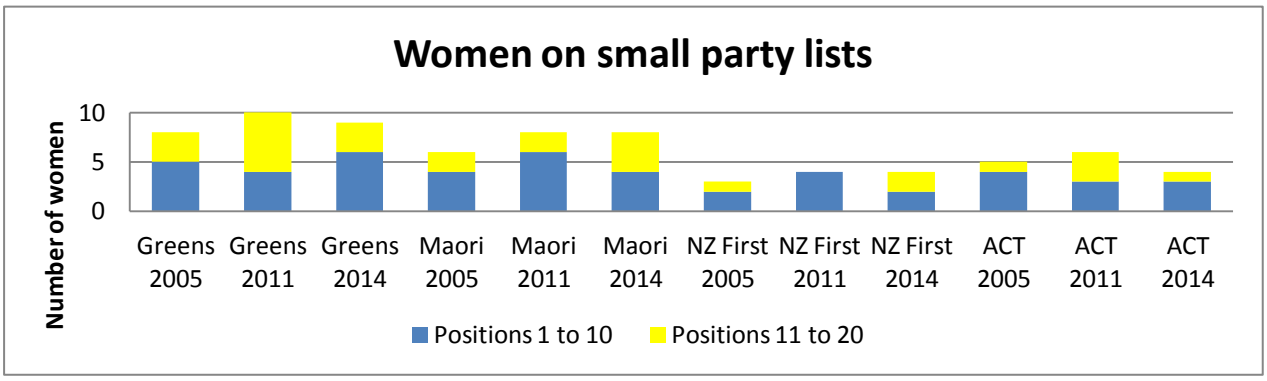
Source: Curtin 2014

- Women in small parties

Women have been quite successful in being selected and elected in small parties, particularly in those on the left. On average since 2002, the Greens have elected the highest percentage of women of any party in Parliament – an average of over 50 per cent and all from their list. Just over a third of all Māori Party MPs have been women, all but one elected as electorate MPs in the Māori seats. In comparison, New Zealand First and ACT elected 19 per cent and 23 per cent women respectively, all list MPs.

Curtin (2014, p. 130) argues the positioning of women on lists is of particular importance for smaller parties: "Smaller parties are likely to win few if any electorate seats because of their FPP method of election and the resultant need for geographically-concentrated voter support (the exception being the Māori Party in the Māori electorates)." The crucial list positions are 1 – 20 as to date no small party has exceeded 17 MPs. Figure 4 shows the position of women on the lists of four smaller parties in selected recent elections. The Greens and Māori Party had more women placed in more electable positions on their lists than did New Zealand First and ACT. .

Figure 4: Placement of women on small party lists, 2005, 2011 and 2014



Source: Curtin 2014, p. 13; NZ Electoral Commission

In the case of the Māori Party most women have been elected to represent a Māori electorate. Arguably, discussing their positioning of women on the party list might be seen as significant and more as an indication of their commitment to the selection Māori women. But more importantly, this same commitment is reflected in candidate selection in the Māori electorates too and with dual candidacy there tends to be significant overlap between the two set of candidates, for all parties.

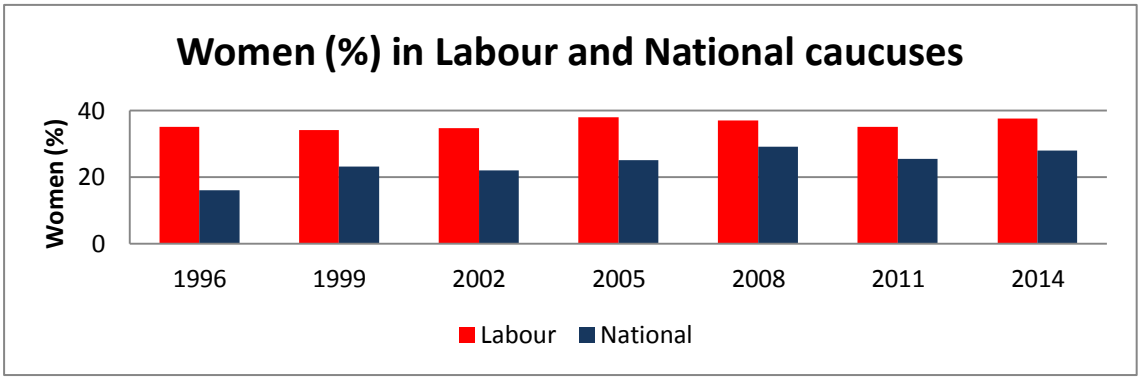
The selection of women in part reflects the commitment to gender equity in the rules, constitutions and practices of these parties (Wall & Wagner, 2014). The Greens have the most extensive commitment to gender equity of any political party in New Zealand's Parliament, including male and female co-leaders, party convenors and policy co-convenors. In terms of candidate selection, their rules specify that no more than 60 per cent of the party list may be either male or female, and the Candidate Selection and Electoral Process Committee must aim for a reasonable degree of gender balance. The Māori Party also has male and female co-leaders and there are specific requirements for the inclusion of women on the National Council and on Electorate Councils. Gender is also a criterion for formulating the list. The New Zealand First Party's selection rules state the need for different genders to be represented must be taken into account. Interestingly, while there is no requirement concerning gender in ACT's constitution and selection rules, the party has well-placed women on its lists and, particularly in its heyday, elected a relatively high proportion of women to its caucus, despite getting very little traction with women voters (Curtin, 2014).

