

Working Paper 2020/07

Analysis of the 2017 Labour- New Zealand First Coalition Agreement, Three Years On

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Contents

1.0	Introduction	4
1.1	Background	4
1.2	Method of analysis	6
1.3	Purpose	6
2.0	Status of the priorities set out in the Labour-New Zealand First Coalition Agreement	8
	References	17

List of Tables

Table 1:	Status of the priorities set out in the Labour-New Zealand First Coalition Agreement	8
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1.0 Introduction

This working paper assesses the extent to which the policies contained in the coalition agreement between the New Zealand Labour Party and New Zealand First¹ (hereafter referred to as Labour and NZ First respectively) has been implemented during the 52nd Parliament, being the period between 7 November 2017 and 6 September 2020.

Given that a coalition agreement is the basis upon which government is formed, it is important to understand what policy priorities have and have not been implemented over the three-year parliamentary term and, where appropriate, what policy priorities were changed due to unforeseen events or changes in priorities. This analysis may also indicate the types of policy the minority party might wish to pursue in future agreements, such as unfinished business or next stages/steps in the evolution of a policy that has been implemented this term.

It should be noted that this analysis does not provide clarity around whether an agreement has been successful (or not), or, indeed, whether the policy priorities were good (or not). For example, if the analysis found that 100 percent of all priorities were implemented, this may indicate different things to different people, such as:

- ◆ The minority party lacked ambition (for example, they only selected easy to implement priorities),
- ◆ The minority party failed to be flexible and/or responsive to the evolving policy needs of New Zealanders (for example, they tended to be operational/box ticking rather than strategic), and/or
- ◆ The majority party negotiated policy that was already part of their policy (resulting in the agreement, in practice, being irrelevant).

Importantly, the McGuinness Institute is non-partisan and sits outside of government. Our focus is therefore on the extent to which policies have been implemented, as evidenced in the public arena. If there is no evidence in the public arena, the Institute has no proof that a policy has been implemented. This may be to a party's disadvantage, as we acknowledge that there are times when agreements are made and actions taken that are not in the public arena.

In addition to this working paper, a second, *Working Paper 2020/08 – Analysis of the 2017 Labour-Green Party Confidence and Supply Agreement, three years on*, assesses the extent to which the policy contained in the confidence and supply agreement has been implemented. These two papers form part of the Institute's Project *CivicsNZ*. The Institute is currently working on other papers and think pieces in this series.

1.1 Background

Since 1996, New Zealand's mixed-member proportional (MMP) system has often resulted in two or more parliamentary political parties agreeing a way forward. These arrangements usually take the form of a coalition agreement and/or a support agreement, made between an election and before the appointment of government, as outlined in the *Cabinet Manual* (DPMC, 2017a).² Support agreements can take many forms, the most common being a confidence and supply agreement. In 2013, the Governor-General, Lt Gen The Rt Hon Sir Jerry Mateparae, acknowledged the importance of the characteristics of 'quantity' and 'clarity' when

1 See <https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/nzfirst/pages/1911/attachments/original/1508875804/LabourandNewZealandFirstCoalitionAgreement2017.pdf?1508875804>.

2 Para 5.27: Coalition governments may decide to establish 'agree to disagree' processes, which may allow Ministers within the coalition to maintain, in public, different party positions on particular issues or policies. Once the final outcome of any 'agree to disagree' issue or policy has been determined (either at the Cabinet level or through some other agreed process), Ministers must implement the resulting decision or legislation, regardless of their position throughout the decision-making process.
Para 5.28: 'Agree to disagree' processes may only be used in relation to differing party positions within a coalition. Any public dissociation from Cabinet decisions by individual coalition Ministers outside the agreed processes is unacceptable.
Para 6.18: Under New Zealand's proportional representation electoral system, it is likely that two or more parties will negotiate coalition or support agreements so that a government can be formed, whether it is a majority or minority government. A coalition agreement provides for a closer relationship between two or more parties than a support agreement, a distinguishing characteristic of coalition agreements being that coalition parties are represented in Cabinet (DPMC, 2017a, pp. 95, 108).

forming a government (Govt House, 2013).³ In 2017, Labour signed a coalition agreement with NZ First and a confidence and supply agreement with the Green Party.

The two agreement types differ. A coalition agreement commits both parties to govern together and apply ‘collective responsibility’. This mechanism is put in place through the appointment of a minister/ministers to Cabinet (see footnote 2). A coalition agreement is not a coalition agreement unless both parties are represented in Cabinet (DPMC, 2017a). For example, the 2017 coalition agreement states ‘New Zealand First will have four Ministers inside Cabinet’ (p. 6).

In contrast, a confidence and supply agreement enables signatories a greater degree of separation; for example, it may require a minority party to speak on behalf of the New Zealand Government when a topic sits within their portfolio, but allow that minority party to disagree on certain policies when it is beyond their remit (Bracewell-Worrall, 2017). Under a confidence and supply agreement, a Minister of the Crown can be appointed as a representative of the minority party, but that Minister must sit outside of Cabinet, enabling the party to operate in such a way that it does not need to meet the high standard of collective responsibility.

