

**TE RŌPŪ WHAKAMANA I TE TIRITI O WAITANGI**

Wai 3300

**E PĀ ANA KI**  
*CONCERNING*

te Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975

**Ā,**  
*AND*

Tomokia ngā tatau o Matangireia  
– the Constitutional Kaupapa  
Inquiry

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**HE PĀNUI WHAKAHAU A KAIWHAKAWĀ MATUA DR C L FOX**

*MEMORANDUM-DIRECTIONS OF CHIEF JUDGE DR C L FOX COMMISSIONING  
RESEARCH*

30 Kohitātea 2026

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## Confirming commissioned research

1. Pursuant to clause 5A of the second schedule of the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, I commission Dr Josh King, a member of the Waitangi Tribunal's staff, to prepare a report on electoral systems from 1846 to 2025, for Tomokia ngā tatau o Matangireia – the Constitutional Kaupapa Inquiry (Wai 3300).
2. The report will focus on the structure of New Zealand's electoral system, addressing what Māori representation has looked like within the system, and what provisions have existed for Māori.
3. The report will address the following research questions where possible:
  - (a) Since 1846, what have been the major developments in Crown legislation, regulation, policy, and practice, governing the electoral system? What were the important amendments and developments specifically relating to Māori?
  - (b) How has the Crown provided for Māori representation within the electoral system, including through the establishment of Māori electorates and Māori seats in Parliament? What has been the purpose and intended outcome of providing for Māori representation within the system?
  - (c) To what extent have Māori been fairly and effectively represented in the electoral and legislative system? What, if anything, has the Crown done to ensure the fair and effective representation of Māori within the electoral and legislative system?
  - (d) What barriers have Māori encountered when attempting to participate in both the general electoral system and the separate Māori electoral system, either as candidates or as voters? What has the Crown done to investigate, remove, or ameliorate these barriers?
  - (e) What has been the impact of the introduction of MMP on Māori representation and participation in the electoral system?
4. The commission ends on 15 December 2026, at which time an electronic copy of the final report must be submitted to the Registrar for filing. Indexed electronic copies of any supporting documents or transcripts must be provided within four weeks of the commission end date. The report and any supporting documentation should be provided in PDF file format.
5. The report may be received as evidence and the author may be cross-examined on it.

Me tuku atu te Kairēhita i tētehi kape o tēnei whakahau ki ērā ki te rārangi whakamōhio mō Wai 3300, Tomokia ngā tatau o Matangireia – the Constitutional Kaupapa Inquiry.

*The Registrar is to send a copy of this direction to all those on the distribution list for Wai 3300, Tomokia ngā tatau o Matangireia – the Constitutional Kaupapa Inquiry.*

**WHAKAPŪMAUTIA** ki Te Tai Rāwhiti i te 30 o te Kohitātea 2026



Kaiwhakawā Matua Dr C L Fox  
Tumuaki

**TE RŌPŪ WHAKAMANA I TE TIRITI O WAITANGI**