

Working Paper 2020/08

Analysis of the 2017 Labour-Green Party Confidence and Supply Agreement, three years on

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1.0 Introduction

This working paper assesses the extent to which the policies contained in the confidence and supply agreement between the New Zealand Labour Party and Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand¹ (hereafter referred to as Labour and Green 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 key document 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 2020/07 – Analysis of the 2017 Labour-New Zealand First Coalition Agreement, three years on*, assesses the extent to which the policy contained in the coalition 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 formation 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/beachheroes/pages/9825/attachments/original/1579134506/NZLP_GP_C_S_Agreement .pdf?157913450](https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/beachheroes/pages/9825/attachments/original/1579134506/NZLP_GP_C_S_Agreement.pdf?157913450).

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*:

Collective responsibility and the Green Party

- 9 As provided for in the confidence and supply agreement, the Green Party have agreed to be bound by collective responsibility in relation to their portfolios (including any specific delegated responsibilities). This means that when Green Party Ministers speak about the issues within their portfolios, they speak for the government and as part of the government.
- 10 When Green Party Ministers speak about matters outside their portfolios, they may speak as political party leaders or members of Parliament (MPs) rather than as Ministers, and do not necessarily represent the government position.
- 11 In public, or in any written communications, Green Party Ministers should be clear about the capacity in which they are speaking (as Minister, or as a member of a political party), particularly if disagreeing with government decisions outside their portfolios.
- 12 When Green Party Ministers represent the government internationally, they speak for the government on all issues that foreign governments may raise with them in their capacity as Ministers.
- 13 As provided for in the confidence and supply agreement, the parties may apply “agree to disagree” provisions in some areas. Any issues or policies subject to “agree to disagree” arrangements will be determined on a case by case basis between the Labour and Green Party leaders. In such circumstances, the parties may express alternative views publicly and in Parliament.
- 22 Labour and the Green Party have committed to consensus decision-making where possible. The Green Party is to be consulted on issues including the broad outline of the legislative programme, significant legislative, regulatory and policy changes, and broad Budget parameters and process (DPMC, 2017b, paras 9-13, 22)

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-Green Party confidence and supply agreement are included in the table in Section 2.0.

The Green Party 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 as implemented depends on the wording used in the agreement. For example, if the action is to ‘use best endeavours and work alongside Māori to establish the Kermadec/Rangitāhua Ocean Sanctuary...’, our approach is to find public evidence of ‘best endeavours’. Alternatively, if it is ‘ensure that every child with special needs and learning difficulties can participate fully in school life’, our approach is to find public evidence that ‘every child’ is now able to fully participate.

It should be noted that a number of the priorities have been given the status of ‘partially implemented’ due to the priority’s broad nature. For example, ‘aim to end energy poverty in New Zealand and ensure that every New Zealander has a warm, dry, secure home, whether they rent or own’ or ‘ensure everyone has access to timely and high quality mental health services, including free counselling for those under 25 years’ are considered ‘partially implemented’ because, while initiatives have been put in place, the initiatives are not stated in the agreement, rather the end goal is stated.

A final draft of the initial analysis was sent to the Green Party to invite their observations and suggestions. The Institute has incorporated all feedback into the table below. In cases where new additions were considered to be commentary rather than evidence to the status of the priorities, these are referred to as ‘Notes from the Green Party’ throughout the table. The Institute also compared our analysis with that of ‘Election 2020: New Zealand Green Party confidence and supply agreement - progress report’, an article written by Audrey Young and published in *NZ Herald* on 4 August 2020.⁵ This article provided a very useful overview.

Special thanks must go to Deb Moran, Green co-leader James Shaw’s chief of staff for her assistance in reviewing our work. We appreciate how busy Deb and her 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.