But overall there is a consistency between small parties with greater commitment to gender equity in party organisation and candidate selection, and the election of a higher proportion of women. In turn, the New Zealand Election Study also finds a gender gap in women's voting that works in the Greens' favour and to the detriment of ACT and New Zealand First – most strongly in 2011 (Curtin 2014).

- Women in Labour and National

Figure 5 compares the percentage of women MPs in National's and Labour's caucuses since 1996. It reveals a gender gap that is present in every election irrespective of whether National or Labour is the largest party. Excepting the first MMP election in 1996, the gap was wider in 1999, 2002 and 2005 (when Labour governed) and more narrow since then (when National governed). On average, 24 per cent of National's MMP-elected caucuses have been women compared to 36 per cent of Labour's.

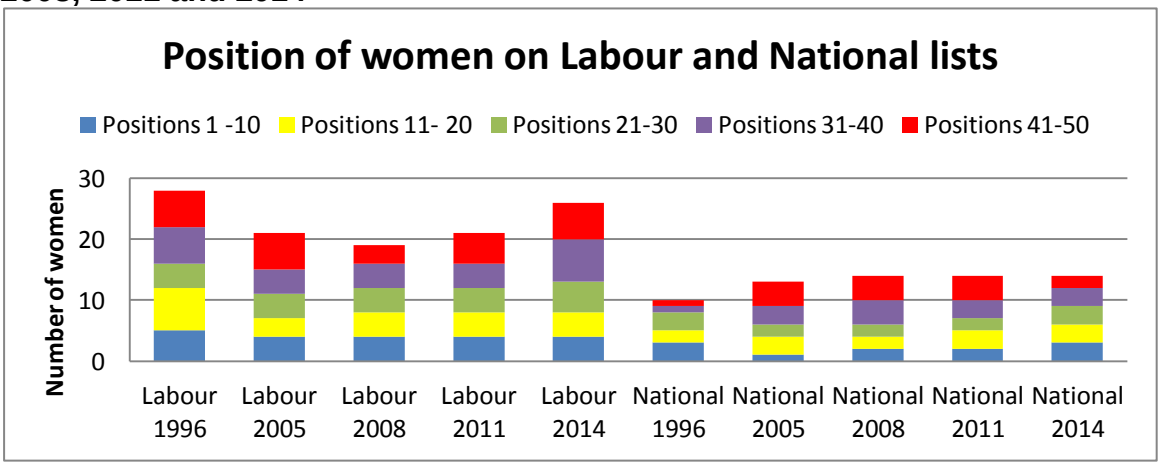
Figure 5: Women as percentage of Labour and National caucuses under MMP



Source: Data from NZ Electoral Commission

Figure 6 compares the number and position of women on the National and Labour lists in selected election years. Once again there is a noticeable symmetry between selection and election. Not only has Labour selected more women than National on its party lists, the positioning of women is also important, not just in the top 20 but throughout the middle order of the list too. This is because, as Curtin (2014) notes, the major parties consistently win the bulk of the electorate seats but fluctuate in terms of party vote (low for National in 2002; low for Labour in 2011 and 2014) meaning what constitutes a 'winnable' position on the list can vary greatly. In the most recent election for example, in the preliminary results, the last Labour list MP is number 11 on the list versus the last National one is number 52. "Thus the combination of volatility and dual candidature underscores the importance of gender balance throughout the major parties' lists." (Curtin 2014, p.131). As Figure 6 further illustrates, Labour not only selects more women, including in the top 20, but also does so through the 20-50 positions of the list as well.

