New numbers, new deals

The Hugo Group, Feb 24 2016



A good start for Bill English

- 31% as preferred PM vs 36% for John Key
 - Key was falling; English ranked zero in November
- 46% support for National is a fall, but from a very high level (consistently 50%-plus late last year)
- At 7% support, Andrew Little is polling worse than David Cunliffe in his latter stages

And far below David Shearer

- At 30% support, Labour is still only just 'in the zone'
- No sign of TOP



The electoral arithmetic – Maori seats

- Mana- Maori deal is National's best option for a return to power without NZ First
- Contingent on:
 - Nats remaining around 47%
 - Maori Party winning more than one Maori electorate seat
- Mana really possibility Hone Harawira gave away a lot for very little
 - Kelvin Davis will be very hard to beat in Te Tai Tokerau



How many Maori seats **could** the Maori Party win?

- Waiariki (held by Flavell);
- Winnable on paper:
 - Te Hauauru (Howie Tamati),
 - Tamaki Makaurau (less likely without Willie Jackson)
- Winnable if Mana gets in behind Maori:
 - Ikaroa-Rawhiti (Marama Fox)



The electoral arithmetic – how Maori Party 'success' might not be enough

Party	Parliamentary seats – 123 seats, 62 votes for majority	
National	56	
Maori	3	
United Future	1	
Act	1	
TOTAL SEATS – current govt	61 – one short	
+ NZ First	13	
TOTAL SEATS – current govt + NZ First	74 – no need for minor party hangers-on	
Labour	36	
Green	13	
TOTAL SEATS – Labour-Green	49	
+ NZ First	13	
TOTAL SEATS – Labour-Green	62 – bare majority	

Implications

- Potential for up to 3 overhang seats (122-seat Parliament)
 - Would require **62 votes** for a parliamentary majority
- NZ First's position as king-maker remains entrenched
- English would rather not work with NZ First but may have no choice
- Little on NZ First successfully defensive Waitakere man?
 - What do we think?
 - Little has ruled out Maori-Mana "not in my contemplation"
- Peters has always gone with the largest party
- How much internal turmoil for NZ First if and when Shane Jones arrives on the political scene?



January Colmar Brunton extrapolated to govt formation

	With United Future	Without United Future
National	56	56
Act	1	1
United Future	1	0
Maori	1	1
TOTAL SEATS – centre- right	59 (3 seats short of majority)	58 (4 seats short)
Labour	36	36
Green	13	13
Mana	1	1
TOTAL SEATS – Lab-Green	50	50
NZ First	13	13
TOTAL SEATS – Lab/Gr/ Mana/NZF	63 (2-seat majority)	63 (3-seat majority)
TOTAL PARLIAMENT SEATS	122	121

Policy issues: Urban development

- 4 significant developments:
 - Urban Development Authorities discussion paper issued, legislation eventually, SHA-style fast track powers
 - 'no' to Auckland Council on fuel tax
 - PPPs, asset sales, congestion charging preferred
 - Boards of inquiry for two key Auckland road projects
 - \$2.2 billion in total complete Western Ring Route with Northern Corridor; East-West Link between SH20 and Mt Wellington
 - \$1 billion housing infrastructure fund progress after stalling?



Policy issues: water

- Swimmable, not wadeable
- Key-type politics, albeit rather late
- Aspirational rather than minimum standards
- Spikes Green and Labour guns to some extent
- Rest of the package changes very little of what was already announced in Nov 2015
- \$100m in new funds available for clean-up projects
 - Bids open now



Policy issues: media plays

- ComCom declines Sky-Vodafone merger;
 - Exclusive 'must watch' sports rights the issue
 - Judicial review? no sign of it yet
- March 15 NZME/Fairfax merger decision
 - Sky-Vodafone not a guide different issues
 - NZME looks well enough capitalised to survive a 'no'
 - Fairfax probably not + Aussie owner keen to quit
 - Could surprise

