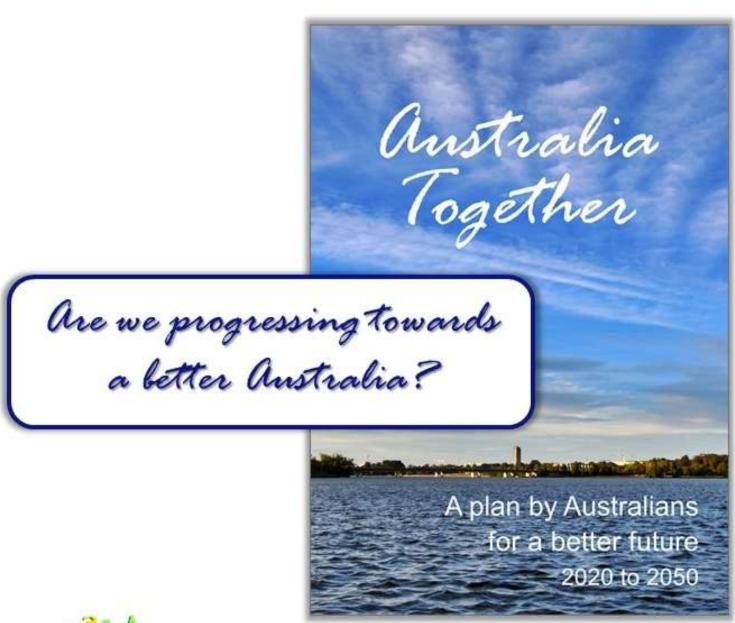
The State of Australia 2022

End of Term Report

46th Parliament of Australia





The State of Australia 2022

A report on the nation's progress towards and away from the

Vision for Australia Together

during the term of office of the 46th Parliament of Australia and the longer term.

This report is produced by Australian Community Futures Planning March 2022



About Australian Community Futures Planning

ACFP was founded in March 2020 for the purpose of encouraging greater participation by Australians in planning their own future as a nation within a 21^{st} century democracy. It is an independent centre of excellence in national community futures planning, providing an organising framework that can enable any and all Australians to increase the chances of improving our entire quality of life – our society, our environment, our economy and our democratic governance.

Australian Community Futures Planning has no affiliation with any political party inside or outside Australia. It receives neither political party nor other funding. All output from ACFP is produced by inkind contributions of volunteers.

From 2020 until at least 2023 ACFP will be in start-up phase, pursuing a range of alliances with willing Australians, including participants in local government, the progressive media, open-minded progressive activist community associations, relevant university institutions, specialist centres of excellence, think tanks, peak environmental groups, scientists, economists, Indigenous and human rights advocates, and statisticians.

ACFP's Founder is Dr Bronwyn Kelly. **Dr Kelly is the Principal** author of this End of Term Report on the **State of the Nation 2022**. Sean Kelly is co-author and data analyst.

For more information on Australian Community Futures Planning visit https://www.austcfp.com.au/

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Note - Disclaimer

This is a report on Australia's progress towards and away from the Vision for *Australia Together*. *Australia Together* is a plan developed for the Australian community by any Australian willing to participate in good faith. It is not developed by any political party or elected government.

Australia Together has no statutory force and binds neither governments nor participants in any way.

Participation in the national community futures planning process for development of and reporting on *Australia Together* is entirely voluntary.

Acknowledgement

ACFP acknowledges the Traditional Owners of the lands on which we live and work across Australia and pays respect to Elders past, present and emerging. We acknowledge that sovereignty has never been ceded. ACFP recognises and celebrates the extraordinary contribution that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have made through millennia to all aspects of Australian life, culture and the environment. May all their songlines endure.

ACFP hopes that Strategies within *Australia Together* will assist First Nations to realise, in full, the aspirations of the Uluru Statement from the Heart.



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are we progressing towards a better Australia?

If Australians agree that the draft **Vision for** *Australia Together* describes the better Australia we might aspire to for ourselves and future generations, the answer to the above question in 2022 must be

No, we are not progressing towards a better Australia, we are travelling away from that preferred destination.

But we do have the means of reversing our current course of travel and we have full capacity to switch to safer paths — paths by which we the people can make the **Vision for** *Australia Together* a reality, providing a place of wellbeing and security for everyone.

A central question for Australia

In 2022, the vast majority of Australians will not be aware of attempts to answer this question: Are we progressing towards a better Australia? Most will not be aware that a new systematic process has been established to enable them to ask and answer the question using factual detail assembled in a single, fully accessible location outside the distorting lens of politics.

In the internet age, a wide variety of surveys and research projects have been established which attempt in disparate fashion to answer small parts of the question, and the community has been given free and open access to most of these. But until now, in Australia at least, no attempt has been made to address the full question in detail, in one place, using a coherent measurement framework. We have lots of little surveys of progress that look backward in time and record how we have changed on many isolated parameters. But we have nothing coherent that looks *forward* – nothing that looks at the directions in which we are headed and nothing that sheds light on whether the directions we are taking are really the ones we might prefer, were we to be given reasons and a chance to choose a different path.

It is probable that the question of whether we are travelling to a better future has not been asked, let alone answered, because Australia has not yet arrived at an acknowledged description of what a better Australia might look like. We have not articulated an agreed, preferred destination for the nation. We have not come together to describe where we want to go. In the absence of that shared sense of an ideal destination – some might call it a common and meaningful purpose – it is not possible to assess the wisdom of the directions in which we are headed, let alone choose different ones, should we so please.

Fortunately though, some of those same surveys and research programs that have been made public in the last twenty years have described not just the features of our present state, but many of the features of an ideal future, the one we might aspire to if we were given the chance to let our imaginations run free. There have been some spaces where we have been asked to imagine the best



future, including but not limited to the community engagement programs of Australia reMADE and countless local government area engagement processes for long term community futures planning. These have provided the pieces of a picture that we can assemble of a future in which everyone can find a space to live their life as they determine to be meaningful and fulfilling.

And when these pieces are assembled what becomes apparent is that, when it comes to the future, Australians – regardless of any political, cultural, economic and ideological differences – are "staggeringly similar" in their aspirations. We all want the same things for our kids, nieces, nephews, and anyone dear to us who is born next in our communities. We all want wellbeing and security and the same opportunities to attain those fundamental conditions. We may disagree about what we want in the present. But we tend not to disagree about what we want as an ideal for the longer term.

Because politics focusses on the shorter term, it mires Australians in disagreement and stalls progress. But an integrated **National Planning & Reporting** framework that takes a certain future as a preferred destination – a home we might all wish to share in time – has now made it possible for Australians suddenly to come together in the common cause of making a well understood, particular type of better Australia. Research by Australian Community Futures Planning (ACFP) has demonstrated that this "better Australia" is likely to be imagined as:

- socially inclusive, equitable and intelligent,
- · environmentally sustainable,
- economically fair and resilient, and
- democratically open and ethical.

This in turn has enabled ACFP to assemble a draft **Vision for Australia Together** for consideration by Australians and a planning framework to help make it a reality. And with that in hand, Australians can now begin to check whether it is indeed where we want to go and to monitor whether we are moving towards or away from the destination it describes. The chief advantage of this <u>National Integrated Planning & Reporting</u> process is that it gives us the chance to set

safe courses of travel to our preferred destination in the future much earlier than we otherwise might. It means we can identify where we are straying from the preferred paths and reset our course before we do too much damage and waste too much money.

The advance knowledge provided by a serious attempt to answer the question of whether we are headed to a place of wellbeing and security for all, also provides us with the wherewithal to build a much more resilient and self-reliant Australia – one capable of averting the crises we can prevent and withstanding the impact of the global crises we cannot prevent.

About this report

This is an End of Term Report against the aims of the draft Vision and Directions of Australia Together during the 46th parliament of Australia and over the last ten to twenty years. It contains some hard reading about how we are not prepared for the future and how seriously we have strayed from safe paths towards what should be the minimum level of wellbeing and security for a 21st century, wealthy, democratic nation. It is a confronting report. But it is a timely and essential wake-up call and is designed to help Australians understand more about:

• our weaknesses as a nation,

¹ Australia ReMADE, "Creating the Best Version of Us", page 1.



11

- what we are doing well and not well,
- what we need to change if we want to make the Vision for Australia Together a reality, and
- what strengths we will need to capitalise on.

Australian Community Futures Planning began working with Australians to help them build a plan for a better Australia in March 2020. As a centre of excellence in National IP&R, ACFP:

- developed the tools Australians will need to build the nation's first long term community futures plan, Australia Together, and the processes they can use to monitor it;
- devised a structure for an integrated long term national plan that will be easy to follow – a map of the safe paths to the preferred destination in the future and a signpost system to select Strategies that take us in the preferred Directions;
- conducted the research to assemble the first draft
 Vision for Australia Together; and
- assembled the data to help everyone monitor whether we have followed the Directions and whether we need to change course. This assembled data is an ongoing project – the *Australia Together* National Wellbeing Index.

This Report constitutes the first report against the Indicators, Targets and Strategies housed in the Index. It builds a forward-looking, outward-looking picture of:

- us we the people of Australia as a nation,
- our land and home,
- our relationships with each other and the world,
- our prospects, and
- our dreams.

The Report also:

- looks *back* over how we have progressed in relation to critical Indicators of a better nation during the life of the 46th parliament of Australia;
- looks back further where data are available to paint a picture of our capacity, strengths and weaknesses over the last 10 to 20 years;
- sums up where we are and how healthy and resilient our nation is now and how far away we are from where we would prefer to be; and
- sums up the biggest challenges things we would be well advised to solve in the decade to 2030 if we expect to arrive safely in 2050 with an acceptable degree of wellbeing and security.

ACFP trusts that this Report, confronting though it is, will arm Australians with much of the knowledge they need to chart a safe course to their preferred future.





Status of reporting capacity of the Australia Together National Wellbeing Index

The *Australia Together* National Wellbeing Index enables Australians to answer questions about whether and where we may be moving towards a better future. It is the largest set of assembled data for this specific purpose that is available to Australians today. The Index is being built progressively and is currently estimated to be about 65% complete. It contains 265 Indicators of progress complete with baseline data showing our position in 2022 in relation to 165 Targets and 100 Strategies for making the Vision for *Australia Together* a reality. More Indicators will be added during future parliamentary terms.

The Index is designed to enable us to monitor our direction of travel towards or away from the draft Vision for *Australia Together*. This Vision is currently made up of:

- 17 Vision elements draft statements about the sort of life we wish to be able to lead and the country we wish to live in by 2050 (see Introduction below for the full Vision); and
- 57 draft Direction statements of the safe routes toward that Vision, including Directions for our society, environment, economy and governance. <u>Click here for the full wording of the</u> <u>Directions</u>.

The current status of the Australia Together National Wellbeing Index allows us to monitor:

- all 17 elements of the Vision, and
- 42 of the 57 Directions.

The remaining 15 Directions will be reported on in the next End of Term Report.

This Report covers how well we have travelled as a nation during the term of the 46th parliament of Australia and, where data are available, over the longer term of the last ten to twenty years.

For ease of reading, ACFP has used colour and direction signs to display results:

- Red and red arrows pointing left ← denote negative progress.
- Green and green arrows pointing right → denote positive progress.
- Orange and split arrows in both directions ←/→ denote mixed results, heavily qualified results, stagnation, or absence of data.

Overview of Results

For all our wealth, privilege, resources and capacity, almost nothing has got better in our national life during the 46th parliament and over the longer term of the last ten to twenty years.

- On balance, we have moved away from rather than towards 15 of the 17 Vision elements.
- Progress on the remaining two Vision elements has been stagnant neither towards nor away from the Vision, on balance.
- In relation to the 42 Directions monitored, on balance:
 - o In only 2 cases have we moved in accordance with the safe direction of travel.
 - In 4 cases we have moved in accordance with the safe direction but too slowly or indecisively.
 - o In 4 cases, evidence is mixed and progress is stagnant.
 - In 32 cases we have moved contrary to the safe Direction of travel.



The Draft Vision for Australia Together By 2050	Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?
We are safe	←
We are reconciled with and celebrate our First Nations peoples and their cultures	←
Everyone is welcome to participate positively in community life	←
We are inspired and able to renew our physical and spiritual wellbeing	←
We act together as a compassionate society	←
Equality is valued as enriching human community, cultural harmony and social progress	—
Diversity is positively appreciated as a basis for a successful society	←/→
Everyone can realise their full potential in life, as individuals, members of a family and citizens through unlimited opportunities in education and employment of choice	—
Vital services are fully accessible	←
Scarce resources are conserved and fairly shared	←
National wealth is fairly shared	←
Our economy is sustainable and supports rewarding opportunities and continuous improvements in living standards for everyone	—
As a nation we have the courage to take a leading place in achieving the environmental aims of a global society	←
Stewardship of ecology is affirmed as fundamental to planetary and human survival	—
Strong democracy is assured by a well informed and engaged community	←/→
We are confident our leaders will reflect thoughtfully on our views and best interests when making decisions for our future	←
We take pride in Australia as a responsible international citizen, active in building a safer, more peaceful and united world	—

Consolidated results – Are we travelling towards the Vision via the safe Directions?				
On Quadrant	On balance yes	On balance yes but indecisively	Evidence is mixed, progress is stagnant	On balance no
Quadrum	→	←/→	←/→	←
Society	1	2	2	10
Environment	0	1	1	6
Economy	0	0	0	6
Governance	1	1	1	10
Total	2	4	4	32



Summary of performance during the 46th parliament

Taking in the results on the direction of movement in relation to the 265 indicators in the Index:

- → During the 46th parliament, negative performance (travelling contrary to the preferred Direction) outweighed positive performance by a factor of 255%.
- → In all quadrants, negative performance outweighed positive performance.
- → The worst performance by far was in the Environment quadrant, although only a relatively small number of Indicators were monitored in that quadrant.
- → The **second worst performance** was in the **Economy** quadrant, where a relatively large number of indicators were monitored and negative performance outweighed positive performance by a factor of 667%

Summary of performance during the longer term

Taking in the results on the direction of movement in relation to the 265 indicators in Index:

- → During the longer term, negative performance (travelling contrary to the preferred Direction) outweighed positive performance by a factor of 516%.
- → In all quadrants, negative performance significantly outweighed positive performance.
- → The worst performance by far was in the Economy quadrant, where a relatively large number of indicators were monitored and negative performance outweighed positive performance by a factor of 5400%. The only positive factor in progress in Australia's economy has related to the predisposition of Australians towards the need to re-build equality and fairness.
- → The **second worst performance** by far was in the **Environment** quadrant, although only a relatively small number of Indicators were monitored in that quadrant.

Key features of the worst areas of performance

As a nation, Australia has, on balance, travelled:

- away from the Vision,
- contrary to the Directions, and
- has done so in all four quadrants of the Index society, environment, economy and governance.

The balance of the result is not a fine one. It is stark and has been heavily tilted towards the negative. And the data strongly indicate that the nation has been drifting solidly that way for more than a decade.

Causes of the drift away from the Vision are complex but still quite easily discernible. Over the last ten to twenty years we have witnessed a range of graphic policy failures and attitudinal shifts that have weakened our cohesion as a nation, our confidence in our system of government and our preparedness for the future. Some important examples are summarised in the following section, not in any particular order. The combined effect of each of these as they have all come into play at once is the likely cause of Australia's movement away from the Vision of *Australia Together*.



Policies that did not take us where we want to go

Neoliberalism

- We have witnessed the failure of neoliberalism. It has not made out lives better:
 - Results on Indicators of economic performance – all uniformly negative – reflect a clear failure of neoliberal policies.
 - And results on progress towards the Vision tell us clearly that neoliberal policies of small government, light market regulation and encouragement of oligopolies have not taken us where we want to go – not even near it.
 - On their own terms, adherents of neoliberalism may argue that they have achieved something good for the nation, by stripping back the government sector and giving free rein to our competitive "animal spirits" on the assumption that a free market will operate more efficiently

End of Term Report 2022 Progress on Directions from Australia Together				
In our economy Australia	Are we travelling towards			
becomes	the preferred destination?			
A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	On balance, no.			
A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.	On balance, no.			
A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	On balance, no.			
A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.	On balance, no.			
A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.	On balance, no.			
An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.	On balance, no.			

- than a market in which the taxpayer-owned government sector plays a strong competitive role. They may argue economic success within that frame of reference.
- However, as this report shows, the "free market" operated by an unregulated private sector has not operated more efficiently.
- Moreover, experience during the bushfires of 2019/20 and floods of 2022 in eastern Australia, plus experience of differential treatment of Australians (eg., the ruthless treatment of casual workers, tertiary educators, art and cultural sector workers and aged carers compared to the squandering of billions in over-subsidising big business) during the Covid-19 pandemic, indicates that Australia's significantly privatised services sector has left us ill-prepared for the future and for global crises.
- Results of our progress as a nation in the last two decades indicate unequivocally that the market arrangements pertaining under neoliberalism are not worth having.
- Whatever Australia may have saved by funding a smaller government sector, it has lost many times over in returns that could have been realised through full competitive participation in our economy by the taxpayer owned government sector. Examples of lost returns and inequitable sharing of national wealth abound in this Report.

Inequality

- We have witnessed the growth of inequality and have recognised it as a cause of misery, which we are rejecting as a preferred feature of our future:
 - o Income and wealth inequality have both steadily increased since the early 2000s.



- Wealth inequality has increased steeply.
- This is coincident with and indeed is a direct cause of slowed growth in our economy since the Global Financial Crisis. Plainly, when too many people have too little to spend, the total size of the economy can only be adversely affected – and it has been.
- Inequality, at least in the form of Gini coefficient calculations, has not been measured by the ABS since 2017/18. However, regressive policies on taxation which were legislated in 2018 and 2019, and persistent flattening of wages since 2014, can only have had the effect of accelerating the growth of inequality.

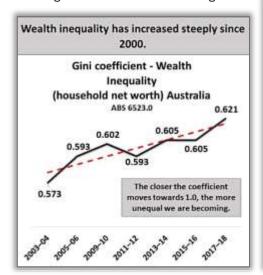
Again, neoliberalism is a chief culprit, thriving as it does on inequality. Any policy setting
which contributes to growth in inequality, including wealth, gender and racial
inequality, has myriad consequences for everyone, not just the

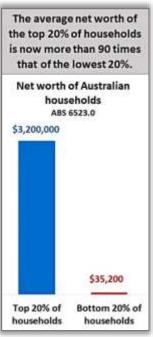
poor. Evidence in this report demonstrates that.

 This Report has been unable to identify policies which would counteract the effect of the tax legislation and flattened wages

on equality. Australia is no longer the land of the fair go for all.

identified is that
Australians strongly
reject the growth of
inequality. This is one
of the few positive
findings. Inequality is
not something
Australians want. The
evidence is that they
reject it and the cruelty
that comes with it.





Imposed poverty, exclusions from the welfare system, and structural settings preventing full employment

- We have witnessed consignment of millions of Australians to deep poverty for lengthy periods and extended unemployment:
 - Poverty now excludes more than 3 million Australians from participation in our economy and realisation of their dreams to lead a fulfilling life.
 - Hounding of welfare recipients in some cases causing death, as in the case of the Robodebt scandal – has marginalised and traumatised over 450,000 Australians, not counting those who have been cut off unfairly from welfare support while complying with the job placement system.
 - o Private sector management of job placement services, and some Reserve Bank policies, are set more towards keeping people in unemployment than providing them with a job.
 - Contraction of the public sector has removed tens of thousands of job opportunities for meaningful work in areas that would grow the economy.



 The unemployment rate has dropped since the pandemic, largely due to slowed immigration. If immigration is restored to pre-pandemic levels we are likely to see a return to higher unemployment and a continuation of flattened wages for Australians.

18.0

16.0

14.0

10.0

8.0

6.0 4.0

2.0

0.0

Since 2010, Australians have suffered

average annual underemployment of 8.7%

& average annual underutilisation of 13.8%.

Average monthly underutilisation,

underemployment and unemployment rates

% of labour force 2007 to 2021

ABS 6202.0

Unemployment rate - % of persons

Underemployment ratio - % of employed persons

- - Linear (Underutilisation rate - % of persons)

Underutilisation rate - % of persons

- In 2022 unemployment and underemployment are lower than they have been for some time and underutilisation (the combination of unemployment and underemployment) has, mercifully, dropped from the annual average since 2010 of 13.8%. But in February 2022 it was still high at 10.6% and this at a time when the cost of living was increasing sharply under price increases for fuel and other essentials due to the war in Ukraine.
- During the 46th parliament an average of just over 1.2 million Australians were underemployed every month, meaning they could not get enough hours of work to meet their needs. Low wages exacerbated the problem.
- Of those Australians deemed to be living in poverty between 2017 and 2019, almost 25% had a full time job, indicating that they are being paid so poorly that even full time employment is now not enough to shield over one million employed Australians from poverty, let alone their children.
- Policy settings which embed poverty, as neoliberalism does, are entirely self-defeating from a budgetary perspective. Pressure on the health system, particularly mental health, only increases, bringing with it costs that could have been avoided.
- It is notable that ABS surveys of the impacts of Covid-19 on households registered high or very high levels of psychological distress throughout the first two years of the pandemic – over 20% for all Australians and 30% for young Australians aged 18 to 34 years.² This is significantly higher than in pre-pandemic surveys when it was around 13%.
- Australians are likely to consider the benefits of a social wage, particularly insofar as it can reduce gender inequality and promote genuine full employment. <u>Click here for</u> <u>information on the benefits of a social wage for all adult Australians</u>.

Structured discrimination against women and LGBTIQ+

- We have witnessed inaction on gender equality, including a policy vacuum that is stopping women and LGBTIQ+ from participating in the economy as fully as they might and consigning many to domestic abuse.
 - Relative to other countries, Australia's performance in achieving gender equality in areas including economic opportunity and participation, health and survival, and political empowerment has fallen dramatically over the last 2 decades. The only positive sign is that we retain the number 1 spot for levels of educational attainment. Overall,

² ABS Household Impacts of Covid-19 survey, June 2021.



ABS <u>Household Impacts of</u>

between the years 2006 and 2021, Australia has dropped from rank No. 15 in the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Report to now being ranked No. 50. There is no excuse for a wealthy developed country to fall so dramatically in global gender gap rankings. And yet other countries are leaping over Australia in closing the gap.

Australia's global ranking Many other count				
World Economic Forum Global Gender Gap Report 2021				
Australia's global gender gap rank	Rank in 2006	Rank in 2021	Fall in ranking	
On educational attainment	No. 1	No. 1	No change	
On economic participation and opportunity	12 th	70 th	Fall of 58 places	
On health and survival	57 th	99 th	Fall of 42 places	
On political empowerment	32 nd	70 th	Fall of 38 places	
Overall ranking	15 th	50 th	Fall of 35 places	
The lower the	place, the bigger t	he gender gap.	7(0)	

- The gender pay gap in Australia, on some reports, appears to be closing but at a snail's pace. In 2021, the Australian Government Workplace Gender Equality Agency reported that, "The gender pay gap has fallen from 24.7 per cent to 20.1 per cent and at this rate of change will take another 26 years for the full-time gender pay gap for total remuneration to close." Other data from the ABS does not provide confidence that the pay gap is closing.
- In 2017/18 the median male superannuation balance (\$183,000) was 54% higher than the median female superannuation balance (\$118,556).
- unfortunately declined slightly, relative to males. The gap between female and male superannuation balances reduced slightly but the effect of Covid-19 is likely to worsen the ratios once again. Ratio of female to male earnings - 2010 to 2018 1.00 ABS 4125.0 0.90 0.80 0.73 0.72 0.71 0.70 0.69 0.70 0.60 0.65 0.50 0.58 0.53 0.53 0.40 0.30 0.20 0.10 0.00 2010 2012 2014 2016 2018 Ratio of female to male adult weekly total cash earnings Ratio of female to male superannuation balance (median) at or approaching preservation age (55-64 years)

From 2010 to 2018 median weekly incomes for females

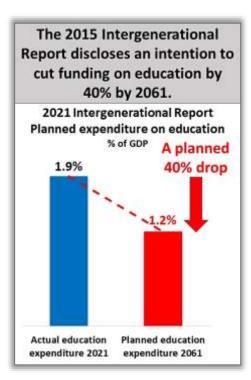
- All manner of stalling tactics have been in play to prevent closure of the gender gap. Despite a legislative framework which prohibits gender discrimination, no notable action has been taken to lift the prospects and circumstances of women and LGBTI+ in the past ten years. The single exception is legislation permitting same sex marriage, a reform itself stalled for more than a decade by government inaction and outright resistance to the will of the majority of Australians.
- Attempts to remove access to institutional benefits for LGBTIQ+, have emerged anew during the 46th parliament in the form of religious discrimination bills, although these have recently been withdrawn.
- o In its legislative agenda the government has sidelined genuine reforms that are far more urgent for Australians in favour of legislation benefitting religious groups who are the only groups who have rights enshrined already under the Constitution. The government could have prioritised workplace laws benefitting women and LGBTIQ+ but chose policy directions that continue structural discrimination on religious grounds.



- The policy vacuum was so evident that in the end women themselves stepped up to propose an agenda. In 2021 and 2022, Australia witnessed a surge in calls for safety, respect and equity for women and girls throughout their lives in the workplace, in schools, in all other public places and in the home. The call went out to women from survivors of sexual abuse including but not limited to Grace Tame and Brittany Higgins. They added to the calls from women of colour, disability, and genderqueer women that had been growing over previous decades. The essence of the call for safety, respect and equity was specific in the following terms:
 - Create free and accessible early childhood education and care.
 - Expand paid parental leave.
 - Act on the national plan for first Nations women and girls.
 - Deliver strong and consistent child sexual assault laws.
 - Insist employers step up to prevent sexual harassment and bullying.
 - Establish 10 days' paid family and domestic violence leave.
 - Support laws to get rid of the gender pay gap.
- Any government looking for an agenda to promote equality in Australia could start here. If they added introduction of a social wage to the mix, the speed with which we would see the above agenda fulfilled would be likely to overcome structural discrimination within five years, all to the benefit of the Australian economy and our quality of life. And if that agenda were overarched by a new Accord between Australians and their parliaments on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing, Australia would skyrocket to the top rank in the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Index. Click here for information on the benefits of a new <u>Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing</u>.

Dismantling of public education

- We have witnessed large scale attacks on our education system, potentially crippling our
 productivity and thereby setting the economy on a path of decline. This runs absolutely
 counter to the Vision for Australia Together:
 - Funding cuts to education have been quietly embedded in federal budgets since 2014. And the last two Intergenerational Reports (2015 and 2021) have shamelessly disclosed an intention to cut federal budget education funding as a proportion of GDP by 40% by 2061.
 - During the Covid-19 pandemic, the federal government refused to support the tertiary education sector leading to the loss of 40,000 jobs (35,000 in universities and 5,000 in vocational education).
 - De-skilling of Australians is being embedded from school age. Scores for educational attainment have been dropping for almost twenty years.





- Successive federal governments have also built gross inequality into the system by a failure to implement the Gonski reforms.
- o In 2021, bilateral school funding agreements between the Commonwealth and state governments were set such that public schools in all states except the ACT would only ever be funded at 91% of their Schooling Resource Standard (SRS) leading to a cumulative under-funding to 2029 for government schools estimated at \$60 billion while special deals for private schools by the Morrison Government and continuing over-funding by several state governments would ensure that private schools would be funded at over 100% of their SRS until at least 2029. The cumulative over-funding of private schools to 2029 is estimated at \$6 billion.
- Between 2009-10 and 2018-19, private school funding increased by \$2,164 per student, adjusted for inflation, compared to \$334 per student for public schools and funding per private school student increased by 22.4%, nearly ten times the increase of only 2.4% for public schools.
- The growth in private schooling has long been accompanied by declining overall levels of student achievement.
- Attacks on the tertiary education system by the federal government are economically contractionary, not just insofar as the refusal to support the sector during the pandemic has impacted our overseas trade in education services for years to come, but also insofar as the failure to provide free lifelong education, as several other countries do, reduces our productivity and therefore our competitiveness. The impact of increasing fees for tertiary education, to the point where it is now unaffordable for most, is coincident with a steep trend of falls in Australia's labour productivity since 2000.

Disregard of the environment and biodiversity

- We have witnessed the decimation of much of our natural environment and biodiversity. Stewardship of ecology has not been a priority policy but this is changing:
 - Losses of biodiversity have accelerated in the 21st century. Inland river fish kills and bleaching of the Great Barrier reef are two of the most obvious examples.
 - Fraud or corruption in trading of water in regional Australia, along with poor planning for integrated ecosystem management, has brought on several crises for biodiversity and the sustainability of regions.
 - Again, policies on regional development which have often disregarded the environment, combined with underfunding of services in rural and remote areas, have not taken Australia where we want to go.
 - Policies on climate change, which have been set towards denial and inaction, have all but sealed the fate of Australia's biodiversity and ecosystems. They are on the brink of collapse. In2020, a Review of the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act noted that "Australia's natural environment and iconic places are in an overall state of decline and are under increasing



- threat. The current environmental trajectory is unsustainable." Mining and fossil fuel extractors are accelerating the ecocide.
- o Fortunately, rural and regional farming communities are beginning to realise the essential value of environmental sustainability and maintenance of the widest possible biodiversity. If these communities can secure policy changes which over-ride the negative impact of mining on Australia's most scarce resource water the nation may yet steer its way back on course to the Vision for *Australia Together*.

Climate policy intransigence and support of fossil fuels

- We have witnessed the failure of our policies on climate change. It has blighted our land, our lives and livelihoods, and our reputation as a decent international citizen:
 - o Australia's record on climate policy and cooperation is nothing short of appalling. We have progressively tumbled down in the rankings of the international Climate Change Performance Index until we have reached the bottom of the list of 64 participating countries. And we are hurting noone as much as ourselves in the process by persistent unethical and uncooperative behaviour on the international stage.



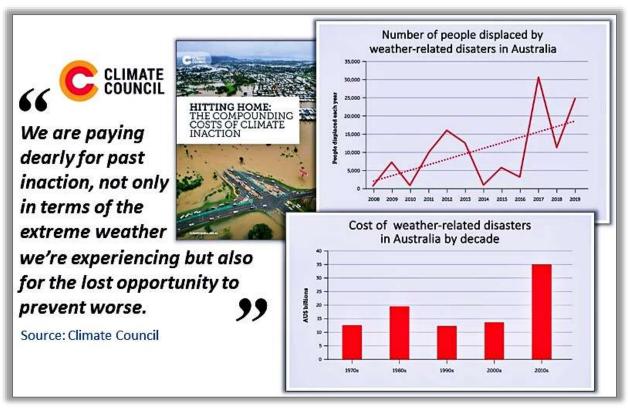
- o Inaction in transition of our fossil fuel based economy to one based on renewable energy will cost Australia a minimum of \$584 billion over the decade to 2030 and \$762 billion by 2050, according to Melbourne University³. Almost all of that loss is still avoidable if we reverse policy direction on climate change and commit to reaching net zero carbon emissions without exceeding a fair budget of emissions (which in Australia's case is likely to be no more than 3.5 billion tonnes of carbon equivalents⁴).
- But instead we have a policy orientation which is tailored to aggravating the losses by embedding more inaction. Australia was treated to a new "National Climate Resilience and Adaptation Strategy 2021 2025". But other than referencing some extra funding for droughts (note, not floods or fires), it did little more than establish a reinsurance pool for climate change damage. Because it included no actions whatsoever to mitigate or prevent climate change (and because current mitigation strategies elsewhere are

⁴ See ACFP, What's at stake at COP 26? Everything! for further information on fair and reasonable carbon budgets for Australia.



³ See Chapter 12, Issue No. 16 – Climate policy failure and Chapter 8, Environment 1 – Environmental advocacy.

insufficient to reduce heating), the new adaptation strategy proactively set up Australians and the insurance industry to incur massive and otherwise avoidable financial losses, and then use taxpayer funding, not to protect Australians but to bail out private insurers (by reinsuring them) for losses that should be prevented rather than courted. The Strategy increases the chances and magnitude of future loss by insurers but promises that taxpayers will cover their loss. It is a strategy to ensure private financiers will make money out of the misery of Australians.



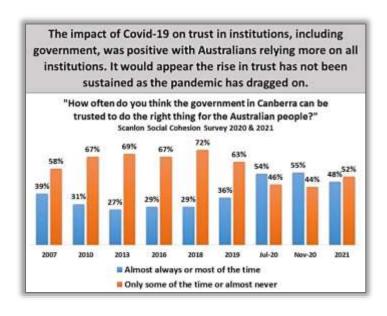
- Climate policy in Australia is the epitome of irresponsibility and the largest scale of greed we have seen in Australia at least since the British government declared ownership of the entire eastern half of the Australia continent in 1788⁵.
- The Paris Agreement of 2015 in which we agreed to use all endeavours to cap global heating to between 1.5° and 2° Celsius represents the one time in human history that every nation in the world has come to agreement about what must be done to save humankind and committed to acting as a coherent international community. And yet Australia has walked away from every sworn commitment, even though it is so obviously and wholly in our interest to stick to the agreement and even though we have the capacity.
- This failure of leadership and integrity is forcing Australians to contemplate the prospect of forsaking every single aspiration we may have for our children. On top of the destruction of our magnificent country and biodiversity, Australia's recalcitrance on climate change piles up mental health problems of anxiety and depression on unprecedented scale. Australians sense there is an existential tragedy unfolding and the knowledge that it will lead to a blighted future is a serious health consideration today.

⁵ See Henry Reynolds, *Truth Telling*, NewSouth Publishing, 2021, Chapter 7 referring to Arthur Phillip's proclamation on 7 February 1788 in which he asserted British sovereignty over the eastern half of the continent, an appropriation which was taken for granted until the Mabo decision of the High Court in 1992, the implication of which "was inescapable. The British had expropriated the land without compensation."



Disregard of accountability and tolerance of corruption

- We have witnessed a descent into state corruption particularly, but not solely, at the federal level of government. The evidence is that this is not what we want:
 - Australians on survey and in commentary have observed a growth in corruption particularly within the federal government.
 - In the ten years to 2021, Australia's score on the Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index dropped by 12 points to reach its lowest point since the start of the Index.
 - Prior to the pandemic, a significant majority of Australians distrusted government more than we trusted it. This applied particularly to federal governments – both Labor and Liberal/National.
 - Throughout the last decade the only institution we have trusted less than the federal government is the media, particularly the Murdoch media.
 - Since the pandemic it has been a slightly different story. We have begun to trust governments more, at least temporarily, but the trust seems to arise from a recognition that government, rather than the private sector, is by far the more reliable supporter of our health and safety. In other words, it arises from a recognition of the failure of neoliberalism.
 - Beyond that there is very little evidence that we trust our governments to behave ethically and still less that we trust them to take future generations into account.



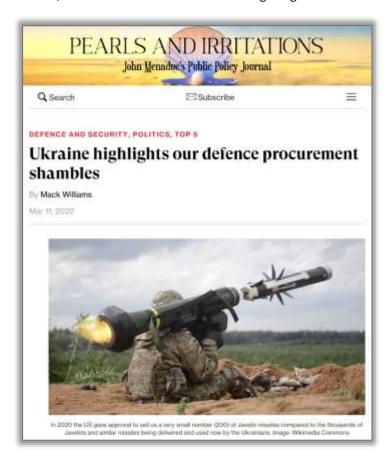
While state governments who have sold public assets for far less than they are worth are clearly sinking into actions contrary to the public interest (i.e., corrupt), the federal level of government is the most problematic at present. Ministerial codes of conduct are too loose and are unenforceable. Ethical standards and behaviour are openly declining in federal parliament and the government has stonewalled for years on its commitment to legislate a federal corruption and integrity commission. The federal parliament (with the concurrence of the Labor Party) has even refused to introduce a binding code of conduct for parliamentarians.

Amid this culture of unaccountability, Australians have been forced to support an economy based on fossil fuels at the expense of far more productive structures for a modern economy. Policy has been skewed to drive Australia's economy towards support of industries currently providing no new jobs and away from industries that will provide vast numbers of jobs, namely public health, welfare, education, housing, conservation and land care, renewable energy, buildings efficiency and transport. Australia has become a victim of state capture.



Hawkish foreign policy

- We have witnessed the rise of a pugnacious thirst for war, which by and large is not the preference of Australians and for which we are entirely ill-prepared:
 - At the national level of our governance, there has been a rise in war mongering.
 - This is of particular concern given the Defence
 Department's deepening inability to establish a procurement program in the last few years that is any better than a "shambles", wasting billions of dollars on substandard equipment and failing contracts in what is now regarded as a "national disgrace"⁶.
 - Australia now holds a policy aspiration to become one of the ten largest weapons exporters in the world and has established a new entity within the Defence Department which effectively acts to smooth business transactions and profits for private sector arms dealers, including to countries with an extremely poor record in military



incursions on other states, such as Saudi Arabia.

- In a critical failure, Australia has downgraded its capability in diplomacy and is now pursuing an approach to foreign relations in which strategies for defence and diplomacy are set to disable strategies for security, independence, sovereignty, growth in national resilience, and peace.
- We have allowed the Australian Strategic Policy Institute to be funded by foreign owned arms dealers, which has resulted in a considerable increase in aggressive, hawkish postures. Even the Australian War Memorial has become a promotional billboard for weapons manufacturers rather than a place of reverence for those lost in war. It is no longer possible to assume that foreign policy in Australia is being developed independently.
- With the establishment of AUKUS, defence and foreign relations policy is being set in full disregard of the new geopolitical realities of the 21st century in our region – namely the inevitable rise of Asia. It is being set on a futile and economically self-defeating course of containment of a rising power.

⁶ See Mack Williams, "Ukraine highlights our defence procurement shambles", Pearls and Irritations, 11 March 2022.



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- In this context, Australia's current arrangements with the US as an ally are increasing our exposure as a potential target for aggression, given that we have located American military, intelligence, surveillance and command installations on our soil. The potential for Australia to become a first strike target or a proxy target for the US is increasing with the new AUKUS partnership. AUKUS introduces the possibility that nuclear powered submarines will be based in Australia. While it is not currently envisaged that these submarines will be nuclear armed, the fact remains that nuclear reactors will shelter in Australia and they therefore constitute a nuclear target. This significantly and perhaps catastrophically endangers Australia.
- Australia is in desperate need of a foreign policy and posture review. In this regard there is a

Australia is located in the Asia Pacific, not in Europe or the Americas.

No strategy for Australia's security can be developed outside this context.

And yet, instead of pursuing our security in Asia we are pursuing security from Asia.

It is a foreign policy pivot destined to fail.

The only prudent course is to plan on the basis that China's new and increasing wealth and power are here to stay ... The more strenuously America [with Australia] tries to contain China, the more likely war will become.

Hugh White, How to Defend Australia, 2019

- need to involve Australians openly in processes for determining a new framework for decisions on our strategic interests and defence. Respectful engagement with Australians on the issue of their nation's strategic interests and the principles for decision making on security issues, remains a concept that is not comprehended by key security policy makers. This pertains despite the fact that Australians are entirely capable of determining what is in the best interests of their nation and, within a fully open process, are best placed to develop principles and instructions for government on how decisions of national security may be made, including those decisions which commit Australia to wars.
- Australians have witnessed a serious deterioration in our relationship with our largest trading partner, China, a nation which is a mainstay of our future prosperity and security. Recent surveys indicate that while the longer term trend of our attitudes towards China has been negative no doubt inflamed by anti-China rhetoric among Western countries attempting to contain its rise and the rise of Asia Australians continue to support neutral postures on China. Indications are that promotion of "drums of war" themes is out of step with the views and preferences of the majority of Australians.
- Policy development dominated by the military industrial complex is not taking Australia towards becoming a nation assured of enduring peace, as per the Direction for Peace and Security in *Australia Together*. It is shifting us to become a nation assured of enduring war.



Secrecy and sacrifice of human rights

- We are witnessing the rise of the secret state and the demise of our human rights:
 - O In the last two decades Australia has moved closer towards autocracy. The authoritarianism we fear and criticise in non-democracies such as China has been on the rise in Australia itself ever since the September 11 attacks on the United States in 2001. Those attacks ushered in a massive overhaul of national security legislation which has resulted in significant loss of rights and freedoms for Australians.
 - Under these legislative and other administrative changes, we have experienced reductions in freedom of the press, alongside a failure to protect democratic discourse from misinformation, fake news and hate speech. Attacks on the press have been particularly fearsome and quite effective in dampening free speech. Intimidation of whistleblowers has also become a particular concern.
 - Security legislation has involved the use of excessive secrecy. Effectively, there is now no mechanism by which Australians can be advised when the government is secretly acting contrary to the public interest in relation to security.
 - Added to this is the problem that lobbyists have free rein to enter parliament and promote their sectional interests without accountability. Our democracy is near to fully hostage to them. Lobby groups and rich individuals are allowed to buy elections. And yet the Coalition government attempted to introduce legislation in 2018 which would restrict small donations by householders to activist groups like GetUp and charities like the Climate Council. All the legislative actions of Coalition governments since 2014 have been aimed at capping the small donations of the many, not the massive donations of the few.



- Raids on journalists' homes and files
- · Criminalisation of public interest journalism
- Prohibition of reporting on human rights abuses in offshore detention centres
- Vesting power in politicians instead of justice officials to sign off on prosecutions of journalists
- Increases in refusals of FOI applications
- Extensive delays in the time taken to respond to FOI requests
- Extensive redaction of any documents released
- Refusal to disclose findings of corruption inquiries
- Tenacious resistance to establishment of a national corruption watchdog
- Suppression of the public's right to know through serious intimidation of whistleblowers who disclose matters that are clearly in the public interest
- Lobby groups and rich individuals can buy elections
- Attempts to introduce legislation to restrict small donations by ordinary Australians to activist groups and charities
- Excessive concentration of the powerful influence of certain lobby groups – particularly those employing recently retired government ministers and those associated with mining and fossil fuels
- Lobbyist registers are not well maintained and easily accessible
- Introduction of metadata retention laws without sufficient safeguards to ensure the government does not misuse the data and breach other lawful rights of Australians
- Repeated campaigns to silence over one million engaged citizens in GetUp
- Increased prohibitions on and penalties for peaceful civil protest
- Repeated attacks on trade unionism
- Threats to legislate against the rights of Australians to boycott businesses on environmental and ethical grounds
- Removal of the presumption of innocence until guilt is proven for welfare recipients
- Concentration of power in one minister on rights to stay in Australia
- Effective withdrawal from or active violation of human rights conventions
- Attempted subversion of the nation's human rights agencies
- Interference in and undermining of an editorially independent ABC



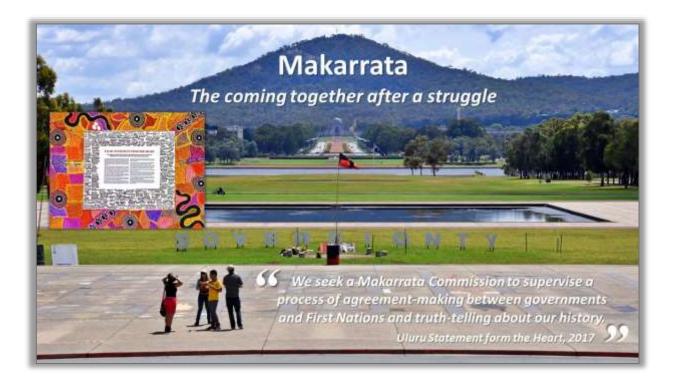
- There is an urgent need for a Royal Commission into national security legislation and its impact on key safeguards for Australia's democracy.
- o In other infringements of rights, Australians have experienced:
 - unlawful removal of the presumption of innocence until guilt is proven for recipients of welfare and a foisting of the onus of proof onto those recipients (Robodebt);
 - concentration of power in one minister, rather than the courts, as to who shall be allowed to stay in Australia and who shall not;
 - forced deportation of Indigenous Australians who have committed a crime and served their time or who have not committed a crime and have even served in the national forces but who may not be able to prove citizenship;
 - effective withdrawal from, or active violation of, human rights conventions to which we have been a signatory for decades (including violation of the rights of refugees, children and Indigenous Australians in being locked up without charge);
 - repeal of the only decent laws made by Australia in relation to refugee rights in the 21st century – namely the Medevac legislation which was passed by the federal Parliament in late 2018 and repealed in late 2019;
 - persistent and ultimately successful attempts to amend the Migration Act to allow detention of refugees indefinitely and often in appalling conditions; and
 - attempted subversion of the nation's human rights agencies particularly the Human Rights Commissioner Gillian Triggs in retaliation by the Liberal National Party government for her decision to conduct an inquiry into children in immigration detention.
- Australians are suffering this coordinated attack on their freedoms because we do not have a Bill of Rights in our Constitution and we remain the only democracy in the world without a national human rights framework.
- Australians are entitled to a modern democratically built Constitution, one fit for a 21st century enlightened nation charting a safe course in an irretrievably globalised world.
 Until they get one, they will have a democracy in name only.

Disregard of First Nations

- We have witnessed a stinging refusal of a gracious and respectful request from First Nations to walk with them "in a movement of the Australian people for a better future".
 - The Uluru Statement from the Heart, released to Australians in 2017, after a National Constitutional Convention involving Indigenous peoples from all points of the southern sky, must be regarded as a potentially defining moment for Australia. Depending on our response to such a gracious statement one issued after more than two centuries of suffering of First Nations under colonisation and theft of their lands Australians may define themselves as decent or indecent.
 - Bearing in mind the ignominious circumstances of the nation's birth under the name
 Australia, the Uluru Statement offers the chance of starting again and moving forward as a nation of integrity and unity.
 - Progress in response to the Uluru Statement during the 46th parliament has, however, been disappointing.



- With respect to efforts to close the gap in Indigenous health and wellbeing, there has been some progress. But Indigenous incarceration and suicide have risen and Indigenous children are still being removed from their families at increasing rates.
- Disappointment is more marked in relation to the issue of constitutional recognition of First Nations. On this issue it must be said that Australia has taken a backward step. The debate on constitutional recognition has been moving away from consensus instead of towards it since 2017.
- Prior to 2017 there was broad cross-party agreement about referendum proposals to remove sections 25 and 51(xxvi) of the Constitution, which currently permit discrimination on the basis of race in law-making. But once the 2017 Uluru Statement from the Heart called for a Voice in the Constitution to protect the rights of Indigenes, this seemed suddenly to be a step too far for conservatives in the 45th and 46th parliaments. The parliamentary Joint Select Committee of 2018 asserted that bringing "a new element, The Voice, into the debate ... rejected much that had gone before in terms of proposals for constitutional recognition". Of course, the call for a Voice in the Constitution did no such thing. But the stark rejection of discussion about a constitutionally enshrined Voice in the Co-Design Process signalled that some politicians thought a line had been crossed. It is as though removal of the power to discriminate against the Aboriginal race is tolerable, but giving them a positive right of self-determination in the Constitution is not.
- A positive right of self-determination is nothing that Indigenous peoples are not already entitled to under international conventions. It is also a right that non-Indigenous Australians would expect for themselves. However, until Australians insist on a new Constitution, the reality will be that no Australian has such a right.
- The Invitation in the Uluru Statement from the Heart offers all Australians a chance to define their democracy anew, so that it will endure without conflict and injustice. The invitation is yet to be graciously accepted.



What have we done that has taken us towards a better Australia?

The answer to this seems to be that since 2000 we have done very little that has taken us to a better Australia, and much of what we have done has been undone in the last half-dozen years by the pervasiveness of neoliberalism and corporate corruption of our governments, both of which have eaten away at the inner strength of our democracy and our cohesion as a community.

To the extent that we have been able to withstand government cutbacks in spending and services – our own now deeply embedded brand of austerity – we have insisted on maintenance of our health care system and the benefit is clear. This is not to say that movement in the direction of becoming a place of optimal health and wellbeing has been sufficient and without setbacks. Setbacks have clearly begun to occur in relation to the National Disability Insurance Scheme and they began long ago in the privatisation of the aged care system. And we habitually stymie the performance of our health system by failing to address the social determinants of ill health.

Some small progress has been made in relation to women's and LGBTIQ+ rights but it has been very hard won, tragically so, and has not yet resulted in measured improvements on vital indicators such as equal pay and domestic violence. The progress consists in that women's and LGBTIQ+ rights seem to have finally made it to the top of political agendas. Women and LGBTIQ+ have found their voice.

New independent voices are rising as well in the *Voices Of* movement.

And of course the most joyous and harmonious rise of voices has emerged from First Nations peoples. Australians are rising to acknowledge our Indigenous heart. There is a groundswell of calls for acknowledgment and resolution of the struggles of the past and the illegal, inhumane and immoral faults in the founding of our nation. There is also evidence of a willingness to affirm our connection to each other and to this land, and in the process make Australia anew. Australians may not necessarily see that this is evident, say, in the detail of our responses to surveys on our attitudes; but if we put the pieces of this report together, it indicates that there is a desire to make a new start.

Otherwise, the most promising and hopeful set of results is present in:

- the apparent preparedness of Australians to come together to re-build after the pandemic;
- the recognition that a fully capable, energetic and competitive public sector is essential to our health, wellbeing and future prosperity not a dead weight;
- our rejection of growing inequality; and
- an obvious readiness to do everything necessary to prevent climate change and seize the
 positive economic opportunities that spill out from that for all of us.

Looking at the data in the report in this way, it is apparent that the positive results all relate to our attitudes, rather than our physical, economic and environmental circumstances. There is a recognition that we are at a turning point as a nation and longing to build a better, safer life and home. This seems to be an emergent strength of the nation that we should not let slip away again.

Australians are interested in solving our most serious problems, particularly climate change and inequality, to a degree that they have never been before. And for that purpose they are beginning to mobilise in new political approaches that are less ideologically driven and less slavishly devoted to partisan groupings in politics.

That emergent strength can be capitalised on. Distrust of governments and politics has ballooned, as only it might when corruption of governments is so shamelessly on open display and ideological



rigidity has been so deeply embedded in the party political system. But out of the distrust has emerged a new readiness to reinvigorate Australia's democracy and for everyday Australians to take up bigger shares of power. This will require a transition from a merely representative democracy to a participatory democracy. In turn, this will require a new Constitution – The People's Constitution. But more on that at another time.

Finally, it will require us to forsake short-term party political agendas in favour of long term planning. This will require a new process for orderly engagement with each other within democracy. That process – National Integrated Planning & Reporting – has now been made freely available to Australians. The process has helped to identify twenty critical areas of national failure that must be solved by 2030 if we are to arrive safely in 2050 with an acceptable degree of wellbeing and security, These twenty issues are outlined in Chapter 12 of this report. Australia has the human capacity and more than enough wealth to solve every one of these twenty issues within five to ten years <u>if</u> we address those 20 critical issues in an integrated way.

National IP&R gives Australians the means of achieving this together. It gives them the means of reversing the decline of their democracy and the division of our society that has been driven into it since the early 2000s. It enables all Australians for the first time to participate in building a plan for a future that every one of us and every one of our children can share – *Australia Together*.

ACFP hopes that this first End of Term Report assists Australians in building a plan that will result in a much better End of Term Report on our nation during the 47th parliament – The State of Australia 2025.

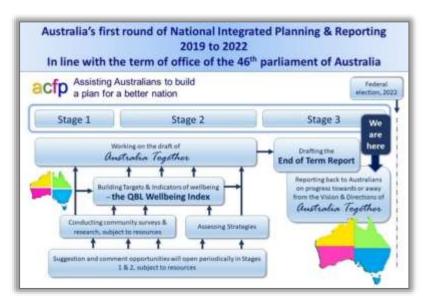
The place of "End of Term" reports in Australia's democratic election cycles

This report is designed to monitor Australia's progress in meeting the Targets and implementing the Strategies of *Australia Together*, our nation's first integrated, long term, community futures plan reflecting the stated desires and aspirations of the Australian people.

Australia Together is a people's plan, independently prepared. It has not been prepared or reviewed by the government and is not binding on governments. It does, however, constitute a Voice, coherently framed, expressing Directions we might safely take to secure a better future for those who come after us and openly offering the terms for a new social contract with both elected leaders and those future generations.

In National IP&R, Australians can build, monitor and revise their plans for the future in line with the federal election cycle. The parliamentary term of the 46th parliament of Australia is the first term of office in which this national integrated planning process has ever been attempted.

For inquiries regarding National Integrated Planning & Reporting and the place of End of Term Reports in the cycle of federal elections, visit the ACFP website.





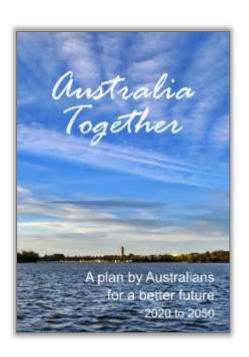
Introduction

This is the first report on the state of Australia as a nation.

It has been made possible because of the development, from 2020 onward, of a draft long term, integrated plan for the nation and the country itself, covering the period from 2020 to 2050. That plan is called *Australia Together*.

Australia Together is a plan being built progressively by Australians for Australians within a live, fully open planning space and with the assistance of Australian Community Futures Planning (ACFP). In this live, open space, Australians can continuously participate, without partisan political interference, in an organised framework to shape our future as we would prefer it to be in our democracy. It is where we the people can constantly consider and establish:

- what we want to become as a nation,
- what we want to leave for future generations, and
- how we can travel to that preferred future safely, fairly and with as little pain as possible.



For information on how to become involved in building *Australia Together*, visit the <u>ACFP website</u>. Participation is open to each and every Australian.

This End of Term Report is the first report on progress with *Australia Together*. It:

- assembles data across more than 260 indicators of the health of Australia's society, environment, economy and governance, providing Australians with their first comprehensive and coherent picture of the current state of our nation; and
- **2.** provides quantitative and qualitative data on Australia's progress towards and away from the Vision and Targets of *Australia Together*, our first national plan for a better future by 2050.

The Report covers how well we have travelled as a nation during the term of the 46th parliament of Australia and, where data are available, over the longer term of the last ten to twenty years. It is a report on us – our cohesion as nation, our custodianship of the environment, our economic resilience, our participation in democracy, and our preparedness for the future.

On balance, this End of Term Report shows that as a nation we the people of Australia are moving away from, not towards, the future of wellbeing and security that we have aspired to.



Australia Together – a map of the safe paths to a better future

Australia Together is no ordinary plan. It is an integrated map of the safe routes to a particular destination in the future, a destination of acceptable wellbeing and security.

The destination of the draft plan is described by showing the best version that Australians have been able to imagine in the early 2020s of the society, environment, economy and governance we would like to be living in by 2050 or sooner. The plan also shows what our nation and our country will become along the way if we approach that particular destination via the safe routes of the map.

The preferred destination has been described in the plan as a draft Vision for Australia Together. This draft Vision has been assembled based on comments made by Australians about their preferred future on the occasions they have been asked about that in the 21st century. Click here for more information on where the draft Vision for Australia Together comes from.

The draft Vision for Australia Together is made up of:

 17 draft statements about the sort of life we wish to be able to lead and the country we wish to live in by 2050, as shown on the following page; and

Together, or at https://www.austcfp.com.au/vision-and-directions-of-australia-together

 57 draft Direction statements of the safe routes toward that Vision, including Directions for our society, environment, economy and governance.

The 57 Direction statements within the Vision for *Australia Together* function as signposts of the safe routes of travel toward the preferred future wellbeing and security described in the Vision, and they indicate what Australia will become, in character as a nation, by moving in those Directions.

In Australia Together, these Directions of travel are:

- socially inclusive, equitable and intelligent.
- environmentally sustainable,
- economically fair and resilient,
- democratically open and ethical.

The full wording of the 57 draft Directions

is set out in Chapter 3 of Australia

This End of Term Report is structured to report on Australia's progress with travel along the Directions in the starting draft of Australia Together, to the extent that data

The starting draft of Australia Together is being publicly released in stages. Click here for full access to all issues of the starting draft of Australia Together.

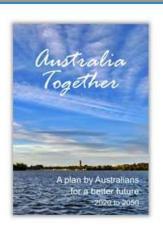




are available.

The Vision for Australia Together

By 2050, we and our children and grandchildren will be living a fulfilling life in an Australia where:



We are safe

We are reconciled with and celebrate our First Nations peoples and their cultures

Everyone is welcome to participate positively in community life

We are inspired and able to renew our physical and spiritual wellbeing

We act together as a compassionate society

Equality is valued as enriching human community, cultural harmony and social progress

Diversity is positively appreciated as a basis for a successful society

Everyone can realise their full potential in life, as individuals, members of a family and citizens through unlimited opportunities in education and employment of choice

Vital services are fully accessible
Scarce resources are conserved and fairly shared

National wealth is fairly shared

Our economy is sustainable and supports rewarding opportunities and continuous improvements in living standards for everyone

As a nation we have the courage to take a leading place in achieving the environmental aims of a global society

Stewardship of ecology is affirmed as fundamental to planetary and human survival

Strong democracy is assured by a well informed and engaged community

We are confident our leaders will reflect thoughtfully on our views and best interests when making decisions for our future

We take pride in Australia as a responsible international citizen, active in building a safer, more peaceful and united world

These are the aspirations of our hopeful generation. We commit to this Vision for Australia Together so that we can pass the gifts we have inherited to our children, and they to theirs.



Chapter 1 – How to read this Report

The Australia Together National Wellbeing Index

Because Australia Together is a map through time, it is organised to enable us to:

- 1. select reasonable **Indicators** of progress towards the Vision;
- 2. establish Baseline information and data for each Indicator; and
- 3. establish Targets and Strategies for progress.

Taken together, the Indicators, Baseline data, Targets and Strategies form Australia's first comprehensive, integrated index of wellbeing – the *Australia Together* National Wellbeing Index. This is an Index that is not only about our current wellbeing but also about our progress towards or away from the type of wellbeing and security we, as citizens of a democracy, are likely to prefer for future generations – for our children.

The structure of linkages in the Index – between the Indicators, Baseline data, Targets and Strategies – allows us to paint accurate pictures of:

- a) our preferred destination by 2050, and
- b) where we are starting from in 2020.

In short, with the aid of the Index we should be able to see:

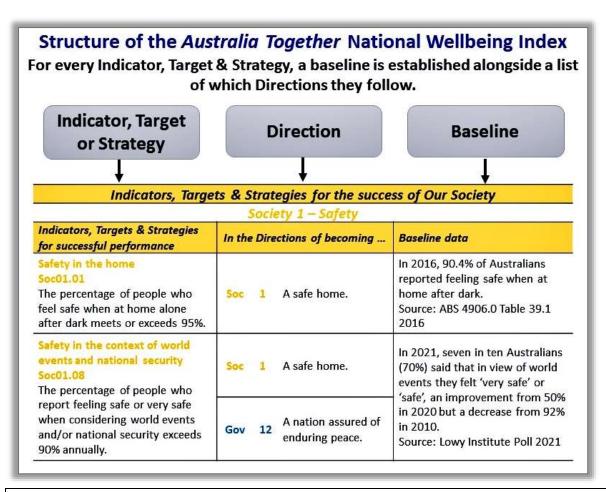
- 1. what life will be like for individuals, society, our natural environment, ecology, economy and democracy if or when we reach the destination described in the Vision for *Australia Together*;
- 2. what Australia will have become as a nation in its own terms, values, character, and as a global citizen if we as a community move from the Baseline towards the Targets via the preferred safe Directions of the plan; and
- **3.** how far away we are from that destination and national character at the start of the plan in the early 2020s.

ACFP has been able to assemble this structure for a long term national plan by using a specially designed **National Integrated Planning & Reporting** process – **National IP&R**. For detailed information about National IP&R and how to become involved, visit the ACFP website.

The Australia Together National Wellbeing Index is being built progressively and is currently housed inside the starting draft of Australia Together itself in Chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8. As at March 2022, ACFP estimated that the Index was about 65% complete – meaning that it contained over 260 Targets and Strategies with reliable baseline data, but that it may be expected that another 50 to 100 Targets or Strategies will be added in later Issues of the plan as more Australians become involved during the next parliamentary term.

The Index is a tool of National Integrated Planning & Reporting. This means it is structured so that it links and integrates a wide array of Targets and Strategies for a better future with baseline data about our starting position and within a system for checking that we are following the safe Directions towards the Vision. Accordingly the Index is set out in a simple three-column table as shown in the following graphic:





Important Note: How can Targets and Strategies be selected for inclusion in the Index?

Targets and Strategies can be selected for inclusion in the Australia Together National Wellbeing Index if:

- they are of national strategic significance, and if
- it can be demonstrated that they will contribute to achievement of the Vision (whatever it may be) via the safe routes described in the Directions (whatever they may be).

There is really only one central rule in this system and this rule is designed to:

- protect the people's integrated planning system from a loss of its independence through political interference; and
- prevent exclusion of diverse communities from participating in development of Strategies that are necessary to ensure they can find a place of equality and safety in Australia in the future.

The rule is that everyone must be able to find a place for their future and to that end no target or strategy can be included in the plan unless it can be demonstrated that it follows at least one of the 57 Directions of the plan and does not disable other Strategies which do follow the Directions.

In this arrangement, the Vision and Directions act as an independent, apolitical, non-partisan selection system for strategic initiatives that will reliably and efficiently drive the nation towards the Vision of we the people.

If, because of an expressed change of preference by the Australian people, the Vision or Directions change over time, this may admit different Targets and Strategies into the plan. But the Integrated Planning system itself will then work just as well to help Australians isolate the most reliable and efficient Targets and Strategies for the new Vision and Directions.

If Australians get the Vision and Directions right – so that they accurately reflect the aspirations of a diverse but cohesive community of Australians working together – then the Integrated Planning system will automatically ensure that selected Targets and Strategies will fit with that community's Vision and Directions.



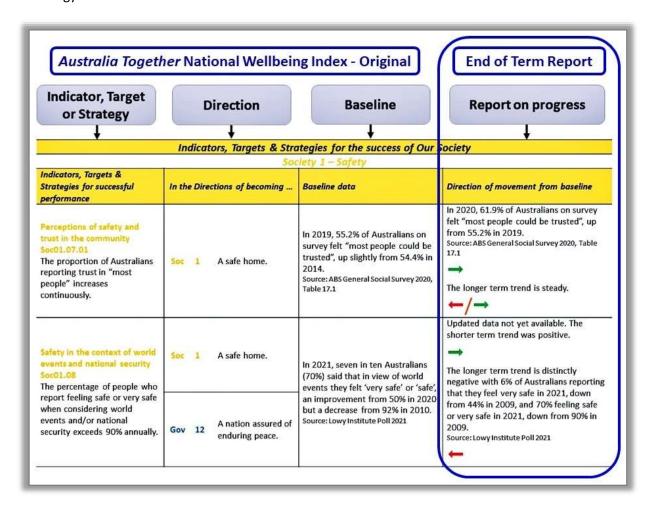
Lay-out of the Australia Together National Wellbeing Index

While the *Australia Together* National Wellbeing Index is estimated in March 2022 to be only about 65% complete, it nevertheless provides Australians with the most comprehensive, consolidated picture they have ever had of their nation at a point in time and whether it is on course towards a genuinely preferred future.

This report has been laid out so that readers can see:

- full information on movement from the Baselines of Indicators in the Index, and
- the direction of movement toward or away from the Targets.

To that end, this report re-prints the entire Index as it has appeared in Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 of Issue No. 5 of the starting draft of *Australia Together*, released in March 2022⁷ and adds another column which reports on the direction of movement from the Baselines for each Indicator, Target and Strategy.



Within the reporting column, information is provided (if available) about the direction of movement from the baseline in both the short term and over longer terms, using red and green arrows as shown in the following legend:

⁷ All issues of *Australia Together* are accessible at: https://www.austcfp.com.au/past-issues-of-australia-together



	Legend of symbols used in this Report					
→	Denotes positive movement towards the Target.					
←	Denotes movement away from the Target.					
←/→	Denotes either: • no progress in a positive or negative direction at all, or • that progress was generally stagnant through time, or • that progress was variable in both directions through time (and therefore neither clearly positive nor clearly negative), or • that no data were available to form a conclusion.					

ACFP's method for forming conclusions about progress

The Australia Together National Wellbeing Index is not just a set of numerical statistics. It is about people – their values, desires, social predispositions, policy preferences, cultural attitudes, willingness to work together and preparedness for the future. This complexity cannot and should not be reduced to a single numerical result if we are to expect that that Index will be useful for purposes of ensuring we are travelling safely to a better future. If the Index is to be useful for that purpose it must be built to show a much bigger, more multifarious picture of progress. This involves judgement.

In making conclusions about progress and the direction of progress in this End of Term Report, ACFP therefore exercises judgement based on:

- the available statistical data on the physical attributes of Australia and Australians and on the perceptions of Australians about those attributes, and
- qualitative information available at the time in relation to the attitudes of Australians and the policies of political, business and community institutions.

This may involve taking into account data relating to more than one Indicator, some of which will be measured by statistics, others of which may be measured by qualitative commentary.

The judgements made are neither absolute, nor quantitative as to the magnitude of movement in a particular direction. They are simply a reflection of whether in relation to an Indicator, Australia has moved towards or away from the Vision and relevant Target via the safe Direction.

To ensure that the complexity of the Index does not make understanding impossible, ACFP uses colour to paint summary pictures: red for negative progress, green for positive progress.

Readers may interrogate the reasoning behind ACFP's conclusions on progress in relation to any particular Indicator and determine for themselves whether the data and information relied on justifies ACFP's conclusion. The data and information behind each conclusion are provided in full in the Index in Chapters 7, 8, 9, and 10 and in summary form in Chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6.

To provide comment on this End of Term Report visit the ACFP website.



Using the Australia Together National Wellbeing Index for the benefit of our future

A National Wellbeing Index will be most valuable to Australians if it is designed not just to show how well or poorly we may be performing as a nation in relation to **short term** changes in indicators – of health, wellbeing, environmental sustainability, economic strength, ethical governance and security – but also to show their progress as a nation towards or away from **longer term** aspirations about all these things. In **Australia Together**, these longer term aspirations have been expressed as a Vision and Directions. The Index has therefore been designed to track progress towards the long term Vision, not just the shorter term movements backwards or forwards on each of the hundreds of Indicators in the Index.

The benefit of this unique longer term, forward looking approach is that it gives Australians advance notice of any accumulating forces, policies, strategies and prevailing cultural or economic attitudes which may be dragging us away from our preferred future as we have expressed it.

The Australia Together National Wellbeing Index provides the data Australians need to know in the early 2020s so that they can understand the extent of effort needed to arrive safely home in 2050 and can adjust their plan in response to any foreseen need.

Australia Together is a plan designed to help Australians maximise their chances of making the Vision a reality. This is a very big undertaking, especially as it involves integrating a large number of Targets and Strategies so that they help us travel in the right Directions towards the Vision, instead of via routes we would wish to avoid. To date the National Wellbeing Index in Chapters 5 to 8 of *Australia Together* includes:



- 165 Targets, and
- 100 Strategies,

all of which are integrated with and connected to each other via the Directions. This sort of planning is an applied version of complex systems theory, devised for the purposes of helping Australians use their democracy far more efficiently to achieve progress towards a better future. Accordingly, the data and information in the Index covers measurable aspects of:

- our physical wellbeing and security,
- our perceptions of wellbeing and security, and
- our current cultural attitudes and position in terms of actual national policies and readiness for a safe, prosperous, equitable and sustainable future in a globalised 21st century world.

While the data, information and linkages in this sort of Integrated Plan and Wellbeing Index are wide ranging and complex, the data and information can nevertheless be rolled up into aggregated pictures of wellbeing and the direction of movement from the baseline – in other words, toward or away from the Targets and the Vision. We can also see if the nation is travelling along routes in policy and attitude that are contrary to the preferred safe Directions.

Australians are invited to use the Index to inspire them to develop of strategies for inclusion in the plan for things that matter to them and that cannot be set on the right course without an integrated national effort. For example, if equality of educational opportunity is something that matters for our future and our children's future, *Australia Together* can accommodate strategies for that by ensuring that we understand where we are starting from and how far we have to go before we achieve it. From there it can inspire us to choose the safest and most efficient routes.



Structure of this Report

This End of Term Report is structured to provide a range of accessible views of the hugely complex data set that is the *Australia Together* National Wellbeing Index. It provides views of the data:

View No. 1: Dissected by the quadrants of society, environment, economy and governance.

View No. 2: By the 17 elements of the Vision for *Australia Together*.

View No. 3: By reference to our current position and performance in relation to the top twenty most serious issues affecting Australia in the coming decade.

View No. 1 – by quadrant is presented in three layers moving from the general to the specific. Within these layers the Report draws pictures of results in terms of the quadrants of the plan – namely for society, environment, economy and governance.

	Layer	Location	Contains
General	Тор	Chapter 2	Consolidated summary of results for each Direction in each quadrant.
	Middle	Chapters 3, 4, 5 & 6	Summary of progress for each Target and Strategy in each Direction within each quadrant for both the short and longer terms*.
Detailed	Lower The full Australia Together National Wellbeing Index	Chapters 7, 8, 9 & 10	Full underlying data including baseline data and results and other qualitative information on progress and the direction of movement over both the short term and longer terms (where data are available) for each Target and Strategy in each Direction within each quadrant.

^{*} Short term results pertain to the 46th parliament.

View No. 2 – by Vision element is presented in two layers:

- 1. A top layer located at the end of Chapter 2: Consolidated results by Vision element.
- 2. A more detailed layer in Chapter 11: Are we moving towards the Vision for *Australia Together*?

View No. 3 – by reference to the top twenty most serious issues is located in Chapter 12.

View No. 1 and View No. 2 hold data and information on <u>results</u>. They record progress and the direction of travel – towards or away from the Vision during the 46th parliament and over the longer term where results data are available.

View No. 3 contains data and information in summary form about the state of the nation in 2022 in relation to the top twenty issues that Australia must resolve by 2030 if we are to arrive safely in 2050 with an acceptable degree of wellbeing and security. It contains pictures of where we are now at the start of this thirty-year planning period in relation to the most important challenges. **Australia Together** is a map of the safe paths to the future. **View No. 3** shows the beginning of the road.



^{*} Longer term results pertain to various periods back to approximately the year 2000 where data are available but usually refer to the last decade or the 44th and 45th parliaments.

Chapter 2 – Consolidated Summary of Results

Completeness of this picture of Australia

Australia Together paints a picture of what Australia looks like now and what a better Australia can look like in the future in terms of its society, environment, economy and governance.

As a centre of excellence in national community futures planning, ACFP's contribution to this process consists in development of:

- 1. the National Integrated Planning & Reporting process (National IP&R) that Australians can use to build their long term plan for a better future;
- 2. a structure for the plan of *Australia Together* itself to ensure that Targets and Strategies can be readily selected that fit with the Vision and Directions;
- 3. research on Australian opinions to assemble the draft Vision and Directions for *Australia Together*; and
- 4. the Australia Together National Wellbeing Index.

Within ACFP's resources to date, it has been possible to select and build into the *Australia Together* National Wellbeing Index a large number of Indicators which will:

- reliably reflect Australia's current wellbeing and security, and
- enable us to transparently monitor movement toward or away from the Vision and Targets.

We have also been able to source baseline data for each of those Indicators.

The plan and Index have infinite capacity hold any number of Indicators that Australians may deem necessary from time to time. But based on ACFP's experience in building and managing reporting systems that will enable us to paint clear pictures of national aspirations and progress, it has been determined that an optimum number of Indicators is likely to be in the range of 300 to 350. As at early 2022, ACFP has been able to assemble over 260 Indicators allowing us to paint a fairly comprehensive picture. In future iterations of *Australia Together*, more Indicators will be added to provide information on progress and paint fuller pictures over time.

Indicators in the plan are expressed either as Targets or as Strategies. This enables us to build a plan that gives us some firm idea of what success looks like and a reasonable degree of confidence that we are travelling toward the Targets via use of safe Strategies. This is an Integrated Planning system.

In this End of Term Report, the <i>Australia Together</i> National Wellbeing Index comprises 259 Indicators enabling us to report on progress in accordance with 42 of the 57 Directions.				
Quadrant	No. of Directions	Indicators, Targets & Strategies monitored		
Cariota	16	112		
Society	15 monitored, 1 not yet monitored	comprising 87 Targets and 25 Strategies		
F	19	24		
Environment	8 monitored, 11 not yet monitored	comprising 13 Targets and 11 Strategies		
	9	61		
Economy	6 monitored, 3 not yet monitored	comprising 32 Targets and 29 Strategies		
6	13	68		
Governance	All monitored	comprising 33 Targets and 35 Strategies		
Tatal Indiantana		265		
i otal indicators	monitored for this End of Term Report	comprising 165 Targets and 100 Strategies		



The selection of Indicators, Targets and Strategies in *Australia Together* will always be driven by and limited by the availability of data for both baseline pictures and the direction of travel. But **to reduce** bias and cherry-picking, ACFP selects Indicators across as wide an array of factors as possible, drawing from an extensive array of public sources of data that are now made freely available to Australians by both government data collection agencies and multiple non-government foundations, universities and institutions for the purpose of monitoring progress in our society, environment, economy and democracy. Sources of data for every Indicator, Target and Strategy are supplied in the *Australia Together* National Wellbeing Index in Chapters 7, 8, 9 and 10.

ACFP aims to monitor the same Indicators that these other data collectors already use to present detailed factual pictures of changes in our society, environment, economy and democracy, but we add value to their work by assembling these diverse Indicators in one place to form an overall indication of national progress – a clearer, more accessible picture of whether we are on balance moving in the preferred Directions towards the particular Vision of *Australia Together* or away from them.

As further development of the Index occurs, ACFP will be able to fill gaps in the Index for features that are as yet unmonitored. This will make a difference to the overall picture. The current picture shows the majority of the national strengths and weaknesses but not necessarily the strengths or weaknesses of the way we run our country at state and local government area level. As such it is not yet possible to tell, for example, whether strengths at the state and local government area level and in community involvement might be compensating for national weaknesses. What can be deduced though is that weaknesses at the national level are so numerous and of such a magnitude that unless they are fixed, they will overwhelm the efforts of lower levels of government, business and community organisation.

ACFP trusts that this End of Term Report will help guide Australians in decisions about where they might build up our strengths, reduce our weaknesses and chart a more efficient course towards the Vision for *Australia Together*.

Consolidated results during the 46th parliament

	Consolidated results for the period of the 46 th parliament Are we travelling towards the Vision via the safe Directions?				
		No. of positi	ve, neutral & ne	<mark>gative</mark> results	
Quadrant	Indicators, Targets & Strategies monitored	-	←/→	←	
Society	112 comprising 87 Targets and 25 Strategies	25	51	36	
Environment	24 comprising 13 Targets and 11 Strategies	0	9	15	
Economy	61 comprising 32 Targets and 29 Strategies	3	38	20	
Governance	68 comprising 33 Targets and 35 Strategies	10	32	26	
То	tal during the 46 th parliament	38	130*	97	

^{*} No data were available to update baseline results for 61 of the 131 neutral results.

Notable conclusions on performance of the nation during the 46th parliament:

- → During the 46th parliament, negative performance (travelling contrary to the preferred Direction) outweighed positive performance by a factor of 255%.
- → In all quadrants, negative performance outweighed positive performance.



- → The worst performance by far was in the Environment quadrant, although only a relatively small number of Indicators were monitored in that quadrant.
- → The **second worst performance** was in the **Economy** quadrant, where a relatively large number of indicators were monitored and negative performance outweighed positive performance by a factor of 667%

Consolidated results during the longer term

Consolidated results for the longer term Are we travelling towards the Vision via the safe Directions?				
		No. of positi	ve, neutral & ne	gative results
Quadrant	Indicators, Targets & Strategies monitored	-	←/→	←
Society	112 comprising 87 Targets and 25 Strategies	17	48	47
Environment	24 comprising 13 Targets and 11 Strategies	2	7	15
Economy	61 comprising 32 Targets and 29 Strategies	1	6	54
Governance	68 comprising 33 Targets and 35 Strategies	11	13	44
	otal during the longer term – over the last 10 to 20 years	31	74*	160

^{*} No data were available to update baseline results for 41 of the 74 neutral results.

Notable conclusions regarding the longer term national performance:

- → During the longer term, negative performance (travelling contrary to the preferred Direction) outweighed positive performance by a factor of 516%.
- → In all quadrants, negative performance significantly outweighed positive performance.
- → The worst performance by far was in the Economy quadrant, where a relatively large number of indicators were monitored and negative performance outweighed positive performance by a factor of 5400%. The only positive factor in progress in Australia's economy has related to the predisposition of Australians towards the need to re-build equality and fairness.
- → The **second worst performance** by far was in the **Environment** quadrant, although only a relatively small number of Indicators were monitored in that quadrant.

Overall this result shows a slow but steady decline for the nation similar to what was predicted as merely a potential decline by the Australian National Outlook in 2019⁸, except that this picture shows the decline is already in play and has been for some time. It is imperative that this decline is reversed before it gets any worse.

This End of Term Report has identified what those major weaknesses are. Strategies in *Australia Together* are designed to reverse these significant weaknesses.

⁸ In 2019, the CSIRO and National Australia Bank worked with a number of other agencies to produce the <u>Australian National Outlook 2019</u>. The Outlook predicted two scenarios: a "slow decline" and another "outlook vision" which was more positive about the possibility of a better Australia by 2060, if the nation takes particular opportunities and directions for environmental protection, development sustainability and social cohesion, and avoids fractious international relations.



Consolidated results by quadrant – Our Society



		7		
Topic Area		Direction Australia becomes	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	
Society 1	Safety	A safe home.	On balance, yes.	
Society 2	Indigenous Heart	A land with an Indigenous heart.	On balance, no.	
Society 3	Belonging & inclusion	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	On balance, no.	
Society 4	Health & wellbeing	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	On balance, no.	
Society 5	Education	A model of educational opportunity.	On balance, no.	
Society 6	Equality	A society of equals.	On balance, no.	
Society 7	Diversity	A success because of its diversity.	On balance, yes but it is fragile.	
Society 8	Women & LGBTIQ+	A success because of gender equality.	On balance, yes but very slowly.	
Society 9	Housing	A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.	On balance, no.	
Society 10	Family cohesion & community services	A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.	On balance, no.	
Society 11	Early childhood care	A land without child disadvantage.	On balance, no.	
Society 12	Aged care & disability services	A sure provider of lifelong dignity.	On balance, no.	
Society 13	Arts & culture	A wellspring of inspiration & creativity.	No baseline data established yet.	
Society 14	Police services	A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in policing.	On balance, the evidence is mixed.	
Society 15	Justice	Confident of justice for all.	On balance, the evidence is mixed.	
Society 16	Emergency services	A society prepared and resilient in times of disaster.	On balance, no.	

Where baseline data are not yet established, targets and strategies will be developed in the 47th parliament.

Consolidated results by quadrant – Our Environment



Topic Area		Direction Australia becomes	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
Environment 1	Environmental advocacy	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	On balance, no.
Environment 2	Climate change prevention	A net zero emissions nation.	On balance, no.
Environment 3	Climate change adaptation	A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.	On balance, no.
Environment 4	Environmental regulation & approvals	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.	No baseline data established yet.
Environment 5	Environmental education	An environmentally educated community.	No baseline data established yet.
Environment 6	Energy	A renewable energy superpower.	On balance, we are not travelling clearly yet either toward or away from the destination.
Environment 7	Transport	Efficiently connected through low emissions transport.	No baseline data established yet.
Environment 8	Agriculture & fisheries	Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture & fisheries.	No baseline data established yet.
Environment 9	Fresh water supply	Confident of safety and security of its water supplies.	No baseline data established yet.
Environment 10	Biodiversity	A biodiversity haven.	On balance, no.
Environment 11	Vegetation	A replanted and reforested land.	On balance, no.
Environment 12	Land & resource conservation	A protector of scarce resources.	No baseline data established yet.
Environment 13	Parks & open space	A provider of accessible national & urban parkland.	No baseline data established yet.
Environment 14	Air & water quality	A pollution free biosphere.	No data are available to determine the direction of travel since 2016.
Environment 15	Marine protection	A marine wildlife haven.	On balance, no.
Environment 16	Waste reduction & recycling	Regenerative by design in consumption & production.	No baseline data established yet.
Environment 17	Architectural & cultural site heritage	A conservator of cultural & built heritage.	No baseline data established yet.
Environment 18	Cities planning	Multi-central in its cities, efficiently connecting people with jobs, health, education and recreation.	No baseline data established yet.
Environment 19	Regional planning	A land of thriving self- supporting regions.	No baseline data established yet.

Where baseline data are not yet established, targets and strategies will be developed in the 47th parliament.



Consolidated results by quadrant – Our Economy



Topic Area		Direction	Are we travelling towards the		
		Australia becomes	preferred destination?		
Economy 1	Economic planning, growth & transition	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	On balance, no.		
Economy 2	Employment planning & industry transition	A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.	On balance, no.		
Economy 3	Equitable improvement in living standards	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	On balance, no.		
Economy 4	National wealth generation & sharing	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.	On balance, no.		
Economy 5	Market regulation & competition policy	A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.	On balance, no.		
Economy 6	Government competitive business participation	An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.	On balance, no.		
Economy 7	Science, research, innovation & collaboration	A collaborative intelligent nation.	No baseline data established yet.		
Economy 8	Technology development & digitisation	Enabled in meeting the communication & information demands of the future.	No baseline data established yet.		
Economy 9	International economic engagement & trade	Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.	No baseline data established yet.		

Where baseline data are not yet established, targets and strategies will be developed in the 47th parliament.

Consolidated results by quadrant – Our Governance



Topic Area		Direction Australia becomes	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	
Governance 1	Strength of democracy	A proactive participatory democracy.	On balance, no. But we now have the means of reversing this.	
Governance 2	National values & identity	A nation knowing and affirming decency.	On balance, progress is stagnant.	
Governance 3	Human & other rights	A nation with avowed rights for all.	On balance, no.	
Governance 4	Constitutional reform	A free, self-governing, modern nation.	On balance, no.	
Governance 5	Transparency, openness & accountability	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.	On balance, no.	
Governance 6	Government ethics	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	On balance, no.	
Governance 7	Public service independence & excellence	Committed to public service independence & excellence.	On balance, yes.	
Governance 8	Electoral system & funding reform	Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.	On balance, no.	
Governance 9	Corporate & NGO responsibility	A nation outlawing corporate greed & encouraging private sector ethics & community partnership.	On balance, yes for NGOs. On balance, no for corporates.	
Governance 10	Free communications policy & regulation	A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.	On balance, no.	
Governance 11	International participation & global justice	A just participant on the global stage.	On balance, no.	
Governance 12	Peace & security	A nation assured of enduring peace.	On balance, no.	
Governance 13	Humanitarian effort	A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.	On balance, no.	

Consolidated results by Vision element

In regard to whether Australia may be moving towards or away from making the Vision of *Australia Together* a reality, ACFP has not been able to identify any clearly positive trends.

With this picture being as starkly negative and confronting as it is, it may be asserted that ACFP has not fully reflected areas of positive performance by the nation. Of the 265 Indicators assessed, ACFP could find no positive results data that in aggregate would be sufficient to outweigh negative conclusions about our long term trajectory toward the Vision elements. On these Indicators — which are the same ones regularly used by other credible measurement agencies such as the Australian Bureau of Statistics, the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare and numerous other intelligence-gathering institutes such as universities and privately funded research foundations — there can be little doubt that Australia is travelling away from the Vision, in all but two of its 17 elements.

This may be disturbing but the advance knowledge it provides about the nation's weaknesses and the paths we are following does offer a benefit of early warning. If we can see and acknowledge these weaknesses now, we can begin to swing our paths of travel around the other way. It is not too late and we have the means of achieving it particularly in relation to our wealth as a nation, our human capital, and the new systems we can access and use together to make our democracy work for us all – namely National Integrated Planning & Reporting. Click here for more detail on National IP&R and information about how to become involved.

More detailed information about the conclusions drawn for each Vision element is provided in Chapter 11.

The Draft Vision for Australia Together By 2050	Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?		
We are safe	←	There are significant indications are that we are moving away from the Vision and closer to the reverse vision.	
We are reconciled with and celebrate our First Nations peoples and their cultures	←	On balance we have been moving more in the reverse direction, away from the Vision and from a proper and respectful response to the Uluru Statement from the Heart.	
Everyone is welcome to participate positively in community life	←	On balance we are moving away from the Vision.	
We are inspired and able to renew our physical and spiritual wellbeing	←	On balance we are moving away from the Vision in several of the aspects of our lives that make it worth living.	
We act together as a compassionate society	←	On balance we are moving in the opposite direction to the Vision. Many Australians have displayed compassion but governments they elect, particularly the federal government, have not.	
Equality is valued as enriching human community, cultural harmony and social progress	←	On balance we are moving more away from the Vision than towards it.	
Diversity is positively appreciated as a basis for a successful society	←/→	On balance, Australia appears to be travelling neither toward nor away from a Vision in which diversity is viewed as a strength.	



The Draft Vision for Australia Together By 2050	Are we movi	ng closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?
Everyone can realise their full potential in life, as individuals, members of a family and citizens through unlimited opportunities in education and employment of choice	←	Attacks on the higher and public education sectors and reduction of their funding indicate that Australia is moving away from this element of the Vision.
Vital services are fully accessible	←	On balance we are moving more away from the Vision than towards it.
Scarce resources are conserved and fairly shared	←	On balance we are moving away from the Vision.
National wealth is fairly shared	←	On balance we are moving away from the Vision.
Our economy is sustainable and supports rewarding opportunities and continuous improvements in living standards for everyone	—	On balance we are moving away from the Vision.
As a nation we have the courage to take a leading place in achieving the environmental aims of a global society	—	On balance we are moving away from the Vision.
Stewardship of ecology is affirmed as fundamental to planetary and human survival	←	On balance we are moving away from the Vision.
Strong democracy is assured by a well informed and engaged community	←/→	On balance, we have been moving away from being a strong, participatory democracy. But we now have the means of reversing this.
We are confident our leaders will reflect thoughtfully on our views and best interests when making decisions for our future	—	On balance, we are moving away from the vision.
We take pride in Australia as a responsible international citizen, active in building a safer, more peaceful and united world	—	On balance, we are moving away from the vision. In some respects we have already made the reverse vision a reality.



Chapter 3 – Progress by Direction in Our Society



Society 1 - Safety

Summary of progress for success in Our Society Society 1 – Safety Direction: Australia becomes a safe home. Direction of movement from the baseline **Indicators, Targets & Strategies for** Are we travelling towards the **During the** successful performance Over the preferred destination? 46th longer term parliament Soc01.01 Safety in the home On balance, yes. Progress towards most Targets is slow but steady. Soc01.02 Safety on transport Generally Australians perceive that they are safer and, in reality, safety in the home and local community is Soc01.03 Homicide improving. A notable exception is safety from sexual assault, which has declined. Soc01.04 Sexual assault Perceptions of safety in the context of world events and national security have improved in the short term. However, data on these perceptions Soc01.05 Child assault pre-dates the Russian invasion of Ukraine and the commitment to the AUKUS trilateral security pact which increases risk of nuclear armaments Soc01.06 Road deaths in Australia. It is likely that Australians perceived an improvement in their safety and security during the Covid-19 Victims of crime (fear Soc01.07 pandemic, inasmuch as Australia's of becoming a victim) distance from other countries provides some measure of Perceptions of safety protection from pandemics. With and trust in the Soc01.07.01 escalation of international tensions. community such as those with China, it might be expected that the short term Perceptions of safety improvement in perceived safety in a in the context of Soc01.08 globalised world is temporary. world events and

national security

Summary of progress for success in Our Society Society 2 – Indigenous Heart Direction: Australia becomes a land with an Indigenous heart. Direction of movement from the baseline Indicators, Targets & Strategies for Are we travelling towards the During the successful performance Over the preferred destination? 46th longer term parliament **First Nations** On balance, no. constitutional recognition, In regard to First Nations Makarrata, treaty, constitutional recognition, Soc02.01 justice and Makarrata, treaty, justice and reconciliation reconciliation: Constitutional recognition of First Progress in relation to a crucial **Nations** foundational issue for the nation -**First Nations** namely the need for a Voice for First constitutional Nations enshrined in the recognition, Constitution – is trending away from Makarrata, treaty, the Target and Vision. This applies Soc02.01.01 iustice and despite the fact that an Indigenous reconciliation -Voice Co-design Process was held Makarrata during the term of the 46th Commission parliament and led to recommendations for establishment Indigenous life of a system of Local and Regional Soc02.02 expectancy Indigenous Voices. If implemented, this system may assist in closing the current appalling gap between Indigenous infant Indigenes and non-Indigenes on Soc02.03 health and survival some of the indicators of wellbeing child mortality that are central to the dignity and security of any nation. Indigenous infant Soc02.03.01 health and survival -But as far as securing rights or even birthweight mere recognition in the Constitution Indigenous infant goes, there is a substantial risk that health and survival the Co-Design Process is more likely Soc02.03.02 birthweight (ACFP to have added years, perhaps additional target) decades (if we let it), to the realisation of what should be seen as Indigenous pre-school the essential arrival of a First Nations Soc02.04 education -Voice in the Constitution. attendance The Co-Design Process did propose a Indigenous pre-school form of a National Indigenous Voice education -Soc02.04.01 to parliament, but not in the enrolment Constitution as called for in the Uluru Indigenous pre-school Statement from the Heart. The recommended model for a National education -Soc02.04.02 Voice merely obliges the government developmentally on



track

and parliament to seek the advice of

Society 2 – Indigenous Heart rection: Australia becomes a land with an Indigenous heart.

