

Annual Report

Grattan Institute

2021-22

Independent policy research to improve the lives of all Australians

GRATTAN
Institute

Table of Contents

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, from superannuation to school funding, and well beyond.

p. 03

Note from our Chair

p. 04

CEO report

p. 05

Policy impact highlights

p. 07

Board members and
committees

p. 08

Budgets and
Government

p. 09

Economic Policy

p. 10

Education

p. 11

Energy and
Climate Change

p. 12

Health and Aged Care

p. 13

Transport and Cities

p. 14

Financial statement

p. 15

Our supporters



Note from our Chair

As Australia confronts a period of extraordinary challenge and change, the role of Grattan Institute in the nation's public life has never been more important.

It was my privilege to be appointed as Chair of the Board during this year. I must say that coming to Grattan has been a revelation for me. I have long admired the Institute from afar, but to witness up-close the intellectual energy and the passionate pursuit of the public interest that drives the staff is uplifting and inspiring.

As Australia seeks to rebuild after the COVID-19 pandemic, with a new government taking charge in Canberra and with the prospect of a global recession looming, Grattan continues to provide rigorous, independent, and practical analysis and recommendations for policy makers.

We place a premium on crisp logic and clear language, and our reach is impressive and growing. The work of CEO Danielle Wood and her team of policy experts is cited almost routinely in speeches by ministers and shadow ministers, in Federal Parliament and in the states and territories, and in official publications such as government, parliamentary, and royal commission reports. No matter where you get your daily news – from the newspapers, or on TV, radio, or online – you will see Dani and our Program Directors being interviewed and our work cited. Our social media presence, as well as weekly podcasts and regular online speed briefings and in-person public events, enable increasing numbers of Australians to join in the policy conversation.

We are a potent force for better policy. Regarding the health and economic responses to the pandemic, Grattan's voice has been prominent, measured, and influential. As

proposed by Grattan, several state governments are now spending hundreds of millions of dollars on catch-up tutoring programs to help disadvantaged students who fell further behind their classmates during the long COVID lockdowns. The new Federal Government is committed to cheaper childcare, longer paid parental leave, and a shared home-equity scheme – all Grattan policies. A core recommendation of our Health Program – a commitment to fund wages increases for aged care workers determined by the Fair Work Commission – is now government policy. Grattan was an early advocate for reducing industrial emissions using the former Coalition government's Safeguard Mechanism, and that is now a signature policy of the new Labor Government. The Quality Initial Teacher Education Review, published in February, closely tracked Grattan's recommendations on how to attract more high achievers to the profession. Our revealing work on the cost and value of major transport projects is now clearly influencing federal and state government policies and the broader public debate. The Victorian Government introduced a new tax on windfall gains from land rezonings – a reform we have been advocating since 2018. The individual Program pages in this report provide many more examples of the way Grattan's work is improving the lives of all Australians.

I want to conclude by thanking all Grattan's donors, whom we acknowledge within this report. As my esteemed predecessor, The Hon. Alex Chernov AC KC, noted in this space last year, your continuing contributions will enable Grattan Institute to achieve its mission and become a permanent Institution in Australian public life, to the benefit of future generations.

Lindsay Maxsted, Chair

CEO report

2021-22 was another tumultuous year for Australia. The lows were very low: our major cities were once again locked down to slow the spread of COVID. But there were also some bright spots including a strong economic recovery and unemployment as low as it's been in my lifetime.

Throughout it all, Grattan Institute has remained active in advocating for evidence-based policies to improve the lives of all Australians.

In February, we published our *Orange Book* which set out Grattan's policy priorities for the next federal government in the lead up to the May election. It presented a policy blueprint to reignite wages growth and boost Australians' living standards, drawing on work across all six Grattan research programs.

Not only did we see a rare change of government at the election, but a commitment to a number of policies that Grattan has spent a long time advocating for, including: more affordable childcare, a social housing fund, policies to attract high-achievers to teaching, and a commitment to reform the so-called Safeguard Mechanism to reduce industrial emissions.

State governments also took up a number of our proposals, including a commitment to develop high-quality school curriculum materials in NSW, improving accessibility and affordability of 3 and 4-year-old kinder in NSW and Victoria, and the mothballing of three megaprojects in NSW, to diversify the state's investment program and mitigate delivery risks.

