

# Annual Report

Grattan  
Institute

Year  
2020-21



Independent policy research to improve  
the lives of all Australians

**GRATTAN**  
Institute

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Grattan Institute produces high-quality public policy recommendations for Australia's future. Since we were established in 2008, our independent research has helped shape the Australian policy conversation, from childcare to the COVID-19 response, and from superannuation to school funding.

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## Note from our Chair

The important role Grattan Institute plays in Australian public life has never been more apparent than during the COVID-19 pandemic. And I have never been prouder of Grattan than over the past year.

As economic, political, and social norms were upended, Grattan provided measured, rigorous, practical analysis and recommendations for policy makers. Grattan was influential early in the crisis as one of the first and firmest voices calling for a COVID Zero approach. More recently, Grattan's *Race to 80* report identified mass vaccination as the only safe route out of the crisis – and Australia has now become one of the most vaccinated populations on the planet.

Grattan's outreach is impressive and growing. Its work is cited almost routinely in the speeches of Ministers and Shadow Ministers, both Federal and State, and in official publications such as Government, Parliamentary, and Royal Commission reports. Its Program Directors are interviewed or cited almost daily in the media. Increasing engagement on social media and via podcasts and public events enables more Australians to join in the policy conversation.

As this report shows, all of Grattan's programs have had a substantial impact on Australian public life over the past year. After a series of Health Program reports identifying a crisis in aged care, the Federal Government announced billions of dollars of extra funding for the sector. The NSW, Victorian, and South Australian governments implemented Grattan's recommendation for a tutoring blitz to help disadvantaged students

catch up on learning lost during COVID lockdowns. The Federal Government's Your Future, Your Super legislation was enacted after years of Grattan work, exposing the excessive costs of superannuation in Australia. In line with recommendations from the Budgets and Government Program, the 2021 Federal Budget included a Women's Budget Statement for the first time since 2014. The Energy Program's *Go for Net Zero* report – a precursor to the *Towards Net Zero* series of five reports in the lead-up to the COP26 international climate conference in Glasgow – was publicly endorsed as essential reading by the Chair of the Energy Security Board. And State Governments are pledging to implement recommendations our Transport and Cities Program to ensure taxpayers get better value from major transport projects.

As many readers will know, this is my final Note as Chair of Grattan. I am retiring from that position in November after almost six years in the role. I can assure all Grattan supporters that the Institute will be in good hands under the new Chair, prominent business leader Lindsay Maxsted. I know that under Lindsay and our outstanding CEO, Danielle Wood, Grattan will become an even more potent force for better policy.

In bidding farewell, can I again thank all Grattan's donors, whom we acknowledge within this report. Your continuing contributions will enable Grattan Institute to become a permanent Institution in Australian public life, to the benefit of future generations.

**The Hon. Alex Chernov AC QC, Chair**



# CEO report

I finished last year's CEO report by hoping for a more sedate 2020-21. Alas it was not to be. Our leaders spent much of the year focusing on addressing the health challenges of the COVID pandemic, as well as the economic and social recovery.

Grattan was active in many of these debates. Our first report of the year, *The Recovery Book*, outlined a comprehensive agenda for governments to start the recovery process. Key recommendations from that report, on the need for sizable fiscal stimulus and a phased transition from emergency supports such as JobKeeper and the JobSeeker supplement, were ultimately adopted by the Federal Government.

We continued to play an influential role in the COVID health debates through the year. Our *Race to 80* report highlighted the importance of high vaccine coverage to the health and economic recovery and provided concrete suggestions about how to reach the maximum number of Australians.

My favourite part of being Grattan's CEO is watching our evidence-backed recommendations make their way into policy, because I know they will have a positive impact on lives. Many of these happy policy moments – including major announcements on student tutoring, superannuation reform, cheaper childcare, and increased investment in aged care – are discussed later in this report.

Our policy impact comes from the detailed research we publish, and the public and private advocacy we do to advance that work with decision-makers.

In 2020-21, we published 13 reports and made 19 submissions to public inquiries. These were reflected in more than 35,000 media mentions and 163 opinion pieces. Grattan staff talked to more than 150 politicians and staffers and another 1,078 stakeholders, and



delivered more than 240 speeches. Grattan's work was cited 163 times in official forums such as ministerial and parliamentary speeches.

It's a big output for an organisation of only 25 staff, and I want to say thank you to our dedicated and passionate team who kept their spirits and outputs high in the face of the challenges of Victorian lockdowns and office repairs though the year.

We will soon say goodbye to our esteemed Grattan Chair, Alex Chernov AC QC, who will be retiring at the November AGM. We thank him for his tireless work in steering Grattan over the past five years. And we look forward to welcoming Lindsay Maxsted, well-respected business figure, as our new Chair at that time.