	Direction: Australia becomes a land with an Indigenous heart.					
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		During the		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?		
Soc02.05	Indigenous school education	<i>←</i> / <i>→</i>	→	the "National Voice" – on (unspecified) issues which "overwhelmingly relate to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders". It does		
Soc02.06	Indigenous tertiary education	←/→	←/→	not oblige the government or parliament to heed that advice or be accountable for its decisions, regardless of the degree to which it		
Soc02.07	Indigenous employment - 15-24 year olds	←/→	←/→	rejects the advice of the National Voice and directly harms the legitimate interests of Indigenous and all other Australians.		
Soc02.07.01	Indigenous employment - 15-24 year olds (ACFP additional target)	←/→	←/→	No Constitutional amendments were put forward in the Co-Design Process and while the government's		
Soc02.07.02	Indigenous employment - 25-64 year olds	←/→	←	obligations for transparency – on any consultation conducted for bills to be considered by parliaments – increased, the fact remained that "all		
Soc02.07.03	Indigenous employment - 25-64 year olds (ACFP additional target)	←/→	←	elements [of a bill/act of parliament] would be non-justiciable, meaning that there could not be a court challenge and no law could be		
Soc02.08	Indigenous housing	←/→	→	invalidated based on whether there was alignment with the consultation standards or transparency mechanisms."9		
Soc02.08.01	Indigenous housing (ACFP additional target)	←/→	←	In regard to closing the gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians in health, wellbeing,		
Soc02.09	Indigenous incarceration - adults	←	←	justice, culture and opportunity: Short term progress is: negative for 8 indicators,		
Soc02.09.01	Indigenous incarceration - adults (ACFP additional target)	←	←	 zero for 12 indicators, and positive for only 3 indicators, Longer term progress is: 		
Soc02.09.02	Indigenous incarceration - 10-17 year olds	→	→	 negative for 10 indicators, zero for 10 indicators, and positive for only 6 indicators. 		

⁹ Indigenous Voice Co-Design Process – Final Report to the Australian Government, July 2021, page 18, https://voice.niaa.gov.au/sites/default/files/2021-12/indigenous-voice-co-design-process-final-report 1.pdf



Society 2 – Indigenous Heart
Direction: Australia becomes a land with an Indigenous heart.

	Direction: Austra	f movement	Taigenous neura	
	argets & Strategies for sful performance	from the During the 46 th parliament	Over the longer term	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
Soc02.09.03	Indigenous incarceration - 10-17 year olds (ACFP additional target)	←/→	←/→	In both the short and longer terms, movement is, on balance, more away from the Targets than towards them. This is especially the case for
Soc02.10	Indigenous family cohesion	1	—	Indigenous suicide, incarceration and removal of children from their families.
Soc02.10.01	Indigenous family cohesion (ACFP additional target)	+	←	Progress with Indigenous pre-school enrolment is, however, somewhat more encouraging and may signal the start of improved opportunities
Soc02.11	Indigenous domestic and community abuse and violence	←/→	←/→	for future Indigenous generations. In regard to priority reforms Priority Reforms of the National Agreement on Closing the Gap:
Soc02.12	Indigenous suicide	Ţ	←	The signing of the National Agreement on Closing the Gap
Soc02.13	Indigenous land and sea rights - land rights	-	←/→	represents some progress in the short term, inasmuch as it signals the start of a shift to partnership between governments and First
Soc02.13.01	Indigenous land and sea rights - sea rights	←/→	←/→	Nations. However, some policies remain in place which may reduce the benefits. The decision in the Final Report of the National Co-Design
Soc02.14	Indigenous language and cultural preservation	←/→	←	Process to establish 35 representative groups for a Local and Regional Voice is progress consistent with the Priority Reforms. However,
Soc02.15	Priority Reforms of the National Agreement on Closing the Gap	←/→	—	the denial of the request for a National Voice enshrined in the Constitution threatens to undo some of the benefit of the yet to be established Local and Regional Voices. It is not possible to "close the gap" (let alone such a huge one) if the cause of the gap — a fundamental refusal of self-determination for Indigenes and a failure to tell the truth about the violent foundations of Australia — is still in place.



Summary of progress for success in Our Society Society 3 – Belonging & inclusion Direction: Australia becomes inclusive welcoming and enabling. **Direction of movement** from the baseline Indicators, Targets & Strategies for Are we travelling towards the **During the** successful performance preferred destination? Over the 46th longer term parliament Belonging and On balance, no. Soc03.01 inclusion - sense of belonging In relation to our sense of **belonging:** Short term progress is mixed; however, long term, we have progressively moved backwards in both our sense of belonging and our sense of acceptance or rejection. Belonging and Contextualising these figures in the Soc03.01.01 inclusion – sense of social and political context of the acceptance or time may help to provide some rejection insight as to why we are moving backwards. The falling trend seen in regard to a sense of belonging is not surprising in a climate that has politicised issues such as immigration and migration. When it comes to a sense of acceptance or rejection, although the long-term trend is negative, we have seen some improvement in the short term. The sharp rise in 2020 may be seen to coincide with height of the Black Lives Matter movement in Australia, a time where marginalised people of colour saw large social and media support. This Building an inclusive was a period of strong public Soc03.02 society by community sentiment towards equity and social volunteering inclusion. If these figures do correlate with the BLM movement. then the slowing of the movement, as well as the lack of engagement and legislative response from politicians and people in power may have contributed to the 5-point drop seen in 2021.



The momentum of social movements can always be seen to wax and wane, and so long as these issues are

Society 3 – Belonging & inclusion tion: Australia becomes inclusive welcoming and enabling

Direction: Australia becomes inclusive welcoming and enabling.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for	Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the	
successful performance	During the 46 th parliament	Over the longer term	preferred destination?	
			politicised, it is unlikely that we will see any substantial increase in the national sense of belonging and inclusion. In relation to commitment to creating inclusion through volunteering: Volunteering has been steadily and quite steeply declining. In 2020, 24.8% of Australians on survey said they had undertaken unpaid voluntary work through an organisation in the last 12 months, down by 11.4 percentage points since the height of volunteering in 2010. When read with some other data about social inclusion, particularly of diverse minorities, this is not an encouraging sign of a willingness toward creating an inclusive society.	



Summary of progress for success in Our Society Society 4 - Health & wellbeing Direction: Australia becomes a place of optimal health and wellbeing. Direction of movement from the baseline **Indicators, Targets & Strategies for** Are we travelling towards the During the successful performance Over the preferred destination? 46th longer term parliament On balance, no. Soc04.01 Life expectancy and males and females Soc04.01.01 The scope of our physical and mental health: Overall, the country has seen a considerable decrease in the burden of disease as measured Soc04.02 Perceptions of health in DALYs. However, taking this number at face values fails to recognise the broader picture of the Mental health nation's health. Progress in this Soc04.03 experience of measure can largely be attributed to psychological distress a significant reduction in premature death. While this is recognisably a Mental health major success, we must further Soc04.03.01 mental and consider the growing prevalence of behavioural conditions non-communicable/chronic conditions (NCD) and the impact Mental health that this will undoubtedly have on Soc04.03.02 anxiety our future health and welfare systems as well as the quality of life of people in this country. Mental health -Soc04.03.03 depression The proportion of the population living with one or more chronic conditions is increasing, and around 1 in 2 Australians now self-report as Soc04.04 Burden of disease living with at least one chronic condition (up 5% in the last decade). When we analyse the NCD burden Physical health further, we can see that there have Soc04.05 obesity been considerable improvements in the management of cardiovascular disease and positive trends in cancer Physical health may be starting to emerge. Soc04.05.01 diabetes However, there is increasing concern over the rising prevalence of obesity, diabetes, and mental ill Physical health health, conditions which themselves Soc04.05.02 cardiovascular disease are significant risk factors for near all major chronic conditions. It is notable that ABS surveys of the Physical health impacts of Covid-19 on households Soc04.05.03 cancer registered high or very high level of psychological distress throughout



Society 4 – Health & wellbeing

Direction: Australia becomes a place of optimal health and wellbeing.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for		Direction of movement from the baseline		earth and wenberng.
	argets & Strategies for sful performance	During the 46 th parliament	Over the longer term	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
Soc04.05.04	Physical health – musculoskeletal conditions	←/→	←/→	the first two years of the pandemic – significantly higher than in pre- pandemic surveys. Without significant action to address these
Soc04.05.05	Physical health – respiratory conditions	←/→	←/→	conditions, the prevalence of chronic disease within the country and the risk of multi-morbidity is likely to continue to increase.
Soc04.06	Happiness and wellbeing – world ranking	←/→	←	Understanding these factors may help to explain the seeming contradiction between people's
Soc04.06.01	Happiness and wellbeing – reported by Australians	←	←	perceptions of their own health (which are deteriorating) and the trends seen in the burden of disease and life expectancy (which are
Soc04.06.02	Happiness and wellbeing – optimism/pessimism	→	←/→	improving). Medical advances are succeeding in helping people to live longer and their ability to manage chronic conditions. However, due to
Soc04.06.03	Happiness and wellbeing – life satisfaction for the youngest to oldest generations	←/→	—	numerous factors including an aging population and the high prevalence of risk factors for disease, the number of people living with a chronic condition is increasing. As
Soc04.06.04	Happiness and wellbeing – life satisfaction for diverse elements of the community	←/→	←	such, this can be seen to be having an overall negative impact on our quality of life. On health care system funding: The
Soc04.07	Health funding	—	—	current and projected underfunding of our healthcare system is cause for alarm. It must be mentioned that there remain large inequities in health within this country. We will not close the gap in between our most disadvantaged and our most well off, nor can we expect to see improvement in health for all, without directly addressing the social determinants of health. A key message: Our health system is increasingly becoming overburdened and underfunded. The future success of the Australian healthcare system will require not only ongoing investment into our



Society 4 – Health & wellbeing

Direction: Australia becomes a place of optimal health and wellbeing.					
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	-	f movement baseline Over the longer term	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?		
			hospitals and care facilities, but also a significant investment into our broader public health system. We need to further prioritise investment in primary health strategies aimed at decreasing the prevalence of key modifiable risk factors such as poor nutrition, physical inactivity, and tobacco and excessive alcohol consumption. This will require a mix of interventions targeted not only at high-risk populations, but more so, the entire population at large. Moreover, there is a significant need to direct our means of intervention more upstream, with the aim of addressing the broader social determinants of health, that is, the social, economic, cultural, commercial, and environmental conditions in which we live and grow. Without significant action in these areas, the disease burden, and its inequitable distribution will continue to grow. On our happiness and wellbeing is seen to be moving backwards. This is in line with the negative trend seen in mental health. The reasons for this are likely complex and consideration as to the impact that the COVID-19 pandemic must also be given. However, when contextualised through the themes outlined within the other elements of this report, such as measures of rising inequality, decreasing perceptions of social inclusion and belonging, and fear over the future largely driven by the threat of climate change and war, it is not surprising that happiness and wellbeing is moving backwards. Improving these measures will require substantial		

Summary of progress for success in Our Society				
S	ociety 4 – Hea	lth & wellbein	g	
Direction: Australia k	ecomes a plac	e of optimal h	ealth and wellbeing.	
Indicators Towards & Charlesias for	Direction of movement from the baseline		Annua Annua Ilian Annua da Aba	
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	During the 46 th parliament	Over the longer term	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	
			effort to move the dial forward in all areas of our society, environment, economy, and democracy.	



Summary of progress for success in Our Society Society 5 - Education Direction: Australia becomes a model of educational opportunity. Direction of movement from the baseline Indicators, Targets & Strategies for Are we travelling towards the **During the** successful performance Over the preferred destination? 46th longer term parliament On balance, no. Re-introduction of Soc05.01 fee-free tertiary On funding of education: The education educational sector is underfunded, Cancelation of and most of the burden is being felt student debt for by our most disadvantaged Soc05.01.01 social services populations. workers Funding of tertiary education is set Funding for to decline as a proportion of GDP, Soc05.01.02 universities and negatively impacting the potential vocational education economic benefits that the sector can produce and embedding lower School education productivity by negatively impacting Soc05.02 funding the intelligence of the workforce. Reversal of public-On equity of access to education: school underfunding While funding of primary and Soc05.02.01 and private school secondary education can be seen to overfunding be increasing, the distribution of these funds is highly unequal, with a disproportionate amount going to Soc05.02.02 Years of attendance private schools compared to public schools. In addition, among wealthy nations, we are one of the lowest ranked countries for equality of educational Soc05.02.03 attendance to pre-school. These attainment factors can only serve to increase current inequities in our education Pre-school education system and, more broadly, our Soc05.03 early development society. performance On educational attainment: Educational attainment and opportunity in Australia has been accessibility of early seen to decline relative to other learning as a factor in OECD countries, with maths, English, Soc05.03.01 educational and science scores all declining. attainment at school We are simply not doing enough to ensure the education of our children.

Summary of progress for success in Our Society						
	Society 6 – Equality Direction: Australia becomes a society of equals.					
			movement			
	argets & Strategies for sful performance	During the 46 th parliament Over the longer term		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?		
Soc06.01	Gender equality – economic gap	—	—	On balance, no. On gender equality in income and wealth: While in absolute terms, the income and wealth gap between men and women can be seen to be decreasing, the rate at which this is occurring is far too slow. This is made clear when we compare our progress on these issues with that of other comparatively wealthy nations.		
Soc06.02	Gender equality in income and wealth – cash earnings	←/→	←/→	On gender equality of opportunity: Relative to other countries, Australia's performance in achieving gender equality in areas including economic opportunity and participation, health and survival, and political empowerment has fallen dramatically over the last 2 decades. The only positive sign is that we retain the number 1 spot for levels of educational attainment. Overall, between the years 2006 and 2021, Australia has dropped from		
Soc06.02.01	Gender equality in income and wealth – superannuation balances	←/→	←/→	rank No. 15 in the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Report to now being ranked No. 50. Far more needs to be done to ensure economic opportunity and growth for women. This will require significant action from both the public and private sector, starting with strong commitment to the reforms laid out in the Respect@Work report (see Society 8 - Women & LGBTIQ+). Equality is also measures in numerous other parts of this Report including but not limited to: Society 2 - Indigenous Heart, Society 5 - Education, and Economy 3 - Equitable improvement in living standards.		

Summary of progress for success in Our Society							
	Society 7 – Diversity Direction: Australia becomes a success because of its diversity.						
Indicators 7	Direction: Austra argets & Strategies for	Direction of from the	f movement	Are we travelling towards the			
	sful performance	During the 46 th parliament	Over the longer term	preferred destination?			
Soc07.01	Attitudes to multiculturalism – positive support by Australians	←	←/→	On balance, yes but it is fragile. On multiculturalism: The proportion of people who report positive			
Soc07.01.01	Attitudes to multiculturalism – as a strength for Australia	→	→	feelings towards multiculturalism has been largely stable around the ACFP target and, reassuringly, the percentage of people who report strongly negative feelings towards multiculturalism is at an all-time low of only 6%. However, it should be noted that			
Soc07.01.02	Attitudes to multiculturalism – experience of cultural and racial discrimination	→	—	while the vast majority of Australians on survey report that multiculturalism has been good for Australia, support is significantly lower on whether accepting migrants from many different countries makes us stronger. This indicates that while Australians support immigration, many would prefer it to be less diverse than it is. This might be read together with the fact that the number of people who indicated a sense of rejection and reported experience of discrimination			
Soc07.02	Freedom from discrimination on religious grounds	←/→	←/→	"because of [their] skin colour, ethnic origin, or religion" has doubled since 2007 (9% to 18%). The issue of marginalisation and discrimination is a re-emerging issue, experienced by many if not all nations and social groups. On religious discrimination: Australians have to date rejected legislation enabling discrimination on the grounds of religion, which indicates a preference for an inclusive society.			

Summary of progress for success in Our Society Society 8 - Women & LGBTIQ+ Direction: Australia becomes a success because of gender equality. Direction of movement from the baseline Indicators, Targets & Strategies for Are we travelling towards the During the successful performance Over the preferred destination? 46th longer term parliament On balance, yes but very Women in power and slowly. Soc08.01 leadership – federal parliament The representation of women in Women in power and positions of power can be seen to be Soc08.01.01 leadership – CEO and increasing in both the private and board positions public sectors. When we view this data in the context of Society 6 -Women in power and Equality, which highlighted that Soc08.01.02 leadership -Australia has fallen relative to other managerial positions nations in relation to gender inequality and political Women's National empowerment compared to other **Integrated Reform** Soc08.02 wealthy nations, we can make a Program for Safety, judgement that the progress that has Respect and Equity been experienced by women in National Women's Australia is too slow and we are Council for oversight being significantly outpaced by the of the Women's progress of other nations. Soc08.02.01 National Integrated Reform Program for There is much more that can be done Safety, Respect and socially and legislatively, as well as Equity through initiatives in private business, to improve the rate at which women can be seen to achieve parity with men in positions of power and leadership. Little data exists in these areas for representation of LGBTQI+ populations. As such, no judgement can currently be made on these issues. However, ACFP is actively seeking to incorporate measures of Workplace safety for progress for these populations. Soc08.03 women and LGBTIQ+ Regarding safety, respect, and equity: Little if any progress has been made to date in the development of an integrated, holistic approach that seeks to address women's inequality. Inaction, and misleading rhetoric in relation to the Respect@Work report has not reflected well on the integrity of the current government.



Summary of progress for success in Our Society Society 8 - Women & LGBTIQ+ Direction: Australia becomes a success because of gender equality. **Direction of movement** from the baseline Indicators, Targets & Strategies for Are we travelling towards the **During the** successful performance Over the preferred destination? 46th longer term parliament Proactive bipartisan commitment to these initiatives is essential to their success and our ability to improve levels of safety and respect for women in the workplace and society in general.



Society 9 – Housing

Direction: Australia becomes a land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.

all.					
		_	f movement		
	Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Over the longer term	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	
Soc09.01	Homelessness	←/→	—	On balance, no. On homelessness: The proportion of Australians experiencing homelessness has been increasing over the long term. This is not only the result of a lack of affordable housing but also limitations of an insufficient social welfare system, and complications surrounding mental ill health, trauma, substance misuse, and domestic abuse, among others. Reducing the prevalence of homelessness will require a	
Soc09.02	Housing affordability – ownership by younger generations	—	—	significant positive shift in the direction of many ACFP Targets. On housing affordability: Housing affordability in Australia has been on the decline since the 1980s. Young people are finding it increasingly difficult to move into the housing market and, overall, the percentage of Australian households who are renting their home has been increasing. This has significant downstream effects, as lower income households are increasingly obliged to compete with higher	
Soc09.02.01	Housing affordability – lower income households	←/→	—	income households for rental properties in the private market. This has the consequence of driving them out of areas with greater employment opportunities, further feeding into the cycle of disadvantage. Of further concern, among low-income households, more than 40% of homeowners and over 55% of renters are experiencing mortgage stress. With an estimated deficit of over 500,000 affordable rental properties, low-income houses have little means of relief from this stress.	



Society 10 – Family cohesion & community services

Direction: Australia becomes a place of supportive familial and other connections and without domestic abuse.

	argets & Strategies for sful performance	During the 46 th parliament	Over the longer term	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
Soc10.01	Family and community support – reliability of community support in time of need	←/→	←/→	On balance, no. 2021 saw a significant increase in the number of women and men reporting domestic violence and/or
Soc10.01.01	Family and community support – availability of support from outside-the-home sources	1	—	related sexual assault. In 2016, almost 1 in 5 women and 1 in 20 men had reported having experienced violence by a partner since the age of 15. Making his issue
Soc10.02	Domestic abuse – violence	1	←	worse is the fact that the number of people reporting that they have people external to their household to confide in has decreased by almost
Soc10.02.01	Domestic abuse – emotional	←/→	←/→	10% since 2010 to only 86.2%. Current initiatives are insufficient to provide respite from these conditions, with more than 1 in 2
Soc10.02.02	Domestic abuse - homicide	—	→	women still being turned away from crisis accommodation every night in Australia.
Soc10.02.03	Domestic abuse – hospitalisations	←/→	←/→	There are some positive legislative indicators including initiatives to develop a common understanding of coercive control with potential
Soc10.03	Domestic abuse – legislative program	→	←/→	action to explicitly criminalise the act (this has already been achieved in some jurisdictions). And education on the matter has been deemed
Soc10.04	Domestic abuse - education and counselling services	→	←/→	Recent commitments to increase funding to help women escape
Soc10.05	End domestic violence by restoring funding for shelters and support services enabling 100% of women threatened by domestic violence to escape to safety.	←/→	←/→	instances of domestic violence are a further positive step. Long term and deeper commitment to both these financial and legislative initiatives are essential to drive change in the current trends on domestic abuse.



Society 11 – Early childhood care

Summary of progress for success in Our Society						
Society 11 – Early childhood care						
	Direction: Australia becomes a land without child disadvantage. Direction of movement					
In dia set serve	inmanta Q Churchenia C	_	baseline	Annua turnalli et e		
	argets & Strategies for sful performance	During the 46 th parliament	Over the longer term	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?		
				On balance, no.		
				Access to universal free childcare has strong majority support in the nation. It is economically sound with the benefits far outweighing the cost, and it is recognised as being vital to increasing women's participation in the workforce.		
				The benefits of such a program would not only go to families with young children. Some projections estimate that the successful implementation of a program which ensured universal access to childcare could increase national GDP by as much as 3.2%.		
Soc11.01	Universal access to free childcare		←/→	When we view the directions that this strategy seeks to address, the implementation of this strategy can be seen to have some of the most broad reaching benefits for our nation. It serves to improve educational and occupational opportunity, decrease child disadvantage and intergenerational income inequality, improve our national health and wellbeing, reduce the level of disadvantage experienced by marginalised groups, and helps to reduce the level of income and wealth inequality that we currently experience. In short, it serves to make us a more cohesive, equal, and socially just society.		
				is essential if we are to move forward as a nation.		

Society 12 – Aged care & disability services

Direction: Australia becomes a sure provider of lifelong dignity.					
	argets & Strategies for sful performance	-	f movement baseline Over the longer term	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	
	T	parliament	longer term		
Soc12.01	Aged care package waiting times	→	←/→	On balance, no. Current indicators within this direction largely reflect progress on	
Soc12.02	Aged care system performance monitoring – confidence in the aged care system	←/→	←/→	positions taken in response to the findings and recommendations given following the Royal Commission into Aged Care Quality and Safety. Out of a total 148 recommendations, the	
Soc12.02.01	Aged care system performance monitoring – safety, quality and user experience indicators	←/→	←/→	 Australian government: accepted 106, qualified its support for 20, and rejected (in effect or outright) 22. 	
Soc12.03	Aged Care Royal Commission, implementation of recommendations – A new Aged Care Act	→	←/→	Positively, the government accepted recommendations that "The Aged Care Act 1997 (Cth) should be replaced with a new Act to come into force by no later than 1 July 2023".	
Soc12.03.01	Aged Care Royal Commission, implementation of recommendations – New independent and accountable institutional arrangements	←	←/→	The government has rejected or made no progress on key recommendations regarding the implementation of new institutional arrangements which sought to ensure quality and safety, and to provide accountability for	
Soc12.04	Aged care funding – federal budget minimums	←	←/→	management of the aged care system. In addition, they have failed to commit to key funding recommendations and efforts to	
Soc12.04.01	Aged care funding – levies	←	←/→	improve accountability of aged care service providers for their use of public funds.	
Soc12.04.02	Aged care funding – Accountability of service providers in return for public funding	←	←/→	Future funding commitments for the sector are grossly insufficient based on projected estimates presented by independent bodies. What commitments have been made to the age care sector are further set to be undermined by significant reduction in pension funding.	

Society 14 – Police services

Direction: Australia becomes a model of community service and responsible exercise of authority in policing.

	in policing.					
		-	f movement			
Indicators,	Indicators, Targets & Strategies for		baseline	Are we travelling towards the		
	ssful performance	During the 46 th	Over the	preferred destination?		
		parliament	longer term			
Soc14.01	Trust in federal police	←	←/→	On balance, the evidence is mixed.		
Soc14.02	Trust in state police	←	←/→	On trust in the police: Trust in police seems to be high but varies quite widely across surveys – ranging between 61% and 79%. ABS surveys show a distinctly higher support for		
Soc14.03	Trust in police nation-wide		←/→	show a distinctly higher support for the police than other surveys. Trust in the police also varies across communities with Indigenous populations obviously complaining (rightly) of police treatment, including deaths while in police custody. Domestic violence is also an area where police have been judged untrustworthy but community policing initiatives and policy changes about the role of police in regional communities may suggest improvements are underway here. Trust in the federal police and the police in NSW is likely to have been negatively impacted by the perception that the Prime Minister or other government officials were able to intervene in considerations of whether ministers should be charged with offences (Angus Taylor and Christian Porter). Serious questions have also arisen about orders of raids on the ABC and the home and files of lawyer and former ACT Deputy Chief Minister, Bernard Collaery. It is likely that trust in the state police of NSW has been further impacted by the perceptions about the recent controversial performance of the Fixated Persons Unit in arresting Friedlyjordies		

Society 14 – Police services

Direction: Australia becomes a model of community service and responsible exercise of authority in policing.

in policing.								
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement		Are we travelling towards the				
		from the baseline						
		During the 46 th parliament	Over the longer term	preferred destination?				
				producer, Kristo Langker, where charges have since been dropped. In this instance, the state police exposed themselves to perceptions of succumbing to undue political influence, bullying and misuse of public resources.				
				On the issue of a rise in the police state: No statistics are available. However, the secret state has been seen to be on the rise in Australia. National security laws have been increasingly tightened, especially against journalists. Entirely innocent Australians can now be arrested and detained without charge and disclosures about the arrest or charges are prohibited. Secret trials have been held. Arrest and raid powers (warranted and warrantless) for police have been widened to a scope Australians would have expected in authoritarian countries, but not here. Australia is tending towards rather than away from becoming an authoritarian country supported by a police state apparatus with near zero accountability and transparency.				



Summary of progress for success in Our Society								
Society 15 – Justice Direction: Australia becomes confident of justice for all.								
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline During the 46 th Over the		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?				
		parliament	longer term					
Soc15.01	High Court	-	←/→	On balance, the evidence is mixed.				
Soc15.02	Trust in the justice system	←/→	←/→	On trust in the justice system: Overall, trust in the justice system can be seen to be increasing since the baseline figures collected in 2019. However, it must be noted that this generally positive sentiment is not felt equally among all groups of society, with women, Indigenous people and those from lower socio- economic backgrounds reporting significantly lower confidence in the justice system compared to men and those in higher socio-economic brackets. On the reliability and equity of our justice system: Confidence in the justice system is not present among First Nations people, who are incarnated at a much higher rate than non-Indigenous Australians, and who quite rightly have protested that they are not an innately criminal people ¹⁰ . The justice system is not serving them fairly. Nor is it serving migrants who can now be indefinitely detained without charge because of High Court rulings. Nor is it serving the right of Australians to free speech, inasmuch as public servants can now be sacked for expressing opinions – again because of a High Court ruling. Inequality before the law is rising: Some Australians, particularly those operating illegally in intelligence agencies, are now above the law and our governments have actually frustrated the development of				

 $^{^{\}rm 10}$ Uluru Statement from the Heart.



Summary of progress for success in Our Society Society 15 - Justice Direction: Australia becomes confident of justice for all. Direction of movement from the baseline Indicators, Targets & Strategies for Are we travelling towards the **During the** successful performance Over the preferred destination? 46th lonaer term parliament systems in which they and other government agencies can held accountable under the law. By contrast socioeconomically disadvantaged people have been refused protection of the law and the right to presumption of innocence – eg., Robodebt victims. On the threat of rising secrecy in the justice system: The Australia's justice system is under threat from excessive secrecy provisions in security legislation. Something is seriously wrong with a system in which defendants cannot be given access to evidence necessary to defend themselves – which is happening in the Collaery trial – and cannot enjoy the rights of trial by jury in open court. The justice system in Australia needs a major overhaul, starting with a new Constitution. This overhaul will require action from within and beyond the justice system itself. It will likely require action towards relieving the levels of social inequality that underpin why some groups are driven towards a greater number of negative encounters with



that system in the first place and then doubly disadvantaged in court

processes.

Summary of progress for success in Our Society Society 16 – Emergency Services Direction: Australia becomes a society prepared & resilient in times of disaster. Direction of movement from the baseline Indicators, Targets & Strategies for Are we travelling towards the During the successful performance Over the preferred destination? 46th longer term parliament Preparedness for On balance, no. Global Crises -Sovereign Capability On preparedness for global crises: In Soc16.01 Strategy for National 2021, Next25 reported that the Resilience in Global poorest-tracking aspiration of Crises Australians in their Next25 Navigator Preparedness for and survey of over 3,000 people is prevention of "Australia being self-sufficient and disasters in Australia able to stand on its own two feet as Statement of a country. Fewer than four in 10 are Soc16.02 Adherence to and confident Australia is self-sufficient." Performance on the National Disaster Risk The Institute for Integrated **Reduction Framework** Economic Research Australia also reported that Australia was illprepared for a global crisis such as a pandemic or war in that we do not have sufficient hospital beds. intensive care beds, stored medicines, PPE, critical medical items and fuel stocks. Manufacturing capability is lacking and Australia is dangerously reliant on the foreign owned/controlled maritime trade system for 98% of imports and exports. Preparedness for and No progress has been made on prevention of development of a comprehensive disasters in Australia -Soc16.02.01 strategy to build "sovereign **National Community** capability" in areas of economic Council for Risk activity and human capital necessary **Reduction Review** to ensure Australia is prepared for global crises arising from climate change, pandemics, global economic downturns and wars. On preparedness and prevention of disasters in Australia: In 2021, the federal government established the National Recovery and Resilience Agency. While this is a positive step, the agency does not deliver the level of institutional reform and integration required to prevent

Summary of progress for success in Our Society

Society 16 – Emergency Services

Direction: Australia becomes a society prepared & resilient in times of disaster.				
Indicatous Taunate & Stuntonias	from the	f movement baseline	Are we transling towards the	
Indicators, Targets & Strategies successful performance	During the 46 th parliament	Over the longer term	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	
			avoidable natural and national disasters. It is focussed more on recovery than prevention and, as the recent floods and bushfires have proved, is not performing well on recovery. Disasters in Australia are being caused by climate change. This indicates an urgent need for a fully integrated set of strategies and institutional reform across all levels of government to integrate efforts and reduce temperature increases as much as possible. No progress has been made in development of a blueprint for such an institutional transformation.	



Chapter 4 – Progress by Direction in Our Environment



Environment 1 – Environmental advocacy

Summary of progress for success in Our Society

Environment 1 – Environmental advocacy

Direction: Australia becomes a leading global advocate for action on climate change.					
Indicators 7	Indicators, Targets & Strategies for		f movement baseline		
	argets & strategies for sful performance	During the 46 th parliament	Over the longer term	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	
Env01.01	Reformation of Australia's negotiating stance and conduct in Paris Agreement negotiations — Commitment to emitting no more than a fair share of a global carbon budget	—	—	On balance, no. Australia's conduct in Paris Agreement negations on climate change has been deplorable and marks us out as a nation prepared to behave indecently in international relations. Over the last decade, Australia has	
Env01.02	Climate change performance - action, international cooperation and policy	↓	—	been set on a path to environmental catastrophe due to its failure to take necessary action to prevent and adapt to global heating and to cooperate with other nations in efforts to meet commitments made under the Paris Agreement to reduce emissions to levels necessary to ensure that global temperature increases are limited to well below 2° Celsius and as close as possible to 1.5° Celsius. Australia has slipped progressively to the bottom of the Climate Change Performance Index (CCPI) and is now ranked in 58 th place out of 64 countries, notably scoring last place for climate policy.	

Environment 2 – Climate change prevention

zero emissions by

Elimination of fossil

Cessation of new coal,

2033 within the

carbon budget

fuel subsidies

gas and oil

Env02.02

Env02.03

Summary of progress for success in Our Society Environment 2 - Climate change prevention Direction: Australia becomes a net zero emissions nation. Direction of movement from the baseline Indicators, Targets & Strategies for Are we travelling towards the **During the** successful performance Over the preferred destination? 46th longer term parliament Carbon emissions On balance, no. reduction -Achievement of net In terms of a carbon emissions zero carbon emissions ceiling (budget): As at March 2022, Env02.01 within a carbon Australia still had no carbon budget that will emissions budget – a necessity if we maximise chances of are to meet the temperature targets limiting global heating of the Paris Agreement. The ideal to 1.50 Celsius budget would be in the order of 3.5 Carbon emissions billion tonnes between 2020 and reduction - Emissions whenever Australia meets the target Env02.01.01 reduction target for of net zero emissions. However, the 2030 Australian government has refused Carbon emissions to adopt any budget at all. reduction -Achievement of net In terms of interim emissions Env02.01.02

Env02.03	investments – legislative program	_		Australia will meet its 2030 target of 26%-28% below 2005 levels but
Env02.04	Phase out of existing investments in coal, oil and gas – legislative program	↓	—	temperatures will still rise by more than 1.5°C. This trajectory locks in failure on temperature targets of the Paris Agreement. The fossil fuel subsidy in Australia is contributing materially to climate change. As at 2021, there are no signs that the subsidy will be stopped, despite the resistance to continuation of the subsidy by the majority of Australians. In terms of fossil fuel industry expansion: In 2021, federal and state governments were still approving new coal mines, despite the fact that:



reduction targets for the decade to

2030: In 2020, Australia's domestic

emissions (excluding exports) were

510 MT of CO2-e. In 2021, this

declined to 499Mt, due to the

impact of Covid-19. Should this

trajectory continue to 2030,

Summary of progress for success in Our Society

Environment 2 – Climate change prevention

Direction: Australia becomes a net zero emissions nation.

Direction: Australia becomes a net zero emissions nation.					
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	Direction of movement from the baseline During the 46 th Over the		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?		
	parliament	longer term			
			 66% of Australians think the Australian government should stop new coal mines, and 60% of Australians support Australia following the pathway recommended by International Energy Agency pathway – namely, not approving new gas, coal or oil projects. In terms of national planning to stop climate change: In 2021, the federal government released its "Plan to Deliver Net Zero: The Australian Way". The "Plan" included no proposals to phase out coal, oil or gas as sources of energy and made no statement on phasing out combustion vehicles. If implemented, the federal government's "Plan to Deliver Net Zero: The Australian Way" will result in total failure on temperature 		
			targets in the Paris Agreement.		



Environment 3 – Climate change adaptation

Summary of progress for success in Our Society

Environment 3 – Climate change adaptation

Environment 3 – Climate change adaptation Direction: Australia becomes a proactive planner of climate change adaptation.					
			f movement		
	argets & Strategies for sful performance	During the 46 th parliament	Over the longer term	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	
Env03.01	National Climate Change Prevention, Mitigation and Adaptation Commission	—	—	In 2021, the federal Department of Agriculture, Water and the Environment released a new "National Climate Resilience and Adaptation Strategy 2021 – 2025", updating the 2015 Strategy. The new Strategy referenced some funding for droughts and a reinsurance pool for damage but otherwise added nothing to achievement of resilience. Because the new adaptation strategy includes no actions whatsoever to mitigate or prevent climate change (and because current mitigation strategies elsewhere are insufficient to reduce heating), the new adaptation strategy proactively sets up Australians and the insurance industry to incur massive financial losses, and then uses taxpayer funding, not to protect Australians but to bail out private insurers (by reinsuring them) for losses that should be prevented rather than courted. The Strategy increases the chances and magnitude of future loss by insurers but promises that taxpayers will cover their loss. It's a strategy to ensure private financiers will make money out of the misery of Australians. Australia is a nation ill-prepared for climate change.	



Environment 6 – Energy

Summary of progress for success in Our Society Environment 6 – Energy Direction: Australia becomes a renewable energy superpower. Direction of movement from the baseline Indicators, Targets & Strategies for Are we travelling towards the During the successful performance Over the preferred destination? 46th longer term parliament On balance, we are not travelling clearly yet either Renewable energy -Env06.01 toward or away from the electricity destination. Australia is not yet on track to meet Renewable energy the target of 100% of electricity Env06.01.01 vehicles comes from renewable sources by no later than 2030, but there is planning capacity that is up to the challenge. Renewable energy road transport Env06.01.02 No data sets have been analysed to systems services and fleets determine the extent of use of renewable energy for vehicles, road systems, services and fleets, Renewable energy manufacturing, agriculture, industry, Env06.01.03 manufacturing and construction, and air and sea agriculture transport. There is a distinct risk to Australia arising from the failure to switch these sectors to renewable energy. Renewable energy -Env06.01.04 industry and construction Some progress has been made at the state level to plan for renewable energy zones and the private sector is in some initiatives seeking to Renewable energy – develop Australia as a renewable Env06.01.05 air and sea transport energy superpower. No progress has been made on the **National Electricity** establishment of a publicly owned Market system Australian Renewable Electricity Env06.02 investment and Investment & Security Corporation security necessary to ensure that taxpayers share fully in the benefits of investment in the National Electricity Market. Reintroduction of a Env06.03 National Renewable Policies to support achievement of **Energy Target** 100% renewable energy by 2030 were not in place in 2022.



Environment 10 – Biodiversity

Summary of progress for success in Our Society				
	E	Environment 1	0 – Biodiversit	y
	Direction: A	Australia beco	mes a biodive	rsity haven.
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		And the transfer to the day of the
		During the 46 th parliament	Over the longer term	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
Env10.01	Fauna conservation and extinction prevention	—	—	On balance, no.
Env10.02	Flora conservation and extinction prevention	←	←	Extinction of Australia diverse flora and fauna has continued apace.

Environment 11 – Vegetation

	Summary of progress for success in Our Society				
	L	Environment 1	1 – Vegetatio	n	
	Direction: Austra	lia becomes a	replanted and	reforested land.	
Indicators T	aracts P Stratogics for	-	f movement baseline	Aro we travelling towards the	
	argets & Strategies for sful performance	During the 46 th parliament	Over the longer term	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	
Env11.01	Forests and environmental plantings	—	—	On balance, no. The trend of deforestation of Australia is declining, mainly due to there being few forests left to cut down. Queensland, the worst state by far in deforestation is still increasing stripping of forested land at an alarming rate. No progress has been made on legislation prohibiting deforestation or on the establishment of a publicly owned Carbon in the Land and Sea Trading Corporation.	



Summary of progress for success in Our Society Environment 14 – Air & water quality Direction: Australia becomes a pollution free biosphere. Direction of movement from the baseline Indicators, Targets & Strategies for Are we travelling towards the **During the** successful performance Over the preferred destination? 46th longer term parliament No data are available to determine the direction of travel since 2016. Air quality in Australia is generally good or very good. A notable exception was during the east coast bushfires in the Summer of 2019/20. Env14.01 Air quality During the Covid-19 pandemic lockdowns, air quality in major cities noticeably improved due to reduced industrial and transport emissions. This is transient and pre-covid transport emissions are set increase again in the year 2022-2023 (albeit still lower than 2019 levels).11

¹¹ See Australian Government Department of Industry, Science, Energy and Resources, <u>Australia's Emissions Projections 2020</u>, page 8: "Transport activity is projected to rebound in 2021-22 and 2022-23, although to remain at a lower level than in the 2019 projections reflecting technology trends and slower population growth."



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Environment 15 – Marine protection

Summary of progress for success in Our Society **Environment 15 – Marine protection** Direction: Australia becomes a marine wildlife haven. Direction of movement from the baseline Indicators, Targets & Strategies for Are we travelling towards the During the successful performance Over the preferred destination? 46th longer term parliament On balance, no. In 2021, the federal and Queensland governments released an updated "Reef 2050 Long-Term Sustainability Plan 2021-2025". The overarching objective was stated as "values and ecological processes in poor Protection of the condition are restored and values Great Barrier Reef -Env15.01 and ecological processes in good implementation of condition are maintained". Key plans strategies included strategies on climate change: "Australia contributes to an effective global response to climate change through the Paris Agreement, to hold the increase in the global average temperature to well below 2°C above pre-industrial levels and pursue efforts to limit the temperature increase to 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels." However, Australia has failed on this commitment and as such the Reef Plan is on track to fail on its main objectives of ensuring the health of the Reef. Protection of the Despite the failure on climate Great Barrier Reef -Env15.01.01 change, some of the other strategies prevention of threats in Reef 2050 are being implemented. from climate change These will reduce impacts but not save the Reef as such. In February 2022, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change released a damning report on the effect of climate change on the Great Barrier Reef. The reef is in danger of

extinction.

Chapter 5 – Progress by Direction in Our Economy



Economy 1 – Economic planning, growth & transition

Summary of progress for success in Our Economy

Economy 1 – Economic planning, growth & transition

Direction: Australia becomes a model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.					
			f movement		
Indicators To	Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		baseline	Are we travelling towards the	
			Over the longer term	preferred destination?	
Econ01.01	Sustainability of growth and development	parliament ←/→	←	On balance, no. In regard to sustainable	
Econ01.01.01	Productivity growth	←/→	←	development: Australia is extremely unlikely to meet its commitments to	
Econ01.02	Private investment for economic growth	←	←	reach the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals by	
Econ01.03	GDP growth	←	←	2030. The United Nations has produced a Sustainable	
Econ01.03.01	GDP growth per capita	—	—	Development Report for 2021 in which Australia is ranked 35 th on	
Econ01.04	Government investment for sustainable economic growth	—	←	performance against the goals and is doing poorly in progress on all but two of the goals, a very poor performance for a developed	
Econ01.05	Economic composition and transformations - Services sector expansion	→	←/→	country. In terms of productivity growth: This is perhaps the most important indicator of Australia's capacity to	
Econ01.06	Economic composition and transformations - Replacement of fossil fuels exports with renewable energy and other minerals	←	←	grow its economy sustainably and fairly. There has been a slight improvement in the recent short term but nowhere near the target and nowhere near enough to reestablish a sustainable economy.	
Econ01.07	Economic composition and transformations - Carbon credits market development	—	←	In private capital investment: Despite an improvement in the growth of private capital investment since 2019, the short term and long term trends have been negative.	
Econ01.08	Reintroduction of a price on carbon	←	←	The private sector is not displaying readiness to step in and grow the	
Econ01.09	Integrated & Funded Program for Meeting Australia's Commitments to the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGs)	←	←	Australian economy. In government sector participation in the economy: The government has been withdrawing from participation in the national economy over time, expecting the private sector to take up a larger	

Economy 1 – Economic planning, growth & transition

Direction: Australia becomes a model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.

		Direction of from the	movement	
	rgets & Strategies for ful performance	During the 46 th parliament	Over the longer term	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
Econ01.09.01	Citizens' oversight of progress towards the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGs)	—	—	share and reducing the share that could be enjoyed by taxpayers. The federal budget for 2021/22 maintains spending increases at levels well below that necessary to contribute to growth in the economy that can be shared by everyone. In terms of seizing major economic transformation opportunities: Australia is missing opportunities to replace fossil fuel exports with clean energy exports. The federal government has rejected projects for renewable energy exports. The government has also been missing major opportunities to expand the economy through carbon credits trading. The federal government's "Plan to Deliver Net Zero the Australian Way" continues the government's past approach of leaving very little if anything for stimulation of the production of carbon credits through carbon farming during the 2020 decade.



Economy 2 — Employment planning & industry transition
Direction: Australia becomes a model of employment plannina & iustice in industry transition.

Direction: Australia becomes a model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.				
		Direction of	f movement baseline	
	argets & Strategies for Iful performance	During the 46 th parliament	Over the longer term	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
Econ02.01	Employment – Participation	←/→	←/→	On balance, no.
Econ02.02	Underemployment	←/→	←	In relation to employment: Australia's economy is not being
Econ02.02.01	Underutilisation of the labour force	←/→	—	managed so that it provides growth in opportunities for work. While the
Econ02.03	Duration of unemployment	—	←	unemployment rate fell to 4.2% in January 2022, this does not indicate
Econ02.03.01	Permanence and casualisation of employment	← /→	+	that an economic structure has been developed that will assist the labour force towards full
Econ02.04	Employment planning - National plan for full employment supported by a social wage	Į	—	employment. The labour force is not verging towards being fully or sufficiently utilised. 12 Underutilisation of labour and
Econ02.04.01	Employment planning - Increasing government sector participation in the economy by a program of expansion of public sector employment in health, welfare, education, housing, conservation and land care, renewable	←/→	—	underemployment remain a major problem for Australia. The rolling 3-year average of underemployment has risen steadily from 6.8% in the 3 years to 2002 to 9.6% in the 3 years to 2021. The rolling average of labour underutilisation in 3 years to 2021 was 14.6%, an increase from average 13.8% in the 3 years to 2019. On the duration of unemployment
Econ02.04.02	energy, buildings efficiency and transport Employment planning - Community engagement on introduction of a social wage	←/→	←	and growth in insecure work: The duration of unemployment and casualisation of the workforce are also major problems for Australia. In 2021, the 3-year rolling median duration of unemployment for Australia was 16.6 weeks, and had been trending steadily up (worse)
Econ02.05	Economic transition funding to drive sector-wide	←/→	—	since 2010.The trend has been towards increasing casualisation of Australia's workforce and increasing

¹² Note: Australia Together does not use the unemployment rate as an indicator, out of the context of the labour underutilisation rate, due to the fact that unemployment rates are derived with reference only to those workers who have, in a fortnightly survey by the ABS, responded that they are looking for work and are available to start (in effect full-time) work immediately. The fortnightly "survey" counts a relatively small section of the willing labour force seeking work and is not useful either for purposes of monitoring the performance of the economy as a provider of opportunities to work or for long term economic and labour force planning purposes.



Economy 2 – Employment planning & industry transition

Direction: Australia becomes a model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.

211000101111		Direction of	fmovement	g & justice in industry transition.
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for		from the baseline During the		Are we travelling towards the
	successful performance		Over the longer term	preferred destination?
	transformations with safety nets - National Economic Transitions Commission Economic transition			difficulty in transitioning to permanent work. In relation to initiatives to achieve full employment: No progress has
Econ02.05.01	funding to drive sector-wide transformations with safety nets – Coal industry closure	1	←	been made with planning to achieve full employment. Neither the Coalition nor the Labor Opposition have expressed any commitment to introduction of a social wage and/or
Econ02.05.02	Economic transition funding to drive sector-wide transformations with safety nets – Higher education (university) sector recovery and expansion	•	—	consultation with Australians on a social wage, despite the fact that full employment is much more likely to be achieved in a manner that does not cause inflation if a social wage is properly introduced. In relation to the need for expansion of job opportunities in public sector services: In 2021, the Australian Public Service (APS) had no workforce plan that would set APS growth to match demand for services and jobs by the Australian community. The APS Workforce Strategy 2025 is a strategy taking Australia in the opposite direction to the Vision for Australia Together and towards a repeat of the currently failing economic structure. In relation to establishment of a National Economic Transitions Commission: Australia has no institutional arrangements in place to plan for and deliver a safe passage for workers through economic transitions. No progress has been made on any strategy to transition coal workers to new industries or to restore the higher education sector which has been attacked by the federal government during Covid-19, resulting in the loss of approximately 40,000 jobs.



Economy 3 – Equitable improvement in living standards

Direction: Australia becomes a country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.

ladienten Tunnt C. Charles C.		Direction of movement from the baseline		
	argets & Strategies for ful performance	During the 46 th parliament	Over the longer term	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
Econ03.01	Income inequality	←/→	—	On balance, no.
Econ03.01.01	Wealth inequality	←/→	←	On income and wealth inequality: This has been rising for the last two
Econ03.01.02	Distribution of national wealth – corporations versus wage earners	←/→	—	decades. This growth in inequality is the most significant contributor to the decline in standards of living reflected in so many of the other
Econ03.02	Distribution of growth in income & wealth - wages growth relative to growth in company profits	←	←	measures in this report. If standards of living are to improve, inequality must be reversed. On the distribution of fair shares of
Econ03.02.01	Distribution of growth in income & wealth - growth in wages (hourly rates of pay) relative to growth in GDP	←/→	←/→	national wealth: Between 1975 and 2021, there was a steady trend in decline of wages and a rise in corporate profits as proportions of national income (GDP). This significantly aggravated growth in
Econ03.02.02	Distribution of growth in income & wealth - household disposable income	→	+	inequality. The rate at which corporate profit growth is outstripping wages growth is increasing.
Econ03.02.03	Distribution of growth in income & wealth - net worth of households	←/→	—	In household disposable income: In the short term, during Covid-19, household disposable incomes rose,
Econ03.02.04	Distribution of growth in income & wealth - earnings for welfare workers	←/→	—	most likely due to the temporary increase in family incomes provided by JobKeeper and JobSeeker. The increase does not meet the target
Econ03.03	Elimination of poverty	←/→	←	of matching the historical average and is unlikely to be sustained due
Econ03.03.01	Elimination of poverty - children	←/→	—	to the withdrawal of the Covid-19 stimulus.
Econ03.03.02	Elimination of poverty - young people	←/→	—	Inequity in opportunity to achieve
Econ03.04	Elimination of hunger	-	←	better living standards: Welfare workers, although they are
Econ03.05	Indebtedness - households	—	←	essential, earn significantly less than workers in similar occupations in
Econ03.06	Perceptions of economic opportunity	←	←	other industries. Their wages are also increasing at slower rates than



Economy 3 – Equitable improvement in living standards

Direction: Australia becomes a country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.

		Direction of movement from the baseline		intinuousiy jor un.
	rgets & Strategies for ful performance	During the 46 th parliament	Over the longer term	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
Econ03.06.01	Perceptions of economic (class) mobility	←/→	—	other workers. It is notable that the federal Coalition government has refused to support wage rises for
Econ03.07	Perceptions of quality of life - prospects for improvement	←/→	—	aged care workers, as recommended by the Aged Care Royal Commission. Policy support
Econ03.07.01	Perceptions of quality of life - prospects for decline	←/→	—	for wage rises for welfare workers is absent.
Econ03.07.02	Perceptions of quality of life - current financial situation	←/→	←	On poverty and hunger: Under the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals, Australia has
Econ03.08	Perceptions of long term economic/financial prospects - Intergenerational financial security	↓ /→	+	committed to eliminating poverty and hunger by 2030. No plans are in place to achieve this. Surveys of Australian households suggest that poverty may be declining slightly but is still persistent. Rates of
Econ03.08.01	Perceptions of long term economic/financial prospects - Australia's global economic performance	←/→	+	hunger and food insecurity in Australia are increasing. On household over-indebtedness: This is rising.
Econ03.09	Perceptions of economic inequality – gap between rich and poor	←/→	→	On Australia as a land of opportunity: Fewer Australians are viewing Australia as a land of opportunity with positive prospects for them. There is a consensus that younger generations will be less well off than their parents. Perceptions about longer term economic prospects vary widely from year to year but the longer term trend is clearly negative. The trend of economic optimism has been falling and the trend of economic pessimism has been rising. On the attitudes of Australians to the size of the gap between rich and poor: Given the actual long term rise in income and wealth inequality as measured by the Gini coefficient and the apparent, parallel rise in concern that the "gap

Economy 3 – Equitable improvement in living standards

Direction: Australia becomes a country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.

	Direction of movement from the baseline		
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	During the 46 th parliament	Over the longer term	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
			between rich and poor is too large", it is highly likely that in 2021, Australians perceived and rejected growth in inequality. As a measure of attitudes towards the need for equality and fairness, this result is positive reflection of a desire for an equitable and cohesive society. It reflects well on Australians as willing members of a compassionate and fair society and governments should take note.



Summary of progress for success in Our Economy Economy 4 – National wealth generation & sharing Direction: Australia becomes a nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth. Direction of movement from the baseline Indicators, Targets & Strategies for Are we travelling towards the **During the** successful performance Over the preferred destination? 46th longer term parliament Provisions for welfare On balance, no. Econ04.01 - Federal budget Provisions for welfare On provisions for the welfare of Econ04.01.01 - Jobseeker payment Australians in the federal budget: Accord on wealth. Welfare spending is not being set to welfare and wellbeing meet need and demand and is - Establishment of an tending to decline as a proportion of Econ04.02 Accord on Wealth, tax revenue and GDP. Capping of Welfare and increases to JobSeeker over an Wellbeing extended period is entrenching Accord on wealth, poverty and inequality in Australia welfare and wellbeing and is economically contractionary. - Revocation of Econ04.02.01 policies restricting On giving Australians more control government sector over how their tax revenues are participation in raised and spent: No progress has Australia's economy been made on development of an Accord on wealth, Accord between Australians and welfare and wellbeing their parliaments on Wealth, - Community Welfare and Wellbeing. In the Econ04.02.02 engagement on and absence of an Accord on Wealth justification of Welfare and Wellbeing, longer term national budget trends in terms of rising inequality priorities and living standards have been Accord on wealth, negative. The federal government welfare and wellbeing continues to stop involvement by Econ04.02.03 - Community Australians in budget formulation Australia Bank and determination of priorities for Fair & progressive spending of taxpayer funds. Econ04.03 taxation Corporate taxation – On artificially constraining maintenance of Econ04.04 corporate tax contributions Corporate taxation -

On artificially constraining
government sector participation in
the Australian economy: The
federal government continues to
restrict government sector
participation in the national
economy. Such restrictions are
unnecessary and counter-
productive. Australia's economy is
the 12th largest in the world and
can easily sustain a higher tax-to-
GDP ratio.

On the fairness of taxation: The tax system embeds clear increases in



Econ04.04.01

Econ04.04.02

Econ04.04.03

Introduction of a

corporate super profits tax

planning for and

Corporate taxation –

corporate cash flow tax, replacing corporate income tax Corporate taxation – Re-introduction of a

Economy 4 – National wealth generation & sharing

Direction: Australia becomes a nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.

	Direction: Australia becomes a nation jainy raising & snaring its wealth.						
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		A			
		During the 46 th parliament	Over the longer term	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?			
	reporting on closure of corporate tax loopholes			the burden on lower income earners and reductions of burden on higher income earners.			
Econ04.05	Royalties - Mining exports	←/→	—	On stopping corporate tax evasion: No progress has been made with introduction of a corporate cash flow tax or a corporate super profits tax. Tax avoidance by major corporates continues to increase with several big companies paying no tax. Additionally, no progress has been made with legislation mandating development by the Australian Taxation Office of biennial rolling plans for and performance reports on closure of all corporate tax loopholes. And no progress has been made with introduction of legislation for uniform mining royalties of 20%.			



Economy 5 – Market regulation & competition policy

Direction: Australia becomes a strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.

	Direction of movement					
		from the baseline				
	Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Over the longer term	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?		
Econ05.01	National Competition Policy review	—	←	On balance, no.		
Econ05.02	Ethical regulation of carbon credits markets	←/→	←/→	On National Competition Policy: The National Competition Policy currently stands as one of the largest		
Econ05.03	Ethical certification and regulatory enforcement of plans by businesses for achievement of net zero carbon emissions by 2033	←/→	←/→	threats to the shares of our economy that Australians may enjoy and to the economy itself. The policy is currently set in favour of divesting more services to the private sector at a time when it is clear (eg., from the Aged Care Royal Commission) that private providers do a comparatively poor job of providing social services and do not provide the community with savings. This policy is strongly contractionary and is embedding inequity. On maintenance of systems enabling Australia to enter new markets in carbon trading: Australia's Clean Energy Regulator survived the demise of the carbon price and has retained some status as a credible regulator. In 2021, this made the Australian Clean Energy Regulator a "valuable asset" in emerging markets for carbon and in establishing a foothold for Australian businesses in international carbon credits trade. The current federal government's "Plan to Deliver Net Zero: The Australian Way" gives no indication of commitment to ethics in carbon credits trading and no sign of incentivising the businesses to achieve net zero emissions or be responsible environmental citizens.		



Economy 6 – Government competitive business participation

Summary of progress for success in Our Economy

Economy 6 – Government competitive business participation

Direction: Australia becomes an economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.

participation.					
		Direction of movement from the baseline			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		During the 46 th parliament	Over the longer term	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	
Econ06.01	Government sector workforce plan and economic participation - Program for recovery of ownership and operation of government trading enterprises	←/→	←	On balance, no. On government sector business and trading: Between 1990 and 2020 Australian federal and state governments divested ownership and/or operations of a vast array of taxpayer-owned assets and services. These sales transferred profits and	
Econ06.01.01	Government sector workforce plan and economic participation - Program for recovery of ownership and operation of government trading enterprises - publication of plans	←/→	—	all other forms of return on investment away from taxpayers and into the hands of a small number of private owners. Sale of these assets has not resulted in cheaper or more reliable services for Australians. Withdrawal by the government sector from operation of profitable enterprises has resulted in Australia's economy being smaller and/or less competitive than it might otherwise be and smaller shares of return on investment for taxpayers.	

Chapter 6 – Progress by Direction in Our Governance





Summary of progress for success in Our Governance

Governance 1 – Strength of democracy

Direction: Australia becomes a proactive participatory democracy.

	Direction: Australia	outory democracy.		
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for		from the baseline During the		Are we travelling towards the
	successful performance		Over the longer term	preferred destination?
Gov01.01	Consistency of legislative programs with the Vision for Australia Together	←/→	—	On balance, no. But we now have the means of reversing this.
Gov01.02	Satisfaction with democracy	←/→	—	On legislation that is consistent
Gov01.02.01	Satisfaction with Australia's system of government		—	with Australia Together: Results in this End of Term Report indicate that large swathes of legislation and
Gov01.03	Participation in democracy - participation and social justice	←/→	—	policy development since 2000 have been antithetical to the Vision and Directions for <i>Australia Together</i> .
Gov01.03.01	Participation in democracy - voter turnout	→	—	On active participation by Australians in their democracy: Disengagement from participation in
Gov01.03.02	Participation in democracy - ability to have a say	→	—	politics is increasing during a period of falling social justice and equity, a very unhealthy result. It implies a
Gov01.03.03	Cohesion and stability of democracy	Ţ	—	decline in social justice and equity and a simultaneous decline in
Gov01.04	National Integrated Planning & Reporting — legislative program	←/→	→	activism to remedy the inequities. Democracies exhibiting withdrawals from participation when social
Gov01.05	Skills development in National Integrated Planning & Reporting and community engagement in national long term financial planning	←/→	←	justice is also seen to be falling are indicative of a trend towards acceptance of increasing autocracy a trend which it would be as well to understand before it is too late. On the cohesion and stability of oudemocracy: There has been a significant increase in the "trust inequality gap", as measured by the Edelman Trust Barometer. This measures the difference in trust in institutions reported by those on high incomes versus those on lowe incomes. An increase in this trust gap provides early warning of a dangerous trend towards a breakdown of cohesion and stabilit in Australia's democracy which may

Governance 1 – Strength of democracy

Direction: Australia becomes a proactive participatory democracy.

successful performance 46 th parliament reseml where commune econor ground turn resemble turn resemble commune turn resemble turn resemble commune turn resemble turn r	ble the breakdown in the USA inequality has split unities of the USA along mic lines and built a dswell of populism which in esulted in the insurrection of 6 y 2022 and the violent attack
During the 46 th parliament Tesemi where commit econor ground turn resembles.	preferred destination? ble the breakdown in the USA inequality has split unities of the USA along mic lines and built a dswell of populism which in esulted in the insurrection of 6
resemble where communication of turn resemble to the large term and the large term are semble to the large term are semble term are semble to the large term are semble to the large term are semble term are semble term are semble term are semble to	ole the breakdown in the USA inequality has split unities of the USA along mic lines and built a dswell of populism which in esulted in the insurrection of 6
parliament longer term resemble where communication of turn resemble where the control of turn resemble where the contro	inequality has split unities of the USA along mic lines and built a dswell of populism which in esulted in the insurrection of 6
resembly where communication of turn resembly where communications are considered as a second considered as a seco	inequality has split unities of the USA along mic lines and built a dswell of populism which in esulted in the insurrection of 6
on the Washii peacef contro the new Strateg inequal education vital in decline. On strategiand education of the new strategian of the building better govern progren on proper on open legislated integral (Nation federal End of first reperform Togeth The repand opproviden engage and for long tee.	Capitol Building in negton aimed at stopping the ful transfer of democratic I from one administration to ext. I gies to reduce income ality and gaps access to the cion and information will be heading off democratic



Governance 1 – Strength of democracy
tion: Australia becomes a proactive participatory democrac

Direction: Australia becomes a proactive participatory democracy.					
		Direction of movement from the baseline			
Indicators, Targets successful per		During the 46 th parliament	Over the longer term	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	
				the community in the permission system for taxation and expenditure is yet in place. In the meantime, corruption and misuse of public funds has increased under the federal Coalition government since 2013, alongside a de-skilling of the federal Treasury and other federal agencies in administering expenditures of public funds with transparency and probity.	



Governance 2 – National values & identity rection: Australia becomes a nation knowing and affirming decency.

Direction: Australia becomes a nation knowing and affirming decency.						
			f movement			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		from the During the 46 th	Over the longer term	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?		
Gov02.01	Pride in Australian culture	parliament	→	On balance, progress is stagnant.		
Gov02.02	Satisfaction with national direction	←/→	←/→	Opinion on what constitutes decency for Australia and Australians remains unconfirmed. On our pride in Australian culture: In 2021, 58% of Australians reported that they take pride in the Australian way of life and culture "to a great extent", equal to the score in 2007. The longer term trend is slightly positive but performance is variable		
Gov02.03	Support for the Vision and Directions of Australia Together – support for the Vision elements	←/→	←/→	In terms of satisfaction with the national direction: In 2019, 57% of Australians reported on survey that they were dissatisfied with the direction of the country. No conclusion can be drawn as to whether Australians are any less dissatisfied with the direction of the country than they were in 2019. On survey it appears that in 2022,		
Gov02.03.01	Support for the Vision and Directions of Australia Together – support for the Directions	←/→	←/→	between 40% and 60% are dissatisfied with the direction of the nation. In terms of defining the direction of the nation: There is no common idea of what the direction of the nation actually is and no stated idea of what Australians want it to be. Australia Together offers Australians a framework to specify their preferred national direction. No funds are yet available for statistically valid surveys of the opinion of Australians about the Vision and Directions of Australia Together.		



Governance 3 – Human & other rights
Direction: Australia becomes a nation with avowed rights for all

Direction: Australia becomes a nation with avowed rights for all.					
		Direction of movement from the baseline			
	argets & Strategies for Iful performance	from the During the 46 th parliament	Over the longer term	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	
Gov03.01	An Australian Bill of Rights in the Constitution	←	—	On balance, no. On enshrining rights for Australians in the Constitution: In 2021, Australians did not have explicitly conferred rights to freedom of speech, peaceful assembly and protest, freedom of the press, trial in open court, justice itself and without	
Gov03.01.01	An Australian Bill of Rights in the Constitution – Preparatory steps and an Australian Bill of Rights Commission	←	—	delay, or freedom from unlawful detention. In the decades since 2001, Australians have suffered increasing erosion of their human rights and freedoms and we have made no progress towards adoption of a Bill of Rights in the Constitution. Australia is the only democracy in the world without a national human	
Gov03.01.02	An Australian Bill of Rights in the Constitution – Rights conferred under international treaties, conventions and covenants	—	—	In terms of rights conferred on Australians under international treaties and conventions: In 2022, Australia remained the only democracy in the world not to have passed a law directly implementing	
Gov03.02	Voluntary assisted dying – legislation	→	→	the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and had not complied with the requirement of the ICCPR (and other human rights treaties) that a ratifying state ensure that everyone has access to the rights set out in the treaty, together with effective remedies for breaches.	
Gov03.02.01	Voluntary assisted dying – Rights in the Constitution	←/→	←/→	On legalisation of Voluntary Assisted Dying: Progress is generally positive but variable. No progress has been made to amend the Constitution to confer explicit rights on Australians to determine the circumstances and timing of their own death.	

Summary of progress for success in Our Governance Governance 4 - Constitutional reform Direction: Australia becomes a free, self-governing, modern nation. Direction of movement from the baseline **Indicators, Targets & Strategies for** Are we travelling towards the During the successful performance Over the preferred destination? 46th longer term parliament On balance, no. No progress has been made on evolution of a Constitution fit for 21st century Australia. During the 46th Parliament: the nation was steered by the Coalition government away from, rather than towards, establishment of a First Nations Voice in the Constitution; legislation restricting human rights was prioritised over any reforms that might protect human rights; and Constitutional Gov04.01 no program was developed to convention address other failings within the Constitution – eg., failings which allow people to be held in detention indefinitely and for life without charge, allow the dismissal of public servants for free expression of opinion on social media, and allow iournalists to be held liable for the comments of third parties on their websites. Australia remains on the precipice of collapse of its cohesion as a nation due to its out of date Constitution.

Governance 5 – Transparency, openness & accountability

Direction: A	ustralia becomes open			in its governments & institutions.
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the
		During the 46 th parliament	Over the longer term	preferred destination?
Gov05.01	Trust in federal parliaments	→	→	On balance, no.
Gov05.01.01	Trust in state and territory parliaments	→	→	On our trust in parliaments and
Gov05.01.02	Trust in elected local governments (councils)	→	→	governments: Over the longer term, trust in federal, state and territory parliaments has been low but
Gov05.01.03	Trust in federal governments	←/→	←	trending towards improvement. Trust in local councils has been
Gov05.01.04	Trust in state and territory governments	→	←/→	higher than state and federal governments and has trended
Gov05.02	Openness and accountability of governments – Royal Commission and community engagement to review national security legislation and its impact on key safeguards for Australia's democracy, including free speech, freedom of the press and transparency in government conduct	—	—	towards improvement. In 2020, there was a significant improvement in trust in elected parliaments and governments but this is likely to have been related to the advent of the Covid-19 and rising satisfaction with service delivery and bipartisan cooperation during the pandemic. It is not likely that there has been a rise in trust of ethical practice in government (see Gov06.01). It is simply a reflection of an endorsement that in times of trouble we look to and rely on government to support us rather than private service providers.
Gov05.02.01	Openness and accountability of governments – Protection of whistleblowers making genuine public interest disclosures	←	←	On secrecy and abuses of rights through unaccountable use of security laws: Security laws are being used to trample the rights of Australians. There is an urgent need for a Royal Commission into national security legislation and its impact on
Gov05.03	Funding for open and accountable governance	—	←	key safeguards for Australia's democracy. No legislation has been introduced to strengthen
Gov05.04	Transparency in lobbying, gifts and donations – Real time disclosure	←	←	protections for whistleblowers making genuine public interest disclosures or for those receiving the disclosures. The federal government
Gov05.04.01	Transparency in lobbying, gifts and donations –	←	←	has pursued whistleblowers and journalists for genuine disclosures that are clearly in the public interest.



Governance 5 – Transparency, openness & accountability

Direction: Australia becomes open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		
		During the 46 th parliament	Over the longer term	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
	Prohibition of gifts to politicians and public officials			Australia is in the midst of the rise of the secret state.
Gov05.05	Post-separation employment of politicians	—	—	On gagging the public sector and its ability to provide free and fearless advice and information: Intimidation, budget threats and downsizing of the entire public service remain a significant threat to democracy in Australia. On the transparency of and harm caused by political donations and lobbying: Political donations and lobbying are totally out of control in Australia and transparency is effectively non-existent. No progress has been made to improve transparency of political donations at the federal level. No steps have been taken to require real time reporting of lobbying contacts. No progress has been made to prohibit acceptance of gifts by politicians and public servants at the federal level. No progress has been made to strengthen post-separation employment rules for politicians so that they are enforceable and protect the public interest. The danger of the "revolving door" still exists and is embedding serious undisclosed conflicts of interest in the Australian parliamentary system.



Governance 6 – Government ethics

Direction: Australia becomes a world benchmark in leaders' conduct.

Direction: Australia becomes a world benchmark in leaders' conduct.					
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the	
		During the 46 th parliament	Over the longer term	preferred destination?	
Gov06.01	Perceptions of corruption	—	←	On balance, no.	
Gov06.02	Trust in leaders' conduct – parliamentarians	←/→	—	Perceptions of corruption: In the ten years to 2021, Australia's score on the Transparency International	
Gov06.02.01	Trust in leaders' conduct – executive governments	←/→	←/→	Corruption Perceptions Index dropped by 12 points to reach its lowest point since the start of the	
Gov06.03	Codes of conduct for parliamentarians	←	←	Index.	
Gov06.03.01	Compulsory and satisfactory completion of training in ethics and proof of competency in permissible voting practice for parliamentarians	←	←	On trust in leaders' conduct: In 2021: • trust in the institution of government (according to the Edelman Trust Barometer) rose to a high of 61%, up from 42% in 2019, before falling back in 2022 to 52%, but at the same time	
				only 27% of Australians said governments put the public before vested interests, indicating that those elected to government are not trusted to resist corruption and state capture. Governments appear to be trusted to shelter Australians in a pandemic but not to act ethically in the public interest.	
Gov06.04	Federal independent commission against corruption	—	—	On ethical standards for government: Ethical standards and behaviour are openly declining in federal parliament and the government has stonewalled for years on its commitment to legislate a federal corruption and integrity commission. The federal parliament has even refused to introduce a binding code of conduct for parliamentarians.	
				On the competence and ethics of parliamentarians: The need for compulsory training and	

Summary of progress for success in Our Governance					
	Governance 6 – Government ethics				
	Direction: Australia becomes a world benchmark in leaders' conduct.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the	
		During the 46 th parliament	Over the longer term	preferred destination?	
				competency assessment for parliamentarians is increasing. No progress has been made.	



Governance 7 – Public service independence & excellence

Summary of progress for success in Our Governance

Governance 7 – Public service independence & excellence
Direction: Australia becomes committed to public service independence & excellence.

Direction: Australia becomes committed to public service independence & excellence.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we have allies a house do he
		During the 46 th parliament	Over the longer term	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
Gov07.01	Trust in the public service	→	→	On balance, yes. On trust in the public service: In 2021 57% of Australians said they trusted the Commonwealth public service, an increase of 15 percentage points compared to 2019, but this drapped again to 52% in October
Gov07.02	Satisfaction with the public service - federal and state	←/→	←/→	dropped again to 52% in October 2021. At the same time only 27% of Australians said the public service acts in the public interest Like government and parliaments (see Governance 6 above), the public service appears to be trusted
Gov07.02.01	Satisfaction with the public service - Commonwealth	←/→	←/→	to shelter Australians in a pandemic but not necessary to act ethically in the public interest. Over the longer term, trust in the Commonwealth public service has been low but trending tentatively towards improvement.

Governance 8 – Electoral system & funding reform

Direction: Australia becomes protected from undue sectional influence in elections.

Direction: Australia becomes protected from undue sectional influence in elections.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		
		During the 46 th parliament	Over the longer term	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
Gov08.01	Truth in advertising - legislative program	←/→	—	On balance, no. On truth in political advertising: Federal laws prohibiting untrue political advertising were enacted in 1983 but repealed in 1984. South Australia remains the only state with laws on truth in political advertising. On the threat to democracy from uncontrolled political donations: It
Gov08.02	Electoral funding reform - community engagement on electoral funding reform	←	—	is now common practice for major parties and wealthy individuals to pervert the democratic process in Australia by "buying elections" if they can. For the 2022 federal election, no constraints are being applied which would stop corporations or wealthy individuals from buying the election.
Gov08.02.01	Electoral funding reform – abolition of corporate and union donations	←/→	—	On electoral distortions through inequitable funding of election campaigns: Electoral funding laws in Australia ostensibly operate on a principle of one vote, one value, but only insofar as redistributions of electoral boundaries are required by law to ensure that electorates have the same number of enrolled voters within a specified percentage of variance (currently 10%). The principle of one vote, one value is
Gov08.02.02	Electoral funding reform – protection of democracy through introduction of equitable taxpayer funding for elections	←	←	not applied in laws regarding funding of the campaigns of candidates and political parties seeking election. Electoral distortions in favour of corporate donors are on the rise in Australia. Governments are also misusing taxpayer funds for pork barrelling, particularly at the federal level and in New South Wales.



Governance 9 - Corporate & NGO responsibility

Direction: Australia becomes a nation outlawing corporate greed & encouraging private sector ethics & community partnership.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for		Direction of movement from the baseline			
-	argets & Strategies for sful performance	During the 46 th parliament	Over the longer term	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	
Gov09.01	Trust in NGOs	←/→	→	On balance, yes for NGOs. On balance, no for	
Gov09.01.01	Trust in private institutions and public institutions	→	→	corporates.	
Gov09.02	Trust in corporates	←/→	→	Corporate greed is out of control in Australia, especially in the fossil fuel	
Gov09.02.01	Trust in corporates – perceptions of corporate versus worker power balance	←/→	←/→	and news media industries and among those businesses who accepted (and kept) taxpayer funded JobKeeper assistance while making higher profits.	
Gov09.03	Prohibition of rent- seeking by for-profit companies in certain community services	←/→	—	On trust in institutions of government, business, NGOs and the media: The impact of Covid-19 on trust in institutions, including	
Gov09.04	Prohibition of government contracts to private sector companies that do not have certified plans to achieve net zero carbon emissions by 2033	←/→	—	NGOs was positive with Australians relying more on all institutions. However, it would appear the rise in trust has not been sustained as the pandemic has dragged on. Which do we trust most – public or private institutions?: Between 2016 and 2019, Australians generally trusted private institutions less than they trusted public/government institutions, although the private institutions of charitable organisations and environmental groups were more trusted than the public institutions of elected parliaments and the Commonwealth public service. In 2020, trust in all private and public/government institutions rose above the average trust recorded between 2016 and 2019. Australians still place greater trust overall in public institutions than in private institutions.	



Governance 9 - Corporate & NGO responsibility

Direction: Australia becomes a nation outlawing corporate greed & encouraging private sector ethics & community partnership.

Direction of movement				
	from the baseline			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	During the	Over the	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	
successjui perjormanice	46 th parliament	longer term	prejerreu uestmutiem	
			On the power of corporations versus workers: In 2019, 76% of Australians said, "big business has too much power", up from 51% in 1987. In 2019, 42% of Australians said, "unions have too much power, down from 71% in 1987. Australians think unions have too little power relative to the power of corporates.	
			On neoliberal policies: Overall these data suggest strongly waning confidence among Australians in the ability of the private sector and business to lead the country towards stronger and more equitable economic development. Private sector failure was evident during the Covid-19 pandemic with the high numbers of deaths in privately run aged care facilities, signalling the need for wholesale reform.	
			On incentivising businesses towards good corporate citizenship to prevent climate change: The federal government has established no mechanisms by which businesses can be held accountable for their part in achieving the nation's commitments under the Paris Agreement. Time is running out.	



Governance 10 – Free communications policy & regulation

Direction: Australia becomes a guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news

media & the wider information market.

Direction of movement						
Indicators, To	argets & Strategies for	from the	baseline	Are we travelling towards the		
	ful performance	During the 46 th parliament	Over the longer term	preferred destination?		
Gov10.01	Trust in the media	←/→	→	On balance, no.		
Gov10.01.01	Trust in news media and journalism – effectiveness of self- regulation	←/→	←	Trust in the media: The impact of Covid-19 on trust in institutions, including the media was positive with Australians relying more on all		
Gov10.01.02	Trust in social media - effectiveness of self- regulation	←/→	←/→	institutions. It would appear the rise in trust has not been sustained as the pandemic has dragged on.		
Gov10.02	Regulation of an ethical, democratic information market – Development of a national regulatory framework for an ethical, democratic information market	←/→	←	On regulating news media: In 2021, a Senate Committee Inquiry into Media Diversity in Australia concluded that "There was clear evidence that the self-regulation model for print media through the Australian Press Council is woefully		
Gov10.03	Regulation and codes of ethical conduct for news media and social media — Independent regulation of compliance with a code of ethical conduct by publishers and social media — development of a model Code	←/→	—	inadequate." Still, no progress has been made in establishing an adequately resourced independent standard-setter and compliance auditor for Australian news media. The Murdoch media continues to be strongly distrusted by Australians and ranks only slightly above social media for ethics and standards. Australians by and large view themselves as fortunate in having a publicly owned Australian		
Gov10.03.01	Regulation and codes of ethical conduct for news media and social media — Independent regulation of compliance with a code of ethical conduct by publishers and social media — ensuring compliance with Codes	←/→	←	Broadcasting Commission. In 2014, the Australian Press Council made significant changes to its code of ethics for journalists, which lowered standards of truth in reporting for journalists. On regulating social media: In 2021, in the absence of government regulation, "big tech" businesses – Google, Facebook, Twitter, Microsoft, TikTok and Redbubble – established an Australian Code of		



Governance 10 – Free communications policy & regulation

Direction: Australia becomes a guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news

media & the wider information market.

media		njormation mo f movement	winct.
	_	baseline	
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	During the	Over the	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
	46 th parliament	longer term	
			Practice on Disinformation and Misinformation (the DIGI Code). No systems are in place to independently monitor the compliance of DIGI Code signatories with their own Code.
			On development of a national regulatory framework for an ethical, democratic information market: In 2022, market rules for ownership of information infrastructure and services, eg., search services and platforms for information transmission (including digital platforms and news media platforms such as broadcast TV) remained either poorly specified or totally unspecified. And no coherent regulation framework existed.
			In 2020, legislative reforms known as the "News Media Bargaining Code" had the perverse result of increasing the market power of large news media companies, particularly News Corp and Nine, with no corresponding improvement in the accountability of these news media outlets for irresponsible publishing.
			No specific acknowledgement has been forthcoming from the federal parliament of the need to design an integrated regulatory framework suitable for an information market in the digital age.
			The longer term trend is best characterised as negative, but some progress has been made in the shorter term in heightened awareness of the significant threat to democracy posed by the current failure of regulation.



Summary of progress for success in Our Governance Governance 11 – International participation & global justice Direction: Australia becomes a just participant on the global stage. Direction of movement from the baseline Indicators, Targets & Strategies for Are we travelling towards the Durina the successful performance Over the preferred destination? 46th longer term parliament On balance, no. In participation in the United Nations: Australians on survey would appear to neither trust nor distrust the United Nations. Australia's Participation in federal government, however, has Gov11.01 international shown a low degree of trust and cooperative forums commitment by serially disregarding the United Nations, notably in decisions to enter unsanctioned and illegal wars (eg., Iraq) and to scuttle cooperation on climate change at every opportunity in the last decade. In relation to global cooperation for sustainable and equitable world **development:** Australia is among the least cooperative countries in the world in terms of attempts to International mitigate the impacts of its Gov11.02 cooperation for global development on other nations sustainability attempting to meet Sustainable Development Goals. On Australia's role as a responsible international citizen: Australia has serially disregarded international laws and covenants protecting refugees, imposing billions of dollars worth of unnecessary expenses on Australians for detention of migrants and displaced persons and trashing our reputation as a supporter of the rule of law and protector of human Protection of refugees rights at the same time. The Gov11.03 seeking asylum reputational cost is incalculable.



Australia's reputation as a just participant and trustworthy trading partner on the global stage has hit what we can only hope is rock

bottom.

Governance 12 – Peace & security
irection: Australia becomes a nation assured of enduring pea

Direction: Australia becomes a nation assured of enduring peace.						
Indicators T	argets & Strategies for	Direction of	f movement baseline	Are we travelling towards the		
successful performance		During the 46 th parliament	Over the longer term	preferred destination?		
Gov12.01	Australian involvement in military operations	—	—	On balance, no. On Australia's orientation towards		
Gov12.01.01	Australian preference for peace versus war	←/→	←/→	war rather than peace: As at February 2022, the Australian		
Gov12.01.02	Australian preference and readiness for an independent defence capability versus dependence on the US alliance	←	←	government shows no sign of replacing belligerent postures with postures for promotion of peace in foreign relations. Belligerent postures are intensifying in relation to China.		
Gov12.02	Prohibition of weapons exports	+	←	However, Australians themselves are		
Gov12.03	Prohibition of funding of public institutions and officials by foreign-owned or domestically owned/operated arms dealers or manufacturers	+	←	not exhibiting quite so much readiness for aggression. While the longer term trend of relationships with China is negative, Australians continue to support neutral postures.		
Gov12.04	Integrated Strategy for Defence, Diplomacy and Security	←	←	On foreign influence in Australia's defence policy: Australia continues to allow foreign arms dealers to influence defence policy. In 2022, there is no evidence that the		
Gov12.04.01	Green Paper and community engagement to define Australia's Strategic Interests in Territorial Sovereign Defence	←	←	continued involvement of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI – partly funded by foreign arms dealers) in our foreign policy and defence decisions is having a positive effect on Australia's		
Gov12.05	Development of the capacity of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) and abolition of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI)	←	—	relations with China or other nations. ASPI should be immediate abolished. On our preparedness for strategic and defence independence: Australians exhibit little readiness 2022 for an independent defence capability, and are more attuned to continued dependence on an alliance with the United States, despite the fact that this entails surrendering the very sovereignty we claim to value and despite the fact that the alliance comes with near the state of the fact that the alliance comes with near the state of the fact that the alliance comes with near the state of the fact that the alliance comes with near the state of the fact that the alliance comes with near the state of the fact that the alliance comes with near the state of the fact that the alliance comes with near the fact that the fact that the alliance comes with near the fact that the alliance comes with near the fact that the fact that the alliance comes with near the fact that		

Governance 12 – Peace & security

Direction: Australia becomes a nation assured of enduring peace.

Direction. Australia	Direction: Australia becomes a nation assured to Direction of movement		oj chaaning peace.	
Indicators Taxanta 9 Stuntonias for	from the		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	During the 46 th	Over the		
	parliament	292	guarantee that the LIC will be be	
	parliament	longer term	guarantee that the US will help defend Australia in the event of a foreign attack. The US strategic interest in Australia is more likely to make us a target for aggression. No attempt to stabilise power shifts in the Asia Pacific region is evident in US policy preferences which focus heavily on containment and abuse of rising powers (mainly China) rather than shared prosperity and humanity. The longer term trend of maturity in policy and risk management on alliances is alarmingly negative, pre-disposing Australia to war before it pre-disposes us to peace. On the need for an integrated strategy for defence, diplomacy and security: Australia is pursuing an approach to foreign relations in which strategies for defence and diplomacy are set to disable strategies for security, independence, sovereignty, growth in national resilience, and peace. With the establishment of AUKUS, defence and foreign relations policy is moving in the opposite direction to the proposal to develop an Integrated Strategy for Defence, Diplomacy and Security, based on the new geopolitical realities of the 21st century. On the need to involve Australians in decisions on our strategic interests and defence: Respectful engagement with Australians on the issue of their nation's strategic interests and the principles for decision making on security issues,	
			remains a concept that is not	
			comprehended by key security policy makers. This, despite the fact	
			that Australians are entirely capable	
			of determining what is in the best	

Governance 12 – Peace & security

Direction: Australia becomes a nation assured of enduring peace.

	Direction o	f movement	b) enduring peace.
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	During the 46 th parliament	Over the longer term	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
			interests of their nation and, within a fully open process, are best placed to develop principles and instructions for government on how decisions of national security may be made, including those decisions which commit Australia to wars. On war powers reform: Currently the decision to send Australia to war rests with the prime minister. This dangerous delegation should be abolished. Participation by Australian armed forces as combatants in military operations (other than genuine peacekeeping and humanitarian aid sanctioned by the United Nations) should be zero unless Australia has been directly attacked or unless both houses of parliament agree in the majority that its security has been directly, demonstrably and imminently threatened.



Governance 13 – Humanitarian effort

Direction: Australia becomes a nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.

Direction: Australia becomes a nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.						
		_	f movement			
Indicators, 1	Indicators, Targets & Strategies for		baseline	Are we travelling towards the		
successful performance		During the 46 th parliament	Over the longer term	preferred destination?		
Gov13.01	Foreign aid	—	—	On balance, no. In 2021/22, federal expenditure for foreign aid was estimated to be in the order of \$4.335 billion, down 14% from actual expenditure in 2014/15 of \$5.04 billion, although up from what was expected in 2017/18 when expenditure was capped at \$4 billion. Increases in foreign aid would enhance Australia's reputation, helping it recover from the recent decline caused by our home-grown, entirely unnecessary fractiousness in foreign relations.		
Gov13.02	Contribution to the Green Climate Fund under the Paris Agreement	←/→	←/→	Australia is also seeking to increase spending on defence but there are concerns about budget impacts. An increase in humanitarian aid would reduce the need for spending on defence. Greater empathy would lead to greater international cohesion and sustainable development. Instead of making enemies where there are none, the choice is open to Australia, as the 12 th largest economy in the world, to make a more generous contribution to global stability.		

Chapter 7 – National Wellbeing Index – Baseline & Update Data for Our Society



Society 1 – Safety

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Soci	ietı	11	- S	af	ety	,

	300000	1 – Safety	
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
Safety in the home Soc01.01 The percentage of people who feel safe when at home alone after dark meets or exceeds 95%.	Soc 1 A safe home.	In 2016, 90.4% of Australians reported feeling safe when at home after dark, up slightly from 88.7% in 2005. Source: ABS 4906.0 Table 39.1 2016	Updated data not accessible. The longer term trend is positive.
Safety on transport Soc01.02 The percentage of people who feel safe when waiting for public transport alone after dark meets or exceeds 50%.	Soc 1 A safe home.	In 2016, 26.8% of Australians reported feeling safe when waiting for public transport alone after dark, up from 19.5% in 2005. Source: ABS 4906.0 Table 39.1 2016	Updated data not accessible. The longer term trend is positive but nowhere near the target.
Homicide Soc01.03 The rate of homicide declines continuously.	Soc 1 A safe home.	In 2018, the rate of homicides per 100,000 of population was 1.5 (declining continuously from 2.1 since 2010). Source: ABS 4510.1, Table 1 2018	In 2020, the rate of homicides per 100,000 of population was stable at 1.5. Source: ABS 4510.1, Table 1 2020 Homicide (murder, attempted murder and manslaughter) has dropped steadily since 2000. The longer term trend is positive.
Sexual assault Soc01.04 The rate of sexual assault declines continuously.	Soc 1 A safe home.	In 2018, the rate of sexual assaults per 100,000 of population was 105.3 (rising continuously from 85.6 since 2010). Source: ABS 4510.1, Table 1 2018	In 2020, the rate of sexual assaults per 100,000 of population was 107.1. Source: ABS 4510.1, Table 1 2020, Recorded Crime Victims

Society 1 – Safety

	Societ	y 1 – Safety		
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
•			Sexual assault has steadily increased since 2010. The longer term trend is negative.	
	Soc 1 A safe home.	In 2016/17, there were 611 hospitalisations of children aged 0–14 for injuries due to abuse (which includes assault, maltreatment and		
Child assault Soc01.05 The rate of child assault declines continuously.	Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.	neglect), including 156 Indigenous children. For the 481 (79%) of hospitalisations where the perpetrator was specified, nearly 1 in 2 (45%, or 217) children were abused by a parent, and 1 in 8 (13%, or 71) by another family	Updated data not accessible. No longer term trend data identified.	
	A land Soc 11 without child disadvantage.	member. For Indigenous children, about 2 in 3 (68%, or 83) were abused by a parent or family		
Road deaths Soc01.06 The number of road deaths declines continuously.	Soc 1 A safe home.	In 2019, there were 1,186 fatalities on Australian roads. Source: BITRE Road Safety Statistics	In 2021, there were 1,129 fatalities on Australian roads, an increase of 3.1% on fatalities in 2020 (1,095) but a decrease of 4.8% compared to 2019 (1,186). Source: BITRE Road Safety Statistics Between 2012 and 2019, average road fatalities were 1,210 per annum. Between 2020 and 2021, average road fatalities were 1,112 per annum, 8.1% lower than the average of the previous 8 years.	