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 2021-22, we published 17 reports and made 21 submissions to public inquiries. These were reflected in more than 33,000 media mentions and 173 opinion pieces. Grattan staff talked to almost 200 politicians and staffers and another 1,000 stakeholders, and delivered more than

200 speeches. Grattan's work was cited 118 times in official forums such as ministerial and parliamentary speeches. And I was honoured to give the opening keynote at the 2022 Jobs and Skills Summit.

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 never shy from the hard questions and are always ready to adapt as the policy landscape changes.

In November 2021, we welcomed Lindsay Maxsted as our new Chair. Lindsay was previously the chair of Transurban and Westpac. He brings a wealth of experience in Director and Executive roles that is already paying dividends by setting up Grattan for further success.

We also welcomed Peter Breadon as our new Health Program Director in April 2022. Peter, who was Deputy Secretary of Reform and Planning in Victoria's Department of Health, succeeds Stephen Duckett, who retired from Grattan in February. I would like to thank Stephen and acknowledge his incredible contribution to Grattan over almost a decade – and to Australian health policy for much longer (and for many years still to come no doubt).

Finally, I want to thank Grattan's many supporters who make our wide-ranging impact possible. I won't try to predict what challenges Australia will face next, but I am confident that high-quality research and advocacy can help provide the solutions.

Danielle Wood, CEO

'The Grattan Institute is our leading independent think tank.'

— veteran *Sydney Morning Herald* economics editor Ross Gittins



Policy impact highlights

How Grattan work is changing the lives of Australians

Expanding paid parental leave

Grattan has been calling for years for expanded paid parental leave, to improve children's development and make it easier for mothers to return to paid work if they want. Now, the federal government is acting, in line with our recommendations.

The Albanese Government has committed to increasing paid parental leave to 26 weeks by 2026, and the scheme will be made more gender-equal with a use-it-or-lose-it component for each parent.

Our 2021 *Dad Days* report advocated for more gender-equal parental leave, and called for an expansion to 26 weeks, including a 6-week use-it-or-lose-it component for each parent.

Cutting carbon emissions to limit global warming

Grattan has been warning for years that Australia's energy and climate-change policies are not yet sufficient to hit the national target of net-zero emissions by 2050.

We were an early advocate for reducing industrial emissions by using the former Coalition government's Safeguard Mechanism, and this approach is now a signature policy of the federal Labor government.

The new government is also considering our recommendations on industry policy to reduce emissions while creating economic and employment opportunities in regional Australia.

Providing better aged care

Grattan has also been calling for years for better aged care in people's homes. Now, the government is revamping home care policy, in line with our recommendations.

The Albanese Government has already adopted one core Grattan recommendation: a commitment to fund wage increases for aged care workers determined by the Fair Work Commission.

The government is also acting on our call for it to adopt a rights-based approach to a redesigned system.

Boosting student performance

State governments are spending hundreds of millions of dollars on catch-up tutoring programs based on Grattan's *COVID Catch-up* report.

We published our report in June 2020, at the height of the COVID crisis, and state governments, notably in Victoria and NSW, have now invested about \$1.2 billion on catch-up tutoring initiatives over 2021 and 2022.

Grattan's calls to improve the ways Australia builds, recognises, and deploys teaching expertise and attracts high achievers into the profession are also bearing fruit. The Albanese Government has committed to a \$146.5 million package to boost the attractiveness of teaching as a career, and to strengthen the career path for expert teachers, in line with our recommendations.

Making housing more affordable

Grattan's proposal for a federal shared home equity scheme was adopted by the then Labor Opposition in the lead up to this year's federal election.

The Albanese Government is set to establish a \$10 billion Housing Australia Future Fund and reinstate the National Housing Supply Council – both Grattan recommendations.

And the Victorian Government has introduced a tax on windfall gains from land re-zonings – a reform we recommended in our landmark 2018 report, *Housing affordability*.

Getting a better deal for taxpayers on major projects

Grattan's reports and advocacy have been influential in improving the selection and management of major projects in Australia.

On project selection, the NSW Government announced in May this year that it would mothball three megaprojects, substantially in response to recommendations in our November 2020 report, *The rise of megaprojects: Counting the costs*.

And on project management, the Victorian Government has accepted several Auditor-General recommendations based substantially on Grattan analysis, including to create a repository of lessons learnt from major capital projects.