In other senior staff changes through the year, we welcomed Dr Jordana Hunter who joined Grattan as our Education Program Director last January. Jordana has a deep experience in and enthusiasm for improving school education, and has quickly established an exciting program of work.

We were also delighted to launch a new stream of work on migration policy, hiring migration expert Henry Sherrell with initial support from the Susan McKinnon Foundation and ongoing support from the Scanlon Foundation. We aim to continue to expand our areas of research focus as funding permits.

So with that I draw breath and say it's been a great year for Grattan, and I look forward to another year of high-quality research and wide-ranging impact. And fingers crossed that this time, my wish for a return to more normal programming will eventuate.

**Danielle Wood, CEO**

# Policy impact highlights

*How Grattan work changed the lives of Australians in 2020-21*

## Reducing super fees for Australian workers

Grattan was the first to bell the cat about the very high super fees paid by Australian workers, after releasing two detailed research reports on the topic.

Grattan's work led to the Federal Government commissioning the Productivity Commission to look in detail at the market, and this year the Government legislated important reforms in the Your Future, Your Super package.

The changes – which will help address the problem of underperforming funds and multiple consumer accounts – are a significant step towards improving the functioning of the superannuation market and should boost retirement incomes for millions of Australian workers.

## Vaccinating the nation

Grattan was the first to set out a public roadmap towards living with COVID, including strategies for achieving very high population-wide vaccination rates. Many of our recommendations – mass vaccination centres, offering vaccines through pharmacies and local pop-ups, vaccine passports for events, hospitality, and retail, and mandatory vaccines for high-risk occupations – have become a reality.

These have been instrumental in helping Australia achieve world-leading vaccination rates and the very positive signs to date that we can live with COVID (at least its current strains).

## Improving student learning

Timely Grattan research led the Victorian, NSW, and South Australian governments to invest more than \$500 million in new tutoring initiatives to help students catch-up on learning lost during COVID lockdowns.

The programs will help disadvantaged students who could otherwise have been left behind after more than 18 months of 'on again and off again' remote learning.

## Moving towards a clean energy future

Grattan was the first to release analysis highlighting opportunities of green manufacturing to support carbon workers, cut emissions, and create new export markets for Australia. The analysis pointed to the importance of green hydrogen and opportunities in areas such as steel manufacturing.

Our work has been used by state and local governments to scope opportunities related to renewable hydrogen. The Federal Government has identified green steel as a specific target area in its Low Emissions Technology Statement. It has also announced a new \$500 million fund along the lines of Grattan's recommendation for technology development.

## Making early learning and care more affordable

Grattan research led the public conversation on the economic imperative to reduce the very high out-of-pocket cost of early learning and care.

The Federal Government drew on this economic case in investing \$1.7 billion over three years to reduce these costs and boost women's workforce participation.

The policy will ease pressure on family budgets and give young mothers greater capacity to work more if they wish. And more children will gain the benefits of formal early childhood education.

The Federal Opposition, NSW and Victorian Governments also announced policies to make early learning and care more affordable.

## A better deal for taxpayers on major projects

Grattan has been the sole voice to quantify the scale of the megaproject agenda, the risks associated with premature announcements of major projects, and the implications of rushing such projects to market. The Victorian Government and Opposition debated our first megaproject report on the floor of Parliament, with pressure for greater transparency and due process in project selection, procurement, and construction.

If implemented well, the recommendations should improve procurement processes in Australia and lead to better projects at least cost to taxpayers.



13

REPORTS PUBLISHED



163

OPINION PIECES



44,000

REPORTS  
DOWNLOADED



36,000

MEDIA MENTIONS



83,000

SOCIAL MEDIA  
ENGAGEMENTS



242

SPEECHES



163

OFFICIAL CITATIONS

# Board members



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*Australian jurist, Governor of Victoria from 2011 to 2015*



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*Director of HSBC Bank Australia Limited*



**Ms Caroline Cox**

*Chief Legal, Governance & External Affairs Officer, BHP*



**Dr Andrew Cuthbertson AO**

*CSL Director and Senior advisor to CSL's CEO*



**Ms Geraldine Doogue AO**

*Journalist and broadcaster*



**Ms Kathryn Fagg AO**

*President of Chief Executive Women*



**Mr Ian Marshman AM**

*Honorary Fellow, Melbourne Centre for Study of Higher Education*



**Professor Duncan Maskell**

*Vice-Chancellor, University of Melbourne*



**Ms Jillian Segal AO**

*Professional company director with a legal and regulatory background and member of the Council of the Order of Australia*



**Dr Ian Watt AC**

*Former Secretary of the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet*

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Ian Harper

Helen Silver AO

Wesley Walden

Jenny Wilkinson

## INVESTMENT COMMITTEE

Carol Austin (Chair)

Alex Chernov AC QC

Kathryn Fagg AO

Jillian Segal AO

Andrew Sisson AO



# Budgets and Government



**Danielle Wood**

Budgets and Government  
Program Director

COVID and the associated economic fallout dominated the research and advocacy efforts of the Business and Government team in 2019-20. Our work had a significant impact on the federal and state governments' response to the crisis and their policies to support the economic recovery.