Figure 6: Position of women on Labour and National party lists, 1996, 2005, 2008, 2011 and 2014



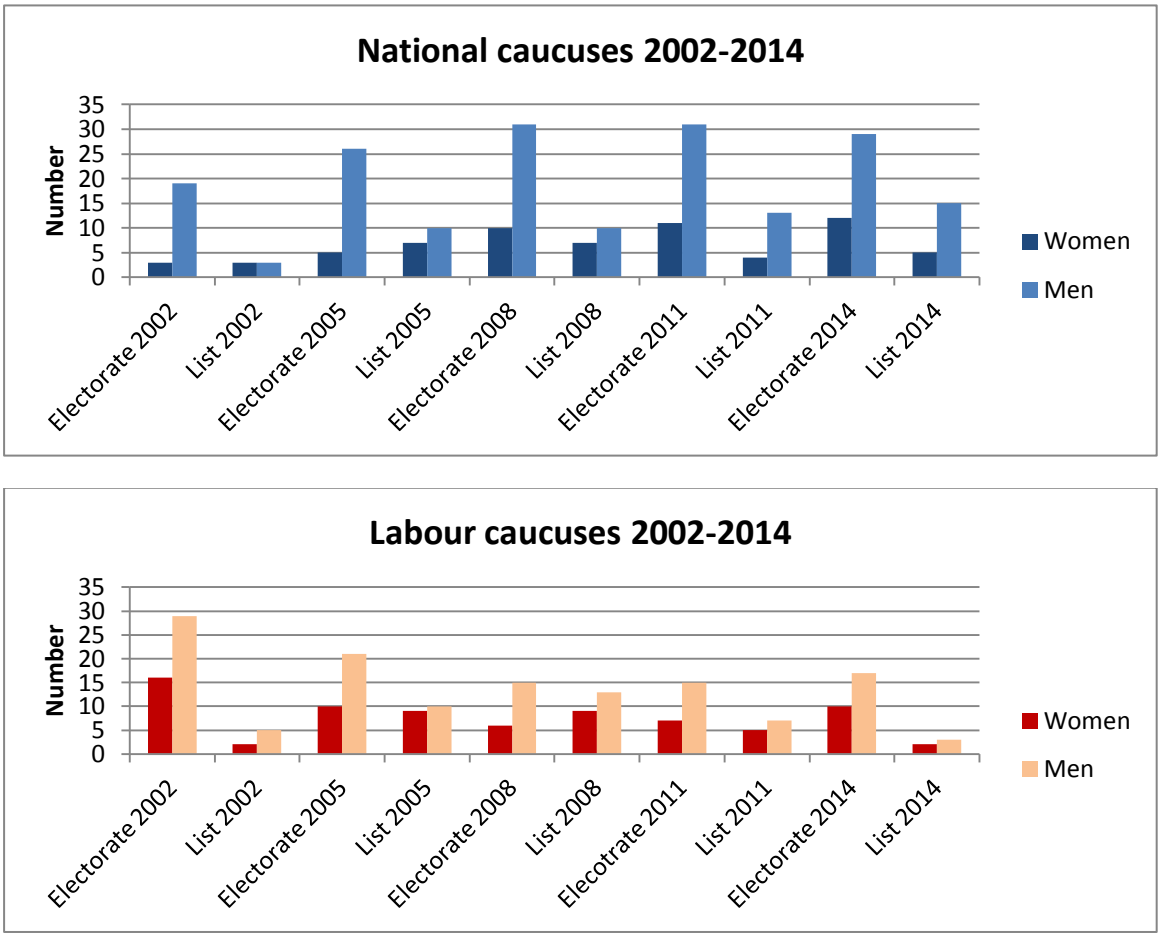
Source: Data from Curtin 2014, p.132 and NZ Electoral Commission

Although party lists are the main vehicle for electing women, the majority of MPs are actually electorate MPs and all but a handful are either National or Labour.

Electorate candidate selection is therefore crucial to the number of women elected. According to Curtin (2014, p. 129) while the number of women electorate candidates has not increased significantly under MMP, the percentage of women elected as constituency MPs is now in proportion to their candidacy rates suggesting more women are being selected for less marginal seats than in the past (McLeay, 1993).

Figure 8 further illustrates where women are found in National and Labour caucuses, electorate or list, in each MMP election since 2002. The two profiles look quite different. The context of each election does account for much of this – for example a decisive Labour victory in 2002 and clear National victories in 2008, 2011 and 2014 cause swings in the overall total for each party. But more striking in terms of women's representation is how men still dominate the electorate seats (particularly in National), that overall the number of electorate seats won by these parties dominates the list ones and, in terms of the contrast between National and Labour, it is the electorate profile rather than the list one that stands out.