5 View Audrey Young’s article (4 August 2020) here: https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12353215.

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 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 Ratana 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-Green Party Confidence and Supply Agreement

The detailed analysis is contained in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Status of the priorities set out in the Labour-Green Party Confidence and Supply Agreement

Agreements		Status	Evidence
Sustainable economy			
1.	Adopt and make progress towards the goal of a Net Zero Emissions Economy by 2050, with a particular focus on policy development and initiatives in transport and urban form, energy and primary industries in accordance with milestones to be set by an independent Climate Commission and with a focus on establishing Just Transitions for exposed regions and industries.	Fully implemented	See below.
a)	Introduce a Zero Carbon Act and establish an independent Climate Commission	Fully implemented	On 13 November 2019, the Climate Change Response (Zero Carbon) Amendment Bill received Royal assent. The Bill established the Climate Change Commission and incorporated a net zero target for the year 2050 (NZ Parliament, 2019).
b)	All new legislation will have a climate impact assessment analysis.	Fully implemented	From 1 November 2019, government agencies are required to ‘undertake and report on a greenhouse gas (GHG) analysis, known as a CIPA, for all policy proposals that go to Cabinet and meet certain qualifying material. CIPA stands for a “climate implications of policy assessment”’ (MfE, 2020a).
c)	A comprehensive set of environmental, social and economic sustainability indicators will be developed.	Fully implemented	In July 2018, Stats NZ set up a public consultation to help develop a broad set of indicators (Stats NZ, 2019, p. 9). In 2019, Ngā Tūtohu Aotearoa – Indicators Aotearoa New Zealand was established, and contains a list of over 100 wellbeing indicators that Stats NZ will now be using to collect information on New Zealanders (Stats NZ, n.d.).
d)	A new cross-agency climate change board of public sector CEOs will be established.	Fully implemented	It is unclear when the Board was set up. However, the Climate Chief Executive Board is made up of Chief Executives from the Ministry for the Environment, the Treasury, Ministry of Transport, Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, Ministry for Primary Industries, the Energy Efficiency and Conservation Authority and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (NZPC, 2019, p. i). The Climate Change Chief Executives Board provided advice on the Climate Change Response (Zero Carbon) Amendment Bill (MfE, 2018).
2.	Reduce congestion and carbon emissions by substantially increasing investment in safe walking and cycling, frequent and affordable passenger transport, rail, and sea freight.	Partially implemented	See below.

Agreements		Status	Evidence
a)	Investigate a Green Transport Card as part of work to reduce the cost of public transport, prioritising people in low income households and people on a benefit.	Fully implemented	On 30 May 2019, as part of the 2019 Budget announcements, \$4.6 million in 2019/2020 was allocated to provide funding to investigate a Green Transport Card. This would enable free public transport for low income households (Genter, 2019a). A full review was undertaken but the policy was not implemented in this term.
b)	National Land Transport Fund spending will be reprioritised to increase the investment in rail infrastructure in cities and regions, and cycling and walking.	Fully implemented	<p>On 28 June 2018, the Government released its 2018 Government Policy Statement (GPS) on transport, which announced an investment over ten years of up to \$1.1 billion for new walking and cycling projects, \$4.8 billion for rapid transit, and \$8 billion for public transport (Genter, 2018a).</p> <p>Note from the Green Party: Much of the investment has been reprioritised from low value road projects in the NLTF.</p> <p>On 30 May 2019, as part of the 2019 Budget announcements, \$1 billion was allocated to redevelop KiwiRail (Peters et al., 2019).</p> <p>On 29 January 2020, the Government invested an additional \$6.8 billion for transport infrastructure, including public transport and cycling infrastructure upgrades as part of the New Zealand Upgrade Programme (Twyford, 2020).</p> <p>On 30 June 2020, the Land Transport (Rail) Legislation Bill received Royal assent. This aims to implement a new planning and funding framework for the heavy rail track network owned by KiwiRail (NZ Parliament, 2020a).</p> <p>On 1 July 2020, the Government announced \$3 billion in infrastructure investment as part of the COVID Response and Recovery Fund which aims to create 20,000 jobs (Robertson & Jones, 2020). This includes approximately \$220 million in central and local government investment in cycleways (Genter, 2020a).</p>
c)	Auckland's East-West motorway link will not proceed as currently proposed.	Fully implemented	On 2 November 2019, the Government announced it would no longer proceed with the East-West motorway link (Kirk, 2017).
d)	Work will begin on light rail from the city to the airport in Auckland.	Partially implemented	Work had begun on the process to implement light rail. On 24 June 2020, the Government announced that it would end the Auckland Light Rail process in order for the Ministry of Transport and the Treasury to undertake further work on the project. The idea of a light rail line between Auckland and the airport has been in the pipeline since 2016 (Waka Kotahi, 2020; Niall, 2019).