The *Cabinet Office Circular: Labour-New Zealand First Coalition, with Confidence and Supply from the Green Party: Consultation and Operating Arrangements* (15 December 2017) contains a link to a pdf of the 2017 coalition agreement.⁴ This is the first time, to our knowledge, that an agreement has become part of a Cabinet paper.

The operation arrangements are explained in the *Cabinet Office Circular*:

Arrangements between Labour and New Zealand First and collective responsibility

- 5 Labour and New Zealand First, under the terms of the coalition agreement, will be coalition parties in government on the basis that they:
 - 5.1 agree to support and promote the matters and issues which have been subject to agreement between them;
 - 5.2 will work collaboratively and in good faith to reach agreement on particular policy and legislative initiatives.
- 6 Labour and New Zealand First Ministers as members of the coalition are subject to the principle of collective responsibility as set out in the Cabinet Manual. This means that once Cabinet makes a decision, Ministers must support it (unless ‘agree to disagree’ provisions apply) regardless of their personal views and whether or not they were at the meeting concerned.
- 7 As provided for in the Cabinet Manual and coalition agreement, the parties may decide to ‘agree to disagree’ on some particular issues or policies where negotiated between the party leaders. In such circumstances, the parties may express alternative views publicly and in Parliament.
- 8 Any issues or policies subject to ‘agree to disagree’ arrangements will be determined on a case by case basis between the Labour and New Zealand First party leaders.
- 21 Labour and New Zealand First have committed to work together in coalition government in good faith and with no surprises, reflecting appropriate notice and consultation on important matters, including the ongoing development of policy. (DPMC, 2017b, paras 5-8, 21)

3 ‘The question is, what do our constitutional arrangements require of political parties before a prospective government can be sworn in by the Governor-General? In a nutshell, it’s about quantity and clarity ... The formation of a government depends on one or more parties being able to show they will have a majority in the House of Representatives – that they have “the confidence of the House”. This is where governments in parliamentary systems like ours get their legitimacy from: by having the support of a majority of members in a democratically-elected parliament. This is the “quantity” part of the equation. The prospective government needs to be able to show it will have the numbers ... I’d now like to turn to the “clarity” side of the equation. Under MMP it is not enough for a party or grouping of parties simply to have the numbers in the House. They must also communicate the result of their negotiations so the public knows what sort of government has been formed, and so as Governor-General, I can appoint the leader of that party or grouping as Prime Minister (Govt House, 2013).

4 See <https://dPMC.govt.nz/sites/default/files/2017-12/coc-17-10.pdf>.

1.2 Method of analysis

Each of the priorities/goals stated in the Labour-NZ First coalition agreement are included in the table in Section 2.0.

NZ First set a number of priorities to progress, and these included a range of goals and initiatives. The Institute has assigned numbers and letters to individual priorities to enable them to be easily identified and discussed. When single priorities contain more than one goal or initiative, these have been separated, indicated by ellipses.

To assess the priorities, the Institute has assigned each individual priority a status of either fully, partially, or not implemented, or, in rare cases, not applicable (N/A). A priority is only assigned the status of N/A when it is not able to be assessed due to its broad and non-specific nature.

Whether something is considered to be implemented depends on the wording used in the agreement. For example, if the action is ‘a commitment to relocate government functions into the regions’, our approach is to find public evidence of that ‘commitment’. Alternatively, if the action is ‘review and reform of the Reserve Bank Act’, our approach is to find public evidence of a ‘review’ and/or a ‘reform’.

A final draft of the initial analysis was sent to NZ First to invite their observations and suggestions. The Institute has incorporated all feedback into the table below. In cases where we did not completely agree, we have included comments in the form of ‘Notes from NZ First’ followed by ‘Notes from the McGuinness Institute’, in order to explain our reasoning. The feedback also suggested that the Institute look at ‘Election 2020: New Zealand First Coalition agreement - progress report’, an article written by Audrey Young and published in *NZ Herald* on 18 July 2020.⁵ This article provided a very useful overview.

Special thanks must go to Jon Johansson, NZ First leader Winston Peters’ Chief of Staff, for his assistance in reviewing our work. We appreciate how busy Jon and his colleagues must be and thank them all for their efforts at this important time in history.

1.3 Purpose

The Institute has previously expressed its interest in establishing greater due diligence and public scrutiny in the accessibility and assessment of coalition agreements and support agreements. In a letter to all MPs in November 2019, the Institute expressed the following:

[A]s we enter the 2020 elections, [we] have concerns about previous coalition agreements and how they might evolve going forward.

Coalition agreements are different to standard government policy in that they are developed after votes are counted and before the Governor-General is satisfied that a stable government can be formed. We suggest that coalition agreements require a higher level of due diligence, transparency and assurance, compared with policies developed after a government is formed.

