

*New Zealand
Women's Watch*

Report and Proceedings of 9th Annual Conference

**POST 2015 AGENDA:
SIGN POSTS
FOR WOMEN'S GOALS**

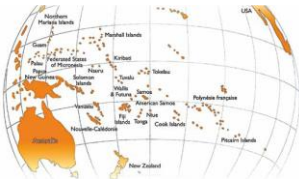


Saturday 8 November 2014
Western Springs Garden Community Hall
956 Great North Road
Western Springs
Auckland

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New Zealand Women’s Watch is also known as Pacific Women’s Watch (New Zealand).



****New Zealand Women's Watch****
(Pacific Women's Watch (NZ))
Conference

Post 2015 Agenda
Sign posts for women's goals

Programme

9.00am Welcome and Introduction:

Christine King, President, New Zealand Women's Watch (NZ).

Expert Speakers:

Jane Prichard: Past-President and Founder, Pacific Women's Watch (NZ);
Foundation President, ICW Asia Pacific Regional Council

Dr Jackie Blue: Human Rights Commissioner - Equal Employment
Opportunities

Tracey Barnett: Commentator, columnist and author

MORNING TEA

11.30am Workshops – Jane Prichard, Jackie Blue, and Tracey Barnett to work with
conference participants in further developing women's goals raised by their
presentations.

12.30pm Report back from workshop discussions – key points and next steps.
Recommendations from conference

1.00pm Thanks and closure

Welcome and Introductions

Christine King
President

Tena Koutou Katoa, Welcome

It is my privilege to welcome you all to the 9th Pacific Women's Watch (New Zealand) annual conference.

This year we have conducted our five yearly review survey for the Beijing+20 review. It is 20 years since the Beijing Conference on Women and the declaration of the Beijing Platform for Action. It is also time to review the progress on the Millennium Goals for development set in 2000. Hence our conference theme of Post 2015 Agenda: Sign posts for women's goals.

We have an impressive line-up of speakers with our Past President and founder Jane Prichard leading the way. Jane attended the Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, 1995 and has been a leader in gender justice for many years.

Unfortunately illness has struck two of our speakers - Awhimai Reynolds and Sina Wendt Moore both send their apologies and best wishes for a successful conference.

We also have apologies from our patrons; Kataraina O'Brien and Dr Marilyn Waring.

Earlier this year we had a very successful fundraising evening at the Dolphin Theatre when \$1000 was raised to go to support the Women's Crisis Centre in Tonga.

Family violence and sexual abuse are amongst the least reported crimes in Tonga and according to the Ministry of Police one child is killed every day from domestic violence related incidents. The Women and Children Crisis Centre (WCCC) is the first of its kind in Tonga. The centre has a team of qualified counsellors, a police officer and registered nurse available 24 hours a day to help victims of domestic violence to escape from suffering further abuse.

The Director of the Women and Children Crisis Centre (WCCC) 'Ofa Guttenbeil-Likiliki said their objective for the one stop shop is to keep victims from being re-victimised.

In the first six months of 2014 over 230 women and children sought help from the crisis centre. There is hope for a more peaceful society, there is now a safe place for women and children.



It now gives me great pleasure to introduce our first speaker Jane Prichard. Jane has been a leader in justice for all and women's rights for a very long time. She was awarded a QSO for services to women and the community and was leader of the Association of Presbyterian Women of Aotearoa New Zealand's delegation of observers to the Beijing Conference in 1995. As mentioned Jane has been the driving force of Pacific Women's Watch.

Welcome Jane, we look forward to hearing what challenges you have for us 20 years on from Beijing.

Expert Speakers

Jane Prichard

Past President and Founder, Pacific Women's Watch (NZ)

From Beijing to Post-2015

Tena Koutu, tena koutu, tena koutu katoa, warm greetings

Can I ask who in the audience today attended the 4th World Women's Conference in Beijing?

It gives me great pleasure to acknowledge my colleague Bette Cuthbert with whom I shared a room for ten days at the NGO Forum in Huairou. Also Dianne Glenn and Beverley Turner who were also with us. Wilma Harland from St Heliers accompanied me for ten days at the Conference in Beijing where the Association of Presbyterian Women of Aotearoa New Zealand had observer status. Wilma regrets she is not able to attend today. After almost 20 years New Zealand women who attended have scattered, with some overseas and some no longer part of the women's movement. So we four are veterans of Beijing! It was a truly special experience.

Today I bring a strong message for this gathering of informed and committed women 20 years after Beijing. There have been huge numbers of words on paper- statements, urgings - but what have we achieved? No substantial, concrete action! Ten days ago the Global Gender Gap Report 2014 covering 142 countries was released. We were shocked to learn that in 2010 New Zealand was in fifth position for gender equality but in 2014 we had fallen to thirteenth. This is totally unacceptable. We must work to ensure we are a society that demands change.

On Wednesday of last week the New Zealand Herald highlighted this dismal result and the cartoon that day conveyed a disgraceful message with the image of a corporately dressed woman riding a rodeo steer with the words 'Gender Pay Gap' on its back and the cartoon caption 'The Other Bull Ride'. I hope you all saw it.

The message was outrageous. We cannot put up with this kind of insulting language. Either it intended making us laughing stocks or hoped it will be a wakeup call to action. For me it is



a wakeup call to action. We must all join together in taking out the message to the community that women will no longer accept lower rates of pay than men, for the same work.