Agreements		Status	Evidence
e)	Safe cycling and walking, especially around schools, will be a transport priority.	Fully implemented	<p>On 26 November 2018, the Government announced that it would be allocating \$23 million over the next three years to expand the Bikes in Schools programme which includes establishing riding tracks in school grounds and investing in a 'fleet of bikes, helmets and bike storage facilities' (Genter, 2018b).</p> <p>BikeReady, an initiative that aims to build up a 'national cycling education system' with the goal to 'create a safer network and a more empathetic transport environment, so that cycling feels like a real transport choice for most people', was also established in 2018 by the New Zealand Transport Agency (NZTA) and ACC (BikeReady, 2018).</p> <p>On 28 June 2018, the Government released the 2018 GPS which included \$1.1b for safe walking and cycling infrastructure; much of this will be spent near schools (Genter, 2018a).</p> <p>On 28 November 2019, the Government announced it would reduce speed limits around schools to 40km/h around urban schools and 60km/h around rural schools as part of the Road To Zero road safety programme (Genter, 2019b).</p>
3.	Request the Climate Commission to plan the transition to 100% renewable electricity by 2035 (which includes geothermal) in a normal hydrological year.	Fully implemented	<p>On 16 July 2019, the Interim Climate Change Committee released the report <i>Accelerated electrification: Evidence, analysis and recommendations</i>. The report provides recommendations on how New Zealand might transition to using 100% renewable electricity by 2035 (Woods, 2019).</p>
a)	Solar panels on schools will be investigated as part of this goal.	Fully implemented	<p>On 6 November 2019, the Government announced its plan to reduce energy consumption in schools. A quarter of school lights will be replaced with LEDs and \$5 million invested in a Sustainable Contestable Fund to 'support innovative energy products in schools, for example, installing solar panels' (Hipkins, 2019a).</p> <p>Note from the Green Party: 25 schools now have solar panels as part of this programme.</p>
4.	Stimulate up to \$1 billion of new investment in low carbon industries by 2020, kick-started by a Government-backed Green Investment Fund of \$100 million.	Fully implemented	<p>On 5 December 2018, the Government established a new company, New Zealand Green Investment Finance Limited, and invested an initial \$100 million. The investment fund aims to attract investment towards building a sustainable, low-emissions economy (Ardern & Shaw, 2018).</p>
5.	Provide assistance to the agricultural sector to reduce biological emissions...	Fully implemented	<p>On 30 May 2019, as part of the 2019 Wellbeing Budget, an \$8.5 million investment across two years was allocated to the Global Research Alliance on Agricultural Greenhouse Gases (GRA) to reduce and mitigate agricultural emissions. Additionally, an investment across four years of \$25 million will go into the Agricultural Climate Change Research Platform (Peters et al., 2019).</p>
a)	...improve water quality...	Fully implemented	<p>On 30 May 2019, as part of the 2019 Wellbeing Budget, funds were allocated to cleaning up waterways. The '\$229 million Sustainable Land Use Package invests in projects to protect and restore at-risk waterways and wetlands and provides support for farmers and growers to use their land more sustainably' (Peters et al., 2019).</p> <p>On 5 August 2020, new rules to improve water quality were introduced (Parker, 2020).</p>