There may be risks to the current process that have not been fully considered or assessed. These risks may be heightened given our two major parties have indicated they would not consider forming a coalition. Hence under our current system, coalition agreements may have the potential to create incentives for small parties to negotiate a form of ‘government’ within wider government (as there is no limit to the amount of Crown funds that could be agreed) or to put in place a mechanism to try and ‘buy’ an electorate over the electoral term in order to bypass the 5% threshold in the next election.

In light of this we wonder whether coalition agreements deserve some form of public scrutiny (no independent public accountability and assurance process appears to be in place). This could be a public report that analyses each of the priorities that sit within a coalition agreement. If a priority was implemented, the report could clarify how it was delivered, at what cost and what the impacts and outcomes were. If not implemented, the report could clarify why not. This type of report could be prepared and published by each party and assured by the Electoral Commission and/or the Office of the Auditor-General (say six weeks before an election). With the coalition agreements

5 View Audrey Young’s article (18 July 2020) here: <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?cid=1&objectid=12348676>.

having had such a significant impact on public policy, we argue this area of our democratic practice requires greater attention. (McGuinness, 2019, pp. 4–5)

The Institute wanted to undertake this review for several reasons. Firstly, minority parties that gain a seat in the House of Representatives (after an election and before the formation of government) may be faced with the opportunity to negotiate and sign some form of agreement without easy access to, or reviews of, past agreements. We hope this review and the full list of agreements, (included in *Think Piece 36: Political parties and their agreements*), will provide political parties with useful insights into the writing and reviewing of agreements.

Today we are seeing an increasing number of agreements being signed after an election and before the formation of government – sometimes even during a term of government. Throughout history, we have seen the evolution of alliances between competing political parties before an election, for example the formation of the 1936 Rātana and Labour alliance or the 1991 Alliance Party (Curtin & Miller, 2015; MCH, 2020). However, the number and nature of these agreements have increased significantly since MMP was introduced in 1996. One example of this is the 2009 *Memorandum of Understanding between the National Party and the Green Party* (8 April 2009); another is the 2010 amendment to the National and ACT confidence and supply agreement (17 August 2010). Although the number and nature of these agreements are growing, the type of content is becoming increasingly alike – a long list of priorities, detailed descriptions (less strategic and more operational) and where possible, the addition of specific time frames. Arguably the request by the former Governor-General, the Lt Gen The Rt Hon Sir Jerry Mateparae, for leaders of political parties to make agreements ‘unambiguous explanations of their intentions’, has been heard:

What is required are clear and public statements by the party leaders concerned, showing that the prospective government will have the confidence of the House. By clear and public statements I mean that the parties forming or supporting the government must make unambiguous explanations of their intentions on matters of confidence, so it is obvious to everyone where party allegiances in the House will lie. (Govt House, 2013)

Importantly, the only technical distinction between a coalition and a support arrangement is that a coalition requires both signatories to be represented in Cabinet and apply ‘collective responsibility’. Other than this technical distinction, the structure of recent agreements appear to share a similar format regardless of the type of agreements. It will be interesting to see whether the new agreements that eventuate as a result of the 2020 elections, if any, will follow the recent trend for numerous priorities, detailed descriptions and specific time frames.

Secondly, although they are more common, the agreements are not official documents or parliamentary papers but are owned by the parties themselves. This means that past agreements are difficult to find. Furthermore, as was the case after the 2017 election, agreements that are not signed are often not made public. For example, the National Party draft agreement with NZ First was not released.

However, most importantly, our purpose in preparing these working papers was proof of concept: would a review be difficult, and is it useful? The two 2017 agreements were not difficult to review, but we leave the reader to be the judge of whether this review is useful.

In the future, we would like to see all political party agreements tabled at the beginning of the parliamentary term and then reviewed and audited (for example, by the Office of the Auditor-General) and tabled on the last day of the parliamentary term. A more detailed discussion and a full list of agreements in the public arena since the first MMP election in 1996 can be found in our *Think Piece 36: Political parties and their agreements*.

2.0 Status of the priorities set out in the Labour-New Zealand First Coalition Agreement

The detailed analysis is contained in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Status of the priorities set out in the Labour-New Zealand First Coalition Agreement