Engaging with both women and men who are outside of our traditional women's organisations with the message that women must have equal pay with men in the workplace is fundamental to securing full gender equality. As the country where men supported the suffragists in first securing the

vote for women, men must also support the call for equal pay in the post-2015 development agenda. Together we will move forward to reclaim our high position in the Global Gender Gap Report. Anything less is unacceptable.

Winning a seat for New Zealand on the United Nations Security Council in the first round of voting was considered a coup when Italy and Spain were also in the running. It has already been suggested that as a result New Zealand could play a leading role in promoting gender equality, building on our being the first country to grant the vote to women. This is an exciting possibility. Let us pursue that as well!

Signposts for Gender Equality

Next year marks the 20th anniversary of 4th World Conference on Women. The journey began with the adoption of the Beijing Declaration and Beijing Platform for Action in 1995. A global framework was set out for realising gender equality for women and girls.

Strategies for progress on advancing the “human rights and fundamental freedoms” of women and girls were proposed across twelve critical areas of concern:

- Women and Poverty
- Education and Training of Women
- Women and Health
- Violence against Women
- Women and Armed Conflict
- Women and the Economy
- Women in Power and Decision Making
- Institutional Mechanisms for the Advancement of Women
- Human Rights of Women
- Women and the Media
- Women and the Environment
- The Girl Child

“We must work to ensure we are a society that demands change”

Promise for Progress of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action:

1995	2000	2005	2010	2015
Full human rights and fundamental freedoms	UN General Assembly special session reaffirmed the Platform for Action	44 th session of Commission on the Status of Women called for further progress on implementing critical issues	NGOs again sought support for a Fifth World Women’s Conference	Post-2015 Agenda for Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women

Beijing gave women high hopes for full gender equality, development and peace and for the expectation of a future World Women’s Conference. Twenty years on we are still far from achieving full gender equality. There is no will to hold a 5th World Women’s Conference.

“Twenty years on we are still far from achieving full gender equality.”

Unforgettable Images from Beijing:

- Travelling by plane from Tokyo with only 3 men among the passengers
- The huge number of women present – 30,000 at least – and some men
- The high expectations and tremendous energy of all
- The formation during the Conference and Forum of new women’s groups to take forward action after the Conference

The 20-Year Review and Appraisal is to be held at the 59th session of the Commission on the Status of Women in New York, March 2015.

The review aims to:

- Assess progress on the implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and Outcomes of the 23rd special session of the General Assembly June 2000 for gender equality and the empowerment of women
- Agree on strategies for further progress in a post-2015 agenda for gender and women’s empowerment through integration of a gender perspective

What did NGOs Seek to Achieve from Beijing?

The NGO Declaration written from key points raised in Caucus Group discussions at the Conference called on all governments to ensure women’s equal rights to:

- A decent standard of living, health, clean water and air
- Adequate food, clothing, sanitation
- Safe and accessible housing
- Adequate social security, education and legal aid

- Prompt cancellation of multilateral debt
- Enforcement of accountability of international financial institutions
- An end to trans-boundary dumping and stockpiling of hazardous, toxic and radioactive wastes
- Promotion and use of science and technology for peaceful purposes
- Encouragement of full participation and access at all levels for women with disabilities

NGOs also requested:

- The recognition and inclusion of poor and grassroots women as full participants in the planning and distribution of resources
- An end to all laws and traditional practices which deny girls and women their human rights
- Commitment to measure and value women’s unpaid work and to include it in the accounting of each nation’s gross domestic product (GDP)
- Full inclusion of women in peace making and conflict resolution initiatives
- An end to rape, and all forms of violence and harassment towards women and girls

NGOs believed these rights were possible to achieve following the Conference – providing there was strong political will by governments and determination by all concerned.

How Have We Fared?

General agreement is that significant progress has been made on many of the critical areas of concern, but there has however, been slippage and regression in some areas, notably on:

- All forms of violence and trafficking
- Safe and accessible housing
- Increasing number of women and children made homeless and displaced through armed conflict
- Laws and customary practices which still deny girls and women their equal rights to succession and inheritance

“No country will reach its full potential if its female citizens do not enjoy full equality.”

Progress on Implementation

Helen Clark, UN Development Programme Administrator has said “No country will reach its full potential if its female citizens do not enjoy full equality. While there has been progress for many women and girls, it has been uneven and too slow”.

The post-2015 agenda must deliver progress that will benefit more women and girls and ensure their full human rights. Much remains to be done.

Unresolved Concerns for New Zealand Women and Girls

Data analysis for Pacific Women's Watch (New Zealand) (PWW (NZ)) Beijing + 20 Report shows that ongoing concerns for women and girls are:

- The consistently high levels of domestic and sexual violence
- The stubborn pay differential for women compared to men and ongoing workplace issues
- The continuing impoverishment of families with severe impacts for the girl child
- The health and welfare of elderly women, migrant women and disabled women and girls

Issues taken up by the CEDAW Committee from PWW(NZ) reporting in 2012 included:

- The lack of an Action Plan for New Zealand Women with targets and benchmarks to advance women's rights in a timed agenda for progress
- The male/female pay differential
- Unresolved discriminatory workplace issues
- The high level of domestic violence
- Continuing impoverishment of families
- The health and welfare of elderly women, women with disabilities and girls

PWW(NZ)'s Submission for the 2nd Universal Periodic Review by the United Nations Human Rights Council of the New Zealand Government's performance: 'Right to be Free from Discrimination for New Zealand Women and Girls' brought nine recommendations relating to:

- A National Action Plan for Women and establishment of a new Parliamentary Select Committee on Human Rights
- Workplace discrimination
- Decent and affordable housing
- Sexual violence
- Forced and underage marriage
- Dowry and trafficking
- Domestic/family violence training and legal aid
- Improvement of sexual and reproductive health
- Improvement of access to health services for LGBTIQ communities

Progress on the key outstanding issues for New Zealand women and girls has been stalled or subject to 'glacial' progress since Beijing.