Agreements	Status	Evidence
<p>b) ...and shift to more diverse and sustainable land use including more forestry.</p>	<p>Fully implemented</p>	<p>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).</p> <p>On 30 November 2018, the Government launched the One Billion Trees Fund which allocates \$118 million towards planting over 1 billion trees by 2028 (O’Connor & Jones, 2018).</p> <p>On 19 March 2020, the Organic Products Bill passed its first reading in Parliament (NZ Parliament, 2020b). The Bill ‘outlines the processes businesses must follow for approval to market products as organic, and national standards for production rules organic businesses must follow’ (O’Connor, 2020a).</p> <p>On 22 June 2020, the Climate Change Response (Emissions Trading Reform) Amendment Bill received Royal assent (NZ Parliament, 2020c). The reforms include a cap on emissions, ‘rules to ensure emission prices are more predictable, and a provisional emissions budget for the 2021-2025 period’ (Shaw, 2020).</p> <p>On 6 August 2020, the Government announced \$18 million investment into the Sustainable Food and Fibre Fund. The Fund goes towards 22 projects that aim to deliver practical knowledge to help farmers and growers use their land more sustainably, meet environmental targets, remain prosperous, and better understand and adapt to the effects of climate change in New Zealand (O’Connor, 2020b).</p>
Healthy environment		
<p>6. Safeguard our indigenous biodiversity by reducing the extinction risk for 3,000 threatened plant and wildlife species...</p>	<p>Partially implemented</p>	<p>On 26 November 2019, the Government opened a consultation on a proposed National Policy Statement for Indigenous Biodiversity (NPSIB), which will require councils to ‘identify areas where there is significant vegetation and habitats of indigenous fauna, and to manage their protection through plans and consent processes under the RMA (Mahuta & Sage, 2019). Public consultation closed on 14 March 2020; however, given the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic response on resources, the delivery of the NPSIB has been extended to April 2021 (MfE, n.d.)</p> <p>On 10 August 2020, the Government released the Te Mana o te Taiao, the Aotearoa New Zealand Biodiversity Strategy, which sets out five core outcomes for 2050 (Sage, 2020a).</p>
<p>...significantly increasing conservation funding...</p>	<p>Fully implemented</p>	<p>On 14 May 2020, the Government announced a \$1.1 billion investment in the Jobs For Nature Programme which will create 11,000 jobs in environmental and conservation projects and initiatives (Parker et al., 2020).</p>
<p>...increasing predator control and...</p>	<p>Fully implemented</p>	<p>The 2018 Budget allocated an additional \$181.62 million into conservations over four years (DoC, 2018). This has enabled DoC to undertake the largest landscape scale predator control programme, ‘Tiakina Ngā Manu’ (DoC, 2020a).</p> <p>On 9 August 2020, the tenth Predator Free 2050 Project was launched in Te Pātaka o Rākaihautū/Banks Peninsula (Sage, 2020b).</p>

Agreements		Status	Evidence
	...protecting their habitats [of our indigenous biodiversity].	Fully implemented	<p>On 16 October 2019, the Conservation (Indigenous Freshwater Fish) Amendment Bill was passed. The new law improves protection of freshwater fish and white bait. Whitebait regulations are in development (Sage, 2019a).</p> <p>On 24 June 2020, the Government announced new fishing measures will be put in place on 1 October 2020 to protect Māui and Hector’s dolphins (Nash & Sage, 2020a).</p> <p>On 27 May 2020, the government released the ‘National Plan of Action for Seabirds 2020’ which aims to reduce seabird mortalities from ‘fishing related captures’ (Nash & Sage, 2020b).</p>
a)	Budget provision will be made for significantly increasing the Department of Conservation’s funding.	Fully implemented	<p>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).</p> <p>On 30 May 2019, as part of the 2019 Budget, an additional \$10.699 million over the next four years was allocated to improve DoC’s security and health and safety systems (DoC, 2019).</p> <p>On 1 June 2019, the Immigration (International Visitor Conservation and Tourism Levy) Amendment Bill was passed. This is projected to raise \$450 million over five years for conservation and tourism (Davis & Sage, 2019).</p> <p>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, 2020b).</p>
7.	Improve water quality and prioritise achieving healthy rivers, lakes and aquifers with stronger regulatory instruments, funding for freshwater enhancement...	Fully implemented	<p>On 30 May 2019, as part of the 2019 Budget, funds were allocated towards cleaning up waterways. The ‘\$229 million Sustainable Land Use Package invests in projects to protect and restore at-risk waterways and wetlands and provides support for farmers and growers to use their land more sustainably’ (Peters et al., 2019).</p> <p>On 28 May 2020, a \$700 million fund was allocated to cleaning up rivers and lakes. The fund will assist the primary sector in meeting new clean water standards (Parker & O’Connor, 2020). The new rules to improve water quality were passed 5 August 2020 (Parker, 2020).</p> <p>Note from Green Party: Funding and tools to improve water quality have been implemented, however, it can take some time to see improvement in water quality.</p>
a)	...and winding down Government support for irrigation.	Fully implemented	On 5 April 2018, the Government announced it would be winding down public funding for large-scale irrigation (Robertson, 2018).
b)	The Resource Management Act will be better enforced.	Fully implemented	On 17 July 2018, the Ministry for the Environment released new guidelines intended to assist councils in monitoring, compliance and enforcement duties under the Resource Management Act 1991. The Government allocated \$3.1 million over four years to a newly established unit to oversee compliance (Parker, 2018).