Our Program Director, Danielle Wood, warned of the impact on the economy if governments withdrew all the major fiscal supports simultaneously in September. What she termed the '**fiscal cliff**' entered the popular lexicon, and we were delighted that the Federal Government announced a **slower phase out of the JobKeeper and JobSeeker programs**, broadly in line with our recommendations in *The Recovery Book*.

The team also did significant work on the **impact of the COVID crisis on women**. The *Women's Work* report highlighted the disproportionate impacts of lockdowns on women. Women were not only more likely to lose jobs and hours, but also shouldered a disproportionate share of the increase in unpaid work, particularly supporting children during remote learning. The report has become a key reference for discussions on the impact of the pandemic on women in Australia.

Our research led us to be highly critical of the 2020 federal Budget, with its focus on stimulus for male-dominated construction, manufacturing, and utilities sectors, and little for the much harder-hit sectors that are major employers of women, such as hospitality, administrative services, arts, and tourism.

This analysis generated debate about women being overlooked in the Budget. This played a key role in shaping

many of the subsequent **state budgets**, which included far more in the way of **measures to support the services-sector and women's economic outcomes**.

Similarly, the 2021 federal Budget was much broader in its focus and included **significant new measures for women** including support for women's safety, economic security, and health and wellbeing. It also included a **Women's Budget Statement** for the first time since 2014, something that Grattan, along with many groups, had called for to bring more focus on the impact of budget policies on women.

The centrepiece of the Women's Budget Statement was a \$1.7 billion package to **reduce the out-of-pocket costs of childcare for families**. Grattan had been calling for such a policy, off the back of research in our *Cheaper Childcare* report released in August 2020. The Government's childcare package was less generous than we recommended, but picked up a number of elements of the model we proposed.

In promoting its package, the Government drew heavily on Grattan's arguments on the benefits for women's workforce participation and the economic recovery.

The Federal Opposition and the NSW and Victorian Governments all also announced policies to make early learning and care more affordable.

Our *Women's Work* report particularly highlighted the plight of **single parents** (mainly women) during the pandemic. The impossibility of juggling work and care without support resulted in large falls in workforce participation of single mothers, adding to their existing economic disadvantage. Yet policy makers largely overlooked these impacts. We were delighted that the Victorian Government adopted our call for **single parents to be able to send their children to childcare and school** during lockdowns, so they could continue to work.



# Economic Policy



**Brendan Coates**

Economic Policy Program Director

A new Grattan proposal for a **Housing Australians Future Fund** was adopted by the federal Labor Opposition as the centrepiece of the Opposition Leader's budget reply speech in May 2021. We had briefed both major parties on the proposal ahead of the federal Budget. The Opposition Leader's announcement signals an important shift in federal ALP housing policy since the last election, away from so-called affordable housing and towards **social housing**, as recommended in our policy paper, *Evaluating the National Rental Affordability Scheme*, published in September 2019.

We have also highlighted the powerful case for action on **housing affordability**, including more support for the worst off via a boost to Commonwealth Rent Assistance. Our work on the implications of worsening affordability for the adequacy of retirement incomes informed key findings of the Government's recent **Retirement Income Review**. And we have been a leading voice in the push to cancel legislated increases in compulsory superannuation, which will cost the federal Budget more than it saves, while leaving workers worse off.

Grattan's past work on **the costs of superannuation** continues to bear policy fruit, most recently with the passage of the Federal Government's **Your Future, Your Super** legislation through Parliament. The legislation implements a number of important recommendations from the 2018 Productivity Commission inquiry into superannuation system performance, which was in turn sparked by Grattan's earlier work on superannuation costs, in our *Super Savings* and *Super Sting* reports. Our analysis showing that Australians pay more each year in super fees than they do in energy bills was central to the Government's case for reform.

Grattan's first report on **migration policy**, *Rethinking permanent skilled migration after the pandemic*, was released in May, establishing a blueprint for reforming the permanent skilled visas. The report attracted extensive interest from a range of stakeholders, and a number of media commentators wrote in support of our key recommendations. The Economic Policy team will continue to advocate for the reforms as the Federal Government allocates permanent visa numbers into 2022-23.