17

REPORTS PUBLISHED



173

OPINION PIECES
PUBLISHED



46,732

REPORTS
DOWNLOADED



33,009

MEDIA MENTIONS



77,189

SOCIAL MEDIA
ENGAGEMENTS



229

SPEECHES



118

OFFICIAL CITATIONS

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Kathryn Fagg AO

Jillian Segal AO

Andrew Sisson AO

Budgets and Government



Danielle Wood

Budgets and Government
Program Director

Childcare and parental leave policies were the focus for the Budgets and Government Program in 2021-22. Our work had a significant impact on the policies of both the new and previous federal governments, as well as commitments from the NSW and Victorian governments to expand early education and care.

The federal Coalition's childcare policy came into effect in March, reducing costs for about 270,000 families with 2 or more children under the age of 6 in care. The change of government in May means Labor's policy will now augment this from July 2023, reducing costs and improving work incentives for the 1 million families with children in formal care.

State governments have also committed to expanding early education and care. The NSW and Victorian governments jointly announced plans for a free year of play-based learning for every child before their first year of school.

The team has worked with governments and oppositions on these policies behind the scenes over the past three years, advising ministers, shadow ministers, political

advisers, and public servants, on questions of design and impacts, as well as providing modelling on various policy options.

The federal government recently announced a major expansion to paid parental leave. The government scheme will be gradually increased to 26 weeks by 2026, and the scheme will be made more gender-equal with a use-it-or-lose-it component for each parent. Our 2021 *Dad Days* report advocated for more gender-equal parental leave to support child development, women's workforce participation, and parental satisfaction. We recommended an expansion to 26 weeks, including a 6-week use-it-or-lose-it component for each parent. The team has continued to advocate for this reform publicly and behind the scenes.

I provided expert commentary on the federal budget for the ABC, immediately after the Treasurer's budget night speech and interview. I warned of the economic risks of a large pre-election splurge in an environment of record-low unemployment and inflation challenges.

I also gave the opening keynote at the 2022 Jobs Summit, urging Australia's leaders to forge a plan for full employment and higher productivity. I'm pleased to report that the speech was met with wide acclaim, and received glowing write-ups in major news outlets.

'Danielle Wood was the star of the summit.'

— Fran Kelly on ABC TV's *Insiders* after the Federal Government's 2022 Jobs and Skills Summit

Economic Policy



Brendan Coates

Economic Policy Program Director

Grattan's Economic Policy Program continued to influence housing, tax, retirement incomes, migration, and macroeconomic policy in Australia in 2021-22.

Our proposal for a federal shared equity scheme was adopted by the then Labor Opposition in the lead up to the federal election in May this year. The Albanese Government is set to establish a \$10 billion Housing Australia Future Fund and reinstate the National Housing Supply Council – both recommendations of recent Grattan reports. And the Victorian Government introduced a new tax on windfall gains from land rezonings – a reform we recommended in our 2018 *Housing affordability* report.

The Program's work on migration policy has started to pay substantial dividends. After the release of our reports on temporary and permanent skilled migration and a guidebook on migrants in the labour markets, Grattan was able to influence debate heading into and beyond the 2022 Jobs Summit. Several of our recommendations are being implemented, including expanding the number

of permanent employer-sponsored visas available and scaling back both the Business Investment and Innovation and Global Talent programs. The Victorian and Tasmanian governments have also reformed their state-nominated visa programs by introducing extra points for onshore applicants with higher-paying jobs – in line with Grattan recommendations. With the new federal government committed to a wholesale review of Australia's migration program, we are ideally placed to push for reforms to better target Australia's skilled migration program towards younger, high-skilled migrants who can make the greatest contribution to Australia.

The Program's influence in macroeconomic debate continued to grow this year. Grattan was one of the first to call for an independent review of the Reserve Bank – now underway – and our recent report, *No one left behind*, showed how low-income and low-skilled workers benefit most when unemployment is low.

The retirement income policy debate in 2022 centred on taxation, fees and efficiencies, and what superannuation should look like in the drawdown phase. Grattan had its hand in all three issues. The Economic Policy team was regularly called upon for commentary and analysis, and Grattan was invited to participate in key roundtables and working groups during the review of the Your Future, Your Super legislation.

'This excellent speech elevates Brendan Coates to the esteemed company of Saul Eslake as one of the great truth-tellers of Australia's housing disaster.'

— *Crikey* political editor Bernard Keane on Brendan Coates' Henry George Lecture



Education



Jordana Hunter

Education Program Director

Grattan's Education Program reports have been highly influential over the course of the year, as federal and state governments grapple with COVID-related disruptions to schools, workload pressures on teachers, and concerns about potential teacher shortages.