Figure 8: Gender breakdown of Labour and National electorate and list MPs



Source: Data from NZ Electoral Commission

This is an important reminder that while MMP is proportional, it is also a mixed system. More than half the MPs in Parliament are elected in single-member districts using FPP. Although the party vote is compensatory to achieve overall

proportionality, the FPP side of the election does impact the diversity of representation. The NZ Electoral Commission (Commission, 2012) in its 2012 report on the review of MMP expressed its concern about the potential impact that eroding numbers of list MPs might have on the diversity of Parliament:

> Under current arrangements for determining electorate boundaries, changes in population growth mean the number of electorates will continue to increase and the number of list seats will decrease. In 1996 there were 65 electorate seats and 55 list seats. There have been 70 electorate seats and 50 list seats for the [2008 and 2011] general elections [and 71/49 in 2014]..... List seats are the principal mechanism by which diversity of representation in Parliament is achieved. The declining numbers of list seats threatens this important objective of MMP (p. 25).

Incumbency and electoral turnover also affect the access women have to the electorate seats. There is a widely held view in New Zealand that a list seat is something of a "sinecure or safety net" (Commission 2012, p 40). The opposite is true. The rate of turnover for list MPs is actually over twice that of electorate MPs: 23.84 per cent for list MPs compared to 10.58 per cent for electorate MPs (Vowles, 2012). Thus a safe electorate seat provides a more secure bolt-hold for an incumbent, something recognised by women who have come to the view that acquiring selection in a safe electorate seat is a better route to a sustainable parliamentary career (Curtin 2014).

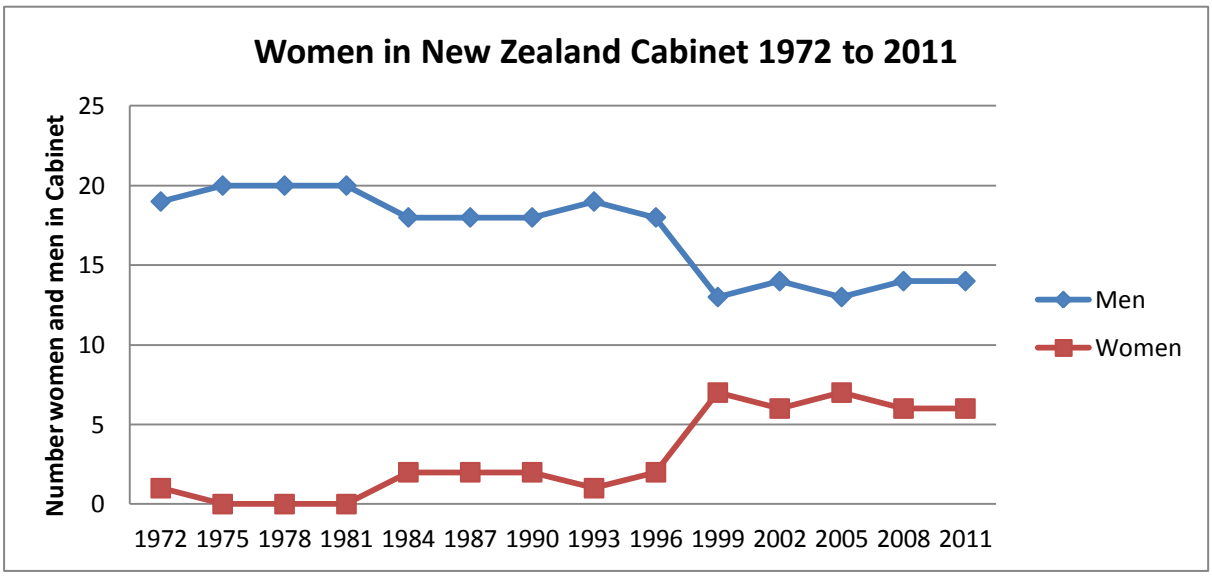
The problem, according to Elizabeth McLeay (2006), is that male incumbents still dominate these safe electorate seats in both Labour and National. And since incumbents also tend to be ranked highly on the party lists, "gender disparities in representation are compounded" (Curtin, 2012).

- Women in leadership roles

A spin-off of the increased number of women in Parliament has been a rise in the number of women in Cabinet and other leadership roles. New Zealand has had four Prime Ministers since the introduction of MMP – two women and two men – with the women (National's Dame Jenny Shipley and Labour's Helen Clark) in the position for over half the time. There have also been women Ministers outside Cabinet, women party leaders/co-leaders in Parliament, one Madame Speaker, and various select committee chairs and deputy chairs.

Figure 9 tracks the number of men and women in Cabinet under FPP (1972-1993) and MMP (1996-2011). It shows the significant jump in the number of women Cabinet Ministers from 1999 – the second Parliament elected by MMP. This is in keeping with experience elsewhere. Siaroff (2000) argues that a key determinant of more women in Cabinet is having more women in Parliament, with a lag of one to two terms as first-term ministers are rare.