Agreements		Status	Evidence
8.	Safeguard the healthy functioning of marine ecosystems and promote abundant fisheries...	Partially implemented	Focus on marine ecosystems has been on strengthening cameras on boats policy, finalising protection for Māui and Hector's dolphins, and plan of action for seabirds. See priority 6 above.
	...Use best endeavours and work alongside Māori to establish the Kermadec/ Rangitāhua Ocean Sanctuary...	Not implemented	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. Note from Green Party: However, work has been underway, but the issue has not yet been resolved.
a)	...and look to establish a Taranaki blue whale sanctuary.	Not implemented	Public evidence to progress this policy was not found. Note from Green Party: Policy work and engagement with stakeholders has progressed but the focus has been on strengthening the plan to protect Māui and Hector's dolphins which has included a doubling of the Marine Mammal Sanctuaries including on the West Coast of the North Island and making them proper sanctuaries with the ending of seismic surveying and new seabed mining.
9.	Commit to minimising waste to landfill with significant reductions in all waste classes by 2020.	Partially implemented	From 1 July 2019, single-use plastic shopping bags were banned in New Zealand (Sage, 2019b). On 30 May 2019, as part of the 2019 Budget, \$4 million over four years was announced to help the Ministry for the Environment to work on improving recycling and minimising waste (Peters et al., 2019). On 27 November 2019, the Government released a proposal that would increase funding support for councils, community organisations and businesses to recycle more and reduce the amount of waste going to landfills. The Government also released a public consultation document for feedback on the proposals (Sage, 2019c). On 15 July 2020, a \$124 million investment in recycling infrastructure was announced, as well as plans to increase the waste levy to divert material from landfill and \$3.1 million to support a construction and demolition facility (Sage, 2020c). On 29 July 2020, Minister Sage announced plans for regulated product stewardship for harmful plastic packaging, tyres, e-waste, farm plastics, and refrigerants (Sage, 2020d). On 12 August 2020, the Government announced plans to phase out further single-use plastic items to reduce waste to landfill and the environment (Sage, 2020e). At the time of writing this working paper, the plan is out for public consultation until November 2020 (MfE, 2020b).

