

Voting is open 5-19th September REGISTER NOW AT VOTE.NZ

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The General Election for this year is going to be a massive one! It is happening in the middle of a global pandemic and we are going to be voting on Cannabis and Euthanasia, two massive issues impacting the social fabric of New Zealand.

Knowing what you are voting on and forming an opinion that you can stand behind are the biggest steps towards making sure your vote counts towards a future that you want. We hope that this magazine can be a guide through the important people, parties and issues of this election.

Before all this though it is key to make sure you are enrolled. You may have enrolled before, but if you have moved addresses since the last election you will need to re-enrol. This year you can even enrol online at enrol.vote.nz.

This magazine has been a chance to chat with all the candidates from Dunedin and Te Tai Tonga electorates. Their willingness to be interviewed and involved in this project has led to something that we are very proud of.

Francesca Dykes - OUSA Political Representative 2020 Josh Meikle - OUSA Finance and Strategy Officer 2020



Politics Week Events

Political Clubs Day: August 11th 12 - 2pm, The Link

Youth Wing Debate: August 11th 7pm, Starters Bar

End of Life Choice Act Forum: August 12th 4pm, Main Common Room

Cannabis Forum: August 13th 4pm, Main Common Room

Vote 2020 Premiere - Pre Election show: August 14th 1.30pm Media Production Studio (Second Floor, Owheo Building)

MP Tertiary Issues Debate: August 14th 5pm, Main Common Room



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Mixed Member Proportional

How did we get MMP? Before New Zealand had the Mixed Member Propor-

Before New Zealand had the Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) electoral system, we had the First Past the Post (FPP) electoral system. In FPP each voter had one vote, for their local electorate. However, this system led to disproportionate representation of parties in Parliament, for example:

- In 1978 the National Party won 55 seats with 39.8% of the vote, while the Labour Party won 32 seats with 40.4% of the votes.
- In 1981 the Social Credit Party won 2 seats with 20.7% of the vote.

The 1984 election saw the electoral system become a campaign issue, with Labour calling for a Royal Commission into the topic. The recommendation of this Commission was for a referendum to be held, but due to internal division within the Labour Party this failed to materialise. The National Party capitalised on this division, promising to hold an election if elected in the 1990 election. As a result of their win, a referendum was held in 1992, firstly asking if they would choose to change the voting system, and secondly, for those who voted yes, which of four systems they would rather have, one of them being Mixed Member Proportional (MMP). 84% voted to change, and of those 'change' votes, 70% voted for MMP.

A second, binding, referendum asked whether or not they would adopt the MMP system. The referendum passed, with 82.61% of the population voting with 53.86% in favour and 46.14% against. The Electoral Act passed in Parliament 1993, with the first MMP election held in 1996.





Why is it important that we have MMP?

Unlike FPP the MMP electoral system ensures a much greater degree of proportionality in Parliament. In the FPP electoral system the only way to get into Parliament was by winning an electorate, preventing smaller parties that had broad support across the country but not extremely strong support in any one electorate from getting elected.

On the other hand, there are two routes for a member to be elected within the MMP electoral system. The first is through the Party Vote, which establishes the overall proportionality of Parliament. If a Party wins 30% of the Party Vote, then they are allocated 30% of the seats in Parliament. The second is the same as in FPP - through winning the Electorate Vote in the Electorate they are standing in. This means that MMP allows for both strong local representation (through the Electorate Vote), and accurate proportional representation of the views of New Zealanders as a whole (through the Party Vote).

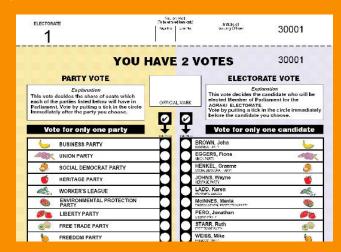
In order to form the Government a party must have over 50% of the Party Vote. If no party has over 50% of the Party Vote then multiple parties can work together to form the Government. This normally occurs either through Coalition (a temporary agreement between parties, usually with all parties in the coalition holding Ministerial Portfolios and being represented in Cabinet), or Confidence and Supply (where a party supports the Government in motions of confidence and budget votes), or some combination of the two. This requirement ensures that the Government is always representative of over half of New Zealand.

How to Vote

The most important thing to do to ensure that you are able to vote is to enrol! Register now online at:

enrol.vote.nz

When you enter the ballot box, you will have two votes. The first is your Party Vote, for the Party that you wish to represent you in Parliament. The second is your Electorate Vote, for your local Member of Parliament. You may 'split your vote.' This means for example that you may give Party 'A' your Party Vote, and the candidate for Party 'B' in your local Electorate your Electorate Vote.



Where can you vote?

You will be able to vote somewhere near where you live. If you are studying on campus, there will likely be a voting booth at:

The Link

UniPol

Polytechnic Hub

If you are unable to vote in person, either due to age or a medical condition, you can vote by post.

Party Vote

The Party Vote determines the overall proportionality of Parliament. Once the proportion has been established, those candidates who have won an Electorate make up the seats, with any spare seats being topped up by candidates on the Party List. If a Party were to win 30% of the Party Vote, but only 15% of the Electorates, then the extra 15% of seats they have secured are topped up from the Party List. The minimum Party Vote that a Party is required to win in order to enter Parliament is 5% - the electorate threshold.

Electorate Vote

Electorates are geographic districts, each containing approximately the same amount of people, ensuring equality of the vote. There are two types of Electorates in New Zealand, 65 General Electorates and 7 Māori Electorates. Any eligible voter may enrol to join the General Roll, and if you are Māori then you may choose to enrol on the Māori roll (for more information related to Māori Electorates turn the page). You may choose to enrol to vote in your local Electorate, or your parents' Electorate.

What is a special vote?

If you are enrolled before August 16th, you will receive a voting information pack in the mail, which will include an "easy-vote" card. This will make it easier for you to vote. Alternatively, you will have to cast a 'special vote'. This is the same vote as a normal vote but the process just takes slightly longer.

You will need to cast a special vote if:

- You enrol after August 16th and your name is not printed on the physical roll
- You are physically voting in a different electorate to the one where your name is printed on the physical roll (i.e. physically voting in Dunedin but being enrolled in the Wellington City Electorate)

The Māori Roll

In New Zealand we have 65 general electorate and 7 Māori electorates. The Māori electorates provide a Māori voice by ensuring that there is Māori representation in Parliament. Māori electorate candidates do not have to be Māori but you do have to be of Māori descent to vote in the Māori electorates.

History of the Māori Electorates

These were introduced in 1867 under the Māori Representation Act in order to assimilate Māori into the political system and reduce conflict between the Crown and Māori. At the time, Māori had the right to vote in the general election but they were often prevented from voting by the other requirements e.g. at the time you had to individually own a certain value of land but most Māori land was in communal ownership and did not count. Therefore, the Act was introduced as a temporary measure to give Māori the ability to vote, until their land was converted to individual ownership. However, that requirement was abolished in 1879 and the seats have remained. From 1975, Māori have been able to choose whether they vote on the Māori or General roll.

There have been several attempts to abolish the Māori electorates, most recently in 2017, when New Zealand First promised to hold a referendum on abolition if re-elected. Although New Zealand First did form part of the 2017 Labour Government, this demand was dropped in the coalition agreement. Notably, unlike the General Electorates, which would require a 75% majority to abolish, the Māori Electorates only require 50%, allowing them to be removed more easily.

What is the Māori Roll?

In New Zealand we have a General Electoral Roll and a Māori Electoral Roll to correspond to the General and Māori electorates. The Roll is a list of all the people eligible to vote in New Zealand, and in each particular electorate. If you chose to be enrolled on the Māori electoral roll, you will vote for the Māori Electorate candidate in your area (e.g. if you are enrolled in Dunedin, the Te Tai Tonga candidate), rather than the General Electorate candidate (e.g. if you are enrolled in Dunedin, the Dunedin electorate candidate).