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society Society 1 - Safety

Indicators, Targets &			
Strategies for successful	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
performance			
			The longer term trend is positive.
			→
Victims of crime (fear of becoming a victim) Soc01.07 The proportion of Australians worried about becoming a victim of crime in their local area declines continuously.	Soc 1 A safe home.	In 2017, 35% of Australians worried about becoming a victim of crime in their own area, up from 25% in 2009. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2019	In 2020, 26% of Australians worried about becoming a victim of crime in their own area, up from 25% in 2009 but down compared to 2017. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2019 The longer term trend is variable.
Perceptions of safety and trust in the community Soc01.07.01 The proportion of Australians reporting trust in "most people" increases continuously.	Soc 1 A safe home.	In 2019, 55.2% of Australians on survey felt "most people could be trusted", up slightly from 54.4% in 2014. Source: ABS General Social Survey 2020, Table 17.1	In 2020, 61.9% of Australians on survey felt "most people could be trusted", up from 55.2% in 2019. Source: ABS General Social Survey 2020, Table 17.1 The longer term trend is steady.
Perceptions of safety in the context of world events and national security Soc01.08 The percentage of people who report feeling safe or very safe when considering	Soc 1 A safe home.	In 2021, seven in ten Australians (70%) said that in view of world events they felt 'very safe' or 'safe', an improvement from 50% in 2020 but a decrease from 92% in 2010. Source: Lowy Institute Poll 2021	Updated data not yet available. The shorter term trend was positive. The longer term trend is distinctly negative with 6% of Australians



Society 1 – Safety

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Directions of coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
world events and/or national security exceeds 90% annually.	Gov 12	A nation assured of enduring peace.		reporting that they feel very safe in 2021, down from 44% in 2009, and 70% feeling safe or very safe in 2021, down from 90% in 2009. Source: Lowy Institute Poll 2021

Note: Baseline data, Targets, Indicators and Strategies in this section will expand in future issues of *Australia Together*, based on availability of data and on the input of Australians.



Society 2 – Indigenous Heart					
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful			Directions of	Baseline data	Direction of movement from
performance		beco	oming	Duscime duta	baseline
First Nations constitutional recognition, Makarrata, treaty, justice and reconciliation	Soc	2	A land with an Indigenous heart.	In 2017, 250 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander delegates to the National	In 2021, no progress had been made towards establishment of a First Nations Voice in the Constitution or
Top Priority Target/Strategy: Constitutional recognition of First Nations Soc02.01	Soc	3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	Constitutional Convention called for the establishment of a First Nations Voice in the Constitution. The Uluru	a Makarrata Commission. A proposal for development of a
By 2025, as an essential and defining part of nation-wide community engagement for a new	Soc	4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	Statement from the Heart recommended a constitutionally enshrined voice to	"National Voice" to parliament and government (as opposed to a Voice
Constitution under Gov04.01 and in accordance with the spirit and letter of the Uluru Statement from the Heart:	Soc	6	A society of equals.	parliament, a Makarrata or truth- telling commission and an eventual treaty between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. Source: Uluru Statement from the Heart In 2021, Australians supported the following as priorities for government: Include Aboriginal recognition in the Constitution = 69%. Establish an Indigenous 'voice' to advise the Parliament = 66%. Agree a treaty with Indigenous Australia = 61%. Source: Essential Research,	considered and recommended in the "Final Report on the Indigenous Voice Co-Design Process" 13. However, while the form of the proposed National Voice did not rule out Constitutional recognition, it did nothing to facilitate it either. On balance it may be concluded that the National Voice, as recommended, is likely to (if legislated) nut more blocks in the
 establish the formal terms of sovereignty of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples so that it coexists with 	Soc	7	A success because of its diversity.		
 the sovereignty of the Crown; acknowledge and then celebrate this 	Soc	15	Confident of justice for all.		
coexistence as a fuller expression of Australia's nationhood; and ensure all other	Gov	2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.		
constitutional reforms are secured to empower First Nations to take a rightful place in their own country.	Gov	3	A nation with avowed rights for all.		 Agree a treaty with Indigenous Australia = 61%. On an Indigenous Voice in the Constitution, supplement in a suppleme
Top Priority Target/Strategy: Makarrata Commission Soc02.01.01 Preparatory to the Constitutional Convention, establish a Makarrata	Gov	4	A free, self- governing, modern nation.	In 2021, 90% of Australians on survey agreed or strongly agreed that the relationship	model that merely obliges the government and parliament to seek the advice of the "National Voice" – on (unspecified) issues which

¹³ Indigenous Voice Co-Design Process, Final Report to the Australian Government, July 2021, https://voice.niaa.gov.au/sites/default/files/2021-12/indigenous-voice-co-design-process-final-report 1.pdf



Society 2 — Indigenous Heart							
Indicators, Targets &	In the Divertions of		Direction of				
Strategies for successful	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	movement from				
performance	becoming		baseline				
Commission to supervise a		between Aboriginal	"overwhelmingly				
process of agreement-		and Torres Strait	relate to Aboriginal				
making between		Islanders and the	and Torres Strait				
governments and First		wider Australian	Islanders" – but does				
Nations and truth-telling		community is very	not oblige the				
about our history. Ensure		important for	government or				
that the Commission is		Australia as a	parliament to heed				
unconstrained (including by		nation, and	that advice or be				
inadequate funding and/or		88% agreed it is	accountable for its				
restricted terms of		important for	decisions, regardless				
reference) in the full and		Indigenous	of the degree to which				
effective stewardship of:		histories and	it rejects the advice of				
a) the truth-telling		cultures to be	the National Voice and				
process about the		included in the	directly harms the				
effect of European		school curriculum.	legitimate interests of				
invasion and		Source: Scanlon Foundation	Indigenous and all				
colonisation on First		Mapping Social Cohesion	other Australians.				
Nations, their lives,		2021.					
their civilization, their		In 2021, it was noted by	No Constitutional				
ancient connection		historian Henry	amendments were put				
with the land and		Reynolds that "the legal	forward in the Co-				
ancestors, and their		foundations of the	Design Process and				
relationship with non-		colony were unsound	while the				
Indigenous Australians;		and remain so to this	government's				
and		day," an authoritative	obligations for				
b) the agreement-making		conclusion which	transparency – on any				
process for:		marked the recognition	consultation				
 resolution of 		of a turning point on	conducted for bills to				
conflict, and		the contentious issue of	be considered by				
ii. preparation of the		sovereignty in Australia	parliaments –				
terms of		and unambiguously	increased, the fact				
reconciliation and		signalled a fundamental	remained that "all				
justice formalised		need to finally resolve	elements [of a bill/act				
in a treaty.		foundational matters	of parliament] would				
		for the nation in justice.	be non-justiciable,				
By 2022:		Source: Henry Reynolds,	meaning that there				
 reach agreement on 		Truth-telling: History,	could not be a court				
establishment of the		Sovereignty and the Uluru Statement of the Heart, 2021,	challenge and no law				
Makarrata Commission		NewSouth Publishing, page	could be invalidated				
in terms considered		63.	based on whether				
fair and satisfactory to			there was alignment				
the members of the			with the consultation				
Referendum Council			standards or				
(reconvened if			transparency				
necessary) or National			mechanisms."14				
Voice (if it is			_				
established) on							
consultation with							

¹⁴ Indigenous Voice Co-Design Process – Final Report to the Australian Government, July 2021, page 18, https://voice.niaa.gov.au/sites/default/files/2021-12/indigenous-voice-co-design-process-final-report 1.pdf



Society 2 – Indigenous Heart

to disease Towns to O	Society 2 – maig	Teurt	Divertion of
Indicators, Targets &	In the Directions of	5 " 1 "	Direction of
Strategies for successful	becoming	Baseline data	movement from
performance	3		baseline
delegates assembled as			In the Final Report on
they see to be			the National Co-Design
necessary; and			Process, while some
 develop an agreed plan 			progress was made to
for the conduct of the			establish 35
truth-telling and			representative groups
agreement-making			for a Local and
process, complete with			Regional Voice, no
objectives, timeframes,			actual progress was
and rules of			made on the central
participation.			claims in the Uluru
			Statement of the
By June 2023, open the			Heart. The Coalition
truth-telling and			Government's focus
agreement-making process			was on "closing the
in accordance with the pre-			gap", not on
agreed plan.			constitutional
			recognition.
By 2024, deliver a			
statement to the Australian			Therefore the longer
people on the outcomes,			term trend on
preparatory to the			constitutional
Constitutional Convention.			recognition, truth-
			telling, Makarrata,
			treaty and sovereignty
			is negative.
			←
			· ·

Note regarding the following targets and Indicators for Society 2 – Indigenous Heart:

The draft Targets and Indicators shown below derive from various "Closing the Gap" reports for Indigenous Australians and related sources of data such as the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW).

While Australian Community Futures Planning does not dispute the baseline data derived from these sources, there is some concern with the Targets for elimination of Indigenous disadvantage that have been derived directly from the Closing the Gap in Partnership Agreement 2020¹⁵ struck between the Coalition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peak Organisations and the various governments of Australia.

Taken at nominal value, some of the Targets adopted under the Closing the Gap in Partnership Agreement would not actually result in the gap being closed inside a century. Such targets have no utility in a long term plan like *Australia Together* and offer little or no advantage to Indigenous Australians. Accordingly in some cases, ACFP has suggested additional Targets which are more ambitious than those adopted in the Closing the Gap in Partnership Agreement. These additional Targets are denoted as "ACFP additional Target".

Progress towards or away from both sets of Targets will be monitored and reported on.

¹⁵ Closing the Gap in Partnership website: https://www.closingthegap.gov.au/targets and "National Agreement on Closing the Gap, July 2020: National Agreement on Closing the Gap, last accessed February 2021.



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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	A land with an Indigenous heart. A place of optimal health & wellbeing.		Updated data not yet available. In 2021, the Australian Government Productivity Commission Closing
	Soc 6 A society of equals.		the Gap Information Repository reported
Indigenous life expectancy Soc02.02 Close the gap in life expectancy rates between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians within a generation by 2031 (as per adopted COAG target 2008, unchanged in Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020).	A success Soc 7 because of its diversity.	For the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population born in 2015–2017, life expectancy was estimated to be 8.6 years lower than that of the non-Indigenous population for males (71.6 years compared with 80.2) and 7.8 years for females (75.6 years compared with 83.4). Source: AIHW, Deaths in Australia 2019 & Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020	that, "Nationally, based on the most recent year of data, the target is not on track to be met." Source: Australian Government Productivity Commission Closing the Gap Information Repository Beta 2021 Since 2005 the gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous life expectancy has been narrowing very slowly. The gap for men is still 8.6 years and for women in 7.8 years. The longer term trend is positive.
Indigenous infant health and survival — child mortality Soc02.03 Close the gap in child mortality rates for 0-4 year olds between Indigenous and non- Indigenous Australians	A land with an Soc 2 Indigenous heart.	In 2016, child mortality rates for 0-4 year olds were 146 per 100,000 for the Indigenous	In 2018, the Indigenous child mortality rate was 141 per 100,000—
	A place of Soc 4 optimal health & wellbeing.	population compared to 70 per 100,000 for the non-indigenous population.	twice the rate for non- Indigenous children (67 per 100,000).
	Soc 6 A society of equals.	In 2017, child mortality rates for the Indigenous population rose to 164 per 100,000, which was	The 2018 Indigenous child mortality rate was not within the range required to meet the target (94 per 100,000). Source: Australian Government Closing the Gap Report 2020
within a generation (by 2031).	A success Soc 7 because of its diversity.	2.4 times the mortality rate for the non-indigenous population (68 deaths per 100,000).	



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		rections of ming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			Source: AIHW, Australia's Health 2018 and Australian Government, Closing the Gap Report 2019	Indigenous infant mortality rates improved steadily between 2005 and 2012 but then rose (worsened) again. Source: Australian Government Closing the Gap Report 2020 – Child Mortality The longer term trend is negative. Note: It is of some concern that data collection has ceased on this indicator and that the indicator itself has been removed from the suite of monitoring requirements in the Closing the Gap indicators framework.
Indigenous infant health and survival – birthweight Soc02.03.01	Soc 2 I	A land with an ndigenous neart.		In 2018, 88.9% of Indigenous babies were born alive within a healthy birth weight
By 2031, increase the proportion of Aboriginal and Torres	Soc 4 c	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.		(2,500-4,499g), compared to 94% of non-Indigenous babies.
Strait Islander babies with a healthy birthweight to 91 per cent (as per Closing the Gap in Partnership	NOC h	A society of equals.	In 2017, 88.8% of Indigenous babies were born alive within a healthy birth weight (2,500-4,499g),	In 2021, the Australian Government Productivity Commission Closing
2020). Indigenous infant health and survival – birthweight (ACFP additional Target) Soc02.03.02 By 2031, increase the proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander babies with a healthy	Soc 7 b	A success pecause of its diversity.	compared to 93.9% of non-Indigenous babies. Source: Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020	the Gap Information Repository reported that, "Nationally, based on the most recent year of data (and taking into consideration the variability bands associated with the data) the target is on track to be met, subject to caveats."



Indicators, Targets &				
Strategies for successful performance		Directions of coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
birthweight to 94% to close the gap.		A land with an		However, this is a very weak target. ACFP's additional target is not on track to be met. Source: Australian Government Productivity Commission Closing the Gap Information Repository Beta 2021 Between 2013 and 2018, there has been no improvement in rates of healthy birthweight for Indigenous live births. The longer term trend is stagnant.
Indigenous pre-school education – attendance	Soc 2	Indigenous heart. A model of	In 2017, 68% of all Indigenous children enrolled in early childhood education	Updated data not accessible.
Soc02.04 The proportion of	Soc 5	educational opportunity.	programs attended for more than 600 hours,	←/→
Indigenous children attending early childhood education	Soc 6	A society of equals.	whereas 78% of enrolled	Historical data not
for 600 hours or more a year equals that of	Soc 7	A success because of its diversity.	non-Indigenous children attended for more than 600 hours. Source: Australian	available.
non-indigenous children.	Soc 11	A land without child disadvantage.	Government, Closing the Gap Report 2019	
Indigenous pre-school education – enrolment Soc02.04.01	Soc 2	A land with an Indigenous heart.	In 2018, 84.6% of Indigenous children were enrolled in a	Nationally in 2020, 93.1 per cent of Aboriginal and Torres
By 2025, increase the	Soc 5	A model of educational opportunity.	preschool program in state-specific year	Strait Islander children in the Year Before Full time Schooling (YBFS)
Strait Islander children enrolled in Year Before	Soc 6	A society of equals.	before full-time schooling (YBFS). (88.8% of non-Indigenous	age cohort were enrolled in a preschool
Fulltime Schooling (YBFS) early childhood education to 95 per	Soc 7	A success because of its diversity.	children were enrolled in YBFS.)	program. Source: Australian Government Productivity



Society 2 – Inalgenous Heart					
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Directions of coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
cent (as per Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020).	Soc 11		Source: Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020	Commission Closing the Gap Information Repository Beta 2021 The trend since 2016 is	
Indigenous pre-school		disadvantage. A land with an		positive. Source: Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020	
education – developmentally on track	Soc 2	Indigenous heart. A model of	In 2018, 35% of Indigenous children	No new data available.	
Soc02.04.02 By 2031, increase the	Soc 5	educational opportunity.	were assessed as	Data suggest slow but	
proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children	Soc 6	A society of equals.	developmentally on track in all five domains of the Australian Early	steady improvement since 2009. Source: Australian Government Closing the Gap	
assessed as developmentally on track in all five	Soc 7	A success because of its diversity.	Development Census (AEDC). (57% of non- Indigenous children	Report 2019, page 50 and Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020	
domains of the Australian Early Development Census (AEDC) to 55 per cent (as per Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020).	Soc 11	A land without child disadvantage.	were on track in all five domains of the AEDC.) Source: Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020	The longer term trend is positive.	
Indigenous school education Soc02.05	Soc 2	A land with an Indigenous heart.	In 2016, 63.2% of Indigenous 20–24 year	No new data available.	
By 2031, increase the proportion of Aboriginal and Torres	Soc 5	A model of educational opportunity.	olds had attained Year 12 or an equivalent non- school qualification.	Solidly improving since 2001.	
Strait Islander people (age 20-24) attaining year 12 or equivalent	Soc 6	A society of equals.	(88.5% of non- Indigenous 20-24 year olds had attained Year	Source: Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020 The longer term trend	
qualification to 96 per cent (as per Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020).	Soc 7	A success because of its diversity.	12 or equivalent.) Source: Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020	is positive.	
Indigenous tertiary education Soc02.06	Soc 2	A land with an Indigenous heart.	In 2016, 42.3% of Indigenous 25–34 year olds had attained non-	No new data available.	
By 2031, increase the proportion of Aboriginal and Torres	Soc 5	A model of educational opportunity.	school qualifications of Certificate level III or above. (72% of non-	While the proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander	
Strait Islander people aged 25-34 years who	Soc 6	A society of equals.	Indigenous 25–34 year olds had attained non-	people aged 25-34 years who have	



	1	genous rieurt	
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
have completed a tertiary qualification (Certificate III and above) to 70 per cent (as per Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020).	A success Soc 7 because of its diversity.	school qualifications of Certificate level III or above.) Source: Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020	completed a tertiary qualification (Certificate III and above) rose between 2001 and 2016, the gap between Indigenes and non-Indigenes itself did not show a trend towards closing. A failure to collect data since 2016 makes a conclusion of a positive trend in this area unreliable.
Indigenous employment – 15-24 year olds Soc02.07 By 2031, increase the	A land with an Soc 2 Indigenous heart. A model of Soc 5 educational		No new data available.
proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander youth (15-24 years) who are	opportunity. Soc 6 A society of equals.		Between 2001 and 2016 the proportion of Aboriginal and Torres
in employment, education or training to 67 percent (as per	A success Soc 7 because of its diversity.	In 2016, 57.2% of Indigenous 15–24 year olds were fully engaged in employment,	Strait Islander youth (15-24 years) who were in employment, education or training
Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020). Indigenous employment – 15-24 year olds (ACFP additional target) Soc02.07.01 By 2031, increase the proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander youth (15-24 years) who are in employment, education or training to 79% to close the	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	education or training. (79.6% of non- Indigenous 15–24 year olds were fully engaged in employment, education or training.) Source: Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020	increased from 47.5% to 57.2% and the gap between Indigenes and non-Indigenes showed a trend towards closing. A failure to collect data since 2016 makes a conclusion of a positive trend in this area unreliable.
gap. Indigenous employment – 25-64 year olds Soc02.07.02	A land with an Soc 2 Indigenous heart. Soc 6 A society of equals.	In 2016, 51% of Indigenous 25–64 year olds were employed. (75.7% of non-	No new data available.



		Society 2 – Indig	genous Heart	
Indicators, Targets &				
Strategies for		e Directions of	Baseline data	Direction of movement
successful	b	ecoming		from baseline
performance				
By 2031, increase the	_	A success	Indigenous 25–64 year	Between 2001 and
proportion of	Soc 7	because of its	olds were employed.)	2006 the proportion of
Aboriginal and Torres		diversity.	Source: Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020	Aboriginal and Torres
Strait Islander people				Strait Islander people
aged 25-64 who are				aged 25-64 years who
employed to 62				were in employment, education or training
percent (as per Closing the Gap in Partnership		A country		increased from 43.2%
2020).		where		to 52% and fell again
Indigenous		economic		to 51% in 2016. The
employment – 25-64		opportunity, growth &		gap between Indigenes
year olds (ACFP		prosperity are		and non-Indigenes
additional target)	Econ 3	equitably		showed a trend
Soc02.07.03		shared & living		towards widening.
By 2031, increase the		standards		
proportion of		improve		-
Aboriginal and Torres		continuously		A failure to collect
Strait Islander people		for all.		data since 2016 rules
aged 25-64 who are				out any conclusion of
employed to 75% to				a positive trend in this
close the gap.				area.
		A land with an		
	Soc 2	Indigenous		No new data available.
Indigenous housing		heart.		←/→
Soc02.08		A place of		
By 2031, increase the	Soc 4	optimal health		Between 2001 and
proportion of		& wellbeing.		2016 the proportion of
Aboriginal and Torres	Soc 6	A society of		Aboriginal and Torres
Strait Islander people		equals.	_	Strait Islander people
living in appropriately	_	A success		living in appropriately
sized (not	Soc 7	because of its	In 2016, 78.9% of	sized (not
overcrowded) housing		diversity.	Indigenous persons lived	overcrowded)
to 88 per cent (as per Closing the Gap in		A land without homelessness	in appropriately sized	increased from 67.6% to 78.9%. The gap
Partnership 2020).	Soc 9	& with decent	(not overcrowded)	between Indigenes and
Indigenous housing	Soc 9	affordable	housing. (92.9% of non-	non-Indigenes showed
(ACFP additional		housing for all.	Indigenous persons lived in appropriately sized	a trend towards
target)		A place of	(not overcrowded)	closing.
Soc02.08.01		supportive	housing.)	
By 2031, increase the		familial & other	Source: Closing the Gap in	-
proportion of	Soc 10		Partnership 2020	ACFP target is
Aboriginal and Torres		without		negative.
Strait Islander people		domestic		
living in appropriately		abuse.		←
sized (not		A land without]	A failure to collect
overcrowded) housing	Soc 11	child		data since 2016 makes
to 92 per cent to close		disadvantage.		a conclusion of a
the gap.		A country		positive trend in this
	Econ 3	where		area unreliable.
		economic		



	Society 2 — Indigenous Heart					
Indicators, Targets &						
Strategies for	In th	e Directions of	Baseline data	Direction of movement		
successful	I.	ecoming	Buseline data	from baseline		
performance						
		opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously				
Indigenous	Soc 2	heart.		In 2021 the Productivity Commission reported that, "Nationally at 30		
incarceration – adults Soc02.09 By 2031, reduce the rate of Aboriginal and	Soc 3	Inclusive,	In 2019 (based on ABS Prisoners in Australia), the imprisonment rate	June 2020, the age- standardised rate of Aboriginal and Torres		
Torres Strait Islander adults held in incarceration by at	Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	of non-Indigenous Australians was 173.2 per 100,000 adult population. In 2019 the	Strait Islander prisoners was 2081.0 per 100 000 adult		
least 15 per cent (as per Closing the Gap in	Soc 6	equals.	imprisonment rate for Indigenous Australians	population. This is an increase from		
Partnership 2020). Indigenous	Soc 7	A success because of its diversity.	was 2,087.5 per 100,000 adult population. Source: Closing the Gap in	2077.4 per 100 000 adult population in 2019 (the baseline		
incarceration – adults (ACFP additional targets) Soc02.09.01 By 2035, Indigenous incarceration rates are the same as for the non-Indigenous	Soc 1	A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse. A land without	In 2019, the imprisonment rate of all Australians was 219.5 per 100,000 adult population. In 2019 the	year). Nationally, based on the most recent year of data, this target is not on track to be met."16 Source: Australian Government Productivity Commission Closing the Gap Information Repository Beta		
population. Note: ABS holds two sets of	Soc 1	disadvantage.	imprisonment rate for Indigenous Australians	2021		
statistics relevant to this indicator. The plan will measure both and will monitor progress towards the two different targets set out above, for the reason the first target still leaves a huge gap between Indigenes	Soc 1	A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in policing.	was 2,370.9 per 100,000 adult Indigenous population. Source: ABS 4512.0 - Corrective Services, Australia, December Quarter 2019, Table 3 and Table 14	In 2020, the imprisonment rate of all Australians was 211.5 per 100,000 adult population. In 2020 the		
and non-Indigenes.	Soc 1	Confident of justice for all.		imprisonment rate for Indigenous Australians was 2,345.0 per		

¹⁶ Note that data on this measure is routinely changed by collection agencies such the ABS and the Productivity Commission, making assessments against baselines somewhat problematic. In the case of adult Indigenous incarceration, however, variations in the baseline data through time make little if any difference to the picture of the excessive disproportion between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians who are incarcerated.



			Society 2 - Inaig	yenous neurt	
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	I.		Directions of coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
					100,000 adult Indigenous population. Source: ABS 4512.0 - Corrective Services, Australia, 2021, Table 3 and Table 14 No discernible potential to meet the target at this rate. In 2009 the rate of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander prisoners was 1539.2 per 100 000 adult population. This rose steeply to 2101.7 in 2018 and fell but only slightly to 2081.0 in 2020. The longer term trend is negative.
Indigenous	Soc	2	A land with an Indigenous		In 2021 the Productivity
incarceration – 10-17			heart.		Commission reported
year olds	Soc	1	A safe home.	-	that, "Nationally in
Soc02.09.02	Coo	2	Inclusive, welcoming &		2019-20, the rate of Aboriginal and Torres
By 2031, reduce the rate of Aboriginal and	Soc	3	enabling.		Strait Islander children
Torres Strait Islander			A place of	In 2019/10, 22.7	aged 10-17 years in
young people (10-17	Soc	4	optimal health	In 2018/19, 33.7 Indigenous young people	detention was 25.7 per
years) in detention by			& wellbeing.	aged 10-17 per 10,000	10,000 children in the
at least 30 per cent (as	Soc	6	A society of	population were in	population. This is a
per Closing the Gap in	300	<u> </u>	equals.	detention on an average	decrease from 31.9 per
Partnership 2020).		_	A success	day compared to 1.5	10,000 young people in
Indigeneus	Soc	7	because of its	non-Indigenous young	2018-19 (the baseline year). Nationally,
Indigenous incarceration – 10-17			diversity. A place of	people per 10,000	based on the most
year olds (ACFP			supportive	population. Source: Closing the Gap in	recent year of data,
additional target)			familial & other	Partnership 2020	this target is on track
Soc02.09.03	Soc	10	connections &		to be met."
By 2035, Indigenous			without		Source: Australian Government Productivity
youth detention rates			domestic		Commission Closing the Gap
are the same as for the			abuse.		Information Repository Beta
non-Indigenous			A land without		2021
population.	Soc	11	child		→
			disadvantage.		1



Indicators, Targets &					
Strategies for	In	the	Directions of		Direction of movement
successful			coming	Baseline data	from baseline
performance					
	Soc	14	A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in		Data are insufficient to assess progress toward the ACFP additional Target. Between 2011 and
			policing.		2019 the rate of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children aged 10-17 years in detention trended towards a decline, albeit very slowly. The target would appear to be on track to be met.
			Confident of		→
	Soc	15	justice for all.		However, the trend seems insufficient to close the gap by 2035 as per ACFP's additional target.
					The longer term trend is stagnant.
Indigenous family cohesion Soc02.10	Soc	2	A land with an Indigenous heart.		In 2021, the Productivity
By 2031, reduce the	Soc	1	A safe home.		Commission reported
rate of over-	300	_	Inclusive,		that, "Nationally in
representation of	Soc	3	welcoming &		2020, the rate of Aboriginal and Torres
Aboriginal and Torres			enabling.		Strait Islander children
Strait Islander children			A place of	In 2019, there were 54.2	aged 0–17 years in out-
in out-of-home care by	Soc	4	optimal health	Indigenous children per 1,000 population in out-	of-home care was 56.3
45 per cent (as per			& wellbeing.	of-home care compared	per 1000 children in
Closing the Gap in	Soc	6	A society of	to 5.1 non-Indigenous	the population.
Partnership 2020). Indigenous family	Soc 7		equals. A success	children per 1,000	This in an increase
cohesion (ACFP		because of its	population.	from 54.2 per 1000	
additional target)		diversity.	Source: Closing the Gap in	children in 2019 (the baseline year).	
Soc02.10.01			A success	Partnership 2020	Nationally, based on
By 2031 eliminate	Soc 8	because of		the most recent year	
over-representation of	Soc	0	gender		of data, this target is
Indigenous children in			equality.		not on track to be met.
out-of-home care to equal the rate for non-	C-	4.0	A place of		Source: Australian Government Productivity
equal the rate for non- Indigenous children.	Soc	10	supportive		Commission Closing the Gap
muigenous ciniuren.			familial & other]



		Society 2 – Inalgenous Heart						
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		ne Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline				
p.s.joance		connections & without domestic abuse.		Information Repository Beta 2021				
	Soc 1	A land without 1 child disadvantage.		No longer term trend data have been supplied by the Productivity Commission. However, the Australian Institute of Health & Welfare has reported that between 2014 and 2018 the number of Indigenous children in out-of-home care rose by almost 2,800 children to 17,787, almost a 20% increase in four years. At 30 June 2020, "1 in 18 Indigenous children (around 18,900) were in out-of-home care". Source: AIHW Child Protection Australia 2019/20 webpage The longer term trend is negative.				
	Soc 2	A land with an Indigenous heart.						
Indigenous domestic	Soc 1		<u> </u>					
and community abuse and violence Soc02.11	Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	Nationally in 2018-19, 8.4% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander	No new data available.				
A significant and sustained reduction in violence and abuse	Soc 7	A success because of its diversity.	females aged 15 years and over experienced domestic physical or	No longer term data				
against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women and children towards zero (as per	Soc 8	gender equality.	threatened physical harm. Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository Beta	available.				
Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020).	Soc 1	A place of supportive of familial & other connections & without						



Society 2 – Indigenous Heart					
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		rections of ning	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
successful	Soc 11 ch di A A Soc 3 we el & A Soc 4 ol & & A		In 2018, the suicide rate for Indigenous Australians was recorded as 24.1 deaths per 100,000 population. This compares with a rate for non-Indigenous Australians of 12.3 per 100,000 of population in NSW, QLD, SA, WA & NT. Source: Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020	In 2021, the Productivity Commission reported that, "In 2019, the suicide rate for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people was 27.1 per 100 000 people (for NSW, Queensland, WA, SA and the NT combined). This is an increase from 24.9 per 100 000 people in 2018 (the baseline year). Nationally, based on the most recent year of data, this target is not on track to be met." Source: Australian Government Productivity Commission Closing the Gap Information Repository Beta 2021 Between 2009 and 2019 the rate of suicide for Aboriginal and Torres Strait	
				_	



Indicators, Targets &				
Strategies for successful performance		e Directions of ecoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
perjormanee	Soc 2	A land with an Indigenous heart.		
Indigenous land and sea rights – land rights Soc02.13	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	In 2020, Native Title was	
By 2030, a 15 per cent increase in Australia's landmass subject to Aboriginal and Torres	Env 19	A land of thriving self- supporting regions.	determined to exist over 3,014,001 square kilometres of Australia or 39.2%.	
Strait Islander people's legal rights or interests (as per Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020). Indigenous land and sea rights – sea rights Soc02.13.01 By 2030, a 15 per cent increase in areas covered by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's legal rights or interests in the sea (as per Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020).	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	In 2020, land under Indigenous legal rights or interests was 3,907,141 square kilometres or 50.8%. In 2020, Native Title was determined to exist over 90,252 square kilometres of Australian sea country or 1.3%.	No new data available. No data accessed to form a conclusion.
	Gov 2	A nation knowing and affirming decency A nation with	Source: Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020	
	Gov 3	avowed rights for all		
	Soc 2	A land with an Indigenous heart.	In 2014/15, the National Indigenous Languages Surveys, AIATSIS	No new data available.
Indigenous language and cultural preservation Soc02.14 By 2031, there is a sustained increase in number and strength of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages being spoken.	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	estimated that 100 Indigenous languages were critically or	In 2021, the Productivity
	Soc 6	A society of equals.	severely endangered. Languages gaining	Commission reported that the number of
	Soc 7	A success because of its diversity.	speakers was estimated at 31. Source: Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages being spoken was 123, a
	Soc 13	A wellspring of inspiration & creativity.	Nationally in 2018-19, there were 123 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages being spoken (with 14 considered strong). Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository Beta	decline from 145 in 2004/05. The number of strong languages spoken dropped from 18 to 14 during this period. Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository Beta



Society 2 – Indigenous Heart					
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming		Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
				The longer term trend is negative.	
	Soc 2	heart.	In July 2020, the National Agreement on Closing the Gap was	The signing of the National Agreement on	
	Soc 2	A land with an Indigenous heart.	signed by all Australian governments and the Coalition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander	Closing the Gap represents some progress in the short term. At last, the	
	Soc 3	enabling.	Peak Organisations (Coalition of Peaks). The agreed objective was to	government has shuffled off some of its paternalistic policy of	
Priority Reforms of the National Agreement on Closing the Gap Soc02.15	Soc 4	and wellbeing.	"overcome the entrenched inequality faced by too many	interference in the lives of Australia's Indigenes, an	
	Soc 5	opportunity.	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people so that their life outcomes	interference which has materially contributed to the deterioration of	
Implement and monitor progress with	Soc 6	equals.	are equal to all Australians".	life quality for Aboriginal and Torres	
the Priority Reforms of the National Agreement on Closing	Soc 7	A success because of its diversity.	The National Agreement marked a shift in the	Strait Islanders on all indicators of health and wellbeing.	
the Gap to ensure that the targets for each Priority Reform are met. Ensure full funding is available to meet the targets and maintain transparency of reporting. ¹⁷	Soc 8	A success because of gender equality.	approach to the Closing the Gap Strategy. It introduced a structural change that commits	However, other policy interferences which disproportionally affect Indigenous	
	Soc 9	A land without homelessness and with decent affordable housing for all.	Australian governments to work in full and genuine partnership' with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in making policies	populations, such as the cashless welfare card, are still in place. The decision in the Final Report of the	
	Soc 1	A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.	to close the gap. Central to the Agreement are four Priority Reforms that aim to change the way	National Co-Design Process to establish 35 representative groups for a Local and Regional Voice is progress consistent with the Priority	
	Soc 1	A land without child disadvantage.	governments work with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people:	Reforms. However, the denial of the request for a National Voice	

¹⁷ For detail on targets and indicators see Table A, <u>National Agreement on Closing the Gap</u>, July 2020 and Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository Beta, <u>Closing the Gap Annual Data Compilation Report July 2021</u> Table 2.1.



Society 2 – Indigenous Heart

		Society 2 – Indig	genous ricure	
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		e Directions of ecoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	Soc 12	A sure provider of lifelong dignity.	Developing new partnerships that empower Aboriginal	enshrined in the Constitution threatens to undo some of the
	Soc 13	A wellspring of inspiration & creativity.	and Torres Strait Islander people to share decision-	benefit of the yet to be established Local and Regional Voices. It is
	Soc 14	A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in	making authority with governments. 2. Building Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community- controlled sectors to	not possible to "close the gap" (let alone such a huge one) if the cause of the gap – a fundamental refusal of self-determination for
	Soc 15	justice for all.	deliver services. 3. Transforming mainstream	Indigenes and a failure to tell the truth about the violent foundations
	Econ 2	A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.	government organisations to improve accountability and respond to the needs of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. 4. Improving the sharing of data and information with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities and organisations. Source: Commonwealth Government Productivity	of Australia – is still in place. Progress in the short term is therefore more stagnant than it is positive. The longer term trend has of course been negative.
	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.		
	Gov 2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.	Commission, Closing the Gap Annual Data Compilation Report July 2021	
	Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.		
	Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.		
	Gov 7	Committed to public service independence & excellence.		

Note: Baseline data, Targets, Indicators and Strategies in this section will expand in future issues of *Australia Together*, based on availability of data and on the input of Australians.



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society	y
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Society 3 – Belonging & inclusion

Indicators, Targets &	Society 3 – Belongin			g a merasion	
Strategies for successful	In the	Dire	ctions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement
performance					from baseline
	Soc	3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.		In 2020, 61% of Australians reported that they had a sense of
	Soc	2	A land with an Indigenous heart.		belonging "to a great extent", down further
	Soc	6	A society of equals.		from 63% in 2019 and over the long term
	Soc	7	A success because of its diversity.		down from 77% in 2007. In 2021, this index fell further to
Belonging and inclusion	Soc	8	A success because of gender equality.	In 2019, 63% of Australians reported that they had a sense	58%. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion Survey 2020
sense of belongingSoc03.01By 2030, the percent of	Gov	1	A proactive participatory democracy.	of belonging "to a great extent", down from 77% in 2007.	Short term trend
people who report that they have sense of belonging in Australia to	Gov	2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.	Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion Survey 2019	The longer term trend is negative.
a great extent exceeds 77%. By 2030, the overall score for the index of sense of belonging in the Scanlon Index of Social Cohesion equals the original score of 100.	Gov	3	A nation with avowed rights for all.	In 2019, the overall score for the index of sense of belonging in the Scanlon Index of Social Cohesion was 88.9. This was the lowest score since the introduction of the Index in 2007. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion Survey 2019	In 2021, the overall score for the index of sense of belonging in the Scanlon Index of Social Cohesion was fell further to 84.2. This was the lowest score since the introduction of the Index in 2007. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion Survey 2021 Short term trend The longer term trend is negative.
Belonging and inclusion – sense of acceptance or rejection	Soc	3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	In 2019, the index of acceptance/rejection in the Scanlon Index	In July 2020, in the first few months of the Covid-19 pandemic, the
Soc03.01.01	Soc	1	A safe home.	of Social Cohesion	index of
The index of acceptance/rejection in	Soc	2	A land with an Indigenous heart.	was 72.1 (27.9 points below the baseline of	acceptance/rejection fell back to 67.4. Then

Society 3 – Belonging & inclusion

Society 3 – Belonging & inclusion					
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the	Dire	ctions of becoming 	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
the Scanlon Index of Social Cohesion rises continuously to reach	Soc	4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	100 in 2007), but up from 64.1 in 2017 (the lowest score in this	in November 2020 it rose sharply to 86.6 before falling back
100.	Soc	6	A society of equals.	part of the Index since its inception).	somewhat to 81.4 in 2021.
	Soc	7	A success because of its diversity.	Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion Survey 2019	Despite the increases the
	Soc	8	A success because of gender equality.		acceptance/rejection score remained the lowest in the scores for
	Soc	13	A wellspring of inspiration & creativity.		the five domains of social cohesion in the Scanlon Index of Social
	Econ	3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.		Cohesion. The implication is that the incidence of rejection based on race fell during the pandemic but did not show a sustained reversal in the trend of increasing racial rejection since 2007. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion
	Gov	2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.		Survey 2020 The short term trend is positive.
	Gov	3	A nation with avowed rights for all.		The longer term trend is negative.
	Soc	3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	In 2010, 36.2% of Australians on survey	In 2020, 24.8% of Australians on survey said they had
Building an inclusive society by community volunteering Soc03.02	Soc	10	A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.	said they had undertaken unpaid voluntary work through an organisation in last 12 months.	undertaken unpaid voluntary work through an organisation in the last 12 months, down by 11.4 percentage points since the height
The rate of volunteering does not fall below 30%.	Gov	2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.	Between 2006 and 2019 an average of 32.5% of Australians on survey said they had undertaken unpaid voluntary work	of volunteering in 2010. Source: ABS, General Social Survey 2020 The short term trend is negative.



Society 3 – Belonging & inclusion

Society 5 Belonging & melasion					
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline		
		through an organisation. Source: ABS, General Social Survey 2020	The longer term trend is negative.		

Note: Baseline data, Targets, Indicators and Strategies in this section will expand in future issues of *Australia Together*, based on availability of data and on the input of Australians.



Indicators,	Targets & S	trategies fo	or the success of	Our Society

Society 4 – Health & wellbeing					
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline		
Life expectancy – males Soc04.01 Life expectancy for males is steady or increasing. Life expectancy – females Soc04.01.01 Life expectancy for females is steady or increasing.	A place of Soc 4 optimal health & wellbeing.	In 2015-17, life expectancy for males was 80.2 years and for females was 83.4 years. Source: AIHW, Australia's Health 2019	In 2018, life expectancy for males was 80.7 years and for females was 84.9 years. Source: AIHW, Australia's Health 2020 Short term trend The longer term trend is positive.		
Perceptions of health Soc04.02 The proportion of adult Australians who consider themselves to be in excellent or very good health is steady or increasing, while the proportion who consider themselves to be in fair or poor health declines.	A place of Soc 4 optimal health & wellbeing.	In 2017/18, over half (56.4%) of Australians aged 15 years and over considered themselves to be in excellent or very good health, while 14.7% reported being in fair or poor health. This has remained constant over the last 10 years. Source: ABS, National Health Survey First results Australia 2017-18 Between 2006 and 2019, an average of 54.9% of Australians self-assessed their health status as excellent or very good. Source: ABS, General Social Survey 2020	In 2020, 53.2% of Australians self-assessed their health status as excellent or very good, slightly below the average reported of 54.5% between 2006 and 2019. Source: ABS, General Social Survey 2020 The longer term trend is slightly declining for those reporting excellent or very good health. The longer term trend for those reporting good health is slightly improving. The longer term trend for those reporting fair or poor health is steady. On balance, the proportion of Australians reporting that they are in excellent or very good health has been declining.		

Indicators Taxasta C				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
			Overall, the longer term trend of is negative. In June 2021, the ABS	
Mental health – experience of psychological distress Soc04.03 The proportion of Australians experiencing high or very high levels of psychological distress is continuously declining.	A place of Soc 4 optimal health & wellbeing.	In 2017/18, around one in eight (13.0% or 2.4 million) adults experienced high or very high levels of psychological distress, an increase from 2014/15 (11.7% or 2.1 million). Source: ABS, National Health Survey First results Australia 2017-18	reported that: 20% of Australians experienced high or very high levels of psychological distress in the last four weeks, similar to March 2021 (20%) and November 2020 (21%) 30% of younger Australians (aged 18 to 34 years) experienced high or very high levels of psychological distress in June 2021, compared with 18% of people aged 35 to 64 years and 10% of people aged 65 years and over. 27% of Victorians experienced high or very high levels of psychological distress compared with the rest of Australia (18%). Source: ABS, Household Impacts of Covid-19 Survey, June 2021 The longer term trend is negative.	
Mental health – mental and behavioural conditions Soc04.03.01 The proportion of Australians experiencing a	A place of Soc 4 optimal health & wellbeing.	In 2017-18, one in five (20.1%) or 4.8 million Australians had a mental or behavioural condition, an increase from 4.0 million Australians (17.5%) in 2014-15.	No new data available. The longer term trend is negative.	



Society 4 – Health & Wellbellig				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
mental or behavioural condition is continuously declining.		Source: ABS, National Health Survey First results Australia 2017-18		
Mental health – anxiety Soc04.03.02 The proportion of Australians experiencing an anxiety-related condition is continuously declining.	A place of Soc 4 optimal health & wellbeing.	In 2017-18, 3.2 million Australians (13.1%) had an anxiety-related condition, an increase from 11.2% in 2014-15. Source: ABS, National Health Survey First results Australia 2017-18	No new data available. The longer term trend is negative.	
Mental health – depression Soc04.03.03 The proportion of Australians experiencing depression is continuously declining.	A place of Soc 4 optimal health & wellbeing.	One in ten people (10.4%) had depression or feelings of depression, an increase from 8.9% in 2014-15. Source: ABS, National Health Survey First results Australia 2017-18	No new data available. The longer term trend is negative.	
Burden of disease Soc04.04 The burden of disease, expressed as the age-standardised DALY rate (Disability Adjusted Life Years – a measure of the number of years of healthy life lost due either to premature death or to living with ill health), is steady or decreasing.	A place of Soc 4 optimal health & wellbeing.	In 2011, the age standardised rate was 189.9 DALY per 1,000 population, improved from 2003 when it was 208 DALY per 1000 population. Source: AIHW, Australia's Health 2018	In 2015, the age standardised rate was 184 DALY per 1,000 population. This rate has seen steady improvement over the years. Source: AIHW, Australia's Health 2018, AIHW Australian Burden of Disease Study 2015 website updated 6 August 2020 The longer term trend is positive.	
Physical health – obesity Soc04.05 The prevalence of obesity in persons aged 15 and over declines and is below the OECD average.	A place of Soc 4 optimal health & wellbeing.	In 2015, the prevalence of obesity in Australians above the age of 15 was 27.9% compared to the OECD average of 19.4%. Source: AIHW, Australia's Health 2018	In 2017/18, the prevalence of obesity in adult Australians was 31.3%. In 2017/18, two thirds (67.0%) of Australian adults were overweight or obese (12.5 million people), an increase from 63.4% in 2014-15.	



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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			Source: AIHW, Australia's Health 2018, updated. Australia also still ranked below the OECD average for obesity. Source: AIHW, Australia's Health in Brief, 2020 The longer term trend is negative. No short term update
Physical health – diabetes Soc04.05.01 The age standardised prevalence rate of diabetes declines continuously. The age standardised mortality rate for diabetes declines continuously.	A place of Soc 4 optimal health & wellbeing.	In 2017-18, the age standardised prevalence rate of self-reported diabetes was 4.4% (3.8% among females, 5% among males). In 2018, the age standardised mortality rate for diabetes was 53 persons per 100,000 population (68 males, 41 females). Source: AIHW, Australia's Health 2018	since 2001, the age standardised prevalence rate of self-reported diabetes has increased from 3.3% (3.3% females, 3.4% males) to 4.4% in 2017/18 (3.8% among females, 5% among males). The age standardised mortality rate for diabetes has remained fairly stable over the long term, with a rate of 56 persons per 100,000 in 1997 compared to a rate of 53 persons per 100,000 persons in 2018. Source: AIHW, Australia's Health Diabetes webpage, 15 July 2020 The longer term trend is negative.
Physical health – cardiovascular disease Soc04.05.02	A place of Soc 4 optimal health & wellbeing.	In 2017/18, the age standardised hospitalisation rate for cardiovascular disease was 2,252 per 100,000	In 2018/19, the age standardised hospitalisation rate for cardiovascular disease was 2,219 per 100,000



Indicators Taracts 9	,	T	
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
The age standardised hospitalisation rate for cardiovascular disease declines continuously.		population among males and 1,419 per 100,000 population among females.	population among males, and 1,398 per 100,000 population among females.
The age standardised mortality rate for cardiovascular disease declines continuously.		In 2019, the age standardised mortality rate for cardiovascular disease was 106.8 per 100,000 for females and, 150 per 100,000 for males.	There is no updated data on the age standardised mortality rate from the baseline figures. Source: AIHW, Heart, Stroke & Vascular Disease webpage, September 2021
		Source: AIHW, Heart, Stroke & Vascular Disease webpage, September 2021	Between the years 2000/01 to 2017/18, the age standardised hospitalisation rate for cardiovascular disease has been gradually decreasing for both men and women, with rates dropping from 2,570 to 2,219 per 100,000 population for men and from 1,614 to 1,398 per 100,000 population for women. The age standardised mortality rate for cardiovascular disease has declined considerably over the long term, from 830 deaths per 100,000 persons in 1968 to 151 per 100,000 in 2015. Source: AIHW, Heart, Stroke & Vascular Disease webpage, September 2021; AIHW, Trends in Cardiovascular Disease, September 2017. The longer term trend is positive.
Physical health – cancer Soc04.05.03	A place of Soc 4 optimal health & wellbeing.	In 2019, the age standardised mortality rate for all cancers	In 2021, the age standardised mortality rate for all cancers



Indicators Terrets C					
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline		
The age standardised mortality rate of all cancers combined declines continuously.		combined was 156 deaths per 100,000 persons. In 2017, the age standardised incidence rate for all cancers	combined is estimated to be 149 deaths per 100,000 persons, a decrease from the baseline measure. It is estimated that in 2021,		
The incidence rate of all cancers combined declines continuously.		combined was 492 per 100,000 persons (gender specific rates were 430 for females and 565 for males per 100,000). Source: AIHW Cancer in Australia 2021 and Australian Government, Cancer Australia, Cancer in Australia Statistics	the age standardised incidence rate for all cancers combined reduced to 486 cases per 100,000 population (444 for females, 537 for males), a reduction from the baseline data.		
			Since 1982, the age standardised mortality rate from all cancers combined has decreased from 209 death per 100,000 persons to 156 deaths per 100,000 persons. However, over the long-term, the age standardised incidence rate for all cancers combined has increased significantly from 384 cases per 100,000 persons in 1982, to 492 cases per 100,000 in 2017. The long-term trend in mortality rates is positive, however, the age standardised incidence rate has seen significant increases since the 1980's. This rise can be seen to have slowed in recent years.		
Physical health – musculoskeletal conditions Soc04.05.04 The prevalence of musculoskeletal	A place of Soc 4 optimal health & wellbeing.	In 2014-15, approximately 30% of Australians (almost 6.9 million) self-reported as suffering from a musculoskeletal condition	No new data available.		

	Society 4 – Health & Wellbeing							
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance conditions declines continuously.	In the Directions of becoming	including arthritis, back pain and osteoporosis. Source: AIHW, Australia's Health 2018	Direction of movement from baseline No data accessed to determine a longer term trend.					
Physical health – respiratory conditions Soc04.05.05 The age standardised mortality rate of COPD (chronic obstructive pulmonary disease), asthma, and bronchiectasis declines continuously. The incidence of hospitalisation attributable to COPD, asthma, and bronchiectasis declines continuously. The prevalence of chronic respiratory conditions declines continuously.	A place of Soc 4 optimal health & wellbeing.	In 2014-15, approximately 31% of Australians (almost 7 million) suffered from chronic respiratory conditions including COPD, hay fever, and asthma. In 2017, the age standardised mortality rate for each measured condition was as follows:	No new data available. The long term trends for both mortality and hospitalisation rates have remained stable for all conditions over the long term.					
Happiness and wellbeing – world ranking Soc04.06 Australia's ranking in the World Happiness Report does not decline.	A place of Soc 4 optimal health & wellbeing.	In 2020, Australia was ranked as the 12 th happiest country in the world, down from 9 th place in 2017. Source: United Nations Sustainable Development Solutions Network, World Happiness Report 2020	In 2021, Australia was ranked as the 12 th happiest country in the world, down from 9 th place in 2017. Source: United Nations Sustainable Development Solutions Network, World Happiness Report 2021 No change from 2020.					



Indicators Taracta	Society 4 – He	editif & wenbenig	
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			No new data available for 2022. The longer term trend is negative.
Happiness and wellbeing – reported by Australians Soc04.06.01 The proportion of Australians reporting that they are happy or very happy does not decline from the baseline.	A place of Soc 4 optimal health & wellbeing.	In 2019, 23% of Australians reported they had been "very happy" in the last year, down from 34% in 2007. In 2019, 84% of Australians reported they had been happy or very happy in the last year, down from 89% in 2015. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2019	In November 2020, 10% of Australians reported they had been "very happy" in the last year and 79% reported they had been happy or very happy in the last year. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2020 Short term trend The longer term trend is negative.
Happiness and wellbeing – optimism/pessimism Soc04.06.02 The proportion of Australians who are optimistic about their future "overall" does not decline.	A place of Soc 4 optimal health & wellbeing.	In 2021, during the Covid- 19 pandemic, 80% of Australians said that "overall" they were optimistic or very optimistic about their future, up from 78% in the pre-Covid period. Source: Source: ABC Australia Talks National Survey 2021	No data update available. The short term result is positive. No longer term trend established.
Hanninger and	A place of Soc 4 optimal health & wellbeing.	Between 2014 and 2020, all age groups of Australians reported	No data update available.
Happiness and wellbeing – life satisfaction for the youngest to oldest generations Soc04.06.03 All generations of Australians report that their life satisfaction is rising continuously.	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	drops on average in life satisfaction: 15-24 years = 7.7 down to 6.9; 25-39 years = 7.7 down to 7.1; 40-54 years = 7.4 down to 7.0; 55-69 years = 7.6 down to 7.1; and 70+ years = 8.1 down to 7.9.	The only group that showed an improvement in life satisfaction during the Covid-19 pandemic was the 70+ years age group. Source: ABS General Social Survey, Summary Results, Australia, 2020, Table 8.1 The longer term trend is negative for all age groups.



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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	Soc 4 optimal health & wellbeing. Inclusive, Soc 3 welcoming & enabling. Soc 6 A society of equals. A success Soc 7 because of its diversity. A success because of gender equality.	Source: ABS General Social Survey, Summary Results, Australia, 2020, Table 8.1 Between 2014 and 2020, diverse Australians — regardless of their gender, sexual orientation, migrant status, and physical or mental health — all reported drops on average in life satisfaction: Men = 7.6 down to 7.1; Women = 7.7 down to 7.2; Migrants and	
Happiness and wellbeing – life satisfaction for diverse elements of the community Soc04.06.04 All groups of Australians report that their life satisfaction is rising continuously.	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are Econ 3 equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	 Migrants and temporary residents = 7.7 down to 7.1; Not migrants and temporary residents = 7.6 down to 7.2; With a mental health condition = 6.6 down to 5.8; Without a mental health condition = 7.9 down to 7.4 With a long term health condition = 	No further updates available. Across the board, Australians are experiencing a sustained decline in their life satisfaction. The longer term trend is negative for all groups.



Society 4 – Health & wellbeing

		3001019 4 - 110	ealth & wellbeing	
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Directions of coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			the LGBTIQ+ group. The ABS appears not to have surveyed life satisfaction for Indigenous groups. Source: ABS General Social Survey, Summary Results, Australia, 2020, Table 8.1	
	Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing. A society of	In 2018/19, federal government total expenditure on health including medical services	In the "2021 Intergenerational Report – Australia over the next 40 years" it was noted
Health funding Soc04.07 By 2026, ensure that the health costs of Australians are securely funded by a legislated floor in expenditure as a proportion of GDP — a floor which ramps up federal health funding from its	Econ 3	equals. A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	and benefits, pharmaceutical benefits, assistance to states for public hospitals, and other health items was 4.27% of GDP and was expected to rise, but not to a level sufficient to cover expected increases in costs and demand. In the "2015 Intergenerational Report – Australia in 2055" the	that the Australian Government was spending 4.6% of the nation's GDP on health in 2021 but that this would drop to 4.4% by 2031 and then rise to 6.2% over the 30 years to 2061. However, real expected spending that will be a necessity by 2061 on our health is a minimum of 7.1% of GDP. Current health spending is also
baseline of 4.27% of GDP in 2018/19 to at least 7% of GDP by 2055, unless fully transparent comprehensive investigations result in revisions of projected costs. These revisions should occur every five years with a legislative obligation to adjust budgeted funding to ensure full coverage of expected costs.	f 4.27% of L8/19 to at f GDP by ss fully nt nsive ons result s of costs. sions cur every with a obligation budgeted ensure full for all. f A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.		7.1% of GDP. Current health spending is also insufficient. Source: "2021 Intergenerational Report", page 92. The longer term trend is negative. Planned funding increases denoted in the 2015 and 2021 Intergenerational Reports are insufficient to meet projected health needs and demand. Also, no progress has been made towards the target of introducing a protected floor expenditure for health in the federal budget.	



Indicators, Targets &					
Strategies for	In the Dire	ctions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement	
successful				from baseline	
performance					
Tertiary education Top Priority	Soc 5	A model of educational opportunity.	In 2018/19, federal government	In the 2021/22 federal budget the tertiary	
Target/Strategy: Re- introduction of fee- free tertiary education	Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	expenditure on tertiary education was 0.6% of GDP and was scheduled to decline.	education budget was set to decline by 9% over the four years to	
Soc05.01 By 2026, tertiary	Soc 6	A society of equals.	Source: Commonwealth of Australia, Budget 2019-20,	2024/25. Over the same period, vocational and other	
education, (university, technical and vocational) is fee-free for all Australians aged over 18, securely	Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	Budget Paper No. 1, Statement 5: Expenses and Net Capital Investment, page 5-17, & "2015 Intergenerational Report", pages 76-77	education was set to be cut by 26%. Source: Federal Budget 2021/22, Budget Paper No. 1, page 169.	
funded by a legislated floor in expenditure on tertiary education as a proportion of GDP – a floor which ramps up	Econ 2	A model of employment planning & justice in industry	In 2019, 50% of Australians believed that "the government should provide a free	Note: While for higher education the budget	
federal tertiary education funding from its baseline of 0.6% of GDP in 2018/19 to at least 1.2% of GDP by 2030. Thereafter, 5-yearly reviews of funding adequacy should be required to ensure full coverage of places and	Econ 3	transition. A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	university education for anyone who wants to attend." Source: United States Studies Centre, Public Opinion in the Age of Trump, The United States and Australia Compared. Economic returns expected from free tertiary education: In 2015, "Deloitte valued	will be 7% higher in 2025 than actual expenditure in 2018/19, the loss of funding from overseas students has not been replaced by the government. University funding has been smashed in Australia.	
indexation of places to population growth. *Consistent with UNSDG,	Econ 4	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.	the contribution of tertiary education to Australia's productive	For the longer term the outlook is bleak. The "2021	
Goal 4: "Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all," especially: Target 4.3: "By 2030, ensure equal access for all women and	Econ 6	An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.	capacity at \$140 billion in 2014, of which \$24 billion accrued to the tertiary educated themselves. The	Intergenerational Report – Australia over the next 40 years" indicates that while in 2021 actual federal expenditure on	
men to affordable and quality technical, vocational and tertiary education, including university."	Econ 7	A collaborative intelligent nation.	"spillover effects", it found, meant that for every one percentage point increase in the	education was 1.9% of GDP, the intention is to scale that down to	
Target4.4: By 2030, substantially increase the number of youth and adults who have relevant skills, including technical and vocational skills, for employment, decent jobs and entrepreneurship."	Econ 8	Enabled in meeting the communication & information demands of the future.	number of workers with a university degree, the wages of those without tertiary qualifications rose 1.6 to 1.9 per cent."	1.2% of GDP by 2061, implying an intention to drop spending on education as a proportion of GDP by almost 40%.	

		Society 5 – Ed	lucution	
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Dir	rections of becoming 	Source: Mike Seccombe, "Turnbull's war on universities", The Saturday Paper, 6-12 May 2017	Direction of movement from baseline Source: "2021 Intergenerational Report", page 126. The longer term trend is negative.
	Soc 5	A model of educational opportunity.		In 2017/18, the total amount of outstanding
Tertiary education – Cancelation of student	Soc 6	A society of equals.		HELP debt was \$61.9 billion.
debt for social services workers Soc05.01.01 By 2026, commence full cancellation of	Econ 2	A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.	In 2017/18, the total amount of outstanding	Source: Parliament of Australia, Updated Higher Education Loan Program (HELP) debt statistics — 2017/18 webpage — updated by the government at an
outstanding student loan (HELP) debt for any graduate working in teaching, childcare, aged care, disability services, nursing, social work, legal aid and any graduate who by 2026 is earning less than the average weekly earnings.	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	HELP debt was \$60.2 billion. Source: Parliament of Australia, Updated Higher Education Loan Program (HELP) debt statistics – 2017/18 webpage	No progress has been made towards the target cancelling outstanding student debt for social services workers. No longer term result.
	Econ 4	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.		←/→
Tertiary education – funding for universities and	Soc 5	A model of educational opportunity.	In 2019/20, actual expenditure by	Funding for the university sector was not restored in the
vocational education Soc05.01.02	Soc 6	A society of equals.	universities and vocational training	2021/22 federal budget. By 2024/25 it
By 2026, acknowledging that: • fee-free tertiary education is vital for Australia's people and economy, and • the current funding structure relying heavily on income from overseas students	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all. A nation fairly	institutions was \$14.487 billion (approximately 0.7% of GDP). However, the federal government budget for higher education was only \$9.652 billion (approximately 0.6% of GDP). The remainder of expenses was funded by fees and	is estimated by ACFP that the higher education budget will be 5.6% below where it should be if it is to keep pace with expected inflation and approximately \$1.3 billion below necessary revenues for the year (taking into account the losses projected
is no longer viable and will not	Econ 4	raising & sharing its wealth.	contributions from various sources.	from the removal of overseas student fees).



			ucution	
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Dire	ctions of becoming 	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
provide a sustainable base of income for the higher education sector, ensure that the tertiary education needs of Australians are	Econ 6	An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.	Source: ABS 5518.0, Government Finance Statistics Education Australia 2019/20; Federal Budget 2020/21; and Parliamentary Library, Hazel Ferguson and Marilyn Harrington, Budget Review 2019-20.	This loss will be in addition to losses totalling \$4.2 billion over the three years 2023/24. Source: Federal Budget Papers for 2021/22.
securely funded by a legislated floor in expenditure as a proportion of GDP – a floor which ramps up federal higher education funding (university and vocational) from a baseline of \$14.487 billion in 2019/20 until budgeted funding reaches at least 0.7% of GDP (preferably by 2022/23) and maintains funding at not less than 0.7% of GDP for at least 5 years, unless fully transparent comprehensive investigations result in revisions of projected costs. These revisions should occur every five years with a legislative obligation to adjust budgeted funding to ensure full coverage of expected costs.	Econ 7	A collaborative intelligent nation.	In 2020, sources of funding from overseas students were lost due to Covid-19 (see Econ02.05.02), leaving a significant proportion of higher education expenses unfunded and resulting in a loss of 40,000 jobs in the sector and a significant reduction in Gross Value Added by the sector to the Australian economy. Source: The Australia Institute, An Avoidable Catastrophe: Pandemic Job Losses in Higher Education and their Consequences, September 2021	In 2021, the federal government projected that "while increasing in absolute and real terms, spending on education and training is projected to decrease from 1.9 per cent of GDP in 2021-22 to 1.2 per cent in 2060-61". Since within that allocation, the government has projected that per capita spending on schools will increase by twice as much (proportionally) as tertiary education, it is clear that shares of economic growth to be returned to tertiary education are set to decline very significantly. Source: Australian Treasury, Intergenerational Plan 2021 The tertiary education sector is under attack from the Coalition federal government. No progress has been made on this strategy.

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Dire	ections of becoming 	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
School education – funding Soc05.02 Federal funding for school education is	Soc 5	A model of educational opportunity. A society of equals.		In 2020/21, federal government expenditure on school education (excluding student assistance and
	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	In 2018/19, federal government expenditure on school education (excluding student assistance and administration) was 1.08% of GDP and was scheduled to decline. Source: Commonwealth of Australia, Budget 2019-20, Budget Paper No. 1, Statement 5: Expenses and Net Capital Investment, page 5-17, & "2015 Intergenerational Report", pages 76-77	administration) was approximately 1.19%. Source: Federal Budget 2021/22, Budget Paper No. 1, page 169. Over the long term, federal funding in real terms for school education is expected to increase per person but distribution is likely to favour private schools over state schools and will increase inequity. Source: Intergenerational Report 2021, pages 125 to 127. The longer term trend is mixed: better news for private schools, worse news for state schools.
maintained at no less than 1.1% of GDP as per its baseline in 2018/19.	ained at no less 1.1% of GDP as 5 baseline in 19. A nation Econ 4 raising 8	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.		
School education – funding equity Top Priority Target/Strategy: Reversal of public school underfunding and private school overfunding. Soc05.02.01 By 2024, recognising that:	Soc 5	A model of educational opportunity.	In 2018/19, non- government schools received 61% of taxpayer funded federal funding while teaching only 34.3% of	In the 2021/22 federal budget, non-government schools were set to continue to receive an average of 60% of federal funding
	Soc 2	A land with an Indigenous heart.	Australian students. In 2018/19, government schools received only 39% of taxpayer funded federal funding	over the four years to 2024/24 while government schools were set to receive an average of 40%, despite teaching more



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	licators, Targets & ategies for	In the D	irections of becoming		Direction of movement
	cessful	2		Baseline data	from baseline
	formance				,
a)	government schools enrol more than two- thirds of children and over 80% of the nation's	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	while teaching 65.7% of Australian students. Source: Commonwealth of Australia, Budget 2019-20, Budget Paper No. 1, Statement 5: Expenses and Net Capital Investment, page 5-17	than 65% of students. Total school funding overall was set to increase by 28% over the four years to 2024/25 but within
b)	disadvantaged children, and that between 2009 and 2019 government funding per private school student increased	Soc 6	A society of equals.	ABS, 4221.0, Schools Australia, 2019 In 2021, bilateral school funding agreements between the Commonwealth	that, non-government funding was distributed to increase by 29% while government school funding would increase by only 26%.
c)	by 22.4% compared to only 2.4% for public schools; and that taxpayers should not fund luxury	Soc 7	A success because of its diversity.	and state governments were set such that public schools in all states except the ACT would only ever be funded at 91% of their	Source: Commonwealth of Australia, Budget 2021-22, Budget Paper No. 1, page 169. The longer term trend
ens	levels of education for private school students, sure that: total federal and state funding for non-government schools and government schools is redistributed so	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	Schooling Resource Standard (SRS) – leading to a cumulative under-funding to 2029 for government schools estimated at \$60 billion – while special deals for private schools by the Morrison Government and continuing over-	is mixed: better news for private schools, worse news for state schools. This amounts to a negative longer term trend for the majority of Australian school children and a negative trend in terms of equity.
	that the proportion of taxpayer funding for the government system is, as a minimum,	Econ 4	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.	funding by several state governments would ensure that private schools would be funded at over 100% of their SRS until at least 2029. The	—
2	commensurate with the proportion of students within the government schools, and that	Gov 2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.	cumulative over- funding of private schools to 2029 is estimated at \$6 billion. In 2021, over 80% of disadvantaged	
2.	between 2024 and 2030, consistent with recognitions a), b) and c) above: • government schools are all	Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.	students were enrolled in public schools and over 90% of disadvantaged schools were public schools.	



			Society 5 – Ed	ucation	
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the L	Direc	tions of becoming 	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
funded at no less than 110% of their Schooling Resource Standard; and • private schools are all funded at no more than 90% of their Schooling Resource Standard. Review the equity of the funding situation in 2030.				Between 2009-10 and 2018-19, private school funding increased by \$2,164 per student, adjusted for inflation, compared to \$334 per student for public schools and funding per private school student increased by 22.4%, nearly ten times the increase of only 2.4% for public schools. Source: Save Our Schools Education Research Paper by Trevor Cobbold, "Private School Funding Increase is Six Times the Public School Increase", March 2021	
		3	A model of educational opportunity. Inclusive, welcoming &		No data update available. However, in 2021,
School education – years of attendance Soc05.02.02 The proportion of students staying in school until year 12 equals 90% (for both males and females).	Soc	6	A society of equals.	In 2018, the proportion of students staying in school until Year 12 was: • Males 81%, and • Females 89%. Source: AIHW, "Australia's Welfare 2019 in brief"	AIHW reported that "89% of people aged 20–24 had attained Year 12 (or equivalent) or a non-school qualification of Certificate III or above, an increase from 83% in 2008". Source: Australia's welfare 2021 In brief, page 36. A lack of comparable data makes conclusions about progress unreliable. Progress is not discernible one way or the other.
School education – educational attainment Soc05.02.03	Soc	5	A model of educational opportunity.	Between 2000 and 2018, mean performance by Australian children on	No data update available.



		Society 5 – Ed	ucation	
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for	In the Dire	ctions of becoming		Direction of movement
successful	III the bire	ctions of becoming	Baseline data	from baseline
performance		•••		Jioni basenne
The scores of Australian 15-year old students in the OECD's Program for International Student	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	PISA scores declined steadily: In reading from a score of 528 points to 503.	The longer term trend is clearly negative.
Assessment (PISA) are consistently above the OECD average, are consistently improving, and by 2030 return to the levels attained in 2000.	Soc 6	points to 503, In mathematics from a score of 524 to 491 (below the OECD average), and In science from a score of 527 to 503. Source: OECD PISA (Program for International Student Assessment) Results 2018		
Pre-school education – early development	Soc 5	A model of educational opportunity.	In 2018, Australian Early Development Census (AEDC) scores showed: a significant decrease in the	
	Soc 6	A society of equals.	vulnerable in	No data update available.
performance Soc05.03 The developmental health and wellbeing of children starting school shows no significant decline.	Soc 11	A land without child disadvantage.		The longer term trend is negative.



to disease.	Society 5 – Education					
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Dire	ctions of becoming 	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline		
Pre-school education – accessibility of early learning as a factor in educational attainment at school Soc05.03.01 From 2024, in line with initiatives for provision	Soc 5	A model of educational opportunity.	In 2018, Australia: • scored in the bottom third of developed countries for equality of attendance at preschool, and			
of universal access to free childcare under Soc11.01 and recognising that among OECD	Soc 1	A safe home.	educational attainment in primary and secondary school;	No further updates available.		
 countries: 15-year-olds who report having had more than one year of pre- 	Soc 2	A land with an Indigenous heart.	 ranked 30th out of 38 rich countries, indicating that the disparity of educational attainment across 	Based on the deterioration of measured results in UNICEF studies of		
primary education do substantially better at reading than those with no pre-primary education, even after accounting	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	all three levels of pre-school enrolment, primary school reading scores and secondary school	education in OECD countries between 2007 and 2018, and PISA scores since 2003, children's educational attainment and		
for the child's economic and social position; • children who attend preschool are more likely to	Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	reading scores was comparatively and unhealthily wide; and had a greater proportion of our children left at the	opportunity in Australia has declined compared to OECD countries. Source: Comparison of UNICEF Innocenti Report		
complete other levels of school and graduate from university and tend to have more years of	Soc 6	A society of equals.	bottom of the literacy scale than 29 other developed countries.	Cards 7 and 15 and OECD PISA Program result 2018. The longer term trend is negative.		
 education; those who benefit most from pre- school attendance are children from poorer families; 	Soc 10	A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.	children attended preschool less than 35 other wealthy OECD countries. Source: UNICEF: Innocenti Report Card 15, 2018			
 that providing universal access to early childhood learning and care is a significant 	Soc 11	A land without child disadvantage.	In 2020, a total 321,317 Australian children were enrolled for 600 hours or more of pre-school			



Society 5 – Education

Society 5 – Education					
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the	Dire	ctions of becoming 	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
means of reducing inequality, develop pre-school enrolment programs to ensure that: a) the number of children enrolled for at least 600 hours per annum	Soc	13 5	A wellspring of inspiration & creativity. An environmentally educated community.	education for the year. Per SEIFA quintile: 16.7% resided in Quintile 1 (most disadvantaged), 18.6% resided in Quintile 2 20.7% resided in Quintile 3	
of pre-school education rises continuously; and the proportion of children in the two most disadvantaged socioeconomic quintiles who are enrolled for at least 600 hours of pre- school per annum	Econ	3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	 22.9% resided in Quintile 4 21.1% resided in Quintile 5 (least disadvantaged). Source: ABS 4240.0, Preschool education Australia 2020 	
increases continuously until it reaches or exceeds the proportion	Econ	4	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.		
in the two least disadvantaged socioeconomic quintiles.	Econ	7	A collaborative intelligent nation.		



			Society 6 –	for the success of Our So	
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	li li		Directions of coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	Soc	6	A society of equals.	In 2006, Australia was ranked No. 15 in the World Economic	
	Soc	8	A success because of gender equality.	Forum's Global Gender Gap Report. From there onwards Australia slipped to No. 23 in 2011, No. 45 in 2016	
Gender equality – economic gap Soc06.01 Australia ranks in the top 15 in the Global Gender Gap Report for all four aspects of educational attainment, economic participation and opportunity, health and survival, and political empowerment.	Soc	12	A sure provider of lifelong dignity.	and No. 50 in 2021. The gender gap has been widening steeply despite Australia's wealth. Within the Reports, despite retaining the No. 1 ranking for educational attainment, all other rankings dropped: • in economic participation and opportunity – Australia ranked 12 th in 2006 but 70 th in 2021; • in health and survival – Australia ranked 57 th in 2006 but 99 th in 2021; • in political empowerment – Australia ranked 32 in 2006 but 70 th in 2021. Source: World Economic Forum Global Gender Gap Report 2021 and Wikipedia Global Gender Gap Report.	
	Econ	3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.		No data update available. The short term trend is negative. The longer term trend negative.
	Econ	4	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.		
Gender equality in income and wealth –	Soc	6	A society of	In 2014, the female to	. 2024 11 6
cash earnings Soc06.02 The female to male	Soc	8	equals. A success because of gender equality.	male ratio of adult weekly total cash earnings was 0.66 (average) and 0.69	In 2021, the female to male ratio of adult employees average weekly total earnings
ratio of adult weekly total cash earnings improves continuously	Soc	10	A place of supportive familial & other	(median). In 2018, the female to male ratio of adult	was 0.69, indicating no progress. Source: ABS 6302.0, Table 3

connections &

weekly total cash



and = 1.0 by 2030.

Society 6 – Equality

Indicators Tayanta C		Society 0 –	Equality		
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		e Directions of ecoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
	Econ 2	without domestic abuse. A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.	earnings was 0.69 (average) and 0.70 (median). No significant progress has been made to improve this ratio since at least 2006. Source: ABS 4125.0, Gender Indicators Australia Dec 2020	No update data are available for median earnings. The short and longer term trends appear to be stagnant. — / —	
	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.		Note that in 2021, the Australian Government Workplace Gender Equality Agency reported that, "The gender pay gap has fallen from 24.7 per cent to 20.1 per cent and at this rate of change will take another 26 years for the full-time gender pay gap for total remuneration to close." Source: Australian Government Workplace Gender Equality Agency website 2021 The longer term trend for gender equality in weekly cash earnings is generally positive but too slow to meet the target.	
Gender equality in income and wealth – superannuation	Soc 6	A society of equals. A success because of	In 2011/12 the median female superannuation balance was \$72,930 while the median male	No data update available.	
balances Soc06.02.01 The female to male ratio of superannuation balances for those at, or approaching, retirement age improves continuously and equals 1.0 by 2030.	Soc 12	gender equality. A sure provider of lifelong dignity.	balance was \$120,161, a ratio of 0.607:1. In 2017/18 the median female superannuation	The longer term trend of gender equality in	
	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably	balance was \$118,556 while the median male balance was \$183,000, a ratio of 0.648:1. Compared to 2003/04 when the ratio was 0.464:1,	superannuation balances is generally positive but too slow to meet the target.	



Society 6 – Equality

		Society 0	Equality	
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Directions of ecoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
		shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	superannuation inequality is improving but has slowed and is well short of equality. Source: ABS 4125.0, Gender Indicators Australia December	
Econ 4	Econ 4	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.	2020	



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society								
	Society 7 – Diversity							
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In t		Directions of coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline			
perjermance	Soc	7	A success because of its diversity.		In 2020, 84% of Australians on survey agreed or strongly			
Attitudes to multiculturalism –	Soc :	2	A land with an Indigenous heart		agreed with the statement that "multiculturalism has			
positive support by Australians Soc07.01	Soc :	3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.		been good for Australia".			
The percentage of people who agree or	Soc	6	A society of equals.	In 2019, 85% of Australians on survey agreed or strongly	No longer term data.			
strongly agree that multiculturalism is a positive for Australia	Soc	13	A wellspring of inspiration & creativity.	agreed with the statement that	←/→ In 2020, 6% of			
meets or exceeds 85%. Attitudes to multiculturalism – as a strength for Australia Soc07.01.01 The percentage of people who strongly disagree that accepting immigrants from many different countries makes Australia stronger is no higher	reds 85%. A country been good for Australia". Som — as a sustralia ge of grongly accepting been good for Australians strong been good for Australians strong disagreed with the statement that stateme	been good for Australia". In 2017, 13% of Australians strongly disagreed with the statement that "accepting immigrants from many different countries makes Australia stronger", up	In 2020, 6% of Australians strongly disagreed with the statement that "accepting immigrants from many different countries makes Australia stronger", down from 8% in 2007 and down significantly from 13% recorded in 2017/18.					
than 8%.	Gov	1	A proactive participatory democracy.	In 2017, 20% of Australians indicated a	The longer term trend is positive.			
Attitudes to multiculturalism – experience of cultural and racial	Gov	2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.	sense of rejection and reported experience of discrimination "because of [their] skin colour,	→			
discrimination Soc07.01.02 The percentage of people reporting a sense of rejection or experience of discrimination because of their skin colour,	Gov	3	A nation with avowed rights for all.	ethnic origin or religion", up from 9% in 2007.	In 2020, 18% of Australians indicated a sense of rejection and			
	Gov	11	A just participant on the global stage. A nation	Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2019 of et	reported experience of discrimination "because of [their] skin colour, ethnic origin or religion", up from 9% in			
ethnic origin or religion is no higher than 9%.	Gov	12	assured of enduring peace.		2007.			
	Gov	13	A nation leading in empathy &		Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2020			

Society 7 – Diversity

		Society 7 –	Diversity	
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Directions of coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
		global cohesion.		The longer term trend is negative. Note, however, that in late 2020 Scanlon reported an unexpected growth in acceptance of multiculturalism. No information is yet available to suggest that this will be a permanent reversal of the longer term trend.
	Soc 7	A success because of its diversity.	In 2019: 64% of Australians on survey agreed that "No organisations should be allowed to refuse to employ someone on religious grounds." 30% disagreed; 52% agreed that "religion divides Australians more than it unites us". 33% disagreed; and 78% agreed that "respecting	No updates are available on the baseline survey.
	Soc 1	A safe home. A land with an Indigenous heart.		However, indications are that prevailing attitudes among Australians are such as to reject legislation enabling discrimination on the grounds of religion and that in fact these attitudes (rejecting legislation enabling religious discrimination) have hardened since 2019. In
	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.		
Freedom from	Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.		
discrimination on religious grounds Soc07.02 Australia remains free of legislation enabling discrimination on religious grounds.	Soc 5	A model of educational opportunity.		
	Soc 6	A society of equals.	religious traditions and beliefs should be an important	2022, on survey: • 4 out of 5
	Soc 8	A success because of gender equality.	be an important part of a multicultural society". Source: CIS YouGov/Galaxy Poll 2019 In 2019, the federal Coalition government introduced the "Religious Discrimination Bill	Australians opposed laws allowing discrimination against gay and lesbian students and teachers at religious schools; • the same proportion opposed allowing
	Soc 10	A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.		
	Soc 11	A land without child disadvantage.	2019". The bill was marketed as legislation to "outlaw religious	discrimination against transgender students and



Society 7 – Diversity

Society 7 – Diversity					
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Directions of coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
	Econ 3 Gov 2	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all. A nation knowing and affirming decency.	discrimination" whereas in reality it was legislation to legalise discrimination by religious groups, granting them rights no other group has in Australia. Prevailing Australian attitudes do not support legislation allowing discrimination on religious grounds.	teachers at religious schools 79% said LGBTI teachers should not be sacked if they marry a same-sex partner, and almost 80% said that religious schools which discriminate against LGBTI students and teachers should not receive government	
	Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.	os in this saction will own	funding. During the 46 th parliament the Morrison government, contrary to the weight of public opinion, attempted to introduce legislation legalising discrimination on religious grounds. The bill passed in the lower house but was withdrawn as unacceptable to sectional interests.	

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society Society 8 - Women & LGBTIQ+ Indicators, Targets & Strategies for In the Directions of becoming **Direction of movement** Baseline data successful from baseline performance In 2021, the Parliament of Australia reported that, "Across state and territory parliaments, 36.9 per cent of parliamentarians are Women in power women." and leadership -In 2020, IPU Parline federal parliament In 2019, women held reported that women Soc08.01 36% of seats in both held 30% of seats in the The percentage of houses of federal A success House of women in federal parliament (29.8% in the 8 because of Soc Representatives and 50% parliament in both House of gender equality. in the Senate. the House of Representatives and Source: IPU Parline, Global Representatives 48.7% in the Senate). data on Parliaments 2020 Source: Wikipedia and the Senate No change. reaches 50% by 2030. No long term data analysed. In 2020, female CEOs increased slightly to 18.3% (up 1.2pp) and female representation on boards increased by Women in power 1.3pp to 28.1%. and leadership -In 2019, 17.1% of CEO Source: Australian **CEO** and board positions and 26.8% of Government, Workplace positions board positions were Gender Equality Agency A success Soc08.01.01 held by women. "Australia's Gender Equality because of Soc Scorecard 2020" Source: Australian The percentage of gender equality. Government, Workplace women in CEO and Gender Equality Agency board positions "Australia's Gender Equality The longer term trend is reaches 50% by Scorecard 2019" generally positive but 2035. too slow to meet the target. In 2019, 39.4% of Women in power In 2020, women managerial positions and leadership comprised 39.9% of all were held by women. managerial A success managers, with 44.7% of Source: Australian positions because of Soc manager appointments Government, Workplace Soc08.01.02 gender equality. Gender Equality Agency in 2019-20 going to

"Australia's Gender Equality

Scorecard 2019"

women.



The percentage of

women in

			Society 8 – Wo	Hell & LODITQ	
Indicators, Targets					
& Strategies for	In the L	Direc	tions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement
successful			•••		from baseline
performance					
managerial					Source: Australian Government, Workplace
positions reaches					Gender Equality Agency
50% by 2035.					"Australia's Gender Equality
					Scorecard 2020"
					No change.
					←/→
					/
					The longer term trend is
					generally positive but
					too slow to meet the
					target.
					←/→
Top Priority			A success	In 2021 and 2022	
Target/Strategy:	Soc	8	because of	In 2021 and 2022, Australia witnessed a	Apart from development
Women's National			gender equality.	surge in calls for safety,	of the strategic
Integrated Reform	Soc	1	A safe home.	respect and equity for	directions in Australia
Program for Safety,			A land with an	women and girls	Together that are
Respect and Equity	Soc	2	Indigenous	throughout their lives –	already fully supportive
Soc08.02			heart.	in the workplace, in	of any program for
By 2023,			Inclusive,	schools, in all other	achieving safety, respect
recognising that	Soc	3	welcoming &	public places and in the	and equity for women
unless we address			enabling.	home. The call went out	and girls – none of which
the social	Coo		A place of	to women from survivors	have been adopted yet
determinants and	Soc	4	optimal health	of sexual abuse including	by the Australian
causes of violence,			and wellbeing. A model of	but not limited to Grace	government – no
disrespect and inequity for women	Soc	5	educational	Tame and Brittany	progress has been made
and girls there will	300	3	opportunity.	Higgins. Calls from	in development of an
be no possibility of			A society of	previous decades from	integrated, holistic
achieving what	Soc	6	equals.	also intensified from	approach to women's
women are calling			A success	women of colour,	inequality that deals
for, establish a	Soc	7	because of its	disability, and	with causality and social determinants.
national reform		-	diversity.	genderqueer women. It	determinants.
program for safety,			A place of	was a momentous time.	Progress in the short
respect and equity			supportive	The essence of the call	term has been positive
for women and girls	Coc	10	familial & other	for safety, respect and	due to the success of
that integrates the	Soc	10	connections &	equity and was specific	brave women in making
strategies and			without	in the following terms:	their calls heard.
initiatives			domestic abuse.	Create free and	
necessary to ensure			A land without	accessible early	—
safe workplaces,	Soc	11	child	childhood education	Progress in the longer
fair and equal pay,			disadvantage.	and care.	term has been too slow
high quality free			A sure provider	Expand paid	to be called anything but
early learning, and	Soc	12	of lifelong	parental leave.	negative.
effective justice			dignity.	Act on the national	
and support			A model of	plan for first Nations	
systems for survivors of abuse.	Soc	14	community	women and girls.	
survivors or abuse.			service &		



Indicators, Targets		Society 8 – Wol	HEIT & LODITQ+	
& Strategies for	In the Direc	tions of becoming		Direction of movement
successful	in the birec	tions of becoming	Baseline data	from baseline
-		•••		Jrom buscime
within the program, link all the strategies called for with any related strategies as they arise including those already included in Australia Together for: • fee-free tertiary education under Soc05.01; • cancellation of student debt under Soc05.01.01;	Soc 15 Econ 2 Econ 3	responsible exercise of authority in policing. Confident of justice for all. A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition. A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards	 Deliver strong and consistent child sexual assault laws. Insist employers step up to prevent sexual harassment and bullying. Establish 10 days' paid family and domestic violence leave. Support laws to get rid of the gender pay gap. Source: Safety. Respect. Equity. Brittany Higgins, Grace Tame, Julia Banks, Christine Holgate, Chanel Contos, Wendy McCarthy, Lucy Hughes Turnbull, Madison de Rozario, Michele O'Neil, Larissa Behrendt, Yasmin Poole, 	rom baseline
 universal access to free childcare under Soc11.01; equal pay and superannuatio n under Soc06.02 and 	Gov 2	standards improve continuously for all. A nation knowing and affirming decency.	Georgie Dent	
• growth in income and wealth for welfare workers under Econ03.02.04. National Women's	Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.		
Council for oversight of the Women's National Integrated Reform				



Indicators, Targets					
& Strategies for	In the	Direc	tions of becoming		Direction of movement
successful				Baseline data	from baseline
performance					,
Program for Safety,					
Respect and Equity					
Soc08.02.01					
By 2023, establish					
and fund a National					
Women's Council					
charged with					
responsibility for					
development and					
oversight of the					
Integrated Reform					
Program under					
Soc08.02,					
including:					
 engagement 					
with the					
community on					
all aspects of					
the Program;					
 monitoring 					
Australia's					
progress					
towards the					
goals of the					
Program; and					
 advising on the 					
adequacy and					
allocation of					
funds in					
federal and					
state budgets					
when shortfalls					
in progress					
towards the					
Program goals					
are detected.					
Workplace safety			A success	In 2020, the Australian	In 2022, the federal
for women and	Soc	8	because of	Human Rights	government reported
LGBTIQ+			gender equality.	Commission released	that in response to
Soc08.03	Soc	1	A safe home.	"Respect@Work:	Respect@Work it had
Implement and		· <u> </u>	A land with an	National Inquiry into	fully implemented 12
monitor progress	Soc	2	Indigenous	Sexual Harassment in	recommendations, fully
with all 55			heart.	Australian Workplaces".	funded and commenced
recommendations			Inclusive,	The report noted that	work on 30
in the	Soc	3	welcoming &	Australia was once at the	recommendations,
Respect@Work			enabling.	forefront of tackling	commenced work on a
report including a		· <u> </u>	A place of	sexual harassment	further 12
positive duty on	Soc	4	optimal health	globally and had played	recommendations and
employers.			and wellbeing.	a strong leadership role	would leave the



Society 8 – Women & LGBTIQ+					
Indicators, Targets	In the Directions of becoming		Direction of movement		
& Strategies for successful	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline		
performance	•••		Jioni busenne		
perjormance	A model of Soc 5 educational opportunity. A society of	in the 1970s and 1980s by: ratifying the International Labour	remaining four to the private sector. Source: Commonwealth Government, Attorney-		
	Soc 6 equals.	Organization's	General, A Roadmap for		
	A success Soc 7 because of its diversity.	Discrimination (Employment and Occupation)	Respect: Detailed status update February 2022 However, this was an		
	Soc 15 Confident of justice for all. A model of	Convention in 1973 and the UN Convention on the	attempt to imply that the government accepted all		
	Econ 2 employment planning & justice in industry	Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women	recommendations when in fact it did not. It took more than a year for the federal		
	A nation Gov 2 Anation knowing and affirming decency.	Forms of Discrimination Against Women ('CEDAW') in 1983, and by introducing antidiscrimination laws. However, over 35 years on, the rate of change has been disappointingly slow. Australia now lags behind other countries in preventing and responding to sexual harassment. Since 2003, the Australian Human Rights Commission has conducted four periodic surveys on the national experience of sexual	government to respond to Respect@Work. After significant pressure (occasioned by allegations of the rape of Brittany Higgins in Parliament House), it released "A Roadmap for Respect: Preventing and addressing sexual harassment in Australian workplaces". The roadmap in effect showed that the government did not accept at least eight of the recommendations, including key reforms to amend the Sex Discrimination Act to introduce a positive duty on all employers to take reasonable and proportionate measures to eliminate sex discrimination, sexual harassment and victimisation, as far as possible; and		



Society 8 - Women & LGBTIQ+

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming 	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
		harassment within and outside workplaces. Source: Australian Human Rights Commission, Respect@Work: National Inquiry into Sexual Harassment in Australian Workplaces 2020	of historical workplace sexual harassment matters to have their experience heard and documented with a view to promoting recovery. Source: Commonwealth Government, Attorney- General, A Roadmap for Respect: Preventing and Addressing Sexual Harassment in Australian Workplaces The federal government's response to Respect@Work does not reflect well on its integrity. The short term trend it too slow and too misleading to be fairly characterised as anything other than stagnant. The longer term trend has been negative.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society Society 9 - Housing **Indicators, Targets &** Direction of movement Strategies for In the Directions of becoming Baseline data from baseline successful performance A land without homelessness & On census night 2016, with decent Soc 116,427 Australians, or affordable 49.8 per 10,000 of housing for all. **Homelessness** No data update population, were Soc09.01 Soc A safe home. available. experiencing The proportion of Inclusive, homelessness, an Australians who Soc 3 welcoming & increase from 2011 experience enabling. when 102,439 homelessness declines A place of optimal The longer term trend Australians, or 47.6 per continuously and is at health & Soc is negative. 10,000 of population, least halved by 2030 wellbeing. were experiencing compared to the A place of homelessness. baseline year (2016). supportive Source ABS, 2049.0 Census familial & other of Population and Housing Soc connections & 2016 without domestic abuse. A land without In 2021, AIHW homelessness & reported that, "Home with decent ownership rates have affordable fallen most for younger Soc Housing affordability housing for all people. The proportion In 2016, 37% of ownership by younger and with decent renting from private Australians aged 25-29 affordable landlords has increased generations owned a home, housing for all. among younger Soc09.02 compared to 50% in The proportion of households (under 35 1971. years) over recent young Australians In 2016, 50% of years (54% in 2016 (aged under 35) who Australians aged 30-34 own their own home compared with 47% in owned a home 2006)." (with or without a compared to 64% in Source: AIHW, "Australia's mortgage) rises 1971. Welfare 2021 in brief" continually and A safe home. Soc 1 Source: AIHW, "Australia's reaches 60% by no Welfare 2019 in brief" later than 2035. The longer term trend is negative. A land without In 2017/18. the No data update Housing affordability homelessness & proportion of lower available. lower income Soc 9 with decent income households households

affordable

housing for all.

spending more than

30% of their gross



Soc09.02.01

Society 9 – Housing

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
The proportion of lower income households spending more than 30% of their gross weekly income on housing costs declines continuously.	Soc 1 A safe home.	weekly income on housing costs was: • 56.9% of those renting from a private landlord, and • 41.3% of owners with a mortgage. Source: ABS 4130.0, Housing Occupancy and Costs 2017/18	The longer term trend is negative.