Figure 9: Number of women in Cabinet under FPP (1972-1993) and MMP (1996-2011)



Source: Gilling and Grey 2010, p. 10, and www.beehive.govt.nz

Cabinet is the powerhouse of New Zealand's Westminster parliamentary system. It is salient that after an initial surge with the introduction of MMP, the number of women in Cabinet has remained relatively static since then, irrespective of whether it is a Labour or National government. This reflects a similar trend in terms of women's numbers in Parliament too – they have increased under MMP but stalled at around a third of Parliament, well below women's proportion of the population. This has led to a vigorous debate around quotas and candidate selection, which is discussed further in the second half of this presentation which views Parliament from the inside.

Have the predictions around electing women by MMP come to fruition? In terms of 'descriptive' representation clearly there are more women present in Parliament, Government and Cabinet under MMP. Small parties and parties of the left in particular are more likely to place women in their top ten list positions; Labour has women well represented throughout their party list; and the parties that select more women also elect the highest percentage of women. Curtin's (2014, p. 130)

But it was also hoped MMP would go even further and achieve 'critical mass'. A concept borrowed from nuclear physics, this refers to the quantity needed to start a chain reaction, "an irreversible take-off into a new situation or process" (Dahlerup, 1988). Thus it was the anticipation that MMP would result in women MPs 'acting for' women and in numbers sufficient to impact the outcomes of political debate. Gilling and Grey (2010) suggest that it has made a difference and point to a wide-range of ways women MPs have acted "in the interests of women". These include a number of 'women-friendly' pieces of legislation, for example paid parental leave, and increased spending on women-related programmes, especially related to women's health. Much of this representation takes place away from public view – in Cabinet,

party caucuses, select committees and more informally in Parliament's corridors – and is thus an area for discussion as part of the view from 'inside Parliament'.

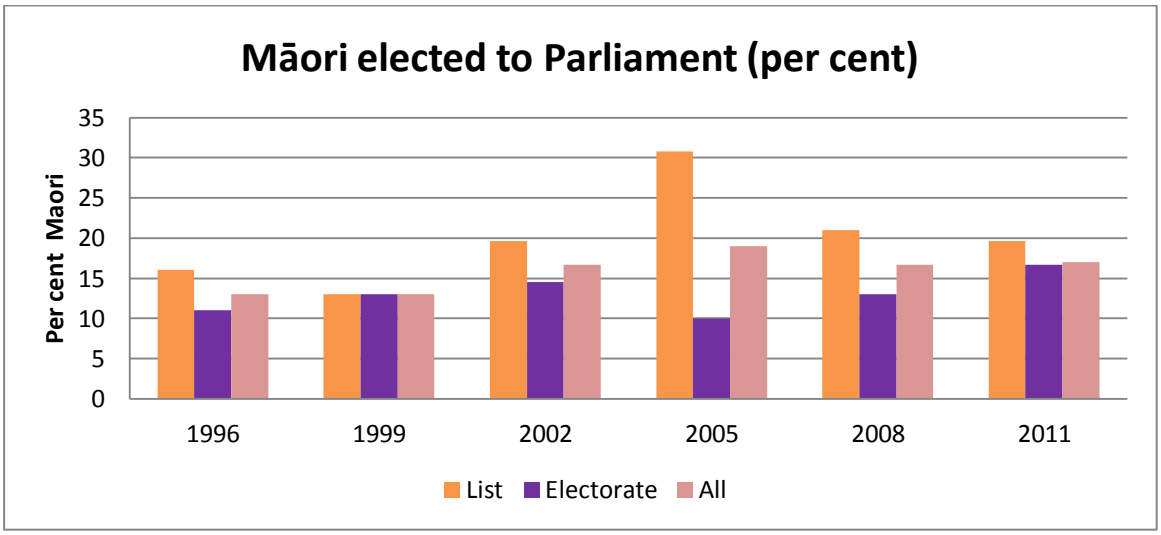
Māori in Parliament

Māori strongly supported the move to MMP in the 1993 referendum (Vowles and Lamare 1994). There was similar support to keep MMP in the 2011 indicative referendum on the electoral system: in the seven Māori seats there was an average vote of 82.8 per cent in favour of keeping MMP compared to 57.8 per cent average support in the general electorates (Arseneau & Roberts, 2012).

In 1993 MMP offered the promise of electing more Māori to Parliament. As Figure 10 shows, MMP has delivered on that promise – Māori representation in Parliament has lifted to an average of 16 per cent in the six MMP elections (1996-2011) and to levels that more accurately reflect their percentage of New Zealand's population. Rising levels of Māori representation in Parliament have been reflected too with a similar presence in each post-MMP Cabinet and in the broader Government as well with Ministers outside Cabinet, including support party Ministers.