Agreements		Status	Evidence
Fair society			
10.	Overhaul the welfare system, ensure access to entitlements, remove excessive sanctions and review Working For Families so that everyone has a standard of living and income that enables them to live in dignity and participate in their communities, and lifts children and their families out of poverty.	Partially implemented	<p>On 11 November 2019, Cabinet made decisions on the plan for the 'welfare overhaul work programme'. The next phase, to be enacted in the 'medium-term' includes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'resetting the foundations of the welfare system • increasing income support and addressing debt • improving and expanding employment services • improving supports and services for disabled people, people with health conditions and disabilities and their carers • enhancing the community sector' (MSD, n.d.). <p>On 25 February 2020, main benefits were adjusted to increase in line with wage increases (Sepuloni, 2020a).</p> <p>On 25 March 2020, in light of the COVID-19 pandemic, the Government announced an increase of \$25 per week for main benefits and removed the hours test to broaden eligibility for In Work Tax Credit (IWTC) (Beehive, n.d.).</p> <p>On 3 May 2020, the Government announced it would repeal Section 70A of the Social Security Act 2018, which cuts benefits for single parents who do not declare the identity of the other parent (Sepuloni, 2020b). The Government then announced on 29 July 2020 it would remove the subsequent child policy. These are following recommendations made by the Welfare Expert Advisory Group (Sepuloni, 2020c).</p>
a)	Safe sleeping environment devices will be made available for vulnerable families.	Fully implemented	<p>On 2 August 2017, a new National Sudden Unexpected Death in Infancy (SUDI) prevention programme was launched with an investment of \$5.1 million in the programme under the previous National-led government (Coleman, 2017).</p> <p>The programme has continued under the current Labour-led government, with district health boards (DHBs) contracted 'by the Ministry to distribute about 8,500 devices each year, including wahakura [and] pēpi pods (MoH, 2019a).</p>
11.	Ensure that every child with special needs and learning difficulties can participate fully in school life.	Partially implemented	<p>On 4 November 2018, the Government announced funding for 'an additional 600 coordinators in schools to assist teachers with students who have additional needs' (Davidson, 2018a).</p> <p>On 4 August 2020, the Government announced \$160 million funding for the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme (ORS) which increases teacher aide hours for 'students with high and complex learning needs' (Martin, 2020a).</p>
12.	Eliminate the gender pay gap within the core public sector with substantial progress within this Parliamentary term, and work to ensure the wider public sector and private sector is on a similar pathway.	Partially implemented	<p>On 26 July 2018, the Government announced an Action Plan that aims to end the gender pay gap in the public sector. The Action Plan aims to have closed the gender pay gap in all governmental agencies by 2020, to better implement flexible work and for women to hold at least 50% of leadership roles in the top three tiers of leadership in government by the end of 2019 (Hipkins & Genter, 2018).</p> <p>The Public Service Gender Pay Gap fell from 12.2% in 2018 to 10.5% in 2019 (Genter, 2020b).</p>

Agreements	Status	Evidence
13. Aim to end energy poverty in New Zealand and ensure that every New Zealander has a warm, dry, secure home, whether they rent or own.	Partially implemented	<p>On 1 July 2019 it became compulsory for all rental homes to have ceiling and underfloor insulation (Tenancy Services, n.d.).</p> <p>Between 1 May 2019 to 1 October 2019, one million people were supported with the Winter Energy Payment, which provides extra pay to a range of beneficiaries and superannuitants (Ardern, 2019).</p> <p>Note by the Green Party: A version of the Winter Energy Payment was proposed by the Green Party in 2016.</p>
a) Budget provision will be made to substantially increase the number of homes insulated.	Fully implemented	<p>On 17 May 2018, as part of the 2018 Budget, the Government announced a \$142 million investment into the Energy Efficiency and Conservation Authority (EECA) through a four-year programme titled Warmer Kiwi Homes. The scheme provides grants to insulate and heat homes of low-income New Zealanders (EECA, 2018).</p> <p>The 2020 Budget allocated a further \$56 million for home insulation, to cover an additional 9000 homes at a higher 90% subsidy rate (Davidson & Hughes, 2020).</p> <p>On 30 July 2020, the Government announced a \$500 million investment into the upgrading and renewal of state homes to make them warmer, drier and healthier (Faafoi, 2020).</p>
14. Deliver innovative home ownership models within the State and broader community housing programme.	Fully implemented	<p>On 24 July 2020, the Government allocated an additional \$23 million towards its Progressive Home Ownership scheme, which will aim to help 100 families in Auckland and Christchurch into home ownership. \$400 million has been designated to the scheme in total (Walls, 2020; McCullough, 2020). See also priority 14a below.</p>
a) A Rent to Own scheme or similar progressive ownership models will be developed as part of Labour's KiwiBuild programme.	Fully implemented	<p>On 4 September 2019 the Government announced a reset of the KiwiBuild initiative. The new initiative has allocated \$400 million in a 'progressive home ownership scheme that could include rent-to-buy and shared equity plans for between 2500 and 4000 families' (Cooke, 2019). See also priority 14 above.</p>
15. Make tertiary education more affordable for students and reduce the number of students living in financial hardship.	Fully implemented	<p>From 1 January 2018, the Government implemented the Fees Free policy, which makes the first year of tertiary education free (Kōrero Mātauranga, n.d.; Hipkins, 2019b). On 21 November 2017, the Government confirmed that weekly student allowances and living costs payments for students under 24 who are living away from home would increase by \$50 from 1 January 2018 (RNZ, 2017).</p>
16. Ensure everyone has access to timely and high quality mental health services, including free counselling for those under 25 years.	Partially implemented	<p>On 17 May 2018, as part of the 2018 Budget, the Government announced it would invest \$10 million over four years in a pilot initiative that would provide free counselling for 18–25 year olds (Bracewell-Worrall & Hurley, 2018).</p> <p>The 2019 Budget allocated \$1.9 billion towards a Mental Health Package (Ardern et al, 2020). This included \$75.8 million in funding for youth mental health in primary and secondary schools and continued roll out of funding for mental health services at tertiary institutions (Martin, 2020b).</p> <p>Note by Green Party: Funding and policy will take time for full roll out.</p>