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society Society 10 – Family cohesion & community services **Indicators, Targets &** Strategies for In the Directions of Direction of movement Baseline data successful becoming ... from baseline performance Family and community A place of No data update support - reliability of supportive available. community support in familial & other In 2017, 95% of time of need Soc connections & Australians knew Soc10.01 without someone they could The percent of people domestic No longer term data rely on in time of need. who know someone abuse. Source: OECD Better Life analysed. Index they could rely on in Inclusive, time of need exceeds welcoming & Soc 95%. enabling. In 2020, 86.2% of A place of supportive Australians on survey Family and community familial & other reporting having "family support – availability Soc connections & or friends living outside In 2019, 89% of of support from without the household to Australians on survey outside-the-home confide in", down from domestic reporting having "family sources abuse. 91.5% in 2014 and 95.7 or friends living outside Soc10.01.01 the household to The proportion of Soc 1 A safe home. Source: ABS General Social confide in", down Australians reporting Survey 2020, Table 17.1. slightly from 91.5% in Inclusive, that they have family 2014. Soc 3 welcoming & or friends living outside Source: ABS General Social enabling. the household to The longer term trend is Survey 2020, Table 17.1. confide in increases A place of negative. continuously. Soc 4 optimal health & wellbeing. A place of No data update supportive available. However in familial & other 2021 the ABS reported connections & Soc that, "The number of without police recorded victims Domestic abuse domestic of family and domestic violence abuse. violence related sexual Soc10.02 In 2016, 17% of women assault increased by 13 Soc 1 A safe home. The proportion of (1.6 million) and 6% of per cent in 2020. ... women and men men (547,600) reported The number of victim-Inclusive, reporting experience having experienced survivors of family and Soc 3 welcoming & violence by a partner domestic violence (FDV) enabling. domestic/relationship since the age of 15. related sexual assault A place of violence declines Source: ABS Personal Safety recorded by police rose Soc optimal health Survey 2016 continuously to 10.162 from the & wellbeing. compared to that previous year. This was A society of recorded in 2016. Soc considerably more than equals. the 2 per cent increase A success reported between 2018 because of 8 and 2019."



Soc

gender

equality.

Source: ABS Recorded Crime

Victims 2021

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	Soc		A model of community service & responsible exercise of	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline The longer term trend is negative.
	Soc	10	authority in policing. A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.		
Domestic abuse – emotional Soc10.02.01 The proportion of	Soc	3	A safe home. Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	In 2016, 1 in 4 women (23% or 2.2 million) and 1 in 6 men (16% or 1.4 million) experienced emotional abuse by a partner since the age of 15. Source: ABS Personal Safety Survey 2016	No data update available. No longer term data analysed.
women and men reporting experience of	Soc	4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.		
domestic/relationship emotional abuse	Soc	6	A society of equals.		
declines continuously compared to that recorded in 2016.	Soc	8	A success because of gender equality.		
	Soc	14	A model of community service &		
Domestic abuse - homicide Soc10.02.02 The number of domestic homicide victims in any 2-year period for which data are available declines compared to that recorded between 2014/15 and 2015/16.	Soc	10	A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.	Between 2014/15 and 2015/16, the National Homicide Monitoring Program recorded 218 domestic homicide victims (including 107 victims of intimate	The National Homicide Monitoring Program reported in 2018/19 that the domestic homicide rate was 0.30 per 100,000, trending fairly steadily
	Soc	1	A safe home.	partner homicide, 45 victims of filicide, 28	downward from 0.81 per 100,000 in 2001/02 Source: Australian Institute of
	Soc	3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	victims of parricide, 13 victims of siblicide, 25 victims of other family	Criminology, National Homicide Monitoring Program webpage.



	Society	10	- ruminy conesid	on & community services	
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance			Directions of coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	Soc 4	4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	homicide). The reported number of domestic homicide victims from	However, in 2021 the
	Soc (6	A society of equals.	2014–15 to 2015–16 is slightly higher than the previous reporting	ABS reported that, "There were 145 victims
	Soc 8	3	A success because of gender equality.	period (213 victims were killed in 200 incidents from 2012–13	of family and domestic violence (FDV) related homicide recorded in 2020, an increase of
	Soc 1			to 2013–14). As at 2019, 1 woman is killed every 9 days and 1 man is killed every 29 days	12% (15 victims) from the previous year." Source: ABS Recorded Crime Victims 2021
		14	A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in	by a partner. Source: AIHW & Australian Institute of Criminology	The longer term trend is positive.
			policing.		It is too early to tell if the positive longer term trend has been more than temporarily disrupted.
	Soc :	10	A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.		
	Soc 2	1	A safe home.		No data update
Domestic abuse – hospitalisations Soc10.02.03 The number of	Soc 3	3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	In 2016/17, 4,600 women and 1,700 men were hospitalised due	available.
hospitalisations due to family and domestic violence declines continuously.	Soc 4	4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	to family and domestic violence. Source: AIHW, "Australia's	No longer term data analysed.
	Soc (6	A society of equals.	Welfare 2019, in brief"	←/→
	Soc 8	3	A success because of gender equality.		
	Soc :	14	A model of community service & responsible		



	Jociety .	.o - raining conesic	on & community services	
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful		e Directions of ecoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
performance		exercise of authority in policing.		
	Soc 1	A place of supportive familial & other		In mid 2021, the Meeting of Attorneys- General of Australia (MAG) resolved to "co-design national principles to develop a
	Soc 1	A safe home.		common understanding of coercive control and
	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.		matters to be considered in relation to the potential criminalisation of coercive control, in consultation with women's safety officials, noting criminalisation ultimately remains a matter for decision by individual jurisdictions,
	Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	In 2020, no plans were in place to develop legislation recognising coercive control as a crime.	
Domestic abuse – legislative program Soc10.03 By 2023, legislate to make coercive control illegal.	Soc 6	A society of equals.		
	Soc 8	A success because of gender equality.		
	Soc 1	A model of community service &		and some jurisdictions have already criminalised coercive control". Source: Meeting of Attorneys- General, Development of National Principles on Addressing Coercive Control,
	Soc 1	Confident of		Terms of Reference 1 July 2021
	Gov 2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.		No longer term data analysed.
	Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.		←/→
Domestic abuse - education and counselling services Soc10.04 By 2023, establish a permanent national education program on	Soc 1	A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.	In 2021, no plans were in place to develop a national education program on coercive control.	In 2021, education was considered essential to the success of any legislative reform on coercive control. Accordingly, the Meeting of Attorneys-
coercive control, its features and illegality	Soc 1	A safe home.		General resolved in Terms of Reference (see



Indianta - Tour	Society 10	r anning conesic	on & community services		
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Directions of coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
and where to do to seek help.	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.		Soc10.03 above) that "a holistic assessment of systems reforms issues,	
	Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.		including but not limited to minimum standards for training,	
	Soc 6	A society of equals.		and public awareness raising" would be a key	
	Soc 8	A success because of gender equality.		"matter that may be the subject of national principles for addressing coercive control".	
	Soc 14	A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in policing.		Source: Meeting of Attorneys-General, Development of National Principles on Addressing Coercive Control, Terms of Reference 1 July 2021 No longer term data analysed.	
Domestic abuse support and funding Top Priority Target/Strategy: End domestic violence by restoring funding for	Soc 10	A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.	In 2019, it was reported that: "It's been almost half a century since feminists opened the first domestic violence shelters. Ever since,	Between 2015/16 and 2019/20 the number of people accessing specialist homelessness services increased from 279,000 to 290,500. 76% or approximately	
shelters and support services enabling	Soc 1	A safe home.	they've had to beg for every dollar to keep	220,000 in 2018/19 needed specific	
100% of women threatened by domestic violence to	Soc 2	A land with an Indigenous heart.	women safe. The furious words of these women have, in recent	assistance with family and domestic violence. Source: Family, domestic and sexual violence in Australia:	
escape to safety. Soc10.05 By 2022, and until such	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	years, been stolen by self-serving politicians, who wax lyrical about	continuing the national story 2019	
time as a structure can be established for determination of	Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	ending domestic abuse while dabbling with piecemeal initiatives,	In the 2021/22 federal budget the government	
priority federal budget expenditure under	Soc 6	A society of equals.	gutting essential services and forcing the	announced that, "As part of the Women's	
establish a floor increase in federal funding allocations for	Soc 8	A success because of gender equality.	sector to plead for basic funding. No matter how many prime ministers 'commit' to ending	Safety package, the Government is providing \$164.8 million over three years for	



Society 10 – Family cohesion & community services

Society 10 – Family cohesion & community services						
Indicators, Targets &			D: 6		D: 11 6	
Strategies for	In		Directions of	Baseline data	Direction of movement	
successful performance		bec	coming		from baseline	
domestic violence			A land without	domestic violence, the	financial support to	
shelters, starting from a position of restoring federal funding to pre-2012 levels (effectively double what they were reduced to by 2020).	Soc	9	homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all. A land without child	fact remains: Australia is a rich nation that tolerates abuse towards women and children." Source: Jess Hill, See What You Made Me Do	help women who escape family and domestic violence. The Government is further contributing \$261.4 million to establish a	
Ensure the floor increase on the restored annual funding (which should be at least \$160 million) is maintained at a minimum of 5%	Soc	14	disadvantage. A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in policing.	Across Australia in 2019, more than 1 in 2 women were turned away from crisis accommodation every night. Source: Women's Community Shelters homepage	new agreement with the states and territories for frontline family, domestic and sexual violence supports and \$129.0 million for increased legal assistance to help	
per annum and guaranteed until 2030. Ensure state funding is set to make up any shortfall such that no women at all are turned away from domestic violence shelters or other accommodation for the homeless.	Econ	3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all. A nation fairly	In 2020, the federal government announced funding of \$60 million over three years for a "Safe Places Emergency Accommodation Program" as part of its \$328 million "Fourth Action Plan 2019-2022" in the "National Plan to Reduce Violence against	women access justice." This funding is welcomed but is not a permanent increase. Meanwhile more than 1 in 2 women are still being turned away from crisis accommodation every night in Australia. Source: Federal Budget 2021- 22, Budget Paper No. 1 page 24, Women's Community Shelters Australia	
	Econ	4	raising & sharing its wealth.	Women and their Children 2010-2022". Source: Australian Government, Department of Social Services	←/→	
	Gov	2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.			
	Gov	3	A nation with avowed rights for all.			



1.a.d:								
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society Society 11 – Early childhood care								
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming		Directions of	Baseline data Direction of move from baseline				
	Soc	11	A land without child disadvantage.	In 2021, 60% of Australians supported universal access to free				
Funding for childcare	Soc	2	A land with an Indigenous heart.	child-care and early learning for families with young children. Only 16% opposed this. Source: Essential Report, 29 March 2021 In 2012, economists estimated that the benefits of early learning far outweigh the costs. "For every dollar invested, the [economic] return ranges from roughly 1.5 to almost 3 dollars, with the benefit ratio for disadvantaged children being in the double digits." Source: TD Economics, "Early Childhood Education has Widespread and Long Lasting Benefits", November 2012. In 2020, the Australia Institute noted that free childcare was vital to increasing female participation rates in the workforce which is in turn vital to economic growth. "If average Nordic country participation rates by age and gender were applied to Australia overall the increase in the wages would be \$31.7 billion while the increase in GDP would be \$60.4 billion or a lift in GDP of 3.2 percent The empirical evidence makes clear that				
Top Priority Target/Strategy:	Soc	3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.					
Universal access to free childcare Soc11.01 By 2024, establish	Soc	4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.					
universal access to free childcare for all children under school age as follows: • for those children	Soc	5	A model of educational opportunity.		Free childcare was introduced in Australia during for a brief period during the Covid-19 pandemic and has not been reinstated.			
	Soc	6	A society of equals.					
with working parents/carers – full coverage for those days on	Soc	8	A success because of gender equality.					
which both parents/carers are working; • for those children 3, 4 and 5 years old with a parent who is not working	Soc	10	A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.		No longer term data analysed.			
 full coverage for three days per week; and for those children 2 years old with a parent who is not working – full coverage for one day per week. 	Econ	2	A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.					
	Econ	3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards					

makes clear that

improve



Society 11 – Early childhood care

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Directions of coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
		continuously for all.	expenditure on services like childcare, and indeed general consumer spending, creates more jobs per \$1 million spent than expenditure on	
	Econ 4	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.	construction." Source: Australia Institute, "Participating in Growth: Free childcare and increased participation" June 2020.	



Society 12 – Aged care & disability services

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society Society 12 – Aged care & disability services **Indicators, Targets &** Strategies for In the Directions of **Direction of movement** Baseline data successful from baseline becoming ... performance A sure provider of **12** Soc lifelong dignity. A safe home. Soc Inclusive, Soc welcoming & enabling. A place of optimal Soc health & wellbeing. A society of Soc equals. In October 2021, aged A land care package waiting without times were reported as homelessness Level 1 (basic in-home Soc & with decent In 2020, aged care care) = 3-6 months affordable package waiting times Aged care package Levels 2, 3 & 4 (higher housing for were reported as waiting times care levels) = 6-9 months Level 1 (basic in-home all. Soc12.01 Source: Australian A place of care) = 3-6 months Aged care package Government, supportive Levels 2, 3 & 4 (higher waiting times are myagedcare.gov.au, updated familial & care levels) = 12+ October 2021 reduced to: months other Level 1 = 3 months Soc Source: Australian connections Level 2-4 = <4 months Government, & without No longer term data myagedcare.gov.au domestic analysed. abuse. A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are Econ 3 equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all. A nation fairly raising & Econ sharing its wealth.



Indicators Taracta C	Society 12 – Aged care & disability services					
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Directions of coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline		
	Soc 12	A sure provider of lifelong dignity.				
	Soc 1	A safe home.				
	Soc 2	A land with an Indigenous heart.				
	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.				
	Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	In 2021, "more than half			
	Soc 6	A society of equals.	who had no confidence at all Only 1.8 per cent of Australians said			
Aged care system performance monitoring – confidence in the aged care system Soc12.02 The proportion of Australians reporting high and very high confidence in the aged care system rises continuously.	Soc 9	A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.		No data update available. No longer term data		
	Soc 10	A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.	confidence, alongside 31.1 per cent who had quite a lot of confidence (32.8 per cent in total who were confident)." Source: Australian National University, Centre for Social Research Methods, Views and experience of the aged care	analysed.		
	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all. A nation with avowed rights for all.	system in Australia, April 2021			



Society 12 – Aged care & disability services					
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Directions of coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
	Soc 12	A sure provider of lifelong dignity.			
	Soc 1	A safe home.			
	Soc 2	A land with an Indigenous heart.	In 2021, the Royal Commission into Aged Care Quality and Safety recommended the		
	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.			
	Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	introduction and implementation of aged care quality indicators.		
Agod care system	Soc 6	A society of equals.	of people receiving care from an aged care service and to implement a graded assessment of service performance against the Aged Care Quality Standards. The government committed to establishing baseline surveys for purposes of performance monitoring and star ratings of service providers by the end of 2022. Source: Australian Government Response to the Final Report of the Royal Commission into		
Aged care system performance monitoring – safety, quality and user experience indicators Soc12.02.01 The proportion of Australians reporting positive experiences with aged care services increases continuously from the baseline performance survey of 2022.	Soc 9	A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.		No data update available. No longer term data	
	Soc 10	A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.		analysed.	
	Gov 5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.			
	Gov 7	Committed to public service independence & excellence.	- Aged Care Quality and Safety, Recommendations 22, 94 & 95.		
	Gov 9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & encouraging private sector			



Society 12 – Aged care & disability services						
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Directions of oming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline		
		ethics & community partnership.				
Aged Care Royal Commission, implementation of recommendations – A	Soc 12	A sure provider of lifelong dignity.				
new Aged Care Act Soc12.03	Soc 1	A safe home.				
By 2023 legislate to replace the Aged Care Act 1997 with a new	Soc 2	A land with an Indigenous heart.				
Act consistent in its entirety with all the objects, rights and	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	In 2021, the Royal			
principles for aged care specified by the Aged Care Royal Commissioners,	Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	Commission into Aged Care Quality and Safety made 148 recommendations of	The Australian Government has		
including in particular objects to:	Soc 6	A society of equals.	which the federal government:	committed \$26.7 million over 4 years, from 2021–		
 assist older people to live an active, self-determined and meaningful life, ensure older people receive 	Soc 9	A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.	 accepted 106, qualified its support for 20, and rejected (in effect or outright) 22. Critically, the government accepted 	22 for the introduction of a new Aged Care Act. Source: Australian Government Department of Health, Governance (Pillar 5 of the Royal Commission response) – a new Aged Care Act – Announcement re Budget 2021-22.		
high quality care in a safe and caring environment for dignified living in old age, • protect and advance the rights of older people	Soc 10	A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.	recommendations that "The Aged Care Act 1997 (Cth) should be replaced with a new Act to come into force by no later than 1 July 2023." Source: Australian Government Response to the Final Report of	No longer term data analysed.		
receiving aged care to be free from mistreatment and neglect, and harm from poor quality or unsafe care, ensure equity of access to aged care, promote positive community attitudes to	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	the Royal Commission into Aged Care Quality and Safety.			



Indicators, Targets &				
Strategies for	In the	Directions of	Baseline data	Direction of movement
successful	be	coming	Baseline data	from baseline
performance				
enhance social and economic participation by people receiving aged care, and • specify a list of rights of people seeking and receiving aged care.	Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.		
Top Priority Target/Strategy: Aged Care Royal	Soc 12	A sure provider of lifelong dignity.	In 2021, Aged Care Royal Commissioner Pagone recommended new institutional	
Commission, implementation of	Soc 1	A safe home.	arrangements involving three main players to	
recommendations – New independent and accountable institutional	Soc 2	A land with an Indigenous heart.	ensure quality and safety in aged care, free of political interference and	
arrangements Soc12.03.01 By 1 July 2023,	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	to ensure accountability for management of the aged care system:	
recognising that: • acceptance of Commissioner Briggs'	Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	an Australian Aged Care Commission (a body corporate with perpetual	No progress.
recommendation on maintaining	Soc 6	A society of equals.	succession, "able to sue and be sued in	←
institutional arrangements for aged care within a politicised Ministerial framework would be more likely to	Soc 9	A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.	its corporate name", and "independent of ministerial direction"); 2. an Inspector General of Aged Care; and	No longer term data analysed.
perpetuate the failures exhibited in aged care, and that • other recommendations were accepted by the government which do nothing to increase the accountability of service providers	Soc 10	A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse. A model of transition from excessive	3. an Australian Commission on Safety and Quality in Health and Aged Care (which is to be responsible under the new Act for review and setting of quality and safety standards and quality indicators). An alternative set of institutional	

Indicators, Targets &						
Strategies for	In the	Directions of		Direction of movement		
successful		coming	Baseline data	from baseline		
performance		3		,		
for proper use of taxpayer funding,		to sustainability.	arrangements was proposed by Aged Care			
legislate to implement Commissioner Pagone's recommendation that an Australian Aged Care Commission should be established under the new Act as corporate Commonwealth entity within the meaning of the Public Governance, Performance and Accountability Act 2013 (Cth), with all functions and accountabilities as specified within Commissioner Pagone's recommendation.	Econ 2	A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.	Royal Commissioner Briggs which perpetuated Ministerial control instead of the independent and accountable model			
	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	recommended by Commissioner Pagone. The government accepted Commissioner Briggs' recommendation and rejected the model proposed by Commissioner Pagone, despite the fact that the Briggs model, which reflects the status quo, had clearly failed to deliver both safety and			
	Econ 4	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.	accountability for proper use of taxpayer funds in aged care.			
	Econ 5	A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.				
	Econ 6	An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.				
	Gov 2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.				
	Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.				
	Gov 5	Open, transparent & accountable in its				



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for	In the	Directions of		Direction of movement
successful		coming	Baseline data	from baseline
performance		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		,
		governments & institutions.		
	Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.		
	Gov 7	Committed to public service independence & excellence.		
	Gov 9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & encouraging private sector ethics & community partnership.		
Aged care funding – federal budget minimums Soc12.04	Soc 12	A sure provider of lifelong dignity.	In 2020, after extensive research, reviews of the Royal Commission into Aged Care, and reviews	In response to the Aged Care Royal Commission the federal budget 2021/22 made provision
To maximise the chances of success of the model proposed	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	of the adequacy of spending in the sector, the Grattan Institute	not for \$7 billion per year as recommended by the Grattan Institute but
under Soc12.03.01, legislate to secure a funding system for aged care which	Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	proposed that: "The federal government should create a new Aged Care Act to	for a mere \$684 million extra in 2021/22, compared to commitments in
establishes a floor for Aged Care Services	Soc 6	A society of equals.	enshrine a rights-based system that will require	2020/21 budget. Over three years from
By 2022/23 increase federal funding for aged care by a minimum of \$7 billion compared to the	Soc 9	A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.	an additional \$7 billion of government spending per year." Source: Grattan Institute, Reforming Aged Care: A practical plan for a rights-based system, November 2020	2022/24 the government projected an additional \$8.2 million in total over and above the estimates committed in the 2020/21 budget. In short, only a fraction of
federal actual expenditure in 2019/20 of \$20.03 billion, taking total funding for the sector to \$27.03 billion. Thereafter, increase this funding by at least 4% per annum until 2031, after which a	Soc 10	A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse. A model of transition	Note: Other sources have been reported as suggesting that an extra \$10 billion per year is required. Note also: The Parliamentary Budget Office has estimated that beyond 2022/23 it will	the amounts necessary for a stable aged care system have been committed. Source: Federal Budget 2021- 22 Budget Paper No. 1, page 164 Also, in the 2021 Intergenerational Report it was estimated that funding for aged care



Indicators, Targets &						
Strategies for successful performance		Pirections of ecoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline		
review should be conducted to determine new funding requirements. (Note: This target will		from excessive consumption to sustainability. A model of	be necessary to increase funding to cover the cost of demand for aged care services (to a level that reflects "common cost pressures") by annual	would increase over 40 years from 1.2% of GDP in 2021 to 2.1% of GDP in 2061. However, over the same 40 year period, pensions are slated to be		
be subject to revision after further analysis of funding necessary to meet the objectives of a new Aged Care Act proposed by the Royal	Econ 2	employment planning & justice in industry transition. A country	real growth of at least 4%. Source: Parliamentary Budget Office 2020/21 Medium Term Fiscal Projections	reduced from 2.7% of GDP in 2021 to 2.1% of GDP in 2061. This will fully offset the increased expense of aged care. Aged care funding is in		
Commission into Aged Care. Note also: The federal government's 2021/22 budget for expenditure on Aged Care Services in 2022/23 was announced as \$27.6	Econ 3	where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living		total set to decline. Source: Intergenerational Report 2021, page 104 No longer term data analysed.		
billion.)	Econ 4	standards improve continuously for all. A nation fairly raising &				
		sharing its wealth. A sure				
Aged care funding – levies	Soc 1	nrovider of	In 2021, the Aged Care Royal Commissioners both recommended a			
Soc12.04.01 By 2022/23 introduce	Soc 1	A safe home.	Medicare style levy as a means of hypothecating	No progress.		
an Aged Care Funding Levy of: O.5% for all taxpayers earning below \$120,000; 1% for those earning between \$120,000 and 179,999; and 1.5% for those earning above \$180,000 in addition to the	Soc 2	A land with an Indigenous heart.	tax revenues to securely finance aged care quality and safety to a level necessary to meet the	Funding for aged care is insecure in Australia.		
	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	objectives of the proposed new Aged Care Act. (Recommendations	No longer term data analysed.		
	Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	138 and 144). The government accepted neither of these recommendations.	←/→		
	Soc 6	A society of equals.	Source: Australian Government Response to the Final Report of the Royal Commission into			
Medicare Levy.	Soc 9	A land without homelessness	Aged Care Quality and Safety.			



Society 12 – Agea care & disability services					
Indicators, Targets &		L - -	Nima aki a mana 6		Divo etian a face a
Strategies for			Directions of	Baseline data	Direction of movement
successful performance	,	peco	oming		from baseline
,			& with decent affordable housing for all. A place of	But in 2021, ANU researchers reported that: "Despite government rejecting a targeted levy, the	
	Soc	10	supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.	majority of Australians support a levy. Only 14.6 per cent of respondents said that they would not support such a levy. Of those who were supportive, 33.5 per cent	
	Econ	3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	said 'Yes, for all taxpayers', 31.9 per cent said 'Yes, for taxpayers in the top 2 tax brackets (\$120,001 or more per year)', and 19.9 per cent said 'Yes, for taxpayers in the top tax bracket (\$180,001 or more per year)." Source: Australian National University, Centre for Social Research Methods, Views and experience of the aged care	
	Econ	4	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.	system in Australia, April 2021	
Aged care funding – Accountability of service providers in return for public		12	A sure provider of lifelong dignity.	In 2021 the Aged Care Royal Commission made several	In 2021, the federal government allocated \$6.5 billion of the abovementioned budget
funding Soc12.04.02 By 2025, in order to remove the profit		2	A safe home. A land with an Indigenous heart.	recommendations to improve accountability of aged care service providers for their use of	increase for aged care over four years to private sector aged care
motive from the publicly funded but largely privately run	Soc	3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	public funds. Some were accepted by the government but some	providers without putting in place any accountability measures to stop exploitation of
aged care sector, and consistent with Gov09.03, legislate to prohibit for-profit	Soc	4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	were not, leaving taxpayers with a lower standard of accountability for use of	the system and proven poor quality in service delivery. Source: The Senior, Eileen
companies from qualifying for any form	Soc	6	A society of equals.	the funding they provide.	Wood, July 2021
of taxpayer assistance – including but not limited to direct funding, subsidies and	Soc	9	A land without homelessness & with decent	Source: Australian Government Response to the Final Report of the Royal Commission into Aged Care Quality and Safety	No longer term data analysed.



Indicators, Targets &		71gea ea.	e & disubility services	
Strategies for	In the	Directions of		Direction of movement
successful		coming	Baseline data	from baseline
performance		coming		Jrom Busenne
tax breaks – for		affordable		,
provision of services in		housing for		← / →
aged care.		all.		/
(Note: Essentially this		A place of	1	
means that until the		supportive		
government accepts		familial &		
that much higher		other		
standards of	Soc 10	connections		
accountability for		& without		
expenditure of public		domestic		
funds should be		abuse.		
imposed – such as		A model of	1	
accountability for		transition		
spending food		from		
supplements on	Econ 1	excessive		
provision of food for	20011 1	consumption		
residents – private		to		
sector participation in		sustainability.		
the aged care sector		A country	1	
should be restricted to		where		
non-profit		economic		
incorporated bodies).		opportunity,		
,		growth &		
		prosperity are		
	Econ 3	equitably		
		shared &		
		living		
		standards		
		improve		
		continuously		
		for all.		
		A nation fairly		
	Face 4	raising &		
	Econ 4	sharing its		
		wealth.		
		A strong		
		regulator of		
		fairness in		
	Econ 5	markets		
		creating		
		confidence		
		for investors.		
		An economy		
		with		
	Econ 6	competitive &		
	20011 0	profitable		
		public sector		
		participation.		
	Gov 5	Open,		
	GUV 5	transparent &		
	1		1	1

Society 12 – Aged care & disability services

	50010	., igea car	c & disability scrvices	
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Directions of coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
		accountable in its governments & institutions.		
	Gov 7	Committed to public service independence & excellence.		
	Gov 9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & encouraging private sector ethics & community partnership.		



Society 13 – Arts & culture

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society Society 13 – Arts & culture **Indicators, Targets & Strategies** In the Directions of becoming ... Baseline data for successful performance No specific Targets or Strategies have yet been established for this Direction. However, some Strategies which are closely No baseline data have yet been integrated with this Direction established specifically for this are incorporated into the plan Direction. A wellspring of inspiration 13 However, baseline data are under: Soc & creativity. Soc02.14 available relevant to this Soc03.01.01 Direction under the Targets and Strategies listed at left. Soc07.01 Soc07.01.01 Soc07.01.02 Gov02.01

	Society 14 – Police services					
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline			
Trust in federal police Soc14.01 Trust in the federal police is steady or increasing.	A model of community service & Soc 14 responsible exercise of authority in policing.	In 2019, 66% of Australians (net) said they trusted the federal police. Source: Essential, Trust in Institutions 2019	In 2021, 61% of Australians said they trusted the police, courts and justice system. Source: Essential, Trust in Institutions October 2021 Note: This level of			
Trust in state police Soc14.02 Trust in the state police is steady or increasing.	A model of community service & Soc 14 responsible exercise of authority in policing.	In 2019, 66% of Australians (net) said they trusted the state police. Source: Essential, Trust in Institutions 2019	confidence may not apply to the NSW police in the light of recent controversial performance of the Fixated Persons Unit. No data are available. No longer term data analysed.			
Trust in police nation-wide Soc14.03 Trust in police is steady or increasing.	A model of community service & Soc 14 responsible exercise of authority in policing.	In 2019, 76.8% of Australians on survey felt that police could be trusted.	In 2020, 79.3% of Australians on survey felt that police could be trusted. Source: ABS General Social Survey 2020, Table 1.3			
	Soc 1 A safe home.	Source: ABS General Social Survey 2020, Table 1.3	No longer term data analysed.			

Trust in the justice

Trust in the justice

system is steady or

system

Soc15.02

increasing.

Society 15 - Justice **Indicators, Targets &** In the Directions of Direction of movement Strategies for Baseline data from baseline successful becoming ... performance In 2020, 61% of Australians (net) said they trusted the High In 2019, 58% of Source: Essential, Trust in **High Court** Australians (net) said Institutions 2020 Soc15.01 Confident of they trusted the High 15 Soc justice for all. Trust in the High Court Court. is steady or increasing. Source: Essential. Trust in No longer term data Institutions 2019 analysed. In 2020, 62.9% of Australians felt the justice system could be

In 2019, 57.6% of

trusted.

Australians felt the

justice system could be

Source: ABS General Social

Survey 2020, Table 1.3

trusted.

Source: ABS General Social Survey 2020, Table 1.3 However, in 2021, Next25 reported that only 46% of Australians believe Australia has a fair, honest and capable

legal system, with

poorer people and

significantly lower level

of confidence than richer

women having a

people and men. Source: Source: Next25 Navigator, Social Research report 2021, page 17.

No longer term data

analysed.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Note: Baseline data, Targets, Indicators and Strategies in this section will expand in future issues of **Australia Together**, based on availability of data and on the input of Australians.

Confident of

justice for all.

Soc 15

Indicators Targets 9							
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline				
Preparedness for global crises Top Priority Target/Strategy:	A society prepared at Soc 16 resilient in times of disaster.	In 2020, at the start of the Covid-19 pandemic Australia had: • 25% less total					
Sovereign Capability Strategy for National	Soc 1 A safe home	la a sur librar la calla della sur	No comparable update data available.				
Resilience in Global Crises Soc16.01	A place of Soc 4 optimal hea & wellbeing	and • only 9.4 intensive	The longer term trend has been negative with				
By 2023, develop a draft comprehensive strategy to build	Soc 5 A model of educational opportunity	' ' '	Australians becoming concerned about self-sufficiency and				
"sovereign capability" in areas of economic activity and human capital necessary to ensure Australia is	A leading gl advocate for action on climate cha	r the US (25.8) and Canada (12.9). nge. In 2020, Australia:	resilience. In 2021, Next25				
prepared for global crises arising from climate change, pandemics, global	Env 5 environmer educated community	was import dependent for	reported that the poorest-tracking aspiration of Australians in their Next25				
economic downturns and wars, the overall objective being to	A renewabl Env 6 energy superpowe	Protective Equipment (PPE);	Navigator survey is "Australia being self- sufficient and able to				
ensure Australia can scale up to provide security for Australians in times of crisis by establishing:	A model of transition fine Econ 1 excessive consumption sustainabilities.	had no mandated minimum stocking levels for critical medical items;	stand on its own two feet as a country. Fewer than four in 10 are confident Australia is self-sufficient." Source: Next25 Navigator,				
 manufacturing capability in critical medicines 	A collabora Econ 7 intelligent nation.	• was reliant on the foreign owned / controlled	Social Research report 2021, page 16				
 and PPE; minimum stocking levels for imported medical supplies and fuels; scale-up capacity 	Productive prosperous through fair Econ 9 ethical trad agreements labour hire	maritime trade system for 98% of imports and exports. Source: Institute for Integrated Economic Research	The longer term trend is negative.				
for emergency facilities, hospitals and quarantine; a skilled and experienced	Gov 6 procurement A world benchmark leaders' conduct.	& Trusted Supply Chains: A National Sovereignty /					



			ociety 16 – Emei	gency services	
Indicators, Targets &					
Strategies for	In the Directions of			Baseline data	Direction of movement
successful		bec	oming		from baseline
performance					
workforce in both crisis prevention and response, underpinned by expanded and	Gov	11	A just participant on the global stage.	Economic Research Australia "The Australian Health System: 'Just in time' or 'Just in case'?" December 2020	
internationally collaborative research and development	Gov	12	A nation assured of enduring peace.		
capability and elevated diplomacy programs; Australian ownership and/or control over critical capabilities; public ownership and control of vital resources including water and power transmission; and risk minimisation and response programs for disruptions in foreign trade. By 2024, undertake widespread community engagement on the draft Sovereign Capability Strategy and the funding required. By 2025, finalise the Strategy and embed the necessary funding in federal, state, and local government budgets.	Gov	13	A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.		
Preparedness for and prevention of disasters in Australia	Soc	16	A society prepared and resilient in times of disaster.	In 2018, the federal government released a "National Disaster Risk Reduction Framework",	In 2021, in response to the Royal Commission into National Natural Disaster Arrangements,
Top Priority Target/Strategy: Statement of	Soc	1	A safe home.	with four priority actions:	the federal government established the National Recovery and Resilience



	Society 16 – Emergency services							
Indicators, Targets &								
Strategies for		e Directions of	Baseline data	Direction of movement				
successful	b	ecoming		from baseline				
performance								
Adherence to and		A place of	1. Understand	Agency. The Agency is				
Performance on the	Soc 4	optimal health	disaster risk	tasked with supporting				
National Disaster Risk		& wellbeing.	2. Accountable	communities impacted				
Reduction Framework		A leading global	decisions	by disaster with a				
Soc16.02	Env 1	advocate for	3. Enhanced	strong on-the-ground				
By 2023, consistent	LIIV I	action on	investment	presence and a guiding				
with Strategies for a		climate change.	4. Governance	principle of locally-led				
National Climate		A net zero	ownership and	recovery. It also				
Change Prevention,	Env 2	emissions	responsibility.	proposes to deliver				
Mitigation and		nation.	The framework	initiatives to reduce risk				
Adaptation		A proactive	established a 2030	and lessen the impacts				
Commission under	Env 3	planner of	vision, goals and	of future shocks. This is				
Env03.01 and the	EIIV 3	climate change	priorities broadly	a small positive step but				
Integrated Strategy for		adaptation.	aligned to the Sendai	it does not deliver the				
Defence, Diplomacy		Environmentally	Framework and the	level of institutional				
and Security under		and	United Nations	reform and integration				
Gov12.04, enact	Env 8	economically	Sustainable	required to prevent				
legislation making it	Env 8	sustainable in	Development Goals. ¹⁹	avoidable natural and				
obligatory for federal,		agriculture and	However, the	national disasters. It is				
state and local		fisheries.	framework lacked	focussed more on				
governments to		Confident of	targets, and imposed no	recovery than				
prepare annual	Env 9	safety and security of its	obligations for or	prevention.				
Statements of	Env 9		incentives to	<u> </u>				
Adherence to and		water supplies.	compliance, effectively	—/—				
Performance on the		A biodiversity	pushing accountability					
National Disaster Risk	Env 10	haven.	down to unnamed	If Australia is to create				
Reduction		A pollution free	government and private	the "enabling				
Framework, such	Env 14	biosphere.	institutions that are not	conditions" ²⁰ necessary				
statements to			geared yet to take it on.	to deal with climate				
demonstrate:	Env 15	A marine		change, it will need a				
 actions taken 		wildlife haven.	The framework was also	fully integrated set of				
during the year		Open,	not integrated with any	strategies and				
that have		transparent &	other strategy for	institutional reform				
positively reduced	Gov 5	accountable in	dealing with the key	across all levels of				
the risk of natural		its governments	causes of either natural	government to				
and other national		& institutions.	disasters or other types	integrate efforts. No				
disasters by		A world	of national disaster	progress has been				
dealing with or	Gov 6	benchmark in	such as an invasion or	made in development				
reducing <i>causal</i>	337 0	leaders'	military attack.	of a blueprint for such				
factors (most		conduct.						

¹⁹ The National Disaster Risk Reduction Framework 2018, page 8.

²⁰ See <u>IPCC Sixth Assessment Report Working Group II</u>, page TS-87: "Prospects for transformation towards climate resilient development increase when key governance actors work together in inclusive and constructive ways to create a set of appropriate enabling conditions. These enabling conditions include effective governance and information flow, policy frameworks that incentivize sustainability solutions; adequate financing for adaptation, mitigation, and sustainable development; institutional capacity; science, technology and innovation; monitoring and evaluation of climate resilient development policies, programs, and practices; and international cooperation."



	Society 16 – Emergency services							
Indicators, Targets &								
Strategies for		Directions of	Baseline data	Direction of movement				
successful performance	be	coming		from baseline				
notably by preventing climate change and the risk of war in	Gov 7	Committed to public service independence & excellence.	The effect is that the framework is likely to be ineffective in preventing disasters.	an institutional transformation.				
Australian territory); • actions taken during the year that have increased the risk of natural and other national	Gov 9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & encouraging private sector ethics & community partnership.	Source: Commonwealth of Australia, National Disaster Risk Reduction Framework, 2018.	,				
disasters; andwhether Australia has therefore moved towards or	Gov 11	A just participant on the global stage.						
away from fulfilment of the "2030 Vision for Disaster Risk Reduction in Australia" as expressed in the National Disaster Risk Reduction Framework 2018 ¹⁸ .								
The intent of the Statement is to increase the ability of Australians to hold governments to account for decisions which expose Australia to avoidable risk and to provide early warning of the nature of major risks requiring management.	Gov 12	A nation assured of enduring peace.						
National Community Council for Risk								

¹⁸ The <u>National Disaster Risk Reduction Framework</u> includes a "2030 Vision for Disaster Risk Reduction in Australia: In Australia, we are enabled and supported to actively reduce disaster risk and limit the impacts of disasters on communities and economies. All sectors of society understand and respond to social, environmental, technological and demographic changes which have the potential to prevent, create or exacerbate disaster risks. All sectors of society make disaster risk-informed decisions, are accountable for reducing risks within their control, and invest in reducing disaster risk in order to limit the cost of disasters when they occur."



Society 16 – Emergency services

to disease Towns to O	Society 16 – Emer	gency services	
Indicators, Targets &			
Strategies for	In the Directions of	Baseline data	Direction of movement
successful	becoming		from baseline
performance			
Reduction Review			
Soc16.02.01			
Within the legislation			
proposed for the			
Statements of			
Adherence to and			
Performance on the			
National Disaster Risk			
Reduction Framework,			
under Soc16.02, make			
all necessary			
provisions to establish			
a National Community			
Council for Risk			
Reduction Review and			
charge the Council			
with responsibility for			
steering consultation			
with Australians			
enabling the			
production of:			
 an independent 			
response to the			
Statements,			
 annual audits of 			
compliance with			
the National			
Disaster Risk			
Reduction			
Framework itself			
and			
 annual reports on 			
the perceived risks			
identified by			
Australians that			
pose the greatest			
threats to national			
wellbeing and			
security and			
therefore require			
priority for			
solutions.			



Chapter 8 – National Wellbeing Index – Baseline & Update Data for Our Environment



Environment 1 – Environmental advocacy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for		Directions of	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
successful performance	De	coming		Jioni busenne
Reformation of Australia's negotiating stance and conduct in Paris Agreement	Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	In 2021, Australia's stance and conduct in relation to the Paris Agreement under the	As at the end of 2021, Australia had adopted a target of net zero carbon emissions by
negotiations – Commitment to emitting no more than	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change was	2050 but had made no further offer to lift targets for 2030
a fair share of a global carbon budget Env01.01 By the 2021 COP26 meeting in Glasgow (or as soon as possible	Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.	to negotiate on the basis of offering percentage reductions in carbon emissions compared to a baseline year. In mid 2021, the	beyond the pledge made in 2016 to reduce emissions by 26%-28% compared to 2005 levels. Australia foreshadowed a
thereafter), recognising that: a) Australia has	Env 6	A renewable energy superpower.	reduction on offer from Australia was 26%-28% on 2005	potential emissions reduction of up to 35% by 2030. However, no
everything to lose (economically and in all other respects) by failing to support the UNFCCC negotiations to cap heating at 1.5° Celsius, and can gain more than any other nation by	Env 7	Efficiently connected through low emissions transport.	emissions by 2030 and there was no commitment to meet net zero by 2050 or any other date.	credible modelling with a transparent foundation was supplied to underpin claims that either the
	Env 8	Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.	The percentage reductions on offer from Australia were not only among the weakest of any nation, they were also:	2030 or 2050 targets would be reached. No reform of the approach to Paris Agreement negotiations can be
ensuring heating does not rise above	Env 10	A biodiversity haven.	embedding a global negotiation	seen, meaning the expected result as at
that temperature, and that	Env 11	A replanted and reforested land.	framework that will be wholly	2022 is that temperatures will rise
b) it is not possible to keep global heating below 1.5° Celsius without adoption of a global carbon budget and an agreement by all nations to emit no	Env 14	A pollution free biosphere.	insufficient to ensure that	by significantly more than the 1.5°C agreed
	Env 15	A marine wildlife haven.	temperatures can be capped at 1.5°	to by Australia under the Paris Agreement.
	Env 19	A land of thriving self-supporting regions.	Celsius; and 2. entirely at odds with the economic interests of	The longer term trend and performance is
more than their fair shares of that	Soc 1	A safe home.	Australia.	negative.
budget, attend the COP26 meeting offering a new	Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	In 2019, the economic loss to Australia as a result of global	

Environment 1 - Environmental advocacy

Environment 1 – Environmental advocacy						
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		e Directions of ecoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline		
basis for the framework negotiations as follows:	Soc 6	A society of equals.	temperature rises of more than 1.5° Celsius			
 That negotiations within the Framework should be shifted away from pledges to 	Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	was estimated by Melbourne University's Sustainable Society Institute ²² as a minimum of:			
reduce emissions by self-nominated percentages – i.e., that approach should be abandoned.	Econ 2	A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.	 \$584.5 billion by 2030, \$762 billion by 2050, and more than \$5 trillion in 			
2. That a new negotiation within the framework should be established to meet the temperature objectives based on pledges to stay permanently within total tonnage limits for emissions — such tonnage limits	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	cumulative damages from now until 2100, whereas the cost to meet the temperature targets would be a mere \$35.5 billion. In 2021, it was acknowledged that: it is a road to self- defeat to stick to a			
per country to be determined by the following formula: i. a pre-	Econ 4	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.	negotiating stance that is based on a political and unethical notion			
determined budget of total global emissions necessary to ensure a near 100% probability of staying below	Econ 5	A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors. A collaborative intelligent	that there is no point in Australia doing more to reduce emissions unless the rest of the world does more, and that • Australia is "more vulnerable than			
	Econ 7		Australia is "more			

²² University of Melbourne Sustainable Society Institute, "Australia's Clean Economy Future: Costs and Benefits", June 2019, page 3: "The potential damages from climate change to Australia at current global emissions patterns are quantified as: • \$584.5 billion in 2030 • \$762 billion in 2050 • more than \$5 trillion in cumulative damages from now until 2100. These costs are conservative – they exclude the bulk of costs of floods and bush fires, pollution, damage to environmental assets and biodiversity losses. Conversely, the national costs of effective emissions reduction – based on a carbon price or renewables target – are estimated at \$35.5 billion from 2019 to 2030, or 0.14% of cumulative GDP; a negligible impact. Overall, the costs of emissions reduction are far less than the damages of inaction – even with modelling underestimating damages from climate change and overestimating the costs of emissions reduction."

https://sustainable.unimelb.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0012/3087786/Australias_Clean_Economy_MSSI_I_ssues_Paper12.pdf



	Environment 1 — Environmental advocacy						
	tors, Targets & gies for	li		Directions of	Baseline data	Direction of movement	
	sful performance		be	coming		from baseline	
	(probably no more than 235 billion tonnes between 2020 and whenever net zero is reached by all	Econ	9	Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.	developed country" to economic losses from climate change but has "more to gain than any other country		
ii.	countries), multiplied by the percentage of the total	Gov	6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	from the world moving early to zero net emissions necessary for		
•	load of global carbon emitted by each country to the atmosphere in 2019.	Gov	9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & encouraging private sector ethics & community partnership.	cessation of warming, and from full participation in the global transition to zero emissions". Sources: University of		
ro	nis would be oughly equivalent o 235BT x 1.5% = a	Gov	11	A just participant on the global stage.	Melbourne Sustainable Society Institute, "Australia's Clean Economy Future: Costs and Benefits"; ACFP, Dr		
o; 3. Tł	nal carbon budget f approx. 3.5BT. ²¹) nat Australia	Gov	12	A nation assured of enduring peace.	Bronwyn Kelly, "By 2050" and "The State of Australia in 2020"; and Professor Ross Garnaut, Reset: Restoring		
th fra	anould advocate for all new amework based in its advantages is the certainty it provides for every country, the flexibility it provides in the dates by which each country may meet the net zero target (understanding that in this system it doesn't matter when a country meets net zero as long as they	Gov	13	A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.			

²¹ For supporting information on this formula for determination of fair and equitable shares of the world's remaining carbon budget see Episode 6 Part of ACFP's seven part videocast series on The State of Australia in 2020 on YouTube at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1rD6M2qh-CY



Indicators, Targets &	LIIVII	onment 1 – Enviroi	incital advocacy	
Strategies for		e Directions of	Baseline data	Direction of movement
	b	ecoming		from baseline
meet it before they consume their share of the global carbon budget), and • the opportunities it opens up to poorer developing countries to submit sound proposals for assistance from a fund that may be established by wealthy developed countries as per Gov13.02 in meeting carbon	Ь	ecoming		from baseline
budgets.	Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	In 2021, Australia ranked 54 th out of 61 countries in the	In 2022, Australia slipped to 58 th place out of 64 countries in the independent
	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.	independent international Climate Change Performance	international Climate Change Performance Index (CCPI) with
Climate change performance – action, international cooperation and policy Env01.02	Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.	Index (CCPI) with rankings in four main indicators as follows: In reduction of greenhouse gas emissions – 44th	rankings in four main indicators as follows: In reduction of greenhouse gas emissions — slipped to 56th
By 2030, attain an overall rating of "very high" in the Climate	Env 6	A renewable energy superpower.	place In implementing renewable energy - 52 nd place	placeIn implementing renewable energy
Change Performance Index.	Env 7	Efficiently connected through low emissions transport.	 In reducing energy use – 51^{st place} In climate policy – 60th (second last) No country performed 	 stable at 52nd place In reducing energy use – slipped to 54th place
	Env 8	Environmentally and economically sustainable in	well enough in all index categories to achieve an overall	In climate policy – slipped to 64 th place (last).



In the Directions of becoming Baseline data Direction of moveme from baseline agriculture and fisheries. Env 10 A biodiversity haven. A replanted and A replanted and	ent
agriculture and fisheries. agriculture and fisheries. abiodiversity haven. A replanted and fisheries agriculture and fisheries. A replanted and fisheries. The longer term trend is negative.	
fisheries. The index. Source: Climate Change Performance Index (CCPI) 2021 The longer term trend is negative.	
Env 10 A biodiversity haven. A replanted and A replanted and Source: Climate Change Performance Index (CCPI) is negative. The longer term trend is negative.	
Performance Index (CCPI) haven. 2021 is negative.	
A replanted and	ıd
Env 11 reforested land.	
Env 14 A pollution free	
biosphere.	
Env 15 A marine	
wildlife haven. A land of	
thriving self-	
Env 19 supporting	
regions.	
Soc 1 A safe home.	
A place of	
Soc 4 optimal health & wellbeing.	
A society of	
Soc 6 equals.	
A model of	
transition from	
Econ 1 excessive	
consumption to sustainability.	
A country	
where	
economic	
opportunity,	
growth &	
Econ 3 prosperity are equitably	
shared & living	
standards	
improve	
continuously for	
all. Productive &	
prosperous	
through fair &	
Econ 9 ethical trade	
agreements,	
labour hire &	
procurement.	
A world benchmark in	
Gov 6 leaders'	
conduct.	



Environment 1 – Environmental advocacy

				micrital dato dato,	
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming			Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			A just		
	Gov	11	participant on		
			the global stage.		
			A nation		
	Gov	12	assured of		
			enduring peace.		
			A nation leading		
	Gov	13	in empathy &		
			global cohesion.		



Environment 2 – Climate change prevention							
Indicators, Targets &	1	n the	Directions of		Direction of		
Strategies for successful	becoming			Baseline data	movement from		
performance					baseline		
Carbon emissions			A net zero				
reduction	Env	2	emissions				
			nation.		As at March 2022,		
Top Priority			A leading global		Australia still had no		
Target/Strategy:	Env	1	advocate for		carbon emissions		
Achievement of net			action on		budget – a necessity if		
zero carbon emissions			climate change.		we are to meet the		
within a carbon budget			A nation that		temperature targets of		
that will maximise			puts the		the Paris Agreement.		
chances of limiting	Env	4	environment		. 2024 4 !		
global heating to 1.5°			before	For full baseline details	In 2021, Australia		
Celsius			unsustainable 	and rationale for	adopted a target date		
Env02.01			consumption.	adopting this Target	of 2050 for		
By 2022, adopt a	_	_	A renewable	see ACFP's videocast:	achievement of net		
maximum carbon	Env	6	energy	The State of Australia	zero but did not adopt a trajectory of		
emissions budget for			superpower.	in 2020, Episode 6 Part	emissions reduction (in		
total emissions from			Efficiently	2 – Climate policy	either percentage or		
domestic sources of	F	-	connected	failure and how to fix	tonnage terms)		
3.53 billion tonnes and	Env	7	through low emissions	<u>it</u> .	capable of meeting		
acknowledge that					that target.		
emissions beyond this			transport.	In 2020, Australia had	that target.		
budget will result in Australia			Environmentally and	no adopted carbon	←		
			economically	emissions budget.			
disproportionately contributing to heating	Env	8	sustainable in		In 2020, Australia's		
of the earth by more			agriculture and	In 2020, Australia had	domestic emissions		
than 1.5° Celsius above			fisheries.	no target date for	(excluding exports)		
pre-Industrial levels and			Confident of	achievement of net	were 510 MT of CO ₂ -e.		
consequent			safety and	zero emissions.	In 2021, this declined		
unaffordable economic	Env	9	security of its		to 499Mt, due to the		
loss for Australia.			water supplies.	In 2019, Australia's	impact of Covid-19.		
Emissions reduction			A biodiversity	domestic emissions	Should this trajectory		
target for 2030	Env	10	haven.	(excluding exports)	continue to 2030,		
Env02.01.01			A replanted and	were 532 Mt of CO ₂ -e.	Australia will meet its		
By 2022, adopt a carbon	Env	11	reforested land.	Source: National Greenhouse Gas Inventory,	2030 target of 26%-		
emissions reduction			A protector of	June 2019	28% below 2005 levels		
interim target of 79%	Env	12	scarce		but temperatures will		
reduction by 2030 on			resources.		still rise by more than		
annual emissions in			A pollution free		1.5°C. This trajectory		
2019 (Australia's	Env	14	biosphere.		locks in failure on		
domestic emissions in			A marine		temperature targets of		
2019 were 532 million	Env	15	wildlife haven.		the Paris Agreement.		
tonnes), to be achieved			A model of				
by annual tonnage			transition from				
emission load	Econ	1	excessive				
reductions of at least 55			consumption to				
million tonnes, year-on-			sustainability.				
	1			I	I .		



Indicators, Targets &	Jiili	change prevention	Di-	ection of		
Strategies for successful	In the Directions of			Baseline data		ection of evement from
performance		bec	oming	buseline data		seline
year, in order to avoid			A model of			
exceeding the 3.53			employment			
billion tonne emissions	F '	•	planning &			
budget.	Econ	2	justice in			
Achievement of net			industry			
zero emissions by 2033			transition.			
within the carbon			A country where			
budget			economic			
Env02.01.02			opportunity,			
By 2033, achieve net			growth &			
zero CO ₂ -e emissions to			prosperity are			
ensure the adopted	Econ	3	equitably shared			
carbon budget (3.53			& living			
billion tonnes) is not exceeded.			standards			
exceeded.			improve continuously for			
			all.			
			A nation fairly			
	Econ 4	4	raising & sharing			
		•	its wealth.			
	Soc :	1	A safe home.			
	_		A net zero	In 2019, the		further data update
	Env	2	emissions	International	_	m the IMF is
	Env 1		nation.	Monetary Fund (IMF)		ailable.
			A leading global advocate for	estimated Australia's using c	However, in 2021, using different	
		1	action on		thodologies to that	
			climate change.	fuel industry was	fuel industry was used	ed by the IMF for
			A nation that puts the	AU\$42 billion in the		culating the extent
	Emy 4			2015 year or		the fossil fuel
		4	environment	approximately 2.3% of GDP. This equated to AU\$1,700 per capita approximately.	suk	osidy in Australia:
Elimination of fossil fuel	Env		before		•	the Australia
Elimination of fossil fuel subsidies			unsustainable			Institute
Env02.02			consumption.			estimated that in
Fossil fuel subsidies are			A renewable	Monetary Fund		2020/21 the
wound back to zero by	Env	6	energy			federal and state
2025.			superpower.	In 2021, the Australia		governments
	Env	12	A protector of scarce	Institute survey, "Climate of the	provided a total of \$10.3 billion worth	
	Env	12	resources.	Nation" found that:		of spending and
			A model of	"23% of Australians		tax breaks to assist
			transition from		fossil fuel	
	Econ	1	excessive	level of fossil fuel		industries; and
	Econ 1	-	consumption to	industry subsidisation,	•	Market Forces
			sustainability.	compared to 57% that		estimated that in
			A model of	oppose it."		2020/21 a total of
	Econ 2	employment	Source: Australia Institute	\$11.9 billion wa	\$11.9 billion was	
		_	planning &	Climate of the Nation Survey 2021		provided by
			justice in			federal taxation



Indicators, Targets & Direction of					
Strategies for successful	In the Directions of becoming		Baseline data	movement from	
performance			buseline dutu	baseline	
perjoinance	Econ 3	industry transition. A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are		funding to subsidise fossil fuels, although this does not include state-level subsidies, direct government handouts to coal,	
		equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all. A nation fairly		oil and gas projects, or public financing of international projects through export credit agencies or	
	Econ 4	raising & sharing its wealth.		international financial institutions.	
	Soc 1	A safe home.		Source: Australia Institute, Fossil Fuel Subsidies in Australia, April 2021 and Market Forces, How Your Tax Dollars Subsidise Fossil Fuels webpage, 2021 Methods for calculating the fossil subsidy differ but none are invalid based on what they measure. What is certain is that the fossil fuel subsidy in Australia is contributing materially to climate change. As at 2021, there are no signs that the subsidy will be stopped, despite the resistance to continuation of the subsidy by the majority of Australians. The longer term trend has been negative.	



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming		Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<i>F</i> • <i>F</i> • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.	In 2021, the International Energy Agency (IEA) reported	
	Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	that fossil fuel expansion must end now if the planet is to address the climate	In 2021, federal and state governments were still approving new coal mines. In October 2021 alone,
	Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.	crisis and specifically stated that: • "The path to netzero emissions is narrow: staying on it requires immediate and massive deployment of all available clean and efficient energy technologies." • "There is no need for investment in new fossil fuel supply in our net zero Pathway. Beyond projects already committed as of 2021, there are no new oil and gas fields approved for development in our pathway, and no new coal mines or mine extensions are required."	the federal government approved three new coals mines and no government had made a
Cessation of new coal,	Env 19	A land of thriving self-supporting regions.		commitment to phasing out coal, oil or gas extraction. In 2021, the Australia Institute survey,
gas and oil investments - legislative program Env02.03 By 2022, legislate to help ensure carbon emissions reduction targets of net zero are met by 2033 as per Env02.01 by prohibiting approval of any and every new coal, oil and gas energy project (including mining, exploration for new fields, power generation and export).	Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.		"Climate of the Nation" found that: • "66% of Australians think the Australian government should stop new coal mines", and • "60% of Australians support Australia following the IEA
	Econ 5	A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.		
	Gov 9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & encouraging private sector ethics & community partnership.		pathway and not approving new gas, coal or oil projects". Source: Australia Institute, Climate of the Nation 2021 Government
	Gov 11	A just participant on the global stage.	"In the net-zero emissions pathway presented in this	approvals of new coal mines run contrary to the repeated wishes of the majority of
	Soc 1	A safe home.	report, the world economy in 2030 is some 40% larger than today but uses 7% less energy." In 2020, the Australia Institute survey, "Climate of the	Australians. The longer term trend has been negative.



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming		Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			Nation" found that "65% of Australians think the Australian government should stop new coal mines." Sources: International Energy Agency, Net Zero by 2050 – A Roadmap for the Global Energy Sector 2021, Australia Institute, Climate of the Nation 2020	
Phase out of existing investments in coal, oil	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.	In 2021, the International Energy Agency (IEA) reported	In 2021, the federal government released its "Plan to Deliver Net
and gas – legislative program Env02.04 By 2023, consistent with carbon emissions	Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	that in order to reach net zero global carbon emissions by 2050, consistent with the	Zero: The Australian Way". The "Plan" included no proposals to phase out coal, oil
reduction targets of net zero by 2033 as per Env02.01, legislate to:	Env 3	A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.	Paris Agreement, existing unabated fossil fuel production would need to be	or gas as sources of energy and made no statement on phasing out combustion
 phase out all existing coal operations (mining, power generation and export) completely by 2030; reduce gas production to a maximum of the levels required for: Australian grid security (after all other accessible 	Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.	phased out in developed countries by 2030 and in all countries by 2040. However, this modelling assumed a	vehicles. Instead it proposed to rely on technology developments for abating emissions and on buying (rather than
	Env 6	A renewable energy superpower.	range of other actions vital to achieving carbon neutrality	producing) carbon offsets. No data were provided to verify the
	Env 7	Efficiently connected through low emissions transport.	would be implemented in parallel, including Carbon Capture Utilisation and Storage.	emissions reductions purported to arise from the plan. In stating that: "Our plan will not shut
supplies of renewable energy have been utilised) as determined by the Australian	Env 8	Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.	Given that CCUS is not viable for purposes of abatement of fossil fuels, it cannot be relied on for planning purposes. Moreover,	down coal or gas production, or require displacement of productive agricultural land", the "Plan" runs directly contrary to IEA
Energy Market Operator (AEMO) in their	Env 19	A land of thriving self-supporting regions.	strategies which seek to achieve net zero by 2050 are highly unreliable in capping	conclusions that no further fossil fuel projects are needed or can be permitted if the
Integrated Systems Plans as amended from time to time, and for	Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	global heating to 1.5° Celsius. Noting the IEA Report and the AEMO's ISP	world is to achieve net zero. It also runs contrary to both AEMO's 2020 Integrated System Plan



Environment 2 – Climate change prevention

Environment 2 - Chinate Change prevention						
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming			Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
 supply of domestic non- industrial customers; and prohibit sales of new internal 	Econ	2	A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.	2020 (see Env06.02) it is apparent that in 2021, global energy policy and planning agencies were developing plans to	for the energy market and their 2022 draft ISP. In 2021, the Australia Institute survey,	
combustion engine cars by 2024 and heavy vehicles by 2026.	Econ	5	A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.	phase out coal, gas, and oil before world emissions exceed limits required to keep temperature increases below 1.5° or 2° Celsius.	"Climate of the Nation" found that "82% of Australians support a phase-out of coal-fired power stations." Source: Australia Institute, Climate of the Nation 2021	
	Gov	9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & encouraging private sector ethics & community partnership.	In 2020, the Australia Institute survey, "Climate of the Nation" found that "83% of Australians support a phase-out of coal-fired power	If implemented, the federal government's "Plan to Deliver Net Zero: The Australian Way" will result in total failure on temperature targets in	
	Gov	11	A just participant on the global stage.	Sources: International Energy Agency, Net Zero by 2050 – A Roadmap for the Global Energy Sector 2021	the Paris Agreement.	
	Soc	1	A safe home.	and Australian Energy Market Operator (AEMO) Integrated System Plan 2020, Australia Institute, Climate of the Nation 2020	The longer term trend has been negative.	



Environment 3 – Climate change adaptation

Environment 3 – Climate thange dauptation						
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Directions of coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline		
Top Priority Target/Strategy: National Climate Change Prevention,	Env 3	A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.	In 2015, the Australian government adopted a "National Climate Resilience and	In 2021, the federal Department of Agriculture, Water and the Environment		
Mitigation and Adaptation Commission Env03.01	Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	Adaptation Strategy". However, beyond some guiding principles and some statements about	released a new "National Climate Resilience and Adaptation Strategy		
By 2022 – recognising that necessity for a detailed risk	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.	actions being taken in some locations, the Strategy was:	2021 – 2025", updating the 2015 Strategy. The new Strategy		
assessment of potential impacts of climate change on	Env 6	A renewable energy superpower.	unsupported through funding,lacked targets, and	referenced some funding for droughts and a reinsurance pool		
Australia and the need for a fully detailed, costed and funded national prevention, mitigation and	Env 7	Efficiently connected through low emissions transport.	 imposed no obligations for or incentives to compliance. Nor was the Strategy 	for damage but otherwise added nothing to achievement of resilience.		
adaptation plan, complete with regulatory enforcement protocols – legislate to establish an independent	Env 8	Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.	integrated with any other strategy for dealing with either the key causes or adverse socioeconomic effects of climate change.	In 2022 there are still no national plans for preventing or mitigating climate change and the revised "National Climate Resilience and		
National Climate Change Prevention, Mitigation and Adaptation	Env 9	Confident of safety and security of its water supplies.	The high level "strategies" laid out have not been implemented and no	Adaptation Strategy 2021 – 2025" included no measures to make adaptation easier and		
Commission responsible for:	Env 10	A biodiversity haven.	reports on success or failure in	less costly by preventing climate		
 development of comprehensive 	Env 11	A replanted and reforested land.	implementation appear to have been published.	change in the first place.		
risk assessments for climate change;	Env 12	A protector of scarce resources.	In 2021, the federal government announced consultation on a new	The new Strategy contributes nothing		
 development of national climate 	Env 14	A pollution free biosphere.	strategy but provided no draft for comment,	new to national resilience in the face of		
change prevention,	Env 15	A marine wildlife haven.	stating merely that "The new strategy will	climate change and charts no clear path to		
mitigation and adaptation plans that align with targets for	Env 19	A land of thriving self-supporting regions.	provide a roadmap towards a climate resilient Australia." No assurances of a	security for Australians against the impacts of climate change. Worse than that, because it		
temperature caps and emissions	Soc 1	A safe home.	legislated framework for risk assessment and	includes no actions whatsoever to mitigate		



Environment 3 – Climate change adaptation

Indicators, Targets &				on ange adaptation		
Strategies for	In the Directions of			Baseline data	Direction of movement	
successful		bec	coming		from baseline	
performance			<u> </u>			
reductions as per Env01.01 and Env02.01; • integration of such	Soc 4	4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing. A society	management were provided. In 2020, the Member for Warringah proposed	or prevent climate change it proactively sets up Australians and the insurance industry	
plans with other related plans and strategies for managing climate	Soc :	16	prepared and resilient in times of disaster.	a Climate Change (National Framework for Adaptation and Mitigation) Bill in the	to incur massive financial losses, and then uses taxpayer funding, not to protect	
change and its impacts; and • reports to Parliament on progress against	Econ :	1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	federal parliament. The Bill was not debated. In 2021, there were no national plans for preventing or mitigating	Australians but to bail out private insurers (by reinsuring them) for losses that should be prevented rather than	
those plans; and ensure alignment of any plans for climate change prevention, mitigation and adaptation with	Econ 3	2	A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.	climate change. Source: Australian Government National Climate Resilience and Adaptation Strategy; Parliament of Australia, Climate Change Bill 2020	courted. The Strategy increases the chances and magnitude of future loss by insurers but promises that taxpayers will cover	
the objectives of all other related strategies in this plan including, in particular, Soc16.01, Soc16.02 and Soc 16.02.01.	Econ !	5	A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.		their loss. It's a strategy to ensure private financiers will make money out of the misery of Australians.	
	Gov	6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.		The longer term trend is negative.	
	Gov	7	Committed to public service independence & excellence.			
	Gov 9	9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & encouraging private sector ethics & community partnership.			
	Gov :	11	A just participant on the global stage.			
	Gov :	12	A nation assured of enduring peace.			





Environment 4 – Environmental regulation & approvals

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 4 – Environmental regulation & approvals					
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the D	Pirections of becoming	Baseline data		
No specific Targets or Strategies have yet been established for this Direction. However, Strategies which are closely integrated with this Direction are incorporated into the plan under: Env01.01 Env01.02 Env02.01 Env02.02 Env02.03 Env02.04 Env06.01 Env06.01.01 Env06.01.02 Env06.01.03 Env06.01.03 Env06.01.05 Env06.03 Env11.01 Env14.01 Econ01.07 Econ01.09 Econ01.09 Econ02.05 Econ02.05.01 Econ05.03 Gov05.05 Gov09.04 Gov13.02	Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.	No baseline data have yet been established specifically for this Direction. However, baseline data are available for this Direction under the Targets and Strategies listed at left.		



Environment 5 – Environmental education

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment Environment 5 - Environmental education **Indicators, Targets & Strategies** In the Directions of becoming ... Baseline data for successful performance **Education for sustainable** development Env05.01 Consistent with UN Sustainable An environmentally Env Development Goal 4: "By 2030, educated community. ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace No baseline data have yet and non-violence, global been established specifically citizenship and appreciation of for this Direction. cultural diversity and of However, baseline data are culture's contribution to available for this Direction sustainable development." under the Targets and Strategies listed at left. A model of educational No specific Strategies have yet Soc opportunity. been established for this Direction. However, some Strategies which are closely integrated with this Direction are currently incorporated into the plan under: Soc16.01 Econ01.09 Econ01.09.01 Gov10.02 Gov10.02.01

Note: Baseline data, Targets, Indicators and Strategies in this section will expand in future issues of **Australia Together**, based on availability of data and on the input of Australians.



Gov10.02.02

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment					
		Environment 6	5 – Energy		
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Di	rections of becoming 	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
Renewable energy – electricity Env06.01	Env 6	A renewable energy superpower. A leading global		The longer term trend for electricity generated from renewable sources is	
100% of electricity comes from renewable sources by no later than 2030	Env 1	advocate for action on climate change.		positive, although it has flattened out since the Renewable Energy	
and no later than 2025 if other sectors	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation. A proactive		Target was reached in 2019 and was not extended.	
do not reach emissions reduction targets.	Env 3	nlanner of		→	
Renewable energy – vehicles Env06.01.01 100% of vehicles are powered by electricity	Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.	In 2019, the renewable energy power percentage (RPP) was	Is Australia on track to meet the target of "100% of electricity comes from renewable sources by no later than 2030"?	
from renewable sources by no later than 2028. (This target is set to incentivise and	Env 7	Efficiently connected through low emissions transport.	18.60%. In 2021, the renewable energy power percentage (RPP) fell slightly to 18.54%.	It is too early to say, but Australia, through the Australian Energy Market Operator (AEMO), has a very	
accelerate delivery of new infrastructure for affordable power supply to vehicles.)	Env 8	Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.	In 2020, 27.7% of Australia's electricity generation came from renewable sources. Source: Australian Government Clean Energy	capable independent planner for the National Energy Market. AEMO produces Integrated	
Renewable energy – road transport systems, services and	Env 1	scarce resources.	Regulator and the Clean Energy Council, Clean Energy Australia Report 2021	Systems Plans (ISPs) with 30-year horizons	
fleets Env06.01.02 100% of road	Env 1	A pollution free biosphere. A model of		every two years for the National Electricity Market. These ISPs	
transport systems, services and fleets is powered by electricity from renewable	Econ 1	transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.		present "optimal development paths" – coordinated generation and	
sources by no later than 2026 (This target is set to stimulate creation of an affordable second- hand electric vehicle	Econ 2	A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.		transmission investment plans to transition the power system. They position Australia to follow the most efficient	
market.)	Econ 3	A country where		development path for the NEM. In the 2022 draft ISP, the preferred	



Strategies for successful performance Successful performance Renewable energy — manufacturing and agriculture Env0.0.1.03 Silving Standards Improve Standards Step Change Path Phases out coal power by about 2041 and reduces gas as a source of electricity from renewable sources by no later than 2028. Renewable energy — industry and construction Five periodic on the periodic of silving Standards Step Change Path Phases out coal power by about 2041 and reduces gas as a source of electricity generation to about 15% by 2050 (9GW out of about 61GW), noting however that: "over time, [gas] emissions will need to be offset, or natural gas will need to be offset, or natural gas will need to be offset, or natural gas will need to be replaced by net-zero carbon fuels such as green hydrogen or biogas". As such, Australia is not yet on track to meet the target of "100% of electricity comes from renewable sources produced with the highest level of efficiency unless genuine offsets are certified by the Australian Clean Step Change Path Phases out coal power by about 2041 and reduces gas as a source of electricity continuously for all. Soc 1 A safe home. Soc 1 A renewable energy agriculture, industry, construction or air and sea transport systems, service and fleets, manufacturing, agriculture, industry, construction or air and sea transport. Top Priority Target/Strategy: National Electricity A renewable Energy Market Operator (AEMO) Priority Superpower. A leading global Impact (AEMO) Priority A leading global Priority	Environment 6 – Energy					
## Step Change Path phases out coal power performance ## Renewable energy— manufacturing and agriculture Env06.01.03	Indicators, Targets &					
Renewable energy— manufacturing and agriculture equitably shared equitably shared shout 2014 and reduces gas as a source of electricity from renewable sources by no later than 2028. Renewable energy—industry and construction Envo6.01.04 By 2030, 100% of industry including mirning, metals processing, heavy equipment construction is powered solely by energy from genuine offsets are certified by the Australian Clean dunavoidable. Soc 1 A safe home. Top Priority Target/Strategy: National Electricity Market system in most property and construction or air and sea transport. Env 1 A renewable integrated in the global integrated and on the establishment of a publicly owned and on the establishment of a publicly owned integrated int		In the Dire	ections of becoming	Baseline data	_	
Renewable energy— manufacturing and agriculture equitably shared Env06.01.03					from baseline	
manufacturing and agriculture equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all. Top Priority Target/Strategy: National Electricity Market system Market s						
equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all. Top Priority Target/Strategy: National Electricity Individual Individual Electricity Individual Electricity Individual Individual Individual Electricity Individual India	Renewable energy –		growth &		Step Change Path	
Env06.01.03 100% of manufacturing and agriculture is powered by electricity from renewable sources by no later than 2028. Renewable energy industry and construction Env06.01.04 By 2030, 100% of industry including mining, metals processing, heavy equipment construction is powered solely by energy from genuine renewable sources by no later than 2028. Soc 1 A safe home. Soc 1 A safe home. Later Strategy: Renewable energy air and sea transport Env06.01.05 Tagger(Strategy: No data have been analysed on trends renewable energy use in vehicles, road unavoidable. Renewable energy - air and sea transport Env06.01.05 Tagger(Strategy: National Electricity Market system Market sy	manufacturing and		prosperity are		phases out coal power	
standards improve agriculture is powered by electricity from renewable sources by no later than 2028. Renewable energy – industry and construction Env06.01.04 By 2030, 100% of industry including mining, metals processing, heavy equipment construction, building, and chemicals production is powered solely by energy from genuine renewable sources produced with the highest level of efficiency unless genuine offsets are certified by the Australian Clean Energy Regulator as available and unavoidable. Renewable energy – air and sea transport Env06.01.05 TBA. Standards improve all. A nation fairly railing & sharing its wealth. A nation fairly "over time, [gas] emissions will need to be offset, or natural ags will need to be replaced by net-zero carbon fuels such as green hydrogen or biogas". As such, Australia is not yet on track to meet the target of "100% of electricity comes from renewable sources by no later than 2030", but there is planning capacity that is up to the challenge. ★ → ★ → ★ → ★ → ★ → ★ → ★ → ★ → ★ → ★	agriculture		equitably shared		by about 2041 and	
manufacturing and agriculture is powered by electricity from renewable sources by no later than 2028. Renewable energy industry and construction Env06.01.04 Renewable sources in judician its wealth. Renewable energy industry including mining, metals processing, heavy equipment construction, building, and chemicals production is powered solely by energy from genuine renewable sources produced with the highest level of efficiency unless genuine offsets are certified by the Australian Clean Energy Regulator as available and unavoidable. Renewable energy — air and sea transport Env06.01.05 TBA. In 2020, the Australian Energy Regulator as available and unavoidable. Renewable energy — air and sea transport Env06.01.05 TBA. In 2020, the Australian Energy Market Operator (AEMO) released an Integrated System Plan for the inte	Env06.01.03		& living		reduces gas as a source	
agriculture is powered by electricity from renewable sources by no later than 2028. Renewable energy—industry and construction Env06.01.04 By 2030, 100% of industry including mining, metals processing, heavy equipment construction, building, and chemicals production is powered solely by energy from genuine renewable sources by no later than 2030', but there is planning capacity that is up to the challenge. Soc 1 A safe home. Soc 1 A safe home. Top Priority Target/Strategy: National Electricity Market system Investment and Lean Envoy & County for all. A A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth. A A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth. A A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth. A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth. A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth. A power that: "over time, [gas] emissions will need to be replaced by net-zero carbon fuels such as green hydrogen or biogas". As such, Australia is not yet on track to meet the target of "100% of electricity comes from renewable sources by no later than 2030", but there is planning capacity that is up to the challenge. Top Priority Target/Strategy: National Electricity Narket system Investment and A renewable In 2020, the Australian Energy Market Operator (AEMO) released an Integrated System Plan for the Soc 1 A renewable on the establishment of a publicly owned Australian Renewable	100% of		standards		of electricity	
by electricity from renewable sources by no later than 2028. Renewable energy – industry and construction Env06.01.04 Renewable operation is processing, heavy equipment construction is powered solely by energy from genuine renewable sources produced with the highest level of efficiency unless genuine offsets are certified by the Australian Clean Energy Regulator as available and unavoidable. Renewable energy – air and sea transport Env06.01.05 TBA. A renewable to renewable sources by no later than 2030", but there is planning capacity that is up to the challenge. A renewable energy – air and sea transport Env06.01.05 TBA. A renewable in 2028. A renewable energy – air and sea transport Env06.01.05 TBA. A renewable in 2020, the Australian Energy Market operator (AEMO) released an integrated investment and envestment and enversed in advocate for enveloced by sharing capacity that is up to the challenge. A renewable energy – aleading global investment and enveloced in advocate for energy Market operator (AEMO) released an integrated Australian Renewable on the establishment of a publicly owned Australian Renewable on the establishment of a publicly owned Australian Renewable on the establishment of a publicly owned and sea transport.	manufacturing and		improve		generation to about	
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Renewable energy – industry and construction Env06.01.04 By 2030, 100% of industry including mining, metals processing, heavy equipment construction is powered solely by energy from genuine renewable sources produced with the highest level of efficiency unless genuine offsets are certified by the Australian Clean Energy Regulator as available and unavoidable. Renewable energy – air and sea transport Env06.01.05 TBA. Econ 4 raising & sharing its wealth. Figur 1 raising & sharing emissions will need to be offset, or natural gas will need to be replaced by net-zero carbon fuels such as green hydrogen or biogas. As such, Australia is not yet on track to meet the target of "100% of electricity comes from renewable sources by no later than 2030", but there is planning capacity that is up to the challenge. Which there is planning capacity that is up to the challenge. Figur 1 raising % the prizer of specific parties of the parties of the parties of the parties of the parties of th	by electricity from		all.		of about 61GW),	
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action on chinate National Electricity Electricity investinent	security	Env 1	action on climate	National Electricity	Electricity Investment	
Env06.02 change. Market which set out a & Security Corporation	•			_	-	



Environment 6 – Energy					
Indicators, Targets &	4	<u>. </u>			Discouling (
Strategies for	In the L	Dire	ctions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement
successful			•••		from baseline
performance					
By 2023, recognising	Env	2	A net zero	"Step Change" program	necessary to ensure
that consumer-led			emissions nation.	for electricity network	that taxpayers share
and technology-led			A proactive	(generation and	fully in the benefits of
transitions in energy	Env	3	planner of	transmission)	investment in the
use and supply will	2.110		climate change	investment necessary	National Electricity
occur in the midst of			adaptation.	to build "the lowest	Market.
aggressive global			A nation that	cost, secure and	<u> </u>
decarbonisation, and			puts the	reliable energy system	- / - /
that necessary	Env	4	environment	capable of meeting any	However, in 2021, the
investment in	LIIV	4	before	emissions trajectory	Australian Energy
transmission is			unsustainable	determined by policy	Market Operator
beyond the appetite			consumption.	makers at an	(AEMO) released a new
and capability of the	Env	12	A protector of	acceptable level of	draft ISP, updating the
private sector,	EIIV	12	scarce resources.	risk."	2020 ISP. This new plan
establish a fully	France	1.0	A pollution free	The Step Change	foreshadowed the
government-owned	Env	14	biosphere.	Program required	volume of
corporate			A model of	significant investment	development required
Commonwealth			transition from	in new transmission	in energy generation
entity, the Australian	Econ	1	excessive	and the creation of	and transmission for
Renewable Electricity			consumption to	renewable energy	the National Electricity
Investment & Security			sustainability.	zones in NSW, QLD,	Market, building on the
Corporation, to:			A model of	VIC, TAS and SA which	2020 ISP Step Change
 rebuild and 			employment	are most appropriately	Program. The
modernise the			planning &	built, owned and	proposed transmission
electricity grid,	Econ	2	justice in	operated by and for the	investment brings
 establish 			industry	public/government.	major benefits, with
renewable energy			transition.	Net benefits for	AEMO estimating a net
zone			A country where	Australians from	market benefit of \$29
infrastructure as			economic	investment in the Step	billion and returning
set out in the			opportunity,	Change Program	2.5 times its
AEMO Integrated			growth &	significantly exceed	investment value.
System Plan 2020			prosperity are	benefits arising from all	Source: Draft 2022
(as revised from	Econ	3	equitably shared	other modelled	Integrated System Plan
time to time),			& living	alternative	December 2021 for the
 make 			standards	investments.	National Electricity Market.
arrangements as			improve	Source: Australian Energy	The longer term has
needed with			continuously for	Market Operator (AEMO) Integrated System Plan 2020	been trending towards
private sector			all.	integrated System Flan 2020	the positive.
contractors for			A nation fairly		the positive.
delivery of	Econ	4	raising & sharing		→
infrastructure			its wealth.		
works, and			A strong		
 borrow and 			regulator of		
invest for			fairness in		
purposes of	Econ	5	markets creating		
electricity			confidence for		
security and for			investors.		
purposes of			An economy with		
ensuring all net	Econ	6	competitive &		
Č	LCOII	•	profitable public		
	L		Profitable Public		



		Environment 6	5 – Energy	
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Dire	ctions of becoming 	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
returns to the public.		sector participation.		
	Econ 7	A collaborative intelligent nation.		
	Gov 7	Committed to public service independence & excellence.		
	Gov 9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & encouraging private sector ethics & community partnership.		
	Gov 11	A just participant on the global stage.		
	Soc 1	A safe home.		
Top Priority	Env 6	A renewable energy superpower.	In 2001, Australia introduced a mandatory Renewable	In 2021, the federal government had not extended the
Target/Strategy: Reintroduction of a	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.	Energy Target (RET). The Target provided a	Renewable Energy Target beyond the
Energy Target Env06.03 By 2023, recognising that job growth in fossil fuels is set to decline and that job growth in renewable energy requires policy settings that signal a future for renewables, legislate to renew the Renewable Energy Target (RET), setting it at a minimum of 100% for the nation by 2030, and support the new RET by reintroducing a price on carbon as per Econ01.08.	Env 3	A proactive planner of climate change	financial incentive to encourage the additional generation	33,000 gigawatt hours reached in 2019.
	Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.	of electricity from sustainable and renewable sources. In 2010, the mandatory RET was increased to 41,000 gigawatt-hours of renewable	State governments had introduced various targets, with some already reaching 100% renewables for electricity but others not planning to reach
	Env 7	Efficiently connected through low emissions transport.	generation from power stations. This was subsequently reduced to 33,000 gigawatt- hours by the Abbott	the target of 100% renewable energy for electricity by 2030. No proposals by any
	Env 8	Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.	Government. In 2012, the RET and other policies incentivising renewables were	major party were announced for reintroduction of a price on carbon.
	Env 12	A protector of scarce resources.	supplemented by a carbon price and a	



Environment 6 – Energy					
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful	In the Dire	ections of becoming 	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
performance	Env 14	A pollution free biosphere.	\$10 billion-dollar fund to finance renewable	In summary, policies to support	
	Env 16	Regenerative by design in consumption & production.	energy projects. These initiatives were later withdrawn by the Abbott Federal Government. In 2019, Australia met its 2020 renewable	initiatives were later withdrawn by the renewable 2030 were	achievement of 100% renewable energy by 2030 were not in place
	Env 19	A land of thriving self-supporting regions.		The longer term trend has been negative.	
	Soc 1	A safe home.	energy target of 23.5% and 33,000 gigawatt-	←	
	Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	hours. The target was not renewed, which		
	Soc 16	A society prepared and resilient in times of disaster.	resulted in retailers withdrawing from the renewable energy market.		
	Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	In 2020, the Institute for Sustainable Futures at the University of Technology Sydney and the Clean Energy		
	Econ 2	A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.	Council demonstrated that if policies are set to signal a future for renewables, the renewable energy industry could create		
	Econ 5	A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.	20,000 extra jobs in five years, increasing the total jobs from 25,000 to 45,000. But if no additional policies are provided to incentivise		
	Econ 7	A collaborative intelligent nation.	investment in renewables – either by large scale generators		
	Econ 9	Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.	or households and businesses – then jobs will drop by 11,000, down to 14,000 by 2022. As at 2021, several states and territories		
	Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	had set their own		
	Gov 9	A nation outlawing			



Environment 6 - Energy

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Dire	ctions of becoming 	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	Gov 11	corporate greed & encouraging private sector ethics & community partnership. A just participant on the global stage.	renewable energy targets. ²³ Source: Clean Energy Council, Clean Energy Australia Report 2021; Wikipedia, Renewable energy in Australia webpage; and UTS Institute for Sustainable Futures, Renewable Energy Jobs in Australia, Stage One, June 2020.	

Note: Baseline data, Targets, Indicators and Strategies in this section will expand in future issues of *Australia Together*, based on availability of data and on the input of Australians.

https://assets.cleanenergycouncil.org.au/documents/resources/reports/clean-energy-australia/clean-energy-australia-report-2021.pdf. As at 2021:

New South Wales: had no target but their Energy Infrastructure Roadmap to deliver 12 GW of new transmission
capacity will increase NSW's renewable energy penetration to over 60 per cent by 2030.



²³ Clean Energy Council, "Clean Energy Australia Report 2021",

^{• &}lt;u>Tasmania</u>: was the first Australian state to source 100 per cent of its electricity from renewable sources and set a 200 per cent renewable energy target by 2040.

[•] ACT: reached 100% renewable energy in 2019.

[•] South Australia: was expected to reach its 100% renewable energy target by 2025 and set a plan for renewable energy to account for more than 500 per cent of the state's electricity demand.

[•] Northern Territory: had a target of 50 per cent renewables by 2030.

Queensland: had a 50 per cent renewable energy target by 2030.

^{• &}lt;u>Victoria</u>: announced a renewable energy auction to procure 600 MW of new solar and wind energy and committed \$540 million to establish six renewable energy zones.

Western Australia: had no target but expected Renewables expected to account for 70 per cent of generation by 2040.

Environment 7 – Transport

Econ04.02.03

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment **Environment 7 – Transport Indicators, Targets & Strategies** In the Directions of becoming ... Baseline data for successful performance No specific Targets or Strategies have yet been established for this Direction. However, some Strategies which are closely integrated with this Direction are incorporated into the plan under: Env02.04 No baseline data have yet Env14.01 been established specifically Env 01.01 Efficiently connected for this Direction. through low emissions 7 However, baseline data are Env 01.02 Env Env 02.01 transport. available for this Direction Env 02.04 under the Targets and Strategies listed at left. Env 03.01 Env06.01.01 Env06.01.02 Env 06.03 Econ01.08 Econ01.09 Econ01.09.01

Environment 8 – Agriculture & fisheries

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 8 – Agriculture & fisheries								
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the D	Pirections of becoming	Baseline data					
No specific Targets or Strategies have yet been established for this Direction. However, some Strategies which are closely integrated with this Direction are incorporated into the plan under: Env 01.01 Env 01.02 Env 02.01 Env 02.04 Env 03.01 Env06.01.03 Env 06.03 Env10.01 Env10.02 Env10.01 Econ01.07 Econ01.08 Econ01.09 Econ02.05 Econ04.02.03	Env 8	Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries and fisheries.	No baseline data have yet been established specifically for this Direction. However, baseline data are available for this Direction under the Targets and Strategies listed at left.					

Environment 9 – Fresh water supply

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment							
Environment 9 – Fresh water supply							
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data					
No specific Targets or Strategies have yet been established for this Direction. However, some Strategies which are closely integrated with this Direction are incorporated into the plan under: Env02.01 Env03.01 Env11.01 Econ01.07 Econ01.09 Econ01.09 Econ01.09.01 Econ04.02.03	Confident of safety and Env 9 security of its water supplies.	No baseline data have yet been established specifically for this Direction. However, baseline data are available for this Direction under the Targets and Strategies listed at left.					



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment					
Indic	ators, T	arge	ets & Strategies for Environment 10		ronment
Indicators, Targets &			Environment 10	- Biodiversity	
Strategies for successful performance	In the	Dire	ctions of becoming 	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
F 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2	Env	10	A biodiversity haven.	In 2019, 463 species of fauna were listed as	In 2021, 478 species of fauna were listed as
	Env	8	Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.	threatened under the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999. A total of 54 fauna	threatened under the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999. A total of 67 fauna
	Env	11	A replanted and reforested land.	species were listed as extinct.	species were listed as extinct.
Fauna conservation and extinction prevention Env10.01 No fauna extinctions based on 2019 levels.	Env	12	A protector of scarce resources.	Source: Australian Government Department of Agriculture, Water & the	Source: Australian Government Department of Agriculture, Water & the
	Env	13	A provider of accessible national & urban parkland.	Environment, EPBC Act List of Threatened Fauna In 2021, the	Environment, EPBC Act List of Threatened Fauna
	Env	19	A land of thriving self-supporting regions.	International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) reported that	No update available on IUCN data. However, the longer term trend
	Econ	1	A model of there were 1,049 threatened fauna species in Australia comprising: output output	threatened fauna species in Australia comprising: • Mammals = 69	has been negative.
	Econ	4	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.	 Birds = 52 Reptiles = 76 Amphibia = 46 Fishes = 213 Molluscs = 182 Other invertebrates = 419 Source: IUCN Red List, Table 5, Threatened species in each major group by country, as at end 2021. 	
	Env	10	A biodiversity haven.	In 2019, 1,336 species of flora were listed as	
Flora conservation and extinction prevention Env10.02 No flora extinctions based on 2019	Env	8	Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.	threatened under the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999. A total of 37 flora	In 2021, 1,362 species of flora were listed as threatened under the Environment Protection and Biodiversity
	Env	11	A replanted and reforested land.	species were listed as extinct.	Conservation Act 1999. A total of 37 flora
levels.	Env	12	A protector of scarce resources.	Source: Australian Government Department of Agriculture, Water & the	species were listed as extinct.
	Env	13	A provider of accessible	Environment, EPBC Act List of Threatened Flora	Source: Australian Government Department of



accessible

Threatened Flora

Environment 10 – Biodiversity

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Dir	ections of becoming 	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	Env 19	regions.	In 2021, the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) reported that there were 779 threatened flora species	Agriculture, Water & the Environment, EPBC Act List of Threatened Flora No update available on
	Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	in Australia comprising: Plants = 766 Fungi = 13 Source: IUCN Red List, Table	IUCN data. However, the longer term trend has been negative.
	Econ 4	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.	5, Threatened species in each major group by country, as at end 2021.	