The diagram also provides some insight into the means by which this has happened. Figure 10 shows the percentage of Māori elected as list and electorate MPs in each election. As with women, the lists have been the primary route for Māori into Parliament. In the six elections a total of 63 Māori have been elected as list MPs compared to 53 electorate MPs – despite the total number of electorate MPs (410) outnumbering the total list MPs (314). As a percentage of each type of MP, more Māori were elected on the list in every election except one – in 1999 Māori came into Parliament in equal proportions from electorates and the list.

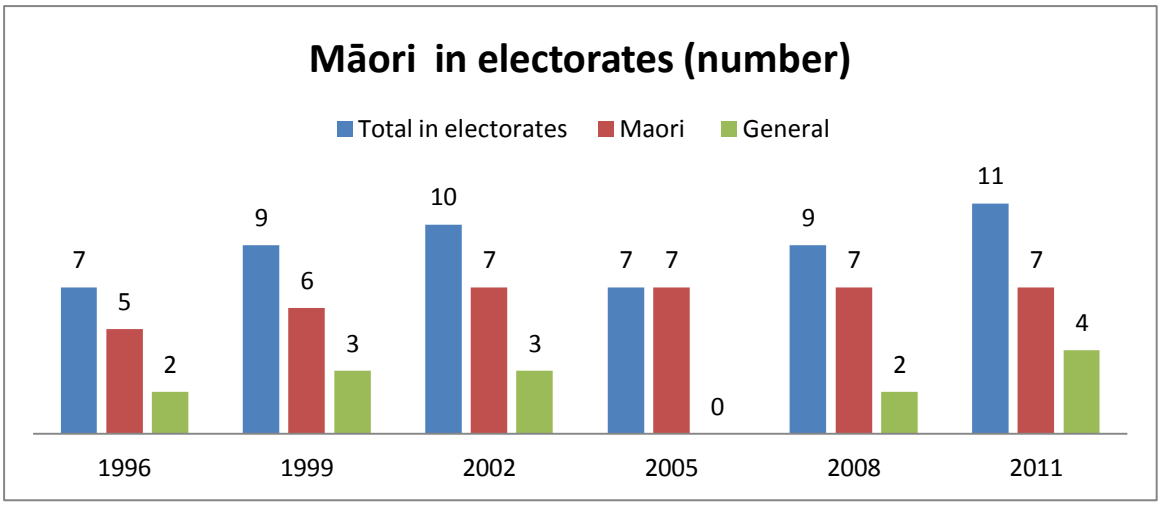
Figure 10: Māori elected in each election 1996-2011 as per cent of list, electorate and all MPs



Source: www.electionresults.govt.nz. Data do not include any changes in Parliament's composition between general elections.

Figure 11 focuses on the electorate MPs who are Māori and divides them into general and Māori electorates. This reveals the prevalence of the Māori electorates – 39 of the 53 electorate MPs who are Māori have come into Parliament this way. This also underlines the effectiveness of separate seats as a means of mitigating the difficulty minorities face in getting elected by FPP.

Figure 11: Number of Electorate MPs who are Māori in Māori electorates and general electorates



Source: Data from NZ Electoral Commission

The Māori seats have taken on new relevance and political significance since the introduction of MMP. Previously fixed at four, under MMP their number has gradually increased, with seven Māori seats operating in the last four elections. Under FPP the Māori seats were also very safe Labour seats. The introduction of MMP led to new parties and new competition for these seats. In the first MMP election the voters in the Māori electorates broke with tradition and instead elected New Zealand First MPs to represent all five Māori seats, only to have Labour sweep the seats back again in the next election. These seats have remained highly competitive and volatile ever since. They are considered important political battlegrounds for both the electorate and party vote and as a result have greater prominence than under FPP.