	Agreements	Status	Evidence
Regional Economic Development and Primary Industries			
1.	A \$1b per annum Regional Development (Provincial Growth) Fund, including:	Fully implemented	As of 31 July 2019, the Government allocated \$3 billion over three years into the Provincial Growth Fund (Grow Regions, 2019).
a)	Significant investment in regional rail.	Fully implemented	On 30 May 2019, as part of the 2019 Budget announcements, \$1.042 billion was allocated as the first instalment for rail investments over the next decade. This included \$300 million for regional rail from the Provincial Growth Fund (MoT, 2019).
b)	Planting 100 million trees per year in a Billion Trees Planting Programme.	Fully implemented	As at 18 May 2020, an estimated 149,399,000 trees have been planted under the Government's One Billion Trees Programme, which aims to have planted one billion trees by 2028 (MPI, 2020).
c)	Commissioning a feasibility study on the options for moving the Ports of Auckland, including giving Northport serious consideration.	Fully implemented	On 18 February 2020, the Government released the final report from the Upper North Island Supply Chain Strategy (UNISCS) Working Group, which explores options for moving the Port of Auckland to Northport (MoT, 2020).
d)	Other large-scale capital projects.	Fully implemented	On 29 January 2020, the Government announced a \$12 billion investment into the New Zealand Upgrade Programme. The programme will invest in upgrading rail, roads, walking and cycling infrastructure as well as hospitals, schools and regional infrastructure (Beehive, 2020). On 1 July 2020, the Government announced a \$3 billion COVID Response and Recovery Fund (CRRF) as part of the 2020 Budget. The infrastructure investment aims to create over 20,000 jobs through investing in projects across regions including projects for climate resilience and flood protection, transformative energy projects, large-scale construction projects and regional digital connectivity (Robertson & Jones, 2020).
2.	A commitment to relocate government functions into the regions.	Partially implemented	On 24 June 2020, State Services Minister Chris Hipkins indicated that a proposal is set to be released surrounding the idea of establishing 'regional hubs'. This would move some of the government workforce out of Wellington and into the regions (George, 2020). Two other coalition priorities – the establishment of Te Uru Rākau – Forestry New Zealand (see priority 4) and the establishment of the Criminal Cases Review Commission (see priority 32) – have their locations in Rotorua and Hamilton respectively (Jones, 2019; Leaman, 2020).
3.	Re-establish the New Zealand Forestry Service, to be located in regional New Zealand.	Fully implemented	On 11 May 2018, the Government formed the Te Uru Rākau – Forestry New Zealand business unit and announced that the 2018 Budget will invest \$15 million into operating funds (Jones, 2018).
4.	An increase to MPI BiosecurityNZ's resourcing...	Fully implemented	On 17 May 2018, as part of the 2018 Budget, the Government announced that BiosecurityNZ will receive \$9.3 million over four years (Stuff, 2018).

	Agreements	Status	Evidence
a)	...and a Select Committee Inquiry into Biosecurity.	Not implemented	This does not appear to have been implemented.
5.	Honour existing Crown Irrigation investment commitments	Fully implemented	On 5 April 2018, Finance Minister Grant Robertson announced that the Government would begin 'winding down public funding for large-scale irrigation through Crown Irrigation Investments Limited (CIIL), in line with the Coalition Agreement and the Confidence & Supply Agreement', while all existing commitments will 'be honoured to the close of the current phase of each contract' (Robertson, 2018).
6.	Recognise the potential for aquaculture in promoting regional economic growth.	Fully implemented	On 18 September 2019, the Government released its strategy to work alongside the aquaculture industry 'to deliver economic growth and jobs for the regions'. The strategy aims to turn aquaculture into a \$3 billion industry by 2035 (Nash, 2019).
7.	Examination of agricultural debt mediation as well as receivership fees and charges.	Fully implemented	On 13 December 2019, the Farm Debt Mediation Bill (No 2) received Royal assent. The Bill established the farm mediation scheme (NZ Parliament, 2019a).
Economy			
8.	Review and reform of the Reserve Bank Act.	Partially implemented	Phase one of the review of the Reserve Bank Act 1989 was completed in 2018. Phase two of the review was announced on 7 June 2018 is currently ongoing (Treasury, 2020). Note from New Zealand First: Item 8: We would argue that with Phase Two of the Reserve Bank review underway that this item is closer to fully implemented than partially. Note from McGuinness Institute: Given the policy priority includes a complete reform of the Reserve Bank Act, we consider the priority to be 'partially implemented'.
9.	Reform government procurement rules to give New Zealand companies greater access.	Fully implemented	On 1 October 2019, the 4th edition of the Government Procurement Rules came into force. One of the priority outcomes of the update was to 'increase New Zealand businesses' access to government procurement' (NZ Government Procurement, n.d.).
10.	Review the official measures for unemployment to ensure they accurately reflect the workforce of the 21st Century.	Not implemented	This does not appear to have been implemented.
11.	Progressively increase the Minimum Wage to \$20 per hour by 2020, with the final increase to take effect in April 2021.	Fully implemented	On 1 April 2020, the minimum wage rose from \$17.70 to \$18.90 per hour, with intentions of getting minimum wage to \$20 per hour in 2021 (Employment NZ, 2020; RNZ, 2019).
12.	Increase penalties for corporate fraud and tax evasion.	Partially implemented	On 27 June 2018, the Taxation (Neutralising Base Erosion and Profit Shifting) Bill received Royal assent (NZ Parliament, 2018a). The Bill included a penalty for large multinational groups of up to \$100,000 if they fail to provide information to IRD within the timeframe required (IRD, 2020, p. 14). NZ First has also indicated on its website that 'it wanted to double the criminal penalty for tax evasion offences to 10 years per offence – and increase fines from up to \$50,000 to \$5 million per offence'; however, it does not appear that any work has been undertaken by the Law Commission to address this policy priority (NZ Herald, 2017).