Results from 'How are We Doing?'

The PWW(NZ) Questionnaire for their NGO Beijing + 20 Review showed that, compared to five years ago,:

- A few more women had more money to spend in 2014 – up by 3 percent.
- 25 percent were still unable to save for retirement – down from 33 percent – a pleasing result but could be better.
- 41 percent said women were not safe in New Zealand society – no improvement.

A very modest result in some key areas of concern.

Post-2015 development agenda

What do we want nationally?

- A robust programme for gender equality and empowerment which includes a National Action Plan for New Zealand Women and Girls with a timed agenda for progress.
- Education on human rights, especially the human rights outlined in the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)– with wide dissemination of the PWW(NZ) leaflet on understanding CEDAW.

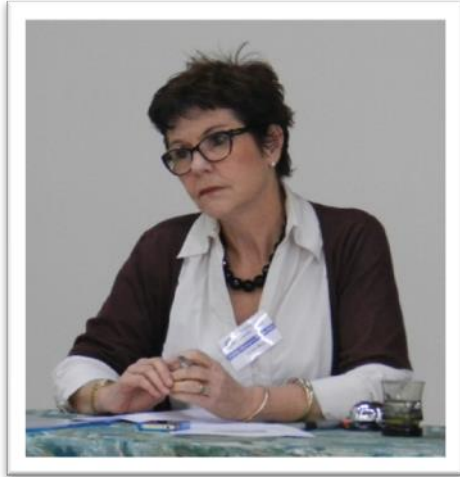
What do we want globally?

- All organisations with Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) status to forge forward with support for the post-2015 development agenda for gender equality and empowerment for women and girls.
- Education nationally on human rights treaties and their implications for gender equality.
- Robust determination by governments and all communities concerned to realise full gender equality and economic empowerment for women and girls.

We must advance the ideals of Beijing through concrete action!

Dr Jackie Blue
Human Rights Commissioner - Equal Employment Opportunities

Challenges and achievements since Beijing, 1995



In 1995 New Zealand took part in the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing and signed the Beijing Platform for Action to achieve gender equality and the empowerment of women.

At the Conference Hillary Clinton coined the phrase “Human rights are women’s rights and women’s rights are human rights”.

Put simply it means that women and girls have the right to be free from all forms of violence, abuse and discrimination.

Women have the right to enjoy their economic, social and cultural rights, as well as their civil and political rights.

By that I mean have an adequate standard of living and housing; just and favourable conditions of work that include fair wages and equal remuneration for work of equal value; access to health and education; participate in decision-making and cultural activities; be a valued member of society and have self-determination.

Every woman and girl deserves the chance to realize her full potential.

So what progress has New Zealand made since the Fourth World Conference?

“Every woman and girl deserves the chance to realise her full potential.”

Public Service Departments

As Equal Employment Opportunities (EEO) Commissioner my legislative mandate is with the state sector organisations (through the State Sector Act 1988 and the Crown Entities Act 2004) who are required to be “good employers” with special regard to four target EEO groups: women, ethnic or minority groups, Māori and people with disabilities.

Part of being a good employer includes a transparent, fair, gender-neutral remuneration system which is regularly reviewed; ensures equitable job opportunities and conditions; and recognises employee contributions.

Even though that first piece of legislation that brought in the concept of EEO and the good employer requirement is over 25 years, just 5 years before the Beijing Conference, huge gains have not been made.

EEO is about equality in the workplace for everyone and effective EEO programmes will inevitably result in greater diversity at all levels in an organisation.

A key indicator for equality at work is pay. The Human Rights Commission Census of Women's Participation 2012 reported that there were twenty two government departments that had gender pay gaps bigger than the average pay gap in the labour market. Nine government departments had more than a 20% gender pay gap including Treasury and the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet.

As part of our current work programme we recently analysed all 29 public service departments to measure possible barriers to progress on EEO so we could identify good practice in the advancement of the four target groups.

Another key indicator is representation. We calculated the representation of the four groups across each department and in senior management teams along with average (mean) and median pay gap for each of the groups.

Our public service is predominately female at 60%. The public service senior management teams need more women, Pacific people, Māori and people with a disability.

Māori, Pacific people and women are disproportionately represented in lower paying jobs and this is a major contribution to ethnic and gender pay gaps. The gender pay gap was slightly higher at just over 14% compared with the average pay gender gap of 13.4% across the general labour market. There was no data on the pay gap for disabled people or the numbers of Asians in senior management teams.

Our analysis confirms that there hasn't been a huge improvement over the last two years. The outliers are still the outliers.

Pay gender gaps of up to 30% are still significant in many departments.

There were some stand out departments (Corrections, MSD (Ministry of Social Development), Education, TPK (Te Puni Kokiri) and ERO (Education Review Office)) who are doing well for one or more of the target groups, but for the majority progress was very patchy.