Registering on the Māori roll does not affect your party vote, which is the same for everyone.

Māori Roll versus General Roll

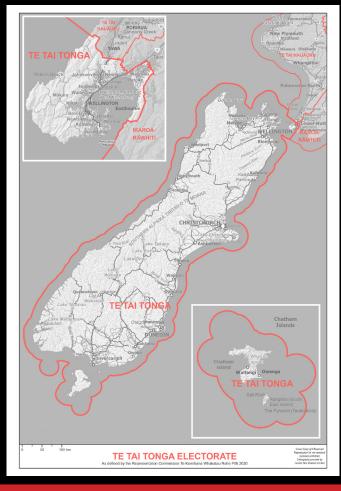
Choosing where to vote

Those of Māori descent are only able to switch between roles every five years. In 2018 (the last time Māori were able to change rolls), 52% of Māori were enrolled on the Māori roll and 48% were enrolled on the General roll.

Deciding which roll to enroll on is a personal choice, though some thing to think about could be:

- The electorates you would be voting in and the candidates running in each.
- The more people who are enrolled on the Māori roll the more direct representation Māori get in Parliament e.g. if more people enrol on the Māori roll more Māori electorate seats would be created to balance electorate sizes
- The idea that Māori electorate MPs have a greater obligation to Māori





Te Tai Tonga Candidates

Tākuta Ferris



Tākuta's whakapapa has deep connections to both ends of the Te Tai Tonga electorate and he was motivated to run for it as the Māori party candidate because he wants to ensure change for his children. Prior to running for Te Tai Tonga he spent 10 years working in Māori education, and then the last 10 years working in mainstream education as a Māori advisor for Massey. He is particularly passionate about education and the transformative power that it has. He believes that changes in Education need to come from changes at the Ministry of Education end because this is what Universities and ITPs respond to and follow.



Tākuta's stances:

- Supports rerouting police resources to a better restorative model of justice
- Believes education is the strongest way to push back at racism
- Supports changes to the election process to make it a more Māori process i.e. voting after a hui or event with whanau
- Supports the Māori parties Whānau First policy, focused on looking after everyone in your whānau, as an approach to address, among other things, the marginalisation of the LGBTQIA+ community
- Supports a devolution of responsibility and resources and bringing them to communities to make meaningful change in the mental health sector
- Supports focusing on indigenous solutions to address climate change

Hottest take: In relation to legalising cannabis "What's most important for me is that as a Māori father is that one in four of my young boys is going to go to jail and it is highly likely that his first interaction with the law will be a minor traffic offence, or a possession of cannabis offence, which for young Māori men leads them to jail".

Final Impression: Tākuta is very energetic, and honestly, just wants to push for change for his whānau, community and New Zealand.

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Cannabis Referendum



Rino Tirikatene



Wellington based, Rino has strong whakapapa connections to Ngāi Tahu and the whole of the South Island, alongside Ngāti Hine in the North. Rino is the current MP for Te Tai Tonga and has been since 2011. He first ran for Parliament in 1996 not long after the death of his father, Te Rino Tirikatene Senior, who was supposed to be contesting the seat himself. The Tirikatene family has a long history in politics (88 years to be exact) and his aunt, Whetu Tirikatene-Sullivan, was the first Māori female Minister. Prior to his election, Rino worked as a commercial lawyer and in a range of Māori economic development roles. Rino is a strong advocate for Māori and is known for being socially conservative (he voted no to gay marriage). The Church and politics are linked for him and his whānau.



Rino's stances:

- Supports considering reform to allow drug testing because he looks at it from a harm prevention lens
- Does not support defunding the police in the sense of cutting funding and shrinking down the police force because the police play an important role and we need "law and order in society"
- Supports parallel or alternative systems of justice instead of a completely separate system
- Supports the efforts of Tamati Coffey and Andrew Little in relation to stopping gay conversion therapy and he says "when I get the chance, I am at the front of the gay pride parade"
- Supports the teaching of civic in schools
- Supports increasing the frequency at which Māori are able to change between the Māori and the General roll

Hottest take: How would you encourage Māori to vote? "Tell all the cuzzies, all the relations all the aunties, and uncles and the nannies that we need to enrol to vote. I think that the biggest issue for our whānau is enroling to vote and trying to lower those barriers about what is this and what are these elections all about"... "and vote for the cuzzie!".

Final Impression: Rino is passionate about the Māori electorates and gesticulates a lot.

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Ariana Paretutanganui-Tamati



Ariana is a slight late-comer to the Te Tai Tonga race. She hails from Ngāti Māhanga in Waikato, but was raised in West Auckland, by a Pākeha family. She moved to Wellington about 20 years ago to work for the Independent Women's Refugee and has had a range of advocacy roles since. She has previously been part of the Māori and Mana parties but is now running for the Green Party. She decided to run for the Green Party because she was drawn to the principled party values and in particular their response to inequality, ending homelessness, collective decision-making, and their commitment to Te Tiriti and Māori.



Ariana's stances:

- Supports drug-testing for harm reduction in principle. This reflects the general Green Party policy of harm reduction
- Supports criminal justice and prison reforms due to the inequalities and racism within the current justice system. She also supports greater education for police
- Supports limitations on foreign companies purchasing New Zealand land. She encourages us to think about water and food security alongside tino rangatiratanga
- Supports a moratorium on water bottling facilities
- Supports a guaranteed minimum income, including for students, from a moral, ethical and economic perspective
- Supports increasing minimum wage to a living wage and providing support for small business to manage that

Hottest take: "We must ensure that people have enough to live on and to live life in dignity"

Final Impression: Ariana wants you to Party Vote Green.

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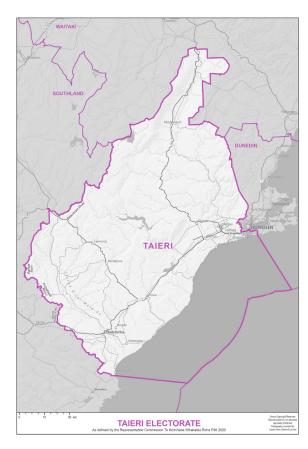
Cannabis Referendum



Dunedin and Taieri Electorates

These are the updated electorates for 2020





Dunedin Electorate Candidates

David Clark



David came to Otago as a student and has returned several times. He has held a variety of jobs in Dunedin including running Selwyn College for a number of years. He was a resident and a RA at the college when younger. He has enjoyed his ongoing connection over his career with the University of Otago. David has been part of the Labour party since 2011 as the MP for the Dunedin North (now Dunedin) Electorate.

Over his last term in Parliament he has introduced a number of Bills. These include the Misuse of drugs (Medicinal Cannabis) Amendment Bill (allowing a defence for medicinal use of Cannabis in certain circumstances) and the Mental Health and Wellbeing Commission Bill (introducing a Mental Health and Wellbeing Commission).



David's stances:

- He acknowledges that given the expense associated with COVID-19, not all priorities have been able to be progressed, including a postgraduate student allowance
- Supports increasing housing stock by the government building more houses
- He is in favour of an evidence base health approach to drug reform, saying "there are drugs in our community, legal and otherwise and we should take a harm based approach"
- Supports reform of the justice system to have a much stronger Māori voice included

Hottest take: "It can be a rough ride but its worth it and I am happy to talk to people who are will to serve in that way and help them do so"

Final Impression: David is very wholesome and honestly didn't say anything controversial (his was the shortest interview at 26 minutes).