Agreements		Status	Evidence
17.	Honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi as the country's founding document.	N/A	This has been treated as a principle rather than one of the Confidence and Supply Agreement priorities and cannot be assessed to be implemented.
18.	Review, and adequately fund and support, the family re-unification scheme for refugees.	Fully implemented	On 16 May 2020, as part of the 2020 Budget, the Government announced it would invest \$21 million over three years to double the family reunification for refugees scheme from 300 to 600 (Ghahraman, 2020). This funding followed the completion of a Review of the family reunification scheme (Devlin, 2019).
19.	Increase funding for alcohol and drug addiction services and ensure drug use is treated as a health issue...	Fully implemented	<p>On 30 May 2019, as part of the 2019 Budget, the Ministry of Health explained how that year's Budget was a response to the report from the independent inquiry into mental health and addiction in New Zealand. The Budget invested in establishing a Mental Health and Wellbeing Commission alongside a number of other initiatives including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preventing suicide and supporting people bereaved by suicide • Improving support for people experiencing a mental health crisis • Expanding access to and choice of primary mental health and addiction support • Expanding telehealth and digital supports for mental wellbeing • Expanding and enhancing school-based health services • Promoting wellbeing for primary and intermediate children • Forensic mental health services for adults and young people • Enhancing primary addiction responses • Mental wellbeing support for parents and whanau • Intensive parenting support • Enhancing specialist alcohol and other drug services • Te Ara Oranga – continuing the methamphetamine harm reduction programme in Northland. (MoH, 2019b). <p>On 7 August 2020 amendments to the Misuse of Drugs Act were passed that oblige police to treat low-level drug use as a health issue, not a criminal issue (Swarbrick, 2019).</p>
a)	...and have a referendum on legalising the personal use of cannabis at, or by, the 2020 general election.	Fully implemented	On 19 September 2020, as part of the 2020 General Election, New Zealanders will be able to vote in a referendum on whether recreational use of cannabis should become legal, based on the proposed Cannabis Legislation and Control Bill (NZ Government, 2020).
20.	Strengthen New Zealand's democracy by increasing public participation, openness, and transparency around official information.	Partially implemented	On 24 July 2018, Minister Shaw announced that all Green Party Ministers and Under-Secretaries schedules of meetings would be made publicly available (Shaw, 2018). This was later implemented by the whole of government on 10 December 2018 (Davidson, 2018b).

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