Environment 11 – Vegetation

Indicators Taracta	Environment 11 - vegetation				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Dire	ections of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
Forests and environmental	Env 11	reforested land.	In 2011, 16.22% of	No further data have been provided on	
plantings	Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	Australia's total land area was covered by	total land area in Australia covered by forest.	
Top Priority Target/Strategy:	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.	forest. Source: Australian Government, data.gov.au	←/→	
Legislated program to increase GDP and returns to landholders	Env 3	A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.	beta, Forest area as a proportion of total land area	However, data on hectares cleared since colonisation has been	
and mitigate climate change by increasing native forestry cover and restoring degraded ecosystems	Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.	In 2019, the authors of the Australian National Outlook (National Australia Bank and the CSIRO)	provided in the State of the Environment Report 2016: "Approximately 44 per cent of	
Env11.01 By 2022, prohibit, by legislation, net losses of forest cover on a state by state (and	Env 8	Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.	reported that, "Under the Outlook Vision, an optimal mix of carbon and environmental plantings could	Australian forests and woodlands have been cleared since European settlement; 39 per cent was	
territory) basis. By 2023, preferably in parallel with legislation	Env 9	Confident of safety and security of its water supplies.	sequester as much as 260 MtCO2-e in 2050,	cleared before 1972." Between 1972 and 2014, a further	
to establish a Carbon in the Land and Sea	Env 10	A biodiversity	allowing Australia to reach zero net	16,689,722 million hectares were	
Finance and Trading Corporation under	Env 12	A protector of scarce resources.	emissions in that year. With more effective	deforested. The trend	
Econ01.07, adopt by legislation a	Env 14	A pollution free biosphere.	global action on climate change, plantings could	declining, mainly due to there being few	
goal of increasing forest cover and environmental	Env 19	A land of thriving self-supporting	sequester between 400 and 700 MtCO2 e	forests left to cut down. Queensland,	
plantings sufficient to sequester a minimum of 260MtCO2-e by	Soc 4	regions. A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	by 2060, with approximately half that sequestration	the worst state by far in deforestation is still increasing stripping of	
2033 (allowing Australia notionally to reach net zero emissions in that year). By 2025, revise and	Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	being sold to other countries." The need to reach net zero by 2033 requires acceleration of this	forested land at an alarming rate: between 1972 and 2014 Queensland deforested 9,705,112	
adjust forest cover and environmental plantings targets upwards to any extent necessary to achieve net zero carbon emissions by 2033.	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve	suggested program to be consistent with Env02.01. Source: NAB & CSIRO, Australian National Outlook, 2019.	million hectares. In the 2018/19 year alone: • 680,688 hectares (ha) of woody vegetation were affected by clearing activity in	



Environment 11 – Vegetation

-	Eliviioi	iment 11 – veg	etation	
Indicators, Targets &				Direction of
Strategies for	In the Directions of	hecomina R	aseline data	-
successful	in the Directions of	becoming	asemie aata	
performance				busellile
successful	all. An eco compe	tive & rous n fair & trade nents, hire &	aseline data	Queensland (about 0.7% of the state's woody vegetation); • 559,844ha (82% of all clearing activity) resulted in full removal of the woody vegetation. The remainder was partially cleared. At the start of the 2018–19 monitoring period, Queensland had 96,575,925ha of woody vegetation. With 559,844ha of woody vegetation converted to non- woody through full removal of the woody vegetation, there was a balance of 96,016,081ha of woody vegetation at the end of the monitoring period. Sources: 2016 SoE Land Amount of deforestation by type and decade 1972-2014 excludes ACT; Queensland Government, Statewide Landcover and Trees Strategy (SLATS) Report 2018/19. No progress has been made on legislation prohibiting deforestation or on the establishment of a publicly owned Carbon in the Land and Sea Trading Corporation.
			· ·	



Environment 12 – Land & resource conservation

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment Environment 12 - Land & resource conservation **Indicators, Targets & Strategies** In the Directions of becoming ... Baseline data for successful performance No specific Targets or Strategies have yet been established for this Direction. However, some Strategies which are closely integrated with this Direction are incorporated into the plan under: Env02.01 Env02.01.01 Env02.02 Env03.01 Env06.01 Env06.01.01 No baseline data have yet been established specifically Env06.01.02 Env06.01.03 for this Direction. A protector of scarce Env06.01.04 However, baseline data are Env 12 resources. Env06.02 available for this Direction Env06.03 under the Targets and Strategies listed at left. Env10.01 Env10.02 Env11.01 Econ01.06 Econ01.07 Econ01.08 Econ01.09 Econ01.09.01 Econ02.04.01 Econ02.05 Econ02.05.01

Note: Baseline data, Targets, Indicators and Strategies in this section will expand in future issues of *Australia Together*, based on availability of data and on the input of Australians.



Econ04.02.03 Econ04.05

Environment 13 – Parks & open space

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment							
E	Environment 13 – Parks & open space						
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data					
No specific Targets or Strategies have yet been established for this Direction. However, some Strategies which are closely integrated with this Direction are incorporated into the plan under: Env10.01 Env10.02 Env14.01 Econ04.02.03	A provider of accessible Env 13 national & urban parkland.	No baseline data have yet been established specifically for this Direction. However, baseline data are available for this Direction under the Targets and Strategies listed at left.					



Environment 14 – Air & water quality

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance Env	Dire	A pollution free	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
Env	14	A pollution free		busenne
Env Air quality Env14.01 The 24-hour average concentration of PM2.5 (tiny air pollutant particles causing lung damage) in the atmosphere does not deteriorate in capital cities compared to levels reported in the State of the Environment Report 2016. Env Env Env Env Env	4 2 3 4 6 7 13	biosphere. A place of optimal health & wellbeing. A net zero emissions nation. A proactive planner of climate change adaptation. A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption. A renewable energy superpower. Efficiently connected through low emissions transport. A provider of accessible national & urban parkland. Multi-central in its cities, efficiently connecting people with jobs, health, education and recreation A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	In 2016, air quality based on the relevant concentrations for 2009 to 2014 were reported as: Adelaide: Very good – 71%, poor – <1%. Brisbane: Very good – 91%, poor – <1%. Canberra: Very good – 77%, poor – <1%. Darwin: Very good – 58%, poor – <1%. Hobart: Very good – 78%, poor – <1%. Melbourne: Very good – 69%, poor – <1%. Perth: Very good – 68%, poor – <1%. Sydney: Very good – 64%, poor – <1%. Source: Australian Government, State of the Environment Report 2016	No data update will be available until a new State of the Environment Report is released. This report is set to occur every five years. No historical data analysed.

Environment 14 – Air & water quality

Indicators, Targets &			14 – All & water quality	
Strategies for successful	In the Directions of becoming			Baseline data
performance				
Water quality – potable				
supplies	_	4.4	A pollution free	No baseline data have yet been
Env14.02	Env	14	biosphere.	established specifically for this
Water quality - potable				Direction.
supplies. TBA Water quality – rivers and				
streams				No baseline data have yet been
Env14.03	Env	14	A pollution free	established specifically for this
Water quality – rivers and	2110		biosphere.	Direction.
streams. TBA				
Water quality – marine	Env	14	A pollution free	
Env14.04	ENV	14	biosphere.	
Water quality - marine. TBA.				
No specific Targets or				
Strategies have yet been				No baseline data have yet been
established marine water				established specifically for this
quality. However, since				Direction. However, baseline
much of the problem for marine water quality occurs	Env	15	A marine wildlife	data are available for this
in Queensland, Strategies	Env 15		haven.	Direction under the Targets and
which are closely integrated				Strategies listed at left.
with this Direction are				
incorporated into the plan				
under:				
Env15.01				



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment								
Environment 15 – Marine protection								
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the	Dired	ctions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline			
	Env	15	A marine wildlife haven. A leading global	In 2021, the International Union	In 2021, the federal and Queensland governments released			
	Env	1	advocate for action on climate change.	for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), the official advisor on	an updated "Reef 2050 Long-Term			
	Env	2	A net zero emissions nation.	nature to the UNESCO World Heritage	Sustainability Plan 2021-2025". The new plan included			
	Env	3	A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.	Committee, recommended adding the Great Barrier Reef	"objectives" for habitat, species			
Protection of the Great Barrier Reef – implementation of plans Env15.01	Env	4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.	to the List of World Heritage in Danger. With fierce lobbying, Australia resisted the inclusion of the Great	health, Indigenous heritage and human dimensions. Indicators to help measure success were also			
As a minimum, implement the Australian Government's "Reef 2050: Long-Term Sustainability Plan	Env	8	Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries and fisheries.	Barrier Reef on the UNESCO Danger List. This lobbying achieved political objectives but increased the danger for the reef.	drafted and released for consultation. The overarching objective was stated as "values and ecological processes in poor			
2021–2025".	Env	10	A biodiversity haven.	Source: IUCN News webpage, 22 June 2021.	condition are restored and values and			
Protection of the Great Barrier Reef –	Env	14	A pollution free biosphere.	In 2018 the federal	ecological processes in good condition are			
prevention of threats from climate change Env15.01.01	Env	19	A land of thriving self-supporting regions.	governments released the "Reef 2050 Long- Term Sustainability	maintained". Key strategies included strategies on climate			
Acknowledge the scientific advice on the most significant	Econ	1	A model of transition from excessive	Plan". The plan included targets ("outcomes") for	change: "Australia contributes to an effective global response to climate			

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			•	Foi
Soc	2	A land with an		hea
300	_	Indigenous heart.		sta
				eco
				fur
				eco
				wit

consumption to

sustainability.

water quality, economic and community benefit and governance. The primary targets were: r ecosystem ealth – The atus and ological nctions of osystems within the Great **Barrier Reef** World Heritage

ecosystem health,

biodiversity, heritage,

response to climate change through the Paris Agreement, to hold the increase in the global average temperature to well below 2°C above preindustrial levels and pursue efforts to limit the temperature increase to 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels." However, Australia has failed on this commitment and as such the Reef Plan is on track to fail on



threats to the Reef

integrated plans to

address these threats

– the most significant

being climate change.

and develop

Environment 15 – Marine protection

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
		Area are in at least good condition with a stable to improving trend. • For biodiversity – The Reef maintains its diversity of species and ecological habitats and these improve over each successive decade to 2050. • For Heritage – Indigenous heritage values are identified, protected, conserved and managed such that the heritage values maintain their significance for current and future generations. Source: Commonwealth of Australia, Reef 2050 Long-Term Sustainability Plan, 2018	its main objectives of ensuring the health of the Reef. Source: Commonwealth of Australia, Reef 2050: Long-Term Sustainability Plan 2021–2025 Despite the failure on climate change, some of the other strategies in Reef 2050 are being implemented. These will reduce impacts but not save the Reef as such. Source: Commonwealth of Australia, Reef 2050 Plan Key Achievements In February 2022, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change released a damning report on the effect of climate change on the Great Barrier Reef. The reef is in danger of extinction. 24

²⁴ IPCC, Climate Change 2022, Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability, Chapter 11 – Great Barrier Reef in Crisis, February 2022: The GBR is already severely impacted by climate change, particularly ocean warming, through more 7 frequent and severe coral bleaching (Hughes et al., 2018b; Hughes et al., 2019c) (very high confidence). The 8 worst coral bleaching event on record affected over 90% of reefs in 2016 (Hughes et al., 2018b). In the most 9 northern 700-km-long section of the GBR in which the heat exposure was the most extreme, 50% of the 10 coral cover on reef crests was lost within eight months (Hughes et al., 2018c). Throughout the entire GBR, 11 including the southern third where heat exposure was minimal, the cover of corals declined by 30% between 12 March and November 2016 (Hughes et al., 2018b). In 2017, the central third of the reef was the most 13 severely affected and the back-to-back regional-scale bleaching events has led to an unprecedented shift in 14 the composition of GBR coral assemblages, transforming the northern and middle sections of the reef system 15 (Hughes et al., 2018c) to a highly degraded state (very high confidence). Coral recruitment to the GBR in 16 2018 was reduced to only 11% of the long-term average (Hughes et al., 2019b). A mass bleaching event also 17 occurred in 2020, making it the third event in five years (BoM, 2020a) (Figure Boxes 11.2.1 and 11.2.2)



Environment 15 – Marine protection

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
		In 2019, the "Great Barrier Reef Outlook Report 2019" found that "the greatest threat to the Reef is still climate change. The other main threats are associated with coastal development, land- based run-off, and direct human use (such as illegal fishing)". Source: Australian Government Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority, Great Barrier Reef Outlook Report 2019	



Environment 16 – Waste reduction & recycling

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment Environment 16 - Waste reduction & recycling **Indicators, Targets & Strategies** In the Directions of becoming ... Baseline data for successful performance No specific Targets or Strategies have yet been established for No baseline data have yet this Direction. However, some been established specifically Strategies which are closely Regenerative by design in for this Direction. integrated with this Direction 16 consumption & However, baseline data are Env are incorporated into the plan production. available for this Direction under: under the Targets and Econ01.09 Strategies listed at left. Econ01.09.01



Environment 17 – Architectural & cultural site heritage

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment						
Environn	Environment 17 – Architectural & cultural site heritage					
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming			Baseline data		
No specific Targets or Strategies have yet been established for this Direction.	Env	17	A conservator of cultural & built heritage.	No baseline data have yet been established specifically for this Direction.		



Environment 18 – Cities planning

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment						
	Envi	ronm	ent 18 – Cities planning			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming			Baseline data		
No specific Targets or Strategies have yet been established for this Direction.	Env	18	Multi-central in its cities, efficiently connecting people with jobs, health, education and recreation.	No baseline data have yet been established specifically for this Direction.		



Environment 19 – Regional planning

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment Environment 19 - Regional planning **Indicators, Targets & Strategies** In the Directions of becoming ... Baseline data for successful performance No specific Targets or Strategies have yet been established for this Direction. However, some Strategies which are closely integrated with this Direction are incorporated into the plan under: Soc02.13 Soc02.13.01 Env01.01 Env01.02 Env02.03 No baseline data have yet Env02.04 been established specifically Env03.01 for this Direction. Env06.03 A land of thriving self-19 However, baseline data are Env Env10.01 supporting regions. available for this Direction Env10.02 under the Targets and Env11.01 Strategies listed at left. Env15.01 Econ01.07 Econ01.08 Econ01.09 Econ01.09.01 Econ02.04.01 Econ02.05 Econ02.05.01 Econ04.02.03 Econ04.05 Econ05.02 Econ05.03

Chapter 9 – National Wellbeing Index – Baseline & Update Data for Our Economy



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy									
	Econ	omy 1	l – Economic planni	ing, growth & transition	1				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the	Direct	tions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline				
,	Econ Soc	1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability. A safe home.		No data update available. Performance in future is unlikely to improve				
Growth	Gov	2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.	In 2021, Australia ranked 35 th out of 165 countries on the	in particular due to: • Australia's policies on climate change,				
measures/targets – Sustainability of growth and	Gov	6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	United Nations Sustainable Development Goals	which do not accord with the Paris Agreement				
development Econ01.01 By 2030, attain a	Gov	11	A just participant on the global stage.	Performance Index with a score of 75.6/100. The top	andAustralia's failure to develop a plan				
score of 85/100 on the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals Index.	Gov	13	A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.	score was Finland with 85.9/100. Source: Jeffrey D. Sachs, Christian Kroll, Guillaume	to implement the goals and a budget for delivery of the				
	Env	1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	Lafortune, Grayson Fuller, and Finn Woelm, Sustainable Development Report 2021, The Decade of Action for the	goals. With Australia's current policies and institutional				
	Env	2 - 19	All remaining Directions for our Environment	Sustainable Development Goals	arrangements, the chance that Australia will meet the UNSDGs by 2030, as agreed, is zero.				
Growth measures/targets – Productivity Econ01.01.01 Percent annual	Econ	1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	Between June 1980 and June 2014, average annual labour productivity growth was 1.6%. Between	Between 2012 and 2019, increases in labour productivity dropped steadily from 2.6% to -0.1%.				
Percent annual increase in labour productivity (averaged over rolling 3-year periods) equals or exceeds the historical annual average of 1.6%.	Econ	2	A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.	June 2015 and June 2019 labour productivity averaged 0.5%. In 2018/19, labour productivity was negative at -0.4%. Source: ABS 5206.0, Table 1 (trend, Column M)	Three year rolling averages were: To June 2019 = 0.3% To June 2020 = 0.5% To June 2021 = 0.9% Source: ABS 5204.0, Table 1 (original, Column M) In the recent short term, there has been a				

Indicators, Targets &			ng, growth & transition	
Strategies for successful performance	In the Direct	tions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
				slight improvement but nowhere near the target. The longer term trend has been negative.
	Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.		From end June 2019 to end September 2021, growth in Private Capital Investment averaged 1.4% per
Growth measures/targets – Private investment for economic growth Econ01.02 Target range for private investment in new capital is between 1.3% and 2.2% per quarter.	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	Between 2014 and 2019, private investment in new capital was negative, averaging -1.6% per quarter. Between 1996 and 2007, private new capital investment averaged 2.2% per quarter. During the	quarter, an improvement on the period 2014 to 2019, although the turnaround is not strong enough to compensate for lost investment during since 2014 and the short term trend is still
	Econ 4	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.	GFC from 2008 to 2014, private new capital investment averaged 1.3% per quarter. Source: ABS, 5625.0 - Private New Capital Expenditure and Expected Expenditure	one of decline. From end of June 2013 to end September 2021, growth in Private Capital Investment averaged -0.7% per quarter. The longer term trend has been negative.
Growth measures/targets – GDP growth Econ01.03 Growth in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) does not fall below 2.4% per annum measured	Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	Between 1972 and 2014, growth in GDP averaged 3.1% per annum. Between 2015 and 2019, growth in GDP averaged only 2.4% per annum. Source: ABS 5206.0, Table 1	For the 3-year period to 2021, growth in GDP averaged 1.2% per annum and the target range of GDP was not met. The longer term trend has been negative.



	LCOHOITIY 1	pidiffil	ing, growth & transition	
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Direct	tions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
over rolling 3-year periods. ²⁵				
Growth measures/targets – GDP growth per capita Econ01.03.01 Growth in GDP per capita returns to its pre GFC average of at least 2.2% over rolling 3-year periods.	Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	Between 1984 and 2008 (before the GFC) growth in GDP per capita averaged 2.2% per annum. Between 2009 and 2013 (post-GFC) growth in GDP per capita fell to an average of 0.9% per annum. Between 2014 and 2019, growth in GDP per capita averaged 0.9% per annum. Source: ABS 5204.0, Table 1 Column C	From end June 2019 to end June 2021, GDP per capita averaged - 0.3% per annum. The longer term trend has been negative.
Government investment for sustainable economic growth Econ01.04	Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	Between 1992 and 2012, federal government spending per capita increased by an average of 2.6% per	In its 2020/21 budget, the federal government forecast: • an average annual increase in
By 2023, recognising that declines in government sector spending per capita lead to unnecessarily	Econ 2	A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.	annum and Australia's economy grew by an average of 3.4% per annum. By contrast, between	increase in spending per capita of 2.3% between 2019/20 and 2023/24 (obviously due to
reduced economic growth in areas where sustainable growth is possible, reverse the reductions in government spending per capita	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve	2013 and 2018 federal government spending decreased annually by an average of 0.2% and Australia experienced markedly slower economic growth of 2.5% per annum on	increased spending necessary for Covid-19); and then a fall to increases of 1% per capita

Rationale for the target selected for growth in Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Growth in GDP is used as the typical expression of performance in meeting the desire of Australians for a strong economy. However, GDP growth is not a useful measure of socioeconomic strength and, of itself, is not especially useful for long term planning purposes when the preferable and more practical objective is not primarily GDP growth *per se* but improved distribution of the benefits of sustainable growth – in other words, how is the growth generated and who is it *for*? Nor does growth in GDP shed light as a measure on the harm caused to achieve growth, harm which may exceed the benefits of the growth. While GDP growth may be highly desirable, there is more chance of achieving that growth if targets are established for policies and activities likely to stimulate fairer sharing of the benefits of growth (such as reduction in inequality, increases in private and public sector new capital investment, increases in public sector services, increases in labour productivity, and reductions in underemployment and duration of unemployment). Nevertheless, monitoring growth in GDP does provide a useful benchmark for measurement of the shares of that growth that are returned to the community in wages growth. Targets and Indicators in this and other chapters have been selected on the premise that policies which combat inequality and stimulate investment by both the public and private sector will provide the surest path to higher growth in GDP. For information on the rationale for this, see *By 2050: Planning a Better Future for Our Children in 21st century democratic Australia*, Chapter 7.



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for			Baseline data	Direction of movement	
successful performance	in the Dir	ections of becoming	Buseline data	from baseline	
and establish, by legislation, a floor increase in government sector budgeted spending per capita of 4% per annum until such time as GDP growth rises once again above 3% per annum or full employment is reached (as per Econ02.02). Legislate to repeat the strategy whenever GDP drops	Econ 4	continuously for all. A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth. An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.	average and slowed to 1.7% in 2018/19. Source: Parliamentary Budget Office 2019/20 Medium Term Budget Report & ABS 5206.0	per annum between 2024/25 and 2030/31. Source: Parliamentary Budget Office 2020/21 Medium Term Budget Report The federal budget maintains spending increases at levels well below that necessary to meet the target. The longer term trend has been negative.	
below 2.4% and implement in tandem with policies listed under Econ04.02.01.		A model of		In 2021, the health &	
Economic	Econ 1	transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.		education sector produced 14.8% of Australia's total output, maintaining it	
	Econ 2	A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.		as the largest sector of the economy and the largest employer. Of those Australians who were employed in	
composition and transformations – Services sector	Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	In 2020, the health & education sector produced 13% of Australia's total output, making it the largest sector of the	2021: • 14.4% were employed in	
expansion Econ01.05 Australia's services	Soc 5	A model of educational opportunity.		health care and social assistance, and	
sector expands progressively particularly in health, welfare, and education.	Soc 10	A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.	economy and the largest employer. Source: RBA, "Composition of the Australian Economy Snapshot March 2020"	8.4% were employed in education and training. Note for comparison, that in 2021, mining	
	Soc 11	A land without child disadvantage.		contributed 11.7% of total output but employed only 2.1% of	
	Soc 12	A sure provider of lifelong dignity.		employed Australians. Sources: ABS 5204.0, Table 5, Gross Value Added (GVA) by Industry and ABS 6291.0 Labour Force Australia, Table 04.	



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Direc	tions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
				→	
	Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability. A model of employment planning & justice in industry		In 2019/20, Australia exported: • Black coal = 11,061.7 petajoules – down 0.6% from the previous year;	
Economic composition and transformations - Replacement of fossil fuels exports with renewable energy and other minerals Econ01.06 By 2030, consistent with Strategies under Env06, establish Australia as a	Econ 3	transition. A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	In 2018/19, Australia exported: Black coal = 11,131.3 petajoules – up 3.4% from the previous year; Liquified natural gas (LNG) = 4,093.9 petajoules, up 21.3% from the previous year; and	 Liquified natural gas (LNG) = 4,392.5 petajoules, up 6.4% from the previous year; and Crude oil = 625.6 petajoules, up 14.7% from the previous year. In the ten years to 	
	Econ 4	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.		2019/20, the average annual growth in exports of all fossil fuel types was 5.6%. Source: Australian Government Department of Industry, Science, Energy and	
renewable energy superpower, with exports in renewable	Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	• Crude oil = 545.4 petajoules, up 13.1% from the previous year.		
energy replacing all fossil fuel	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.	In the ten years to 2018/19, the average annual growth in exports of all fossil fuel types was 5.2%. Source: Australian	Resources, Australian Energy Update 2021, page 33	
exports and rare earth mining plus zero- emissions metals processing replacing export incomes from lost coal mining.	Env 3	A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.		Australia has made no progress in replacing	
	Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.	Government Department of Industry, Science, Energy and Resources, Australian Energy Update 2020, page 33	fossil fuel exports with clean energy exports. The federal government has rejected projects for	
	Env 6	A renewable energy superpower.		renewable energy exports. The longer term trend has been negative.	
	Env 12	A protector of scarce resources.		the section regulative.	
	Env 14	A pollution free biosphere.			
	Soc 1	A safe home.			



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming			Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
Top Priority Target/Strategy: Economic composition and transformations – Carbon credits	Econ	1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability. A model of	In 2014, the federal government allocated \$2.5 billion to purchase Australian Carbon Credit Units (ACCUs) and from then the	In 2021, the federal government released "The Plan to Deliver Net Zero the Australian Way". The plan acknowledged the
market development & a Carbon in the Land and Sea Finance and Trading	Econ	2	employment planning & justice in industry transition.	Clean Energy Regulator periodically ran auctions to purchase ACCU's from carbon	need to build a bank of "high-integrity offsets", but limited this to strategies of:
Corporation Econ01.07 By 2023: • consistent with goals to be legislated to increase GDP and returns to landholders and mitigate climate	Econ	3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	farmers and other certified carbon credit producers at the lowest bid price. In 2020, this fund expired and was then topped up with a \$2 billion allocation over 10 years but eligibility	 "storing carbon in soils and vegetation", "working with our Indo-Pacific neighbours [to establish] a high integrity Indo-Pacific Carbon Offset Scheme",
forestry cover and restoring degraded ecosystems under Env11.01, and recognising that economic	Econ	4	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.	for use of the funding was opened up to low emissions and	and"building voluntary carbon
	Econ	5	A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.	geological CCS projects, leaving very little if anything for stimulation of the production of carbon	markets". No detail was provided as to how these strategies were to be
	Econ	6	An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.	credits through carbon farming during the 2020 decade. In 2021, Professor Ross	implemented or supported with funding. Instead, the plan outlined funding of technologies that
outweigh costs of public	Econ	7	A collaborative intelligent nation.	Garnaut noted that carbon farming is a	would allow (and even incentivise) Australia to
investment necessary to accelerate entry into carbon credits markets, establish a 100% government owned	Econ	9	Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.	major job creator and sale of carbon credits can provide massive boosts to GDP. But he also noted that: "Full utilisation of the [carbon farming]	continue to emit carbon at uncapped rates. The plan acknowledged the need to "offset residual emissions through, for example,
Carbon in the Land and Sea Finance and	Env	2	A net zero emissions nation.	opportunity requires participation in a	planting trees or storing carbon
Trading Corporation to expand Australia's participation in the domestic and global	Env	3	A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.	global market for carbon, domestic carbon pricing arrangements which	underground or in soils" and it also acknowledged that "the more emissions
market for carbon credits. The	Env	4	A nation that puts the environment	impose mandatory requirements on major	are reduced, the fewer offsets we need".

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for	In the Directions of becoming			Baseline data	Direction of movement	
successful	iii ciie	J CCC		Suscime water	from baseline	
Performance Corporation is to be			before	emitters to purchase		
authorised to:			unsustainable	carbon offsets, [and	But because the plan:	
borrow and			consumption.	initiatives to] bring	 promoted funding 	
invest funds –			A renewable	forward access to the	for technologies	
equating initially	Env	6	energy	\$2 billion new budget	which will not	
to \$5 billion over			superpower.	allocation [mentioned	reduce emissions	
5 years from			Environmentally	above]".	(let alone reduce	
, 2023 – in			and economically	Source: Professor Ross	them to reach net	
landscape and	Env	8	sustainable in	Garnaut, Reset: Restoring Australia After the Pandemic	zero), and	
sea carbon			agriculture and	Recession, 2021	 promotes no 	
projects,			fisheries.	,	strategies to	
including			Confident of		prevent emissions	
planting,	Env	9	safety and		from being	
biodiversity,	LIIV	9	security of its		generated in the	
biomass and			water supplies.		first place (rather	
alternative	Env	10	A biodiversity		than offset after	
feedstock			haven.		being generated)	
projects and any	Env	11	A replanted and		the plan is certain to	
other projects on both public and			reforested land.		fail in achieving net	
private lands and	Env	12	A protector of		zero (by any foreseeable date),	
leases which can			scarce resources.		especially because	
be reliably	Env	14	A pollution free biosphere.		funding is geared	
measured and			A marine wildlife		towards initiatives	
certified by the	Env	15	haven.		which allow emissions	
Clean Energy			A land of thriving		to continue and there	
Regulator as	Env	19	self-supporting		is no mention of	
having			regions.		funding to assist offset	
generated a			A nation		schemes. No modelling	
genuine carbon			outlawing		was supplied to prove	
credit in tonnage			corporate greed		that the projected	
terms; and	Gov	0	& encouraging		carbon balance of net	
 purchase and 	Gov	9	private sector		zero by 2050 would be	
trade carbon			ethics &		met.	
credits once produced and			community		The short term	
certified by the			partnership.		progress is negative.	
Clean Energy			A just participant		progress is negative.	
Regulator.	Gov	11	on the global		←	
Ensure that in			stage.		The federal	
establishing the					government's "Plan to	
Corporation that its					Deliver Net Zero the	
decisions on					Australian Way"	
purchases, sales and					continues the	
investments will not	Soc	1	A safe home.		government's past	
be limited by					approach of leaving	
requirements to					very little if anything	
generate commercial					for stimulation of the	
rates of return and					production of carbon	
will be geared					credits through carbon	



	LCOHOH	·, -	Economic pianin	ng, growth & transition	
Indicators, Targets &					
Strategies for	In the Di	irecti	ons of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement
successfui			-,,		from baseline
performance					
instead to incentivise					farming during the
carbon in the land					2020 decade.
projects sufficient to					
support the					•
objectives of					
establishing carbon					
planting projects in					
line with Env11.01					
and provide the					
whole of economy					
returns to Australia					
that can arise from					
jobs growth in					
regional Australia					
and transition to a					
new economy with					
no fossil fuels by					
2033.					
Top Priority			A model of	In 2021, federal	In 2021, the federal
Target/Strategy:			transition from	government policy on	government released
Reintroduction of a	Econ	1	excessive	carbon emissions	"The Plan to Deliver
price on carbon			consumption to	reduction favoured	Net Zero the Australian
Econ01.08			sustainability.	technology	Way". The "plan"
By 2023, recognising			A country where	development and	proposed no strategies
that:			economic	opposed carbon	for re-establishing a
1. without a carbon			opportunity,	pricing and regulatory	carbon price, instead
price, technology			growth &	restrictions on	favouring taxpayer
solutions such as	Econ 3		prosperity are	emission to the	subsidisation of
Carbon Capture	2011		equitably shared	atmosphere. According	technologies that will
and Storage			& living standards	to the Climate Council:	perversely encourage
(CCS) will never			improve	"The Federal	continued uncapped
be as cheap as			continuously for	Government's	carbon emissions – in
venting			all.	[technology]	the main, Carbon
emissions freely			A nation fairly	'roadmap' puts the	Capture and Storage
	Econ 4	ļ	raising & sharing	interests of the	(CCS).
atmosphere, and			its wealth.	fossil fuel lobby	The plan signalled that
2. without a carbon			A strong regulator	ahead of the	taxpayers would be
price Australia is			of fairness in	interests of	forced to subsidise CCS
,	Econ 5	5	markets creating	Australians. We	(at least to as much as
able to enter			confidence for	need a plan to	\$300 million) but failed
international			investors.	remove all fossil	to acknowledge that
carbon credits			Productive &	fuels from our	unless a carbon price is
trading markets			prosperous	economy.	introduced, any CCS
as efficiently as it			through fair &	Technology will	that may turn out to be
	Econ 9)	ethical trade	play a role, but it is	physically feasible will
legislate to			agreements,	a tool, not a	never be as cheap as
reintroduce a price			labour hire &	destination.	venting emissions
on carbon equal to			procurement.	Climate change	freely to the



	Economy 1 – Economic planning, growth & transition						
Indicators, Targets &							
Strategies for	In the	Direct	ions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement		
successful	in the	Direct	ions of becoming	baseline data	from baseline		
performance							
the damage it does			A place of optimal	does not stop	atmosphere and		
and which gives	Soc	4	health &	intensifying until	therefore will not be		
certainty for			wellbeing.	we stop adding	commercially feasible.		
estimates of		_	A society of	greenhouse gases	The short term		
transaction costs in	Soc	6	equals.	to the	progress is negative.		
calculations of			A society	atmosphere."			
returns from			prepared and	However, without a	—		
investment from	Soc	16	resilient in times	carbon price,	The federal		
both carbon			of disaster.	technology solutions	government's "Plan to		
reduction and			A leading global	are unlikely to be cost-	Deliver Net Zero the		
sequestration	_		advocate for	competitive, which will	Australian Way"		
programs.	Env	1	action on climate	negate the benefit of	continues the		
			change.	any public investment	government's past		
	_		A net zero	assistance for	approach of leaving		
	Env	2	emissions nation.	development,	Australia with no		
			A nation that puts	particularly for	appropriate market		
			the environment	technologies such as	regulation and		
	Env	4	before	Carbon Capture and Sequestration (CCS). In 2021, Professor Ross	incentives to cease		
		4	unsustainable		carbon emissions.		
			consumption.				
	Env 6	6	A renewable	Garnaut noted that:	The longer term		
			energy	"Economists have	progress is negative.		
			superpower.	no doubt that	, and the second second		
			Efficiently	putting a price on	—		
			connected	carbon emissions			
	Env	7	through low	equal to the			
		•	emissions	damage that carbon does would be helpful to any cost effective emissions reduction strategy. A general carbon price is ruled out in Australia by our political history. There is a large			
			transport.				
			Environmentally				
		10	and economically				
	Env		sustainable in				
	LIIV		agriculture and				
			fisheries.				
			A biodiversity				
	Env		haven.				
	_		A replanted and				
	Env		reforested land.				
			A protector of	economic prize for			
	Env	12	scarce resources.	Australia if and			
			A pollution free	when we remove			
	Env	14	biosphere.	that constraint".			
			A land of thriving	Source: The Climate Council			
	Env	19	self-supporting	website, Unpacking the Tech Road-map; and Professor			
			regions.	Ross Garnaut, Reset:			
			A world	Restoring Australia After the			
	Gov	6	benchmark in	Pandemic Recession, 2021			
	234		leaders' conduct.				
	<u> </u>		A nation				
	Gov	9	outlawing				
	JUV		corporate greed				
-	<u> </u>		corporate greed	l	l .		



Indicators, Targets &						
Strategies for						Direction of movement
successful	In the Directions of becoming				seline data	from baseline
performance						J. C 2 4 CC C
perjermance			& encouraging private sector			
			ethics &			
			community			
			partnership.			
	_		A just participant			
	Gov :	11	on the global			
			stage.			In 2024 Assatuable has
Top Priority			A model of transition from		2015, Australia	In 2021, Australia has:
Target/Strategy:	Econ :	1	excessive		opted all 17 of the	 no integrated program of agreed
integrated & runded	LCOII .	-	consumption to		ted Nations	essential projects
Program for Meeting Australia's			sustainability.		tainable	and
Commitments to the			A country where		velopment Goals ISDGs) and thereby	 no federal budget
United Nations			economic	-	nmitted to	supporting
Sustainable			opportunity,		ievement by 2030	voluntarily offered
Development Goals			growth &		the following in	projects by other
(LINSDGs)	Econ :	3	prosperity are		stralia:	levels of
Econ01.09	ECON :	3	equitably shared	1.	No poverty	government and
By 2022/23,			& living standards	2.	Zero hunger	the private sector.
recognising that			improve	3.	Good health &	
Australia is a			continuously for		wellbeing	The federal
signatory to all 17			all.	4.	Quality education	government is relying
United Nations	_		A nation fairly	5.	Gender equality	on marketing and
Sustamusic	Econ 4	4	raising & sharing	6.	Clean water &	promotion of ad hoc
Development Goals	Soc :	1	its wealth. A safe home.	_	sanitation	volunteer programs by NGOs, other levels of
and the associated targets that must be	300		A land with an	7.	Affordable & clean	government and the
reached by 2030:	Soc 2	2	Indigenous heart.	8.	energy Decent work &	private sector with no
develop an			A place of optimal	ο.	economic growth	way of monitoring
•	Soc 4	4	health &	9.	Industry,	whether these are the
program of			wellbeing.		innovation &	projects that will give
essential			A model of		infrastructure	Australia the capacity
projects (to be	Soc !	5	educational	10.	Reduced	to meet the targets.
undertaken			opportunity.		inequalities	
across federal,	Soc	6	A society of	11.	Sustainable cities	Monitoring of progress
state and local			equals.		& communities	towards the goals is
government	Soc :	7	A success because	12.	Responsible	incomplete and difficult to follow
levels) to maximise			of its diversity.		consumption & production	because it is not
A 1 1: 2	Soc	0	A success because	12	Climate action	consolidated.
chances of	Soc	8	of gender equality.		Life below water	
fulfilling its			A land without		Life on land	The short term
commitment to			homelessness &		Peace, justice &	progress is negative.
the UNCDCe.	Soc !	9	with decent		strong institutions	
• incorporate the		_	affordable	17.	Partnerships for	-
program under a			housing for all.		the goals	
specific line item			A land without			The United Nations
	Soc :	11	child		spite these	has produced a
budget; and			disadvantage.	con	nmitments, in	Sustainable

	Econo	ту 1	– Economic pianni	ng, growth & transition	
Indicators, Targets &					
Strategies for	In the	Direct	tions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement
successful			.,.		from baseline
performance					
 ensure that sufficient additional funding to 	Env	1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	2021/22, the federal budget incorporated no mention of or allocations for	Development Report for 2021 in which Australia is ranked 35 th on performance
support full implementation/	Env	2	A net zero emissions nation.	realisation of the UNSDGs and had no	against the goals and is doing poorly in
coordination of the identified essential projects is	Env	3	A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.	established citizens' assembly for monitoring of progress towards the adopted	progress on all but two of the goals, a very poor performance for a
allocated and maintained annually until the UNSDGs are met (preferably	Env	4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.	SDGs by 2030. Source: Jeffrey D. Sachs, Christian Kroll, Guillaume Lafortune, Grayson Fuller, and Finn Woelm, Sustainable Development Report 2021,	developed country. Results are: 1. No poverty: challenges remain,
on time or before 2030).	Env	6	A renewable energy superpower.	The Decade of Action for the Sustainable Development Goals	moderately improving (although local
Citizens' oversight of progress towards the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals	Env	7	Efficiently connected through low emissions transport.		data suggest this is not improving). 2. Zero hunger: major challenges remain,
(UNSDGs) Econ01.09.01 By 2023, consistent with initiatives under Gov01.05 regarding	Env	8	Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.		stagnating. 3. Good health & wellbeing: achievement, on track.
community engagement in national long term financial planning,	Env	9	Confident of safety and security of its water supplies.		4. Quality education: challenges remain, moderately
establish and fund a citizen's assembly or other suitable	Env	10	A biodiversity haven.		improving (although local data suggest this is
community council charged with	Env	11	A replanted and reforested land. A protector of		not improving, eg., PISA scores).
monitoring Australia's progress	Env	12	scarce resources. A pollution free		5. Gender equality: significant
towards the UNSDGs and advising on the	Env	14	biosphere.		challenges remain,
adequacy and allocation of funds in	Env	15	A marine wildlife haven.		moderately improving.
federal and state budgets when shortfalls in progress towards the goals are	Env	16	Regenerative by design in consumption & production.		6. Clean water & sanitation: challenges remain, on track.
detected.	Env	19	A land of thriving self-supporting regions.		7. Affordable & clean energy: major



Indicators, Targets &				ng, growth & trunsition			
Strategies for					Direction of movement		
successful	In the	Direct	tions of becoming	Baseline data		m baseline	
performance							
• •			A proactive			challenges	
	Gov	1	participatory			remain,	
			democracy.			moderately	
	6	2	A nation knowing			improving.	
	Gov	2	and affirming		8.	Decent work &	
			decency.			economic growth: challenges	
	Gov	3	A nation with avowed rights for			remain,	
	GOV	3	all.			moderately	
			Open,			improving.	
			transparent &		9.	Industry,	
	Gov	5	accountable in its			innovation &	
			governments &			infrastructure:	
			institutions.			challenges	
			A world			remain,	
	Gov	6	benchmark in			moderately	
			leaders' conduct.			improving	
			Committed to		10.	Reduced	
	Gov	7	public service			inequalities:	
		•	independence &			significant	
			excellence.			challenges remain,	
	Gov	ov 11	A just participant			performance	
			on the global			decreasing.	
			stage. A nation assured		11.	Sustainable cities	
	Gov	12	of enduring			& communities:	
	GOV	12	peace.			challenges	
			peace.			remain,	
						moderately	
						improving.	
					12.	Responsible	
						consumption &	
						production: major	
						challenges remain.	
					12	remain. Climate action:	
					13.	major challenges	
			A nation leading			remain,	
	Gov	13	in empathy &			stagnating.	
	300		global cohesion.		14.	Life below water:	
			J			major challenges	
						remain,	
						stagnating.	
					15.	Life on land: major	
						challenges	
						remain,	
						performance	
					1.6	decreasing.	
					тρ.	Peace, justice &	
	<u> </u>					strong institutions:	



Economy 1 – Economic planning, growth & transition

the goals:	Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
challenges remain, moderately improving. Source: Jeffrey D. Sachs, Christian Kroll, Guillaume Lafortune, Grayson Fuller and Finn Woelm, Sustain Development Report 202 The Decade of Action for Sustainable Development Goals No progress has bee made in terms of establishing a proce for Citizens' oversig of progress towards the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals Overall, the longer				remain, moderately improving. 17. Partnerships for the goals: significant challenges remain, moderately improving. Source: Jeffrey D. Sachs, Christian Kroll, Guillaume Lafortune, Grayson Fuller, and Finn Woelm, Sustainable Development Report 2021, The Decade of Action for the Sustainable Development Goals No progress has been made in terms of establishing a process for Citizens' oversight of progress towards the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals.

Note: Baseline data, Targets, Indicators and Strategies in this section will expand in future issues of *Australia Together*, based on availability of data and on the input of Australians.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy						
	conomy 2 -	- Employment planniı	ng & industry transitio	n		
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Dire	ections of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline		
	Econ 2	A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.		In 2022, the employment to population ratio for Australia was 63%. Source: RBA, "Composition of the Australian Economy		
Employment – Participation Econ02.01 The employment to population ratio is steady or improving.	Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	In 2020, the employment to population ratio for Australia was 63%. Source: RBA, "Composition of the Australian Economy Snapshot March 2020"	No change: The ratio in the shorter term is steady. No longer term data analysed.		
Underemployment Econ02.02 The	Econ 2	A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.		In 2021, the 12- month average for underemployment was 8.6%, down by 0.2 percentage points		
underemployment rate reduces to 3% and remains at or below that on a 12-month average,	Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	The rate of underemployment has steadily increased since 1978 from 2.7%	from 8.8% in 2019, an improvement that is too small and too wide of the target to be called positive.		
ensuring a fuller use of workforce capacity to expand the economy and sufficient labour scarcity to increase wages. (This target may be subject to revision – up or down – if the Non Accelerating Inflation Rate of Unemployment (NAIRU), as assessed from time to time by the Reserve Bank, suggests a revision is necessary.)	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	to 9% in January 2020. In 2019, the 12-month average for underemployment was 8.8%. In 2019, the 3-year rolling average for	In 2021, the 3-year rolling average for underemployment was 9.6%. The rolling 3-year average of underemployment		
	Econ 4	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.	underemployment was 8.9%. Source: ABS, 6202.0 Labour Force Australia, Table 22	has risen steadily from 6.8% in the 3 years to 2002 to 9.6% in the 3 years to 2021. The longer term trend has been negative.		
Underutilisation of the labour force Econ02.02.01	Econ 2	A model of employment planning & justice	The rate of underutilisation of Australia's labour	In 2021, the 12- month average for		



Economy 2 – Employment planning & industry transition						
Indicators, Targets &					Direction of	
Strategies for	In the	Dire	ctions of becoming	Baseline data	movement from	
successful					baseline	
performance			• • • •	r 261 1 1 1	1.1	
The rate of			in industry	force ²⁶ has trended	labour	
underutilisation of			transition.	(although not	underutilisation was	
labour reduces to 8%			A model of	steadily) upward	13.3%, a slight improvement of 0.5	
and remains at or	F	4	transition from	since 1978, from an average of 8.8% in		
below that on a 12-	Econ	1	excessive	_	percentage points from the pre-	
month average, ensuring a fuller use			consumption to	the 3 years to December 1981 up to	pandemic baseline	
of workforce capacity			sustainability. A country where	an average of 13.8%	year of 2019, an	
to expand the			economic	in the 3 years to	improvement that is	
economy and			opportunity,	December 2019. ²⁷	too small and too	
sufficient labour			growth &	December 2015.	wide of the target to	
scarcity to increase	Econ	3	prosperity are	In 2019, the 12-	be called positive.	
wages.	LCOII	3	equitably shared &	month average for	be canca positive.	
(This target may be			living standards	labour	← / →	
subject to revision –			improve	underutilisation was	_, ,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	
up or down – if the			continuously for all.	13.5%.	The rolling average of	
Non Accelerating			A nation fairly	Source: ABS, 6202.0 Labour	labour	
Inflation Rate of	Econ	4	raising & sharing its	Force Australia, Table 22	underutilisation in 3	
Unemployment			wealth.		years to 2021 was 14.6%, an increase	
(NAIRU), as assessed			An economy with		from average 13.8%	
from time to time by			competitive &		in the 3 years to	
the Reserve Bank,	Econ	6	profitable public		2019.	
suggests a revision is			sector		The longer term trend	
necessary.)			participation.		has been negative.	
			Inclusive,		, mas seem megatires	
	Soc	3	welcoming &		←	
			enabling.		Source: ABS, 6202.0 Labour	
	Soc	6	A society of equals.		Force Australia, Table 22	
Duration of			A model of	In the 2020 year, the	In the 2021 year, the	
unemployment			employment	median duration of	12-month median	
Econ02.03	Econ	2	planning & justice	unemployment for	duration of	
The median duration	1		in industry	Australia was 17.3	unemployment for	
of unemployment for			transition.	weeks compared to	Australia was 17.1	
Australia as a whole is			A country where	the boom period of	weeks, a slight	
below 10 weeks,	[economic	2000 to 2013 when	improvement	
reflecting the success	_	_	opportunity,	the median was 12.2	compared to 2020	
of job creation	Econ	3	growth &	weeks.	but a significant	
programs by the			prosperity are	In 2019, the 12-	deterioration	
government sector			equitably shared &	month median	compared to 2019.	
consistent with a	<u> </u>		living standards	duration of		

²⁶ The labour force underutilisation rate is defined by the Australian Bureau of Statistics as "the sum of the number of persons unemployed and underemployed, expressed as a percentage of the labour force". ABS 6102.0.55.001 - Labour Statistics: Concepts, Sources and Methods, Feb 2018.

²⁷ Note: Australia Together does not use the unemployment rate as an indicator, out of the context of the labour underutilisation rate, due to the fact that unemployment rates are derived with reference only to those workers who have, in a fortnightly survey by the ABS, responded that they are looking for work and are available to start (in effect full-time) work immediately. The fortnightly "survey" counts a relatively small section of the willing labour force seeking work and is not useful either for purposes of monitoring the performance of the economy as a provider of opportunities to work or for long term economic and labour force planning purposes.



	conomy 2 -	- Employment plannir	ng & industry transition	<u> </u>
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful	In the Dire	ections of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from
performance National Plan for Full Employment		improve continuously for all.	unemployment for Australia was 15.5	baseline
Supported by a Social Wage (as per Econ02.04) and	Econ 4	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.	weeks. In 2019, the 3-year	In 2021, the 3-year rolling median duration of
ensuring that wages cannot be suppressed due to artificially high rates of unemployment.	Econ 6	An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.	rolling median duration of unemployment for Australia was 15.9 weeks, compared to	unemployment for Australia was 16.6 weeks, and had been trending steadily up (worse) since 2010.
	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	2010 when the 3-year rolling average was 11.1 weeks.	The longer term trend has been negative.
	Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	Source: ABS, 6291.0.55.001 Labour Force Australia, Table 16c	←
	Econ 2	A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.	Between 2015 and 2019, the average weekly hours worked by casual employees was 22.1, up from	
Permanence and casualisation of employment Econ02.03.01	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	21.2 in 2001-2004. By contrast the average weekly hours worked by other (non-casual) employees was 38.6, down from 40.2 in 2001-2004. The trend was towards increasing	No data update is yet available. The trend has been towards increasing
Average weekly hours worked by casual employees declines	Econ 4	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.	casualisation of Australia's workforce.	casualisation of Australia's workforce and increasing
relative to non-casual employees and the length of time taken to transition from casual to permanent employment falls continuously.	Econ 5	A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.	The length of time in casual work before transitioning to permanent work has also increased.	difficulty in transitioning to permanent work. The longer term trend
	Econ 6	An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.	Between 2001 and 2004, 41.5% of casual workers would be in a permanent job within four years. Between	has been negative.
	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	2015 and 2018, this dropped to 35.9%. Source: Household, Income	
	Soc 6 Soc 7	A society of equals. A success because of its diversity.	and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) Survey 2021, Tables 4.7 and 4.10	



	conomy	2-	Employment plannir	ng & industry transition	T
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the L	Dired	ctions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	Soc	9	A success because of gender equality. A nation outlawing corporate greed & encouraging private sector ethics & community partnership.		
Employment planning Top Priority Target/Strategy: National plan for full	Econ	2	A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.	In 2020, Australians had no guarantee of decent productive employment and they were facing the	No further data updates are available on attitudes of Australians.
employment supported by a social wage Econ02.04 By 2022, in	Econ	1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	ongoing removal of social safety nets and rights to a decent basic income throughout their	No progress has been made with planning to achieve full employment.
association with processes for development of an Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing (see Econ04.02), the federal government convenes a process of joint development of	Econ	3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	lives. Before any further erosion of benefits and access to social support, and in anticipation of transitional issues associated with robotization and artificial intelligence, a plan for industry	government has adopted no plans to achieve full employment and has continued to reduce access to social safety nets, including by: • rejecting and withdrawing
a draft plan to re- structure the competitive mix of industries and labour	Econ	4	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.	transition and labour market negotiation is required, in parallel and consistent with	approvals of NDIS plans for eligible recipients; • reducing
market policies supporting Australia's economy to achieve full employment by 2025 (where full	Econ	5	A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.	an Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing and in order to meet commitments made	JobSeeker payments to a level that is below the poverty line;
employment is defined consistent with Econ02.02). By 2023, nation-wide community engagement on the	Econ	6	An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.	under UN Sustainable Development Goals adopted in 2015 by Australia. In 2019, 84% of	 maintaining obligations for welfare recipients to apply for jobs without ensuring
draft national plan is to be completed (alongside associated	Soc	3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	Australians believed that "the minimum [social] wage should	that there are jobs to apply for; • budgeting to
consultation on a social wage as per Econ02.04.02).	Soc	4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	be high enough so that no family with a full-time worker falls	reduce funding (as a proportion of GDP) over the



Indicators, Targets &	Conomy 2 -	Zimproyment pramm		
Strategies for				Direction of
successful	In the Dire	ections of becoming	Baseline data	movement from
performance				baseline
By 2023, a national full employment plan, consistent with community agreements in an Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing, is adopted. By 2023, federal, state, territory, and local governments develop implementation plans consistent with the adopted national plan. By 2025, achieve full and productive work for all Australians. *Consistent with UNSDG, Goal 8: "Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all," especially Target 8.5: "By 2030, achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all women and men, including for young people and persons with disabilities, and equal pay for work of equal value."	Soc 6	A society of equals.	below the official poverty line." And 61% believed that "the government should provide a decent standard of living for the unemployed." Source: United States Studies Centre, Public Opinion in the Age of Trump, The United States and Australia Compared. In 2020, 58% of Australians on survey supported a "a guaranteed living wage being introduced in Australia". Only 18% opposed it. Source: YouGov poll conducted for the Green Institute, October 2020	decade to 2031 for key services and benefits including the family tax benefit, the disability support pension, veterans' support, and parenting payments; and • budgeting to maintain funding at its existing wholly inadequate levels (as a proportion of GDP) for the pharmaceutical benefits scheme, carer income support, and JobSeeker. Source: Parliamentary Budget Office, 2020/21 Medium Term Fiscal Projections Neither the Coalition nor the Labor Opposition have expressed any commitment to introduction of a social wage and/or consultation with Australians on a social wage.
Employment planning		A model of	In 2017, 82% of	No further data
Top Priority	Econ 2	employment	Australians "wanted	updates are available
Target/Strategy:	Econ 2	planning & justice in industry	government to retain	on attitudes of Australians.
Increasing		transition.	the skills and	Australians.
government sector		A country where	capability to deliver	In 2021, there was an
participation in the	Econ 3	economic	services directly". Source: Centre for Policy	average of 1,124,400
economy by a	LCOII 3		Development Study, "What	underemployed
conomy by a		opportunity,	Development Study, Wildt	unuerempioyea



Indicators, Targets &	Conomy	, -			
Strategies for					Direction of
successful	In the	Direc	tions of becoming	Baseline data	movement from
performance					baseline
			growth &	Do Australians Want?	norconc nor month in
program of expansion			•	Active and Effective	persons per month in
of public sector			prosperity are	Government Fit for the	Australia compared to
employment in			equitably shared &	Ages"	1,130,900 per month
health, welfare,			living standards	D. M	in 2019. This was a
education, housing,			improve	By May 2021,	significant
conservation and land			continuously for all.	national research by	improvement
care, renewable			A nation fairly	Essential indicated	compared to 2020,
energy, buildings	Econ	4	raising & sharing its	that when asked	when the average
efficiency and			wealth.	about the preferred	underemployed
transport.			An economy with	approach to creating	persons per month
Econ02.04.01			competitive &	jobs and economic	rose to 1,425,900.
By 2023, in	Econ	6	profitable public	growth, 66% of	However the drop
association with a			sector	respondents said "the	back to 1,124,400 in
national plan for full			participation.	government should	2021 indicates that
employment			Inclusive,	directly invest in the	no significant
supported by a social	Soc	3	welcoming &	economy by creating	progress has been
wage (as per			enabling.	projects and jobs, and	made in reducing
Econ02.04), and	_	_	A place of optimal	raise the standard of	underemployment
supported by	Soc	4	health & wellbeing.	living for the majority	compared to 2019
initiatives under			A model of	of workers" and only	and pre-pandemic
Econ04.02.01 and	Soc	5	educational	17% said that	times.
Econ04.02.03,			opportunity.	businesses should be	
establish a program to	_			encouraged "to grow	← / →
expand public sector	Soc	6	A society of equals.	and create more	The leaves to see the
employment and			A land without	jobs" through	The longer term trend
participation in the			homelessness &	"relaxion of	in underemployment
Australian economy	Soc	9	with decent	regulations and lower	has been negative.
by:			affordable housing	taxes for the	_
developing a			for all	wealthy".	
public sector			A place of	Source: Essential Research	As at 30 June 2021,
workforce plan to			supportive familial	Report, 11 May 2021	the total employment
significantly			& other		headcount (not
increase direct	Soc	10	connections &	Nevertheless,	fulltime equivalent) of
			without domestic	between June 2014	the APS was 153,945,
employment by			abuse	and June 2019, the	up 2.3% from 2020
state and federal			A land without child	Australian	but still down 7.3% or
governments in	Soc	11		government shed	12,201 from the
health, welfare,			disadvantage	19,364 Australian	headcount of 166,146
education,	Soc	12	A sure provider of	Public Service (APS)	in June 2013.
housing,			lifelong dignity	employees – almost	mrame 2013.
conservation and	Env	6	A renewable energy	12% of its workforce.	The longer term trend
land care,			superpower.	As at 30 June 2019	has been negative.
renewable	Env	12	A protector of	the total employment	nas been negative.
energy, buildings	LIIV		scarce resources.	headcount (not	←
efficiency and			A land of thriving	fulltime equivalent)	
transport,	Env	19	self-supporting	of the APS was	In 2020/21, annual
recognising these			regions.		spending by the
as the job growth			Committed to	146,782, down from	federal government
areas of the			public service	166,146 in June 2013. At the same time,	on consultants was
future;	Gov	7	independence &	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	\$712 million, an
			excellence.	annual spending by	increase of 2.4%
	<u> </u>		excenence.	the federal	

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
 reversing the growth in contracting out of public services; and reversing the growth in consultancies and re-establish inhouse public policy services. By 2023, incorporate the new public sector workforce plan into the nation-wide community engagement on the draft national plan for full employment supported by a social wage (as per Econ02.04). 		government on consultants more than doubled from \$385 million in 2012/13 to \$808 million in 2017/18 before falling to \$650 million in 2018/19 and rising again to \$695 million in 2019/20. Also during the same period underemployment in Australia grew by 21% from an average of 7.4% between 2008 and 2013 to 8.9% between 2014 and 2019. In 2019, there was an average of 1,130,900 underemployed persons per month in Australia compared to 894,500 per month in 2013, meaning that while monthly underemployment rose by more than 200,000 the government aggravated the problem by reducing public sector employment by 20,000. The above corresponded with a period of slowed growth in the Australian economy. Between 1972 and 2014, growth in GDP averaged 3.1% per annum. Between 2015 and 2019, growth in GDP averaged only 2.4% per annum and	compared to 2019/20 and still 85% higher than in 2012/13. In 2021, the Australian Public Service had no workforce plan that would set APS growth to match demand for services and jobs by the Australian community. The APS has published an "APS Workforce Strategy 2025". However, this is not a workforce plan. It is a strategy to assist the existing APS to respond to the federal government's "Delivering for Australians Reform" agenda. Essentially it is a skills and technology development strategy, designed to support a deregulated economy driven by the private sector, rather than a service-based economy with broader public sector participation. The APS Workforce Strategy 2025 is a strategy taking Australia in the opposite direction to that proposed here in Econo2.04.01 and towards a repeat of the currently failing economic structure. Sources: Australian Public Service Commission, APS

	Conomy	/ _	Linpioyinent planiin	ng & inaustry transitioi	
Indicators, Targets &					Direction of
Strategies for	In the	Dire	ctions of becoming	Baseline data	movement from
successful					baseline
performance					Facility and Balance
				dropped to 1.7% in 2018/19. Sources: Australian Public Service Commission, APS Employment Release Tables 30 June 2020; Australian Government AusTender, Contracts Awarded as Consultancies; ABS 6202.0 Labour Force Australia Table 22.	Employment Release Tables 30 June 2021; Australian Government AusTender, Contracts Awarded as Consultancies; ABS 6202.0 Labour Force Australia Table 22.
Employment planning			A model of	In 1948, Article 25 of	
Top Priority Target/Strategy: Community	Econ	2	employment planning & justice in industry transition.	the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (to which Australia is a	
engagement on			A country where	signatory) stated	
introduction of a			economic	among other things	
social wage			opportunity,	that:	
Econ02.04.02			growth &	Everyone has the	
By 2022, in	Econ	3	prosperity are	right to a	
association with:			equitably shared &	standard of living	Coo Foom 02 04 for
the nation-wide			living standards	adequate for the	See Econ02.04 for progress data.
community			improve	health and well-	progress data.
engagement on establishment of			continuously for all. A nation fairly	being of himself and of his family,	No progress has been
an Accord on	Econ	4	raising & sharing its	including food,	made on this
Wealth, Welfare	LCOII	7	wealth.	clothing, housing	Strategy.
and Wellbeing as			An economy with	and medical care	
per Econ04.02,			competitive &	and necessary	Neither the Coalition
community	Econ	6	profitable public	social services,	nor the Labor
engagement on			sector	and the right to	Opposition have
the National plan			participation.	security in the	expressed any
for full	Soc	6	A society of equals.	event of	commitment to
employment			A nation knowing	unemployment,	introduction of a
supported by a	Gov	2	and affirming	sickness,	social wage and/or
social wage as per			decency.	disability,	consultation with
Econ02.04, and			A nation with	widowhood, old	Australians on a social
 pilot programs for 	Gov	3	avowed rights for	age or other lack	wage.
community			all.	of livelihood in	←
engagement on				circumstances beyond his	
development of				control.	
long term financial plans for			A nation outlawing	Prior to and since the	
federal revenues			A nation outlawing corporate greed &	Declaration,	
and spending as			encouraging private	proponents of a	
per Gov01.05	Gov	9	sector ethics &	means of protecting	
develop a draft policy			community	this right have	
for introduction of a			partnership.	supported the	
social wage for all			. г	introduction of a	
Australians using the				social wage,	
model of the				otherwise variously	



		<u>, </u>	zmpreyment pramm	ig & industry transition	
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for					Direction of
successful	In the	Dire	ctions of becoming	Baseline data	movement from
performance					baseline
"Australian Income				called a "universal	
Security (AIS)"				basic income", a	
• • •				"minimum income	
suggested by Ross Garnaut as a base for				guarantee" or a	
the design of the draft				"negative income tax". ²⁸	
policy.					
D. 2022 in				In 2021, Professor	
By 2023, incorporate				Ross Garnaut	
discussion of the draft				provided substantial	
design of a social				arguments in favour	
wage or AIS into the				of the introduction of	
consultation for				an "Australian Income	
establishment of an				Security (AIS)" – in	
Accord on Wealth,				effect, a social wage	
Welfare and				in which all	
Wellbeing, to ensure				Australians (except	
that a social wage is				those earning above	
not introduced at the				\$250,000 or with net	
expense of recovery				assets above \$2	
initiatives for				million) would receive	
participation of the				unconditionally	
public sector and				\$15,000 per annum	
taxpayers in economic				(non-taxable). This	
restructuring and				would be	
growth.				accompanied by a	
				flatter taxation	
				system (\$0.325 for all	
				other income up to	
				\$180,000). ²⁹	
				Source: For full details see	
				Ross Garnaut, Reset: Restoring Australia After	
				the Pandemic, Chapter 8.	
Economic transition			A model of	In 2020, Australia	Between 2020 and
funding to drive	Econ	2	employment	faced serious impacts	2022, the federal
sector-wide			planning & justice	to two key sectors of	Coalition government

²⁸ Proponents of a social wage have spanned the full spectrum of politics, from left to right including Thomas Moore (of Moore's *Utopia* fame), Thomas Paine, John Stuart Mill, H G Wells, George Bernard Shaw, John Kenneth Galbraith, Bertrand Russell, Matin Luther King, Friedrich Hayek, and Milton and Rose Friedman.

²⁹ Professor Garnaut's rationale for an "Australian Income Security (AIS)" was that it would be an essential part of a wider set of strategies to support a return to full employment, which in turn is central to the restoration of the Australian economy: "Ways have to be found to raise the incomes of workers on low wages without increasing costs of labour to employers. This leads us to a minimum basic income, which can be augmented by earnings from employment which are taxed at a moderate rate." (*Reset*, page 185). The logic of the strategy is that the cost to the federal budget of the fiscal stimulus from the AIS in the first few years would be offset after full employment was reached, providing an increase in total tax receipts from higher employment rates. The proposal, however, is built on a view that stimulus for the private sector and competitiveness in trade exposed industries is the best way to restore the economy. This potentially disregards the value of expanded government services in health, education and welfare to GDP growth and to the extent that an AIS may remove funds for essential services for a number of years, it may be self-defeating. Community engagement on an Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing as per Econ04.02 is thus an essential prerequisite to this otherwise valuable proposal.



Indicators, Targets &	Contonly 2	Employment plumin	ng & industry transition	
Strategies for				Direction of
successful	In the Dir	ections of becoming	Baseline data	movement from
performance				baseline
transformations with		in industry	its economy arising	continued to
safety nets		transition.	from factors beyond	subsidise fossil fuels
surcey fiets		A model of	their control:	and to widen the base
Top Priority		transition from	1. Coal mining, due	on which public
Target/Strategy:	Econ 1	excessive	to the inevitable	funding could be
National Economic	LCOII I	consumption to	decline of	devoted to fossil fuel
Transitions		sustainability.	demand for fossil	corporations (eg., by
Commission		A country where	fuels; and	transferring, without
Econ02.05		economic	2. Tertiary	parliamentary
By 2022,		opportunity,	education, due to	approval, \$2 billion
acknowledging that		growth &	loss of	into the Northern
globalisation of	Econ 3	prosperity are	international	Australia
economies and other	20011	equitably shared &	student demand	Infrastructure Fund).
global forces such as		living standards	after Covid-19.	Source: David Littleproud,
climate change will,		improve	No coordinated	Minister for Agriculture and
from time to time,		continuously for all.	policies were put in	Northern Australia, Media Release, 25 January 2022
deliver sector-wide		A nation fairly	place to assist	nelease, 25 January 2022
shocks to or shifts in	Econ 4	raising & sharing its	employees in either	In the same period no
Australia's economy –		wealth.	of these industries in	further assistance was
and in association		A strong regulator	a manner that would	provided to develop
with the Accord on		of fairness in	shift the economy	renewable energy
Wealth, Welfare and	Econ 5	markets creating	onto a new	alternatives or the to
Wellbeing under		confidence for	sustainable footing. In	boost the tertiary
Econ04.02 – establish		investors.	fact:	education sector.
a National Economic		An economy with	 assistance was 	
Transitions		competitive &	specifically	Neither of the major
Commission with a	Econ 6	profitable public	withheld in the	parties has proposed
charter of facilitating		sector	case of tertiary	a forward thinking
sector-wide economic		participation.	education	administration and
shifts occasioned by		Productive &	resulting in the	planning capacity for
global impacts (such		prosperous through	loss of over	economic transitions
as climate change,	Feen 0	fair & ethical trade	17,000 jobs; and	in Australia. Nor have
pandemics, trade	Econ 9	agreements, labour	 in the case of 	they proposed
restrictions or war)		hire &	coal mining,	systems by which
and a triple role in		procurement.	inordinate	decisions on use of
facilitation, including:	Soc 1	A safe home.	support for	taxpayer funds to
• timely		Inclusive,	corporate vested	subsidise private
identification of	Soc 3	welcoming &	interests was	interests can be made
sector-wide		enabling.	provided	independently and
disruptions;	Soc 6	A society of equals.	contrary to the	without conflict of
• recommendations		A leading global	best economic	interest.
on policy for	Env 1	advocate for action	interests of the	No progress has been
funding and		on climate change.	public (via	made on this
management of	Env 2	A net zero	appointment of	Strategy.
required	LIIV Z	emissions nation.	fossil fuel business owners	←
transitions (either out of the		A nation that puts	to a national	
affected industry		the environment	Covid-19	
sector or across	Env 4	before	Commission).	
to a new funding		unsustainable	Commission).	
		consumption.		



Indicators, Targets &			Employment planini		Direction of
Strategies for	In the	Direc	tions of becoming	Baseline data	movement from
successful			, ,		baseline
performance			A ranguable anargu	Dalitical and	
platform capable of sustaining the	Env	6	A renewable energy superpower.	Political and economic immaturity	
affected industry);			Environmentally	significantly impacted the nation's capacity	
implementation	Env	8	and economically sustainable in	to efficiently facilitate	
of approved	LIIV	Ü	agriculture and	vital sector-wide	
funding programs			fisheries.	economic shifts.	
supporting the	F	12	A protector of		
transitions; and	Env	12	scarce resources.	Independence in	
 coordination of 			Multi-central in its	management of	
any multi-agency			cities, efficiently	aspects of economic	
involvement in	Env	18	connecting people	policy has proven to be successful in the	
establishment of market structures			with jobs, health, education and	past, such as in the	
necessary to			recreation.	case of entrusting	
ensure the			A land of thriving	control of monetary	
resilience of any	Env	19	self-supporting	policy to the	
new economic			regions.	independence of the	
transformations.	Gov	6	A world benchmark	Reserve Bank. But as	
Independence of the	GOV	0	in leaders' conduct.	at 2021, no such	
Commission should be			Committed to	independent facilitation had been	
secured by an act of parliament which	Gov	7	public service	established for	
mandates that:			independence & excellence.	purposes of sector-	
 the Commission 			A nation outlawing	wide economic	
should be fully			corporate greed &	transitions.	
resourced;	Cov	9	encouraging private		
 commissioners 	Gov	9	sector ethics &		
should be			community		
appointed for 5- year periods			partnership.		
(non-renewable)					
and must be					
subject to the					
proposed post-					
separation					
employment rules					
for politicians as					
per Gov05.05 .	Cov	11	A just participant		
Procedures for:	Gov	11	on the global stage.		
• ensuring					
independence of					
commissioners,					
 prevention of 					
corruption,					
management of					
conflicts of					
interest,	1				<u> </u>



Indicators, Targets &	conomy		Zimpioyiment pianim	ng & industry transitio	
Strategies for					Direction of
successful	In the	Dire	ctions of becoming	Baseline data	movement from
performance					baseline
 codes of conduct and meeting 					
practice, and					
 full transparency 					
in advice and					
decisions					
must be specified in					
the enabling					
legislation.					
registation.					
Experience with					
implementation of					
transition programs					
under Econ02.05.01 –					
Coal industry closure					
and Econ02.05.02 -					
Tertiary education					
restoration and					
expansion below may					
be utilised prior to					
establishment of the					
Commission – taking these two as pilot					
programs for testing					
operation of the					
Commission and					
developing an					
appropriately					
independent charter.					
Economic transition			A model of	In 2015, the	In 2020/21, by
funding to drive			employment	International	analysing spending
sector-wide	Econ	2	planning & justice	Monetary Fund	and tax breaks the
transformations with			in industry	estimated that the	Australia Institute
safety nets – Coal			transition.	size of subsidy	calculated the size of
industry closure Econ02.05.01			A model of transition from	provided by	the fossil fuel subsidy as \$10.3 billion per
Regardless of whether	Econ	1	excessive	Australian taxpayers to the fossil fuel	as \$10.5 billion per annum.
the National Economic	LCOII	-	consumption to	industry was AU\$42	Source: The Australia
Transitions			sustainability.	billion approximately	Institute, Fossil Fuel
Commission is			A country where	or 2.3% of GDP	Subsidies in Australia, 2020/21
established under			economic	(US\$29 billion) and	2020/21
Econ02.05 and			opportunity,	AU\$1,700 per capita	In 2020, Market
utilising a small			growth &	approximately per	Forces estimated that
portion of the savings	Econ	3	prosperity are	annum. This equates	tax-based fossil fuel
to taxpayers that can			equitably shared &	to setting aside the	subsidies cost
be anticipated from			living standards	equivalent of	Australians \$12 billion
the elimination of			improve	\$730,000 of taxpayer	per annum.
fossil fuel subsidies			continuously for all.	funded subsidy each	



Economy 2 – Employment planning & industry transition							
Indicators, Targets &					Direction of		
Strategies for	In the	Direc	tions of becoming	Baseline data	movement from		
successful			, ,		baseline		
performance							
under Env02.03,	_		A nation fairly	year for each person	Source: Market Forces, How Your Tax Dollars		
establish a one-off \$1	Econ	4	raising & sharing its	employed in coal	Subsidise Fossil Fuels, 2020		
billion redundancy			wealth.	mining and oil and			
and redeployment			A strong regulator	gas exploration and	No further update		
fund for employees of	_		of fairness in	production in	data are available for		
thermal coal mining	Econ	5	markets creating	Australia.	the IMF estimate of		
and coal-fired power			confidence for	The Australian	\$42 billion per annum		
companies who are			investors.	taxpayer receives no	(estimated in 2015). ³⁰		
facing displacement, accessible until 2025			Productive &	share of the profits in return for its			
(and no later).			prosperous through fair & ethical trade	subsidisation of the	In February 2020,		
Payments from the	Econ	9		fossil fuel industry.	there were 43,300		
fund should reflect			agreements, labour hire &	Profits are largely off-	coal miners employed		
years of service, plus			procurement.	shored and royalties	in Australia and		
transition costs	Soc	1	A safe home.	do not sufficiently	29,900 oil and gas		
associated with re-	300		Inclusive,	offset subsidies to	extraction workers. 6291.0.55.003 Labour		
training and	Soc	3	welcoming &	provide decent	Force, Australia, Detailed,		
relocation, and be in	300	3	enabling.	returns. Nor does the	Quarterly		
addition to all other	Soc	6	A society of equals.	fossil fuel industry			
termination	300		A leading global	contribute to clean-	In 2020, the cost of		
entitlements under	Env	1	advocate for action	up costs or climate	the fossil fuel subsidy		
agreements with		_	on climate change.	change adaptation	per coal miner		
private employers.	_		A net zero	costs.	employed equated to:		
Note: Payment from	Env	2	emissions nation.	Creation of a fund to	Australia Institute		
the fund would not be			A nation that puts	make coal workers	estimate =		
applicable to workers			the environment	redundant and	\$237,875;		
who take up	Env	4	before	transfer them to	Market Forces		
employment in			unsustainable	sustainable industries	estimate =		
thermal coal mining or			consumption.	(including other types	\$277,136;		
coal fired power	Env	6	A renewable energy	of mining) would	• IMF estimate =		
stations after creation	EIIV	0	superpower.	equate to a massive	\$969,976.		
of the fund and no			Environmentally	saving for Australia. If	In 2020, the cost of		
worker receiving payments for			and economically	implemented in addition to a carbon	the fossil fuel subsidy		
redundancy and	Env	8	sustainable in	price it would make	per all employed		
redeployment could			agriculture and	transition to net zero	fossil fuel workers		
be permitted to work			fisheries.	and a new economy	(coal miners and oil		
in the coal sector in	Env	12	A protector of	affordable for	and gas extractors)		
the future,			scarce resources.	Australia.	equated to:		
recognising that the			A land of thriving	Source: International	Australia Institute		
taxpayer funded	Env	19	self-supporting	Monetary Fund "IMF	estimate =		
transition program is			regions.	Working Paper: Global Fossil Fuel Subsidies	\$140,710;		
to support transition	Gov	6	A world benchmark	Remain Large: An Update	Market Forces		
to a sustainable	_		in leaders' conduct.	Based on Country-Level	estimate =		
economy, not a	Gov	9	A nation outlawing	Estimates, WP/19/89",	\$163,934;		
			corporate greed &	2019			

³⁰ Each estimate of the size of the fossil fuel subsidy is based on a different methodology. All estimates are assumed to be correct within the methodology used. The IMF estimate takes more costs into account than the Australia Institute and Market Forces.



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions	of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	sect compari	ouraging private tor ethics & nmunity tnership.	In 2019, approximately 38,400 people were employed in coal mining in Australia, a reduction from 47,500 in 2014. By 2030 it may be expected that the thermal coal industry will be non-existent due to multiple factors, including its high price compared to renewable energy. Schemes which incentivise early closure of the thermal coal industry will provide significantly higher returns to Australia than continued subsidies for coal. Source: ABS Stat.beta Labour account Australia In 2020, research by the Australia Institute found that: "A phaseout of thermal coal mining over ten years would imply a loss of between 500 and 1000 specialist mining jobs each year. Taking account of early retirement, natural attrition, and redeployment within the mining industry, the number requiring special assistance for transition, or a top up to offset the loss of premium wages, would probably be no	• IMF estimate = \$573,770. In short, even at the lowest estimate of the fossil fuel subsidy the taxpayer is paying the full salary bill for every employee in coal mining and oil and gas exploration and is bearing other major costs (eg., for restoration, environmental degradation, climate change and opportunity costs) without receiving a share of profits through tax revenues and royalties sufficient to offset the costs. At this rate, all fossil fuel industries should by rights be in the full ownership of the state, not in private ownership. In prudential corporate management, all of it should be taken over and shut down. In 2021, current funding and operation of the fossil fuel industry is a huge net negative for the taxpayer. Either of the two transition/safety net options proposed here would be far better for taxpayers.
			more than 250 per year. An assistance package of \$100,000	—



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Dire	ctions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			per year, available for up to 2 years, would imply an outlay of no more than \$50 million per year." Source: Australia Institute, Getting Off Coal 2020	No progress has been made on any strategy to transition coal workers to new industries.
Economic transition funding to drive sector-wide transformations with safety nets – Higher	Econ 2	A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.	In 2021, Universities Australia reported that over 17,300 university jobs were lost in 2020 due to	In September 2021, the Australia Institute reported that job losses in universities since the onset of
education (university) sector recovery and expansion Econ02.05.02 By no later than the	Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	Covid-19 and forecast further losses in 2021. They also reported a loss of \$1.8 billion in revenue 2020/21, an	Covid-19 had risen to 35,000. (Another 5,000 jobs were lost in the vocational training sector,
2022/23 federal budget: 1. recognising the need to reverse planned funding reductions for tertiary education and the need to	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve	expected further loss of \$2 billion in 2021/22 and extended losses for subsequent years due to loss of international student enrolments.	bringing tertiary education job losses to 40,000.) Source: The Australia Institute, An Avoidable Catastrophe: Pandemic Job Losses in Higher Education and their Consequences
meet increased demand for university education	Econ 4	continuously for all. A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.	While the federal government increased funding for 2020/21 to support	Funding for the university sector was not restored in the
consistent with the fee-free program under Soc05.01, and 2. utilising	Econ 5	A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.	ongoing research in universities during Covid-19, it also reversed that injection in the	2021/22 federal budget. By 2024/25 it is estimated by ACFP that the higher education budget will
anticipated savings from the elimination of fossil fuel subsidies under	Econ 6	An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.	following years, leaving the sector net worse off by more than \$4.2 billion compared to pre-	be 5.6% below where it should be if it is to keep pace with expected inflation and approximately
establish an emergency \$5 billion restoration fund over two years to restore employment of higher education (university) teaching staff and associated essential ancillary staff and	Econ 7 Econ 8	A collaborative intelligent nation. Enabled in meeting the communication & information demands of the future.	Covid-19 funding arrangements. By 2023/24, the university sector budget will be 6.1% lower than it was in 2019/20. Source: Universities Australia Media Release 3 February 2021 and Federal	\$1.3 billion below necessary revenues for the year (taking into account the losses projected from the removal of overseas student fees). This loss will be in addition to losses totalling \$4.2 billion



Economy 2 – Employment planning & industry transition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
facilities to pre-Covid levels, with the emergency fund being in addition to the floor expenditure and expansion proposals for the fuller tertiary education sector (university, technical and vocational) under Soc05.01.		Budget Papers for 2019/20 and 2020/21.	over the three years 2023/24. Source: Federal Budget Papers for 2021/22. No progress has been made to restore the higher education sector.

Note: Baseline data, Targets, Indicators and Strategies in this section will expand in future issues of *Australia Together*, based on availability of data and on the input of Australians.



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy							
Economy 3 – Equitable improvement in living standards							
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Dir	ections of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline			
Income inequality Econ03.01 The Gini coefficient for equivalised disposable household income moves on	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	In 2017/18, the Gini coefficient for equivalised disposable household income was 0.328. Compared to 2003/04 when the coefficient was 0.306, income inequality has	No data update available. The longer term trend has been negative.			
progressively from the baseline towards zero.	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	worsened. Source: ABS 6523.0 - Household Income & Wealth	—			
	Soc 6	A society of equals.					
Wealth inequality Econ03.01.01 The Gini coefficient for household net worth (wealth) moves on progressively from	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	In 2017/18, the Gini coefficient for household net worth (wealth) was 0.621. Compared to 2003/04 when the coefficient was 0.573, wealth inequality has	No data update available. The longer term trend has been negative.			
the baseline towards zero.	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	worsened. Source: ABS 6523.0 - Household Income & Wealth	—			
	Soc 6	A society of equals.					
Distribution of national wealth – corporations versus wage earners Econ03.01.02 The share of annual national income (GDP) returned as wages rises	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	In 1975, 62% of national income went to Australians in wages and the share that went to corporate profits was 17%. In 2021, only 51% of national income went to Australians in wages and the share that	No data update available. The longer term trend			
continuously and the share devoted to corporate profits declines continuously until such time as the Gini coefficient for	Econ 2	A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition. A nation fairly raising & sharing its	went to corporate profits had almost doubled to 30%. Between 1975 and 2021, there was a steady trend in decline of wages and a rise in	has been negative.			
equivalised		wealth.	corporate profits as				



	ECONOM	y 3 – Equitable Impro	vement in living standa	rus
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Dir	ections of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
disposable household income in Australia improves to its best recorded score,	Econ 5	A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.	proportions of national income (GDP). This significantly aggravated growth in inequality.	
which was in 1996/97 – 0.292, whereupon this target should be reviewed to match	Econ 6	An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.	Source: ABS 5206.0 Table 1	
the Gini coefficient of the best OECD performer for	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.		
income and wealth inequality.	Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.		
Note: In 2015, Norway had the best Gini	Soc 6 Gov 2	A society of equals. A nation knowing and affirming decency.		
coefficient for developed countries (0.275), while Australia's score in 2017/18 was 0.328 as per Econ03.01.	Gov 9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & encouraging private sector ethics & community partnership.		
Distribution of growth in income & wealth – wages growth relative to growth in company profits Econ03.02 The annualised percentage of growth in total wages paid and in company profits is the same or similar – approaching a ratio of 1:1 (assessed as a 3-year rolling average).	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	In the 3 years to September 2019, total corporate profits in Australia rose by 49.7%	In the 5 years to September 2021, total corporate profits in Australia rose by 87.1% while total paid in wages rose by only 17.9%. Profits rose at 4.8 times the rate of wages paid. ABS 5676.0, Tables 11 & 17
	Econ 2	A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.	while total paid in wages rose by only 12.2%. Profits rose at 4 times the rate of wages paid. ABS 5676.0, Tables 11 & 17	In the 3 years to 2021 corporate profits rose on average by 10.3% per annum while the wage
	Econ 4	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.		price index rose on average by only 1.97% per annum.
	Soc 6	A society of equals.		Profits rose at 5.2 times the rate of wages paid. Source: ABS 6345.0, Table 2a



to die of	Economy 3 – Equitable Impro	Vernent in living standa	
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			The rate at which corporate profit growth is outstripping wages growth is increasing.
Distribution of growth in income & wealth – growth in wages (hourly rates of pay) relative to growth in GDP Econ03.02.01 Growth in total hourly rates of pay (excluding bonuses) equals or exceeds the average growth in GDP per annum over the same rolling 3-year periods.	Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	Between 1999 and 2007 (pre-GFC), average annual growth was: wages = 3.5%, and GDP = 3.5%. Between 2008 and 2014, average annual growth was:	In the three years to 2020, the average annual growth was: • wages = 2.1%, and • GDP = 1.7%. In the three years to 2021, the average annual growth was: • wages = 2.0%, and
	A model of transition from Econ 1 excessive consumption to sustainability.	 wages = 3.5%, and GDP = 2.8%. Between 2015 and 2019, average annual growth was: wages = 2.2%, and GDP = 2.4%. 	• GDP = 1.2%. Source: ABS 6345.0, Table 2a and ABS 5204.0, Table 1 While this result reflects a fairer share of growth in national income for workers, it is largely the result of very slow
	A nation fairly Econ 4 raising & sharing its wealth.	Between 2015 and 2019, growth in hourly rates of pay was slower than average annual growth in GDP; Australians were not getting a fair share of the economic growth	growth in the economy due to the Covid-19 pandemic and the boost to wages provided by the temporary boost to JobSeeker and JobKeeper. This is therefore not an indicator of improved
	Soc 6 A society of equals.	they generated. In the three years to 2019, the average annual growth was: • wages = 2.1%, and • GDP = 2.4%. Source: ABS 6345.0, Table 2a and ABS 5204.0, Table 1	standard or cost of living. The longer term trend is variable.
Distribution of growth in income & wealth – household disposable income Econ03.02.02 Growth in gross household	Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve	Historical trends in average annual growth of gross household disposable income per capita: 1997-2008 = 5.3%; 2009-2013 = 4.2%;	The 3-year rolling average annual growth of gross household disposable income per capita for 2019 to 2021 was 3.9%. The short term trend is mildly positive.

	Econ	omy	3 – Equitable impro	vement in living standa	ras
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the	Dire	ctions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
disposable income per capita rises consistent with the strongest historical trends – measured as a 3-year rolling average.	Econ	1 4	continuously for all. A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability. A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.	• 2014-2019 = 2.2%. Source: ABS 5204.0, Table 36 & ABS 3101, Table 1	While this result (most likely arising from the increase in family incomes provided by JobKeeper and JobSeeker during the Covid-19 pandemic) reflects an improvement on the previous period it does not meet the target of matching the historical average. It is unlikely to be sustained due to the withdrawal of the Covid-19 stimulus. The longer term trend is still negative.
Distribution of growth in income & wealth – net worth of households Econ03.02.03 The net worth of the lowest income households (the bottom 20%) rises continuously and at least in proportion to any rise for the	Econ	3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all. Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	Between 2013/14 and 2017/18 the net worth of the lowest 20% of households dropped by 7% while the net worth of the top 20% of households rose by 20%. Source: ABS 6523.0 – Household Income and Wealth	No data update available. The longer term trend has been negative.
top 20% of households.	Soc	6 11	A society of equals. A land without		
Distribution of growth in income & wealth –	Econ	3	child disadvantage. A country where economic opportunity, growth &	In 2018, the average weekly earnings of welfare workers were \$838.90, compared	No data update is available on average weekly earnings of welfare workers. ³¹

³¹ See AIHW, Welfare Workforce, website update, 16 September 2021: "Due to the coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic, the ABS has not completed its biennial Survey of Employee Earnings and Hours for 2020. Thus, the most up-to-date data on worker hours and payment of the welfare workforce are those in the ABS Survey of Employee Earnings and Hours collected in May 2018."



Economy 3 – Equitable improvement in living standards

	- 4 F	vement in living standa	
In the Dire	ctions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
Econ 2 Soc 5 Soc 6 Soc 8 Soc 10 Soc 11 Soc 12	prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all. A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition. A model of educational opportunity. A society of equals. A success because of gender equality. A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse. A land without child disadvantage. A sure provider of lifelong dignity.	with \$1,106.40 for workers in similar occupations in other industries. Source: AIHW, "Australia's Welfare 2019, in brief" In November 2018, the average weekly earnings for Australians were: Full time adult ordinary time earnings = \$1,605.50; Earnings, persons, total = \$1,225.30. Source: ABS 6302.0, Average Weekly Earnings Australia, November 2019, Table 1	Source: AIHW, "Australia's Welfare 2021, in brief" In May 2021, the average weekly earnings for Australians were: Full time adult ordinary time earnings = \$1,737.10; Earnings, persons, total = \$1,305.80. Source: ABS 6302.0 Average Weekly Earnings, Australia, Table 3, Original Due to suspension of trend analysis by the ABS, it is not possible to assess changes in the wages of welfare workers. Note: the federal Coalition government has refused to support wage rises for aged care workers ³² , as recommended by the Aged Care Royal Commission. Policy support for wage rises for welfare workers is absent. The longer term trend is negative.
Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared &	In 2018, 13.2% of Australians (more than one in eight) were living below the poverty line (defined as 50% of the median	No comparable data update is available for the percent of Australians in poverty.
	Econ 2 Soc 5 Soc 6 Soc 8 Soc 10 Soc 11	equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all. A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition. A model of educational opportunity. Soc 6 A society of equals. Soc 8 A success because of gender equality. A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse. Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage. Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity. A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are	prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all. A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition. A model of educational opportunity. Soc 6 A society of equals. Soc 8 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse. Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage. Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity. A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards Iving standards with \$1,106.40 for workers in similar occupations in other industries. Source: AlHW, "Australia's Welfare 2019, in brief" In November 2018, the average weekly earnings for Australians were: Full time adult ordinary time earnings = \$1,605.50; Earnings, persons, total = \$1,225.30. Source: ABS 6302.0, Average Weekly Earnings Australia, November 2019, Table 1 A land without child disadvantage. Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity. In 2018, 13.2% of Australians (more than one in eight) were living below the poverty line (defined as 50% of the median household disposable

³² Stephanie Dalzell, ABC News, 2 February 2022, "What you need to know about the fight to raise aged care worker's pay in the Fair Work Commission".