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Cannabis Referendum



Michael Woodhouse



Michael joined Parliament in 2008 and has been contesting the Dunedin electorate ever since. His entry into politics was a quick one, he had been frustrated by the lack of awareness and appreciation for the relationship between public and private healthcare in his role as President of the Private Hospitals Association but he ended up joining when his predecessor retired. He grew up in a Labour household, during a different political time, but he aligns himself with the national party "principles of self-responsibility and freedom, loyalty to the sovereign and the state, but essentially targeting support where it is needed rather than that sort of universal left thinking which is certainly underpinning this government". He considered himself centre-right and that he has "far more socially liberal views than people give [him] credit for". He is not drawn to the Act party (sorry Act).



Michael's stances:

- National supports an alternative to fees free. Michael's preferred option would be a student debt forgiveness regime for people who stay and work in NZ. Supports interest on student loans for those overseas
- Does not support defunding police and prisons because it is not a zero sum game (aka you can have both police and support other services). He supports having fewer victims, not fewer police and in terms of prison population, we want less prisoners but we need it to be for the right reasons e.g. less offending
- In terms of health policy, he is interested in access to gender affirmation surgery and being able to accurately gender identify on health records (not just either male or female). He agrees that we need better education in our secondary schools and health care systems
- Has not formally engaged with BLM. Not a fan of affirmative action because he is concerned about biases in the other direction
- His response to involving indigenous voices in the response to climate change is "science, science, science"

Hottest take: "I'm not a fan of affirmative action by the way".

Final Impression: Michael knows a lot about politics (and he managed to answer all of my questions).

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Jack Brazil



Jack attributes much of what his political views are now to the formative experience of his childhood, growing up with a single, disabled, parent, regularly moving houses and barely having enough to survive. He grew up in a Labour household but shifted to the Greens because of the disconnect between the promises made and the lack of actual change. His mum is his inspiration; "It really just comes from my mother, she is my inspiration, my role model, and seeing how she just sacrificed so much to provide for us. Although Jack never had much faith in politics, he got in through community organizing and that was what really drew him to the Green party. He thinks it is important that we come from a place of values and he chose to stand as a candidate as he didn't see anyone else representing these values in Ōtepoti.



Jack's stances:

- Supports law change to allow drug testing with a spectrophotometer. Furthermore he supports decriminalization of drugs in line with the evidence based approach that has been used in Portugal
- Supports guaranteed minimum income and universal basic services. Suggests that TOP's UBI is not
 intersectional and fails to recognize that there is still a need for individualized targeted assistance
- Solving the housing crisis through tenant unions to empower tenants, a wider policy of retrofitting and improving homes, nationalizing utilities and putting rent caps in place
- Supports defunding police and prisons and a parallel system of justice and believes that the criminal lustice as it stands is a breach of Te Tiriti
- Supports a kaupapa Māori written constitution
- Ultimately, he values community decision-making (a founding pillar of the Green Party). "The one law I would personally like to change, because it is really dear to my heart is overhauling the welfare system to not be punitive, and just be restorative and uplifting. To have it help us thrive, not barely survive"

Hottest take: "The ultimate conspiracy is capitalism".

Final Impression: In summary, Jack is lovely and very woke.

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Cannabis Referendum



Ben Peters



Ben was born in Dunedin but has moved around a lot leaving Dunedin at 6 weeks old and returning for his third year of study. He has always had an interest in politics but what inspired him to run was when he was going through sciences and getting frustrated that the reason they were hitting a brick wall was not because the science was too hard, but the government regulations stopped scientists actually implementing solutions for thing like climate change and medical issues. He got involved in TOP because it puts evidence first and has a policy on gene-editing, which no other party does.



Ben's stances:

- Supports pragmatic approaches to drug harm reduction. He thinks OUSA needs to do more research about getting a spectrophotometer for drug testing but he was also the only candidate who actually knew what this was (he teaches biochemistry at Otago).
- Supports a written constitution (for all you law students out there)
- Supports liberalizing gene editing (he is the TOP spokesperson for this)
- Supports a progressive tax system through implementation of a UBI in conjunction with a flat tax

Hottest take: "I'm in favour of the UBI ad \$250 per week ... having a UBI is fairer [than a student allowance] and also the students win where they get something and can keep working."

Final Impression: Ben seems very nice and evidence-based in his opinions.

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Robert Griffith



A recent Otago graduate, Robert was born in Rotorua but went to boarding school in Wellington. He was drawn to New Zealand First because he feels that the other parties have let New Zealanders down. He believes that "every kiwi should take pride in New Zealand, and want to better New Zealand, and if you are going to be making legislation, you should be putting New Zealanders first". In terms of why he is running in Dunedin, Robert believes he has the right skills to better his community and fix Aotearoa.



Robert's stances:

- · Supports fully paid scholarships from start to finish for those first in their family to go to university
- Supports mental health response teams and more mental health training for police who may be a first responder regardless
- Does not support defunding police because he thinks those reforms will be more costly. Instead, he supports constructive discussion about eliminating racism in our police force and justice system
- Does not support restrictions on vaping (he vapes). However, he does support ensuring the cigarette tax is going into the health system
- Supports full coverage for health care
- Supports a dollar for dollar repayment scheme on student debt when working in NZ
- He highlighted that students are the only group that has to borrow to live

Hottest take: 'So something you might not know is that the Zero Carbon was in the coalition agreement because of NZ First. Labour and Greens didn't put it in there, we put it in there.'

Final Impression: Robert isn't a big fan of fees free but he is a big fan of NZF.

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Cannabis Referendum



Callum Steele-MacIntosh



Callum grew up in Dunedin and has been consistently involved in the Dunedin community. He expressed he had a strong belief in community involvement and in the local body elections ran for the Dunedin City Council. Callum started off as a Labour supporter but was drawn to the Act party after he started to believe that Labour policies weren't reflected in the type of actions he was expecting. He feels that Act's views are consistent and focused on extending the freedom of New Zealanders.



Callum's stances:

- Supports a loosening of eligibility rules for the current student allowance
- Supports a law change allowing OUSA to provide drug testing to students
- Supports targeted funding to counselling and subsidising fees in the mental health sectors, but doesn't support making doctors and counselors appointments free
- Support lowering taxes, and a flat tax
- Supports more a more private healthcare sector, but not based on the US model
- Prefers a focus on tutoring and assistance for disadvantaged groups over affirmative entry pathways
- Supports the same rule of law for everyone, but that the rule of law in New Zealand be more culturally sensitive
- Does not support the Zero Carbon Act and carbon restrictions on emissions as he believes investment with initial high carbon cost now is necessary for a healthy environment later
- Supports removing restrictions on housing construction

Hottest take: Q: Would you support legalising all drugs? 'At the current time no, because we don't have a model developed that I believe is better than our current model.' So maybe legalising all drugs at some point? We will be watching!

Final Impression: Callum is very young and yet he has already run for the Dunedin City Council and a General Election.

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NZ Labour Party





LeaderJacinda Ardern



Deputy LeaderKelvin Davis

The oldest party in New Zealand, Labour was formed in 1916, out of socialist parties and the trade unions. It is considered to be a social democratic, centre left party and it is part of the international Progressive Alliance. Hostrically, Labour has privatized state-assets alongside, instigated New Zealand's Nuclear Free stance, and reformed human rights through the introduction of the Homosexual Law Reform and the Bill of Rights. More recently, Labour introduced the fees free policy, decriminalized abortion and enabled some prisoners to vote. Labour is currently lead by Jacinda Ardern and Kelvin Daivs. Notable former leaders include Geoffrey Palmer and Helen Clark.

Labour say they want to ensure the wellbeing of all New Zealanders by providing them with opportunities for jobs, strong public services, quality education and affordable healthcare. To achieve this they believe in keeping assets in Kiwi hands, taking care of the environment, and ensuring we restore our economy without compromising the wellbeing of hardworking kiwis. Their principles indicate a commitment to strong social policy, a just distribution of wealth and prorating the interests of people over individual property rights. They have also demonstrated a commitment to LQBTQIA+ rights and there is a Rainbow Labour Wing.