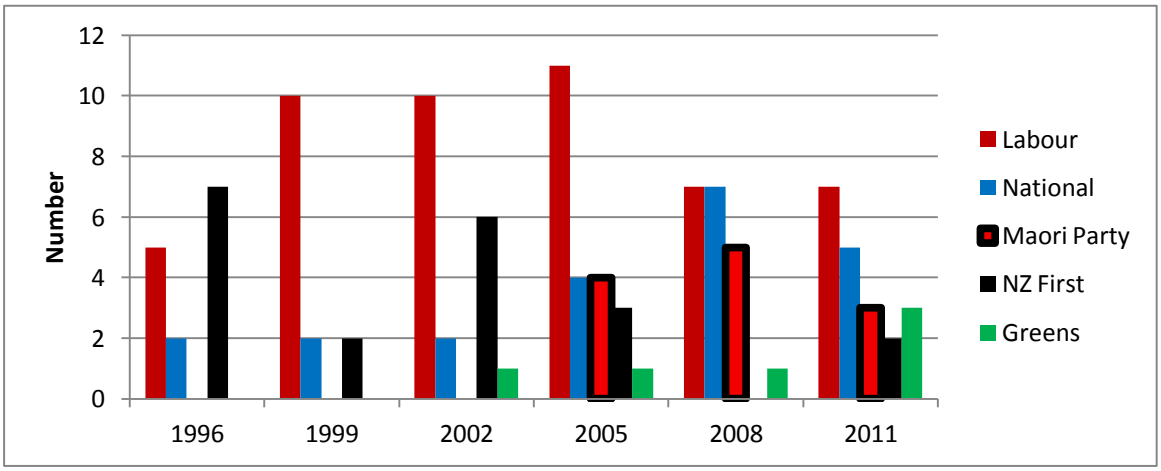
The five per cent party vote threshold has proved to be a difficult hurdle for parties to cross. Apart from National and Labour, only two parties have managed this on a recurring basis in recent elections – the Greens and New Zealand First. The other small parties have ultimately depended on winning an electorate seat, usually by arrangement with either Labour or National or, in the case of the Māori Party and Mana, as the result of having electoral strength in the Māori electorates.

The seats are therefore an important base for new Māori political movements and parties. While Labour has remained a constant choice for voters on the Māori roll, particularly in terms of the party vote, the electorate seats have been won by four different parties under MMP: Labour, New Zealand First, The Māori Party and

Mana. The Māori Party was formed in the aftermath of the Foreshore and Seabed legislation; led by Tariana Turia, an electorate Labour MP in the Te Tai Hauauru seat and a Minister in Helen Clark's Labour government, she left Labour in protest and formed the new party for Māori. She resigned as Labour MP to be returned in the 2004 by-election as the Māori Party MP in the same electorate. The fledgling party went on to win four of the Māori electorate seats in the 2005 election. After the 2008 election, with five Māori electorate MPs, the Māori Party entered into a support arrangement with John Key's National government. This ultimately was the cause of a further splintering with Hone Harawira leaving to form Mana – another party with Māori issues at its core. He was re-elected under this new banner in 2011, but was defeated in the recent 2014 election.

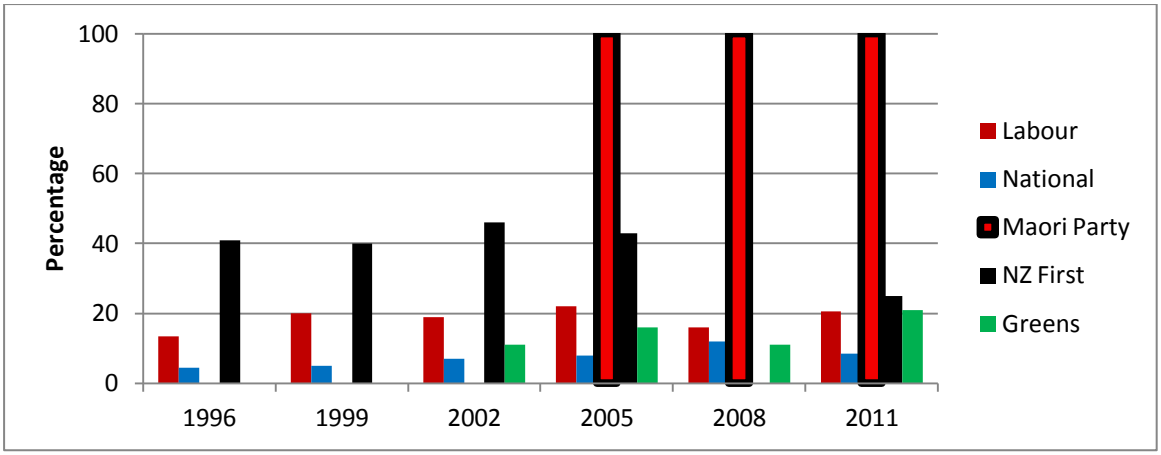
The Royal Commission on the Electoral System anticipated that Māori would be more present in Parliament under MMP. What is more, they expected the presence to be spread throughout Parliament – government and opposition, large and small parties, old and new. Figures 12 and 13 show a selection of parties with MPs identifying as Māori in the first six MMP Parliaments – Figure 12 in numbers and Figure 13 as per cent of caucus. These Māori MPs are indeed spread through various parties in Parliament. In terms of numbers, Labour has had more Māori MPs than any other party – roughly 43 per cent of all MPs identifying as Māori have been Labour MPs. But smaller MMP parties have had higher proportions of Māori in caucus; these include the Māori Party, Mana and New Zealand First. While these three parties share a large presence of Māori, they differ greatly on the more expansive view of representation – 'acting for' and 'in the interests' of Māori.