	Agreements	Status	Evidence
13.	Investigate growing KiwiBank's capital base and capabilities so that it is positioned to become the Government's Banker when that contract is next renewed.	Partially implemented	In 2019, Treasury was to investigate whether KiwiBank is positioned to become the Government's bank. Finance Minister Grant Robertson indicated that the report would be provided to ministers in late 2019, but this does not appear to have happened yet. The Government's current contract with Australian-owned bank Westpac expires in 2023 (Anthony, 2018).
14.	Strengthen the Overseas Investment Act...	Fully implemented	On 22 August 2020, the Overseas Investment Amendment Bill received Royal assent (NZ Parliament, 2018b). The bill bans overseas buyers from purchasing existing homes in New Zealand, to assist in improving New Zealand's housing shortage and declining rate of home ownership (Parker, 2018). On 2 June 2020, the Overseas Investment (Urgent Measures) Amendment Bill (a result of the fall out of COVID-19) and the Overseas Investment Amendment Bill (No 3) received Royal assent (NZ Parliament, 2020a). The Bills aim to further protect New Zealand assets from overseas ownership. One of the new measures includes a 'new emergency notification regime which will require overseas persons to notify the government of certain investments with a controlling stake in an existing business or business assets (Parker, 2020).
a)	...and undertake a comprehensive register of foreign-owned land and housing.	Not implemented	This does not appear to have been implemented. However, an article on <i>Stuff</i> has indicated that Stats NZ is 'currently working on a comprehensive register of foreign-owned land and housing' (Dunkley, 2020).
Research and Development			
15.	Work to increase Research & Development spending to 2% of GDP over ten years.	Partially implemented	On 7 May 2019, The Taxation (Research and Development Tax Credits) Act 2019 was given Royal assent, and introduced a tax incentive for businesses conducting research and development (NZ Parliament, 2019b; MBIE, 2019a).
Health			
16.	Re-establish the Mental Health Commission.	Fully implemented	On 14 November 2019, the Government introduced the Mental Health and Wellbeing Commission Bill which gained Royal assent on 30 June 2020. The Act's objective is 'to establish a Mental Health and Wellbeing Commission' (NZ Parliament, 2020b).
17.	Annual Free Health Check for Seniors including an eye check as part of the SuperGold Card.	Fully implemented	On 14 May 2020, as part of the 2020 Budget, it was announced that SuperGold cardholders will get free annual health and eye check-ups as part of the new health spending (Jones, 2020).
18.	Teen Health Checks for all Year 9 students.	Not implemented	The 2018 Budget did not include teen health checks for all year 9 students, nor have subsequent budgets (Health Central, 2018). Note from New Zealand First: Item 18: Should be partially implemented. Appropriation gained in 2020 Budget but won't be delivered until 2021. Note from the McGuinness Institute: The appropriation is not in the public arena, we acknowledge the above note but have recorded this priority as 'not implemented'.
19.	Free doctors' visits for all under 14s.	Fully implemented	On 1 December 2018, the Government extended free visits to GPs to under-14-year-olds (Walls, 2018a).

	Agreements	Status	Evidence
20.	Progressively increase the age for free breast screening to 74.	Not implemented	However, the Ministry of Health did submit a report in May 2019 titled <i>Impact Analysis: Extending BreastScreen Aotearoa to include women aged 70-74</i> to the government (MoH, 2019).
Education			
21.	Develop a 30 year strategic plan for New Zealand education.	Partially implemented	<p>On 17 September 2019, the Education Minister Chris Hipkins released the discussion document <i>Shaping a Stronger Education System with New Zealanders</i>, which ‘outlines the long-term vision, objective actions’ that resulted from the Education Conversation/Kōrero Mātauranga, which saw nearly 50,000 New Zealanders submit on the future of education in New Zealand. The discussion document includes two consultations, one exploring early learning and schooling while the other explores tertiary education. Consultations closed on 25 October and 25 November 2019 respectively (Hipkins, 2019).</p> <p>Note from New Zealand First: Item 21: Should be fully implemented in our view. Been through Cabinet this month and so delivers on agreement.</p> <p>Note from the McGuinness Institute: It is not in the public arena. Although we acknowledge the above note, we can only record this priority as ‘partially implemented’.</p>
22.	Restore funding for gifted students.	Fully implemented	On 27 February 2019, Associate Education Minister Tracey Martin announced a \$1.27 million package in funding for gifted learners. The package will bring gifted children together once a week to engage in ‘different types of challenging and strength-based learning’ (Martin, 2019).
23.	Pilot counsellors in primary schools.	Fully implemented	On 31 July 2020, the Government announced \$44 million in funding over four years to ‘contract local community organisations to provide guidance counselling to both primary and secondary school students’ (Martin, 2020).
24.	Offer free driver training to all secondary students.	Partially implemented	Beginning 1 June 2019, the Government introduced a \$5 million scheme that provides free driving lessons and driving tests to young people on benefits or in care (Kenny, 2019).
25.	Restore funding for Computers in Homes.	Fully implemented	On 3 July 2018, the Government announced a process of allocating \$1 million of ACE in Communities funding into Digital Literacy – Computers in Homes programmes. A number of organisations have been allocated the funds (TEC, 2019).
26.	Restart the Te Kotahitanga teacher professional development initiative.	Fully implemented	In 2018, the Ministry of Education reviewed Te Kotahitanga and developed a new approach based on evidence and research, this resulted in Te Hurihanganui. The 2019 Wellbeing Budget invested \$42 million over three years to implement the initiative (MOE, 2019).
Defence			
27.	Re-examine the Defence procurement programme within the context of the 2016 Defence Capability Plan budget.	Fully implemented	On 11 June 2019, Defence Minister Ron Mark announced the Defence Capability Plan 2019 which looks to spend its \$20 billion budget over 11 years (Walls, 2019).