Policy

Investing in People: Policies include free apprenticeships, expanding lunches in schools, increasing mental health support, increasing Warmer Kiwi Homes and boosting Whānau Ora.

Jobs, Jobs: Investing in our environment, waterways and infrastructure across the country to create up to 30,000 jobs and fast tracking trade education to meet demand. Alongside this, supporting small businesses through interest free loans, tax changes, investment in research and ecommerce and a Tourism Recovery Fund.

Preparing for the future: Investing in infrastructure, public and transitional housing, and services, including hospitals and health services to ensure we can support future generations. They also plan to book primary sector exports by \$44 Billion over the next decade.

Environment: investing in environmental jobs through the Jobs for Nature fund, to improve our wetlands, clean up our waterways, investment in major environmental projects include the restoration of Kaipara Harbour. Labour has said they will replace the RMA.

Tertiary promises from last election

- Increase living costs by \$50 (done!)
- Restoring postgrad allowance (not done)
- Restoring eligibility for allowance in long course for beyond 7 years (done!)
- Three years free policy (first year free)
- Change funding systems to encourage the development of 'hop on, hop-off' training to equalise the focus that is placed on completing a qualification and gaining work experience

Past Voting

Zero Carbon Act: all MPs voted in favour

Labour MPs were voting in favour of a framework to develop and implement climate change policies in support of the Paris agreement. Key features include the incorporation of Treaty of Waitangi obligations and the establishment of a climate change commission.

Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Act 2013: 30 MPs for, 4 against, introduced by Labour MP Louisa Wall

The majority of Labour MPs were voting in favour of amending the Marriage Act 1955 to ensure all people regardless of sex, sexual orientation, or gender identity will have the opportunity to marry if they choose to.

Abortion Legislation Act 2020: 37 MPs for, 9 against, introduced by Labour MP Andrew Little

The majority of Labour MPs were voting in favour of changing the law to decriminalise abortion and better align regulation of abortion services with other health services.

Misuse of drugs (Medicinal Cannabis) Amendment Bill: all MPs for, introduced by Labour MP David Clark

Labour MPs were amending the Misuse of Drugs Act 1975 to introduce a statutory defence for people deemed to require palliative care to possess and use illicit cannabis.

Healthy Homes Guarantee Bill (No 2): all MPs for

Labours MPs were voting in favour of amending the Residential Tenancies Act 1986 to ensure that every rental home in NZ meets minimum standards of heating and insulation.

NZ National Party





Leader
Judith Collins



Deputy Leader Gerry Brownlee

National was founded in 1936 but stems from the Liberal party. They were last in power from 2008-2017, during which time they formed coalition governments with Act, United Future and the Māori party. During this time, we recovered from the Global Financial Crisis and the Christchurch Earthquakes. Notable actions include the implementation of the Mixed-Ownership Model for the state-owned power companies, the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade agreement and of course the Flag Referendum. They are currently lead by Judith Collins, with Deputy Leader Gerry Brownlee, although other recent leaders include Simon Bridges and Todd Muller. National was the first party to have a female Prime Minister, with Jenny Shipley in 1997.

National are a center right party, with a liberal conservative ideology. Therefore, they say they value enterprise, hard work and the rewards that go with success. Their principles indicate they have priorities around loyalty to our country and its democratic principles, national and personal security, and equal citizenship and equal opportunity, individual freedom and choice and personal responsibility. Therefore, their policies tend to focus on free and competitive enterprise, limited government, reduced taxation, strong families, caring communities and the sustainable development of the environment.

Policy

Responsible economic management: They propose to make starting or investing in a business easier, incentivize companies to take on new employees, provide GST rebates to small and medium business and support tourism businesses.

Investment in infrastructure: They have proposed a range of rail, bus and roading developments around the country, including a Christchurch to Ashburton express way.

Education: They want to help people reskill and retrain in light of COVID-19, work to enable international students to return to New Zealand and to reverse the recent vocational training reforms, which sought to centralize all the Technological and Polytechnic Institutes.

Environment/Greener smarter future: National supports sustainable development, commitment to the Zero Carbon Framework and to cleaning up our lakes and rivers. They believe we need to transform our agri-business to align with this future and to protect and enhance our natural environment, to enable our economy to continue. National also proposes to replace the RMA.

Tertiary promises from last election

- Increase accommodation support for students who need it most through accommodation benefit increases through the family incomes package
- Expand cheap GP visits to 600,000 more New Zealanders
- Explore responsive teaching environments that encourage high quality research and industry informed teaching
- Establish a rural school of medicine
- Expand the international education sector

Past Voting

Zero Carbon Act: all MPs voted in favour

National MPs were voting in favour of a framework to develop and implement climate change policies in support of the Paris agreement. Key features include the incorporation of Treaty of Waitangi obligations and the establishment of a climate change commission.

Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Act 2013: 27 MPs for, 32 against

The majority of National MPs were voting against amending the Marriage Act 1955 to ensure all people regardless of sex, sexual orientation, or gender identity will have the opportunity to marry if they choose to.

Abortion Legislation Act 2020: 19 for, 35 against, 3 absent

The majority of National MPs were voting in favour of changing the law to decriminalise abortion and better align regulation of abortion services with other health services.

Misuse of drugs (Medicinal Cannabis) Amendment Bill: all MPs voted against

National MPs were voting against amending the Misuse of Drugs Act 1975 to introduce a statutory defence for people deemed to require palliative care to possess and use illicit cannabis.

Healthy Homes Guarantee Bill (No 2): all MPs against

National MPs were voting against amending the Residential Tenancies Act 1986 to ensure that every rental home in NZ meets minimum standards of heating and insulation.

Green Party of Aotearoa NZ





Co-leaderJames Shaw



Co-leaderMarama Davidson

The Green Party was founded in 1990 but it has its origins in the Values Party, which was the first national-level environmentalist party, founded in 1972. The Green Party is founded on four organisation pillars; ecological wisdom, social responsibility, appropriate decision-making and non-violence. As a result, they have a strong ground-up decision making structure, with decisions to be made by those most affected by them. They are committed to building on the connections and partnership between Māori and non-Māori to build strong rules which protect our planet and build fairer communities. Their leaders are James Shaw and Marama Davidson. They have a policy of having two leaders, one male and one female. Notable MPs include Chloe Swarbrick.

The Green Party has only ever won one electorate seat because the Green Party candidates typically focus on increasing the party vote, rather than winning their individual electorate. The Green party vote typically hovers around the 6% mark. They are currently part of a confidence and supply agreement with the Labour New Zealand First Government. This means that they are not part of the government, with Labour and New Zealand First but agree to support Labour on key issues, such as confidence (whether they think Labour and New Zealand First can continue to govern) and supply (whether they support the budget so there is money to run the Government).

Policy

Poverty Action Plan: Proposal to introduce a guaranteed minimum income of \$325 per week for all students and unemployed including greater support for families, alongside increasing taxation through a wealth tax and more income tax brackets.

Fairer Communities: They support legalising cannabis and an emphasis on harm reduction based drug policy. They support the inclusion of Te Tiriti o Waitangi as a founding constitutional document. They want to improve housing and work towards ending homelessness.

Environment: They are committed to ending coal use by 2030, funding and increasing clean energy, including solar and wind, improving recycling systems, protecting our water, and including recognizing the kaitiaki and proprietary rights of Māori and overall transition to a greener economy.

Tertiary promises from last election

The Green party supports the reintroduction of the postgraduate student allowance (although notably this has not happen during the last term), increasing allowance and living costs to livable levels, and extending it overtime to become universal, not charging interests on student loans if you work overseas and investigating means to reduce student debt, such as a debt write-off scheme for every year worked in New Zealand after graduation.

Past Voting

Zero Carbon Act: All voted in favour, this was introduced by Green MP James Shaw

Green MPs were voting in favour of a framework to develop and implement climate change policies in support of the Paris agreement. Key features include the incorporation of Treaty of Waitangi obligations and the establishment of a climate change commission.

Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Act 2013: all voted in favour

Green MPs were voting in favour of amending the Marriage Act 1955 to ensure all people regardless of sex, sexual orientation, or gender identity will have the opportunity to marry if they choose to

Abortion Legislation Act 2020: all voted in favour

Green MPs were voting in favour of changing the law to decriminalise abortion and better align regulation of abortion services with other health services.

Healthy Homes Guarantee Bill (No 2): all voted in favour Green MPs were voting in favour of amending the Residential Tenancies Act 1986 to ensure that every rental home in NZ meets minimum standards of heating and insulation.

New Zealand First





LeaderWinston Peters



Deputy LeaderFletcher Tabuteau

New Zealand First was founded in 1993 by Winston Peters, after he split from the National Party. They are committed to pragmatic and common-sense representation and want to place NZ interests at the fore-front of government decision making and promote the country's interest. They stand for a broad range of largely centrist policies that tend to shift between governments. They are described as a Nationlist, populist, protectionist and socially conservative party. They are currently in a coalition agreement with Labour and form part of the current government. Their most notable MP is Winston Peters, the founder and Leader, and has had a long and somewhat controversial history in Parliament. He has tended to support anti-immigration and retiree-friendly policies. According to Winston Peters, NZF is the "greenest party" in Parliament.

Policy

Economic: They support high employment rates, reducing taxation, investing in education and healthcare, and providing welfare to those who need it, but not creating dependency on the state

Social: They support reducing immigration in favour of training New Zealander's to fill skills shortages, ensuring that major decisions are put to the public via referenda and establishing an anti-corruption commission to ensure the government is honest.

Environment: They believe environmental preservation and enhancement is 'sound economics'. They focus on environmental policies which 'create employment and sustainable wealth, whilst improving one of our few competitive advantages"

Tertiary promises from last election

They believe education is an investment and as such propose a universal living allowance, which is not subject to parental-means testing, and full-accommodation supplement for full-time students. To respond to student debt, they propose a dollar-for-dollar debt write-off scheme so that graduates in identified areas of workforce demand may trade a year's worth of debt for each year of paid full-time work in New Zealand in that area. Finally, they propose providing scholarships for those who are first in their family to attend tertiary education.

Past Voting

Zero Carbon Act: all voted in favour

NZ First MPs were voting in favour of a framework to develop and implement climate change policies in support of the Paris agreement. Key features include the incorporation of Treaty of Waitangi obligations and the establishment of a climate change commission.

Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Act 2013: all voted against

NZ First MPs were voting against amending the Marriage Act 1955 to ensure all people regardless of sex, sexual orientation, or gender identity will have the opportunity to marry if they choose to.

Abortion Legislation Act 2020: 2 MPs for, 7 against

NZ First MPs were voting in favour of changing the law to decriminalise abortion and better align regulation of abortion services with other health services.

Healthy Homes Guarantee Bill (No. 2): All voted in favour

NZ First MPs were voting in favour of amending the Residential Tenancies Act 1986 to ensure that every rental home in NZ meets minimum standards of heating and insulation.

ACT New Zealand





LeaderDavid Seymour



Deputy LeaderBrooke van Velden

ACT New Zealand is a right wing, libertarian political party of New Zealand, currently led by Epsom MP David Seymour. The name "ACT" comes from the 1993 beginnings of the party as the Association of Consumers and Taxpayers. Since becoming a political party in 1994, Act has branded themselves as the "party of ideas, advocating for expanded personal freedom and responsibility." ACT claims that "the principal object of the Party is to promote an open and benevolent society in which individual New Zealanders are free to achieve their full potential." Therefore, they believe in freedom of choice, and that the purpose of government is to enact only the laws that are required to secure the freedom of the individual. Therefore, they believe all people should be equal before the law as guaranteed in Article III of the Treaty of Waitangi, regardless of race, gender, sexuality, religion or political belief and that income taxes should be levied at one flat rate and capital should never be taxed.

Although Act typically does not get the 5% threshold required to get into Parliament, they have continued to get in through an agreement with National that allows them to win the Epsom Electorate, in Auckland. Notable members include Leader, David Seymour (the MP for Epsom) and Deputy Leader Brooke van Velden (she flats - rare for politicians).

Policy

Freedom to Speak: Repealing all existing hate speech laws, abolish Human Rights Commission, specify Harmful Digital Communications Act only applies to under 18 y/o.

Freedom to be: Modernise New Zealand's abortion laws (based on personal choice of the woman), ACT Leader David Seymour's End of Life Choice Bill, supports a referendum on the legalisation of cannabis (priority is harm reduction)

Climate Change, Conservation and Environment: "Introduce a no nonsense climate change plan which ties our carbon price to the prices paid in our top five trading partners."

Welfare: Introduce lifetime limit of five years on Sole Parent Support, lifetime limit of three years on Jobseeker Support, with 'cashless welfare' applied when those limits are reached. ACT would also extend cashless welfare to any parent who has additional children while receiving a benefit. This means a person's benefit will be placed on a debit card which can only be used for specific purposes – for example, rent, power and groceries.

Tertiary promises from last election

In the 2017 election, ACT believed that the student allowance should be eradicated, alleging that it's too easy for students who don't need it to access it through their parents' creative accounting. Instead ACT wants borrowed (loan) living costs for all students, alongside a \$40 boost to the weekly amount that can be borrowed. ACT doesn't see the need for any changes to the current student loan scheme.

Past Voting

Zero Carbon Act: Missed the final vote, but ACT MP David Seymour stood opposed

ACT opposed a framework to develop and implement climate change policies in support of the Paris agreement. Key features include the incorporation of Treaty of Waitangi obligations and the establishment of a climate change commission.

Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Act 2013: voted in favour

The ACT MP was voting in favour of amending the Marriage Act 1955 to ensure all people regardless of sex, sexual orientation, or gender identity will have the opportunity to marry if they choose to.

Abortion Legislation Act 2020: voted in favour

The ACT MPs was voting in favour of changing the law to decriminalise abortion and better align regulation of abortion services with other health services.

Healthy Homes Guarantee Bill (No 2): voted against

The ACT MP was voting against amending the Residential Tenancies Act 1986 to ensure that every rental home in NZ meets minimum standards of heating and insulation.

Māori Party





Co-leader Debbie Ngarewa-Packer



Co-leader John Tamihere

The Māori Party was founded in 2005, by Tariana Turia, after she left the Labour party. Their main focus is Māori rights, although they are described as being a centre-left party. Their policies are focused around four main principles; Whānau, Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Rangatiratanga and Kawanatanga. The Māori party has typically received a small portion of the party vote (hovering around 2%) but in 2005, 2008, 2011, and 2014, they won Māori electorate seats. However, in 2017, the Māori Party did not win any electorate seats (Labour won them all) and thus, did not get into Parliament. This year there is a Māori Party candidate contesting every Māori electorate. Their current leaders are Debbie Ngarewa-Packer and John Tamihere.

Policy

Oranga Tangata - Whānau First: Adopting a Whānau first approach, which ensures all policies are beneficial to Māori and work to combat systemic racism. They aim to have 25% Māori resourcing and participation as part of the COVID-19 recovery and ensure that COVID recovery bodies reflect Te Tiriri and enhance the mana o te whenua, the mana o te wai, mana o te moana and protect wāhi tapu, rights and interests of natural environment.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi: Hold the Crown accountable for their Te Tiriti obligations.

Rangatiratanga: Scholarships to advance Māori and Pasifika education.

Oranga Whenua – Climate Change: They want to protect freshwater as taonga, recognize Māori kaitiaki and rangatira rights in freshwater and ensure fair allocation of the resource. They want to end oil drilling and seabed mining, develop Māori-led renewable energy and clean technology projects and bring methane emissions within the ETS. The Māori Party also wants to ensure NZ plays a greater role in support Pasifika leaders on the world stage.