The Economic Policy program continues to influence governments around Australia on **tax reform**. Grattan has been at the forefront of debate over how best to design a stamp duty/land tax swap, a reform championed by former NSW Treasurer now Premier Dominic Perrottet. The Victorian Government announced a new tax on windfall gains from land re-zonings as part of the 2021 state Budget – a reform we recommended in our 2018 *Housing Affordability* report and in the *State Orange Book 2018*.





# Education



**Jordana Hunter**

Education Program Director

The Education Program's most important achievement this year was to successfully advocate for significant investment in new tutoring initiatives to **help students catch-up on COVID learning losses** due to school closures in 2020. Three state governments – Victoria, NSW, and South Australia – invested more than \$580 million in the tutoring initiatives in 2021. Victoria and NSW have since announced an additional combined investment of more than \$600 million to extend the tutoring programs for 2022. The initiatives, which provide funding for small-group or one-on-one tutoring to help close literacy and numeracy learning gaps, were in line with the key recommendation of our *COVID Catch-up* report published in June 2020. We were the dominant public voice on the issue, with our work cited by the Victorian Deputy Premier and Education Minister, James Merlino, when he announced Victoria's tutoring initiative in October 2020.

Grattan also influenced the Federal Government's reform directions on initial teacher education. The Federal Education Minister, Alan Tudge, announced a review of initial teacher education in April 2021. The review terms of reference include a significant focus on **how to attract more high achievers to teaching**, a key issue Grattan has

advocated for since our *Attracting High Achievers* report was published in September 2019. Our work shows that increasing the proportion of high achievers who take up teaching would have a significant impact on student learning. The Federal Education Minister used a unique statistic from our 2019 report when he announced the new review. The Education team has also had the opportunity to provide significant policy input to the Commonwealth review panel looking at this initiative. In particular, we have pressed our past report recommendations for targeted scholarships to attract high achievers to teaching.

Our work has also been influential in the establishment of a new **Victorian Teachers' Academy**. In particular, research from our *Top Teachers* report, in which we called for the creation of a new **'Master Teacher' position** to better recognise and build teaching expertise, was cited several times during the parliamentary debate.

Through our advocacy and engagement efforts, we have also increased media interest in **the damage school closures can cause** to students' learning and their social and emotional wellbeing. In particular, our Education Program Director Jordana Hunter has urged that schools to be closed only when absolutely necessary. Jordana has also called for the early return of prep-to-Year 2 students to the classroom where possible; teachers to get priority in the vaccination program; and improvements in the quality and consistency of remote teaching.



# Energy and Climate Change



**Tony Wood**

Energy and Climate Change  
Program Director

Grattan's most recent energy reports – *Start with Steel*, *Flame out*, *Go for Net Zero*, and the *Towards Net Zero* series – have been picked up by media, governments, and government agencies. *Start with Steel* remains one of the few tangible recommendations for how **hydrogen could play a role in Australia's energy future**. In particular, the content is relevant to state and local governments trying to identify how they could capitalise on opportunities related to renewable hydrogen. Our Energy and Climate Change Program Director, Tony Wood, was invited to participate in several working groups and one newly approved Cooperative Research Centre, as well as to provide direct input to the strategies being followed by the Australian Renewable Energy Agency.

*Flame Out* stands in direct opposition to the Federal Government's proposed gas-led recovery. The report continues to be a focus with state governments, and formed the basis for recent submissions to the federal Gas Taskforce working on a National Gas Infrastructure Plan, and to the Victorian Government's Gas Substitution Roadmap. Much of industry, and even **the gas industry**, supported our conclusions publicly. Our positions in both reports were

also publicly endorsed by former Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull. More recently, *Flame Out* and an earlier Grattan report on **the opportunities for green steel**, were central to a requested submission to an inquiry, initiated in August 2021, by the Senate Economics References Committee on the 'opportunities for development and expansion of **Australia's manufacturing sector**'.

*Go for Net Zero* has been received as a valuable myth-buster and publicly **endorsed as essential reading** by the Chair of the Energy Security Board, Kerry Schott. We presented this material to federal Treasury, members of the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, and several state government departments. This report formed the basis of a requested submission to an inquiry, initiated in March 2021, by the House of Representatives Standing Committee on the Environment and Energy, on 'the current circumstances and the future need and potential for **dispatchable energy generation and storage capability** in Australia'.