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to diam'r = '	ECON	UIIIY	3 – Equituble Impro	vement in living standa I	ius
Indicators, Targets					Diversity of
& Strategies for	In the	Direc	ctions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement
successful					from baseline
performance				into a consult be continue	The desired to the second
2030 compared to			continuously for	into account housing	The longer term trend
the baseline year			all.	costs.	has been negative.
(2018).	_	_	A nation fairly	L- 2040, 47 20/ -f	—
etterte est en est	Econ	4	raising & sharing its	In 2018, 17.3% of	
Elimination of			wealth.	children aged under 15	Surveys of Australian
poverty – children			Inclusive,	(more than one in six	households suggest that
Econ03.03.01	Soc	3	welcoming &	or 739,000) and 13.9%	poverty may be
The proportion of children under the			enabling.	(410,000) of young	declining slightly but is
	Soc	4	A place of optimal	people aged 15 to 24	still persistent.
age of 15 living in			health & wellbeing.	years were living below	Source: Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in
poverty declines continuously and	Soc	6	A society of equals.	the poverty line. Source: ACOSS & UNSW	Australia (HILDA) Survey 2021,
reaches zero by			A land without	Sydney, Poverty in Australia	Tables 3.4, 3.5 and 3.9.
2030.			homelessness &	2018	
2030.	Soc	9	with decent		
Elimination of			affordable housing		
poverty – young			for all.		
people			A place of		
Econ03.03.02			supportive familial		
The proportion of	Soc 1	10	& other		
young people			connections &		
between the ages			without domestic		
of 15 and 24 living			abuse.		
in poverty declines	Soc	11	A land without		
continuously and			child disadvantage.		
reaches zero by					
2030.					
*Consistent with					
UNSDG, Goal 1: "End					
poverty in all its forms everywhere", Target 1.2:					
"By 2030, reduce at					
least by half the					
proportion of men,					
women and children of all ages living in poverty					
in all its dimensions	Soc	12	A sure provider of		
according to national	300	12	lifelong dignity.		
definitions."					
*Consistent with UNSDG, Goal 1: "End					
poverty in all its forms					
everywhere", Target 1.2:					
"By 2030, reduce at					
least by half the					
proportion of men, women and children of					
all ages living in poverty					
in all its dimensions					
according to national definitions."					
Elimination of			A country where		
hunger	Econ	3	economic	In 2018/19, the	In 2020, 28% of
Econ03.04		_	opportunity,	number of people	Australians experienced
	I			I	<u> </u>



	Economy 3 — Equitable improvement in living standards						
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Dire	ctions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline			
The incidence of food insecurity and hunger declines continuously, ends by 2030, and does not re-emerge. *Consistent with	Econ 4 Soc 3 Soc 4 Soc 6	growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all. A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth. Inclusive, welcoming & enabling. A place of optimal health & wellbeing. A society of equals. A land without	seeking food relief increased by 22%. In 2018/19, 21% of Australians experienced food insecurity. In 2018/19, at least once a week 30% of food insecure Australians went without eating for a whole day. Only 37% of charities reported meeting the	food insecurity, up from 21% in 2018/19. In 2020, the proportion of food insecure Australians seeking food relief at least once a week rose by more than double – from 15% in 2019 to 31% in 2020. In 2020, 43% of all food insecure Australians went a whole day			
	Soc 8	homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all. A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse. A land without	full needs of people they assisted. Source: McCrindle Foodbank Hunger Report 2019	without eating at least once a week, compared to 30% in 2019. Source: McCrindle Foodbank Hunger Report 2020 The longer term trend is negative.			
	Soc 11 Soc 12	child disadvantage. A sure provider of lifelong dignity.					
Indebtedness – households Econ03.05 The percentage of households experiencing over- indebtedness is continuously decreasing.	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	In 2015/16, 27.2% of households were classified as over-indebted (households with debt 3 or more times income). Compared to 2005/06 when 23.4% of households were over-indebted the measure has substantially worsened.	In 2017/18, 28.4% of households were classified as overindebted, an increase of 1.2 percentage points compared to 2015/16. Source: ABS 6523.0, Household Income and Wealth, Australia 2017-8			

^{**}Consistent with UNSDG — Indicates where targets/indictors have been selected consistent with commitments already made by Australia to the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals 2015-2030. It does not necessarily mean the selected target or indictor has been included in *Australia Together* in a form agreed by the Australian Government. For example, in relation to its commitment to "end poverty in all its forms everywhere", Australia has not selected indicators which will enable it to report on poverty growth in total and has chosen not to select a definition of poverty. Instead the government has chosen indicators such as duration of poverty. For information on the Australian Government's process of data collection for UNSDGs, visit https://www.sdgdata.gov.au/reporting-status



	Econ	omy	3 – Equitable impro	vement in living standa	ras
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the	Dire	ctions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
				Source: ABS 6523.0, Household Income and Wealth, Australia 2015-16	No more recent data updates are available but the longer term trend is negative. Household overindebtedness is rising.
Perceptions of economic opportunity Econ03.06	Econ	3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	In 2017, 75% of Australians agreed that "Australia is a land of economic opportunity where in the long run, hard work brings a better life", down from 81% in 2007.	In 2021, 72% of Australians agreed that "Australia is a land of economic opportunity where in the long run, hard work brings a better life", down from 81% in 2007 and down from 75% in 2017. Source: Scanlon Foundation
By 2030, the proportion of Australians agreeing that Australia is a land	Econ	2	A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.	In 2017, 21% of Australians disagreed that "Australia is a land of economic	Mapping Social Cohesion 2021 Data updates on disagreement are unavailable. 34
of economic opportunity where hard work is rewarded is above	Soc	5	A model of educational opportunity.	opportunity where in the long run, hard work brings a better	The longer term trend has been negative.
	Soc	6	A society of equals.	life", up from 16% in	
80%.	Soc	8	A success because of gender equality.	2007. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2020	Fewer Australians are viewing Australia as a land of opportunity with positive prospects for them.
Perceptions of economic (class) mobility Econ03.06.01 The proportion of Australians perceiving themselves to be "middle class" does	Econ	3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	In 2019, 50% of Australians perceived themselves to be "middle class", down from 57% in 2010. In 2019, 48% of Australians perceived themselves to be "working class", up from 42% in 2010. Source: ANU Trends in	No further update available. The longer term trend has been negative.
not fall below 50%.	Soc	6	A society of equals.	Australian Political Opinion, 1987 to 2019	

³⁴ Note: In 2021, the Scanlon Index of Social Cohesion report suffered a significant reduction of transparency and ceased printing the full spread of survey results on some parameters. The report was for the first time prefaced by a federal government minister (Alex Hawke), significantly and regrettably affecting its status as an independent, unconflicted, accessible and comprehensive source of data on social cohesion.



Indicators Targets							
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline				
Perceptions of quality of life – prospects for improvement Econ03.07 The proportion of Australians who agree their lives will improve does not decline. Perceptions of quality of life – prospects for decline	Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	In 2017, 18% of Australians thought their lives would be much improved in 3 or 4 years, down from 24% in 2007. And in 2017, 19% of Australians expected that their lives would	In November 2020, 11% of Australians thought their lives would be much improved in 3 or 4 years, down from 18% in 2017 and 24% in 2007. And 2021, 16% of Australians expected that their lives would be worse in 3 or 4 years, up from 11% in 2007 but down from 19% in 2017. In 2021, 71% of Australians were				
Econ03.07.01 The proportion of Australians who expect life quality to be worse does not rise. Perceptions of quality of life – current financial situation Econ03.07.02 The proportion of Australians who are satisfied or very satisfied with their financial situation does not decline from the baseline.	Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	be worse in 3 or 4 years, up from 11% in 2007. In 2019, 69% of Australians were satisfied or very satisfied with their financial situation, down from 74% in 2007. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2019	satisfied or very satisfied with their financial situation, down from 74% in 2007 but up from 69% in 2019. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2020 and 2021 Taken together, these three measures suggest no significant progress in the short term. The longer term trend has been negative.				
Perceptions of long term economic/financial prospects – Intergenerational financial security Econ03.08 The proportion of Australians who say their children will	Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	In 2019, 65% of Australians surveyed said that when children today in Australia grow up, they will be worse off financially than their parents, an increase from 53% in 2013.	No baseline data update available from Pew Research. However, on survey in 2021, 59% of Australians agreed that "the				



	Economy 3 – Equitable impro	vement in living standa	ras
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
be worse off financially falls continuously to 53% and lower over time.	Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	Source: Pew Research, Global Attitudes and Trends Database	future looks tough for younger people" and • 76% of Australians aged 18-29 "think they'll have it tougher than their parents". Source: ABC Australia Talks National Survey 2021 The longer term trend has been negative. There is a consensus that younger generations will be less well off than their parents.
Perceptions of long term economic/financial prospects – Australia's global	Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	In 2021, 79% of Australians reported that they were optimistic or very optimistic about Australia's economic performance in the world over the next five years. The highest (best) score for	No further update available for the short term. Perceptions about
economic performance Econ03.08.01 The proportion of Australians who are optimistic about Australia's economic performance in the world does not decline from the baseline.	Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	economic optimism was 86% in 2009 and 2010. In 2021, 22% of Australians reported that they were pessimistic or very pessimistic about Australia's economic performance in the world over the next five years. The lowest (best) score for economic pessimism was 10% in 2005. Source: Lowy Institute Poll 2021	longer term economic prospects vary widely from year to year but the longer term trend is clearly negative. The trend of economic optimism has been falling and the trend of economic pessimism has been rising. Source: Lowy Institute Poll 2021

Economy 3 – Equitable improvement in living standards

	Economy 3 – Equitable Improvement in living standards					
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline			
Perceptions of economic inequality – gap between rich and poor Econo3.09 The proportion of Australians who agree that the gap between rich and poor is too large falls or rises in line with measured falls and rises in income and wealth inequality under Econo3.01 and Econo3.01.01 (the	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	In 2019, 76% of Australians on survey agreed that the "gap between rich and poor is too large". Source: ABC Australia Talks National Survey 2019	In 2021, 80% of Australians on survey agreed that the "gap between rich and poor is too large". Source: ABC Australia Talks National Survey 2021 In 2021, 77% of Australians on survey agreed that the "gap between rich and poor is too large". Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2021 Given the actual long			
Note: This Target is set to monitor whether perceptions of Australians about inequality are moving out of alignment with the reality of inequality and to monitor whether Australians continue to see and reject growth in inequality and see and endorse reduction of inequality.	Soc 6 A society of equals.	In 2019, 77% of Australians on survey agreed that the "gap between rich and poor is too large". Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2021	Given the actual long term rise in income and wealth inequality as measured by the Gini coefficient and the apparent, parallel rise in concern that the "gap between rich and poor is too large", it is likely that in 2021, Australians perceived and rejected growth in inequality. As a measure of attitudes towards the need for equality and fairness, this result is positive reflection of a desire for an equitable and cohesive society.			

Note: Baseline data, Targets, Indicators and Strategies in this section will expand in future issues of *Australia Together*, based on availability of data and on the input of Australians.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy						
	Econo	my 4	4 – National wea	lth generation and sharii	ng	
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In		Directions of coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
	Econ	4	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth. A country		In the federal budget of 2019/20, expenditure on the following welfare related program areas was set to decline as a	
Provisions for welfare – Federal budget Econ04.01	Econ	3	where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	In the federal budget of 2019/20, expenditure on the following welfare related program areas was set to decline as a proportion of GDP over the decade to 2029/30: Job seeker support income, Disability support pension, Veterans' support, Family tax benefit, Pharmaceutical benefit.	proportion of GDP over the decade to 2030/31: Disability support pension, Parenting payments, Veterans' support, Family tax benefit. Welfare related program areas set to receive no increase as a proportion of GDP were: Age pension Pharmaceutical benefits Income support for the unemployed	
	Soc	3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.			
In any federal budget, projected expenditure on	Soc	4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.			
welfare is not set to	Soc	6	A society of	Term Fiscal Projections"	(mainly JobSeeker),	
welfare is not set to decline, either as a proportion of tax revenue or of GDP, at any time during the ensuing decade. *Consistent with UNSDG, Goal 1: "End poverty in all its forms everywhere".	Soc	9	equals. A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.	In 2017/18, the ratio of welfare expenditure to tax revenue was 0.3212:1 (or 32%) and the ratio of welfare expenditure to GDP was 0.0869:1 (or 8.7%). Source: AIHW, Welfare Snapshots 2019 Between 2014/16 and 2017/18, while	and Carer income support. Source: Parliamentary Budget Office, "Beyond the Budget – 2021-22 – Fiscal Outlook and Scenarios" In 2018/19: the ratio of welfare expenditure to tax dropped slightly to 31.18% and then rose during the Covid-19 pandemic in 2019/20 to 36.05%; and	
	Soc	10	A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.			
	Soc	11	A land without child disadvantage.	Australia's economy was deteriorating, welfare expenditure as a		
	Soc	12	A sure provider of lifelong dignity.	proportion of GDP dropped from 9.4% to 8.7%. Source: AIHW, Welfare Snapshots 2019	the ratio of welfare expenditure to GDP dropped slightly to 8.8% and then rose during the Covid-19 pandemic in 2019/20 to 9.6%. Source: AIHW, Australia's Welfare 2021	



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the	Directions of coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
				The shorter term result is mildly positive but overall, welfare spending is not being set to meet need and demand and is tending to decline as a proportion of tax revenue and GDP.
	Econ 4	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.	In April 2021, the maximum fortnightly JobSeeker payment was	In February 2022, the maximum fortnightly JobSeeker payment was: Single, no children =
Provisions for welfare – JobSeeker payment Econ04.01.01 By 2022, restore the JobSeeker payment to the level applied during Covid-19 – effectively double the payments as at April 2021 – and	Econ 2	A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.	reduced to near pre- Covid-19 levels which saw recipients once again confined to income of almost 40% below the poverty line: Single, no children = \$620.80; Single, with child or children = \$667.50; Single, 60 or older, after 9 continuous months of payment = \$667.50; Partnered = \$565.40; Single principal	\$629.50; Single, with child or children = \$676.80; Single, 60 or older, after 9 continuous months of payment = \$676.80; Partnered = \$573.30; Single principal carer granted an exemption from mutual obligation requirements for any of the following: foster caring, non-parent relative caring
	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.		
restore indexation of the payment under	Soc 1	A safe home. Inclusive,	carer granted an exemption from	under a court order,
legislation. *Consistent with UNSDG, Goal 1: "End poverty in all its forms everywhere".	Soc 3	welcoming & enabling.	mutual obligation requirements for any of the	home schooling, distance education, large family = \$862.10. This represented a maximum increase of
	Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	following: foster caring, non-parent relative caring	
	Soc 6	A society of equals.	under a court order,	1.4% comparing poorly to the CPI of 3.5% for
	Soc 9	A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.	home schooling, distance education, large family = \$850.20. Source: Australian Government, Services	2021. Source: Australian Government, Services Australia web page viewed, February 2022 and ABS Media Release, 25 January 2022.
	Soc 10	A place of supportive familial & other	Australia web page viewed, March 2021	No progress has been made with this Strategy.



Economy 4 – National wealth generation and sharing

Indicate as Towns to C	200110	у -	- reactorial wear	ith generation and sharin	
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming			Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			connections & without domestic abuse.		The longer term trend, especially in terms of growth in inequality and poverty, is too poor
	Soc	11	A land without child disadvantage.		to be called anything but negative.
Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing	Econ	4	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.	In 2020, Australians had no guarantee of mutual obligations to each other and they were	No progress has been made on development
Top Priority Target/Strategy: Establishment of an Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing Econ04.02 By 2022, the federal government convenes a process of joint development with community	Econ	3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	facing the risk of removal of most or even all aspects of their welfare safety net and opportunity for education (due to increasing education fees). The universality of health care was also under threat, particularly in aged care and Australians had no	of an Accord between Australians and their parliaments on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing. Note: This Strategy is derived from research by ACFP. For more information on proposals for an Accord
delegates of a draft policy of commitment to the welfare of all	Soc	3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling. A place of	principles in place to guide fair sharing of national wealth for the wellbeing of all	between Australians and their parliaments on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing view the ACFP video series on
Australians that is designed to protect	Soc	4	optimal health & wellbeing.	Australians.	Snapshots from
and promote the economic and social	Soc	6	A society of equals.	Before any further erosion of benefits and	Australia Together, Episode 2, Part 1: A plan for a new economy ³⁵ .
wellbeing of all citizens by adherence to principles of: • equality of opportunity,	Soc	9	A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.	access to social support, and in anticipation of transitional issues associated with robotization and	In the absence of an Accord on Wealth Welfare and Wellbeing,
 fair sharing of the burden of raising national wealth, fair and more equitable 	Soc	10	A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.	artificial intelligence, a joint statement of mutual commitment within a social safety net is advisable for purposes social cohesion,	longer term trends in terms of rising inequality and living standards have been negative.
distribution of national wealth, and	Soc	11	A land without child disadvantage.	inclusion, fuller development of our human capital and	

³⁵ Snapshots from Australia Together, Episode 2, Part 1: A plan for a new economy.



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Economy 4 – National Wealth generation and Sharing					
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Directions of ecoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
 public responsibility by Australia as a community for those unable to avail themselves of the minimum provisions for a dignified life. By 2023, nation-wide community engagement on the commitment is to be completed. By 2024, a legislative and policy review is to be undertaken to give effect and security to any expressed mutual obligations. 	Soc 12	A sure provider of lifelong dignity.	ongoing national economic prosperity.		
Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing	Econ 4	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.	In 2020, the Australian government operated on a policy of capping	In 2020/21, "as part of its fiscal strategy, the [federal] government has a commitment to	
Top Priority Target/Strategy: Revocation of policies restricting government sector	Econ 2	A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.	the total tax raised to 23.9% of GDP and set budget arbitrarily to restrain growth in taxation revenues which had the effect of:	maintaining the ratio of tax receipts to GDP at or below 23.9 per cent of GDP." Source: Parliamentary Budget Office, 2020-21 Medium-Term	
participation in Australia's economy Econ04.02.01 By 2023, consistent with establishment of an Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing under Econ04.02, legislate to revoke any policy which restricts government sector participation in the national economy. As a minimum, and in	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all. An economy with	 reducing funds available to taxpayers for services which are important to them, unnecessarily constraining and even reducing employment opportunities for Australians in the public sector, reducing the shares of national wealth 	Fiscal Projections, Report No. 04/2020. No progress has been made with this Strategy. The federal government continues to restrict government sector participation in the national economy. The OECD's annual Revenue Statistics report found that the	
support of Econ02.04.01, this should include:	Econ 6	competitive & profitable public sector participation.	that may be returned to Australians,	tax-to-GDP ratio in Australia decreased by 0.9 percentage points	



	Economy .	4 – Ivationai wea	Ith generation and sharir	iy
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Directions of coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
 revocation of policies imposing a tax-to-GDP 	Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	reducing total size of Australia's economy, and	from 28.5% in 2018 to 27.7% in 2019.
cap;abolition of the public sector	Soc 5	A model of educational opportunity	reducing GDP growth. Source: Parliamentary Budget Office, 2019-20 Medium Term	Over the longer term, the tax-to-GDP ratio in
efficiency dividend (annual	Soc 6	A society of equals.	Fiscal Projections	Australia has decreased from 30.5% in 2000 to
funding cuts for the public service); • establishment of a floor increase	Soc 9	A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.	Despite the policy capping tax-to-GDP at 23.9%, Australia raises more than that in actual revenues from taxation.	27.7% in 2019. The longer term trend has been negative.
in public sector funding in annual federal budgets designed to stimulate	Soc 10	A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.	In 2019, Australia had an actual tax-to-GDP ratio of 27.7% compared with the OECD average of 33.5% in 2020 and 33.4% in 2019.	Australia's economy is the 12 th largest in the world and can easily sustain a higher tax-to- GDP ratio.
sustainable economic growth as per	Soc 11	A land without child disadvantage.	Among OECD countries, Australia ranks as a low	
Econ01.05; andreversal of the tax cuts	Soc 12	A sure provider of lifelong dignity.	taxing country. Australia's 2019 tax-to- GDP ratio ranked it 30th	
legislated in 2018 and 2019, consistent with Econ04.05, unless and until a new progressive tax regime is installed with sufficient potential to ensure maintenance of floor expenditures on any section of the federal budget for which floor expenditures are recommended in this plan.	Soc 16	A society prepared and resilient in times of disaster.	out of 38 OECD countries in terms of the tax-to-GDP ratio. The country with the highest tax-to-GDP ratio was Denmark with 46.5%. Source: OECD, Revenue Statistics 2021 - Australia	



Indiantora Tarreta O	Economy	4 – National Wea	ith generation and snarir	ig I
Indicators, Targets &		5: .: .		S
Strategies for		Directions of	Baseline data	Direction of movement
successful	be	ecoming		from baseline
performance				
Accord on Wealth,		A nation fairly	In its 2019/20 budget,	In its 2021/22 budget,
Welfare and	Econ 4	raising &	the federal government	the federal government
Wellbeing	200	sharing its	– without community	– without community
		wealth.	engagement and	engagement and
Top Priority		A country	without any justification	without any justification
Target/Strategy:		where	based on taxpayer	based on taxpayer
Community		economic	preferences – structured	preferences – structured
engagement on and		opportunity,	the following changes in	the following changes in
justification of		growth &	budgeted expenditures	budgeted expenditures
national budget		prosperity are	(as a percent of GDP) by	(as a percent of GDP) by
priorities	Econ 3	equitably	2030:	2032:
Econ04.02.02		shared & living	 NDIS – increase by 	 NDIS – increase by
By 2023, consistent		standards	0.4%,	1.2%,
with establishment		improve	Defence – increase	Defence – increase
of an Accord on		continuously for	by 0.3%,	by 0.4%,
Wealth, Welfare and		all.	 Aged care – 	Aged care –
Wellbeing under		An economy	increase by 0.2%,	increase by 0.4%,
Econ04.02:		with	Medicare &	Medicare & public
1. establish a		competitive &	childcare – increase	hospitals – increase
structure for	Econ 6	profitable	by 0.1%,	by 0.2%,
determination of		public sector	 Public hospitals, 	Schools & childcare
priority federal		participation.	government	– increase of 0.1%,
budget		A place of	superannuation,	Aged pension,
expenditure	Soc 4	optimal health	carer income	pharmaceutical
allocations		& wellbeing.	support, fuel tax	benefits, JobSeeker,
capable of		A model of	credit scheme,	government
ensuring that	Soc 5	educational	schools, aged	superannuation,
national wealth		opportunity	pension, private	carer income
is spent by		A society of	health insurance	support, fuel tax
Australians on	Soc 6	equals.	rebate, parenting	credit scheme, road
services which		A land without	payments – no	and rail
are the highest		homelessness &	increase (0.0%),	infrastructure – no
priority for	Soc 9	with decent	Official	increase (0.0%),
them;	300	affordable	development	Commonwealth
2. legislate to make		housing for all.	assistance,	grants, private
open community		A place of	JobSeeker, road and	health insurance
engagement		supportive	rail infrastructure,	rebate, parenting
obligatory for		familial & other	commonwealth	payments, official
determination of	Soc 10	connections &	grants – reduction	development
national		without	of 0.1%,	assistance –
spending		domestic abuse.	Disability support	reduction of 0.1%,
priorities; and		A land without	pension, veterans	Disability support
3. legislate to make	Coc 44		support, family tax	pension, veterans
it mandatory	Soc 11	child	benefit,	support – reduction
that government		disadvantage.	pharmaceutical	of 0.2%,
justify priorities		A sure provider	benefits – reduction	
for spending on	Soc 12	of lifelong	of 0.2%.	• family tax benefit,—
the basis of the		dignity.	Source: Parliamentary Budget	reduction of 0.4%. Source: Parliamentary Budget
results of		A society	Office, 2019-20 Medium Term	Office, "Beyond the Budget –
	Soc 16	prepared and	Fiscal Projections	, ,, ,, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
community		resilient in		



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy From M. A. - National wealth generation and sharing

Economy 4 – National wealth generation and sharing					
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	Ir		Directions of coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
engagement in 2 above.	Gov	5	times of disaster. A proactive participatory democracy. Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions. A world		2021-22 – Fiscal Outlook and Scenarios" No progress has been made with this Strategy. The federal government continues to stop involvement by Australians in budget formulation and determination of priorities for spending
	Gov	6	benchmark in leaders' conduct.		of taxpayer funds.
	Gov	7	Committed to public service independence & excellence.		Note: This Strategy is derived from research by ACFP. For more information on
	Gov	8	Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.		proposals for Community Engagement on National Budget
	Gov	9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & encouraging private sector ethics & community partnership.		Priorities, view the ACFP video series on What is National Integrated Planning & Reporting?, Episode 2, Part 2: Long term financial planning ³⁶ .
Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing	Econ	4	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.	Between 1991 and 1996, the Australian government fully privatised the	No progress has been
Top Priority Target/Strategy: Community Australia Bank Econ04.02.03	Econ	1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	Commonwealth Bank. Between 1994 and 2000 the Bank of New South Wales was also privatised. Sale of these	made with this Strategy. The federal government continues to restrict government sector participation in
By 2023, recognising that growth in GDP will be dependent on expansion of the services base within the economy, and in	Econ	2	A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.	assets has not resulted in cheaper or more reliable services for Australians.	the national economy.

³⁶ What is National Integrated Planning & Reporting?, Episode 2, Part 2: Long term financial planning.



Indicators, Targets &		.,		
Strategies for	In t	he Directions of		Direction of movement
successful		becoming	Baseline data	from baseline
performance		Jeconing iii		J. o Duscime
association with the		A country	Withdrawal by the	
creation of the		where	government sector from	
publicly owned,		economic	operation of profitable	
government		opportunity,	enterprises has resulted	
administered		growth &	in Australia's economy	
financial	_	nrosperity are	being smaller and/or	
corporation/bank	Econ 3	equitably	less competitive than it	
under Econ06.01 ,		shared & living	might otherwise be and	
(which is for		standards	smaller shares of return	
investment in		improve	on investment for	
ownership of new		continuously for	taxpayers. Nor is the	
government		all.	banking system in 2021	
commercial trading		An economy	structured to finance	
enterprises),		with	direct investment in	
establish a 100%	Econ 6	competitive &	publicly owned services	
publicly owned	ECOII	profitable	and infrastructure that	
(government		public sector	will provide returns to	
administered)		participation.	working Australians	
Community Australia		Inclusive,	without profits being	
Bank to support	Soc 3	0	syphoned off to	
delivery of the		enabling.	shareholders and	
workforce plan in Econ02.04.01 for		A place of	private owners.	
	Soc 4		In 2021 industry super	
expansion of government-owned		& wellbeing.	In 2021, industry super funds provide an avenue	
services in health,	C !	A model of	for returns to	
welfare, education,	Soc 5		Australians from	
housing,		opportunity. A society of	investment in	
conservation and	Soc 6	equals.	commercial sector and	
land care, renewable		A land without	public sector projects	
energy, buildings		homelessness &	and infrastructure.	
efficiency and	Soc 9		However a publicly	
transport – and any	300	affordable	owned bank established	
associated		housing for all	for the purpose of	
infrastructure which		A place of	taking deposits and	
will generate		supportive	issuing bonds will	
economic growth.	C 4	familial & other	complement the supply	
	Soc 1	connections &	of funds for services	
		without	owned and operated by	
		domestic abuse	Australians and	
		A land without	significantly increase	
	Soc 11		returns direct to all Australians both	
		disadvantage	individual and in the	
		A sure provider	wider economy.	
	Soc 1	of lifelong	Source: Australian Community	
		dignity	Futures Planning, The State of	
		A net zero	Australia in 2020, Episode 5.	
	Env 2			
	<u> </u>	nation.		<u> </u>



	Econo	omy 4	4 – Nationai wea	lth generation and sharin	<u>ig</u>
Indicators, Targets &					
Strategies for	lı.	n the	Directions of	Baseline data	Direction of movement
successful		bed	coming	Baseline data	from baseline
performance					
			A renewable		
	Env	6	energy		
			superpower.		
			Efficiently		
			connected		
	Env	7	through low		
			emissions		
			transport.		
			Environmentally		
			and		
	Env	8	economically		
	LIIV	0	sustainable in		
			agriculture and		
			fisheries.		
			Confident of		
	Env	9	safety and		
	LIIV 3	security of its			
			water supplies.		
	Env	10	A biodiversity		
			haven.		
	Env	11	A replanted and		
			reforested land.		
			A protector of		
	Env	12	scarce		
			resources.		
			A provider of		
	Env	13	accessible		
			national &		
			urban parkland.		
			Multi-central in		
			its cities,		
			efficiently		
	Env	18	connecting		
			people with		
			jobs, health, education and		
			recreation.		
			A land of		
	Env	19	thriving self-		
			supporting		
			regions.		



111	Economy 4 - Nation	al wealth generation and sharin	'9
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	of Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	A nation fraising & sharing its wealth.	bracket changes in which people earning less than \$58,000 will see a significant <i>rise</i> in their average tax over the decade to 2030 and people earning above	The tax cuts of 2018 and 2019, removing a total of \$302 billion from national taxation revenues over the
Fair & progressive taxation Top Priority Target/Strategy: Restoration of a fair and progressive taxation system Econ04.03 Australia's taxation system is increasingly progressive and regressive income tax measures legislated since 2018 are reversed or suspended until an accord is agreed on wealth, welfare and wellbeing.	A country where economic opportuning growth & prosperity equitably shared & standards improve continuou all.	tax. In addition, the tax cuts will remove a total of \$302 billion from the tax revenue that would otherwise have been put aside for services over the decade to 2029. This is the	decade to 2029, have not been reversed. To make matters worse, Stage 2 of the tax cuts was brought forward, which increased the loss of tax revenues. The regression in Australia's tax system established in the tax cuts and federal budgets of 2018 and 2019 has
	Soc 6 A society equals.	Australians budgeted to spend on their own social security, welfare, health and education in 2019/20. The tax cuts are unsustainable unless they are funded by deletion of services equivalent to a full year of funding for pensions, Medicare the family tax benefit, disability support pension, pharmaceutical benefits, carer income support and the federal government's contribution to schools and higher education. Source: Parliamentary Budget Office, 2019-20 Medium Term Fiscal Projections	not been reversed. The tax system embeds clear increases in the burden on lower income earners and reductions of burden on higher income earners. The longer term trend is negative.
Corporate taxation – maintenance of corporate tax contributions	Econ 4 A nation fraising & sharing its wealth.	Council of Australia	No change either way from the baseline. The Business Council of Australia continues to



Indicators, Targets &	Economy 4 – National wealth generation and sharing				
Strategies for	,	a tha	Directions of		Direction of movement
successful	In the Directions of becoming			Baseline data	from baseline
performance		be	coming		Jroin baseline
Econ04.04			A model of	stages) from 20 per cent	Johny for a Jower
Between 2021 and			transition from	stages) from 30 per cent	lobby for a lower
	Face	4		to 25 per cent for all	corporate tax rate and
2035, ensure that the	Econ	1	excessive	companies while saying	large corporations
corporate tax rate for businesses with a			consumption to	that "robust integrity	continue to dodge tax. Source: Michael West,
turnover of more			sustainability.	measures are a key	"Revealed: Australia's Top 40
than \$50 million does			A model of	complement to more	Tax Dodgers for 2021", MW
•			employment	competitive company	Media, 15 January 2021
not drop below 30% unless and until:	Econ	2	planning &	tax arrangements." Source: Business Council of	<u> </u>
			justice in	Australia, A Plan for a Stronger	
a) corporate			industry	Australia, 2019	
income taxation			transition.		No progress has been
is replaced by a			A country		made with introduction
new corporate			where		of a corporate cash flow
tax system such			economic		tax or a corporate super
as a corporate cash flow tax as			opportunity,		profits tax. Tax
			growth &		avoidance by major
per Econ04.04.01 –	Econ	3	prosperity are		corporates continues to
such alternative			equitably		increase with several
tax system to be			shared & living standards		big companies paying
modelled and					no tax.
validated to			improve		
maximise the			continuously for		-
possibility of:			all.		
maintaining			A strong		
corporate			regulator of fairness in		
taxation	Foon	-	markets		
over 15	Econ	5			
years to at			creating confidence for		
least the			investors.		
same			A society of		
proportion	Soc	6	equals.		
of federal			equais.		
revenue					
that it					
supplied in					
2021, and					
establishing			A nation		
full			outlawing		
employment			corporate greed		
in Australia			& encouraging		
(where full	Gov	9	private sector		
employment			ethics &		
is defined			community		
consistent			partnership.		
with			particionip.		
Econ02.02);					
and					
b) a corporate					
super profits tax					
- It at the street cary				I .	I .



Indicators, Targets &	Leonomy	- reactional wea	ith generation and sharir	·
Strategies for	In th	e Directions of		Direction of movement
successful		ecoming	Baseline data	from baseline
performance				J. C
is re-introduced				
as per				
Econ04.04.02				
Corporate taxation –		A nation fairly	In 2020 Australia's	
Introduction of a		raising &	economy entered a	
corporate cash flow	Econ 4	sharing its	recession due to the	
tax, replacing		wealth.	Covid-19 pandemic.	
corporate income		A model of	However, the economy	
tax		transition from	had been in decline	
Econ04.04.01	Econ 1	excessive	since the Global	
By 2023, legislate to		consumption to	Financial Crisis of 2008 –	
replace Australia's		sustainability.	a decline exhibited not	
current corporate		A model of	just by a significant	
income taxation		employment	slowing of growth in	
system with a	Econ 2	planning &	GDP but also by:	
corporate cash flow		justice in	a rise in	
tax, such tax to be		industry	unemployment and	
structured to		transition.	underemployment,	
compensate businesses for		A country	falls in productivity	
negative cash flows		where	and private capital	
at the same rate as		economic	investment,	
positive cash flows,		opportunity, growth &	 a drop in competitiveness of 	No change either way
thus reducing the		prosperity are	exports,	from the baseline.
corporate tax rate	Econ 3	equitably	stagnation of	
effectively to zero		shared & living	wages, and	← / →
but increasing the		standards	a rise in income and	No progress has been
capacity to:		improve	wealth inequality.	made with introduction
 reverse falls in 		continuously for	In the decade to 2020,	of a corporate cash flow
private sector		all.	Australia also	tax.
capital		A strong	experienced a significant	CUA
investment in		regulator of	rise in tax evasion by	
the Australian		fairness in	large corporations,	
economy;	Econ 5	markets	many of which made	
 tax economic 		creating	enormous profits but	
rents at		confidence for	paid no tax by offshoring	
sustainable rates		investors.	their company	
without	Soc 6	A society of	registration locations	
adversely	500 0	equals.	and by attributing	
affecting			(without proving)	
employment		A nation	expenses incurred in	
growth and		outlawing	earning income in	
private		corporate greed	Australia to their foreign	
investment;	6. 5	& encouraging	owned parent	
generate new investment and	Gov 9	private sector	companies.	
investment and		ethics &	In 2021, Professor Ross	
employment sufficient to		community	Garnaut proposed a new	
increase the		partnership.	system to replace	
total (but not			corporate income tax with a tax on economic	
נטנמו נטענ ווטנ	<u> </u>		with a tax on economic	<u> </u>



	Econor	ny 4 – National wed	Ith generation and sharir	ig .
Indicators, Targets &				
Strategies for	In	the Directions of	Baseline data	Direction of movement
successful		becoming		from baseline
performance				
the average) of			rents – a corporate cash	
income tax from			flow tax – as part of a	
individuals and			wider program of	
repair the			initiatives to stimulate	
federal budget			the Australian economy	
over ten to			back to full employment	
fifteen years;			by 2025.	
 reverse recent 			Source: Ross Garnaut, Reset:	
falls in corporate			Restoring Australia After the Pandemic Recession.	
tax receipts from			randernic necession.	
large traders				
across time by				
prohibiting				
deductibility of				
interest and				
indirect costs;				
 stimulate 				
Australia's				
competitiveness				
in trade exposed				
industries and				
insulate				
Australia from				
loss of				
investment to				
countries with				
lower tax rates;				
and				
 remove the 				
current bias in				
taxation against				
new domestic				
entrants.				
Note ³⁷				
Corporate taxation –		A nation fairly	In 2010, the Henry Tax	No change either way
Re-introduction of a	Econ	raising &	Review recommended	from the baseline.
corporate super	LCOII	sharing its	introduction of a	
profits tax		wealth.	resource rent of 40% on	← / →
Econ04.04.02		A model of	non-renewable oil, gas	No muoquos has has:
By 2023, legislate to		transition from	and mineral resources,	No progress has been
reintroduce a	Econ	excessive	applying to net income	made with introduction
corporate super		consumption to	minus an allocation for	of a corporate super
profits tax of 40%		sustainability.	capital.	profits tax.

³⁷ In Garnaut's model the cash flow tax would have the following structure: "The new tax would allow immediate deductibility of all capital expenditures; deny deductibility for all interest payments and financing costs; allow deductibility for imported services (including royalties, marketing and management fees) only if the taxpayer demonstrates that the costs have been incurred directly in producing the service for the taxpayer; and provide a cash credit for any negative cash flows, payable at the time of processing the tax return." Source: Ross Garnaut, Reset: Restoring Australia After the Pandemic Recession, page 146.



	Economy	4 – National wea	lth generation and sharin	ng
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the	Directions of coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
applicable not just to mining but to all businesses (including multinationals operating in Australia) with an	Econ 2	A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.	In 2012, the federal government introduced a ("super profits") Minerals Resources Rent Tax (MRRT) of 30% for mining of iron ore and	The longer term trend on corporate profits as a proportion of national income is negative — meaning that shares of
annual turnover of \$100 million – such tax to be applied to profits remaining after normal income tax and a fair return to shareholders (generally profits in excess of 6%).	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve	coal, payable by a company when annual profits reached \$75 million. In 2014, the Abbott government repealed the MRRT. A January 2014 poll conducted by UMR Research found that a	national income for corporates is rising. The longer term trend on wages as a proportion of national income is negative — meaning that shares of national income for
For an example of a possible model for the super profits tax see the Parliamentary Budget Office Costing web page: Advice to Adam Bandt, Corporate Super Profits Tax 18 June 2021 and Mining	Econ 5 Soc 6	continuously for all. A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors. A society of equals	majority of Australians still think that multinational mining companies do not pay enough tax. Supporters of the tax also point to continually-large profits produced by Australian-based mining operations, 83% of which are foreign-	wages is falling. See Econ03.01.02, Econ03.02 and Econ03.02.01 for data.
Super Profits Tax 3 September 2021. ³⁸ Note: The super profits tax is intended to be applied in addition to, not instead of, the proposed cash flow tax in Econ04.04.01. The cash flow tax removes objections that may arise from advocates such as the Business Council of Australia that businesses may depart Australia to	Gov 9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & encouraging private sector ethics & community partnership.	owned. In June 2021 the ABS recorded that the profit share of national income for corporates reached its highest level (30.3%) since records began. Corporate profits as a share of national income have doubled since 1975, whereas the share of national income for wages dropped from 62% to 50% in the same period. Source: Australian Government Treasury, Australia's Future Tax System Review Final Report, (Ken Henry 2010); Wikipedia,	

³⁸ Parliamentary Budget Office:

https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Budget_Office/Public ations/Costings



	Economy 4 – No	itional weal	th generation and sharin	<u> </u>
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Direct becomin	-	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
centre their operations in countries with lower tax rates. It also acknowledges the legitimacy of complaints from wage earners that corporations are corralling too high a proportion of national income as private profit while wages have been suppressed and services have declined. Arguments that big companies will depart Australia have no basis.			Mineral Resources Rent Tax webpage; and ABS, 5206.0 Australian National Accounts: National Income, Expenditure and Product, June 2021, Table 34	
Corporate taxation – planning for and	Econ 4 raisii shar weal	ing its		
reporting on closure of corporate tax loopholes Econ04.04.03	Econ 1 exce	sition from ssive umption to ainability.	In 2017, 81% of	No progress has been made with legislation
By 2023, legislate to mandate the development by the Australian Taxation Office of biennial rolling plans for and	Econ 2 emp plan justi indu trans	stry sition.	Australians supported "closing corporate tax loopholes" and 66% supported "raising the corporate tax rate [which in 2017 was 30% and for small businesses	mandating development by the Australian Taxation Office of biennial rolling plans for and performance reports on
performance reports on closure of all corporate tax loopholes as they arise particularly from off-shoring and other means of accounting that artificially reduce taxable income or permit reduction of tax on income earned in Australia.	Econ 3 pros equi shar standimpr cont all.	omic ortunity, vth & perity are tably ed & living dards ove inuously for	was being lowered to 25%]". Source: Centre for Policy Development Study, "What Do Australians Want? Active and Effective Government Fit for the Ages", December 2017.	closure of all corporate tax loopholes. The longer term trend is negative.
	_	lator of ess in		



Indicators Tayants 0	LCOILC	illy '	+ IVACIONAL WEAR	itn generation and snarir 	' '
Indicators, Targets &	to the Dissetions of				Divaction of warmen t
Strategies for	"		Directions of	Baseline data	Direction of movement
successful		pe	coming		from baseline
performance					
			markets		
			creating confidence for		
			investors.		
	Soc	6	A society of		
			equals.		
			A nation outlawing		
			corporate greed		
			& encouraging		
	Gov	9	private sector		
			ethics &		
			community		
			partnership.		
Royalties – Mining			A nation fairly		
exports	_		raising &		
Econ04.05	Econ	4	sharing its	In 2018/19, the mining	
By 2023, legislate to			wealth.	industry make up 1% of	
mandate uniform			A model of	exporters but 61% of	
royalties for all states			transition from	the total value of	
and territories on	Econ	1	excessive	Australia's exports (\$227	
mining exports			consumption to	billion). Gross operating	
across Australia and			sustainability.	profits for the mining	
stipulate a minimum			A country	sector in 2018/19 were	
of 20% in any year.			where	\$151.7 billion.	No progress has been
			economic	In 2018/19, Deloitte	No progress has been made with introduction
Note: Had this rate			opportunity,	Access Economics	of legislation for
been applied in			growth &	estimated that the	uniform mining
2018/19, Australians	Econ	3	prosperity are	Australian minerals sector paid \$14.6 billion	royalties of 20%.
would have earned a			equitably shared & living	in royalties which equals	
total of \$45.4 billion, almost \$31 billion			standards	6% of the value of	← / →
more than they did			improve	exports. However some	The longer term effect
and the mining			continuously for	states earned much	within Australia's
sector would still			all.	more in royalties as a	economy is negative.
have retained over			A strong	proportion of their	coondiny is negative.
\$100 billion in gross			regulator of	exports than others.	—
operating profits for			fairness in	In 2019/20	
the year.	Econ	5	markets	Queensland's royalties	
			creating	rose to 15% of export	
Further note: The			confidence for	value.	
above royalties may			investors.	Source: ABS 5368.0.55.006, Characteristics of Australian	
or may not be			An economy	Exporters 2020 and ABS	
reviewed for possible			with	5676.0; Deloitte Access	
repeal in the event	Econ	6	competitive &	Economics, Estimates of	
that both a corporate		_	profitable	Royalties and Company Tax Paid by the Minerals Sector,	
tax flow cash as per			public sector	2021; and Callum Foote, MW	
Econ04.04.01 and a			participation.	Media, 2 June 2021	
super profits tax as per Econ04.04.02 are	Gov	9	A nation		
per Econo4.04.02 dre			outlawing		



	Economy	4 – National wea	lth generation and sharin	ng
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		e Directions of ecoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
implemented and in the event that		corporate greed & encouraging		
arrangements for fair		private sector		
sharing of new		ethics &		
corporate taxes		community		
between the states		partnership.		
and federal	Soc 1	A safe home.		
government can be		A place of		
reached.	Soc 4	optimal health		
		& wellbeing.		
		A model of		
	Soc 5	educational		
		opportunity.		
	Soc 6	A society of		
		equals.		
		A land without		
	C 0	homelessness &		
	Soc 9	with decent		
		affordable		
		housing for all.		
		A place of supportive		
		familial & other		
	Soc 10	connections &		
		without		
		domestic abuse.		
		A land without		
	Soc 11			
		disadvantage.		
		A sure provider		
	Soc 12	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		
		dignity.		
		A society		
		prepared and		
	Soc 16	resilient in		
		times of		
		disaster.		
		A protector of		
	Env 12			
		resources.		
		A land of		
	Env 19	thriving self-		
		supporting		
		regions.		



Economy 5 — Market regulation & competition policy						
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline			
Top Priority Target/Strategy: National Competition Policy review Econ05.01 By 2024, establish an independent review of the benefits and	A strong regulator o fairness in Econ 5 markets creating confidence for investor A model of	federal government passed the Competition Policy Reform Act, adopted a "Competition	Instead of reducing the share of human services (eg., health, education, employment placement, and welfare) that is			
failures of 30 years of National Competition Policy with terms of reference which place equitable and affordable access by	transition from Econ 1 excessive consumption to sustainabili	Australian Competition and Consumer Commission (ACCC).40 The intent of the reforms was to promote efficiency in service	being transferred to the private sector, federal governments since 2000 have expanded the share of human services that is driven by the private sector and subsidised by			
consumers to services at the top of the list of objective measures of performance of the Policy (recognising that the Policy gives	Econ 2 A model of employmen planning & justice in industry transition.	price rises for consumers of services where large GTE's are competing with the private sector. ⁴¹	the taxpayer. Examples include the NDIS and aged care, neither of which have resulted in better service or lower prices for service users.			
priority to businesses over consumers). By 2025, subject to the findings of the above review, revise National Competition Policy to any extent necessary to fairly adjust the negative impact of both the Hilmer and Harper recommendations	A country where economic opportuniti growth & prosperity s Econ 3 equitably shared & living standards improve continuous for all.	be widened beyond GTEs to "encompass the provision of government services more generally" 12, including not-for-profit human services.	No progress has been made with a review of National Competition Policy. The longer term trend has been negative.			

³⁹ For a history of Competition Policy in Australia, see Parliament of Australia, Australia's National Competition Policy at https://www.aph.gov.au/About Parliament/Parliamentary Departments/Parliamentary Library/Publications Archive/arc hive/ncpebrief

⁴² Ibid., page 31.



⁴⁰ The objective of the reforms was to: prevent anti-competitive conduct by any business, government or private; introduce competitive neutrality principles restricting governments from gaining business advantages (in business of a certain size) merely by being government owned (and eg., by not having to pay tax); prevent mergers and acquisitions that are contrary to the public interest; and provide access to monopoly infrastructure on fair and equitable terms.

⁴¹ See Competition Policy Review Final Report March 2015 (the Harper Report), page 255: "The [competitive neutrality principles in national competition] policies require government business activities to charge prices that fully reflect costs and to compete on the same footing as private sector businesses in terms of taxation, debt, regulation and earning a commercial rate of return." The implicit assumption was that fair price competition between public and private sector would result in price advantages for the consumer but the principle actually made price rises inevitable for consumers of services where large GTE's are competing with the private sector. https://treasury.gov.au/sites/default/files/2019-03/Competition-policy-review-report online.pdf

	Econoi	my 5	– Market regu	lation & competition police	су
Indicators, Targets &					
Strategies for	In the Directions of			Baseline data	Direction of movement
successful		bec	oming		from baseline
performance					
(recognising that the focus of both is on artificially advantaging	Econ	4	A nation fairly raising & sharing its	Report recommendations, paving the way for easier	
the private sector to			wealth.	access by private	
help it compete rather			An economy	companies to provide	
than on maximising			with	core services in education, health and	
returns to taxpayers on their investments	Econ	6	competitive & profitable	social services, regardless	
in services and			•	of whether this would	
minimising the price			public sector participation.	lead to cheaper or better	
they then pay for			Productive &	services for Australians.	
those services when			prosperous	Source: Parliament of Australia,	
they use them).			through fair &	Australia's National	
they use themy.	Econ	9	ethical trade	Competition Policy webpage,	
	LCOII	,	agreements,	Competition Policy Review Final Report March 2015 (the Harper	
			labour hire &	Report)	
			procurement.		
			Inclusive,		
	Soc	3	welcoming &		
			enabling.		
			A place of		
	Soc	4	optimal		
			health &		
			wellbeing.		
		с 5	A model of		
	Soc		educational		
			opportunity.		
	Soc 6	6	A society of		
			equals.		
			A place of		
			supportive		
			familial &		
	Soc	10	other		
			connections & without		
			domestic		
			abuse.		
			A land		
	Soc	11	without child		
			disadvantage.		
			A sure		
	Soc 12	12	provider of		
		12	lifelong		
			dignity.		
			Committed to		
	Gov	7	public service		
	300	•	independence		
			& excellence.		
	Gov	9	A nation		
			outlawing		



to discut.	LCOHOINY S	5 – wiurket regu	lation & competition polic	
Indicators, Targets &				·- ·
Strategies for		Directions of	Baseline data	Direction of movement
successful	bed	coming		from baseline
performance				
		corporate greed & encouraging private sector ethics & community partnership.		
Ethical regulation of carbon credits markets Econ05.02 By 2023, recognising that in order to	Econ 5	A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence	During the period of	
facilitate Australia's entry into international carbon credits trading and markets (in line with initiatives under Env11.01 and Econ01.07) Australia	Econ 9	for investors. Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.	carbon pricing in Australia (2012 to 2014), a Clean Energy Regulator was established which among other things developed an international reputation for defining acceptable	
will need to establish a reputation as a producer of genuine carbon credits, ensure that the Australian Clean Energy Regulator:	Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	approaches to carbon sequestration which could be used to produce genuine, accredited carbon credit units (Australian Carbon Credit Units – ACCUs). The	No discernible progress either way.
 maintains its 	Env 2	emissions	Australian Clean Energy	
reputation as a		nation.	Regulator survived the	← / →
credible agency for certifying carbon credits, is sufficiently funded to maintain its	Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.	demise of the carbon price and has retained some status as a credible regulator. In 2021, this made the Australian Clean Energy Regulator a	, and the second
capacity for development of credible, low cost	Env 6	A renewable energy superpower.	"valuable asset" in emerging markets for carbon and in	
methodologies for certification of credits (including low cost methods	Env 11	A replanted and reforested land.	establishing a foothold for Australian businesses in international carbon credits trade.	
for measuring carbon in the landscape), and	Env 14	A pollution free biosphere.	Source: Professor Ross Garnaut, Reset: Restoring Australia After the Pandemic Recession, 2021	
 is enabled to exercise its leadership role in international 	Env 19	A land of thriving self-supporting regions.		



		., -	a.net regu	tation & competition point	-7
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance			Directions of oming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
trade negotiations and market structure adjustments.	Gov	7	Committed to public service independence & excellence.		
	Gov	9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & encouraging private sector ethics & community partnership.		
	Gov	11	A just participant on the global stage.		
Ethical certification and regulatory enforcement of plans by businesses for achievement of net zero carbon emissions by 2033	Econ	5	A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.	In 2021, schemes to incentivise companies to reach carbon neutrality (eg., the Emissions Reduction Fund) were limited in scope, number,	
Econ05.03 By 2023, synchronising with initiatives under Gov09.04, which prohibit government contracts for businesses that do not	Econ	1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	structure and actual effectiveness (in terms of achieving carbon neutrality rather than just reducing emissions by small amounts). The incentives framework	
have certified plans to achieve net zero emissions by 2033, ensure that the Australian Clean Energy Regulator is vested with full capacity (in staff, expertise and funding) to: • certify that the plans for achievement of net zero	Econ	3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all. A nation fairly	 also: relied on voluntary investments with very little financial assistance from government; imposed no obligation as to actual emissions that must be reduced in order to qualify for an agreed quantum of assistance; operated without 	No discernible progress either way.
emissions by 2033 submitted by businesses seeking government	Econ Econ	6	raising & sharing its wealth. An economy with	the addition of support to a business case for approval of grants that would arise	



Indiantona Tanasta C	LCOHOIN	5 – wiarket regu	lation & competition polic	- y
Indicators, Targets &	1 1.	Divoctions		Divertion of many
Strategies for		Directions of	Baseline data	Direction of movement
successful	be	coming		from baseline
performance				
contracts are authentic, feasible and fully financed; monitor		competitive & profitable public sector participation.	from imposition of a price on carbon; and operated with no complementary	
compliance with plans of those businesses whose approved government	Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate	regulatory settings encouraging businesses to decarbonise. Source: Australian Government Department of Industry,	
contracts are conditional on their compliance; and	Env 2	change. A net zero emissions nation.	Science, Energy and Resources webpage for the Emissions Reduction Fund	
 advise the agency administering contracts of any non-compliance or unsuitability for renewal. 	Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.		
renewal.	Env 6	A renewable energy superpower. A replanted		
	Env 11	and		
	Env 14	A pollution free biosphere.		
	Env 19	A land of thriving self-supporting regions.		
	Gov 5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.		
	Gov 7	Committed to public service independence & excellence.		
	Gov 9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & encouraging private sector ethics &		



Economy 5 – Market regulation & competition policy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming			Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			community partnership.		
	Gov	11	A just participant on the global stage.		

Note: Baseline data, Targets, Indicators and Strategies in this section will expand in future issues of *Australia Together*, based on availability of data and on the input of Australians.



Economy 6 – Government competitive business participation

Indi	Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy						
Economy 6 – Government competitive business participation							
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Directions of coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline			
Government sector workforce plan and economic participation Top Priority	Econ 6	An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.	Between 1990 and 2020 Australian federal and state governments divested ownership and/or operations of a				
Target/Strategy: Program for recovery of ownership and operation of government trading enterprises	Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	vast array of taxpayer- owned assets including ports, airports, QANTAS, the Commonwealth Bank, toll roads, buses, electricity generation				
Econ06.01 By 2023, develop: 1. a timeline for recovery wherever possible of	Econ 2	A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.	and transmission infrastructure, water treatment, a commercial health insurer, commercial laboratories, and vital data bases				
divested assets and operations and a policy of non-renewal of contracts for private operation of government assets as those contracts expire; and 2. a publicly owned, government	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	including land titles data bases. These sales transferred profits and all other forms of return on investment away from taxpayers and into the hands of a small number of private owners. Sale of these assets has	No progress.			
administered financial corporation/bank (aligned with the	Econ 4	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.	not resulted in cheaper or more reliable services for Australians.				
proposed Community Australia Bank	Econ 7	A collaborative intelligent nation.	Withdrawal by the government sector from operation of profitable				
under Econ04.02.03) to invest immediately and directly in ownership of	Econ 8	Enabled in meeting the communication & information demands of the future.	enterprises has resulted in Australia's economy being smaller and/or less competitive than it might otherwise be and smaller shares of return				
new government trading enterprises,	Soc 6	A society of equals.	on investment for taxpayers.				



Economy 6 – Government competitive business participation

Ladianton Tanata 9				
Indicators, Targets &	,	Discretical C		Diversities of
Strategies for		Directions of	Baseline data	Direction of movement
successful	be	coming		from baseline
performance				
particularly in			Source: Australian Community	
lucrative services			Futures Planning, The State of	
or industries		A renewable	Australia in 2020, Episode 5.	
such as	Env 6	energy		
renewable		superpower.		
energy, data				
base .			_	
management,				
tertiary				
education, and				
any other				
identified service				
which can				
provide positive				
returns to				
taxpayers on				
their invested				
funds (rather				
than to private				
operators).				
Program for recovery				
of ownership and				
operation of				
government trading				
enterprises –				
publication of plans				
Econ06.01.01		Committed to		
		public service		
By 2024, publish a	Gov 7	independence		
plan for expansion of		& excellence.		
government trading		& excellence.		
enterprises as a				
profitable sector of				
Australia's economy				
wholly owned by				
taxpayers and align				
this plan with:				
the national plan				
for full				
employment				
supported by a				
social wage				
under				
Econ02.04,				
 the program of 				
expansion of				
public sector				
direct				
employment				
under				
 the program of expansion of public sector direct employment 				



Economy 6 – Government competitive business participation

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
 Econ02.04.01; and the Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing under Econ04.02. 			

Note: Baseline data, Targets, Indicators and Strategies in this section will expand in future issues of *Australia Together*, based on availability of data and on the input of Australians.



Economy 7 – Science, research, innovation & collaboration

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy Economy 7 - Science, research, innovation & collaboration **Indicators, Targets & Strategies** In the Directions of becoming ... Baseline data for successful performance No specific Targets or Strategies have yet been established for this Direction. However, some Strategies which are closely integrated with this Direction are incorporated into the plan under: No baseline data have yet Soc05.01 Soc05.01.02 been established specifically for this Direction. Soc16.01 A collaborative intelligent However, baseline data are Env01.01 **Econ** nation. Env06.02 available relevant to this Env06.03 Direction under the Targets and Strategies listed at left. Econ01.07 Econ02.05.02 Econ06.01 Econ06.01.01 Gov01.05 Gov10.02 Gov10.02.01

Note: Baseline data, Targets, Indicators and Strategies in this section will expand in future issues of *Australia Together*, based on availability of data and on the input of Australians.



Gov10.02.02

Economy 8 – Technology development & digitisation

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy Economy 8 – Technology development & digitisation **Indicators, Targets & Strategies** In the Directions of becoming ... Baseline data for successful performance No specific Targets or Strategies have yet been established for this Direction. However, some Strategies which are closely No baseline data have yet integrated with this Direction been established specifically are incorporated into the plan Enabled in meeting the for this Direction. under: communication & However, baseline data are **Econ** information demands of Soc05.01 available relevant to this Econ02.05.02 the future. Direction under the Targets Econ06.01 and Strategies listed at left. Econ06.01.01 Gov10.02 Gov10.02.01 Gov10.02.02

Note: Baseline data, Targets, Indicators and Strategies in this section will expand in future issues of *Australia Together*, based on availability of data and on the input of Australians.



Economy 9 – International economic engagement & trade

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy Economy 9 - International economic engagement & trade **Indicators, Targets & Strategies** In the Directions of becoming ... Baseline data for successful performance No specific Targets or Strategies have yet been established for this Direction. However, some Strategies which are closely integrated with this Direction are incorporated into the plan under: Soc16.01 No baseline data have yet Env01.01 been established specifically Env01.02 Productive & prosperous for this Direction. Env06.03 through fair & ethical **Econ** However, baseline data are Env11.01 trade agreements, labour available relevant to this hire & procurement. Econ01.07 Direction under the Targets Econ01.08 and Strategies listed at left. Econ02.05 Econ02.05.01 Econ05.01 Econ05.02 Gov03.01 Gov03.01.01 Gov12.04 Gov12.05

Note: Baseline data, Targets, Indicators and Strategies in this section will expand in future issues of *Australia Together*, based on availability of data and on the input of Australians.



Chapter 10 – National Wellbeing Index – Baseline & Update Data for Our Governance



 ${\bf Governance}\ 1-{\bf Strength}\ of\ democracy$

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

	Governance 1 – Strength of democracy					
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		e Directions of ecoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline		
	Gov 1	A proactive participatory democracy.	Between 2002 and 2019 legislation was passed in the Parliament of Australia which had the effect of diminishing human rights and			
Consistency of legislative programs	Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.	equality for all Australians, including by reducing: • free speech and	No monitor exists yet which checks new		
with the Vision for Australia Together Gov01.01 The proportion of legislation enacted during the term of a federal parliament that is consistent with, or has no effect either way on,	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.	rights of protest, freedom of assembly and organisation, legisla consist Vision	legislation for consistency with the Vision and Directions for Australia Together.			
	Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	 transparency in government, access to government information, 	However, results in this End of Term Report indicate that large swathes of legislation		
the Vision and Directions of Australia Together equals 100%.	Soc 6 A society of equals. • equity and transparency in lobbying and electoral funding, rights to privacy,	 equity and transparency in lobbying and electoral funding, rights to privacy, and policy developments ince 2000 have been antithetical to the Vand Directions for Australia Together. 	and policy development since 2000 have been antithetical to the Vision			
The proportion that is antithetical to the Vision and Directions of Australia Together equals zero.	Soc 15	justice for all.	_	 rights to fair trials in public, rights in unlawful detention and search without warrants. All such legislation and some other legislation weakens the strength of a democracy. As such, it is antithetical to the Vision and Directions of Australia Together. 	The longer term trend	
Satisfaction with democracy Gov01.02	Gov 1	A proactive participatory democracy.	In 2018, 41% of Australians were satisfied	No updated data are yet available.		

Governance 1 - Strength of democracy						
Indicators, Targets						
& Strategies for	In the Directions of becoming			Baseline data	Direction of movement	
successful		be	coming		from baseline	
performance						
85% of Australians			Open,	with the way democracy	<u> </u>	
are satisfied with			transparent &	works.	— / — /	
the way democracy	Gov	5	accountable in	Source: MOAD, Museum of Australian Democracy,	However, the longer	
works by 2035.			its governments	Democracy 2025, "Trust and	term trend has been	
			& institutions.	Democracy in Australia:	negative.	
			A world	Democratic decline and renewal", Report No. 1.		
	Gov	6	benchmark in leaders'	renewar, Report No. 1.	_	
			conduct.	In 2019, after the federal		
			Protected from	election, 59% of		
			undue sectional	Australians on survey		
	Gov	8	influence in	said they were satisfied		
			elections	with democracy, down		
			A free, self-	from 86% in 2007.		
	Gov	4	governing	Source: ANU Trends in Australian Political Opinion,		
	GOV	7	modern nation.	1987 to 2019		
				_	In November 2020	
	Gov	1	A proactive participatory	In 2014, satisfaction with	In November 2020, satisfaction with	
	GOV	1	democracy.	Australia's "system of	Australia's "system of	
			A nation	government" ⁴³ was	government" was	
		Gov 2	knowing and	reported as:	reported as:	
	Gov		affirming	48% said it works	• 51% said it works	
			decency.	fine as is, • 15% said it needs	fine as is,	
			A nation with	minor change,	21% said it needs	
	Gov	3	avowed rights	34% said it needs	minor change,	
			for all.	major change or	28% said it needs	
Satisfaction with			A free, self-	should be replaced.	major change or	
Australia's system	Gov	4	governing,	More than twice as many	should be replaced.	
of government			modern nation.	Australians thought		
Gov01.02.01			Open,	major change or	In 2021, the proportions	
70% of Australians			transparent &	replacement was needed	reversed, compared to	
are satisfied with	Gov	5	accountable in	compared to those who	2020 and those wanting	
Australia's system of			its governments	said only minor change	system change (53%)	
government by			& institutions.	was needed.	once again outnumbered	
2030.			A world		those who said it works	
	Gov	6	benchmark in	Between 2014 and 2019,	fine as is (47%).	
			leaders'	an average of 54% of	Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2020	
			conduct.	Australians thought the	and 2021.	
			Committed to	system of government		
	Gov	7	public service	needed change,	- / - /	
			independence	compared to 44% who	The longer term trend is	
			& excellence.	said the system works	negative.	
	Soc	6	A society of	fine as is. Source: Scanlon Foundation	4	
	300	U	equals.	Mapping Social Cohesion 2020.		
	<u> </u>			F. 0	<u> </u>	

⁴³ Scanlon Foundation, Mapping Social Cohesion, 2020 and 2021. The Scanlon Foundation does not define what they mean by "the system of government".



to disute or T	Governance 1 – Strength of democracy						
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	II.		Directions of coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline		
	Gov	1	A proactive participatory democracy.	In 2019, the index of political participation in the Scanlon Index of	In November 2020, the index of political		
	Gov	2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.	Social Cohesion was 102.9 (2.9 points above the baseline of 100 in 2007), up from 90.8 in	participation in the Scanlon Index of Social Cohesion fell to 93.8, the second lowest score since the start of the		
	Gov	3	A nation with avowed rights for all.	2013 but down from its highest of 106.6 in 2012.	Index and 4.9 points below the average of 98.7 between 2013 and		
democracy – participation and social justice Gov01.03 The index of political participation in the Scanlon Index of Social Cohesion does not fall below 100 unless	Gov	4	A free, self- governing, modern nation.	Between 2013 and 2019, the average score for political participation	2019, before rising slightly in 2021 to 95 (still 5 points below the		
	Gov	11	A just participant on the global	was 98.7. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2020. The index of political participation generally has an inverse relationship with the Scanlon index of social justice and equity because poorer results in social justice and equity have tended to result in heightened political participation, which is healthy. In 2019, the index of social justice and equity	original Index score of 100).		
	Gov	12	A nation assured of enduring peace.		In 2020, the index of social justice and equity in the Scanlon Index of Social Cohesion was renamed as the index of "social inclusion and justice" and achieved a score of 110.5, 18.1 points above the average score of 92.4 between 2013 and 2019, before falling again in 2021 to 97.4. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2020 and 2021.		
	Gov	13	A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.				
improvement in the index of social justice and equity	Soc	2	A land with an Indigenous heart.				
within the Scanlon Index of Social Cohesion.	Soc	3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.				
	Soc	4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	in the Scanlon Index of Social Cohesion was 93.1 (6.9 points below the			
	Soc	6	A society of equals.	baseline of 100 in 2007) and 19.3 points down	The onset of Covid-19 resulted in a fall in the		
	Soc	7	A success because of its diversity.	from its highest score of 112.4 in 2009. Between 2013 and 2019, the average score for social justice and equity was 92.4.	score on social inclusion and justice from 112 in July 2020 to 97.4 in 2021. But here has been no corresponding rise in political participation, which has remained flat		
	Soc	8	A success because of gender equality.				

⁴⁴ In 2021, the Scanlon Index of Social Cohesion changed the name of the index of social justice and equity to the index of "social inclusion and justice". Extra questions were added to determine the Index going forward from 2021. No explanation appears to be available for the name change but it is assumed that the scores for social justice and equity will be projected out without disruption under the name of "social inclusion and justice" as though they are comparable.



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming			Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	Soc	15	Confident of justice for all.	Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2020.	across the same period with an average score of 94.7, 4 points below the average of 98.7 between
	Econ	3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.		2013 and 2019. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2021. The overall result implies that disengagement from participation in politics is increasing during a period of falling social justice and equity, a very unhealthy result. It implies a decline in social justice and equity and a decline in activism to remedy the inequity.
	Gov	1	A proactive participatory democracy.	Between 2001 and 2016, voter turnout in federal elections for the House of Representatives trended in decline from 94.85% to 91.01%, the lowest recorded since the introduction of compulsory voting ahead of the 1925 federal election. Source: Australian Electoral Commission	In 2019 voter turnout in federal elections for the House of
Participation in democracy – voter turnout	Gov	4	A free, self- governing, modern nation.		Representatives increased to 91.89%. Source: Australian Electoral Commission
Gov01.03.01 Voter turnout at federal elections for the House of	Gov	8	Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.		Voter turnout improved
the House of Representatives is steadily maintained above 94%.	Soc	6	A society of equals.		in 2019 but does not meet the target of 94%. The longer term trend is negative.
Participation in democracy – ability to have a say	Gov	1	A proactive participatory democracy.	In 2019, 58.2% of Australians on survey felt	In 2020, 58.5% of Australians on survey felt
Gov01.03.02 The proportion of Australians who feel	Gov	4	A free, self- governing, modern nation.	they were "able to have a say within community on important issues", some, most or all of the	they were "able to have a say within community on important issues", some, most or all of the
able to have a say within the community on important issues rises continuously.	Soc	6	A society of equals.	some, most or all of the time – up from 53.4% in 2014. Source: ABS General Social Survey 2020, Table 17.1	time – up from 53.4% in 2014. Source: ABS General Social Survey 2020, Table 17.1



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the	e Directions of ecoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
		A proactive	In 2018, Australians on	The longer term trend has been negative. In 2021, during the
	Gov 1	participatory democracy. A nation	both high and low incomes were distrusting of institutions within our	Covid-19 pandemic high income Australians
	Gov 2	knowing and affirming decency. A nation with	democracy. Trust scores were: High income = 46.	moved into trusting territory for the first time in ten years, but those on low incomes
	Gov 3	avowed rights for all.	 Low income = 35. Income based trust inequality gap = 11 	did not and the trust gap widened. Trust scores in 2021 were:
Cohesion and stability of democracy Gov01.03.03	Gov 4	A free, self- governing, modern nation.	points. Between 2012 and 2018, the average income	High income = 72.Low income = 50.Income based trust
	Gov 5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.	based trust inequality gap was 10.6 points. Source: Edelman Trust Barometer Australian Results 2021 and 2022	inequality gap = 22 points. In 2022, still during the Covid-19 pandemic, trust
The income based trust inequality gap does not rise above 10 points on a	Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	Note: This indicator and target have been selected as a reasonable means of monitoring	scores slipped back again. Trust scores in 2022 were: High income = 62.
rolling three year average.	Gov 7	Committed to public service independence & excellence.	changes in societal cohesion which may foreshadow a decline in the cohesion and stability of democracy itself, for	 Low income = 44. Income based trust inequality gap = 18 points.
	Gov 8	Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.	example in the way that growing income inequality has split communities of the USA	Between 2019 and 2022, the average income based trust inequality
	Gov 9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & encouraging private sector ethics & community partnership.	along economic lines and built a groundswell of populism which in turn resulted in the insurrection of 6 January 2022 and the violent attack on the Capitol Building in Washington	gap was 16.5 points, 5.9 points above (worse than) the average between 2012 and 2018. Source: Edelman Trust Barometer Australian Results 2021 and 2022



Governance 1 – Strength of democracy							
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	li		Directions of coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline		
	Gov	10	A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.	aimed at stopping the peaceful transfer of democratic control from one administration to the next. Increases in the trust inequality gap signal impending danger for the stability of	The significant increase in the trust inequality gap provides early warning of a dangerous trend for cohesion and stability in Australia's democracy. Strategies to reduce income inequality and gaps		
	Soc	1	A safe home.	democracy.	access to education and information will be vital		
	Soc	6	A society of equals.	-	in heading off		
	Soc	7	A success because of its diversity.		democratic decline. The longer term trend		
	Econ	3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all. A nation fairly raising & sharing its		has been negative.		
National Integrated Planning & Reporting – legislative program Gov01.04	Gov	1	A proactive participatory democracy.	In 2021, Australians had: no long term plan for the nation as a whole;	No progress towards legislation making National Integrated Planning & Reporting mandatory for all federal		
By 2030, legislate at the federal level to make National Integrated Planning & Reporting (IP&R) mandatory for all federal governments, with the IP&R framework to be based on the	Gov	2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.	 no say in developing such a plan; no say in what the nation should become; no assembled, easily accessible data about the nation's current health and wellbeing; 	governments. However in contrast to the situation in 2019,		
	Gov	3	A nation with avowed rights for all.		Australia does now have: 1. assembled, easily accessible data about the nation's		



Indicators, Targets					
& Strategies for	In the	Directions of		Diversion of management	
successful		coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
performance	De	coming		Jioiii buseiiiie	
framework			no means of	health and	
legislated in 2009 in NSW for local government, including:	Gov 4	A free, self- governing, modern nation.	transparently measuring the commitment and performance of	wellbeing in the Australia Together National Wellbeing Index;	
 compulsory community engagement on development of a community- owned long 	Gov 5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.	governments in delivery of improved quality of life; no permitted role in providing guidance on preferences for	2. 60-70% of a starting draft of Australia's first national community futures plan, Australia Together, with	
term strategic plan, minimum 20- year planning horizons with	Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	how national wealth should be raised and fairly shared; and no transparent means of holding	minimum 20-year planning horizons and Targets and Strategies for society, the	
targets for society, the environment, the national economy and	Gov 7	Committed to public service independence & excellence.	governments to account for conduct contrary to the public interest or for failures in delivery of	environment, the national economy and democracy, 3. a clearly prescribed, open and inclusive	
 democracy, baseline data forming a comprehensive national wellbeing index, 	Soc 6	A society of equals.	longer term safety, security and wellbeing. Source: <i>By 2050</i> .	National IP&R process, including community engagement and long term financial planning.	
 long term financial and asset planning, and "end of term" reporting. Ensure that the legislation formally acknowledges the spirit and intent of Integrated Planning & Reporting, namely that: National IP&R shall be designed to ensure that the Australian community drives and owns the resultant national community 	All All	All other Directions		This End of Term Report constitutes the first report on Australia's performance against the Australia Together National Wellbeing Index. The report is comprehensive, free and open for all Australians. It provides a basis for greater engagement in future National IP&R and for development of stronger long term integrated national plans.	



Indicators, Targets		Governance 2 Str				
& Strategies for	In th	e Directions of		Direction of movement		
successful		ecoming	Baseline data	from baseline		
performance		_				
futures plans, and that while the resultant plans are not binding on any elected government, they are acknowledged as the most reliable guidance for selection by governments of strategies aligned with the long term aims of Australians for their society, environment, economy and democracy.						
Skills development in National Integrated Planning	Gov 1	A proactive participatory democracy.	In 2021, Australians had: no say in the composition of	No progress towards establishment of a		
& Reporting and community engagement in national long term	Gov 2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.	federal budgets; no say in tax levels or distribution of burdens for taxation;	federally funded Institute for National Long Term Financial Planning.		
financial planning Gov01.05 By 2023, establish a	Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.	 no say in how their taxes should be spent; 	Skills development in the		
federally funded Institute for National Long Term	Gov 4	A free, self- governing, modern nation.	 no forums in which they could set out their spending 	federal public service and in universities is yet to be introduced.		
Financial Planning within a major Australian University (in association with the Parliamentary	Gov 5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.	priorities for the long term based on properly foreshadowed demand and need;	No involvement by the community in the permission system for taxation and		
Budget Office) with a charter to: 1. develop expertise in	Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	 no forum in which to negotiate with governments about their preparedness 	expenditure is yet in place. In the meantime, corruption and misuse of public funds has		
community engagement for National Integrated	Gov 7	Committed to public service independence & excellence.	to increase taxes in return for services and infrastructure that will ultimately	increased under the federal Coalition government since 2013, alongside a de-skilling of the federal Treasury and		
Planning & Reporting with	Econ 1	A model of transition from	expand national wealth and fair	other federal agencies in		

Governance 1 – Strength of democracy

ln-	licators Taracts		Governance 1 – Str			
	licators, Targets	14	ha Dinastiana af			
	Strategies for		he Directions of	Baseline data	Direction of movement	
	cessful		becoming		from baseline	
pei	rformance					
2.	a particular focus on national government sector long term financial and asset planning; teach techniques of Integrated Planning & Reporting and long term financial and asset planning	Econ 2	justice in industry transition. A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably	sharing of that wealth; • no ability to assess annual federal budgets and estimates in accordance with whether they reflect their projected long term demands and needs for service; and • no way of holding governments to account for departing, without	administering expenditures of public funds with transparency and probity.	
	to federal public servants (preparing them for the introduction of compulsory National Integrated Planning & Reporting under	Econ 4	shared & living standards improve continuously for all. A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth. An economy	explanation, from known community preferences for living standards, fair sharing of national wealth and intergenerational equity.		
3.	Gov01.04; and establish pilot programs for community engagement on	Econ 6	with competitive & profitable public sector participation.			
	development of long term financial plans for federal	Econ 7	nation.			
	revenues and spending on the	Soc 6	A society of equals.			
	nation within the context of a community- owned national long term plan for society, the environment, the economy and democracy.	All A	All other Directions			

Note: Baseline data, Targets, Indicators and Strategies in this section will expand in future issues of *Australia Together*, based on availability of data and on the input of Australians.



Governance 2 – National values & identity

Governance 2 – National values & identity							
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline				
Pride in Australian culture	Gov 2 A nation knowing and affirming decency.		In 2021, 58% of Australians reported that they take pride in the Australian way of life and culture "to a great extent", equal to the score in 2007. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2021 The longer term trend is slightly positive but performance is variable — improvement is not continuous.				
	A nation with Gov 3 avowed rights for all.						
Gov02.01 The proportion of Australians reporting	A free, self- Gov 4 governing, modern nation.	In 2019, 50% of Australians reported that they take pride in the					
that they have great pride in their culture and way of life	A land with an Soc 2 Indigenous heart	Australian way of life and culture "to a great extent", down from 58%					
improves continuously.	Inclusive, Soc 3 welcoming & enabling	in 2007. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2019					
	A success Soc 7 because of its diversity.						
	A wellspring of Soc 13 inspiration & creativity.		,				
Satisfaction with national direction Gov02.02 The proportion of Australians reporting that they are dissatisfied with the Direction of the country continuously declines.	A nation knowing and affirming decency.	In 2019, 57% of Australians were dissatisfied with the direction of the country. Source: ABC Australia Talks National Survey 2019 In 2021, 61% of Australians "did not believe that the country was any better than it was 5-10 years ago". Source: Next25 Navigator, Social Research report 2021	In February 2022: 40% of Australians on survey felt that "Australia was heading in the right direction"; 40% of Australians on survey felt that Australia was heading "off on the wrong track"; and 20% were undecided. Source: Essential Poll, 22 February 2022. No conclusion can be drawn as to whether Australians are any less dissatisfied with the direction of the country than they were in 2019. Between 40% and 60% are dissatisfied in 2022.				

Governance 2 – National values & identity

Governance 2 – National values & identity								
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline					
Support for the			That's a lot of dissatisfaction. No update available.					
Vision and Directions of Australia Together – support for the Vision elements Gov02.03 The proportion of Australians who support the Vision for Australia Together as a whole reaches 80%. Each element of the Vision for Australia Together is rated at or above 3.1 out of 5 as important.	Gov 2 A nation knowing and affirming decency.	In 2020, there were no established data for approval of the Vision for Australia Together. Provision of a baseline is subject to availability of resources for statistically valid surveys of Australians.	No funds are yet available for statistically valid surveys of the opinion of Australians about the Vision and Directions of Australia Together. ACFP will work towards establishing support for surveys in the next cycle of National IP&R for the 47th Parliament (2022 to 2025).					
Support for the Vision and Directions of Australia Together - support for the Directions Gov02.03.01 Each Direction for Australia Together is rated at or above 3.1 out of 5 as important.	Gov 2 A nation knowing and affirming decency.	In 2020, there were no established data for approval of the Directions for <i>Australia Together</i> . Provision of a baseline is subject to availability of resources for statistically valid surveys of Australians.	No update available. No funds are yet available for statistically valid surveys of the opinion of Australians about the Vision and Directions of Australia Together. ACFP will work towards establishing support for surveys in the next cycle of National IP&R for the 47th Parliament (2022 to 2025).					

Note: Baseline data, Targets, Indicators and Strategies in this section will expand in future issues of *Australia Together*, based on availability of data and on the input of Australians.



Governance 3 - Human & other rights

Governance 3 – Human & other rights					
Indicators, Targets &	In	tha F	iroctions of		Direction of
Strategies for successful	In the Directions of becoming			Baseline data	movement from
performance		beco	oming		baseline
Top Priority			A nation with	In 2021, Australians	Human rights for
Target/Strategy: An	Gov	3	avowed rights	did not have explicitly	Australians are still
Australian Bill of Rights in			for all.	conferred rights to:	not specified in the
the Constitution			A proactive	 freedom of 	Constitution and
Gov03.01	Gov	1	participatory	speech,	remain unprotected.
By 2025, as an essential			democracy.	 peaceful 	
and defining part of			A nation	assembly and	Since 2001, chokes on
nation-wide community	Gov	2	knowing and	protest,	our democracy in
engagement for a new	dov	_	affirming	 freedom of the 	Australia were boldly
Constitution under			decency.	press,	exhibited by
Gov04.01, ensure that			A free, self-	 trial in open 	conservative
Australia's Constitution	Gov	4	governing,	court,	governments ⁴⁵ in so
confers explicit rights on	GOV	OV 4	modern	 justice itself and 	many successive
Australians via a Bill of			nation.	without delay, or	abuses of power that
Rights or other legal basis			Open,	 freedom from 	by 2020,
in the Constitution with			transparent &	unlawful	independents and
such rights, as a minimum,	Gov	ov 5	accountable in	detention.	academic and media
to include all rights			its		commentators had
consistent with a modern			governments	We had a right to	started characterising
open democracy enabling			& institutions.	freedom of religion	Australia as "arguably
equality, dignity and			A world	and a heavily limited	the most secretive
freedom for all citizens.	Gov	6	benchmark in	right to freedom of	democracy in the
	301	O	leaders'	political	Western world" ⁴⁶ or
Top Priority			conduct.	communication.	as "Orwellian" ⁴⁷ .
Target/Strategy: An			A guardian of		
Australian Bill of Rights in			freedom &	Some human rights	The abuses or
the Constitution –			accountability	were being provided	attempted abuses
Preparatory steps and an			in political	in state legislation but	have included, but
Australian Bill of Rights	Gov	10	discourse,	these could and were	were not limited to:
Commission			news media &	being actively	reductions of
Gov03.01.01			the wider	extinguished because	freedom of the
By 2022, preparatory to			information	there was nothing in	press, alongside a
the Constitutional			market.	Australia's	failure to protect
Convention, establish an			A just	Constitution which	democratic
Australian Bill of Rights	Gov	v 11	participant on	ensured that those	discourse from
Commission to supervise a			the global	rights could not be	misinformation,
process of development of			stage.	extinguished.	"doublespeak",

⁴⁵ Since 2002 more than 70 pieces of national security legislation have been introduced in Australia which have the effect of limiting the civil liberties and democratic rights of Australians. Over 95% of these have been introduced by Coalition governments. The Labor governments during this period watered down some draconian powers introduced by the Coalition and introduced an independent national security monitor, a role which the Coalition attempted to abolish in 2014 but eventually supported. They also attempted to include safeguards for journalists in some cases (eg., requiring a warrant for access to journalists' metadata). By and large, Labor governments have kept democracy open, not choked it, although their track record on human rights is unfortunately a faltering one in the case of treatment of refugees and they have succumbed to wedge politics when in opposition, which led to their supporting legislation in late 2018 that significantly restricted rights of protest, criminalising peaceful protesters who affect business operations of corporations.

⁴⁶ Tony Walker, Vice Chancellor's Fellow at La Trobe University.

⁴⁷ Zali Steggall, Australian Parliament, Independent Member for Warringah.



Governance 3 – Human & other rights

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In		irections of oming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
the terms of a Bill of Rights in the Constitution. Ensure that the	Gov	12	A nation assured of enduring peace.	Source: <i>By 2050</i> , Chapter 8 and The State of Australia in 2020, Episode 3.	fake news, hate speech and cyber attacks; • reduction of
Commission is	Soc	1	A safe home.		transparency in
unconstrained (including			A land with an		government and
by inadequate funding	Soc	2	Indigenous		access to public
and/or restricted terms of			heart.		information;
reference) in:			Inclusive,		 inequitable
 a) the full and effective 	Soc	3	welcoming &		application of
stewardship of:			enabling.		electoral funding
i. a nation-wide	Soc	6	A society of		rules and a lack of
community	300		equals.		transparency in
engagement			A success		lobbying;
process for	Soc	7	because of its		 suppression of
development of a			diversity.		free speech,
draft set of rights			A success		protest and the
to be enshrined	Soc	8	because of		right to organise;
in the			gender		and · · ····
Constitution;			equality.		• significant
ii. a process for identification of –	Soc	15	Confident of		reduction of
and nation-wide			justice for all.		human rights for
consultation on –			A country		Australians (not simply for
other revisions			where		refugees).
necessary in the			economic		Source: By 2050, Chapter 8
Constitution; and			opportunity,		,,
b) alignment of the			growth & prosperity are		Attempts to limit
process in a) with the	Econ	3	equitably		and/or overturn rights
process of truth-	LCOII	3	shared &		legislated at the state
telling and			living		level for some
agreement-making			standards		Australians, such as
being simultaneously			improve		LGBTIQ+ adults and
conducted by the			continuously		children, have been
Makarrata			for all.		launched in draft
Commission under			A nation fairly		legislation at the
Soc02.01.01.	_		raising &		federal level by the
	Econ	4	sharing its		Coalition government
By 2022 develop an			wealth.		(legislation which has
agreed plan for the					been withdrawn).
conduct of the nation-					It is significant that
wide community			Productive &		It is significant that the Australian
engagement process on			prosperous		Government is also a
draft terms of a Bill of			through fair &		party to the United
Rights, complete with	Econ	9	ethical trade		Nations Declaration
objectives, timeframes,			agreements,		on the Rights of
and rules of participation.			labour hire &		Indigenous Persons
By June 2023, open the			procurement.		but only as a non-
nation-wide community					legally binding
engagement process in					document.
angugament process in	I			L	<u> </u>



Governance 3 – Human & other rights

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful	In the Directions of		Baseline data	Direction of movement from	
	be	coming			
accordance with the preagreed plan. By 2024, deliver a statement to the Australian people on the outcomes of the nation-wide community engagement, preparatory to the Constitutional Convention.		coming		Source: Australian Government Attorney- General's Department webpage on International human rights system. Australia continues to suffer increasing erosion of human rights, has made no progress towards adoption of a Bill of Rights and is the only democracy in the world without a national human rights framework.	
				←	
An Australian Bill of	Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.	In 2021, Australia was a party to the seven		
Rights in the Constitution - Rights conferred under international treaties,	Gov 1	A proactive participatory democracy.	 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) International Covernation on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD) Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT) Convention on the 	In 2022, Australia remained the only democracy in the world not to have passed a law directly implementing the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and had not complied with the requirement of the ICCPR (and other human rights	
conventions and covenants Gov03.01.02 By 2025, as part of the	Gov 2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.			
process of a Constitutional Convention established under Gov04.01, and establishment of a Bill of Rights under Gov03.01, ensure provision is made in Australia's Constitution that automatically grants all Australians the rights granted at any time in accordance with any international treaty, covenant or convention signed by Australia – • whether or not Australia has ratified the treaty, covenant or convention, and • whether or not such rights are legislated by states or federally.	Gov 4	A free, self- governing, modern nation.			
	Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.			
	Gov 10	A guardian of freedom & accountability in political		treaties) that a ratifying state ensure that everyone has access to the rights set out in the treaty, together with effective remedies for breaches.	
	Gov 11	A just			
·	Gov 12	A nation	Rights of the Child (CRC)		



Governance 3 – Human & other rights

Indicators, Targets &			& other rights	Direction of	
Strategies for successful	In		irections of oming	Baseline data	movement from
performance		2000			baseline
			enduring peace.	 Convention on the Rights of Persons 	
			A nation	with	
			leading in	Disabilities (CRPD)	
	Gov	13	empathy &	but only some rights	
			global	under these treaties	
			cohesion.	had been conferred	
	Soc	1	A safe home.	by law on Australians and at the Federal	
			A land with an	level, Australia	
	Soc	2	Indigenous	remained the only	
			heart	democracy in the	
	Soc	3	Inclusive, welcoming &	world not to have	
	300	3	enabling.	passed a law directly	
			A place of	implementing the	
	Soc	4	optimal health	ICCPR.	
			& wellbeing.	In 2021, Australia had	
	Soc	6	A society of	not complied with the	
			equals.	requirement of the	
	Soc 7	A success	ICCPR (and other		
		/	because of its diversity.	human rights treaties)	
	Soc 8		A success	that a ratifying state	
			because of	ensure that everyone	
		8	gender	has access to the	
			equality.	rights set out in the treaty, together with	
		Soc 11 cl	A land without	effective remedies for	
	Soc		child	breaches.	
			disadvantage.	Source: Australian	
			A sure	Government Attorney- General's Department	
	Soc	12	provider of lifelong	webpage on International	
			dignity.	human rights system; State	
			Confident of	Library of NSW, Find Legal Answers webpage on human rights.	
	Soc	15	justice for all.		
			A country		
			where		
			economic		
			opportunity,		
			growth & prosperity are		
	Econ	3	equitably		
		3	shared &		
			living		
			standards		
			improve		
			continuously		
			for all.		
	Econ	4	A nation fairly	У	
			raising &		



Governance 3 – Human & other rights

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the I	Directions of oming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
perjentance		sharing its wealth.		
	Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.		In October 2021, five states (Victoria, Western Australia,
	Gov 2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.		Tasmania, South Australia and Queensland) had passed legislation
	Gov 4	A free, self- governing, modern nation.		creating an assisted suicide scheme for eligible individuals, two of which were
Voluntary assisted dying – legislation	Soc 1	A safe home.		already in effect (Victoria and Western Australia).
Gov03.02 By 2023, all states and	Soc 6	A society of equals.		Source: Wikipedia, Euthanasia in Australia, October 2021
territories have legislated rights for voluntary euthanasia and voluntary	Soc 7	A success because of its diversity.	In June 2019, only one state of Australia had passed laws regarding euthanasia or voluntary assisted dying – Victoria. Voluntary euthanasia and assisted dying/suicide were illegal in all other Australian states and territories. Source: Wikipedia, Euthanasia in Australia, July 2021	
voluntary assisted dying – rights in the Constitution Gov03.02.01 By 2024, as part of the process of a Constitutional Convention established under Gov04.01, ensure that Australia's Constitution confers explicit rights on Australians to determine the circumstances and timing of their own death by means of safe and lawful euthanasia or assisted suicide.	Soc 12	A sure provider of lifelong dignity.		Voluntary euthanasia and assisted suicide are illegal New South Wales under state law and in all territories of Australia under federal law. Euthanasia was legal between 1996 and 1997 in the Northern Territory, until overturned by a federal law, removing the right of territories to legislate on euthanasia. Progress is generally positive but variable. No progress has been made to amend the Constitution to confer explicit rights on Australians to determine the circumstances and timing of their own death.



Note: Baseline data, Targets, Indicators and Strategies in this section will expand in future issues of *Australia Together*, based on availability of data and on the input of Australians.



Governance 4 – Constitutional reform									
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance									
Governance 4 – Constitutional reform									
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Directions of coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline					
Top Priority Target/Strategy: Constitutional Convention	Gov 4	A free, self- governing, modern nation. A proactive participatory		No progress has been made on evolution of a Constitution fit for 21st century Australia. During the 46th Parliament: • the nation was					
Gov04.01 By 2025, and in full coordination with the process for Constitutional	Gov 2	democracy. A nation knowing and affirming decency.	The last Constitutional	steered by the Coalition government away from, rather than towards, establishment of a					
Recognition of First	Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.	Convention was held in 1998. A National Constitutional	First Nations Voice in the Constitution; • legislation restricting human rights was prioritised over any reforms that might protect human rights;					
development of a Bill of Rights under Gov03.01 , Australia	Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	Convention attended by 250 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander delegates was also held						
convenes a Constitutional Convention for purposes of developing a new	Soc 2	A land with an Indigenous heart.	in 2017. No Constitutional Convention has yet considered a bill or	andno program was developed to address other failings within					
Constitution: • establishing Australia as a free,	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	charter of rights for Australians, although the Constitutional	the Constitution – eg., failings which allow people to be held in					
21 st century, self- governing nation;	Soc 6	A society of equals.	Convention of 1998 did result in a Communique calling for a preamble	detention indefinitely and for life without charge, allow the					
affirming and securing our values, rights and	Soc 7	A success because of its diversity.	which may have articulated national values. This preamble	dismissal of public servants for free expression of opinion					
equality as citizens; and affirming First Nations' sovereignty that coexists with the sovereignty of the Crown as a fuller expression of Australia's nationhood.	Soc 15	Confident of justice for all.	never eventuated. Source: Parliament of Australia, Research Paper 16, 1999/2000	on social media, and allow journalists to be held liable for the comments of third parties on their websites. Australia remains on the precipice of collapse of its cohesion as a nation due to its out of date Constitution.					