I would however particularly like to acknowledge the work of Treasury and the Ministry of Defence in addressing their gender pay gaps and representation of women in senior positions.

They are both committed to driving greater gender and diversity outcomes throughout their business which I am confident over time will reflect positively in their EEO outcomes.

Compliance in this area is monitored annually by the State Services Commission through the Human Resources Capability Survey but what is lacking are EEO targets and accountability for those targets resting with the CEOs and State Service Commissioner. In addition data collection needs to be harmonised and disability data collected and reported.

That needs to change if we are to see our public service departments reflect our changing society and benefit from the greater opportunities that this brings.

Women in senior decision making roles

Just one year after the 1995 Beijing Conference, New Zealand held its first MMP election.

That first MMP election saw the percentage of women MPs increase from around 20 percent up to 30 per cent but this is where it has pretty much stayed for the last 18 years.

The 2014 election result delivered one fewer female MP compared with the 2011 result, bringing the number in the house to 38. The result was a step backwards and a continuation of the retrograde trend since 2008 when there was a record 41 women MPs.

We have gone from almost 34% women MPs in 2008 to just over 31%.

In other words there has been virtually no progress since that first MMP election 18 years ago.

Women make up 51 per cent of the population and there should be that number of women in Parliament. Women should not settle for anything less.

National has 26% women MPs, Labour 37.5%, Greens 50% and New Zealand First 18%

There are 30% women inside Cabinet where the decisions are made.

But women need to want to put themselves forward for selection.

Politics in New Zealand is a high-stakes game and I worry that when women see what politicians are subjected to when they fall from grace from both the media and their fellow politicians, they would question why they would risk exposing their families and themselves to a hostile environment.

In my valedictory speech, I said I really hoped that when I left Parliament I would leave with my family, health and reputation intact.

Being an MP is a high risk occupation. The fact is that you can lose all three of the above as has been proven.

I believe there needs to be at least 40 per cent representation from women in Parliament before there is a change of culture, as well as a code of conduct that is signed by all MPs.

Ross Robertson, retired Labour MP, had previously submitted such a code, but it gained very little traction. I hope another MP will take up the cause.

We have similarly made little or no progress on women's representation on boards both in the public sector and the private sector.

Successive New Zealand governments since the 1980s have committed to gender balance or 50% women on public sector boards. That goal was downsized to 45% to be reached by 2015.

But in 2013 there were just 41% women a tiny increase from 2012 when there were 40.5%.

Somehow I don't think that the 2015 target of 45% will be achieved.

At the end of 2012 it became mandatory that all companies listed on the Stock Exchange Main Board have to declare the gender make up of their boards. The NZX has been collecting this and the first results were published this year for 2013. There were just a little over 12% women directors in the top 109 companies.

The 2013 result cannot be directly compared with the previous Census of Women's Participation which has been tracking women on top 100 publically listed companies since 2006. The Census found that as of June 2012 there were 14.75% women directors but the Census tracked only the top 100 companies and included dual listed companies that were on both the Australian and New Zealand Stock exchange.

But really whichever way you look at it, only 12% women directors in the top 109 companies is pathetic.

Violence against Women

During the 1980s there was an increasing awareness of both the social and economic cost of domestic violence.

The dynamics of violence within domestic relationships were being investigated and there was a developing understanding of the various forms that abuse can take. As well, the role that effective legislation can play in providing protection was recognised.

In the year of the Beijing Conference the Domestic Violence Act 1995 was passed, it was considered world leading and ground breaking.

The object of the Act is to reduce and prevent domestic violence by recognising that domestic violence in all its forms is unacceptable behaviour, and by providing victims of domestic violence with effective legal protection.

Unfortunately, we have made little impression on family violence in New Zealand.

New Zealand is a very violent society.

Intimate partner violence and child abuse and neglect makes up 50% of all violent crime in New Zealand – this includes kidnapping, abductions, serious and grievous assault.

But we know that what is reported is only the tip of the iceberg. Only 20% of cases are reported which equates to 95,000 per year.

If we had 100% reporting we would have upwards of half a million cases each year, the size of Christchurch and Dunedin City combined.

Not all women may wish to go through the Police, so there needs to be alternative routes to get help.

We need to get to these women basic messages such as:

- You are not alone.
- Abuse is not 'normal' in relationships.
- Help is available.

- The earlier you reach out the better.

We need to bust the myths that abuse is caused by both people in a relationship and both must change for it to stop; the myth that children need fathers, even violent ones; and the myth that abuse is caused by drinking, stress and poor impulse-control.

In fact the abuser is in full control choosing when and how to abuse and it almost always occurs behind doors

We must bust the old chestnuts “She must have asked for it”; “Some people need the violence, enjoy it or are addicted to it”; “It only happens to poor, brown women”; “ It’s not in our back yard”; “It can’t be that bad because she would have left”; or “Women are just as violent as men”.

Intimate partner violence or IPV is not just physical abuse. It covers multiple forms of abuse all of which can have devastating consequences that impact on physical health, personal and social well-being, relationships, mental and emotional health, employment and substance abuse.

We need to understand that sexual violence is frequently part of IPV and child abuse and vice versa. Like a three-headed monster, they feed off their victim taking away self-determination, rights and resources that are critical to being a person...being a human being.

We know about 20% of the cases. But we need to reach the other 80%. Through identifying more cases, we would naturally hope to expect an increase in reporting.