Our January 2022 *Making Time for Great Teaching* report presented the findings of a Grattan survey of 5,442 teachers and school leaders, which found that 92 per cent of teachers don't have enough time to prepare for effective teaching in the classroom. We called for a greater focus on how the wider workforce in schools is utilised to let teachers focus on teaching, and how teachers can be supported to work more effectively in lesson planning. We published an accompanying *Guide for Principals*, which focuses on what school leaders can do to lighten the load on teachers.

Grattan recommendations on how to improve the ways Australia builds, recognises, and deploys teaching expertise and attracts high achievers into the profession continue to gain traction. The Quality Initial Teacher Education Review, published in February 2022, closely tracked Grattan's recommendations on attracting high achievers. And the new federal government has committed to a \$146.5 million package to boost the attractiveness of teaching as a career, and to strengthen the career path for expert teachers.

The Education team continued to draw attention to the urgent need to tackle the ever-widening gap in student

achievement levels. Our analysis of 2021 NAPLAN data showed how the learning gap between advantaged and disadvantaged Year 3 students more than doubles by the time students reach Year 9.

Governments took up our call for strategies to minimise the impact of COVID-related school shutdowns, particularly for disadvantaged students already behind in their learning. We recommended catch-up tutoring initiatives in our June 2020 *COVID Catch-up* report, and state governments, notably in Victoria and NSW, have now invested about \$1.2 billion on catch-up tutoring initiatives over 2021 and 2022. We are now pressing governments to invest in rigorous evaluations of different types of tutoring programs and delivery formats, to identify the most successful and cost-effective ways to use catch-up tutoring to close the wide gaps in student achievement that pre-dated COVID-19.

'I am keen to talk to teachers about the findings in this report, as well as ACARA (the Australian Curriculum, Assessment, and Reporting Authority) and my state and territory colleagues.'

— federal Education Minister Jason Clare on Grattan's latest report on teacher workloads



‘Tony Wood probably knows more about energy than anyone else in this country.’

— Michael Rowland on ABC TV’s *News Breakfast*

Energy and Climate Change



Tony Wood

Energy and Climate Change
Program Director

Australia requires a new industrial revolution to meet its newly legislated climate change emissions-reduction targets. Grattan’s Energy and Climate Change Program was an early advocate for reducing industrial emissions using the Coalition government’s Safeguard Mechanism, and this approach is now a signature policy of the federal Labor government. The new government is also considering our recommendations on industry policy to reduce emissions while creating economic and employment opportunities in regional Australia.

Policy recommendations from our series of sector-focused climate-change reports have been welcomed by the new cohort of independent federal MPs.

Grattan’s submissions on gas and electricity policy have been widely sought and are being seriously considered as all Australian governments struggle with the energy transformation.

Our series of five reports on practical, sector-focused policies to enable Australia to set off on the long road to net zero continue to influence the thinking of government departments, agencies, and industry.

Our July 2022 report, *The next industrial revolution: transforming Australia to flourish in a net-zero world*, showed that Australia’s industrial sector faces transformative change to meet global and domestic emission-reduction targets, and that current policies are not up to the task.

We have received numerous requests for our input to policy thinking based on this package of reports, on topics including: a review of the Australian Domestic Gas Security Mechanism to make it effective in delivering affordable and reliable gas to east-coast consumers; the design of a so-called capacity mechanism to ensure sufficient future investment in dispatchable power in the National Electricity Market; and a review of Australian Carbon Credit Units to ensure their integrity as a source of emissions offsets.

The collapse of the east-coast electricity and gas markets in May-June this year led to an unprecedented level of media interviews, opinion and analysis pieces, and interactions with governments and agencies. We have warned that the full price impacts of that crisis have yet to be felt.

And state governments continue to seek our input on key energy and climate-change policies, including on the closure of coal-fired power stations, electricity transmission planning, and the future of the gas industry.

Health and Aged Care



Peter Breadon

Health and Aged Care
Program Director

This year saw sharp surges in the number of COVID cases, hospitalisations, and deaths, accompanied by unprecedented policy measures and heated public debates. Throughout the year, Grattan advocated for effective and proportionate responses as the pandemic's shape and intensity changed. Our report from the previous year, *Race to 80*, report continued to influence pandemic policy making and debate. Many of the responses that Grattan proposed were widely adopted, including compulsory vaccination of teachers, rapid antigen testing for school students, and vaccination passports. The newly-elected federal Labor government also reversed its decision to scrap COVID leave entitlements, in line with Grattan advocacy.