The *Towards Net Zero* series of five reports, which were published in **the lead-up to the international climate change conference in Glasgow** in November 2021, was generally supported by industry and presented to federal and state departments. Several federal backbench Government MPs have sought briefings on the content of these reports.



# Health and Aged Care



**Stephen Duckett**

Health and Aged Care  
Program Director

Grattan Institute's series of reports on aged care was highly influential on the work and final report of the **Royal Commission into Aged Care Quality and Safety**. A number of the key philosophical and structural features of our proposals were reflected in the Commission's final recommendations. We were not the only proponents of these ideas, but we were the loudest voice on many of them, particularly the need for **rights-based aged care and universal funding**.

Our *Next Steps for Aged Care* report, published in April 2021, further honed our reform agenda. The Federal Government agreed to 126 out of the Royal Commission's 148 recommendations, including, as we had recommended, a new Aged Care Act, and a more regional governance approach. About half of the Federal Government's investment was in expansion of home care, again as we had recommended.

The Health and Aged Care team continued to contribute to public discourse on **the COVID crisis**. We were one of the earliest advocates for setting up mass vaccination centres to help accelerate the rollout. Grattan's *Race to 80* report was published at a time when vaccine hesitancy was high. It set a bold goal for more than 80 per cent population-wide vaccination, which was criticised as unachievable. Time has shown that Grattan's goal was the right one, and indeed achievable with the right policies to support uptake.

On **private health insurance**, although our recommendation for an industry plan has not yet been taken up, **reform to prosthesis funding** has begun and the private insurers are increasing their advocacy to control medical specialist charging practices, addressing a problem we have identified and highlighted in a series of reports. We have been the principal non-industry advocate for change in this field.







# Transport and Cities



## Marion Terrill

Transport and Cities Program Director

Grattan's extensive research on megaprojects has led to requests to brief government and opposition politicians and bureaucrats in the larger states and Commonwealth, to assist in policy development on **cost, waste, and accountability in infrastructure**.

Our congestion charging work was the primary source used by the NSW Review of Federal Financial Relations in its chapter on cordon charging. This expertise also led to us providing a briefing for the member of the Victorian Legislative Council with the deciding vote on the bill to introduce a per-kilometre charge for electric vehicles.

Grattan's expertise in infrastructure is recognised internationally. Our Transport and Cities Program Director Marion Terrill has served as a country expert for a European Court of Auditors study of **institutional arrangements governing large transport investments** co-funded by the European Union and member countries. She has addressed the global transport executive of AECOM, a multi-national engineering corporation, at the invitation of its global lead.

Grattan's two **megaprojects** reports have led politicians to make specific public commitments. In May 2021, the federal shadow minister for infrastructure, Catherine King, said of our *Megabang for Megabucks*: 'One of the report's

conclusions that I do agree with is the need to ensure that governments, in their rush to have a political announcement, don't create the sense that projects are delayed because proper site scoping, planning, and procurement arrangements have yet to be carefully considered... Labor will keep this lesson in mind if we are fortunate enough to form government after the next election.'

Victoria's then shadow treasurer, Louise Staley, said in her budget-in-reply speech in November 2020: 'Today Marion Terrill, the Grattan Institute's Transport and Cities Program Director, said of this failure to publish: These are public projects, we have a right to know. Yes, Treasurer, we do.'

The Victorian Treasurer's office gave advance notice that the 2021 state Budget would include **recommendations from our megaprojects reports**, specifically on benchmarking costs and on redesigning project development and procurement processes and improving the way past project lessons are shared across government and industry.

The reports have generated very different responses in public and behind closed doors. Bureaucrats of three jurisdictions have sought briefings after publication and suggested a further instalment in our megaprojects series. Within construction, engineering, and law firms, many people have made contact with the Transport and Cities team to say the reports have been very controversial, but have sparked a discussion that the industry has to have.

# Financial statement

	2019-20	2020-21
	\$'000	\$'000
<b>Endowment Income</b>		
Interests and Dividends	1,325	3,942
Realised Gains (Losses) from the Sale of Investments	138	1,301
Movement in the Market Value of Investments	-1,624	1,096
Investment Rebates		81
Less: Investment Management Fees	-152	-38
Total Interest and Investment Income	-313	6,382
<b>Additions to the Endowment</b>		
Donations	728	1,188
Total Additions to the Endowment	728	1,188
Total Endowment Income	415	7,570
<b>Operating Result</b>		
Operating Revenue	714	1,133
Operating Expenditure	5,538	4,651
Operating Surplus (Deficit)	-4,824	-3,518
Total Entity Surplus (Deficit)	-4,409	4,052
Equity	31,387	35,439

# Our supporters

Grattan Institute gratefully acknowledges the support of our affiliates.



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