Past Voting

Marriage (Definition of Marriage) Amendment Act 2013: all voted in favour

Māori Party MPs were voting in favour of amending the Marriage Act 1955 to ensure all people regardless of sex, sexual orientation, or gender identity will have the opportunity to marry if they choose to.

Electoral (Disqualification of Sentenced Prisoners) Amendment Bill: removing prisoner voting rights: all voted against

The Māori Party were not in parliament for the last three years so could not vote on any Bills during that period.

Tertiary promises from last election

- Increase investment in student-led equity initiatives to grow representation of minority and marginalised tertiary students at local, regional, national and international levels
- Develop a four year zero fee scholarship to target the 'First in Whānau' to engage in a Bachelor level qualification programme.
- Invest more in culturally responsive pastoral care initiatives that support students to achieve their tertiary education aspirations and to help them navigate the services they need, including, financial literacy, health and academic preparatory skills
- Double the numbers of Māori and Pacific students successfully completing a Bachelor degree in three years.
- Introduce a universal student allowance with cost of living adjustment to guarantee a livable income during study, for all tertiary students, including post-graduate students

Aotearoa Legalise Cannabis Party

This party is dedicated to the legalisation of cannabis by removing or reducing restrictions on the use of cannabis. The party was founded in 1996 by Michael Applely. Their website is currently defunct so it is unclear whether they have any policies. Their current leader is Jeff Lye. Former notable members include Invercargill Mayor, Tim Shadbolt, who was a Legalise Cannabis Party candidate in 1996.



The One Party

The One Party was founded in 2019 and is a Christian fundamentalist and socially conservative party. Their key values are righteousness, justice, freedom and truth. They wish to "advance the kingdom". Their leaders are Edward Shanely and Stephanie Harawira. They oppose euthanasia and abortion. They emphasise when describing themselves that they are "the only Christian Party to spearhead a political centre challenge in the 2020 Elections".



New Conservative Party

New Conservative was founded by Colin Craig in 2011. Their key values are "personal responsibility, limited government, free markets, individual liberty, traditional family values and a strong national identity." They are described as being socially and fiscally conservative. They have promised to abolish fees free. Their main members are Leader Leighton Baker and Deputy Leader, Elliot Ikilei.

New Zealand Outdoors Party

The Outdoors Party focuses on empowering people, communities, the environment, and our democracy. In particular, they want self-reliant and resilient communities, thriving environments and the ability to produce your own food. They are described as an environmentalist party.

They support freshwater, regenerative agriculture, fishing, eliminating the use of 1080 and establishing a moratorium on 5G. Outdoors supports home-grown medical cannabis and is against the compulsory medication of water. They do not have any tertiary specific policies. Alan Simmons and Sue Grey are co-leaders.

Vision New Zealand

Founded by Hannah and Brian Tamaki from Destiny Church in mid 2019, their ideology centres around Christian fundamentalism and Christian nationalism. The party's leader called for a ban on new mosques and stands against abortion and homosexuality. They have talked about cutting immigration levels and removing the right for permanent residents to vote. They support greater financial autonomy for Maori, including a Maori-owned flat. They are generally anti-establishment and support putting power in the hands of the New Zealand people. National and Labour have ruled out working with the party.



Social Credit Party

Social Credit was founded in 1953 and is described as a centre left party. They have a long history but their most recent MPs were elected in 1996. Their major policies are changing the economic system, protecting our natural ecosystems, progressively reducing the working week, promoting religious and racial tolerance, understanding and response and promoting a stable community through the protection of the family as a basic unit.

They support free tertiary education, increasing research resources, introducing a more flexible and responsive apprenticeship system and having one publicly-funded, nationwide system of education, from preschool to adults.

New Zealand Public Party/Advance NZ

The New Zealand Public Party is running in collaboration with former National MP, Jami-Lee Ross' Advance Party. The NZ Public Party was formed in response to "the blatant injustice and tyranny being hurled upon the New Zealand people by the Labour/NZ First/Green government." Their main goal is to "reclaim New Zealand for ALL the People." Advance NZ " exists to give a voice to the voiceless who are being ignored by the two big party blocs sitting on the left and right of politics". Their key beliefs are freedom, sovereignty and independence, along-side creating a fairer New Zealand.



Sustainable New Zealand Party

Sustainable New Zealand was founded in 2019 and describes themselves as "practical environmentalists" willing to work with either the left or the right. Their key priorities are water quality, protecting native species, improving resource and waste management, protecting the ocean and responding to climate change. Their leader is Vernon Tava.



Mana Movement

The Mana Movement (formerly known as the Mana Party and briefly Internet Mana) was founded by Hone Harawira in 2011 after his resignation from the Māori Party. They are described as being left-wing, with an emphasis on Māori rights and Tino Rangatiratanga. The Mana Movement is registered as a party in the election but they have stated they are not contesting the election and are supporting the Māori Party.

The Opportunities Party

Founded in 2016 by Gareth Morgan, The Opportunities Party's major focuses are the environment, reducing the cost of housing, providing New Zealanders with "the opportunity to thrive" and as you may remember, introducing a Universal Basic Income (UBI). They are described as a radical central and environmentalist party. Their focus is on evidence based policy and "breaking the Labour/National duopoly". They have no current MPs but their Leader is Geoff Simmons and their Deputy Leader is Shai Navot.

TOP has 17 key policies centered around their four main goals:

- A UBI: of \$250 a week
- The Environment: They support a zero carbon economy, ocean restoration swimmable rivers, implementing
 a \$20 levy for tourists and to resolve the ownership of freshwater, with "due regard to the provisions of the
 Treaty of Waitangi"
- Reducing the cost of housing: this includes a variety of policies including RMA reform
- Opportunity to Thrive: TOP supports the legalization of cannabis and increasing the drinking age to 20 alongside many other social policies

Cannabis Referendum 2020

You will be voting on whether you want to legalise cannabis

To put it more accurately you will be voting on whether you support the proposed Cannabis Legislation and Control Bill as it stands. The cannabis it is talking about is closer to what you would now buy from a dealer than the medicinal cannabis products currently available through prescriptions in New Zealand. If you vote yes in the referendum then you will be voting for the incoming government to introduce the Bill to Parliament. The Bill will not become law immediately. It will go through the normal process, including select committee. This is where the public can give feedback on the Bill. Therefore, if you vote yes, it is expected, although not guaranteed, that recreational cannabis will become legal. However, the form of the final Bill may change.

The question: Do you support the proposed Cannabis Legislation and Control Bill?

Yes: I support the proposed Cannabis Legislation and Control Bill.

No: I do not support the proposed Cannabis Legislation and Control Bill.

11 things you should know about the Bill

- 1. There is a minimum purchase and use age of 20
- 2. You cannot purchase or carry in public more than 14 grams at a time
- 3. Use is confined to private homes and licensed premises, public use is not allowed, including cars in public places
- 4. You are able to grow two plants per person over the age of 20 who lives at or owns a property, but no more than 4 in total
- 5. You cannot share or gift more than 14 grams and it must not be exchanged for anything
- 6. The whole supply chain will require licences or authorization including growing, testing, supplying, transporting, and distribution. Limits will be set on acceptable THC levels
- 7. Marketing and advertising will be restricted including preventing sponsorship by cannabis licence holders, preventing cannabis products being given away for free, and the requirement of retailers to have point-of-sale health warnings and be able to provide health advaice.
- 8. There will be a management regime similar to that of alcohol including a limitation on how much can be produced in a year and a market cap, preventing any one supplier have more than 20% of the market.
- 9. Fresh cannabis will be subject to taxation based on its potency
- 10. Cannabis products will need to be tested annually
- 11. You are not allowed to extract cannabis resin of concentrate without a licence to do so

It is up to you to decide how you want to vote. OUSA is supporting a yes vote because the current regime disproportionately harms Māori and Pasifika, and we support harm reduction.