Our *Unfinished business: Practical policies for better care at home* report continued a series of work on aged care policy in Australia. It made recommendations about how to better manage the home care system, cut waiting lists, and expand and develop the over-stretched workforce. The report was timely, as the government is now revamping home care policy as part of its

response to the Royal Commission into aged care. One core recommendation from *Unfinished business* has already been adopted by the new federal government: a commitment to fund wage increases for aged care workers determined by the Fair Work Commission.

In our earlier reports and advocacy on aged care, we had strongly urged the government to adopt a rights-based approach to a redesigned system. This has now been reflected in a government concept paper that outlines the intended approach to regulating the sector.

The Health and Aged Care Program also released a major report on consumer fees and charges in the health system, *Not so universal: how to reduce out-of-pocket healthcare payments*. As costs for consumers and patients continue to rise, creating a barrier to care for many, the report outlines how to reduce fees for specialists, diagnostic services, medicines, allied health, and GPs.

A report in 2020-21 called on governments to develop health sector plans to reduce carbon emissions, among other things. This action is now underway, with the federal Minister convening a meeting of states and territories for this purpose, and commissioning his Department to develop a strategy.

**‘Excellent, informative,
evidence-based.’**

— Shaun Gath, former CEO of Australia's private health insurance regulator, on Grattan's COVID-19 analysis



Transport and Cities



Marion Terrill

Transport and Cities Program Director

Grattan's Transport and Cities program has been influential in improving the selection and management of major projects, and in identifying policies to cut transport emissions as Australia seeks to meet its net-zero-by-2050 commitment.

The NSW Government announced in May that it would mothball three megaprojects, substantially in response to recommendations in our November 2020 report, *The rise of megaprojects: Counting the costs*, and subsequent opinion pieces and media appearances. We have been prosecuting these arguments since our 2018 report, *Remarkably adaptive: Australian cities in a time of growth*. Our recommendations were picked up in the NSW State Infrastructure Strategy, published in May.

The move away from megaprojects has also been apparent at the federal level, with Minister Catherine King asking the federal department to 'make sure all the claims that are made about [megaprojects] by state governments, by local governments, are true'.

On discount rates, a policy shift appears to be underway, in line with our recommendations. We published a report

in 2018 calling for the 'unfreezing' of discount rates, and have been prosecuting the case since. Following representations in Senate Estimates about our report, the federal Treasury has been leading a process with state governments to update the approach to discount rate setting.

On project management, the Victorian Government has accepted several Auditor-General recommendations based substantially on Grattan analysis. These include that the government develop and maintain a public-facing dashboard of scope, cost, and time variance analysis against previously reported results; and to create and disseminate a repository of lessons learnt from major capital projects.

With many groups now pushing the federal government for an emissions ceiling, The *Grattan car plan* (published November 2021) is being used by many advocates because it contains the most current and credible modelling of the impacts of such a policy.

And Grattan's Transport and Cities Program has been one of few voices on the broader implications of a switch from petrol and diesel cars and trucks to electric vehicles. One of the recommendations of the Grattan car plan was for Australia to join the worldwide movement to lower speed limits to 30 kilometres on urban streets.

'This is a very important analysis. It has sensible and practical suggestions to rein in the massive cost blowouts.'

— Victorian shadow minister David Davis on Grattan's megaprojects report

Financial statement

	2020-21	2021-22
	\$'000	\$'000
Endowment Income		
Interests and Dividends	3,942	812
Realised Gains (Losses) from the Sale of Investments	1,301	10
Movement in the Market Value of Investments	1,096	(2,570)
Investment Rebates	81	96
Less: Investment Management Fees	(38)	(245)
Total Interest and Investment Income	6,382	(1,897)
Additions to the Endowment		
Donations	1,188	1,812
Total Additions to the Endowment	1,188	1,812
Total Endowment Income	7,570	(85)
Operating Result		
Operating Revenue	1,133	531
Operating Expenditure	4,651	4,897
Operating Surplus (Deficit)	-3,518	(4,366)
Total Entity Surplus (Deficit)	4,052	(4,451)
Equity	35,439	30,988

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Grattan Institute gratefully acknowledges the support of our affiliates.



Australian Government



BHP

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