Women and children need to be safer. If we succeeded in this we would expect to see fewer deaths, protection order breaches and reduced re-victimisation.

We need to intervene earlier and would expect to see that the cases going through the Police multiagency triage system over time to deal with less serious abuse.

We must hold abusers to account and would hope to expect prosecutions to increase and an increased self-awareness that their behaviour is abusive, how it impacts on their partner and children and how to get help.

The justice system needs to be more responsive to women and children. We would expect to see an increase in the number of applicants granted temporary protection orders and in the proportion of breaches of protection orders that are prosecuted.

We would want to see an increase in the number of people prosecuted and convicted for sexual assault and specialist human rights and IPV training of public servants and judiciary.

There needs to be greater protection and support for marginalised women and children. There needs to be more Housing New Zealand homes and refuges that are accessible.

Migrant women face many barriers to accessing help such as isolation and financial dependence on their partner.

To reduce deaths we must identify high risk cases and tailor responses.

We must channel resources to those most at risk.

A human rights approach must be taken when developing any national strategy around family violence.

A human rights approach means those affected are involved in decisions and that the most vulnerable are given priority.

This will mean listening to the stories of the victims of how the current system failed them and that is why the Glenn Inquiry's 'The People's Report' which has detailed the stories of 500 victims, frontline providers and abusers in the area is so powerful.

A human rights approach will mean consulting with the frontline providers who hold enormous amounts of information and experience.

It is not right that sexual violence continues to be treated in a silo, separate from intimate partner violence and child abuse and neglect.

There must be a route for complaints so those accessing or trying to access services have a route to critique the services so they can be continuously improving.

The most vulnerable and those at high risk of dying must be prioritised.

I am convinced that tinkering with the current system and continuing a scattergun approach with a bit here and a bit there is doomed.

Eight years ago Dame Sylvia Cartwright called New Zealand's record of family violence as our "dark secret".

In the intervening years there have been too many deaths of women and children through family violence.

Last year there was public outrage over the Roastbusters' case but no prosecutions or convictions resulted.

What we need is political will, decent resourcing and above all a society that demands change.

Thank you.

“A human rights approach must be taken when developing any national strategy around family violence.”

Tracey Barnett
Commentator, columnist, author

The Quiet War on Asylum



To the outside world looking in – indeed, to most countries that deal with tens of thousands of refugees annually – it may have seemed outright puzzling. When John Key stepped up to the lectern of his press conference and announced he was introducing mandatory group detention for ‘mass’ boat-arriving asylum seekers to Kiwi shores, there was one confounding detail missing. *New Zealand has never had a boatload of asylum seekers arrive—at least in modern history.*

But that day, the press and the public didn’t hear about the safeguards New Zealand already has in place where cases are assessed individually, where asylum seekers humanely wait in the community for their cases to be heard, without the default setting being imprisonment.

What they did hear that day was something quite surprising, even confounding, to those who work in the refugee sector. But first, to help set the scene, let’s begin with three common, simple facts that most in the refugee world would agree upon:

1. Asylum is a legal right, here and in 147 countries. It is the *legal* framework for asking for safety when war and persecution have made it impossible to go home. Heads up, if you hear anyone, including our ministers, calling asylum seekers 'illegals', it is simply *not* true.
2. There is no such thing as a queue. It's a myth. There is no line. No first come, first served. The process is more like a rolling triage. If you are safe in an established refugee camp in Thailand, for example, the UNHCR may not touch your case for years, even decades, if they have to immediately pivot to say- Syria, or sadly, keeping Nigerian girls safe. It is important to know, the phrase ‘Queue-jumper’ is an insulting imported Australian slur, one we should all hope won’t be welcome in this country.
3. Detention doesn't equal deterrence. Studies worldwide show that people are so at the hands of their traffickers, they have little or no idea of the detention policies of their destination countries. Even so, if they have to choose between death at home and even the possibility of safety; they will choose life almost every time, even if they have to give up everything.

“Asylum is a legal right.
There is no such thing as a queue.
Detention does not equal deterrence.”

When our Prime Minister stepped up to the podium that day—and in press appearances on the issue that followed, strangely, our Prime Minister Key sounded more Australian than Kiwi. He referred to asylum seekers as ‘illegals’. He used the phrase ‘queue-jumpers’, and he said he was enacting this new law as a means of ‘deterrence’. It was as if our New Zealand Prime Minister had reached in and grabbed the handy-media-messaging playbook directly from his Australian counterpart.

No one connected the dots to similar words announced by an Australian Prime Minister over twenty years ago when Australia first broke its own commitment to the Refugee Convention in order to begin to lock up those legally requesting asylum.

We were told that this bill would protect us. Never mind that researchers worldwide, including Australian academics, have found detention does not equate to deterrence. Never mind that the UNHCR concludes, ‘Pragmatically no empirical evidence is available to give credence to the assumption that the threat of being detained deters irregular migration.’¹

Or that ‘irregular migration is not deterred even by stringent detention practices, and that practical alternatives to detention do exist’.² John Key must have missed reading that literature. Or ignored it.

Although New Zealand had a long, admirable history of attempting not to politicise refugee issues, this was new. This had got political, fast. Out came foreign words Kiwis weren’t used to hearing from their Prime Minister, direct imports from the two-decade-long toxic brew across the ditch.