Note: Baseline data, Targets, Indicators and Strategies in this section will expand in future issues of *Australia Together*, based on availability of data and on the input of Australians.



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance Governance 5 - Transparency, openness & accountability Indicators, Targets & In the Directions of Direction of movement Strategies for successful Baseline data becoming ... from baseline performance In March 2021, 54% of Open, In 2019, 35% of transparent & Australians said they Australians (net) said accountable trusted the federal Gov 5 they trusted the in its parliament. federal parliament. Source: Essential, Trust in governments Trust in federal Source: Essential. Trust in Institutions 2021 & institutions. Institutions 2019 parliaments Gov05.01 Between 2016 and Trust in the federal Over the longer term, 2019, 30% of parliament to reach 55% A world trust in federal Australians trusted and stabilise. benchmark in parliaments has been Gov 6 federal parliament on leaders' low but trending average per annum. conduct. Essential Report, Trust in towards improvement. Institutions, 21 April 2020 In March 2020, 51% of In 2019, 36% of Australians said they Australians (net) said trusted the state and they trusted the state territory parliaments. Source: Essential. Trust in and territory Institutions 2021 parliaments. Trust in state and Open, Source: Essential, Trust in territory parliaments transparent & Institutions 2019 Gov05.01.01 accountable Gov Over the longer term, Trust in state and in its Between 2016 and trust in state and territory parliaments to governments 2019, 31% of territory parliaments reach 55% and stabilise. & institutions. Australians trusted has been low but state parliaments on trending towards average per annum. improvement. Essential Report, Trust in Institutions, 21 April 2020 In 2020, 53% of Australians (net) said In 2019, 43% of they trusted their local Australians (net) said council. Source: Essential, Trust in they trusted their local Institutions 2019 council. Trust in elected local Open, Source: Essential, Trust in transparent & governments (councils) Institutions 2019 Gov05.01.02 accountable Over the longer term, Gov 5 Trust in local in its Between 2016 and trust in local councils governments to reach governments 2019, 40% of has been higher than 55% and stabilise. & institutions. Australians trusted state and federal their local council on governments and average per annum. trending towards Essential Report, Trust in improvement. Institutions, 21 April 2020



Indicators, Targets &			openness & accountable	
Strategies for successful		Directions of	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
performance	De	coming		•
	Gov 5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions. A proactive participatory		In November 2020: • 55% said the government in Canberra could be trusted almost always or most of the time, and • 44% said it could
Trust in federal governments	Gov 4	democracy. A free, self- governing, modern nation.	Between 2007 and 2019, an average of 32% of Australians thought the government in	be trusted only some of the time or almost never. In 2021, the proportions reversed, compared to 2020, and those who trusted the federal government only some of the time or almost never (52%) once again outnumbered those who said they trusted it almost always or most of the time (48%). Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2020 and 2021.
Gov05.01.03 The proportion of Australians who trust the federal government	Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	Canberra could be trusted almost always or most of the time, compared to an	
almost always or most of the time rises continuously and reaches at least 70% by 2030.	Gov 7	Committed to public service independence & excellence.	average of 66% who said it could be trusted only some of the time or almost never.	
	Soc 6	A society of equals.	Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2020	
Trust in state and territory governments Gov05.01.04 Trust in state and territory governments to reach 70% and stabilise.	Gov 5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.		In March 2021, 66% of Australians said they
	Gov 1	A proactive participatory democracy.	In August 2020, 60% of Australians said they	trusted the state and territory governments. Source: Essential, Trust in Institutions 2021
	Gov 4	A free, self- governing, modern nation.	trusted state and territory governments. Source: Essential, Trust in Institutions 2021	No longer term data analysed.
	Gov 7	Committed to public service independence & excellence.		←/→
	Soc 6	A society of equals.		



Governance 5 – Transparency, openness & accountability							
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In		Directions of oming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline		
Openness and	Gov	5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.				
accountability of governments	Gov	1	A proactive participatory democracy.	Between 2002 and 2019 the Australian			
Top Priority Target/Strategy: Royal Commission and	Gov	3	A nation with avowed rights for all.	government enacted more than 70 pieces of legislation which have	Between 2002 and 2019 the Australian		
community engagement to review national security legislation and its impact on key safeguards for Australia's democracy, including free speech, freedom of the press and transparency in government conduct Gov05.02 By 2023, establish a royal commission or other powerful review mechanism with full open community engagement to review the full suite of Australia's national security legislation to determine whether such legislation safeguards	Gov	4	A free, self- governing, modern nation.	cited "national security" as a basis for heavily limiting: • freedom of	government enacted more than 82 pieces of national security legislation, with no		
	Gov	6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	 freedom of assembly and protest, freedom of information, freedom of the press, whistleblower protections, rights to open trial, and the public's right to know of possible misconduct and illegal conduct by 	statement of the public interest served. Source: The Conversation, 30 September 2019 ⁴⁸ No progress with establishing a Royal Commission into national security legislation and its impact on key safeguards for Australia's democracy. The longer term trend has been negative.		
	Gov	7	Committed to public service independence & excellence.				
	Gov	10	A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.				
democracy by a reasonable balance between genuine national security concerns and the	Gov	11	A just participant on the global stage.	elected and government officials. Source: By 2050, Chapter 8	tas been negative.		
public's right to know when the government is and is not acting in the public interest.	Gov	12	A nation assured of enduring peace.	and The State of Australia in 2020, Episodes 3 and 4 Part 1.			
	Soc	6	A society of equals.				
	Soc	15	Confident of justice for all.				

⁴⁸ Nicola McGarrity and Jessie Blackbourn, "Australia has enacted 82 anti-terror laws since 2001. But tough laws alone can't eliminate terrorism", The Conversation, 30 September 2019, https://theconversation.com/australia-has-enacted-82-anti-terror-laws-since-2001-but-tough-laws-alone-cant-eliminate-terrorism-123521



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Directions of coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
Openness and accountability of	Gov 5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.	In 2020, the University of Queensland Law Faculty identified that: 1. "Whistleblowing is an important, legitimate and	Between 2019 and 2022, the federal government persisted with a range of
governments	Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.	protected mechanism for ensuring integrity	prosecutions and potential prosecutions of whistleblowers who
Top Priority Target/Strategy: Protection of whistleblowers making genuine public interest	Gov 4	A free, self- governing, modern nation.	and accountability in the public and private sectors;" and	had made public interest disclosures, including proceedings against various citizens for disclosures
disclosures Gov05.02.01 By 2023, regardless of the progress of any	Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	2. "There are significant gaps and weaknesses in [whistleblower]	regarding: • war crimes by the Australian Defence Force,
commissions of inquiry under Gov05.02 , overhaul the Public Interest Disclosure Act 2013 (Cth)	Gov 7	Committed to public service independence & excellence.	protections, particularly in the intelligence sector."	 abuse of powers by the ATO, breaches of international law
to: recognise professional journalists as legitimate recipients of protected Emergency or External Disclosures; identify public and	Gov 10	A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.	Between 2013 and 2020, several high profile cases emerged of government intimidation of whistleblowers known to have made external disclosures that are strongly in the public interest (and that the government has not denied are in the public interest), including prosecutions and threatened prosecutions of those making disclosures in the public interest and those receiving them (journalists and lawyers). By 2021, multiple sources reported this was having a chilling effect	and rights of foreign nations (Timor L'este). In each case, it is the whistleblower that is on trial for disclosing the potential breaches
democratic accountability as relevant public interest	Gov 11	A just participant on the global stage.		of law by the Australian government, rather than the government itself.
considerations; introduce a limited framework for external disclosures of intelligence information; and limit the scope of "intelligence information" insofar as it includes information relating	Gov 12	A nation assured of enduring peace.		No legislation has been introduced the strengthen protections
	Soc 14	A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in policing.		for whistleblowers making genuine public interest disclosures or for those receiving the disclosures.
to law enforcement.	Soc 15	Confident of justice for all.	on efforts to expose corruption in Australia. Source: University of Queensland Dr Rebecca Ananian-Welsh, Whistleblowing to the Media, 2020	The longer term trend has been negative.



Governance 5 – Transparency, openness & accountability						
Indicators, Targets &	In	the L	Directions of	- " .	Direction of movement	
Strategies for successful	becoming			Baseline data	from baseline	
performance						
Funding for open and			Open,		In 2022, funding cuts	
accountable governance			transparent &		for the ABC, ABS, ANAO	
Gov05.03	Gov	5	accountable		and OAIC are still baked	
By 2023, ensure that			in its		in because the public	
major components of			governments		sector efficiency	
transparency in			& institutions.		dividend (a pseudonym	
Australia's democracy are			A proactive		for budget cuts) has not	
securely funded by	Gov	1	participatory		been removed.	
legislating to establish a			democracy.		_	
floor increase in annual			A free, self-	Between 2014 and		
federal funding	Gov	4	governing,	2020 the federal	In 2022, the federal	
allocations for:	•		modern	government reduced	government	
 the Australian 			nation.	the budget of the	announced that it	
Broadcasting			A world	Australian Broadcasting	would end its	
Commission,	Gov	6	benchmark in	Commission by \$783	controversial decision	
 the Australian Bureau 	300	U	leaders'	million, resulting in the	in 2018 to impose an	
of Statistics,			conduct.	loss of over 1,000 jobs	indexation freeze on	
 the Australian 			Committed to	at the ABC. Budget cuts	the ABC's annual	
National Audit Office,	Gov	7	public service	were also applied to	funding, a freeze which	
and	GOV	•	independence	the ABS, the ANAO and	ultimately meant the	
 the Office of the 			& excellence.	the OIC by virtue of the	broadcaster's funding	
Australian			A guardian of	imposition of the public	did not keep pace with	
Information			freedom &	sector efficiency	inflation and suffered	
Commissioner,			accountability in political	dividend. Australian	an \$84 million cut,	
with the base for such				taxpayers have	causing the loss of 250	
funding increases from	Gov	10	discourse,	provided no indication	jobs and significant	
2022/23 onwards to be			news media &	of support for these	programming cuts. The	
established first by			the wider	cuts, despite the vital	reversal of the freeze	
applying annual increases			information	importance of these	did not restore the	
of CPI+5% year-on-year to			market.	agencies to democracy.	ABC's funding to the	
whatever the budgets of				In the case of the ABC,	position it would have	
these organisations were				surveys have suggested	been if \$783 million	
in 2013/14 and thereafter				that 70% of Australians	had not been cut in the	
by applying statutory				think the ABC should	first place.	
increases to the new				not have funding cuts		
2022/23 base budgets of				and should have the	Funding cuts to the	
CPI+3% until 2030.				same or more funding	ABC, ABS, ANAO and	
Make provision in this				each year. Source: Per Capita, It's Our	OAIC are not the only	
legislation to protect the				ABC, 2020 and The State of	way the Coalition	
independence of these	Soc	6	A society of	Australia in 2020, Episode 4,	government has	
organisations from	300		equals.	Part3.	attempted to	
political interference by					undermine	
permanently outlawing					transparency in	
real budget cuts and					Australia's democracy.	
mandating annual					Intimidation of these	
increases which meet					agencies has taken	
agreed floor increase					several forms including	
requirements set by					but not limited to:	
review every ten years					 politicised 	
from 2030 onwards.					appointments,	



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			 unjustifiable inquiries intended to intimidate and silence public servants, legal actions taken by the government against public sector agencies, and raids on ABC journalists. Source: Fergus Pitt and Quentin Dempster, Insidious and Intentional: Political interference and harassment of the ABC, February 2020⁴⁹ There is no evidence of support for funding cuts to the ABC. Results of polls by The Australia Institute in 2019 and 2020 showed that an increasing share of Australians agree with the general proposition that the ABC's funding should be increased: In 2019, one in three Australians (33%) thought the ABC's funding should be increased, compared to 13% that thought it should be reduced. In 2020, 35% of Australians thought funding should be increased, compared to 12% that thought it should be reduced. In 2020, 35% of Australians thought it should be reduced. Ource: Australia Institute, Polling – The ABC and public broadcasting, April 2020

⁴⁹ Report prepared for GetUp, February 2020.



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Directions of coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
Transparency in		Open,		Intimidation, budget threats and downsizing of the entire public service remain a significant threat to democracy in Australia. The longer term trend has been negative. In 2018 and 2019, two
lobbying, gifts and donations Real-time disclosure Gov05.04	Gov 5	transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.		private members bills were introduced to federal parliament: "Commonwealth Electoral
By 2023, preparatory to: a) a community engagement process under Gov08.02 to	Gov 1	A proactive participatory democracy.	In 2021, the Australian Government's Lobbying	Amendment (Real Time Disclosure of Political Donations) Bill 2019", which
determine informed community support for reforms of electoral funding	Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.	Code of Conduct required lobbyists to register and list their clients but did not require lobbyists and/or elected officials to register instances of lobbying (such as dates and issues discussed), gifts or donations – in real time or otherwise.	proposed to require every recipient of a donation at the federal level to declare that donation within five days; and "Commonwealth Electoral Amendment (Lowering the
laws, and to b) commencement of operations of a national independent	Gov 6	conduct. Committed to		
body for investigation of government corruption under	Gov 7			
Gov06.04, legislate to establish: a fully funded, centralised, real-time register of all	Gov 8	Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.	Real-time disclosure is essential for transparency and assurance of ethical conduct.	Donation Disclosure Threshold) Bill 2019", which proposed to place
instances of lobbying (meetings, phone calls and other contacts), gifts and political donations for all three levels of government in Australia – federal, state/territory and local – with	Gov 9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & encouraging private sector ethics & community partnership.	Source: Australian Government, Attorney- General's Department Lobbying Code of Conduct 2019	all political donations of \$1,000 or more on the public record. Both bills were referred to the Joint Standing Committee on Electoral Matters. In both cases, the Committee recommended the bills
compulsory requirements for	Soc 6	A society of equals.		not be passed.



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful	In the	Directions of	Baseline data	Direction of movement
performance	be	coming		from baseline
100% compliance and statutory penalties for non- compliance; and • an independent office of audit within the federal anti- corruption authority, or other suitable established auditing office, to monitor compliance with the real-time lobbying and donations register and to prosecute elected officials, political parties, and lobbyists for breaches.				No progress has been made to improve transparency of political donations at the federal level. No steps have been taken to require real time reporting of lobbying contacts. The longer term trend has been negative.
Tot Sicuotics.	Gov 5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.	In 2021, the Australian Government's Statement of Ministerial Standards required that ministers "must not seek or	
Transparency in lobbying, gifts and donations	Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	encourage any form of gift in their personal capacity" but did not prohibit the acceptance	
Prohibition of gifts to politicians and public officials Gov05.04.01	Gov 7	Committed to public service independence & excellence.	of gifts that could then be retained "in their personal capacity". Nor did the Standard place	No progress has been made to prohibit acceptance of gifts by
By 2023, in association with Gov05.04, legislate to prohibit acceptance of gifts by politicians and	Gov 8	Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.	a \$ limit on the value of gifts that could be accepted and concessional arrangements were in	politicians and public servants at the federal level.
public service staff at all levels (and their spouse, partner, or families) and to mandate records of all gifts offered and the date of refusal and/or return.	Gov 9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & encouraging private sector ethics & community partnership.	place to allow officials to retain gifts of high value at discounted rates. Source: Australian Government, Statement of Ministerial Standards, August 2018, Parliament of Australia, Registration and Declaration of Senators' Interests, and Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet	
	Soc 6	equals.	Guidelines Relating to Official Gifts Received	



Indicators, Targets &						
Strategies for successful	In		Directions of	Baseline data	Direction of movement	
performance		beco	oming		from baseline	
Post-separation employment of politicians Gov05.05 By 2023 legislate to: • prohibit, for a period	Gov	5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.	In 2021, federal ministers were	In 2022, the Statement of Ministerial Standards is still inadequate and unenforceable, as evidenced by the example of former	
of three years after leaving office, post- separation employment of	Gov	6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	"required to undertake that, for an eighteen month period after	federal government ministers, Christopher Pyne and Julie Bishop, who were cleared of	
state/territory and federal elected members of parliament to any	Gov	7	Committed to public service independence & excellence.	ceasing to be a Minister, they will not lobby, advocate or have business meetings with members of the	breaching the ministerial standards with their post-politics jobs. The report on the	
position within a private corporation (including a lobbying firm) with which they have had any	Gov	8	Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.	government, parliament, public service or defence force on any matters on which they have had	investigation of these two ex-ministers post- parliament jobs, noted that "While there are certain actions	
dealings in their last five years in office; and to prohibit permanently employment in, or other forms of remunerative association with, private corporations	Gov	9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & encouraging private sector ethics & community partnership.	official dealings as Minister in their last eighteen months in office. Ministers are also required to undertake that, on leaving office, they will not take personal advantage of	available to you [the prime minister] when considering the conduct of a current serving Minister, and a possible breach of the Standards, there are no specific actions that can be taken by you in	
in any of the following industries: fossil fuels, arms and military, private health insurance, gaming and racing,	Gov	10	A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.	information to which they have had access as a Minister, where that information is not generally available to the public." The above standards have been proved to be unenforceable and do	relation to former Ministers once they have left the Parliament". Source: Martin Parkinson, letter to Prime Minister Scott Morrison on results of the investigation into the post- separation employment of Christopher Pyne and Julie Bishop, July 2019 ⁵⁰	
tobacco and alcohol, andpharmaceuticals, on the grounds that	Gov	11	A just participant on the global stage.	not serve the public interest. Source: Australian Government, Statement of	No progress has been made to strengthen post-separation	
the public interest is unlikely to be served by free-flow of employment between	Gov	12	A nation assured of enduring peace.	Ministerial Standards, August 2018	employment rules for politicians so that they are enforceable and protect the public	
government and these industries.	Soc	4	A place of optimal		interest. The danger of the "revolving door"	

⁵⁰ Michelle Grattan, <u>View from The Hill: Senate decides Pyne and Bishop have a few more parliamentary questions to answer (theconversation.com)</u>, The Conversation, 22 July 2019.



Indicators, Targets &			openness & accountab		
Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming			Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
p			health & wellbeing.		still exists and is embedding undisclosed conflicts of
	Soc	6	A society of equals.		interest in the Australian
	Env	1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.		parliamentary system.
	Env	2	A net zero emissions nation.		
	Env	4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.		
	Env	6	A renewable energy superpower.		
	Econ	3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.		
	Econ	4	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.		
	Econ	5	A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.		



Governance 6 – Government ethics

Indicators Terroto 9		- Covernance o	overnment etnics		
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		e Directions of ecoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
	Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.		In 2021, Australia was ranked no. 18 in the world in Transparency International's annual	
	Gov 5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.	In 2019, Australia was ranked no. 12 in the	Corruption Perceptions Index with a score of 73/100. New Zealand was ranked equal first with Denmark with scores of	
Perceptions of corruption Gov06.01 Australia's score in	Gov 8	Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.	world in Transparency International's annual Corruption Perceptions Index with a score of	88/100 each. Source: Transparency International, Corruption Perceptions Index 2021	
Transparency International's annual Corruption Perceptions Index is continuously improving and reaches the top rank (no. 1) by 2026. Gov	Gov 9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & encouraging private sector ethics & community partnership.	77/100. New Zealand was ranked equal first with Denmark with scores of 87/100 each. In the eight years to 2019, Australia's score dropped by 8 points. Source: Transparency	In the ten years to 2021, Australia's score on the Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index dropped by 12 points to reach its lowest point since the start of the	
	Gov 10	A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.	International, Corruption Perceptions Index 2019	The longer term trend has been negative.	
Trust in leaders' conduct – parliamentarians Gov06.02 Trust in elected members of parliament to reach and be maintained at a minimum of 55%.	Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	In 2018, 48% of Australians distrusted members of parliament and only 21% trusted them a little or very much. Source: MOAD, Democracy 2025, "Trust and Democracy in Australia: Democratic decline and renewal", Report No. 1	No data update available from MOAD. However, in 2021 in the ABC's Australia Talks survey of 60,000 Australians, 73% thought we (as a nation) were doing a very poor (46%) or somewhat poor (27%) job of holding governments to account, indicating that leaders were not trusted and were getting away with lying to the public.	

Governance 6 - Government ethics

Strategies for successful performance Baseline data Baseline data Check to be becoming Respondents also believed politicians should resign if: they take a briggs, or engage in port barrelling – 77 Source: ACM startilat one state government and at one state government in NSV engaged openly in barrelling and the Minister was accus lying to parliament repeated occasion. Indicating that elected deeders' views of appropriate standa were out of step w standards expected Australians. In 2021, 27% of Australians aid government in the standards expected Australians. In 2021, 27% of Australians aid government are not the step of the standards expected australians. In 2021, 27% of Australians said governments put the public before veste interests, indicating those elected to government are not trusted to resist the sestion resist interests.		- Coremance o	Sovernment ethics	
believed politicians should resign if: • they take a bri 98%; • mislead parlia 95%; or • engage in port barrelling – 77 Source: ABC Australia T Survey 2021 Over the three yea 2021, the federal government and at one state government and at one state government in NSV engaged openly in barrelling and the Minister was accus lying to parliament outside parliament outside parliament repeated occasions indicating that elect leaders' views of appropriate standa were out of step w standards expected Australians. In 2021, 27% of Australians. In 2021, 27% of Australians said governments put the public before veste interests, indicating that elect the said governments put the public before veste interests, indicating those elected to government are not trusted to resist.	successful		Baseline data	
capture. ⁵²				believed politicians should resign if: • they take a bribe – 98%; • mislead parliament – 95%; or • engage in porkbarrelling – 77%. Source: ABC Australia Talks Survey 2021 Over the three years to 2021, the federal government and at least one state government – the Berejiklian government in NSW – engaged openly in pork barrelling and the Prime Minister was accused of lying to parliament and outside parliament on repeated occasions ⁵¹ , indicating that elected leaders' views of appropriate standards were out of step with the standards expected by Australians. In 2021, 27% of Australians said governments put the public before vested interests, indicating that those elected to government are not trusted to resist corruption and state

⁵¹ Instances which may be seen to fit the definition of "pork barrelling" include: the federal government dispensing hundreds of millions of dollars to retain seats, including: \$100 million for what became known as "sports rorts", \$110 million for the "Safe Communities Fund" and \$600 million for community car parks; and the Berejiklian government in NSW dispensing up to \$259 million in grants to councils from the "Stronger Communities Funds".

⁵² Examples justifying this distrust by Australians abound in the record of privatisation of public assets and services set by governments since the early 2000s. Typical of the examples is the sale in NSW of the Land and Property Information service by the Berejiklian government for a fraction of its worth. See ACFP, <u>The State of Australia in 2020, Episode 5</u> and <u>The State of Australia in 2020, Episode 4 Part 1</u>.



Governance 6 – Government ethics

Indicators Taxasta O		- Government etnics	
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			Source: Next25 Navigator, Social Research report 2021 No data have been identified which would suggest that trust in the ethics of elected politicians has reached the target of 55%. Performance is variable in time and across issues. Governments appear to be trusted to shelter Australians in a pandemic but not to act ethically in the public interest. In the shorter term performance is mixed. The longer term trend has been negative with respect to ethics.
Trust in leaders' conduct – executive governments Gov06.02.01 Australia is ranked as a truster of government.	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	In 2019, 42% of the general population said they trusted government. Source: 2019 Edelman Trust Barometer Australian Results	In 2021, trust in government rose to a high of 61% before falling back in 2022 to 52%. Source 2022 Edelman Trust Barometer Australian Results Performance is variable. The impact of Covid-19 on trust in institutions, including government was positive with Australians relying more on all institutions. It would appear the rise in trust has not been sustained as the pandemic has dragged on.



Governance 6 – Government ethics

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	Ir		Directions of coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
Codes of conduct for parliamentarians	Gov	6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	In 2017, 79% of Australians supported "strengthening the code of conduct for parliamentary	No data updates
Top Priority Target/Strategy: Binding code of ethics and conduct	Gov	2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.	behaviour". Source: Centre for Policy Development Study, "What Do Australians Want? Active and Effective Government Fit for the Ages", December 2017.	available. No binding code of ethics and conduct has been developed for federal
for federal parliamentarians Gov06.03 By 2022, ensure the passage of the	Gov	5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.	In 2020, a Senate Committee with Liberal, Labor and One Nation senators unanimously	parliamentarians. Ethical standards and behaviour are declining in federal parliament.
National Integrity (Parliamentary Standards) Bill 2019 or similar with a binding Code of Conduct that meets modern standards of ethics in democratic governance.	Gov	8	Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.	rejected the introduction of a Code of Conduct for parliamentarians. Source: Australian Senate, Finance and Public Administration Legislation Committee – Report on the National Integrity (Parliamentary Standards) Bill 2019. See also The State of Australia in 2020, Episode 4, Part 1.	The longer term trend is negative.
Top Priority Target/Strategy: Compulsory and satisfactory	Gov	6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	In 2016, no compulsory training or tests were in	During the 46 th parliament, several parliamentarians
completion of training in ethics and proof of competency in permissible voting practice for	Gov	5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.	place for federal parliamentarians to prove competency in relation to basic behaviours, norms,	demonstrated no understanding of any obligation on the part of democratically elected members to govern in the interests of all Australians
parliamentarians Gov06.03.01 By 2023, introduce legislation requiring all elected federal	Gov	7	Committed to public service independence & excellence.	procedures, rules of voting, declaration of conflicts, policy and legislation analysis, and general understanding	rather than solely in the interests of their own constituency, or personal/sectional/vested interests. As such, several
parliamentarians (on election to each new parliament) to complete training and pass examinations to: • prove comprehensive knowledge of the Code of	Gov	8	Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.	of ethical standards and parliamentary procedures. Source: Colleen Lewis, Ken Coghill, Editors, Parliamentarians' Professional Development: The need for reform, 2016.	deals were done or attempted, particularly between the government and minor party cross- benches in which the interests of all Australians or groups of Australians would be injuriously traded in exchange for



Governance 6 - Government ethics

Governance 6 – Government etnics					
Indicators, Targets &					
Strategies for	I.		Directions of	Baseline data	Direction of movement
successful		be	coming		from baseline
performance					
Conduct arising					favours for sectional
from the					interests. ⁵³
passage of a					
National					The need for compulsory
Integrity					training and competency
(Parliamentary					assessment for
Standards) Bill as					parliamentarians is
per Gov06.03 ;					increasing. No progress
 demonstrate 					has been made.
competency in					
the rules of					The trend in competency
behaviour under					appears to be negative, if
Codes of					the performance of the
Meeting Practice					46 th parliament is any
and disclosure of					guide. ⁵⁴
conflicts of					
interest;					-
 maintain 					
accreditation in					
the above					
through updated					
training; and					
 comply with 					
programs of					
professional					
development					
suited to their					
role as elected					
members,					
ministers,					
committee					
chairs, etc.					
Federal independent			A world	In 2017, 77% of	In 2021, 88% of
commission against		_	benchmark in	Australians supported	Australians on survey
corruption	Gov	6	leaders'		· ·
•			conduct.	"introducing an	agreed that "the government should
Top Priority			Open,	independent federal corruption	establish a federal
Target/Strategy:			transparent &	Commission".	
Federal independent	Gov	5	accountable in	Source: Centre for Policy	corruption watchdog". Source: ABC Australia Talks
commission against			its governments	Development Study, "What Do	National Survey 2021
corruption			& institutions.	Australians Want? Active and	

⁵³ Perhaps the most notable example was the attempt during the (failed) passage of the "Religious Discrimination Bill 2019" to confer rights on religious groups to discriminate against and reduce the rights of children and members of the LGBTIQ+ community.

⁵⁴ A salutary example of the need for ethics training and proof of competency was in the performance of the former Attorney General Christian Porter who declared acceptance of significant donations to pay for his personal legal fees but without disclosing the donor or the amount accepted (thought to be in the order of \$1 million) and the subsequent interference by the Defence Minister Peter Dutton in the ruling of the Speaker of the House Tony Smith in recommending referral of the matter to the Privileges Committee.



Governance 6 – Government ethics

Governance o Government cames					
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming			Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
Gov06.04 By 2024, a national independent body for investigation of corruption by federal parliamentarians and public servants commences operation.	Gov	7	Committed to public service independence & excellence. Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.	Effective Government Fit for the Ages", December 2017. In 2020, all states of Australia had established some form of independent commissions against corruption by elected members and officers of governments. No such body existed for the federal government.	Despite promises to the contrary, the Coalition government has failed to introduce legislation establishing a federal independent commission against corruption. The longer term trend is negative.

Note: Baseline data, Targets, Indicators and Strategies in this section will expand in future issues of *Australia Together*, based on availability of data and on the input of Australians.



G	Governance 7 – Public service independence & excellence					
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline			
Trust in the public service Gov07.01 Trust in the Commonwealth public service improves continuously.	Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.	In 2019, 42% of Australians (net) said they trusted the Commonwealth public service. Source: Essential, Trust in Institutions 2019 Between 2016 and 2019, 39% of Australians trusted their local council on average per annum. Essential Report, Trust in Institutions, 21 April 2020	In March 2021, 57% of Australians said they trusted the Commonwealth public service but this dropped 5 points in October 2021 to 52% Source: Essential, Trust in Institutions 2021 Over the longer term, trust in the Commonwealth public service has been low but trending towards improvement.			
Satisfaction with the public service – federal and state Gov07.02 Satisfaction with the public service improves continuously.	Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.	In 2021, 27% of Australians felt "the public service acts on the needs of Australians and in the public interest". Source: Next25 Navigator, Social Research report 2021	No update available. No longer term trend analysed.			
Satisfaction with the public service – Commonwealth Gov07.02.01 Satisfaction with the Commonwealth public service improves continuously.	Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.	In 2019, the Australian Government reported that "Only 56 per cent of Australians are satisfied with the services they receive from the Australian Government, well below levels for leading governments and private-sector businesses." Source: 2019 Independent Review of the Australian Public Service, "Our Public Service Our Future", known as the "Thodey Review"	No update available. No longer term trend analysed.			

Note: Baseline data, Targets, Indicators and Strategies in this section will expand in future issues of Australia Together, based on availability of data and on the input of Australians.



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance						
Governance 8 – Electoral system & funding reform						
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the	Directions of coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline		
Truth in advertising – legislative program Gov08.01 By 2023, introduce legislation federally and in all states requiring truth in political advertising, including stipulated penalties such as loss	Gov 8 Gov 1 Gov 5	Protected from undue sectional influence in elections. A proactive participatory democracy. Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.	In 2019, 84% of Australians supported the introduction of laws for truth in political advertising but South Australia was the only state with truth in advertising laws. Source: Australia Institute	No progress. South Australia remains the only state with laws on truth in political advertising. Federal laws prohibiting untrue political advertising were enacted in 1983 but repealed in 1984. Source: Parliament of Australia, Research Paper 13, 1996/97, Truth in Political Advertising Legislation in Australia		
of public funding and fines.	Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.		At the Commonwealth level the longer term trend is negative.		
Electoral funding reform – community engagement on electoral funding reform	Gov 8	Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.	Between 2015 and 2020, amendments by the federal parliament to legislation on electoral funding and disclosure:	No progress has been made on engagement		
Gov08.02 By 2024, in association with the	Gov 1	A proactive participatory democracy.	 focussed on attempted capping 	with Australians on preferred reforms of electoral funding laws		
establishment of a Constitutional Convention under	Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.	or other constraints on the small donations of the many to non-party	and arrangements. For the 2022 federal		
Gov04.01, commence a community engagement process to determine	Gov 4	A free, self- governing, modern nation.	organisations engaged in political policy development	election, no constraints are being applied which would stop corporations or wealthy individuals		
informed community support for reforms of electoral funding laws so that they increase the possibility of fairness in elections and equality for citizens as electors.	Gov 5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions. A world	(such as GetUp and charities like the Climate Council), rather than capping the large donations of the few to registered political parties; and	from buying elections. The longer term trend is negative.		
Minimum terms of reference for this	Gov 6	benchmark in leaders' conduct.	did nothing to strengthen disclosure requirements such as			



Governance 8 – Electoral system & funding reform

Governance 8 – Electoral system & Junuing reform					
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Directions of coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
section of the Constitutional Convention must provide for engagement on: • the issue of transparent taxpayer funding of election campaigns, and • options for reform that will eliminate the influence of corporate money and wealthy donors in democratic	Gov 10 Soc 3 Soc 6	A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market. Inclusive, welcoming & enabling. A society of equals. A success because of	requiring real-time disclosure. In effect, in 2021, it was lawful for anyone to buy an election — as Malcolm Turnbull did in 2016 with a \$1.75 million personal donation to the Liberal Party campaign and as Clive Palmer did with an \$83 million campaign designed to preference the Liberal Party. Source: By 2050, Chapter 8 and Commonwealth Electoral Act 1918.		
elections.		gender equality. Protected			
Top Priority Target/Strategy: Electoral funding reform – abolition of corporate and union	Gov 8	from undue sectional influence in elections.	Between 2012 and 2020, cumulative donations by corporations to Australia's two major political parties were:	No progress has been made to cap political donations. The system remains awash with corporate donations and	
donations Gov08.02.01 Preparatory to	Gov 1	A proactive participatory democracy.	 to Labor = \$80.3 million to Liberal/National = 	far too much in total donations.	
Gov08.02 (and subject to review after completion of that	Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.	\$129.9 million The largest donations	Between 2012/13 and	
community engagement process), legislate to: a) cap political	Gov 4	A free, self- governing, modern nation.	were from: • banking and finance = \$71.6 million • developers and property = \$28.4	2020/21, total donations received by all election candidates and political parties amounted to \$1.95 billion. Of that	
donations (on a cumulative basis over two consecutive election terms) at \$10,000 for individuals;	Gov 5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.	million energy and resources = \$16.6 million government contractors = \$14.4 million private health	amount, Australia's four major political parties received \$1.69 billion in declared donations: Liberal Party = \$812 million (42%),	
b) require compulsory disclosure for any donation above	Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	insurance and services = \$14.2 million	 National Party = \$104 million (5%), Labor Party = \$638 million (33%), 	



Governance 8 – Electoral system & funding reform

Governance 8 – Electoral system & Junaing reform					
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline		
\$5,000 (or once a total of donations exceeds \$5,000 from a single donor within a single federal election term); c) ban outright	A guardian of freedom & accountability in political Gov 10 discourse, news media & the wider information	media and communications = \$11.9 million Source: Guardian Australia Transparency Project, Citizens Hub for exploration of political transparency and open governance	The Greens = \$142 million (7%). All other parties and candidates shared the remaining 13% of the donations. Given the progress		
donations from corporations, non-profits, unions and any other	soc 3 market. Inclusive, welcoming & enabling. A society of		reported in this End of Term Report, the best that can be said about this is that \$1.69 billion doesn't buy much the		
incorporated body – such ban to include a ban on individuals self-funding their own campaign or that of their party other than by the \$10,000 donation permitted under a) – in short, individuals may not buy elections; and facilitate the above legislative reforms via the staged process set out in Gov08.02.02.	Soc 6 equals. A success because of gender equality.		way of governance that will reliably result in improved quality of life. No-one outside wealthy corporations is getting value for money in election funding. Parliamentary performance is in decline due to the disproportionate influence of wealthy individuals and corporations in Australia's democratic election processes.		
Top Priority Target/Strategy: Electoral funding reform – protection of democracy through introduction of	Gov 8 sectional influence in elections. A proactive Gov 1 participatory	In 2019, electoral funding laws operated on a principle of one vote , one value , but only insofar as redistributions of electoral boundaries were required by law to	No progress. Electoral distortions in favour of corporate donors are on the rise in Australia.		
equitable taxpayer funding for elections Gov08.02.02 For the federal election of 2025, for	Gov 3 avowed rights for all. A free, self-	ensure that electorates have the same number of enrolled voters within a specified percentage of	The longer term trend in electoral distortion		
purposes of:fostering equity in electionsconsistent with	Gov 4 governing, modern nation.	variance (currently 10%). Source: Commonwealth Electoral Act (No. 2) 1973 In 2019, the principle of	through current donations laws is negative.		
electoral principles of one vote, one value;	Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its	one vote, one value was not applied in laws regarding funding of the	—		



Governance 8 – Electoral system & funding reform

Indicators, Targets &					
Strategies for	In t	he Γ	Directions of		Direction of movement
successful			oming	Baseline data	from baseline
performance	,		g		J. c Zusee
and for practical purposes of replacing the			governments & institutions.	campaigns of candidates and political parties seeking election.	
campaign funding capacity lost under part c) of Gov08.02.01,	Gov	6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	In 2019, in regard to fair and adequate funding for ethical campaigns by	
establish a trial of a voucher system for funding of election			A guardian of freedom & accountability	quality, competent political candidates, Australia's electoral	
campaigns run by registered candidates – such voucher system to be administered by the Australian Electoral Commission	Gov	10	in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.	system was not positioned to protect its democracy from capture by wealthy donors motivated to act in their own sectional or vested	
(AEC) and to entail the following: 1) issue by the AEC	Soc	3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	interests against the wider public interest.	
to every registered voter	Soc	6	A society of equals.		
of one electoral donation voucher designated with a value of \$5; and 2) unimpeded distribution of the received voucher by each voter, at their discretion, in favour of any registered party or independent candidate between 6 months and one month prior to an election. By 2023, for purposes of evaluation of the 2025 election voucher system trial, and in conjunction with community engagement under Gov08.02, determine evaluation criteria for the trial.	Soc	8	A success because of gender equality.		



Governance 8 – Electoral system & funding reform

		ar system a junuing rejon	
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for	In the Directions of	Baseline data	Direction of movement
successful	becoming	busemie aata	from baseline
performance			
By 2026, once the trial			
has been evaluated,			
and should the system			
be deemed beneficial			
according to the			
evaluation criteria,			
abolish all other			
political donations			
including those from			
individuals under a)			
and b) in			
Gov08.02.01.			
See Note ⁵⁵ for			
financial impacts and			
more information on			
rationale.			

Note: Baseline data, Targets, Indicators and Strategies in this section will expand in future issues of *Australia Together*, based on availability of data and on the input of Australians.

⁵⁵ The above proposed voucher based system would introduce additional taxpayer funding for election campaigns. Taxpayers will pay more for elections but will benefit because of removal of distortions in funding created by the current laws, distortions which not only skew election outcomes but result in poor quality governance and democratic stability. For the 2025 trial, approximately 17 million registered voters would each receive a \$5 voucher, adding an estimated \$85 million to taxpayers' costs for the 2025 federal election, in effect replacing the average of \$70 million that was probably raised from corporate donations and spent by the two major parties per election term between 2012 and 2020 across both state and federal elections. This additional cost to the taxpayer could be partially offset by reduction of payments made now under Part XX of the Commonwealth Electoral Act 1918 (in 2021 = \$2.871 per eligible vote). Alternatively the voucher could be additional to the current Part XX payments, estimated at approximately \$48 million. While voters would, for the 2025 trial at least, be called on to distribute their vouchers (in electronic transactions – no money actually changes hands and the vouchers could be used for no other purpose) only once every three years, candidates and parties who receive vouchers will have discretion enabling them to spend all of the value received in vouchers on the federal election campaign or retain the funds for use in state and local government campaigns. Effectively the system deletes (prohibits) all the funding currently being supplied by corporate donors for each election cycle and replaces it with a somewhat larger amount of funding by taxpayers. The intention is to secure stable funding of elections with outcomes that are more balanced in the public interest, not skewed to corporate or sectional interests.



	Governance 9 – Corporate & NGO responsibility							
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline					
Trust in NGOs Gov09.01 Australia is ranked as a truster of NGOs.	A nation outlawing corporary greed & Gov 9 encoural private sethics & communications communications and the sethics of the set	In 2019, 56% of the general population said they trusted NGOs. Source: 2019 Edelman Trust Barometer Australian Results hity ship.	In 2021, 62% of the general population said they trusted NGOs, making 2021 the only year in the last decade in which Australians trusted NGOs. The trust was short-lived. In 2022, trust in NGOs fell to 58%. Source: Edelman Trust Barometer Australian Results 2021 and 2022 Shorter term performance is variable. Between 2012 and 2019, 52.25% of Australians trusted NGOs on average per year. Between 2020 and 2022, 58% of Australians trusted NGOs on average per year. Source: Edelman Trust Barometer Australian Results 2021 and 2022 The longer term trend is positive. The impact of Covid-19 on trust in institutions, including NGOs was positive with Australians relying more on all institutions. It would appear the rise in trust has not been sustained as the pandemic has dragged on.					
Trust in private institutions and public institutions Gov09.01.01	A nation outlawin Gov 9 corpora greed & encoura	Australians generally te trusted private institutions less than they	In 2020, trust by Australians in private institutions was recorded on survey as:					



	Governance 9 – Corporate & NGO responsibility						
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directi becoming	- Kaspiine aata	Direction of movement from baseline				
Trust in both public and private sector institutions rises continuously.	Gov 2 ethic communication partra A nat know affirm decement A free Gov 4 governode Oper trans according according to the communication of the communication	private institutions of charitable organisations and environmental groups were more trusted than the public institutions of elected parliaments and the Commonwealth public service. parent & Among private institutions, average trust	Australians in				
	Gov 6 its gove instit A wo benc leade	hmark in Environmental groups = 42%.	public/government institutions was recorded on survey as: Federal police = 68%. State police = 68%. High Court = 61%.				
	Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence. Protected from undue sectional influence in elections. Business groups = 29%. • Trade unions = 27%. • Religious organisations = 27%. • Political parties = 17%.		 Reserve Bank = 60%. The ABC = 58%. Courts and legal system = 57%. Federal parliament = 				
			53%.Your local council = 53%.Commonwealth				
	A guardian of freedom & accountability in political Gov 10 discourse, news media & the wider information market. A guardian of freedom & public/government institutions, average trust between 2016 and 2019 was: • Federal police = 68%. • State police = 66%. • High Court = 59%. • The ABC = 53%. • Reserve Bank = 49%.	public service = 52%.State parliament = 51%.					
Gov 11		 Your local council = 40%. Commonwealth public service = 39%. 	average recorded between 2016 and 2019. In 2020, the average trust				
	Gov 12 endu peace	red of 31%. • Federal parliament = 30%.	recorded across private institutions was 42%, up 11 points from the average recorded				
	Inclu	sive, in Institutions, 21 April 2020 pming &	between 2016 and 2019. Source: Essential Report, Trust in Institutions, 21 April 2020				



Indicators, Targets	Governance 9 – Corporate & NGO responsibility						
	In t	ha Diractions of		Direction of movement			
& Strategies for successful		he Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline			
performance		becoming		Jrom Buseime			
<i>p.</i> 1,		A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in policing. Confident of		In 2020, trust in all private and public/government institutions rose above the average trust recorded between 2016 and 2019. Australians still place greater trust			
		A society prepared and resilient in times of disaster.		overall in public institutions than in private institutions. No comparable data updates beyond 2020 have been released by Essential, although other data released by Essential and other agencies would suggest that the improvement in trust has thus far been sustained beyond the first year of the Covid-19 pandemic.			
Trust in corporates Gov09.02 Australia is ranked as a truster of business.	Gov 9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & encouraging private sector ethics & community partnership.	In 2019, 52% of the general population said they trusted business. Source: 2019 Edelman Trust Barometer Australian Results	In 2021, 63% of the general population said they trusted business, making 2021 the only year in the last decade in which Australians trusted business. The trust was short-lived. In 2022, trust in business fell to 58%. Source: Edelman Trust Barometer Australian Results 2021 and 2022 Shorter term performance is variable. Between 2012 and 2019, 47.63% of Australians trusted business on average per year. Between 2020 and 2022, 57.7% of Australians			



	Governance 9 – Corporate & NGO responsibility						
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In		Directions of coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline		
					trusted business on average per year. Source: Edelman Trust Barometer Australian Results 2021 and 2022		
					The longer term trend is positive.		
					→		
					The impact of Covid-19 on trust in institutions, including business was positive with Australians relying more on all institutions. It would appear the rise in trust has not been sustained as the pandemic has dragged on.		
Trust in corporates - perceptions of corporate versus worker power balance Gov09.02.01 Perceptions of the balance of power between corporates and unions are equal and neither corporates nor unions are perceived by more than 50% of Australians to have too much power.	Gov	9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & encouraging private sector ethics & community partnership. A proactive participatory democracy. Open, transparent &	In 2019, 76% of Australians said, "big business has too much power", up from 51% in 1987. In 2019, 42% of Australians said, "unions have too much power, down from 71% in 1987.	No further update available. The longer term trend for Australians' views on whether big business has too much is power steeply negative, meaning the proportion who think big business has too much power has been growing.		
	Gov	5	transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.		The longer term trend for Australians' views on whether unions have too		
	Gov	7	Committed to public service independence & excellence.	Source: ANU Trends in Australian Political Opinion, 1987 to 2019	much is power steeply positive, meaning the proportion who think unions have too much		
	Gov	8	Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.		power has been declining.		
	Soc	6	A society of		Source: ANU Trends in		
	Econ	3	equals. A country where		Australian Political Opinion, 1987 to 2019		



Indiantaus Tours	3000	.Thance 3 – corpo	rate & NGO responsibility		
Indicators, Targets		5' '' '		·· ·	
& Strategies for		Directions of	Baseline data	Direction of movement	
successful	De	ecoming		from baseline	
performance					
		economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.		Australians think unions have too little power relative to the power of corporates.	
	Econ 4	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.			
	Econ 5	A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.			
Prohibition of rent- seeking by for- profit companies in certain community services Gov09.03 By 2025, enact federal legislation to exclude for-	Gov 9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & encouraging private sector ethics & community partnership.	In 2021, the Royal Commission into Aged Care Quality and Safety reported that, "private providers [in aged care] have much worse quality outcomes than	No progress in enacting legislation in excluding for profit companies from taxpayer assistance for provision of in the listed industries.	
profit companies from qualifying for any form of taxpayer assistance	Gov 2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.	government and not-for- profit providers. In effect, the increasingly private composition of the	←/→	
 including but not limited to direct funding, subsidies 	Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.	market has placed further pressure on quality and safety in aged care." The finding has	Private sector failure was evident during the Covid-19 pandemic with the high numbers of deaths	
and tax breaks – for	Soc 1	A safe home.	implications for the	in privately run aged	
provision of services in: • aged care,	Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	sustainability of taxpayer support and value-for- money returns for	care facilities, signalling the need for wholesale reform.	
childcare,vocational education	Soc 5	A model of educational opportunity.	taxpayers when core community services are provided by for-profit	The longer term trend is negative.	
(including Technical and	Soc 6	A society of equals.	companies. For-profit involvement in certain	←	
Further Education), • placement services for the	Soc 10	A place of supportive familial & other connections &	community services is not sustainable for taxpayers.		

Indicators Tarasts	Governance 9 – Corporate & NGO responsibility					
Indicators, Targets	In the Directions of		Divoctions of		Divertion of management	
& Strategies for successful	l m		coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
performance		Dec	.oming		Jrom buseline	
			without			
unemployed, and			domestic			
administration			abuse.			
of welfare	Coo	44	A land without child			
payments for	Soc	11				
the			disadvantage.			
unemployed, the disabled,	Soc	12	A sure provider of lifelong			
single parents,	300	12	dignity.			
youth			A model of			
allowances and			transition from			
pensions.	Econ	1	excessive			
pensions.	LCOII	•	consumption to			
			sustainability.			
			A country			
			where			
			economic			
			opportunity,			
			growth &			
			prosperity are			
	Econ	3	equitably			
			shared & living			
			standards			
			improve			
			continuously			
			for all.			
			A nation fairly			
	Econ	4	raising &			
	ECOII	*	sharing its			
			wealth.			
			A strong			
			regulator of			
			fairness in			
	Econ	5	markets			
			creating			
			confidence for			
			investors.			
			An economy			
			with			
	Econ	6	competitive &			
			profitable			
			public sector			
Duobibition of	-		participation.	In June 2024 the LIV	No progress results in	
Prohibition of			A nation	In June 2021, the UK	No progress made in	
government contracts to			outlawing	government announced	legislation requiring businesses seeking	
private sector	Gov	9	corporate greed &	measures requiring businesses to commit to	government contracts to	
companies that do	JUV	9	encouraging	net zero carbon	submit plans for to reach	
not have certified			private sector	emissions by 2050 and	net zero carbon	
plans to achieve			ethics &	publish clear and credible	emissions.	
Piano to acineve	l		Cuinca G	pasiisii cicai ana cicaible	C.1113310113.	



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for In the Directions of Breaking data Direction of move	
a strategies jui in the Directions of Paratient . Direction of move	Direction of movement
successful becoming Baseline data from baseline	inent
performance John Buseline	
net zero carbon community carbon reduction plans	
emissions by 2033 partnership. before they can bid for	
Gov09.04 Open, major government	
By 2022 legislate transparent & contracts	
that by 2022	
husinesses seeking GoV 5	
government Source UK government	
contracts (federal institutions Cabinet Office Press Release 7	
state and local) A world	
part in achieving	
Gov 6 leaders!	nents
Australian under the Paris	
Clean Energy A just	IS
Regulator narticipant on	
clear, credible Gov 11 the global	
and financed stage.	
plans to A nation	
achieve net leading in	
zero carbon Gov 13 empathy &	
emissions by global	
2033 and cohesion.	
achieve Soc 1 A safe home.	
certification by A leading global	
that Regulator advocate for	
of such plans action on	
and hid for	
A fiet zero	
government Env 2 emissions contracts; and nation.	
demonstrate A nation that	
(by submission puts the	
of annual environment	
compliance Env 4 before	
statements) unsustainable	
compliance consumption.	
with approved A renewable	
plans for Env 6 energy	
purposes of superpower.	
renewing any A model of	
contract transition from and/or bidding Fcon 1 excessive	
for any future	
contract	
unloss and until	
each business is	
accredited by the Econ 4 raising & sharing its	
Australian Clean wealth.	
Energy Regulator as A strong	
having fully Econ 5 regulator of	
fairness in	



Governance 9 - Corporate & NGO responsibility

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		irections of oming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
reached net zero		markets		
emissions.		creating confidence for		
Important Note:		investors.		
No private certification or self-certification is to be permitted in this legislation, due to the increased potential for conflict of interest and corruption.	Econ 6	An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.		

Note: Baseline data, Targets, Indicators and Strategies in this section will expand in future issues of *Australia Together*, based on availability of data and on the input of Australians.



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance Governance 10 - Free communications policy & regulation **Indicators, Targets &** Strategies for Direction of movement In the Directions of becoming Baseline data successful from baseline performance In 2021, 51% of the general population said they trusted the media. In 2022, trust in the media fell back to 43%. Source: Edelman Trust **Barometer Australian Results** 2021 and 2022 Shorter term performance is variable. Between 2012 and 2019, 35% of Australians trusted the A guardian of media on average per freedom & year. Between 2020 accountability in and 2022, 44% of In 2019, 40% of the Trust in the media political Australians trusted the general population said Gov10.01 discourse, news 10 Gov they trusted the media. media on average per Australia is ranked as a media & the Source: 2019 Edelman Trust truster of the media. **Barometer Australian Results** wider Source: Edelman Trust **Barometer Australian Results** information 2021 and 2022 market. The longer term trend is positive. The impact of Covid-19 on trust in institutions, including the media was positive with **Australians relying** more on all institutions. It would appear the rise in trust has not been sustained as the pandemic has dragged A guardian of In 2021, a Senate Trust in news media In 2014, the Australian freedom & Gov 10 Committee Inquiry into

Press Council updated its

accountability in



and journalism -

Media Diversity in

Governance 10 - Free communications policy & regulation

	overnance 10 – Free communi	leations policy & regulation	
Indicators, Targets &	In the Directions of hecoming		Divide of movement
Strategies for successful	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
performance	•••		Jioin buseline
effectiveness of self- regulation Gov10.01.01 By 2023, unless and until the self-regulation system for Australian news media is replaced by a properly resourced independent standard-setter and compliance auditor as per Gov10.03 and Gov10.03.01, ensure a	political discourse, news media & the wider information market. A proactive Gov 1 participatory democracy.	Statement of General Principles ⁵⁶ : In the post-2014 Statement, "fairness and balance" are no longer required in relation to news "reporting" – either in individual reports or as an editorial whole. Before 2014, the need for "balance" in editorials and	Australia concluded that "There was clear evidence that the self-regulation model for print media through the Australian Press Council is woefully inadequate." Source: Final Report, Senate Environment and Communications References Committee on Media Diversity in Australia, December 2021.
national survey is established which monitors trust in news media and journalism — in terms of perceptions of their performance as good corporate citizens and compliance with regulations or voluntary codes of practice in ethical information dissemination and journalistic standards of reporting.	Gov 8 Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.	journalism was required only in relation to opinion pieces and usually only where individuals or groups are a major focus of news reports. From 2014 onwards,	Otherwise, no progress has been made in establishing an adequately resourced independent standard-setter and compliance auditor for Australian news
	Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & encouraging private sector ethics & community partnership.	"balance" is required, strangely, in relation to facts. Whereas before 2014, a fact was a fact; after 2014 balance was required in relation to facts but no longer required in reporting as a whole. As such, the Press Council had laid a basis for and indeed authorised the propagation of alternative facts while removing the	media. The longer term trend has been negative.

⁵⁶ The <u>Australian Press Council's General Statement of Principles</u> is a half-page statement which is the peak document to indicate what standards journalism businesses are willing to hold themselves to account for in Australia. Once revised in 2014, journalists were no longer being required to hold themselves to account for veracity in reporting. The post-2014 Press Council Statement: removes the need for fairness and balance in reporting; effectively authorises journalists to publish "alternative facts"; loosens the need for comprehensive reporting of all essential facts; imposes no requirement to verify facts by citing sources; introduces the possibility of using "public interest" as a defence for reporting that causes or contributes materially to prejudice and health and safety risks; introduces the possibility of using "public interest" as a defence for racism, gender bias and all other sorts of discrimination; removes the need to publish the adjudication of a complaint; and imposes no obligation to prevent advertising and other commercial considerations from undermining accuracy, fairness or independence.



Governance 10 – Free communications policy & regulation

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the L	Direct	tions of becoming 	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
				requirement for balance in overall reporting.	
Trust in social media –	Gov	10	A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.	In 2021, no regulations existed to hold social media to account for dissemination of misinformation and disinformation. However, a voluntary "Australian Code of Practice on	In 2021, a Senate Committee Inquiry into Media Diversity in Australia recommended that "the terms of reference for a judicial inquiry [into media regulation and
effectiveness of self-regulation Gov10.01.02 By 2023, unless and until the self-regulation system for Australian social media is replaced by a properly resourced independent standard-setter and compliance auditor as	Gov	1	A proactive participatory democracy.	Misinformation and Disinformation" was adopted by Twitter, Google, Facebook. Microsoft, Redbubble and TikTok. Source: DIGI Australian Code of Practice on Disinformation and Misinformation, February 2021 In 2019 Australians on	ownership] include consideration of mechanisms for regulatory oversight, including the establishment of a platform-neutral single
	Gov	8	Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.		news regulator." Source: Final Report, Senate Environment and Communications References Committee on Media
per Gov10.03 and Gov10.03.01, ensure a national survey is established which monitors trust in social media – in terms of perceptions of their performance as good corporate citizens and compliance with regulations or voluntary codes of practice in ethical information dissemination.	Gov	9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & encouraging private sector ethics & community partnership.	survey said that: "There should be tighter regulation of online platforms like Facebook and Google." = 80%. "Platforms like Facebook and Google are responsible if deliberately misleading and harmful news stories are distributed on their platforms." = 75%. "A specialist body is needed to oversee the operations of Facebook and Google." = 75%. Source: Essential Report, 6 August 2019	Diversity in Australia, December 2021. Despite the Senate Committee's acknowledgement that self-regulation of both news and social media is no longer effective, no progress has yet been made with establishment of a monitor of either performance or perceptions of performance by social media in ethical information dissemination. No systems are in place to



Governance 10 – Free communications policy & regulation

Governance 10 – Free communications policy & regulation								
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Dire	ections of becoming 	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline				
				independently monitor the compliance of DIGI Code signatories with their own Code. In the absence of a regulatory framework and an independent authority for enforcement of standards, the utility and effectiveness of self-regulation by social media companies remains unclear.				
Regulation of an ethical, democratic information market Top Priority Target/Strategy: Development of a national regulatory framework for an	Gov 10	A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.	In 2020, no steps had been taken by the Australian government to develop an integrated regulatory framework for either: • the operations of the digital-age	No substantive progress has been made in establishing a regulatory framework for an ethical, democratic information market.				
ethical, democratic information market Gov10.02	Gov 1	A proactive participatory democracy.	information market (governing such things as ownership, competition rules	In 2022, market rules for ownership of				
By 2022, establish a national community engagement process for collaborative planning of a democratic information market fit to handle the	Gov 9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & encouraging private sector ethics & community partnership.	 and monopoly regulation), or the conduct of users/operators of digital platforms. In 2020, legislative reforms were instead being developed in a 	information infrastructure and services, eg., search services and platforms for information transmission (including digital platforms and news media platforms				
challenges to truth, ethics, community safety and market	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	piecemeal fashion, often with the effect of increasing the possibility	such as broadcast TV) remained either poorly specified or totally unspecified. And no				
power arising from the digital age.	Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	of unethical conduct in and concentration of markets and lessening	coherent regulation framework existed.				
By 2023, consider the feedback from the community and design	Soc 5	A model of educational opportunity.	accountability for responsible publishing. Source: ACFP, Bronwyn Kelly,	In 2020, legislative reforms known as the "News Media				
a draft framework for ethical regulation of	Soc 6	A society of equals.	Prospects for journalism, the free information market and	Bargaining Code" were				



G	Governance 10 – Free communications policy & regulation						
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Dire	ctions of becoming 	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline			
the information market in Australia that is consistent with that	Soc 7	A success because of its diversity.	democracy in Australia under the ACCC's News Media Bargaining Code ⁵⁷	passed by federal parliament and marketed as a "step			
feedback. By 2024, introduce	Soc 8	A success because of gender equality.		towards regulating Google and Facebook"58 – or at			
legislation consistent with the recommended regulatory framework.	Env 5	An environmentally educated community.		least their market power. However, the perverse result of the News Media			
	Econ 5	A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.		Bargaining Code was increased market power by large news media companies, particularly News Corp and Nine, with no corresponding			
	Econ 6	An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.		improvement in the accountability of these news media outlets for irresponsible publishing.			
	Econ 7	A collaborative intelligent nation.		No specific acknowledgement has been forthcoming from			
	Econ 8	Enabled in meeting the communication & information demands of the future.		the federal parliament of the need to design an integrated regulatory framework suitable for an information market in the digital age, although a Senate Committee Inquiry into Media Diversity in Australia did conclude that the regulatory framework for news media is not fit for purpose, especially in prevention of the spread of misinformation. The Senate Committee			

⁵⁷ Bronwyn Kelly, <u>Prospects for journalism, the free information market and democracy in Australia under the ACCC's News</u> Media Bargaining Code, September 2020

⁵⁸ Final report of the Senate Environment Communications References Committee Inquiry into Media Diversity in Australia, page xi.



Governance 10 – Free communications policy & regulation

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		tions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
				noted that in the last decade "no progress has been made on updating Australia's out of date media regulation system". Source: Final report of the Senate Environment Communications References Committee Inquiry into Media Diversity in Australia The longer term trend is best characterised as negative.
Regulation and codes of ethical conduct for news media and social media Top Priority Target/Strategy: Independent regulation of compliance with a code of ethical conduct by publishers and social media – development of a model Code Gov10.03 By 2023, recognising that codes regulating: a) ethics and quality in journalism, and b) distribution of misinformation and disinformation in journalism and social media are inadequate for prevention of harm in digital-age open democracies, introduce legislation requiring the Australian Communications and	Gov 10	A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.	In 2021, both news media and social media businesses were "self-regulating" in terms of compliance with standards for truth and for prevention of harm that may be caused by published content.	In December 2021, the Senate Environment and Communications References Committee released the final report on its Inquiry into Media Diversity in Australia.
	Gov 1	A proactive participatory democracy.	In 2021, "big tech" businesses – Google, Facebook, Twitter, Microsoft, TikTok and Redbubble established	The Committee "found that the current regulatory environment for news media is weak, fragmented, and
	Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.	an Australian Code of Practice on Disinformation and Misinformation (the DIGI Code). Source: Digital Industry Group	inconsistent. As a result, large media organisations have become so powerful and unchecked that they have developed
	Gov 5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.	Inc. (DIGI). In 2014, the Australian Press Council changed its Statement of General Principles (its code of	corporate cultures that consider themselves beyond the existing accountability framework."
	Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	ethics for journalists) so that "fairness and balance" were no longer required in relation to news reporting but balance was henceforth	The Senate Committee: • recommended a judicial inquiry with the powers of



Governance 10 – Free communications policy & regulation

Indicators, Targets &	to the Sinetism of Learning			
Strategies for successful	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
performance			Jioni busenne	
Media Authority (ACMA) to develop a platform-neutral model Code of Conduct with binding standards for:	Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.	required in relation to facts. The change ushered in a regime of support for the generation of "alternative facts" and	a royal commission, as had been called for by former prime Minister, Kevin Rudd and	
 news media on ethics in production and publication of journalistic content, and 	Gov 8 Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.	discarded the traditional role of journalism in seeking truth and distinguishing fact from opinion. The new Statement also laid the	over 500,000 petitioners; • stated that "evidence testified to the inability of existing	
 social media on practice in management of misinformation and disinformation on their platforms. Independent regulation of 	Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & encouraging private sector ethics & community partnership.	basis for several other types of unethical conduct by journalists, including permission to: cause a substantial risk to health or safety, gather material by	regulators to ensure that standards of fairness and accuracy are maintained, and to prevent the spread of	
compliance with a code of ethical conduct by publishers and social media – ensuring compliance with Codes	A nation Gov 12 assured of enduring peace.	deceptive or unfair means, and • be offensive (including via racism) if doing so is, in the view	misinformation"; • stated that "it is the committee's strong view that focusing on the internet platforms	
Gov10.03.01 By 2024, establish a well-funded, transparent and independent audit and complaints handling authority responsible for: • ensuring compliance with, and examining breaches of, the model Code of Conduct; • implementing statutory penalties which increase per proven offence and are scaled to reflect the size of the corporation committing any proven breaches;	establish a led, ent and lent audit and ts handling responsible ring pliance with, examining ches of, the el Code of duct; ementing attory penalties h increase per en offence are scaled to ct the size of corporation mitting any	of the publisher, "sufficiently in the public interest". By contrast, in 2021, the Media, Entertainment and Arts Alliance's Code of Conduct effectively operated on the opposite basis to the Press Council Statement. Source: Australian Press Council Statements of General Principles pre-2014 and post-2014 & MEAA Journalist Code of Ethics A dissenti Liberal Pa Bragg rejected to market in Source: Final Senate Envi Communical	alone will not resolve the grave problems in Australia's media sector"; and • recommended the "establishment of a platform-neutral single news regulator". A dissenting report by Liberal Party Senator Bragg rejected the Committee's recommendations, sought perpetuation of the current self- regulation system, and rejected the need for market interventions. Source: Final report of the Senate Environment Communications References Committee Inquiry into Media Diversity in Australia	



Governance 10 – Free communications policy & regulation

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
 publishing adjudications of complaints and audit findings; and for maintaining an open, permanent register of all determined breaches of the model code and the journalist/news business responsible for each breach. 			Parliament itself has taken no action to implement the Senate Committee's recommendations. Some progress has been made in the shorter term in heightened awareness of the significant threat to democracy posed by the current failure of regulation. The longer term trend is best characterised as negative.

Note: Baseline data, Targets, Indicators and Strategies in this section will expand in future issues of *Australia Together*, based on availability of data and on the input of Australians.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance							
	Governance	11 – Internation	nal participation & global	iustice			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Directions of coming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline			
. ,	Gov 11	A just participant on the global stage.		In 2022, Australia was one of 7 markets globally which neither trusted nor distrusted the United			
	Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.		Nations. Comparing trust rankings for Australia with major powers, on a			
	Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.		nine point scale, trust rankings in 2022 were: • Australia = 55, neutral trust			
	Gov 12	A nation assured of enduring peace.		 US = 48, distrust Russia = 35, distrust China = 85, trust Source: Edelma Trust 			
Participation in international cooperative forums Gov11.01 Australia is ranked as a truster of the United Nations.	Gov 13	A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.	In 2019, Australia was one of 8 markets globally which neither trusted nor distrusted the United Nations. Comparing trust rankings for Australia with major powers, on a nine point scale, trust rankings in 2019 were: • Australia = 56, neutral trust • US = 54, neutral trust • Russia = 32, distrust • China = 83, trust Source: Edelman Trust Barometer Global Report 2019	Barometer Global Reports 2019, 2020, 2022 Australia's trust in the United Nations improved briefly in 2021 (to 60) but did not enter trusting territory. The slide by the US into distrust of the United Nations indicates increasing hostility by the US towards global collaboration forums. By contrast, the population of China is very positively disposed to cooperation. The longer term trend for Australia is stagnant. The global cooperation trends within Western countries are disturbingly negative.			
International cooperation for	Gov 11	A just participant on	In 2021, Australia scored 63.9/100 on the United	No data update available.			



Governance 11 – International participation & global justice

	Govern	ance	Governance 11 – International participation & global justice						
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming		-	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline				
global sustainability Gov11.02 By 2030, attain a minimum score of 90/100 on the	Gov	2	the global stage. A nation knowing and affirming decency.	Nations Sustainable Development Goals International Spillover Index, below the average for OECD members. The Spillover Index records	However, it is worth noting that as a rich developed country, Australia scores poorly in				
United Nations Sustainable Development Goals International Spillover Index.	Gov	6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	the extent to which rich countries generate negative international spillovers that undermine other countries' ability to	moderating the impact of its development on other countries. With a score of only 63.9/100, Australia				
Gov 13 Env 1 Env 2- 19 Econ 1	A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.	achieve the SDGs. Source: Jeffrey D. Sachs, Christian Kroll, Guillaume Lafortune, Grayson Fuller, and Finn Woelm, Sustainable Development Report 2021, The Decade of Action for the Sustainable Development Goals OECD countries = 70.1/100, Eastern Europe & Central Asia = 87.6/100. Middle East & No Africa = 93.4/100 Latin America & t Caribbean =	to: OECD countries = 70.1/100, Eastern Europe &						
	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.		 87.6/100. Middle East & North Africa = 93.4/100. Latin America & the Caribbean = 						
		All remaining Directions for our Environment		95.1/100. • East & South Asia = 97.6/100. • Sub-Saharan Africa =					
	1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.		98.4/100 Oceania = 100/100. Source: Jeffrey D. Sachs, Christian Kroll, Guillaume Lafortune, Grayson Fuller, and Finn Woelm, Sustainable Development Report 2021, The Decade of Action for the Sustainable Development Goals					
	1	A safe home.		Australia is among the least cooperative countries in the world in terms of attempts to mitigate the impacts of its development on other nations attempting to meet Sustainable Development Goals. Australia's continuing increase in fossil fuel exports over the last decade indicates that the longer term trend is likely to have been negative.					

Governance 11 – International participation & global justice

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	li		Directions of oming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
				1 0 1 1 2004 B	←	
Gov 11 A just participant on the global stage.	In October 2001, Prime Minister John Howard proclaimed that, "we will decide who comes to this country and the circumstances in which they come",	No discernible progress. Australia has improved compliance with some of its obligations to refugees by reducing the number				
Protection of refugees seeking asylum Gov11.03	Protection of refugees seeking asylum Gov 1.03 By 2024, as part of the process of a Constitutional Convention established under Gov04.01, and establishment of a Bill of Rights under Gov03.01, Gov03.01.01 and Gov03.01.02, A nation with armount including children without conshore a detention denial of under interest and our convention. A nation with armount including children without conshore a detention denial of under interest and our convention. Gov 4 governing, modern nation.	ushering in a period of increasing injustice for refugees and illegal acts of detention by Australia including cases of children who were indefinitely detained without charge in onshore and offshore detention facilities in full denial of their rights	of women and children in offshore refugee centres (Nauru and Manus Island, PNG) but not before causing unnecessary harm.			
the process of a Constitutional Convention established under Gov04.01, and			Australia continues to deny rights to asylum seekers consistent the with international conventions to which we			
Bill of Rights under Gov03.01, Gov03.01 and		governing, modern	Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR),	In 2021, indications of the financial and human cost of Australia's current		
made in Australia's Constitution that automatically grants all refugees seeking asylum in Australia the full rights and protections granted under the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol and any other relevant Convention, Covenant, and international law. Gov 12 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions. A world benchmark in leaders' conduct. In 20 gove Minist to ma deter all as arrive in mo refug offsh wher rema global anharian	transparent & accountable in its governments	Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), and	rights included:			
	the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees	to 31 January 2021 = \$6.7 million. 2. Comparison of cost in 2021 of different forms of immigration detention:				
	12	assured of enduring	Minister Rudd legislated to make offshore detention mandatory for all asylum seekers who arrive by boat, resulting in more than 3,000	 Restricted detention facility: 694 persons x \$430,611 (est. average) per person per annum 		
	Gov	13	leading in empathy & global	refugees being sent to offshore detention, where 12 died and the remainder endured cruel, inhumane treatment equating to torture.	= \$299 million. • Detention in the community: 51 persons x \$46,490 (est.) per person per annum.	



Governance 11 – International participation & global justice

	Coverna		11 meemation	ur participation & globar j	
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In		irections of oming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	Soc	1	A safe home.	In 2021, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees urged Australia (not for the first time) to	 3. Human cost of extended detention in immigration facilities 2017 to 2020: Actual self harm =
	Inclusive, Soc 3 welcoming & enabling.	end offshore asylum processing which, "undermined the rights of those seeking safety and protection and significantly harmed their	774. • Threatened self harm = 1,698. Source: Refugee Council of Australia Statistics webpage, viewed 22 February 2022		
	Soc	6	A society of equals.	physical and mental health". But in 2021 approximately 230 refugees who legally sought asylum in Australia were still being	In addition to the costs of Australia's immigration and refugee detention policies in financial and human
	Soc	7	A success because of its diversity.	held illegally by Australia in offshore detention, because they arrived by boat. In 2021, the Australian	terms, the cost to Australia's international reputation as a supporter of the rule of law and protector of human rights is incalculable.
	Soc	15	Confident of justice for all.	government also passed laws making indefinite detention of asylum seekers lawful in Australia in contravention of international law and defiance of the "rules based order". Sources: Parliament of Australia, Asylum seekers and the Refugee Convention webpage and Migration Amendment Bill 2021; United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 1951 Refugee Convention webpage; and Ben Doherty Guardian Australia 20 July 2021	Prior to 2001, Australia had a much better record on immigration and refugee rights. The longer term trend on human rights for refugees and others in immigration detention is negative.

Note: Baseline data, Targets, Indicators and Strategies in this section will expand in future issues of *Australia Together*, based on availability of data and on the input of Australians.



Indicators, Targets & Direction of					
Strategies for successful	In		irections of	Baseline data	movement from
performance	becoming				baseline
	Gov	12	A nation assured of enduring peace.		Since Australia's withdrawal from war in Afghanistan in 2021, Australian
	Gov	2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.		armed forces have not participated as active combatants in military operations.
	Gov	6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.		However, the federal government has adopted hawkish policies and attitudes
Australian involvement in	Gov	11	A just participant on the global stage.		to aggressive containment of rising non-Western powers including China and
military operations Gov12.01 Participation by Australian armed forces as combatants in military operations (other than genuine peacekeeping and humanitarian aid sanctioned by the United Nations) is zero unless Australia has been directly attacked or unless both houses of parliament agree in the majority that its security has been directly, demonstrably and imminently threatened.	Gov	13	A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.	Between 1945 and 2021, Australian military forces participated in no less than 10 military operations overseas,	other developing Asian nations. Such "drums of wars" policies predispose Australia to military
	Soc	1	A safe home.	none of which were the result of a direct or indirect threat to Australia's security and only one of which could be justified on genuine humanitarian grounds (East Timor). Source: Wikipedia, List of Wars Involving Australia	aggression rather than planned peace. The longer term trend of Australia's participation in wars where it has no strategic interest has been poor, eg., Iraq and Afghanistan (for 20 years). As at February 2022, the Australian government shows no sign of replacing belligerent postures with postures for promotion of peace in foreign relations. Belligerent postures are intensifying in relation to China.



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful	In the L	Directions of oming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from
performance	Gov 12	A nation assured of enduring peace.		No update available on the Lowy Poll results.
	Gov 2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.	become increasingly wary of military engagement in some parts of the world, and support for deploying	However in February 2022, Australians on
	Gov 4	A free, self- governing, modern nation.		survey expressed the view that Australia's relationship with China is: "a positive
	Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	military forces has been consistently low for hypothetical scenarios involving China".	opportunity to be realised" – 13%; • "a complex
Australian preference for peace versus war Gov12.01.01 The proportion of Australians preferring neutral postures in military conflicts does not diminish.	Gov 11	A just participant on the global stage.	In the 2021 Lowy Poll, in relation to a military conflict between China and the US, Australians preferred a passive, neutral response: 57% said "Australia should remain	relationship to be managed" – 61%; a threat to be confronted" – 26%. Source: Essential Poll, February 2022
	Gov 13	A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.		
	Soc 1	A safe home.	neutral"; • 41% said "Australia should support the United States"; and • 1% said "Australia should support China". The Lowy Institute noted that, "There is a stark divide between the youngest and oldest Australians on this question: only one in five (21%) Australians aged 18–29 say Australia should support the United States in the case of conflict, a view held by the majority (58%) of Australians aged over 60." Source: Lowy Institute Poll 2021	These responses indicate that while China is no longer viewed as positively as it was in the recent past, there is little appetite for confrontation and aggression with China, and a substantial appetite for sound relationship management to avert war. The indication is that in promoting aggressive "drums of war" postures, the federal government of 2022 was out of step with the views and preferences of the majority of Australians.



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		the D	irections of oming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
					While the longer term trend of relationships with China is negative, Australians continue to support neutral postures.
	Gov	12	A nation assured of enduring peace.	Between 2005 and 2019, an average of 77% of Australians on survey reported support for	In 2020 and 2021, 78% of Australians on survey reported
Australian preference and readiness for an independent defence capability versus dependence on the US alliance Gov12.01.02 Australians' support for the US alliance does not	Gov	2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.	Australia's alliance with the US. The lowest support was in 2007 – 63%.	support for Australia's alliance with the US, 1 point higher than the average between 2005 and 2019 but 8 points lower than the peak of support for the alliance in 2010. Source: Lowy Institute Poll 2021 In late 2021, Australia's prime minister, Scott Morrison, announced an economic and trilateral security pact with the USA and UK – AUKUS – for development of defence hardware and systems, particularly nuclear powered submarines. This tightened Australia's alliance with the US at a time when the reliability of the alliance is in decline, thereby exposing Australia to heightened risk of being drawn into conflicts which are not in its strategic or national interests.
	Gov	4	A free, self- governing, modern nation.	• The highest support was in 2010 – 86%. Source: Lowy Institute Poll 2021 In 2019, a turning point in Australia's understanding of the utility and future of the US alliance was marked by Hugh White, Emeritus Professor of Strategic Studies at the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre of the Australian National University, as follows: "The simple, historical fact is that Western powers, and especially our great allies Britain and America, have been able to dominate Asia strategically and keep Australia safe because they have been far richer, stronger and more technologically advanced than any Asian rival. The rise of these immense Asian powers means those material	
	Gov	6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.		
detract from its capacity to develop independent defence capability and does not lead Australia	Gov	11	A just participant on the global stage.		
into instigation of military conflict or other involvement in military conflict that may be inconsistent with the Statement of Australia's Strategic Interests in Territorial Sovereign Defence to be developed by the Green Paper and community engagement process under Gov12.04.01.	Gov	13	A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.		
	Soc	1	A safe home.		



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		the D	Pirections of oming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
				foundations of Western preponderance have decayed, and without them the Western position in Asia, which we have taken for granted and depended on for so long, cannot last. Indeed, its passing is already far advanced. This changes fundamentally the nature of Australia's strategic choices. For the first time we have to contemplate defending ourselves independently It means that 'defending ourselves' must now encompass defending ourselves from a major Asian power without the substantive help of a major-power ally, or committing our forces alongside those of Asian neighbours rather than relying on Western allies to protect our strategic interests." Source: Hugh White, How to Defend Australia, La Trobe University Press, 2019, page 316, Scribd edition.	The longer term trend of maturity in policy and risk management on alliances is negative.
Prohibition of weapons exports Gov12.02 By 2024, legislate to	Gov	12	A nation assured of enduring peace.	In 2014, Australia led in the United Nations Security Council with the development of the	In 2022, the Commonwealth Government Defence Export Strategy
totally prohibit exports of any and all weapons and any military specific goods and technology (eg.,	Gov	2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.	Arms Trade Treaty and ratified this legally binding instrument. But in 2018, Australia	remains in place, supported by \$20 million in additional annual taxpayer
ammunition, missiles, armoured vehicles, military vessels and enabling software,	Gov	6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	earmarked the Middle East as a "priority market" in its Defence Export Strategy, publicly	funding. A new Australian Defence Export Office has been



Governance 12 - Peace & Security Indicators Taxable 9 Direction of					
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In		Directions of oming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
hardware and targeting systems) from Australia to any other country.	Gov	9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & encouraging private sector ethics & community partnership.	pursuing weapons sales to Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (then making war and humanitarian crises in Yemen and breaching multiple international laws) in direct contravention of the	created within the Department of Defence and is supporting private sector profit-making in sale of weapons to countries that are actively engaged in
	Gov	11	A just participant on the global stage.	which requires Australia to take into account the risk that arms exports will be used "to commit or facilitate acts of gender-based or serious acts of violence against women and children." Between 2018 and 2021 Defence Department approvals for export of	violent incursions of defenceless populations and in creating humanitarian crises.
	Gov	13	A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.		Exports of weapons are set to rise in under the current
	Soc	1	A safe home.		arrangements.
	Soc	15	Confident of justice for all.	weapons rose from \$1.5 billion to \$5 billion. Source: United Nations Arms Trade Treaty, Commonwealth Government Defence Export Strategy 2018	
Prohibition of funding of public institutions and officials by foreign-owned or domestically owned/operated arms dealers or manufacturers	Gov	12	A nation assured of enduring peace.	In 2021, nothing in Australian statutes sufficiently prevented arms dealers,	No progress has been made in prohibition
Gov12.03 By 2024, recognising the potential that donations, gifts and other in-kind favours from arms dealers, manufacturers and their agents will give rise to actions by government officials and public sector agents that are contrary to Australia's sovereign interests and national security, legislate to:	Gov	5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.	manufacturers and their agents from attempting to influence Australian officials in national security and related policy/contractual decisions through	of funding of public institutions and officials by foreignowned or domestically owned/operated arms dealers or
	Gov	6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	pecuniary and non- pecuniary donations, gifts and in-kind favours.	manufacturers.



Indicators, Targets & Direction of						
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful	In:	the D	irections of	Baseline data	movement from	
performance		becc	oming	buseine uutu	baseline	
 totally prohibit direct and indirect funding of all public institutions and government instrumentalities (including universities, 	Gov	7	Committed to public service independence & excellence.			
government run cultural facilities, museums, memorials, and policy development/adminis trative/ operational entities) by foreign	Gov	8	Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.			
owned or domestically owned/operated arms dealers or manufacturers and their agents or associates; • prohibit any private entity (foreign or	Gov	9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & encouraging private sector ethics & community partnership.			
domestic) from qualifying for state or federal government contracts if they have received funding – either financial or in- kind, directly or	Gov	11	A just participant on the global stage.			
indirectly – from foreign or domestically based arms dealers, manufacturers or their agents/associates at	Gov	13	A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.			
any time from the date of assent to the legislation onwards; • prohibit donations to political parties and candidates/elected representatives in federal, state and local government by foreign or domestically owned/based arms dealers,	Soc	1	A safe home.			



Indiantana Tananta O	0070	indice 12 - Ped		Diversion of
Indicators, Targets &	In the D	Directions of	_ ,, , ,	Direction of
Strategies for successful		oming	Baseline data	movement from
performance				baseline
manufacturers or their agents; and prohibit post-separation employment of elected members of state and federal parliament with consulting, lobbying or other corporate entities operating in association with arms dealers, manufacturers or their agents for a period of five years after relinquishing their elected office.				
Top Priority Target/Strategy: Integrated Strategy for Defence, Diplomacy and Security Gov12.04 By 2023, recognising that:	Gov 12	A nation assured of enduring peace.	In 2019, the Australian National Outlook 2019 identified a direct connection between the incidence of fractious international relations and slow economic	No progress has been made with development of an Integrated Strategy for Defence, Diplomacy and Security.
a strategy of over- reliance on expansion of defence for maintenance of an aggressive footing in international relations (rather than a genuinely defensive footing) is both insupportably expensive and ultimately futile for Australia, and that	Gov 2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.	decline for Australia. They identified that: in the case of fractious global relations: "National and protectionist rhetoric stalls global trade, economic growth slows, population increases and there is no firm action on climate change, resulting in	In 2022, it was reported that the Defence Department's planning and procurement is a "shambles".60 In 2022, with the establishment of AUKUS and the

⁶⁰ See Mack Williams, "<u>Ukraine highlights our defence procurement shambles</u>", Pearls and Irritations, 11 March 2022: "The Ukraine invasion has thrown into sharp focus the massive failure of the Coalition's defence procurement program to strengthen our military capability. The facts cannot be regarded as anything less than shocking as the following list reveals:

^{7) \$435}million Cape Class Patrol boats delayed – imported aluminium from China sub-standard.



¹⁾ The whole Collins class submarine replacement drama, which apart from the \$2 billion already sunk into it, also has seen deals first with Japan, then Germany and finally France being rejected.

²⁾ Scrapping of \$ 3.8 billion French Taipan helicopters program because of potential maintenance problems and replaced with at least \$7 billion for US helicopters.

^{3) \$16.6} billion Joint Strike Fighters continues to be plagued by serious problems – 36% reduction in flying time last year.

^{4) \$1.5} billion C-27 airlifters reclassified to humanitarian aircraft.

^{\$3} billion Battle Management System suspended.

^{6) \$4} billion Offshore Patrol Vessel program delayed.

Governance 12 – Peace & Security						
Indicators, Targets &	In the D	irections of		Direction of		
Strategies for successful	for successful hecoming		Baseline data	movement from		
performance				baseline		
 we are living through an era of both irreversible globalisation and superpower shifts (China and Asia rising, the West in relative decline and instability), and that Australia's national security is largely dependent on economic security 	Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	a global average temperature rise of 4°C by 2100."; but on the other hand • in the case of cooperative global relations: "Global trade and geopolitical tensions are more positive than they are today, populations increase, but at the	agreement to consider purchase of nuclear powered submarines, Australia is at risk of being locked into aggressive campaigns by the US that are beyond areas of strategic interest to Australia and which are likely to expose Australia as a target		
which in turn is dependent on a positive relationship with China and Asia, and that • because Australia's defence policy is set towards aggression in the Oceania region and our diplomatic stance and policies are likewise set towards hawkishness	Gov 11	A just participant on the global stage.	low end of projections, and there is effective global action on climate change to limit global average temperature rises to 2°C by 2100." In effect, the Australian National Outlook 2019 identified that up to the year 2060, the prospects for positive economic	for a first strike from any enemy. Australia is pursuing an approach to foreign relations in which strategies for defence and diplomacy are set to disable strategies for security, independence, sovereignty, growth		
and containment rather than peace and global collaboration, they are undermining not improving national security and the risk of war, develop a draft integrated defence, diplomacy and security strategy to ensure peace in our region based on acknowledgement of the	Gov 13	A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.	outcomes for Australia (GDP growth per capita) are halved in the event of fractious international relations. Source: NAB & CSIRO, Australian National Outlook, 2019 In 2020, Australia's relationship with its biggest trading partner, China, deteriorated significantly, resulting in	in national resilience, and peace. With the establishment of AUKUS, defence and foreign relations policy is moving in the opposite direction to the proposal to develop an Integrated		

As Greg Sheridan commented recently in *The Australian*: "Every one of our major defence programs is in disarray or scheduled to deliver capability so far into the future that it's in the realm of science fiction, or delivers assets that have no weapons on them or is completely irrelevant to the maritime military challenge we face". This lack of military preparedness at a time when the Coalition is ramping up fears about the international scene amounts to a national disgrace."



^{8) \$1.3} billion Landrover replacement (Hawkei) stalled on technical issue only weeks after production line starting following 6 years of troubles.

^{9) \$1.1} billion in major upgrade of Jindalee Operational Radar Network radar with long delays.

	Governance 12 – Pea	ce & security	D: // /
Indicators, Targets &	In the Directions of	- " .	Direction of
Strategies for successful	becoming	Baseline data	movement from
performance	-	th - 1 f h - t 640	baseline
following geopolitical realities for the 21st		the loss of between \$19 billion and \$40 billion in	Strategy for Defence,
		annual exports to China.	Diplomacy and Security, based on
century: • that Australia's		But in 2021, Australia:	the new geopolitical
traditional allies of the		 had no strategy in 	realities of the 21st
USA and the UK		place either for	century, and must be
cannot and should not	Soc 1 A safe home.	restoring relations	seen to be running
be relied on to come	The same name.	with China or	counter to the target
to Australia's aid in		restoring our	for independence in
the event of a military		reputation as a	defence under
or economic threat		mature, respected	Gov12.01.02.
from an external		collaborative,	_
source;		trading and research	_
that Australia cannot		partner with other	
expect that in the		countries;	
event of a global clash		• in foreign policy,	
between superpowers (China, the USA,		was stoking fractiousness with	
Russia) that Asian		China, rather than	
countries (eg., Japan		developing policies	
and India or		to ensure that	
Indonesia) will side		China's inevitable	
with Australia against		global ascendancy	
China;		will work in	
 that continuation of 		Australia's favour;	
the post-WWII	Productive &	 was over-reliant on 	
exclusive reliance on	prosperous	expansion of	
the USA alliance and	through fair &	defence and "hard	
the ANZUS Treaty now works against	Econ 9 ethical trade	power" hawkish stances that are	
Australian security	agreements,	provocative of war,	
objectives wherever	labour hire &	and	
and whenever pursuit	procurement.	 was under-reliant 	
of the USA's		on diplomatic	
objectives and		strategy and	
interests undermines		accumulation of	
stability in the		"soft power" for	
Oceania region;		prevention of war. Source: Australian Community	
that the only feasible strategy for Australia		Futures Planning, The State of	
strategy for Australia in armed conflict is to		Australia in 2020, Episode 4	
avoid it entirely and		Part 2.	
that soft power		See Note 59 for further	
resources – built		baseline analysis and	
steadily on the basis		reference materials.	
·		. C.	<u>L</u>

⁵⁹ In early 2021, Australian attitudes to foreign policy and relations were mixed. While the Australian government promoted military build-up by reliance on "drums of war" rhetoric and claims that "everyday Australians" supported getting prepared for war (rather than getting prepared to avoid it), Australians themselves in the majority rejected confrontation, as evidenced by the fact that in the Lowy Institute Poll 2021, "when asked about a military conflict between China and the United States, more than half the



Governance 12 - Peace & security

	Governance 12 – Pet	lee & Security	I
Indicators, Targets &	In the Directions of		Direction of
Strategies for successful	becoming	Baseline data	movement from
performance	becoming		baseline
of ethical and			
cooperative			
behaviour by Australia			
in trade, climate			
change, human rights,			
humanitarian aid,			
observance of the rule			
of law, and just			
participation in global			
forums (the UN, WTO,			
WHO) – are therefore			
the most reliable			
means (economically			
and strategically) by			
which Australia may			
secure its people and			
borders;			
and acknowledge that,			
given these new			
geopolitical realities,			
Australia cannot afford an			
approach to foreign			
relations in which			
strategies for defence and			
diplomacy are set to			
disable strategies for			
security, independence,			
sovereignty, growth in			
national resilience, and			
peace.			

population (57%) said 'Australia should remain neutral'" and the <u>Institute commented further that</u> "Australians do not want regional competition to slide into confrontation." In the same Lowy Institute Poll, however, 75% of respondents said that "The United States would come to Australia's defence if Australia was under threat," implying a degree of complacency among Australians (in relation to pro-US foreign policy and its efficacy in the event of military threats) that was at odds with what several experienced diplomats, analysts and commentators saw as a necessary shift in strategic relationships in the Oceania region, due to the rise of China. Recommended policy shifts included those of:

- experienced diplomat <u>Geoff Raby</u> who said, "Strategic cooperation [with China and Asia] rather than US-led strategic competition with China offers not only the most constructive means by which to protect and advance Australia's interests in the region, it is also the most realistic in view of China's regional weight and influence. ... Diplomacy, after all, is the only instrument realistically available to ensure Australia's security. Australia itself can never fund the military defence of the continent, nor can Australia confidently rely on other states to protect us. In the new world order, the safest premise on which to build security policy is that we are on our own. Diplomacy therefore should not be seen as a cost but as an investment in Australia's future security."; and
- the Australia Institute's <u>Allan Behm</u> who said, "However Australia decides to address its relationship with China, it must be seen to be acting clearly in its own interests, and not as a US franchise."