	Agreements	Status	Evidence
Housing			
28.	Establish a Housing Commission.	Not implemented	On 1 August 2018, the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development was established, designed to address the national housing crisis (Twyford, 2018). On 1 October 2019, the Government established the Crown agency Kāinga Ora – Homes and Communities (Kāinga Ora, 2020). Neither of these are a commission.
Law and Order			
29.	Strive towards adding 1800 new Police officers over three years and commit to a serious focus on combatting organised crime and drugs.	Fully implemented	On 21 November 2019, the Government achieved its commitment to adding 1800 new police officers to frontline policing (Ardern et al., 2019).
30.	Investigate a volunteer rural constabulary programme.	Fully implemented	A policy paper prepared by senior police in 2018 indicated that they did not recommend introducing a Special Constabulary in New Zealand (Vance, 2019).
31.	Increase Community Law Centre funding.	Fully implemented	On 27 June 2019, it was announced that Community Law Centres had received \$8.72 million in funding over the following four years (NZ Law Society, 2019).
32.	Establish a Criminal Cases Review Commission.	Fully implemented	On 16 November 2019 The Criminal Cases Review Commission Act 2019 received Royal assent. The Act established the Criminal Cases Law Review Commission. The Act came into force on 1 July 2020 (MoJ, n.d.).
Social Development			
33.	Increase funding for family violence networks, including Women’s Refuge and Shakti.	Fully implemented	On 12 May 2020, as part of the 2020 Budget, the Government announced it would invest an additional \$183 million over the next four years to family violence services for victims/survivors and perpetrators of family violence (Women’s Refuge, 2020).
34.	Pilot the Youth Education, Training & Employment initiative.	Not implemented	The Youth Employment Training and Education Bill was first introduced in March 2017 but did not pass the first reading (NZ Parliament, 2017).
35.	Provide 800 extra places for the LSV scheme.	Fully implemented	On 17 May 2018, as part of the 2018 Budget, \$26 million in funding over four years was allocated to the Limited Services Volunteer Programme (LSV). The expansion provides a further 800 places per year to the programme (MSD, 2018).
36.	Introduce programmes for long-term unemployed to improve work readiness such as ‘Ready for Work’.	Fully implemented	On 9 August 2018, the Government announced the Mana in Mahi – Strength in Work Scheme, which aims to fund 4000 18–24 year olds, who have been unemployed for six months and over, to undertake apprenticeships and traineeships, through paying part of their wages. The employers will also pay the employers \$3000–\$6000 for the pastoral care (Collins, 2018). On 5 August 2020, as part of the Government response to COVID-19, an Apprentice Support Programme was set up and implemented. It expands the Mahi in Mana programme in addition to the Apprenticeship Boost and the Regional Apprenticeship Initiative (MSD, n.d.).