It was what the Prime Minister didn’t say that spoke volumes too. How many boat arrivals of asylum seekers has New Zealand had last year, even in the last decade? Zero. How many have arrived in modern history? Still none. How many asylum seekers does New Zealand get a year in total? Roughly 300. How many of that number eventually get to stay? Roughly, only about 125—a tiny number by any world measure.

The Prime Minister would not say this either: New Zealand was about to establish something that has always gone against our national beliefs – two tiers of human rights. The lucky ones (those who arrive by plane, or singly, or in a boat group of thirty or less) will be granted full rights and not face mandatory imprisonment. The unlucky ones will be immediately considered under a group warrant, be welcomed with mandatory detention for choosing their less appealing mode of transport, and potentially live without their immediate family for years, in limbo and uncertainty.

Even if we did get a boat arrival some day, even several, we already have a system that works – a community-based solution with safeguards for temporary detention until identity is confirmed. So why was New Zealand suddenly moving in this punitive new direction? If this wasn’t really our problem, why this new politicised refugee agenda – why now?

We can start by looking beyond our shores. Consider the cluster of English-speaking wealthy countries that have an alliance of intelligence sharing, among other exchanges,

¹ Menadue, John, ‘The Pacific Solution didn’t work before and it won’t work now’, *The Drum*, 14 March 2012. <http://www.abc.net.au/unleashed/3886792.html>.

² United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), ‘Concerned at Detention of Asylum-Seekers, Releases New Guidelines’, UN Refugee Agency, 21 September 2012. <http://www.unhcr.org/505c33199.html>

collectively known as the Five Eyes Alliance (the US, Canada, the UK, Australia and New Zealand). New Zealand has recently entered the fold again in earnest after twenty years of US reprisals over our anti-nuclear stance. We have new impetus to be a good team player again. Trade deals percolate. We are invited to play war games again. New domestic spying laws are drafted to better align with our partners.

Fast-forward to another press conference, a little less than a year later, February 2013. John Key and then Australian Prime Minister Julia Gillard emerge from a meeting in Queenstown to announce that New Zealand has decided to accept 150 Australian refugees annually. Don't worry, Key implies, this won't increase our total refugee intake beyond our usual 750-resettlement refugees. Instead, he proposes to shrink New Zealand's longstanding UN commitment to 600 to incorporate Australia's 150. Not only would New Zealand be allowed to share more intelligence on boat arrivals, but we have been graciously invited to now ship off any future mass arrivals to foreign countries, to Nauru or Manus Island for 'offshore processing' as Australia does, sites that have been singled out worldwide as an example of an humanitarian policy disaster for Australia. New Zealand, too, would be quietly letting Australia peddle its human rights obligations to other countries in our region as it has to PNG, Nauru and most recently, Cambodia.

John Key told us this was a winning deal for New Zealand. Australia told us this is a winning deal for New Zealand, a deal that will pull us into *their* regional solution. Both sides were pleased.

Several months later, making his own mark on refugee policy, then new Prime Minister Tony Abbott abruptly pulled the plug on the 150-refugee trade, though it remains on the table. Abbott warned that asylum seekers coming to Australia by boat should not expect to get New Zealand as a 'consolation prize'. But for those in the business of human rights, New Zealand's eagerness to abandon its leading humanitarian policy to turn in Australia's disastrous direction meant one thing: If the right deal came along, we would do it again.

Countries that are part of connected landmasses that deal with tens, even hundreds, of thousands of arrivals a year – meaning most of the world – must wonder why we are proactively damaging our international reputation for an issue that will affect us less than most countries on the globe.

About fourteen months later, in June 2013, the bill passed. Mostly, no one noticed.

Quietly, New Zealand has now chosen to embrace detention. We have legislated locking up people who have committed no crime, for a problem that will affect our shores less than those of almost any Western country in the world.

“New Zealand has now chosen to embrace detention”

If research has shown that detention does not protect our borders by acting as a deterrent, what exactly is New Zealand accomplishing by punishing the world's most desperate?

Ask any Kiwi if they would endorse trading human beings, say 150 men, women and children, for political gain – and I suspect they would be mortified. Ask them if New Zealanders, as a nation, would consider themselves good international citizens, who honour

our international commitments – and most would say we certainly do. Ask Kiwis if they would sell off our human rights obligations the way the Australians are now peddling theirs and I suspect most would indignantly reply that we are better than that. But no one was asking the New Zealand people.

For New Zealand, the quiet war on asylum has just begun.

Edited extract from Tracey Barnett's, *The Quiet War on Asylum*, Bridget Williams Books, Chapter Nine, pp.93–108. <http://www.bwb.co.nz/books/the-quiet-war-on-asylum>

Those interested in learning more about asylum and refugee issues in New Zealand, join in the conversation and please 'like' and 'share' the Facebook page "We Are Better Than That", <https://www.facebook.com/WeAreBetterThanThat>

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New Zealand Women's Watch Press Statement

18 November 2014

Women from a wide range of organisations and backgrounds gathered at the PWW(NZ) 9th annual conference to hear and discuss the progress on gender equality and set goals for the future. The conference theme "Post 2015 Agenda: Sign posts for women's goals" focused attention on work still to be done to ensure equity for all.

President Christine King says "2015 is a milestone year for women. It will be 20 years since the Fourth World Conference on Women which gave us the Beijing Platform for Action for women's development." She reminded the conference that 2015 is also the year in which the United Nations Millennium Development Goals are due for review.