We interviewed a variety of experts to get their perspectives on the referendum.

Dr Giles Newton-Howes:

Giles is expert in psychiatry, specifically substance misuse psychiatry having trained at Imperial College in London. He is responsible for Otago's psychological medicine program in Wellington.

Tuari Potiki:

Tuari (Ngāi Tahu) has an extensive background in the health, education, and justice sectors. He is currently the Director of Māori Development at Otago and is the chair of the New Zealand Drug Foundation

Chlöe Swarbrick:

Chlöe is a Green Party MP and holds their drug law reform portfolio. She has been heavily involved in recent law reform around cannabis and has campaigned for cannabis legalisation.

Dr Reremoana Theodore:

Moana (Ngāpuhi, Te Arawa) is a researcher at the University of Otago with the Department of Psychology and co-Director of the National Centre for Lifecourse Research.

Associate Professor Kirsten Robertson:

Kirsten is a social psychologist, with a particular interest in human and marketing behavior and has done research around students and drinking behaviour.

What issues do you think are most important in relation to the cannabis referendum?

Giles: How the drugs we use that are illegal compare to legal ones like alcohol (I.e. there is evidence alcohol is more dangerous). There are social justice and social equity issues relating to the illegality of cannabis, but also whether it is acceptable in our society. There are issues around the access of those most at risk to psychoactive drugs (I.e. psychosis and schizophrenia issues for children and young adults).

Tuari: Speaking as an advocate on Māori issues, this will reduce unnecessary convictions and end disproportionate harm experienced by Māori and other communities under outdated cannabis laws. This also needs to be about reversing existing inequities that cannabis prohibition has caused. The only way to do this is ensure regulations are designed with and by Māori, under a Te Tiriti of Waitangi framework. The Bill has also been written with improving health outcomes specifically in mind. It's all about reducing harm and ensuring everyone can easily access treatment. Under a legal market quality controls, maximum potency limits and clear labelling are all possible in a way they are not now.

Chlöe: Justice – cannabis is a widely used substance that only marginalised, and particularly, indigenous, communities end up being punished for. Physical and mental health – do we want to genuinely help people who have problems, and enable adults to make informed decisions about what they're putting in their bodies? Do we want to enable people who have issues to put their hands up and ask for help, instead of risking going away in handcuffs? Do we want to be real about how widespread cannabis is in Aotearoa, and take that weed out of the shadows, where problems can fester, and into the light of regulation.

Moana: The draft Cannabis Legislation and Control Bill sets the minimum age of cannabis purchase and use at 20 years. A person aged 19 years or younger found possessing cannabis will receive a health-based response (e.g. an education session) or pay a small fine, but will not be convicted.

Kirsten: I think it needs to be reiterated that a vote 'Yes' or 'No' is not about whether you agree or disagree with the use of cannabis, but rather it is about which option you think will lead to the greatest harm minimisation.

People raise concerns about whether the legalisation of cannabis will lead to the legalisation of other drugs, drug driving, and working while impaired. Unlike other drugs, cannabis is relatively normalised within our society. People need to ask themselves whether their vote will lead to better regulation and control of the drug. Drug driving and working while impaired

are covered by existing laws.

People also raise concerns that legalising cannabis goes against being smokefree by 2020. Again, I reiterate that illegal recreational cannabis is normalised. The Bill is aimed at helping to control and regulate recreational cannabis use. People will be educated on the harms, and on ways to consume cannabis that do not involve smoking.

What do you think are the consequences (positive or negative) of a transition to legal cannabis in New Zealand?

Giles: It depends! Particularly it depends on how the bill is applied. It should improve social equality, but will not if policing focuses on poor and socially disadvantaged people as sellers to youth. It should represent economic gains for NZ and cut into drug profits for gangs, but this depends on taxation and policing of illicit cannabis sales.

Tuari: Legalisation means the government takes control of the cannabis market. Users will have access to much safer products that they can buy from a shop, rather than an illicit market. This means they will not be exposed to more harmful drugs like synnies and methamphetamine. It also allowed us to tax cannabis. Legalising cannabis will mean fewer people with cannabis convictions – which will be god for Māori in particular - 47% of cannabis convictions in 2019 were Māori.

Chlöe: Evidence internationally shows us that it won't have all too much of an impact on levels of usage, except for in Canada where indicative data shows younger people are now less likely to use it. Legal regulation will mean people who need help will get it. We'll stop throwing millions of dollars at targeting and criminalising brown communities. We'll enable meaningful control and understanding of a widely-used substance, and be able to meaningfully tackle currently very wicked problems like the convoluting of impairment and a substance registering in one's system. We'll finally be able to deal with issues from an evidence basis, instead of gallivanting around on a deeply ineffective - and notably hypocritical - moral high horse.

Moana: A positive would be treating cannabis use as a health vs. a criminal issue, particularly for people who are having problems with their use. Also, studies have found that NZ cannabis laws have been administered in a racially biased way.

Kirsten: Positives: Reduce the illegal market, safer product, regulated THC, less access for adolescents, more education, more support and help for users, income from tax that can go back into the health system, less people being criminalised for a normative behaviour.

Negatives: The potential for an increase in use, especially amongst older people.

Would you vote yes? And why or why not?

Giles: I'll vote yes, as I am concerned about the current state of cannabis use and sale in New Zealand. I see this as a positive step forward, but if we take our eye of implementation and go for a free market approach, I will regret this decision.

Tuari: I'm voting yes because prohibition doesn't work. Legalising cannabis is the only way to ensure strong public health controls are in place to minimise harms. Legalisation will also reduce stigma for using cannabis, meaning people can more easily get the help they need for any harm they are experiencing.

Chlöe: Contrary to conservative belief, this legislation doesn't invent cannabis. It puts regulations around an existing substance which prohibition has only seen become more harmful. I'm voting yes to improve peoples' wellbeing and public health. I also reckon it'd be far better that my 13 year old brother was educated at school about why he should delay cannabis use, and what it'll do to him if he does choose to use it, in the same way he'll be taught about sex ed. There's a reason we chucked abstinence education in the bin. It didn't work, it wasn't realistic and it put young people in danger.

Moana: Based on the research, personal cannabis use should be treated as a health not a criminal issue.

Kirsten: My personal vote is irrelevant for informing others. I encourage voters to consider what will lead to the greatest harm minimisation.



End of Life Choice Act Referendum

Euthanasia in New Zealand

There will be a referendum this election on euthanasia, whether people with terminal illnesses will have the option to end their life. The question it will be asking is whether you support the End of Life Choice Act 2019. It is an Act that has already received consultation and been finalised. If a majority of voters vote yes, then it will be enacted then come into force 12 months after the 2020 General Election. This means that it is important to know what the Act says and what is in place to regulate euthanasia.

Questions: Do you support the End of Life Choice Act 2019 coming into force?

Yes: I support the End of Life Choice Act 2019 coming into force

No: I do not support the End of Life Choice Act 2019 coming into force

Things to know about the Act

To be eligible to make the choice the person needs to be:

- 1. 18 years or older
- 2. A New Zealand citizen or permanent resident
- 3. Suffering from a terminal illness likely to end their life within 6 months
- 4. In an 'advanced state of irreversible decline in physical capability'
- 5. Experiencing 'unbearable suffering that cannot be relieved in a manner that the person considers tolerable'
- 6. 'Competent to make an informed decision about dying'

Competent means that the person:

- 1. Understands information about the nature of assisted dying that is relevant to the decision; and
- 2. Retains that information to the extent necessary to make the decision: and
- 3. Uses or weighs that information as part of the process of making the decision; and
- 4. Communicates the decision in some way

Euthanasia is not available to those who are

- 1. Suffering from a mental disorder or illness only
- 2. Are disabled in any way only
- 3. Are of advanced age only

Five other things to know about the Act

- 1. Medical practitioners will be able to conscientiously object, but they must tell the person that this is the case and inform the person of their right to ask for a different medical practitioner
- Medical practitioners will not be permitted to start the discussion of assisted dying or make any statement that suggests a person exercise the option for assisted death
- 3. The Act provides requirements to medical practitioners to ensure that a person requesting assisted death understands the options available to them and has thoroughly thought through the decision
- 4. The Act requires medical practitioners not to take any action if they suspect the person is being pressured into requesting the option for assisted death
- 5. The Act will be subject to periodic review to ensure that it is operating as intended.