Figure 12: Number of MPs identifying as Māori in selected political parties under MMP



Source: Data from www.electionsresults.govt.nz and Parliamentary Library

Figure 13: MPs identifying as Māori as a percentage of selected political party caucuses under MMP



Source: Data from www.electionsresults.govt.nz and Parliamentary Library

Conclusion

Returning to the broader questions around electoral system and diversity of representation, what lessons can be gleaned from New Zealand's experiences with MMP thus far? The results would seem to confirm what has long been observed elsewhere: first, there is a close connection between type of electoral system and the election of more representative legislatures, and second, PR outperforms FPP in this regard. This is observed not only by comparing diversity pre- and post-MMP but also by comparing diversity within each MMP election.

Women have been elected predominantly through party lists – over 40 per cent of all list MPs have been women – thus making their selection to and positioning on the list fundamental drivers of diversity. Electorate MPs outnumber list MPs and the gap between the two continues to grow. This led the NZ Electoral Commission in 2012 to recommend – on the grounds of maintaining diversity – that Parliament considers fixing the ratio of electorate to list seats at 60:40. It also shines a spotlight on the need for parties' to consider diversity in their candidate selection practices in the electorates as well.

Māori representation, at first glance, has been less adversely affected by the FPP electorate seats, mainly due to the Māori electorates. Although the Māori seats did soften the effects of FPP it is noteworthy that more Māori have come into Parliament through the lists. With 20 per cent of all list MPs identifying as Māori, it seems both Māori and women would be elected in even greater numbers if New Zealand's system was PR party list rather than MMP. New Zealand's mixed system has had a mixed effect on representation in Parliament.

Bibliography

Arseneau, T., & Roberts, N. (2012). 'Kicking the tyres' on MMP: the results of the referendum reviewed. In J. Johanson, & S. Levine, *Kicking the Tyres: The New Zealand General Election and Electoral Referendum of 2011.* Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Chauvel, C., & Upston, L. (2012). *The New Zealand Constitutional Review.* Darwin: ASPG Conference Paper.

Commission, N. Z. (2012). *Report of the Electoral Commission on the Review of the MMP Voting System.* Wellington: NZ Electoral Commission.

Curtin, J. (2014). From Presence to Absence? Where Were the Women in 2011? In J. Vowles, *The New Electoral Politics in New Zealand: The Significance of the 2011 Election.* Wellington: IGPS.

Curtin, J. (2012). New Zealand Gendering Parliamentary Representation: a mixed system producing mixed results. In M. Tremblay, *Women and Legislative Representation: Electoral systems, political parties and sex quotas.* New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Dahlerup, D. (1988). From a Small to a Large Minority: Women in Scandinavian Politics. *Political Studies* .

Engstrom, R. (1987). District magnitudes and the election of women to the Irish Dail. *Electoral Studies* .

Farrell, D. (2011). *Electoral Systems: A Comparative Introduction.* New York: Palgrave McMillan.

Gilling, A., & Grey, S. (2010). *Women for MMP.* Wellington: www.campaignformmp.org.nz.

Lakeman, E. (1984). The case for proportional representation . *Choosing an Electoral System: Issues and Alternatives* .

Matland, R. (2005). Enhancing Women's Political Participation: Legislative Recruitment and Electoral Systems. In J. Ballington, & A. Karan, *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers.* Sweden: IDEA.

McLeay, E. (2006). Climbing On: Rules, value and women's representation in the New Zealand parliament. In M. Sawer, M. Tremblay, & L. Trimble, *Representing Women in Parliament: A Comparative Study.* London: Routledge.

McLeay, E. (1993). Women and the Problem of Parliamentary Representation: a comparative perspective. *Political Science* .

Palmer, G. (1979). *Unbridled Power? An Interpretation of New Zealand's Constitution and Government* . Wellington: Oxford University Press.

Renwick, A. (2010). *The Politics of Electoral Reform: Changing the Rules of Democracy.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rule, W. (1987). Electoral Systems, Contextual Factors and Women's Opportunity for Election to Parliament in Twenty-Three Democracies. *Western Political Quarterly* .

Rule, W., & Zimmerman, J. (1994). *Electoral Systems in Comparative Perspectives: Their Impact onf Women and Minorities.* Westport: Greenwood.

Siaroff, A. (2000). Women's Representation in Legislatures and Cabinets in Industrial Democracies. *International Political Science Review* .

Vowles, J. (2012). *Submission to the MMP Review.* Wellington.

Vowles, J., & Lamare, J. (1994). *Changing an Electoral System: The Case of New Zealand.* New York: Paper presented at APSA.

Wall, L., & Wagner, N. (2014). *Gender Equality in Elected Office: A Six-Step Action Plan - a New Zealand Perspective.* New Zealand: Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.