	Agreements	Status	Evidence
Superannuitants			
37.	Introduce a new generation SuperGold smartcard containing entitlements and concessions.	Fully implemented	On 1 October 2019, the new SuperGold Card website and phone app were launched. These offer discounts and concessions for 5500 business, and were part of a \$7.7 million investment announced by the Government (Manch, 2019).
38.	National Superannuation eligibility to remain at 65.	Fully implemented	As at July 2020, the Superannuation eligibility age remains at 65.
Environment			
39.	The government's vehicle fleet, where practicable, to become emissions-free by 2025/26.	Partially implemented	As at October 2019, 78 of the 15,473 government vehicles are electric. In June 2019, the Government shifted the goal to be that 'after mid-2025, all new vehicles entering the fleet will be emissions-free' (Daalder, 2019).
40.	Introduce a Zero Carbon Act and an independent Climate Commission, based on the recommendations of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment.	Fully implemented	On 13 November 2019, the Climate Change Response (Zero Carbon) Amendment Bill gained Royal assent. The Bill established the Climate Change Commission (NZ Parliament, 2019c).
41.	If the Climate Commission determines that agriculture is to be included in the ETS, then upon entry, the free allocation to agriculture will be 95% but with all revenues from this source recycled back into agriculture in order to encourage agricultural innovation, mitigation and additional planting of forestry.	Partially implemented	On 24 October 2019, the government decided that agriculture would not be included in the revised version of the ETS (Taunton, 2019). Agricultural emissions will be priced in 2025 and the Government is exploring mechanisms for what this might look like, including an Interim Climate Change Committee (ICCC) recommendation of 'developing a fund, led by farming leaders, to build the skills and technologies farmers will need to measure and manage their on-farm emissions. [This] could provide a fund of \$47 million a year which would be 100 percent recycled back into fitting out farmers and growers' (O'Connor & Shaw, 2019).
42.	Significantly increase funding for the Department of Conservation.	Fully implemented	On 17 May 2018, as part of the 2018 Budget, a \$181.62 million funding increase over the next four years was announced (DoC, 2018). On 30 May 2019, as part of the 2019 Wellbeing Budget announcements an additional \$10.699 million over the next four years was allocated to improve DoC's security and health and safety systems (DoC, 2019). On 12 May 2020, as part of the 2020 Budget, an additional \$501.8 million over four years for 'nature-based jobs as part of the Government's COVID-19 Economic Reset and Recovery package' was allocated. The Government also allocated \$23.1 million of additional operating funding and an additional \$13.7 million contingency funding (DoC, 2020).
43.	Establish a tyre stewardship fund.	Fully implemented	On 29 July 2020 the Government announced that six products, including tyres, will be declared 'priority products' for the establishment of regulated product stewardship schemes under the Waste Minimisation Act (Sage, 2020).
44.	Increase support for National Science Challenges...	Fully implemented	Beginning in May 2018, the Government undertook a mid-way review of the National Science Challenges and concluded that it would fund the 11 Challenges at the maximum funding amount - which amounts to a total investment of \$680.8 million for the five year period of 2019-2024 (NSC, 2018, p. 2; MBIE, n.d.[a]).

	Agreements	Status	Evidence
a)	...including for piloting alternatives to 1080 and...	Fully implemented	<p>The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) disclosed the new and ongoing research into alternatives for 1080 in their 2018–2019 annual report on aerial 1080 operations (EPA, 2018, pp. 21–31).</p> <p>On 19 February 2019, the Government announced that the Provincial Growth Fund (PGF) would be investing \$19.5 million into Predator Free 2050 in order to ‘develop innovative approaches to expand predator control in Regional New Zealand’ and reduce the need to use 1080 (Jones & Sage, 2019).</p> <p>On 9 July 2020, the Government announced that the PGF would be investing \$1.7 million into Predator Free 2050 to fund ‘new rat poison, a camera with predator recognition software...a new predator lure and a reporting and communications system’ as alternative tools to control pests and predators’ (Sage & Tabuteau, 2020).</p>
b)	...countering myrtle rust...	Fully implemented	<p>On 20 November 2018, the Government announced an additional \$13.75 million in funding over three years for research to combat the spread of myrtle rust and kauri dieback (Marcroft, 2018). In July 2019, the Ministry for Primary Industries (MPI) released a report titled <i>Potential disease control tools most likely to be effective against Austropuccinia psidii</i> (Chng et al, 2019).</p>
c)	...and kauri dieback.	Fully implemented	<p>On 20 November 2018, the Government announced an additional \$13.75 million in funding over three years for research to combat the spread of myrtle rust and kauri dieback (Marcroft, 2018).</p>
45.	No resource rentals for water in this term of Parliament.	Fully implemented	<p>On 17 April 2019, the Government reiterated that ‘it will not introduce resource rentals for water or a fertiliser tax in this term of Parliament’ in response to recommendations from the Tax Working Group (Robertson & Nash, 2019).</p>
46.	Introduce a royalty on exports of bottled water.	Not implemented	<p>On 25 January 2019, in response to an OIA request, the Government published all of its requested advice regarding placing royalties on the export of bottled water. All briefings, reports aides memoire, memos and other advice were part of this release (MfE, 2019).</p> <p>On 11 March 2019, the Minister for Trade and Export Growth indicated that a royalty was likely to be charged, but that Cabinet had not yet made a decision (Daly, 2019).</p>
47.	Higher water quality standards for urban and rural using measurements which take into account seasonal differences.	Partially implemented	<p>On 5 September 2019, the Government launched its Action Plan for Health Waterways which aims to ‘stop the degradation of our rivers and lakes’. The plans include setting higher water quality standards (Parker & O’Connor, 2019).</p>
48.	Work with Māori and other quota holders to resolve outstanding issues in the Kermadec Ocean Sanctuary Bill in a way that is satisfactory to both Labour and New Zealand First.	Not implemented	<p>At the time of writing this working paper, the Kermadec Ocean Sanctuary Bill is yet to progress past its second reading in Parliament (NZ Parliament, 2016). Public evidence to progress this policy was not found.</p>