Expert speakers reviewed the Beijing Platform for Action identifying areas of gains and areas of little or no progress. Overall New Zealand's international ranking in gender equity has fallen. Violence continues to be a serious issue with poor support for the victims. This is a major concern for all women and particularly for women with disabilities who often suffer discrimination and violence from those who are responsible for their care and welfare.

The lack of pay equity and the gender pay gap were noted as indicators of inequality. Women continue to earn less than men and be overrepresented in low paid industries. Women are also noticeably underrepresented on boards and in government.

Many of the women in lower paid work are migrant and refugee women. These women face considerable discrimination even to simply get a job. New Zealand is seen as a leader in refugee human rights but this is threatened by a change in official rhetoric and law which emulates Australia's widely criticised policies around detention of asylum seekers.

Overall in the 20 years since Beijing progress in gender equity has been at best patchy. Change is needed but it requires political will. Jane Prichard (Immediate Past President PWW(NZ)) challenged the audience to continue to push for progress on gender equality, saying "We need to reawaken the suffragette spirit."

Christine King

President

New Zealand Women's Watch

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Workshop Discussions

Following presentations, attendees broke into three workshops to discuss more broadly the issues raised by the speakers and the topic of gender equality in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Workshop 1: Facilitated by Jane Prichard

Rapporteur: Cleone Campbell

Discussion opened with a consideration of what we can achieve now. Given the agenda is tired and has moved little in the last six years the Achilles heel was perceived as parochialism. We must overcome the ongoing barriers to advancement for women and girls.

Barriers

Participants agreed that attitudes must change. Fear of loss of control means women do not want to give up positions of power. Succession planning for the pathway to higher office is necessary, as well as the recognition that retaining experience is also very important.

Women's organisations should cooperate with each other for the best outcomes in progress for women and girls. Solidarity of purpose is a powerful tool for pushing forward change.

The loss of community education opportunities has impacted on women being able to add to their skills in preparation for worthwhile work.

Pay equity is an ongoing challenge. A win does not necessarily translate to progress eg the reaction to the Kristine Bartlett pay equity case is that it is not affordable; the downside is that staff numbers could be decreased. Society has to decide if it is prepared to pay more or accept a lower standard of care.

Recognition of women's qualifications was seen as a barrier to their advancement. Maori women in particular had a constant struggle to have qualifications recognised. This made the job market stressful resulting in women being prepared to accept lower wages to get a job.

Further discussion highlighted that transparency is required to be able to compare job descriptions and pay rates. More disaggregated analysis is required.

Wish List - What we want to see in the post-2015 sustainable development agenda

Media should provide a more informative discussion on issues affecting women and girls.

More employment opportunities will help attain pay parity.

Imperative that all women and girls have computer access.

Women returning to the workforce need to know there are resources available for retraining.

Freedom of choice on where to live and where employment is available will help women achieve economic independence. Women and girls require education in life skills as well as academic attainment to achieve freedom of choice

Freedom from domestic violence is paramount to well-being for women and girls. Domestic violence erodes spiritual well-being.

Educating and involving males to help in progressing issues for women and girls will be vital to a successful development agenda post-2015.

Increasing the number of women involved in leadership and decision-making will accelerate the momentum for progress.

Gender equity to improve and remedy the present situation of women with equal tertiary qualifications being paid less than men which, along with other consequences, means women take a longer period of time to repay their student loans.

Civil society organisations should work more closely together and share projects.

Key points

Workshop participants chose to highlight the following three points when reporting back to the rest of the conference in the closing plenary

- Ongoing issues of attitudinal barriers/ women needing to unite
- Greater recognition in the workplace of women's educational qualifications
- Post-2015 freedom of choice and progress towards full gender equality

Workshop 2: Facilitated by Dr Jackie Blue

Rapporteur: Maggie Behrend

Workshop participants had a range of perspectives and thoughts on gender equality. Many of the themes Jackie Blue's presentation touched on were discussed.

Jackie Blue's point about changing the focus from victims' behaviours to perpetrators' behaviours particularly resonated with the group. Many expressed dissatisfaction with the government's choice of language but acknowledged that terminology can and does change. Some suggested the term 'vulnerable' people should be replaced with 'targets of abuse'.

Another concern the group had was the erosion of freedom of speech at both an individual level and organisational level. Anecdotally, many young women are afraid or cautious of appearing politically active and some have experienced backlash to their political expressions. Meanwhile, government funded organisations are having their ability to speak out and advocate on issues curtailed. The group agreed that charities and social services should be able to advocate for social change within their sector without risking their funding or being threatened with deregistration.

On the issue of continued high levels of violence against women in New Zealand, the group agreed there was a need for cross party support for addressing violence. Without cross party support, any efforts risked being too short term and changing with each successive government. In addition to cross party support, efforts to tackle violence against women needed to be comprehensive and properly resourced.

The group also discussed the gender pay gap and the opportunity/precedent for change following the recent Terranova aged carers' court case which has found that women in female-dominated industries should be paid the same as male-dominated industries with similar skills requirements. See:

http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=11349410

Other topics discussed included the need for social planners to challenge a number of current policies, challenges around identity and fitting in, and the exploitation of workers with disabilities through the minimum wage exemption clause in the Minimum Wage Act 1983.