We talked to some experts about their different perspectives on the Act.

Dr Jeanne Snelling:

Jeanne holds a joint position with the Faculty of Law and Bioethics Centre. She has an extensive background in Bioethics and Health Law

Jessica Young:

Jessica Young's PhD was on the views of terminally ill New Zealanders who would consider choosing assisted dying if it were available to them. This has led to her involvement in a campaign (Yes For Compassion) that shares dying people's reasons for wanting choice and aims to educate the public by providing trustworthy, evidence-based information on the End of Life Choice Act 2019 in the lead up to the referendum.

Dr Simon Walker:

Simon is a lecturer for the Bioethics Centre. He has previously worked as a palliative care researcher and is currently developing a conception of ethics that shows the fundamental link between values and suffering.

Professor Colin Gavaghan:

Colin is the first director the of the Centre for Law and Policy in Emerging Technologies which examines the legal, ethical, and policy issues around new tech. In addition to this he lectures and writes on medical and criminal law.

Dr Janine Winters:

Janine is a senior lecture at the Bioethics Centre. She is qualified as a medical doctor with specialties in palliative medicine, paediatric palliative care, and family medicine. She has done research around end-of-life issues for adults and children.

What would you want to see changed about the End of Life Choice Act?

Jeanne: I think the real issue is whether it is adequate in its current form. I think it is. Having said that, one thing that would improve the Act would be including a set of underpinning principles to guide people performing functions under the Act. This might include the principle that every human live has equal value; that a person's autonomy should be respected; and that a person should be supported in making informed decisions about their end of life care. Another principle, that end of life care should respect a person's cultural beliefs and values, would also be appropriate in the context of New Zealand.

Jessica: Greater flexibility for terminally ill people once approved to have the medication available if and when needed, as per the Oregon model, as opposed to having to pick a time and date in advance. Having said that, the person can also choose to delay the date to receive assisted dying by up to 6 months after approval by two (or sometimes three) doctors. This piece of legislation has been through robust revisions and had significant public input to ensure it strikes the right balance between safety and access.

Simon: Firstly, I would prefer if responsibility for the decision had not been passed to the public in the form of a general referendum. As for the Act, this is difficult. I do not support a law change, but I'm trying to reflect honestly why and am thinking about whether there could have been a middle ground. Currently I doubt this, a compromise option could have been to write legislation involving doctors less in the process. For some reason assisted dying rates are lower where the doctor is not administering the lethal drug.

I would have liked to see more discussion of the role of advance directives. As it stands this law won't allow assisted dying for those with advanced dementia, even with an advance directive in place. I wonder how many people that vote 'yes' are aware of this.

Colin: To be honest, not that much. The Act has been through a lot of scrutiny and has changed a great deal in the two and a half years since it was first introduced – for instance, it now applies only to people who are terminally ill. I think it's a whole lot better for going through that process.

Just to be clear for your readers, though: there's no mechanism for the Act to be changed any further at this stage. The version we vote on in September is the final version. It's take it or leave it time.

Janine: A) Providers would not be required to be present/ "nearby" between the time the person is given the lethal substance and death. I think this incentivizes the IV route because it is faster. The disadvantage of the IV route is that the agency is more clearly in the hands of the administering provider—it is 'killing' rather than allowing someone to take their own life. I think this is an important moral distinction and that self-adminis-

tration should be encouraged when possible. B) Making an appointment for AD makes it difficult for a patient to back out, like a wedding. You have the right to refuse, but once it is set up it is difficult to back out.

What impact do you think the End of Life Choice Act would have on NZ if it a yes vote?

Jeanne: While this law is a significant piece of legislation, I think in reality it would impact a small group of people suffering from a terminal illness who wish to be reassured that, should they experience unbearable suffering that cannot be alleviated in a way they consider is tolerable, they have the option of assisted dying.

Jessica: I think it would open conversations about what people want at the end of life. I believe there is a harm prevention and minimisation benefit to legalising assisted dying. If this legislation is passed there will be fewer suicides because about one terminally ill New Zealander a week takes their own life (Weaver, 2014); less trauma of bad deaths on loved ones (Andriessen et al, 2019); and fewer health professionals' careers at risk for helping someone to die which 5% of surveyed GPs acknowledge they have done intentionally (Malpas et al., 2015). No more people will die, what will change is the suffering they experience at the end of life.

Simon: Broadly, there is a concern that it may change the way people view the dying process, and the options available to those who suffer. There is also a concern that it will make the work of healthcare providers, particularly those working in mental health, older persons' health, and palliative care, more difficult. I share these concerns, but I don't think anyone can say what will happen for certain.

Colin: What it will do is give a fairly small number of people – those who are within 6 months of death and who are suffering intolerably – an option that they don't currently have. Most of us are unlikely to be directly affected at all. But based on some of what we've heard from overseas, for everyone who uses the new option, there will be a lot more who just take comfort from the fact that it exists as an option of last resort should the worst come to the worst, and their suffering become unmanageable. Knowing that they'll never need to end their days in a condition that they find intolerable can be a great source of reassurance for people.

Janine: I think it will have both positive and negative impacts but that these impacts will surprise the electorate.

Negatives: A) There will eventually be mistakes, when these happen the consequence may be serious, an unretrievable mistake, public will be outraged, the provider will be charged with murder. B) People are likely to be surprised and there may be backlash when hospices refuse to have AD in their inpatient facilities. C) It will cause conflict

within the palliative care community as most palliative care doctors will.

Positives: A) More discussion about death. B) Referral to palliative care encouraged before AD may result in more people getting PC. C) People feeling more in control (reduced existential suffering).

Would you vote yes? And why or why not?

Jeanne: I will vote yes. While I sympathise with some of the concerns raised, I do not think they outweigh the arguments in favour of choice.

Jessica: I will definitely be voting YES at the referendum. A yes vote means options for people who need them. Having talked to people approaching the end of life extensively about what dying is like, I really believe voting yes is the compassionate thing to do. Motivated by compassion, I support terminally ill people who want the option to hasten their death to relieve their suffering. On behalf of the people I interviewed, I encourage you to do the same. Having looked closely at the international data, I'm confident a system, based on the End of Life Choice Act, can be designed to ensure assisted dying is managed safely.

Simon: No, mainly for the reasons stated. I try to separate my personal perspective here. Having done that, I find two main reasons for voting 'no'. Firstly, I think it will mean that some people will end their lives sooner than they would have otherwise. Secondly and relatedly – many experienced doctors that I know and respect feel strongly that it's a bad idea, chiefly because it will confound the very delicate work they do in caring for people who are dying.

Those are the reasons I've fixed upon anyhow. I do wonder if we can truly be impersonal about this. At a very basic level, my sense is that when a person is choosing to end their own life other people should not help them to do it, but rather make efforts to enable them to value life. I apply that to the vast majority of cases where people access assisted dying (I can identify some tragic exceptions).

Colin: I will be voting yes. I think this is another step along the road to respecting personal choice and personal values in healthcare.

Janine: No, I would rather see the Oregon model where the patient self-administers at the time of their choosing rather than make an appointment with death.