	Agreements	Status	Evidence
Democracy			
49.	No new Parliamentary building to proceed this term.	Fully implemented	On 19 December 2018 it was revealed that the scrapping of parliamentary building plans would cost \$3 million (Walls, 2018b).
50.	Independent review of the integrity of electoral processes and enrolments.	Not implemented	A review does not appear to have been undertaken.
51.	Review the processes of Parliament to reflect an MMP environment.	Partially implemented	In 2017, Deputy Prime Minister Winston Peters indicated he wanted to change the seating arrangement in Parliament to better reflect MMP. The seating was changed to enable New Zealand First MPs to sit with Peters, who is required to sit next to the Prime Minister. Usually minor parties in the coalition government would be seated further from the speaker after all main party MPs are seated but NZ First MPs now sit with Peters, next to the Speaker of the House. Green Party MPs sit to the right of Labour MPs (RNZ, 2017; NZ Parliament, 2020c).
52.	Introduce and pass a 'Waka Jumping' Bill.	Fully implemented	On 3 October 2018 The Electoral (Integrity) Amendment Bill received Royal assent (NZ Parliament, 2018c). The bill prevents 'waka jumping' which is the ability for an MP to 'ditch' their party during a parliamentary term (McCulloch, 2018).
Immigration			
53.	As per Labour's policy, pursue Labour and New Zealand First's shared priorities to:	Fully implemented	On 18 December 2018, a Cabinet paper titled <i>A new approach to employer-assisted work visas and regional workforce planning</i> and a consultation paper of a similar name <i>Employer-assisted Work Visas and Regional Workforce Planning</i> were published with the aim of exploring how to ensure work visas reflect genuine skill shortages (MBIE, n.d.[b]). This led to proposals made in two Cabinet papers, published 9 October 2019, which are planned to be implemented in stages between 2019 and 2021 (MBIE, 2019b; NZ Immigration, 2019, p. 11).
a)	Ensure work visas issued reflect genuine skills shortages and cut down on low quality international education courses.		
b)	Take serious action on migrant exploitation, particularly of international students.	Fully implemented	
			On 6 November 2018, the Government announced it would begin research into migrant exploitation, particularly international students. Since then, proposed a series of changes that were released for public consultation and a consultation group was set up (MBIE, 2020a). On 27 July 2020, the Government announced it would be investing \$50 million over four years to implement changes to reduced exploitation. As at July 2020, the Government is drafting a bill to enact legislative reforms (Peters et al., 2020).
Other			
54.	Commit to re-entry to Pike River.	Fully implemented	As at 28 July 2020, the PRRA are projecting a recovery 1570m goal by the end of July (PRRA, 2020).
55.	Build a museum to commemorate the Māori Battalion at Waitangi.	Fully implemented	On 5 February 2020, Te Rau Aroha, a new museum 'honouring Māori who fought in conflicts here and overseas' opened in Waitangi (Hurihanganui, 2020).
56.	Hold a full-scale review into retail power pricing.	Fully implemented	The Government undertook a 13-month review of electricity pricing in New Zealand. The final report was delivered to the Minister of Energy and Resources in May 2019 and the Government response to the recommendations was released on 3 October 2019 (MBIE, 2020b, Electricity Authority, 2019).

	Agreements	Status	Evidence
57.	Allow a conscience vote for MPs on New Zealand First's Supplementary Order Paper to the End of Life Choice Bill, which provides for a referendum.	Fully implemented	On 13 November 2019 the End of Life Choice Bill was passed via a conscience vote for its third reading . It 'will ... be put to a public referendum' in the 2020 General Election (<i>NZ Herald</i> , 2019).
58.	Hold a Public Inquiry "A decade after Shand" to investigate the drivers of local government costs and its revenue base.	Fully implemented	On 16 July 2018, as the Government initiated an inquiry into local government funding and financing, the New Zealand Productivity Commission (NZPC) was given its first brief. On 30 November 2019, NZPC released the <i>Final Report</i> . The Government is set to respond to the <i>Final Report</i> in 2020 (NZPC, n.d.).
59.	Support New Zealand First's Racing policy.	Fully implemented	On 30 June 2020 the Racing Industry Bill received Royal assent. The Bill 'finalises the post-transition governance structure of the racing industry'. Winston Peters was in charge of the Bill (NZ Parliament, 2020d).
60.	Work towards a Free Trade Agreement with the Russia-Belarus-Kazakhstan Customs Union and initiate Closer Commonwealth Economic Relations.	Not implemented	When viewed on 8 July 2020, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade website indicated that while negotiations began in November 2010, they are 'currently suspended' (MFAT, n.d.).
61.	Record a Cabinet minute regarding the lack of process followed prior to the National-led government's sponsorship of UNSC2334.	Fully implemented	While the Institute was unable to find the Cabinet minute, the 'New Zealand First Coalition Tracker' for 2017-2018 suggests that the priority has been completed (NZ First, 2018, p. 6).

Disclaimer

The McGuinness Institute is a non-partisan think tank. This means our area of interest is public policy rather than political parties. Judgements as to the extent a policy priority has been implemented will contain a degree of subjectivity. To help explain our thinking and/or redirect the reader to more in-depth evidence, a variety of sources (such as press releases, news articles and government department websites) are provided below. If there are any errors, gaps or questions, please contact us at your earliest convenience.

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