In reporting back to the rest of the conference, the group chose to highlight these three key points:

1. The need for cross party support for ending violence against women.
2. Social services should be able to advocate for social change without risking their existence.
3. The aged care court case is an opportunity that can be utilised to address the gender pay gap.

Workshop 3: Facilitated by Tracey Barnett

Rapporteur Sara Daneshvar

Difference between an asylum seeker, a refugee, a migrant and an immigrant

- Asylum seekers are “beginner” refugees. They claim asylum once in New Zealand and begin the legal process to get refugee status. Once they have been granted refugee status, they get to stay.
- Migrants come on their own free will, and get the right to stay. Migrants may stay temporarily in the country, while immigrants stay long term.

New Zealand’s situation

- New Zealand receives 300 asylum claims per year, 125 accepted.
- New Zealand accepts 750 quota refugees per year.
- New Zealand ranks 88th in world when comparing population to the number of refugees accepted.
- Almost all asylum seekers arrive in Auckland airport, and then spread out. Government has made attempts for refugees to resettle in other parts of the country.
- Asylum seekers have no status; they also do not know the laws of the country.
- How many migrant women have been killed recently? They need help and support. They need to know about New Zealand before they move and set up their homes in their new country.

How can we make a difference?

- Like the page “We are better than that” on Facebook and spread the word. We need to build a strong coalition.
- Ask the Prime Minister to say publicly that we do not want any part/ involvement in offshore detention. We should tell him not to undermine the UN system, and encourage human trafficking. We should tell him not to follow Australia’s lead of inhumane refugee policies.
- Increase resettlement funding: double New Zealand’s official refugee quota. New Zealand has not changed its quota in 27 years.
- The challenge is educating people. A lot of young people are influenced by the media, which can give negative connotations. The first step is education, hearing the stories of refugees - these people have dreams; they have aspirations, which have been stopped. Young people can spread the word, and correct the negative attitudes in schools towards migrant and refugee students.

Report back: Recommendations

1. Raise awareness about asylum-seeker and refugee issues; educate people and correct negative connotations.
2. Support asylum-seekers and refugees through their resettlement process.
3. Take action: write to relevant people in power to show that New Zealand is better than that. Ideas to include: ‘New Zealand will have no part in inhumane off-shore detention’; ‘New Zealand needs to double its UNHCR quota’; ‘New Zealand should not undermine the UN system; New Zealand should not follow Australia’s disastrously

inhumane detention lead; New Zealand could offer to take the 29 unaccompanied minors currently being detained on Nauru Island.



Appendix: About New Zealand Women's Watch

Internationally, Pacific Women's Watch (NZ) Inc is an organisation in special consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council (UN ECOSOC) since 2010; within New Zealand, PWW(NZ) is also known as New Zealand Women's Watch / NZWW.

Pacific Women's Watch (New Zealand) links with Asia Pacific Women's Watch [APWW], a regional network of women's groups which has five sub-regions (Central Asia, East Asia, South Asia, South-East Asia and the Pacific). At global meetings, eg annual UN Commission on the Status of Women meetings in New York, APWW speaks strongly for all its member 'Watch' groups. It is also joined by representatives from three major international women's networks: Isis International (feminist advocacy), APWLD (Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development), and ARROW (Asian-Pacific Resource and Research Centre for Women).

Asia Pacific Women's Watch was established after the UN 4th World Conference on Women, held in Beijing 1995. It collaborates with United Nations agencies, national governments and non-government organisations (NGOs) in empowering women and advancing their human rights. APWW works to recognise the universality of human rights as women's rights, forge new thresholds of gender equality, celebrate diversity and build peace through justice.

Pacific Women's Watch (NZ) / New Zealand Women's Watch holds open meetings and annual conferences which complement its aims to:

- Monitor the implementation of CEDAW, the Beijing Platform for Action, UN General Assembly outcomes documents, and other programmes for action in New Zealand.
- Enhance women's leadership and promote gender equality in all decision-making processes.
- Act as an agent of change by monitoring, reviewing and reporting, within New Zealand and to the UN, on the elimination of all forms of discrimination and violence against women eg CEDAW.
- Pursue and uphold gender justice.
- Encourage sustainable rights-based economic development.
- Share information on good practice and lessons learned in advancing the status of women through effective communication.

PWW(NZ) facilitated nationwide workshops for Beijing+10 and Beijing+15 Reviews via national longitudinal studies and focused workshops; the Beijing+20 Review is scheduled for completion in early 2015.

PWW(NZ) members have participated within New Zealand and overseas in:

- Pacific Trafficking in Persons Conferences, 2009, 2011, 2013
- Ministry of Women's Affairs Caucus on International Issues – bi-annual meetings
- Pacific sub-regional Beijing + 10 Workshop, Sydney
- Asia-Pacific NGO Beijing+10 Forum, Bangkok; Beijing+15 Forum, Quezon City and Asia Pacific Beijing+20 Civil Society Forum, Bangkok.
- Global Forum for Women: Beijing+15, 2010 and Commission on Status of Women, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014 at UN, New York

Pacific Women's Watch (NZ) reports / NZWW national publications are available on website: www.pacificwomenswatch.org.nz – look under 'Reports'.

Pacific Women's Watch (NZ) is a member of the New Zealand Human Rights Commission's Diversity Action Programme; it is also registered under the Charities Act 2005 IR256 as a charitable organisation.

Pacific Women's Watch (NZ) membership is open to all women's organisations and groups without barriers and also to individual women. All welcome.

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