Indicators, Targets &					x security	Direction of
Strategies for successful	In		irections of oming	Ва	seline data	movement from
performance		becc	oming			baseline
By 2024, establish a fully						
open program of						
community engagement						
on the draft integrated						
defence, diplomacy and						
security strategy, and						
incorporate feedback on						
the potential of the draft						
strategy to achieve the						
primary objectives of						
security, national						
resilience, economic						
prosperity and peace in						
our region.						
Top Priority				In	2017:	No progress has been
Target/Strategy: Green			A	•	72.7% of Australians	made with
Paper and community			A nation		on survey supported	development of a
engagement to define	Gov	12	assured of		a "ban on nuclear	Green Paper and
Australia's Strategic			enduring		weapons, as a step	community
Interests in Territorial			peace.		towards the	engagement to
Sovereign Defence					elimination of all	define Australia's
Gov12.04.01					nuclear weapons".	Strategic Interests in
By 2023, preparatory to					Only 11.3% opposed	Territorial Sovereign Defence.
process for development					a ban, and	Defence.
of the Integrated Strategy			A proactive	•	65.7% of Australians	←
for Defence, Diplomacy	Gov	1	participatory		agreed that Australia should sign	to 2022 the color
and Security in Gov12.04,			democracy.		the UN Treaty on	In 2022, the whole notion of engaging
federal parliament will					the Prohibition of	Australians in an
legislate to develop a					Nuclear Weapons.	open process for
process of engagement					Only 13% disagreed.	determination of
with Australians to			Open,	Sou	urce: Greenpeace Poll on	what is and is not in
develop a Statement of			transparent &	Aus	stralians' attitudes towards	their nation's
Australia's Strategic			accountable in		clear weapons, 19 otember 2017	strategic interest and
Interests in Territorial	Gov	5	its	seh	otember 2017	what is and is not
Sovereign Defence.			governments	In	2018, 78.9% of	appropriate in
Francis the Course Barrer			& institutions.		stralians on survey	principle for decision
Ensure the Green Paper					id they supported	making on security
and community					stralia joining the UN	issues, remains a
engagement process are overseen by DFAT or, if					eaty on the Prohibition	concept that is not
necessary, by another duly			A world		Nuclear Weapons.	comprehended by
appointed independent			benchmark in	Sou	ırce: Harvard Law School,	key security policy
commission of public	Gov	6	leaders'		ernational Human Rights	makers. This, despite
engagement with powers			conduct.		nic, "Australia and the aty on the Prohibition of	the fact that
to:					clear Weapons" December	Australians are
				201	18.	entirely capable of



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful	In the Directions of becoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
performanceconduct genuine, fully			determining what is
open and well informed public engagement; • report transparently to parliament on the preferences of Australians for such a	Gov 11 A just participant on the global stage.	In 2021, the Australian Government, without consultation with the Australian people or its parliaments, entered into an economic and trilateral security pact	in the best interests of their nation and, within a fully open process, are best placed to develop principles and instructions for
Statement; and ultimately design a Statement that will provide sufficient guidance to parliaments and ensure that any decisions made on	Soc 1 A safe home.	with the United States and United Kingdom (AUKUS) under which the US and the UK will help Australia to acquire nuclear-powered submarines. The pact was made regardless of	government on how decisions of national security may be made, including those decisions which commit Australia to wars.
territorial defence will in fact be in the acknowledged best interests of Australians and will thereby safeguard our independence, sovereignty, security and peace. As a minimum, the Green Paper should include options for: a) a process by which the nature and limits of Australia's geopolitical interests may be determined and reviewed every three years in open consultation with Australians; and b) draft principles for possible inclusion in the Statement governing decisions on: • entry into and exit from participation in wars and any other form of military deployment or incursion,	A society prepared and Soc 16 resilient in times of disaster.	any consideration as to whether nuclear capability would be in Australia's domestic or wider strategic interests and regardless of whether Australia would, by virtue of the pact, be effectively surrendering its independent sovereignty in decisions on future military engagements. In 2021, Australia had no agreements with the Australian people on: any statement specifying the nation's strategic interests (as they relate to defence), any statement specifying that Australia is required to frame decisions on military engagement and foreign policy as a fully independent sovereign power acting solely in the interests of Australia,	The longer term trend of decency in policy development on national security and respect for the Australian people in this area is negative.



Indicators, Targets &	Governance 12 – Pet		Direction of
Strategies for successful	In the Directions of	Baseline data	movement from
performance	becoming	buseime uutu	baseline
 escalation and de-escalation of military involvement beyond Australia's borders, entry into and exit from military alliances, entry into and exit from treaties which relate to maintenance of peace or prevention/ cessation of wars, permissible occupation or prohibition of foreign military and associated intelligence capability on Australian soil, permissible entry of foreign military forces and transports to Australian waters and ports, acquisition by the Australian Defence Force of weapons and major military hardware, such as submarines, warships, aircraft, landing equipment, drones, tanks, bombs and other large scale incendiary devices, and detection and surveillance technology, international cooperation to 		 any statement which may provide guidance on when or whether alliances may be formed or continued with foreign powers, the process by which commitments of Australians to military engagements may be made, the process by which foreign military personnel or installations may be permitted on Australian soil, or the process for approval of acquisition of nuclear weapons capability and energy generation in Australia. In 2021, Australia was not a signatory to the United Nations Treaty to Prohibit Nuclear Weapons, although it was a signatory to the Treaty on Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons. 	



	00	overnunce 12 – Pet	Tee & Security	
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		e Directions of ecoming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
reduce and/or eliminate nuclear weapons, and • plans to restructure and equip Australia's military to concentrate on territorial sovereign defence.				
Development of the capacity of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) and abolition of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI) Gov12.05	Gov :	A nation assured of enduring peace.	was compromised in its independence, quality and objectives, in large part through the association of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI) with foreign arms dealers and the adoption of aggressive and competitive (rather than collaborative) policies in relation to China by ASPI and security agencies such as ASIO. The rise of ASPI, headed by advisers who pushed Australia into the Iraq War, together with a significant diminution of policy capacity in DFAT	In 2022, there are no indications that the Australian government is poised to cease the association of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI)
By 2022, dissolve the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI). By 2023, after establishing an Integrated Strategy for Defence, Diplomacy and	Gov 2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.		with foreign arms dealers and manufacturers. In 2022, there is no evidence that ASPI's continued
Security as per Gov12.04, commence a review of the capacity of DFAT to lead in oversight and implementation of the Integrated Strategy, including in policy setting for defence postures and	Gov (A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.		involvement in the Australian in foreign policy and defence is having a positive effect on Australia's relations with China. Australia's relationship with
international military relationships to ensure they are aligned with the overarching objectives of the Integrated Strategy for security, national resilience, economic	Gov :	A just participant on the global stage.	contributed to what, by 2021, was acknowledged as "the biggest Australian foreign policy disaster in seventy years with the collapse of the relationship with China".	China continues to decline. The longer term trend in relations with Australia's biggest trading



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		irections of ming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
prosperity and peace in our region. By 2024, develop a new workforce plan for DFAT to ensure it retains the capacity for foreign policy development and	Gov 13	A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.	By 2021, institutional arrangements for the development of Australian foreign policy focussed squarely on maintaining peace, cooperation and stability in the Oceania region	partner continues towards decline.
leadership in implementation of the Integrated Strategy for Defence, Diplomacy and Security. By 2024/25 ensure the new workforce plan is fully	Soc 1	A safe home.	had failed completely due to: • inappropriate corporate influence in policy agencies, • an excess of confrontational tactics with China, and • insufficient independence in policy determinations — rising from ceding sovereignty to the US in multiple ways, eg., allowing American military installations in Australia, American command of such facilities and decisions on initiation of nuclear attacks, and embedding interoperability in naval and other defence operations. See Note ⁶¹ for baseline reference materials.	
costed and funded.	Econ 9	Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.		

⁶¹ By 2020 and 2021, multiple experienced commentators and analysts in foreign relations, including former senior diplomats, had coalesced in their views that Australia had not fulfilled the ambitions of the Australia Government's 2017 Foreign Policy White Paper, and had instead dismantled the preferred strategy of that Paper which was based on engagement, constructive cooperation, and in the words of then Prime Minister Turnbull "mutual respect". See Geoff Raby, China's Grand Strategy and Australia's Future in the New Global Order, Melbourne University Press 2020. Other examples include but are not limited to: David Brophy, Senior Lecturer in Modern Chinese History, University of Sydney, Australia's China policy can't be based on paranoia or corporate interests — there is a better way, The Conversation 29 June 2021 and Bruce Haigh, "A sinking DFAT has given policy making over to ASPI", Pearls and Irritations, 29 June 2021.



Note: Baseline data, Targets, Indicators and Strategies in this section will expand in future issues of *Australia Together*, based on availability of data and on the input of Australians.



Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance							
Governance 13 – Humanitarian effort							
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming			Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline		
Foreign aid Gov13.01 The federal government cap placed on expenditure on foreign aid in 2017 is dispensed with and foreign aid from 2021/22 is restored to the 2014/15 level of \$5.04 billion and increased annually	Gov	2 6	A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion. A nation knowing and affirming decency. A world benchmark in leaders' conduct. A just	In 2017/18 the federal government capped foreign aid at \$4 billion until 2021/22. Source: Parliamentary Budget Office, 2019-20 Medium Term Fiscal Projections In 2019/20, federal budgeted expenditure for foreign aid was \$4.044 billion, down 20% from actual expenditure in	In 2021/22, federal expenditure for foreign aid was estimated to be in the order of \$4.335 billion, down 14% from actual expenditure in 2014/15 of \$5.04 billion but up from what was expected in 2017/18 when expenditure was capped at \$4 billion. Source: Australian Aid Tracker The longer term trend for spending on foreign aid is still negative.		
	Gov	11	participant on the global stage. A nation assured of enduring peace.				
thereafter by at least the CPI.	Soc	7	A safe home. A success because of its diversity.	2014/15 of \$5.04 billion. Source: Australian Aid Tracker	till negative.		
	Env	1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.				
Contribution to the Green Climate Fund under the Paris Agreement Gov 13.02	Gov	13	A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.	In 2015, under the Paris Agreement, developed countries, including Australia, committed to mobilise US\$100 billion a	In November 2020, Australia's Prime Minister, Scott Morrison, announced a pledge of \$2 billion to United Nations climate		
By 2022, in accordance with initiatives under Env01.01, renew	Gov	2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.	year in climate finance by 2020. Of this, US\$20 billion has been formally pledged to the	funding. He also announced a \$500 million boost to Australia's previous climate finance		
Australia's commitment under the Paris Agreement to the United Nations	Gov	6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	United Nations Green Climate Fund. From 2014 Australia	commitment of \$1.5 billion to Pacific and South-East Asian neighbours to help them with the effects of		
Green Climate Fund with a minimum	Gov	11	A just participant on	committed more than \$1 billion to the fund but in	climate change.		



Governance 13 – Humanitarian effort

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In		Directions of oming	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
pledge of \$4 billion – \$1 billion per annum from 2022 to 2025 – in addition to all other commitments to humanitarian aid and for developing nations.	Gov Soc Econ Env Env	12 1 4 1 2	the global stage. A nation assured of enduring peace. A safe home. A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth. A leading global advocate for action on climate change. A net zero emissions nation. A proactive planner of climate change adaptation. A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.	2018, Prime Minister Scott Morrison announced over talkback radio that Australia would no longer "tip money into that big climate fund". Australia has diverted some \$500 million to Pacific Island countries but has not renewed its commitment to the Green Climate Fund. Source: Jonathan Pickering and Paul Mitchell, DEVPOLICYBLOG, Crawford School of Public Policy, Australian National University, 30 November 2020 In 2021, the USA doubled its commitment to the Green Climate Fund and the Climate Council in Australia recommended that Australia accordingly increase its pledge and "provide at least AU\$3 billion over 2021-2025 towards the shared international goal of providing US\$100 billion a year." Source: Climate Council, From Paris to Glasgow: A world on the move, October 2021.	These amounts are improvements on what the Prime Minister had previously committed but they do not meet the target of \$4 billion from 2022 to 2025. The longer term trend is stagnant.

Note: Baseline data, Targets, Indicators and Strategies in this section will expand in future issues of *Australia Together*, based on availability of data and on the input of Australians.

Chapter 11 – Are we moving towards the Vision for *Australia Together*?

A basic premise of *Australia Together* is that we have a common Vision for our preferred future as a nation. This premise is built on observations that when it comes to our children and fostering a safe and secure future for them, most Australians aspire to the same things. We might argue about *how* we can make a better future but whenever Australians have been asked in the last decade about what they really want now and for future generations it is always the same things, including:

- safety,
- · good health,
- security,
- equity,
- inclusion,
- fairness,
- an affordable home,
- freedom of expression,
- freedom from poverty,
- freedom from discrimination, and
- opportunity particularly through education.

For more information on the similarity of the aspirations of Australians for the future, view the <u>Launch of Australia Together</u> on YouTube.

This Vision for *Australia Together* provides some specificity to these fundamental aspirations in the form of 17 draft statements that paint a more detailed picture of the life we wish to be able to lead and the country we wish to live in by 2050.

A second basic premise of *Australia Together* is that if we are to reach the Vision we will need to follow directional signposts which keep us safe while we travel. This is why the Vision for *Australia Together* includes 57 signposts of safe paths to the future. With this structure of 17 Vision statements and 57 Directions we can determine whether we are moving towards or away from the Vision. To assist with this, *Australia Together* provides a checklist of which Directions contribute to which parts of the Vision as shown in the following Table:

Checking the Aim of Australia Together How do Directions contribute to the Vision?				
Vision element	Directions Contributing			
We are safe	Soc 1 through to Soc 12, Soc 14 through to Soc 16 Env 1, 2, 3 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 18, 19 Econ 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8 Gov 1 through to Gov 13			
We are reconciled with and celebrate our First Nations peoples and their cultures	Soc 1 through to Soc 7, Soc 9 through to Soc 16 Env 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 17, 18, 19 Econ 1, 2, 3, 4, Gov 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 13			
Everyone is welcome to participate positively in community life	Soc 1 through to Soc 13 Env 5, 17, 18, 19 Econ 1, 2, 3, 4, 6 Gov 1 through to Gov 10			



_	f Australia Together				
How do Directions contribute to the Vision? Vision element Directions Contributing					
We are inspired and able to renew our physical and spiritual wellbeing	Soc 1 through to Soc 8, Soc 10 through to Soc 13 Env 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9 10, 13, 17, 18, 19 Econ 1, 2, 3, 4, 9 Gov 1, 2, 3, 4, 10				
We act together as a compassionate society	Soc 1 through to Soc 16 Env 1, 3, 18, 19 Econ 1, 2, 3, 7, 8 Gov 1 through to Gov 13				
Equality is valued as enriching human community, cultural harmony and social progress	Soc 1 through to Soc 8, Soc 10 through to Soc 13 Env 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9 10, 13, 17, 18, 19 Econ 1, 2, 3, 7, 8 Gov 1, 2, 3, 4, 10				
Diversity is positively appreciated as a basis for a successful society	Soc 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13 Env 17, 18, 19 Econ 1 through to Econ 9 Gov 1 through to Gov 13				
Everyone can realise their full potential in life, as individuals, members of a family and citizens through unlimited opportunities in education and employment of choice	Soc 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13 Env 5, 17, 18, 19 Econ 1 through to Econ 8 Gov 2, 10				
Vital services are fully accessible	Soc 1 through to Soc 16 Env 3, 4, 6, 7, 16, 18, 19 Econ 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8 Gov 7, 9				
Scarce resources are conserved and fairly shared	Soc 2, 6, 8 Env 1, 2 3, 4, Env 6 through to Env 19 Econ 1 through to Econ 6 Gov 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 13				
National wealth is fairly shared	Soc 2 through to Soc 12, Soc 14 through to Soc 16 Env 1, 2 3, 4, 18, 19 Econ 1 through to Econ 6 Gov 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13				
Our economy is sustainable and supports rewarding opportunities and continuous improvements in living standards for everyone	Soc 1 through to Soc 16 Env 1, 2 3, 4, Env 6 through to Env 19 Econ 1 through to Econ 9 Gov 2, 3, 7, 9, 10				
As a nation we have the courage to take a leading place in achieving the environmental aims of a global society	Soc 1, 4 Env 1 through to Env 19 Econ 1 through to Econ 9 Gov 1 through to Gov 13				
Stewardship of ecology is affirmed as fundamental to planetary and human survival	Soc 1, 2, 4, 16 Env 1 through to Env 19 Econ 1, 7 Gov 3, 6				
Strong democracy is assured by a well informed and engaged community	Soc 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 15 Env 1, 5 Econ 7, 8 Gov 1 through to Gov 10				
We are confident our leaders will reflect thoughtfully on our views and best interests when making decisions for our future	Soc 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 15 Env 1, 2, 4 Econ 1 though to Econ 7 Gov 1 through to Gov 10				



Checking the Aim of Australia Together How do Directions contribute to the Vision? Vision element Directions Contributing We take pride in Australia as a responsible international citizen, active in building a safer, more peaceful and united world Soc 1, 6 Env 1, 2, 5, 10 Econ 1, 7, 9 Gov 1 through to Gov 13

Toward the Vision or toward its reverse – which way are we travelling?

Because several Directions can contribute to several different parts of the Vision, it is not easy to reduce the complexity of such an integrated plan to enable Australians to step back from the detail and gauge progress.

A simpler way to gauge whether we are moving towards or away from the Vision is to describe **the reverse of the Vision** – its polar opposite – and then estimate whether we have moved towards the reverse of the Vision or in the preferred Direction.

The following tables utilise knowledge gained in this End of Term Report and the *Australia Together* National Wellbeing Index to determine on balance whether we are moving towards or away from the Vision for *Australia Together*.

Vision element 1 – We are safe

Options for a Vision By 2050	Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?
The current draft Vision for Australia Together	←
We are safe.	There are significant indications are that we are moving away from the Vision and closer to the reverse vision.
A Reverse Vision:	away from the vision and closer to the reverse vision.
We are unsafe, either from threat of war or military invasion, invasion of privacy, increased crime rates, risk of	Getting better • Some crime and traffic accident rates are improving.
domestic abuse, traffic accidents, bushfire, poverty, financial ruin,	Getting worse • We are more at risk of involvement in war.
infectious disease, debilitating air quality, toxic water quality, workplace injury – etc.	 Domestic abuse, sexual assault, poverty, bushfires and floods, infectious diseases are all on the rise.



Vision element 2 – We are reconciled with and celebrate our First Nations peoples and their cultures

Options for a Vision By 2050 ...

The current draft Vision for Australia Together

We are reconciled with and celebrate our First Nations peoples and their cultures.

A Reverse Vision:

We have made no place available in our Constitution or legislation for the oldest continuing civilisation on the planet. They still have no Voice. And we still carry on without having acknowledged a need to work as a unified, uplifted nation. Our human rights record and credibility plunges. We are unable to define ourselves with decency.

Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?



On balance we have been moving more in the reverse direction, away from the Vision and from a proper and respectful response to the Uluru Statement from the Heart.

Getting better

- Australian attitudes are changing for the better towards First Nations.
- Some states are beginning to assemble treaty processes.

Getting worse

- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders have been refused a process to consider a Voice in the Constitution.
- Our reputation as a supporter of human rights has declined because of our treatment of Indigenes.

Vision element 3 – Everyone is welcome to participate positively in community life

Options for a Vision By 2050 ...

The current draft Vision for Australia Together

Everyone is welcome to participate positively in community life.

A Reverse Vision:

We exclude people from participation. There is little or no sense of community or belonging. Volunteering is reduced. Transport and communications systems are inadequate for connecting communities.

Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?



On balance we are moving away from the Vision.

Getting better

 During Covid-19 Australian attitudes to inclusion of migrants became temporarily positive before declining again slightly.

- As measured in the Scanlon Index, social cohesion and particularly our sense of belonging have declined significantly since 2007.
- Volunteering has also declined significantly since 2010.



Vision element 4 – We are inspired and able to renew our physical and spiritual wellbeing

Options for a Vision By 2050 ...

The current draft Vision for Australia Together

We are inspired and able to renew our physical and spiritual wellbeing.

A Reverse Vision:

Sports, creative arts and music play little role in our wellbeing. People succumb more frequently to illness, including mental illness. Life expectancy falls. Cultural heritage is forgotten. Opportunities for fulfilment, purpose and meaning in our lives are significantly reduced. The possibility of defining ourselves, culturally and as individuals, is diminished.

Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?



On balance we are moving away from the Vision in several of the aspects of our lives that make it worth living.

Getting better

- Life expectancy has increased slightly.
- The incidence of cancer and cardiovascular disease is declining.

- During Covid-19, those Australians working in arts and music were excluded from support by the federal government.
- Tertiary education courses in Arts were made less affordable.
 Universities were heavily de-funded by the government through targeted denial of financial assistance during Covid-19. This particularly affected Arts and Humanities courses.
- Mental illness, anxiety, depression, obesity and diabetes are increasing.
- The cultural heritage of Indigenous Australians has been threatened and destroyed, especially in the north and west of Australia.
- On balance, the proportion of Australians reporting that they are in excellent or very good health has been declining.
- There has been a steady decline in reported happiness by Australians.



Options for a Vision By 2050 ...

The current draft Vision for Australia Together

We act together as a compassionate society.

A Reverse Vision:

Disadvantaged people suffer and grow in numbers. A survival of the fittest, dog-eat-dog culture prevails. People cease to help each other in crises. Refugees from climate change, war, torture and economic disasters are turned away and no reciprocal kindness is shown by other nations to Australia in our own disasters.

Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?



On balance we are moving in the opposite direction to the Vision. Many Australians have displayed compassion but governments they elect, particularly the federal government, have not.

Getting better

 Many Australians reach out to help each other, particularly in food relief, charitable contributions and support in natural disasters.

- The federal government has progressively withdrawn from providing support to disadvantaged Australians and has verged towards cruelty, despite the fact that Australia, as the 12th largest economy in the world, can afford to ensure a dignified life for all by provision of adequate welfare safety nets.
- Government policy has been oriented towards increasing inequality and provision of welfare only for those they deem worthy.
- Tax breaks for the wealthy and subsidies for corporations are embedding inequality.
- Australia has treated refugees and migrants in ways that contravene the human rights conventions we have signed.
- Australia has cut humanitarian aid and left victims of war stranded in Afghanistan.

Vision element 6 – Equality is valued as enriching human community, cultural harmony and social progress

Options for a Vision By 2050 ...

The current draft Vision for Australia Together

Equality is valued as enriching human community, cultural harmony and social progress.

A Reverse Vision:

Inequality is continually growing and the economy is contracting due to the hollowing out of the middle class. Poverty is growing. Social capital is depleted. Business plays a socially irresponsible role instead of cooperating with workers as partners.

Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?



On balance we are moving more away from the Vision than towards it.

Getting better

- Concern about growing inequality and rejection of it are rising.
 Australians are rejecting growth in the gap between rich and poor.
- There has been a rise in appreciation of the benefits of equality and working together as partners.
- Equal access to the benefits of institutions (eg., for LGBTIQ+ marriage rights) has been a positive feature of Australian society.

- Income and wealth inequality are growing continually and causing contractionary effects in our economy.
- The proportion of Australians who perceive themselves to be "middle class" is falling and a majority think their children will be worse off than they are.
- Poverty and hunger have been increasing, especially for children.
- The "gap" for Indigenes is on balance not closing especially in relation to incarceration, suicide and removal of children from their families.
- Peak business bodies are behaving in a socially irresponsible and unfair manner.



Options for a Vision By 2050 ...

The current draft Vision for Australia Together

Diversity is positively appreciated as a basis for a successful society.

A Reverse Vision:

Diversity is a source of division. Social cohesion is fractured. Religion divides, not unites communities. Contributions of all cultures, genders, faiths, sexual orientations are lost and the creative economy suffers.

Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?



On balance, Australia appears to be travelling neither toward nor away from a Vision in which diversity is viewed as a strength.

Getting better in part

- After a steady increase in rejection of diversity, the Covid-19
 pandemic has seen a turnaround in the appreciation of the
 positive diverse cultures and races, as measured by the
 Scanlon Index. But the acceptance of diversity remains the
 lowest of the five domains of social cohesion measured in the
 Index
- Australians have rejected new legislation legalising discrimination on the grounds of religion.

Getting worse in part

- While rejection of diversity has lessened during Covid-19 and a majority of Australians think multiculturalism has been good for Australia, the fact remains that support for multiculturalism drops when Australians are asked to consider whether "accepting immigrants from many different countries makes Australia stronger". Australians are ambivalent but generally welcoming of immigration, but not so much from "many different countries".
- The sentiment proclaimed by John Howard that "we will decide who comes to this country and the circumstances in which they will come", along with all that it implies about a less diverse Australia, still persists.

Vision element 8 – Everyone can realise their full potential in life, as individuals, members of a family and citizens through unlimited opportunities in education and employment of choice

Options for a Vision By 2050 ...

The current draft Vision for Australia Together

Everyone can realise their full potential in life, as individuals, members of a family and citizens through unlimited opportunities in education and employment of choice.

A Reverse Vision:

Optimism is lost. Self-actualisation and self-determination are impossible. Suicide and violence are endemic through a preponderance of shame. People have dissatisfying jobs in careers not suited to them and are precluded from contributing to national development by capitalising on their strengths as individuals.

Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?



Attacks on the higher and public education sectors and reduction of their funding indicate that Australia is moving away from this element of the Vision.

Getting better

 The proportion of Australians who are optimistic about their future "overall" has slightly improved since the onset of Covid-19

- The trend of economic optimism has been falling and the trend of economic pessimism has been rising.
- Suicide is rising in disadvantaged communities, especially among our Indigenes.
- Access to educational opportunity is distinctly declining.
 Equality of access to quality education at the school level has fallen. And the affordability of tertiary education has fallen sharply.
- Adult learning and re-training opportunities are being reduced by cuts to vocational educational courses and by a narrowing of access to the fuller array of university courses, particularly in the Humanities.
- Many Australians now cannot afford the education they need to maximise their chances of doing a job they love and will be good at. Opportunities for meaningful work – work which gives us a sense of achievement and worth, work which is not drudgery and demeaning – are being denied to many young Australians.
- Work which is enormously valuable to any society (such as welfare services in aged care or cleaning or nursing or child care or teaching) but which is severely undervalued in terms of wages, continues to be undervalued.



Vision element 9 – Vital services are fully accessible

Options for a Vision Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse By 2050 ... Direction? The current draft Vision for Australia Together Vital services are fully accessible. On balance we are moving more away from the Vision than towards it. A Reverse Vision: Human dignity is lost for the aged, in **Getting better in part** family services, health and The federal government accepted some of the key employment. recommendations of the Royal Commission into Aged Care and has committee to a new Aged Care Act. However, they have also rejected vital recommendations for institutional change, without which access to quality agreed care services will decline. **Getting worse** Services for remote and Indigenous communities have been withdrawn. Social welfare services operated by the private sector are tending to exclude victims and the unemployed. Emergency services are not performing and are not adequately resourced and prepared. They have failed during our recent bushfires and floods. Vital institutional reforms for resilience in emergency services are non-existent. Family support services are being reduced particularly for domestic violence victims and Indigenous families. Employment placement services are oriented more to keeping

Vision element 10 – Scarce resources are conserved and fairly shared

Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Options for a Vision By 2050 ... Direction? The current draft Vision for Australia Together Scarce resources are conserved and On balance we are moving away from the Vision. fairly shared. **Getting better - undetermined** A Reverse Vision: Australia's most scarce natural resource is water. No Resource consumption is entirely monitoring is in place yet that has indicated positive travel. excessive and national assets are not shared. **Getting worse** Equitable access to water resources of the Murray Darling is in decline. Water rights are being traded and plundered at the expense of downstream users and the environment itself. Aboriginal owners of traditional lands are not able to share in the benefits of mineral and other resources. In the Beetaloo and broader Artesian Basin water resources are being destroyed by gas fracking.

people in long term unemployment and in poverty.



Vision element 11 – National wealth is fairly shared

Options for a Vision By 2050 ...

The current draft Vision for Australia Together

National wealth is fairly shared.

A Reverse Vision:

Meanness prevails and the economy contracts. The wealthiest 20% of households hold over 80% of all household wealth and the lowest 20% still control less than 1 per cent of all household wealth. The neoliberal project has been completed. Australians own few if any of the government services and assets they owned in 2020. If they can afford it, they pay a small number of excessively rich private interests (monopolies and oligopolies) for their education, health and other vital services. Redistribution of wealth raised by Australians via an equitable welfare system has ceased.

Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?



On balance we are moving away from the Vision.

Getting better - undetermined

• No monitoring is in place yet that has indicated positive travel.

- Neoliberalism has been on a steep ascendancy for over 30 years with the result that large swathes of publicly built and owned assets and services have been sold to private companies, often for far less than they are worth, and to companies that are increasingly paying little or no tax.
 Australians have lost control of the returns they used to enjoy from these assets and no compensating price or risk reduction has accrued.
- A regime of cruelty, limiting access to welfare to those arbitrarily determined as worthy (not equal) is now deeply embedded across the government service sector. Robodebt was a criminal expression of this attitude.
- Sharing of taxation revenues has declined, as has fair sharing
 of the burden of raising revenue from taxation. Laws have
 been enacted that mean that over the decade to 2030
 average tax for the poorest 80% of earners will rise and will
 fall for the top 20% of earners.
- The taxation system is getting less progressive and no compensating fairer re-distribution system, such as a social wage, is being considered.
- Big news media businesses are increasing their market concentration.
- Oligopolistic control of mining and some types of farming is excluding Australians from the returns on their resources.
- Oligopolistic control of the big four banks and the big four accounting firms, in the absence of regulation, is embedding corruption and theft from Australians.
- Shares of the national wealth generated through the labour of Australians are not being returned to worker through wages.
 In 1975, 62% of national income went to Australians in wages and the share that went to corporate profits was only 17%.
 But by 2021, only 51% of national income went to Australians in wages and the share that went to corporate profits had almost doubled to 30%.
- While a universal health care system Medicare is still in place, access to it is stratified as the wealthy can gain priority.
 There is a divide opening up between health for the rich and health for the poor.



Vision element 12 – Our economy is sustainable and supports rewarding opportunities and continuous improvements in living standards for everyone

Options for a Vision By 2050 ...

The current draft Vision for Australia Together

Our economy is sustainable and supports rewarding opportunities and continuous improvements in living standards for everyone.

A Reverse Vision:

The economy sustains only the rich and poverty is widespread. Human capital is depleted. Our natural assets are depleted or lost. A once burgeoning eco-tourism sector is devastated. Other nations fail to invest in Australia due to the risk of investing in a country that fails to achieve sustainability. Living standards fall continuously for the majority of Australians.

Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?



On balance we are moving away from the Vision.

Getting better - undetermined

• No monitoring is in place yet that has indicated positive travel.

- Australia's economy is no longer growing enough to carry all Australians safely to a more prosperous future.
- Nor is the economy growing sustainably, through productivity increases. Productivity has been declining.
- Poverty in Australia is rising. More than 3 million Australians, including over 700,000 children, are living in deep poverty for extended periods of time.
- Eco-tourism has been shattered by bushfires, floods and decimation of the Great Barrier Reef.
- Australia continues to behave with little or no integrity on the
 international stage, especially in relation to climate change,
 market establishment and rules for carbon trading and other
 obligations as a member of the WTO, humanitarian aid, and
 military contracts (eg., submarines). As such Australia is no
 longer trusted as a reliable and trustworthy trading partner or
 as an investment prospect.
- The economy is stuck in a phase of relying on fossil fuels rather than switching to renewable energy. Export markets are producing much smaller returns than they otherwise might.
- Reliance on export markets in minerals is increasingly selfdefeating since the profits are being largely offshored and relatively few jobs arise from the sector.
- Meanwhile, the sectors of the economy that do provide returns to Australians and create the most jobs – health, welfare and education – are being attacked and underfunded.
- Living standards are falling, particularly as measured by affordability of housing and the proportion of people who now require more than one job to make ends meet.



Vision element 13 – As a nation we have the courage to take a leading place in achieving the environmental aims of a global society

Options for a Vision By 2050 ...

The current draft Vision for Australia Together

As a nation we have the courage to take a leading place in achieving the environmental aims of a global society.

A Reverse Vision:

Our international reputation for environmental and humane responsibility is lost. Our climate has heated by more than 4° Celsius due to our obstructive and destructive international participation. Vast areas of Australia are uninhabitable for humans. Ecosystems have collapsed and with them our economy.

Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?



On balance we are moving away from the Vision.

Getting better - undetermined

• No monitoring is in place yet that has indicated positive travel.

- Australia's behaviour in Paris Agreement negotiations has been nothing short of appalling. We now set the standard for indecency on climate.
- Australia has failed to heed warnings of climate scientists in favour of corporate greed in fossil fuels, minerals, insurance funds and big news media profits. The result has been an earlier than expected onset of bigger natural disasters, including bushfires, floods, massive inland river fish kills, and loss of large sections of the Great Barrier Reef.
- Destruction of the resources of the Great Artesian Basin by gas fracking and mining exploitation is creating the conditions where land in Australia's interior will be uninhabitable.
- Australia's reduction of humanitarian aid and contribution to the UN Green fund has reduced us to international pariahs.
- Courage and international leadership on climate change is non-existent.



Vision element 14 – Stewardship of ecology is affirmed as fundamental to planetary and human survival

Options for a Vision By 2050 ...

The current draft Vision for Australia Together

Stewardship of ecology is affirmed as fundamental to planetary and human survival.

A Reverse Vision:

The health of ecosystems is in decline and trending towards extinction of species, including humans.

Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?



On balance we are moving away from the Vision.

Getting better

• No monitoring is in place yet that has indicated positive travel.

Getting worse

- Australia has experienced the largest documented decline in biodiversity of any continent over the past 200 years and the rate of decline is accelerating.⁶²
- South-east Australia's bushfires in 2019 and 2020 burnt out 97,000 square kilometres of vegetation – habitat for 832 species of native vertebrate fauna.
- 70 types had more than 30% of their habitat impacted and 21 of these were already listed as threatened with extinction.
- Land clearing is continuing unabated and is causing disaster for both biodiversity and global temperature rises.
- Policy and regulation for biodiversity protection is in tatters. In 2020 the Australian National Audit Office released an audit report on the government's management of approvals of controlled activities under the federal Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999. The report was scathing in its findings on the use of an "offset system" for controlling the impact of development on biodiversity. These "offsets" do not guarantee replacement habitat for threatened species or ecosystems and corruption and profiteering from the system is increasing. Administrators are giving approvals for destruction on a grand scale, and then failing to gather data to monitor impacts or compliance.

⁶² See ACFP, The State of Australia in 2020, Episode 6 Part 1.



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Vision element 15 – Strong democracy is assured by a well informed and engaged community

Options for a Vision By 2050 ...

The current draft Vision for Australia Together

Strong democracy is assured by a well informed and engaged community.

A Reverse Vision:

Democracy is weak or overtaken by autocracy. People are too frightened to participate, let alone protest. Human rights are extinguished.

Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?



On balance, we have been moving away from being a strong, participatory democracy. But we now have the means of reversing this.

Getting better

- While no legislation is yet in place to enhance the possibility of participation by Australians in their own democracy, Australia does now have some increased capacity to operate as a well informed and engaged community in democracy.
- Australia Together is being built and provides easily accessible data about the nation's health and wellbeing in the Australia Together National Wellbeing Index;
- We also have a clearly prescribed, open and inclusive National Integrated Planning & Reporting⁶³ process, including community engagement and long term financial planning.
- One salutary feature of the political landscape in 2022 is the emergence of a strong contingent of independent candidates.

Getting worse

- Participation in Australia in democracy has been showing signs of declining.
- Autocratic features of our society are on the rise, exhibited in restriction of:
 - rights for both victims and those who find themselves accused in the justice system,
 - o rights to presumption of innocence,
 - o rights to free speech and assembly and
 - o rights to open justice.

Some of these laws criminalise public protest as though it is espionage. In some cases, ten to twenty-five year prison sentences now apply for protest, even on public land. This is oppressive. We brandish our liberal democracy but it is getting less liberal by the year.

 Much emphasis has been placed by the Coalition government on threats to democracy arising from authoritarian regimes, particularly China, but the more substantive threats to our democracy are coming from within our own country.

⁶³ View ACFP's video series explaining National IP&R on YouTube: What is National Integrated Planning & Reporting? – or how Australians can rise above politics and set the agenda for the nation's future



Vision element 16 – We are confident our leaders will reflect thoughtfully on our views and best interests when making decisions for our future

Options for a Vision By 2050 ...

The current draft Vision for Australia Together

We are confident our leaders will reflect thoughtfully on our views and best interests when making decisions for our future.

A Reverse Vision:

Authoritarianism is entrenched and the national interest is sacrificed to a rich and powerful elite. We can design no way out of our problems that will be heard. It is impossible to identify either truth or falsity.

Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?



On balance, we are moving away from the vision.

Getting better

- No monitoring is in place yet that has indicated positive travel.
- However, free speech opportunities are now available on social media and other forms of internet communication. The internet has made it possible for any Australian to gain free access to information and then present reform proposals directly to governments in coherent and substantiated forms. They can now get their voices heard. The downside is that governments have not been receptive to these developments and have tried at times to suppress them (eg., attempts to suppress new breeds of policy commentators on YouTube such as Friendlyjordies and Juice Media).
- Australians have yet to organise their use of the internet as a respectful public forum suitable for effective participation in democracy. However, with the advent of National Integrated Planning & Reporting they can now create a single space on the internet for free, fully open and orderly engagement about choices for the future⁶⁴.

Getting worse

- Excessive market concentration of large news media businesses has become a significant threat to our social cohesion, climate security, defence security and to our democracy.
- Oligopolistic control of fossil fuel industries, mining, banking, accounting and news media is building environmental disasters, unsustainable development and economic crisis for the nation. This was most obvious in the federal government's appointment of gas industry magnates to a National Covid-19 recovery commission.
- The vast majority of Australians do not believe that governments put the public before vested interests, or that they consider the interests of future generations.
- The vast majority also do not believe they can influence the future and do not believe they have a say beyond voting. Voting is not perceived to offer equal shares of power to Australians.
- Many parliamentarians are tone-deaf to the views of the community, which explains why they have taken so long to begin listening to those calling for women's and LGBTIQ+ rights and safety.
- The Coalition federal government does more that indicates a swing to secrecy, exclusion and authoritarianism than it does to indicate a willingness to respect and engage with Australians as equals.
- Corruption is rife in government in Australia and both major parties have serially resisted being held accountable.

⁶⁴ View ACFP's video series explaining National IP&R on YouTube: <u>What is National Integrated Planning & Reporting?</u> – or how Australians can rise above politics and set the agenda for the nation's future



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Vision element 17 – We take pride in Australia as a responsible international citizen, active in building a safer, more peaceful and united world

Options for a Vision By 2050 ...

The current draft Vision for Australia Together

We take pride in Australia as a responsible international citizen, active in building a safer, more peaceful and united world.

A Reverse Vision:

We are an international pariah. Or worse – the United Nations has collapsed and military alliances vanquish diplomacy and the rule of international law. International collaborative research has ceased. We have become a poor nation, more vulnerable than ever to invasion.

Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?



On balance, we are moving away from the vision. In some respects we have already made the reverse vision a reality.

Getting better

No monitoring is in place yet that has indicated positive travel.

- Australia is already an international pariah for refusal to cooperate with other nations on the biggest threat humanity has ever faced – climate change.
- The United Nations struggles under the weight of its original structure which allows vetoes to be exercised by only five countries as permanent members of the Security Council. Australia, like so many other developed countries, follows resolutions and submits to calls from the United Nations and other international courts and organisations only when it suits us. We are guilty and seen to be guilty of breaches of international law, human rights crimes, unlawful detention and expulsion of refugees, and breaches of the law of the sea.
- Aggressive, hawkish defence postures have almost totally replaced diplomacy. Defence advisors are funded by foreign arms dealers. The Defence Department effectively brokers profitable sales for private arms dealers, who then sell arms that are used to kill children, eg., in Yemen.
- Collaborative scientific research projects have been unreasonably and unnecessarily cut back.
- Missed opportunities for development of profitable export industries in renewable energy are threatening to impact the economy.
- Our alliance with the United States has reached a point where, when it comes to decisions on participation in wars, our sovereignty has virtually been ceded to America and we have been set up as a proxy target for aggression (due to the installation of American military operations on Australian soil). Entry into nuclear military agreements with the United States and United Kingdom is poised to threaten our alliance with New Zealand and increase the chance that neighbours to our north will not welcome or join with us in future military troubles.



Chapter 12 – Progress in the top twenty urgent areas

In late 2020 and early 2021, ACFP produced a seven-part video series on The State of Australia in 2020.

This functioned as the first report on the state of the nation at the commencement of the planning period for *Australia Together* and marked the starting points for the nation's journey towards the Vision by 2050 or sooner.



The video series described in pictures

how healthy and secure we are as a nation. It identified twenty key areas of weakness for Australia in 2020 that must be solved by 2050 and preferably before 2035 if future generations are to be assured of a safer and more secure future. They are listed here, not in any particular order, although the first one is critical to the success of all the rest:

- 1. Growing inequality
- 2. Growing poverty, homelessness and hunger
- 3. Loss of the fair go for all
- 4. Growth in racial and religious conflict
- 5. Indigenous exclusion
- 6. An outmoded and failing Constitution
- 7. Loss of rights, open governance and transparency
- 8. Declining participation in democracy
- 9. Unethical governance
- 10. Fractious international relations
- 11. Corporate irresponsibility
- 12. Economic decline
- 13. Lost public ownership
- 14. Inertia in transition to decarbonisation
- 15. Environmental decline
- 16. Climate policy failure
- 17. Declining health and safety at home
- 18. Declining educational attainment
- 19. Declining quality of life and loss of social cohesion
- 20. Declining wellbeing and happiness

Australia has been performing particularly poorly in all these areas and not much has changed since 2020. If anything, performance in some areas has deteriorated. This applies particularly to:

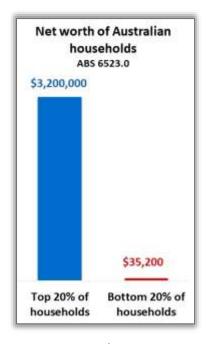
- Issue 9 Unethical governance
- Issue 10 Fractious international relations
- Issue 16 Climate policy failure

The following sections provide a summary update of where we are in 2022 in relation to each of these top twenty issues based on the data in the *Australia Together* National Wellbeing Index.



Issue No. 1 – Growing inequality

The gap between rich and poor has been widening continuously since the mid 1990s.



Wealth inequality is w even more	idening		
Inequality in Australia	2003/04	2015/16	2017/18
Income inequality	0.306	0.323	0.328
Wealth inequality	0.573	0.605	0.621

Since 2014:

- The wealthiest 25% of Australians have increased their income by nearly double that of median household incomes, while the wealth holdings of the poorest 20% of households has actually declined.
- The average net worth of the top 20 per cent of households is now more than 90 times that of the lowest 20 per cent – some \$3.2 million compared to just \$35,200.
- The wealth of the average Australian household has surged past \$1 million but low-income families have not seen any increase in their net worth for more than a decade.

Government policy settings in 2020 that are aggravating this problem include:

- historically low top marginal tax rates,
- increases in average tax from low and middle income earners, and
- substantial drops in tax for high income earners.

Because of the tax cuts legislated in 2018 and 2019, over the next decade Australians will experience a rise in the average tax gathered from middle and low income earners, hitting those earning below \$58,000 especially hard. By contrast the top 20% of earners will experience a drop in their tax on average and the top 1% of earners will experience a drop of more than \$11,000 a year in their tax.

Policies on tax are not just making the tax system unfair. They are having an unnecessary contractionary effect on the economy. Growth in the economy will slow and the total size of the economy will be smaller than it should be because too many Australians will have too little to spend.

Perhaps the worst effect of the tax cuts is that they removed over \$300 billion from tax revenues over the decade to 2029. They deleted the equivalent of a full year's worth of spending on social

security, welfare, health and education, which in 2019 was \$298.3 billion. It also it deleted our capacity to repay the public debt we have now taken on due to Covid-19.

Inequality comes in many forms other than income and wealth inequality. But it starts there, and it locks in declines in standards of living for everyone, not just the poor. Stopping it will require entirely new approaches to taxation and the introduction of a social wage.



Issue No. 2 – Growing poverty, homelessness and hunger

The Australian government has committed to meeting the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals of eliminating poverty, hunger and homelessness by 2030. Nevertheless, in Australia today it is estimated that **well over 3 million people are living in poverty**, meaning they are living on an income that is half or less than half of the median income for Australian households. These are pre-Covid-19 estimates. Even many Australians with a full time job are living below the poverty line. And they were living that way before Covid-19.

Of those Australians deemed to be living in poverty between 2017 and 2019, almost 25% had a full time job, indicating that they are being paid so poorly that even full time employment is now not enough to shield over one million employed Australians from poverty, let alone their children.

Based on figures supplied by the ABS, the Australian Council of Social Service and the University of New South Wales have estimated that as at 2018:

- Over 13% of Australians were living in poverty.
- Over 17% of children under 15 or 774,000 children were living in poverty.
- Almost 14% of young people aged between 15 and 24 years were living in poverty.



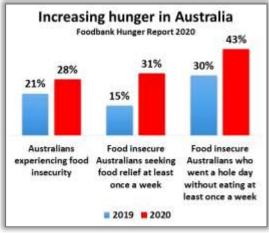
Well before Covid-19 there were millions of Australians living in poverty.

Growing homelessness is a key feature of this level of poverty. Since 2006, the number of homeless people in Australia has increased by almost 30% or almost 27,000 extra people. This is both a numerical and per capita increase. We could half fill the seats of Sydney's new football stadium just with those 27,000 extra people, every night.

In terms of home ownership, the picture is one of intergenerational inequity. The dream of owning a home has all but disappeared for most young people. Astounding price growth and five years of weak income growth have pushed up the cost of an average first home deposit from 70% of average annual household disposable income to more than 80%. For the poorest who are confined to renting, the situation is becoming dire. The number of lowincome households experiencing rental stress has roughly doubled since 1994-95.

As to hunger in Australia, more Australians are going hungry every year. In a wealthy country, there should be none of this. Certainly no child should have to go hungry. And yet they do, every day.





⁶⁵ See Peter Martin, ABC News, 13 October 2021: "Ownership is becoming hereditary."



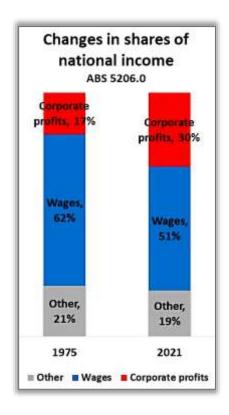
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Issue No. 3 – Loss of the fair go for all

Australians work to produce almost \$2 trillion per annum of output. This makes our economy the 12th largest in the world. And yet the benefits of our labour are not being returned fairly to Australians.

The Australian economy is now 400% bigger than it was in 1975. But in 1975, 62% of national income went to Australians in wages and the share that went to corporate profits was only 17%. Since then shares of wealth have steadily and significantly reversed so that in 2021 only 51% of GDP is returned to Australians in wages and the share for corporate profits had almost doubled to 30%.

Much of the corporate profit is now being transferred offshore by multinationals who pay little or no tax and new private capital investment has been dropping. As a result, productivity – the engine of the economy that makes it grow sustainably, rather than unsustainably – has fallen significantly. In the thirty years to 2014, Australian workers and business owners managed to work together to increase productivity on average by 1.6% every year. But since 2015, labour productivity has increased at less than half a percent a year.



The fair go is also being lost because the government sector is reducing its participation in the economy. There are big job opportunities in services where demand is growing, such as health, welfare, education, renewable energy and buildings efficiency, housing and land care, but services

are being reduced in those sectors. Spare capacity in Australia's willing labour force is being left on the shelf, which is having a significant effect in flattening wages rises. All of this results in an economy that is smaller than it otherwise would be and which is carrying fewer people to safety and security. At the same time, access to the welfare system is being cruelly curtailed by the introduction of "welfare conditionality" and illegal attacks on Australians through programs like Robodebt and reduction of access to support through the National Disability Insurance Scheme.

Under neoliberalism, Australians are being taught to think welfare is a burden to the economy when in fact it boosts the economy probably more than any other sector and always has. Withdrawal of support for welfare is embedding inequality and is economically contractionary.

Welfare recipients are lifters not leaners.

Their demand is a major source of our
economic growth.

Provisions for health and welfare equate

to about half of what the federal government injects into our economy every year.

This is a stimulant not a burden.

13% of Australia's labour force works in
this service.

Imagine how the economy would shrink if the spending of those on welfare was not part of our economy and how many other Australians would no longer be employable in health and social services that are central to our quality of life.

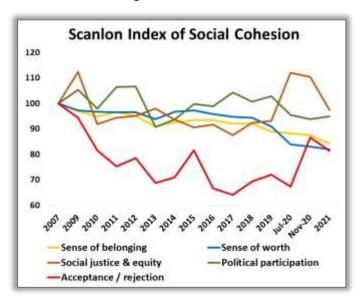
Neoliberalism is the main cause of the loss of the fair go. Sale of public assets and divestment of services to the private sector has embedded inequality in Australia. The sooner Australia turns away from neoliberalism, the sooner fairness and growth in our economy will resume.



Issue No. 4 – Growth in racial and religious conflict

Australia is a country that has thrived in multiculturalism and diversity, and most Australians appreciate that. According to the Scanlon Foundation, an organisation that has independently surveyed social cohesion annually for more than a decade in Australia, 85% of Australians agree or strongly agree with the statement that "multiculturalism has been good for Australia".

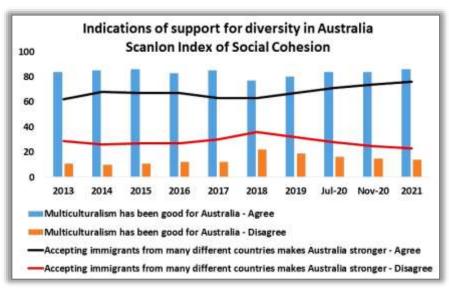
However, that sense of appreciation of multiculturalism has declined over the last decade, enough to make many Australians feel excluded. Between 2007 and 2017 Australians indicating a sense of rejection and reporting experience of discrimination "because of [their] skin colour, ethnic origin or religion" more than doubled, from 9% to a high of 20% in 2017. An average of 18% of Australians have reported racial discrimination over the last 5 years. In the Scanlon Index, fewer Australians have reported rejection because of race since Covid-19 but acceptance/rejection remains the lowest score in the Index.



And while there is very high support for multiculturalism, support is significantly lower on whether accepting migrants from many different countries makes us stronger. This indicates that **while Australians support immigration, many would prefer it to be less diverse than it is**.

Support for multiculturalism in Australia falls away significantly when people are asked if they prefer migration from *many* different countries. However, during Covid-19 there has been a reversal of that trend.

In another positive trend, Australians have to date rejected legislation enabling discrimination on the grounds of religion. This indicates strong support for



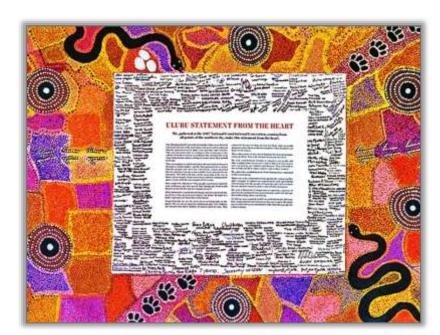
an inclusive society. A singular, even joyous achievement endorsing inclusion was marked when Australians voted to legalise same sex marriage in a 2017 plebiscite, although there has been pushback from some religious groups with religious discrimination legislation being prioritised ahead of items that are more urgent to larger numbers of Australians such as climate change and a federal corruption watchdog. This upending of priorities – providing legislation for protection of rights to churches who are the only group that has protected rights already under our Constitution – is more of a divisive step than it is a unifying one. Australia needs the parliament to organise our legislative agenda so that priorities are fairly set and *no-one* – religious or secular – misses out.



Issue No. 5 – Indigenous exclusion

In 2017, the Uluru Statement from the Heart was put to Australians by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders who had come together "from all points of the southern sky" in a National Constitutional Convention. In the Statement our First Nations issued a gracious invitation to walk with them in a movement of the Australian people for a better future.

The invitation was rudely rebuffed by the then prime minister, Malcolm Turnbull.



The Uluru Statement called for:

- the establishment of a First Nations Voice enshrined in the Constitution; and
- a Makarrata Commission to supervise a process of agreement-making between governments and First Nations and truth-telling about our history.

It would be reasonable to conclude that almost no progress has been made in relation to these requests. The Australian government established an Indigenous Voice Co-Design Process in 2019 but prohibited consideration being given to developing models for a national Indigenous Voice enshrined in the Constitution. In December 2021, the Final Report of Co-Design Process was released and this provided for the establishment of Local and Regional Voices and offered a model for a National Voice to parliament and government, but not a constitutionally protected one. No commitments were given by the government to implementing the National Voice. Effectively, the process fully sidelined issues regarding sovereignty which have afflicted First Nations for over 200 years. A failure to resolve this issue is debasing Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians alike. ⁶⁶

Meanwhile, very little progress has been made towards the goals of the Closing the Gap partnership. Notable positives include improvements in life expectancy, birthweight and pre-school education for Indigenous people, although there is still a long way to go to close the gap. Notable negatives are in Indigenous suicide, incarceration and removal of children from their families. In other words, the things most lamented in the Uluru Statement from the Heart are getting worse, not better. The signing of the National Agreement on Closing the Gap represents some progress in the short term, inasmuch as it signals the start of a shift to partnership between governments and First Nations. The denial of the request for a National Voice enshrined in the Constitution threatens to undo the progress made. It is not possible to "close the gap", let alone such a huge one, if the cause of the gap — a fundamental refusal of self-determination for Indigenes and a failure to tell the truth about the violent foundations of Australia — is still in place.

⁶⁶ For more detail see Bronwyn Kelly, "On Australia Day we must proclaim an Indigenous Voice to Parliament", Pearls and Irritations Public Policy Journal, 26 January 2022.



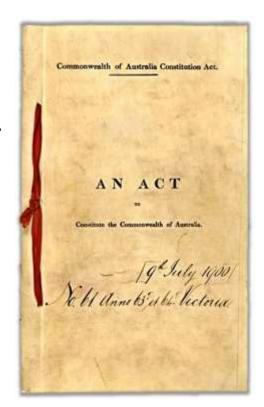
Issue No. 6 – An outmoded and failing Constitution

Australia's Constitution is the product of 19th century thinking for a distant land. It is singularly ill-suited for a 21st century Australian democracy.

The Constitution acknowledges and provides for "the people" but only insofar as they may elect representatives, not insofar as they might play a more influential role in a participatory democracy.

It also ignores our First Nations and their custodianship of this land for over 60,000 years before the arrival of Europeans. This particular failing in our Constitution is hampering Australia in its capacity to:

- come to terms with the difficult truth of our origin as a nation.
- acknowledge the impact of this on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, and
- move forward as a reconciled nation, according equal dignity to all.



The fact is that as far as our Constitution goes, our Indigenes do not exist. They rate no mention whatsoever in our nation's "birth certificate". This explains why Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders are now asking for a Voice in the Constitution and it is an indictment of Australians that in the 21st century we are still mired in a debate which we should have settled decades ago.

A fundamental flaw in the Constitution is that it does not accord equal rights to all. Australians tend to take it for granted that we have basic human rights. But except for protection of a right to freedom of religion, Australia's Constitution confers no explicit human rights on either non-Indigenes or Indigenes as individuals. A Constitution without a Bill of Rights protects no-one. And for as long as we remain the only democracy in the world without a national human rights framework, we will be placing our fundamental liberties and our democracy itself at risk.

The freedoms Australians have enjoyed, particularly of free speech and peaceful protest, have been progressively eroded since 2001 in more than 80 pieces of legislation. See Issue No. 7. These freedoms are being lost because there is nothing in the Constitution that says they can't be.

Australia's Constitution has its strength in that it enshrines democracy for Australians – albeit a limited representative democracy. But at the same time **this outmoded Constitution is standing in the way of our growth to maturity as a modern nation with clear values and a coherent agreement on decency**. 120 years after we, or rather our distant Victorian-age sovereign, first defined how we were to govern ourselves, we still have not defined to what end we want to govern ourselves and how we might fairly make our nation together. The Constitution should go to the heart of our national identity. At present, it and we are silent on that topic. We are silent on what we stand for.

Before the freedoms we value are removed forever, it is essential to use the democracy we have left to set down our desired national character and values and establish a firm platform for a participatory democracy fit for the 21st century.



Issue No. 7 – Loss of rights, open governance & transparency

Australia is moving closer towards autocracy. The authoritarianism we fear and criticise in non-democracies such as China has been on the rise in Australia itself ever since the September 11 attacks on the United States in 2001. Those attacks ushered in a massive overhaul of national security legislation which has resulted in significant loss of rights and freedoms for Australians. We are witnessing the rise of an oppressive, secret state in Australia.

Under these legislative and other administrative changes, we have experienced reductions in freedom of the press, alongside a failure to protect democratic discourse from misinformation, fake news and hate speech. Attacks on the press have been particularly fearsome including:

- raids on journalists' homes and files and attempted seizure of material which would disclose journalists' sources;
- intimidation of journalists via criminalisation of public interest journalism;
- prohibition of reporting on human rights abuses in offshore detention centres;
- vesting of power in politicians instead of justice officials to sign off on prosecutions of journalists; and
- severe funding cuts to the ABC and threats to its independence cuts totalling more than \$780 million dollars since 2014.

Examples of loss of transparency in government include:

- increases in refusals of FOI applications by the federal government and federal ministers;
- extensive delays in the time taken to respond to FOI applications.
- reduction of funding for the Office of the Australian Information Commissioner, the Australian Bureau of Statistics and the Australian National Audit Office; and
- suppression of the public's right to know through serious intimidation of whistleblowers who disclose matters of government conduct and potential misconduct, knowledge of which is clearly in the public interest.

Intimidation of whistleblowers is becoming a particular concern. Prison terms now apply for whistleblowers who make public interest disclosures of classified information on immigration or border enforcement matters. Legislation now deems any and

Credible commentators now designate
Australia as "arguably the most secretive democracy in the Western world".

News organisations from the most conservative to the most progressive combined in 2019 to launch a coordinated campaign of resistance and protest against secrecy laws – the "Right to Know Campaign".

all such disclosures "reckless", before the fact. In these areas, almost nothing can be disclosed no matter how much it may be in the public interest to know about it. In the event of charges being laid against whistleblowers or journalists in relation to disclosures, no onus exists on the government to prove that the disclosure was in fact reckless or was contrary to the public interest, and a defendant cannot plead public interest as a defence. Effectively, there is now no mechanism by which Australians can be advised when the government is secretly acting contrary to the public interest in these areas. The injustice to whistleblowers is utterly contrary to effective democracy.

Added to this is the problem that **lobbyists have free rein to enter parliament and promote their sectional interests without accountability**. Our democracy is near to fully hostage to them. Lobby



groups and rich individuals are allowed to buy elections, such as Clive Palmer who paid \$83 million in 2019 to sway preferences towards the Coalition and Malcolm Turnbull who paid almost \$2 million in person to boost the Coalition's electoral campaign in 2016. And yet the Coalition government attempted to introduce legislation in 2018 which would restrict small donations by householders to activist groups like GetUp and charities like the Climate Council. All the legislative actions of Coalition governments since 2014 have been aimed at capping the small donations of the many, not the massive donations of the few.

At the same time as the government is reducing transparency about its own activities it is increasing its intrusions on the privacy of Australians, for example, by new laws in 2015 requiring phone and internet providers to store metadata of all subscribers. These laws have provided a platform on which abuses of power can be and are being more easily mounted. The metadata can be and is being used by surveillance and policing agencies for the purpose of forming what is called a "reasonable suspicion" that a person has committed a security offence, from whence a person can be raided, detained without charge, provided with no information of the nature of any offence, and is unable to complain because it is a criminal offence to disclose information relating to a "special intelligence operation", even when it is impossible to know that the offence might relate to a special intelligence operation. These laws are in full operation without sufficient accountability and safeguards being in place to prevent abuse of the extra powers granted under these laws.

Over 80 pieces of national security legislation have been passed since 2002 which introduce or increase coercive powers for the federal government, including:

- powers of police to hold people in police custody without charge;
- powers of surveillance and interrogation of non-suspects;
- powers of monitoring non-suspects' computers;
- powers of coercion in testimony;
- · secret warrants and secret evidence;
- warrantless search powers for persons and homes;
- immunity from civil and criminal prosecution for ASIO officers in covert "special intelligence operations" (except in cases of torture, murder, and rape); and
- powers to jail journalists who inadvertently reveal ASIO "special intelligence operations".

ASIO officers operating covertly are safe from prosecution for fraud, theft, coercion, violation of privacy laws and almost any other breach of law, outside torture, murder and rape if the illegal action occurred in association with a "special intelligence operation". The illegal behaviour doesn't even have to be in the public interest. It is an abuse waiting to happen because there is no requirement to account for any abuse. Australian lawmakers have created a class of people in intelligence agencies who are above the law but at the same time we have diminished the rights of all other Australians under the law. Equality before the law in Australia is declining.

Australians already have evidence that these new laws are in full play in Australia today in a manner that is not in their interests. Secret trials have been held and more and more cases are emerging where the government is prosecuting people for ostensible security offences in closed courts without having to demonstrate that secrecy is in the national interest and that they are doing anything more than covering up conduct that is merely embarrassing to the government or covering up outright illegal misconduct.

This has removed almost all restraints on illegal or unethical behaviour by intelligence officials, such as behaviour that has been obvious in:



- the widely acknowledged event of Australia's bugging in 2004 of the Cabinet meetings of the Timor-Leste government during negotiations on oil rights; or
- the revelation that in 2018 the government sought to use the Australian Signals Directorate to spy on Australians without a warrant and access their personal and financial data without their knowledge.

It is clearly in the public interest for Australians to know these things but the current conservative federal government is clamping down on the meagre rights we have assumed in this regard.

In other infringements of rights, Australians have experienced:

- removal of the presumption of innocence until guilt is proven for recipients of welfare and a
 foisting of the onus of proof onto those recipients in cases where Centrelink, without
 evidence, has served them with notice of a debt for overpayments they may or may not
 have received, a Centrelink procedure Robodebt which has since been found to be
 entirely unlawful and destructive of mental health and even life;
- concentration of power in one minister, rather than the courts, as to who shall be allowed to stay in Australia and who shall not;
- **forced deportation** of Indigenous Australians who have committed a crime and served their time or who have not committed a crime and have even served in the national forces but who may not be able to prove citizenship;
- effective withdrawal from, or active violation of human rights conventions, to which we have been a signatory for decades (including violation of the rights of refugees, children and Indigenous Australians in being locked up without charge);
- repeal of the only decent laws made by Australia in relation to refugee rights in the 21st century namely the Medevac legislation which was passed by the federal Parliament in late 2018 and repealed in late 2019 by the Morrison government for absolutely no purpose and benefit other than to impose further pain on refugees that we have illegally detained for years; and
- attempted subversion of the nation's human rights agencies particularly the Human Rights Commissioner Gillian Triggs in retaliation by the Liberal National Party government for her decision to conduct an inquiry into children in immigration detention.

In 2022 there really is nothing good to say about this multidimensional attack on the rights of all Australians. With each step towards secrecy and diminished human rights, we are moving closer by the year to living in an autocracy.



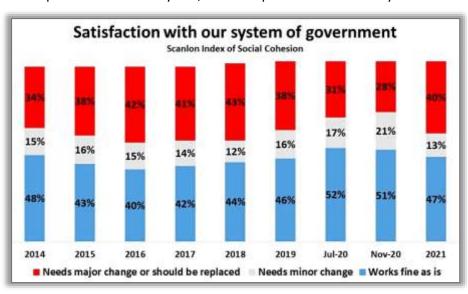
Issue No. 8 – Declining participation in democracy

Australia's Constitution gives us a representative democracy. But Australians aren't using this gift to its full potential. We are using it less and less as time passes. This is not just reflected in our declining rates of voter participation, although they are a concern. Turnout at the 2016 federal election for the House of Representatives was only 91%, the lowest turnout recorded since the introduction of compulsory voting in 1925. There was a slight bounce back in 2019 but still well more than 1 million enrolled voters failed to vote.

This drop in voter turnout has run in parallel with a decline in satisfaction with our democracy. According to the Museum of Australian Democracy and the University of Canberra's research for the Democracy 2025 project, 86% of voters were satisfied in 2007 with Australia's democracy, but that figure dropped to 72% by 2010, where it plateaued for three years, and then plummeted to 41% by 2018.

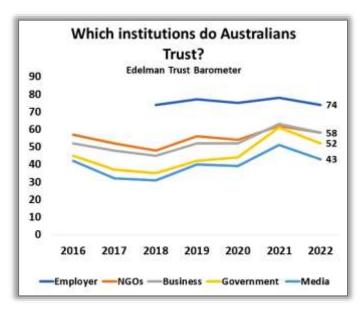
A significant majority of Australians in the Scanlon Survey also reported more dissatisfaction than satisfaction with our system of democratic governance.

Satisfaction exceeded 50% only during Covid-19 but even then did not last. This is not a ringing endorsement of confidence in our governance and the way we are running our



democracy. It suggests it is fragile and perhaps on the brink of turning towards civil unrest. The prospect that peaceful transfers of power may be disrupted as they were in the 6 January 2021 insurrection in America is not one to be ignored. Populist demonstrations in Canberra in early 2022 involving property destruction do not bode well. There is a need to improve the way we utilise our democracy.

In the 2019 and 2022 CIVICUS International Monitor of global freedoms, Australia was downgraded from an open society and democracy to a narrowed one. We are being given less freedoms to exercise within our democracy and our trust in our institutions has dropped accordingly. The Edelman Trust Barometer, an international survey of trust in institutions for over 20 years, has reported survey results from Australians that show the general population of Australia generally distrusts all institutions except their direct employer. For only one year, during Covid-19, did we move into trusting territory for NGOs,





business and government. At no stage did Australians trust the media.

This trust deficit is a likely cause of Australians' withdrawal from full and beneficial use of their democracy. It is likely that they see their influence through the ballot box process is declining and as yet they have no other way to re-balance shares of power between governments, businesses, institutions and "we the people".

However, during the term of the 46th parliament, Australians have been offered their first opportunity of joining together to build a plan for Australia's future. A process has been developed that they can begin to use to define their preferred future and speak with one voice to parliamentary leaders about where they want to arrive as a nation by 2050 and how they want to

travel there. This same process can significantly increase their shares of power in democracy. The process is **National Integrated Planning & Reporting (National IP&R)**.

Significant advances have been made in trialling the National IP&R process during the 46th parliament. It has been used help build a starting draft of Australia's first national long term, integrated, community futures plan – *Australia Together*. That in turn has enabled the production of the End of Term Report.



and commitment to our plan.

just for some.

4. They can then run a legislative and policy

program that governs better for all, not

Using National IP&R, Australians can now insert an additional step into the process of their democracy to strengthen it, make it more efficient and give parliamentarians a helping hand. This is a small change to make but it represents a paradigm shift in the way power is shared between governments, other institutions and we the people. The diagram below illustrates the small change that can make a huge difference to out ability to use our democracy to secure our preferred future.

By adding one extra step to our process of democracy, National Integrated Planning & Reporting transforms our capacity to take more control of our future and improve our communications with elected leaders. New order of our democracy Current order of our democracy a National Integrated Plan 1. We never consider the long term. 1. First we develop our long term plan. 2. When we vote, we hand over power 2. We pre-agree what we want to achieve without instructions. as a nation and how. 3. Governments tend then to claim they 3. Then we elect a government based on have a mandate for policies that cater their demonstrated credentials, ethics

Find out more by watching ACFP's video series, What is Integrated Planning & Reporting?



not well for all.

only to their preferences.

4. They then run a legislative and policy

program that governs well for some,

Issue No. 9 – Unethical governance

Australia has slipped from its pedestal as a nation without significant corruption. In the ten years to 2021, Australia's score on the Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index dropped by 12 points to reach its lowest point since the start of the Index – 73 points. New Zealand and Denmark currently occupy 1st place with 88 points each, 15 points more than Australia.



Australia used to be ranked in the "very clean" category; not any more.

Essentially Australia is stepping slowly but steadily into structural corruption, giving simply too much power to corporate interest groups such as the Minerals Council of Australia, the Business Council of Australia, multinational corporations in fossil fuels, and one dominating conservative media organisation – Murdoch. The influence of Murdoch is plain and it has been



particularly effective, resulting in massive funding cuts for one of its main competitors, the public's own ABC – the most trusted media network in Australia.

The scores on perceived corruption are dropping because **Australians can easily see a spectrum of corruption ranging from relatively small infractions to gross misuse of power and trust**, for example:

- Federal and politicians giving out grants for sporting facilities to marginal electorates during elections, against the recommendations of Sports Australia and the Department of Health, against the rules of Ministerial authority, and probably against the Constitution. They can see at least one state Government, New South Wales, doing the same thing.
- Unenforceable and unethical standards for post separation employment of politicians which, for instance, allow Cabinet Ministers to court and subsequently take up employment with lobbying firms and other influential corporations within the ambit of their portfolio, including arms dealers.
- Interference with public servants in the course of their duty such as apparent attempts by federal minister Angus Taylor to interfere on a matter relating to his family company's breach of environmental regulations by their destruction of protected native grasslands.
- Public servants being put upon to administer unlawful schemes for recovery of welfare
 payments which the government alleged but did not prove to have been overpaid Robodebt.
 Australians can see that the government has admitted unjustly enriching itself in this manner.

The federal level of government is the most problematic at present. Ministerial codes of conduct are too loose and are unenforceable. Ethical standards and behaviour are openly declining in federal parliament and the government has stonewalled for years on its commitment to legislate a federal corruption and integrity commission. The federal parliament has even refused to introduce a binding code of conduct for parliamentarians.

Amid this culture of "unaccountability", Australians have been forced to support an economy based on fossil fuels at the expense of far more productive structures for a modern economy. It has been skewed to drive Australia's economy into industries currently providing no new jobs and away from industries that will provide vast numbers of jobs. Australia has become a victim of state capture.



Issue No. 10 – Fractious international relations

Australia's prospects for safety and security in the coming decades have been deeply and negatively affected over the last two decades due to increased tensions between rising and declining global powers. But they have also been badly impacted by:

- deterioration in our own foreign policy and soft power capability;
- our reduced reliance on diplomacy;
- our shift towards a hawkish stance dominated by secretive intelligence, security and defence agencies;
- the permission we have given to foreign arms dealers to fund the Australian Strategic Policy Institute and directly influence our foreign policy settings so that they beat the drums of war:
- our persistence in making an enemy of our biggest trading partner, China;
- our decisions to reduce humanitarian aid;
- our withdrawal from collaborative arrangements for research and trade and infrastructure partnerships, in particular with China; and
- our postures characterising the United Nations as an unaccountable bureaucracy of "negative globalism" instead of the world's only global forum for leadership on peace, human rights, sustainable development and promotion of respect for the sovereignty of all its members.

In its foreign policy posture, Australia has been set on a path towards enduring war. It is not positioning itself to become a nation assured of enduring peace. These trends have also had a deleterious affect on our reputation as a trustworthy and reliable trading partner and attractive country for investment.

Australia is not a powerful country and since World War II our sense of vulnerability has driven us to rely heavily on our alliance with America. However, there is no guarantee that America will come to Australia's aid in the event of an attack on our territory. In fact, Australia's current arrangements with the US as an ally are *increasing* our exposure as a potential target for aggression, given that we have located American military, intelligence, surveillance and command installations on our soil. The potential for Australia to become a first strike target or a proxy target for the US is increasing with the new "AUKUS" partnership, announced in late 2021 by the prime minister without consultation with Australians. AUKUS introduces the possibility that nuclear powered submarines will be based in Australia. While it is not currently envisaged that these submarines will be nuclear armed, the fact remains that nuclear reactors will shelter in Australia and they therefore constitute a nuclear target. This significantly and perhaps catastrophically endangers Australia.

Australia is entirely unprepared for the changing global order that will come with the inevitable rise of Asia in the next 10 to 20 years. At this time, we should be preparing ourselves to:

- make fully independent decisions on foreign policy and entry to war,
- build a fully independent defence capability, and
- stand on our own but recognise that Australia is located in the Asian part of the world, not in Europe or America, and must therefore pursue its security *in* Asia, not *from* Asia.

Above all, if the Vision for *Australia Together* is to be made a reality, Australia needs to acknowledge that in the new world order – Asia rising, America in relative decline – the safest course is to work on the precautionary premise that we are on our own and build a strategy of cooperation with every nation, not just our traditional allies and not just with democracies.



If a war involving global powers starts in our region, it should be understood that on the balance of probabilities Australia would not win. We would win nothing but misery. Every endeavour should therefore be made to ensure such a war never starts at all and to that end Australia should replace its gratuitously pugnacious and self-defeating postures in relation to China with a genuine offer of respect where it is due. This involves adopting a strategy of high class diplomacy combined with constant cultivation of soft power through a consistent demonstration of the highest ethics and commitment to the common good and shared humanity.

Delusions of the West's capacity to *contain* China using military aggression or brinksmanship through trade – and delusions that there is even any benefit to Australia in doing so – should be dispensed with in favour of a more considered pursuit of enduring peace.

This will involve dispensing with the worst aspects of Australia's current security apparatus, including:

- abolishing the Australian Strategic Policy Institute,
- prohibiting funding of policy development by arms dealers and any foreign agency, and
- reducing secrecy over any matters and information that are central to the public interest and the right of the Australian people to all knowledge necessary for *their* ability determine the future of their country and how their safety may be secured.

In effect this will involve bringing Australians into the centre of planning processes for national security. Strategies for these purposes are being incorporated into *Australia Together*. Current Targets and Strategies include but are not limited to:

Code	Target/Strategy	
Gov12.01	Australian involvement in military operations	
Gov12.01.01	Australian preference for peace versus war	
Gov12.01.02	Australian preference and readiness for an independent defence capability versus dependence on the US alliance	
Gov12.02	Prohibition of weapons exports	
Gov12.03	Prohibition of funding of public institutions and officials by foreign-owned or domestically owned/operated arms dealers or manufacturers	
Gov12.04	Integrated Strategy for Defence, Diplomacy and Security	
Gov12.04.01	Green Paper and community engagement to define Australia's Strategic Interests in Territorial Sovereign Defence	
Gov12.05	Development of the capacity of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) and abolition of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI)	
Gov13.01	Foreign aid	
Gov13.02	Contribution to the Green Climate Fund under the Paris Agreement	
Gov11.01	Participation in international cooperative forums	
Gov11.02	International cooperation for global sustainability	
Gov11.03	Protection of refugees seeking asylum	

In February 2022, 61% of Australians on survey expressed the view that Australia's relationship with China is "a complex relationship to be managed" and a further 13% said it is "a positive opportunity to be realised". Only 25% held the view that it is "a threat to be confronted". Other surveys indicate that there is little appetite for confrontation and aggression with China, and a substantial appetite for sound relationship management to avert war. The indication is that in promoting aggressive "drums of war" postures, the federal government of 2022 was out of step with the views and preferences of the majority of Australians, who predominantly support neutral postures.

⁶⁷ Essential Poll, 22 February 2022.



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Issue No. 11 – Corporate irresponsibility

The standard of corporate responsibility in Australia in the early 202s is a bit of a mixed bag. The mining industry and fossil fuel companies would score near zero in any examination of their credentials to corporate responsibility. Their track record of environmental and heritage devastation is appalling including:

- wetland destruction by Adani at Abbott Point in Queensland in 2018,
- oil spills by Woodside in Western Australia in 2016, and
- destruction of ancient Aboriginal heritage sites, particularly in Western Australia where 46,000 year old rock shelter sacred sites were destroyed by Rio Tinto at Juukan Gorge

These and other mining companies are totally out of step with modern standards for responsible and ethical participation in business. And this is before we get to issues like:

- their failure to pay tax,
- their failure to share profits with the taxpayers who subsidised them,
- their failure to pay to restore the environments they destroy, and
- their failure to respect the need to eliminate carbon emissions.



Other businesses – outside mining and fossil fuels – display varying degrees of responsibility and performance in relation to climate and environmental regulations, workers' rights, human rights and ethical governance. A few are set up to be green and ethical and they are growing in number daily. Our biggest banks support all these businesses, ethical and unethical, pretty much regardless of their records on ethical and environmental parameters. Australia's big four banks have shown little sign of genuine commitment to ethical investment. Between 2016 and 2020 Australia's big four banks:

- invested more than three times as much in fossil fuels as they did in renewables;
- enabled 13.9 billion tonnes of CO₂ to be emitted to the atmosphere;
- provided finance for another 33 new or expanded fossil fuel projects since committing to support the Paris Agreement, projects which over their lifetimes are expected to enable the release of an additional 9 billion tonnes of CO₂ enough to cancel out Australia's planned

emissions reduction target for 2020 to 2030, 21 times over.







The split in consciousness and conscience about corporate responsibility and ethics can be understood as **an ideological divide**. Australia and Australians are stuck in the middle of a clash between two different approaches to business – **neoliberalism and its reverse**.

One side is a "business first" approach, exemplified by the policies and plans for Australia put forward by the Business Council of Australia.



This plan seeks:

- subsidies from Australians
- income and company tax reductions
- caps on government spending
- government support for buy-outs of public assets
- labour market de-regulation
- deletion of legislated increases to the superannuation guarantee
- easing of airport noise regulations
- easing of environmental regulations
- elimination of bans on gas exploration.

In opposition to that we have collaborative plans, eg., the Australian National Outlook 2019, headed by the CSIRO and National Australia Bank.



Focuses on the national interest.

This plan focuses on:

- social inclusion
- environmental conservation
- net zero emissions
- innovation and education
- restoration of trust in governance
- cooperation with other nations.

There is no focus on:

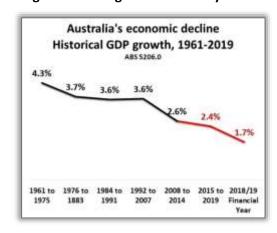
- tax cuts
- · reduced government spending
- subsidies and protectionism
- exploitation of the environment.

The BCA's plan is straight down the line neoliberalism, an approach to economic management which makes sense only if we do *not* wish to achieve a coherent inclusive nation where inequality is minimised, equal opportunity is maximised, the natural environment that we depend on is cared for, and everyone shares fairly in the returns from the national wealth they help to generate.

Neoliberalism has dominated the Australian economic management during the 21st century. But it

is not working. The economy is no longer thriving and expected benefits have not and will not arrive:

- Australians are not gaining wage improvements.
- Benefits are not trickling down to workers.
- Prices for privatised public services are not dropping.
- Tertiary education is becoming unaffordable.
- Lower taxes for the rich are not translating into new investment by business, job creation, or higher incomes for the poor.



All we have achieved is corruption of our government on a grand scale through corporate capture and an economy that has sunk into decline. Taxpayers' assets and services have been ransacked.

In the early 2020s some major Australian businesses are attempting to shift the economy onto a new footing based in large part on renewable energy. But there is a long way to go before corporate responsibility could be claimed. In big business, collaboration especially with workers is not on their agenda and there is no welcome mat being put out to the millions of investors seeking more control of corporate boards due to the growing influence and shareholdings of members of industry superannuation funds. Big business groups are lobbying in herds wherever they can to stop implementation of the legislated increases to the Superannuation Guarantee – increases that are due to grow by increments of half a percent per annum between 2021 and 2025 - providing a total of a 2.5% income increase to workers over the next 5 years.



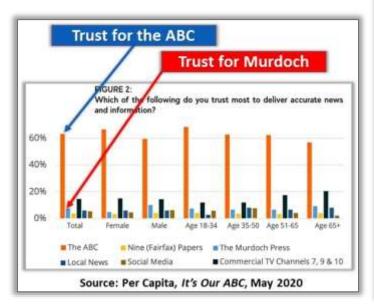
Running in parallel with this corporate playbook is a partnership between the conservative federal government since 2014 and the Murdoch media. This partnership has been operating in an anti-competitive way to gradually disable the taxpayer-owned ABC and reduce whatever competition it may pose to Murdoch. It has also operated very effectively to disable the open-market design of Australia's National Broadband Network, with the Coalition government abandoning the original NBN design of fibre optic cable to homes in 2014 and replacing it with mixed cables to nodes remote from homes. This meant that households would have to pay extra to connect to the NBN and also that it would be slower than the original design. These were strongly anti-competitive moves in Murdoch's favour.

Murdoch market dominance has been aided and abetted by the Australian Competition and Consumer Commission. The ACCC has played a pivotal role in aggravating market concentration problems in Australia's news media, problems which became so severe that in 2020 over 500,000 Australians signed a petition calling for a Royal Commission into the Murdoch media, which in turn resulted in a Senate Inquiry. The ACCC had contributed to market concentration by approving the takeover of Fairfax media by Nine – thereby creating an effective duopoly. Then in 2020, the ACCC developed legislative reforms known as the "News Media Bargaining Code" which had the perverse result of increasing the market power of large news media companies, particularly News Corp and Nine even more, with no corresponding improvement in the accountability of these news media outlets for irresponsible publishing. The ACCC has demonstrated incompetence in its core function.





Under cover of misleading messages portraying the News Media Bargaining Code as a clever attempt to rein in social media and promote diversity in Australia's news media, the government has actually attacked the taxpayer's main interest in the news and entertainment market, which is of course the ABC. In short, the government and its competition regulator have intervened in the market to benefit a media business that the public does not trust at the expense of one that it does. The fraud on the Australian public could hardly be worse and hardly more damaging to their democracy.





Through this and other similar anti-competitive, irresponsible policies against the public interest, Australia's democracy is being turned into a plutocracy. In the early 2020s Australia is being run by unelected fossil fuel, banking and media magnates. These sectors do not have a care for the nation's best interests and are running amok without fair and reasonable regulation.

With the onset of the Coronavirus pandemic, the only moves we have seen from the federal government on corporate sector regulation seem to have been to remove it. One egregious example is the federal Treasurer Josh Frydenberg's amendments of regulations in mid 2020 that effectively released private companies from legal obligations to keep markets and investors informed of their financial standing. He has released private businesses from having to disclose whether they are heading into or trading in insolvency. His stated objective in this is to ensure these failing companies will still be able to attract investment from Australians, particularly from their pooled superannuation funds, even though such investment may not be a safe one at all. The move is openly and unashamedly stated by the Treasurer as one designed to make class actions harder in the event of losses caused to Australians on investments made in good faith by them but courted and accepted by corporations in very bad faith. Further examples of corporate corruption abound in the sale of public assets and services and in support of the mining and fossil fuel industries – against the public interest. For more information see Issue No. 13 – Lost public ownership.

The current federal government under Scott Morrison has not proved its credentials in independent regulation of corporate entities who seek market dominance. On the contrary, it has proved only that it is deeply susceptible to crony capitalism.



Issue No. 12 – Economic decline

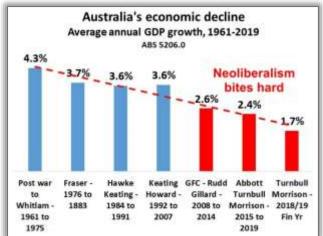
In today's forums for economic debate there are two schools of thought about economic growth, or growth of GDP:

- One school says GDP isn't a good measure of a nation's wealth and wellbeing.
- The other holds that growth in GDP is the best indicator our economic strength.

In helping to build a long term plan for Australia's economy, ACFP has taken the position that improved wellbeing in an advanced country like Australia arises not so much from continued growth of GDP but from fair sharing of national wealth and income. Economic growth isn't or shouldn't be an end in itself. It's how we share growth that matters.

But this is not to say that GDP growth isn't important. If an economy *isn't* growing or isn't growing fast enough then there is certainly less wealth to share around, which will of course aggravate our troubles with inequality. So it stands to reason that if an elected government is embedding policies that are causing economic growth to slow down, then they are compounding our problems of inequality.

In Australia today we have a government that is doing exactly that – slowing our economy. Well before the onset of Covid-19 and the recession brought on by the pandemic, Australia's economic growth was slowly declining. It is a myth that conservative governments, relying as they have tended to on neoliberal policies of small government and free unregulated markets, are better at managing the economy:



- If growth is the measure, they are not.
- If equality is the measure, they are not
- If a sustainable environment is the measure, they are not.

In May 2020 after the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic recession, Prime Minister Scott Morrison stated that "we should remember that this event, these difficult times in 2020 were not caused by economic failure, but a global health pandemic. The problem was not the economy," he said. But the fact is that the economy was a problem before Covid-19. And at this point in our economy the last thing Australians need from leaders is denial.

The problem of our economy is not a passing one. It is not a temporary blip. In its current form with its dependency on mining and exports – two sectors that are on the brink of big trouble, if they're not already in big trouble – Australia's economy has come to the end of its course and current policy settings are actually making this worse not better.

To get this in perspective we can look briefly at the history of Australia's economy, which we can describe in phases on a page:



Stages of Australia's Economy					
1960s to 1960s to 1980s	 Agriculture Mining Manufacturing Agriculture Mining Manufacturing 	 Supported by: Tariffs protect manufacturing High commodity prices producing strong export income Immigration High wages, set nationally by arbitration Administratively determined exchange rates and interest rates Regulated lending levels for banks Threatened by: Falling export prices and rising import prices Cost of tariff protection no longer supported by export income High wages now unaffordable 			
		 Centralised wage fixing stoking inflation Over-valued exchange makes agriculture and mining exports less competitive 			
Mid 1980s to 2008	 Rise of the services sector Corporatisation and then privatisation of GTEs and social services Arrival of the digital economy & internet 	 Re-made by: Opening the economy to flexibility and competition by removing tariff protection Floating exchange rate Removal of politics from decisions on interest rates and exchange rates A prices and incomes accord (with Medicare and superannuation) Enterprise bargaining – wage rises in exchange for productivity Competition policy – level playing field focus Digitisation makes for sale of services internationally Buoyed by: Private sector investment Rise of China and India and an attendant mining boom National income from exports rises while the cost of imports falls Threatened by: September 11 attacks on USA, insurance industry collapses and entry into the Iraq war Cessation of free tertiary education 			
2009 to 2013	Continues amid the GFC	 Excessive property price escalation Buoyed by: Fiscal stimulus Continued rise of China and India Information technology and telecommunications Shift to new economy attempted by: Introduction of a carbon price 			
2014 to 2019	 End of mining boom Small government Stalled productivity 	 Threatened by: Arrival of full blown neoliberalism – reversing fiscal approaches Austerity for the poorest by "ending the age of entitlement" Regressive taxation legislation Loss of productivity based EBAs Negative new private capital investment Weakened competitive capacity of the public sector Corruption of competition policy Undermining of environmental protection Repeal of the carbon price Growth of the fossil fuel subsidy Failure of climate and energy policy 			

These policy settings are all running in precisely the opposite direction to that needed for an economy where:



- one of our biggest exports coal mining is on the brink of decline,
- demand has fallen for other key exports including education,
- productivity has stalled,
- private sector investment in new capital has stalled,
- poverty is on the rise,
- consumer demand and spending power are in decline,
- environmental resources are being consumed at rates far beyond their capacity for renewal,
- climate and energy policies are non-existent, and
- there is no capacity left to reduce interest rates to help the economy along.

Australians are probably used to hearing from the federal government that our economic fundamentals are strong. But they are not. These are just **some** of the weaknesses that are now afflicting our economy.

The economic policies implemented since 2014 have not been working to expand our economy and they will not work at any time in the foreseeable future. If Australians want to see a better report card than this one on the state of our economy in the next few years, a complete reversal of policies in multiple areas is required, particularly in taxation, welfare, government investment, government employment, labour relations, carbon emissions and pricing, energy, land use, social housing, and education. In the language of political economists, the reversal that is required is to the prevailing ideological tenets of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism has done our economy no favours.

Neoliberalism is a political ideology which tells us that our wellbeing arises exclusively from economic growth and that this growth can only arise from:

- less government,
- less taxation (especially for the rich and for corporations),
- less public ownership and operation of assets and services,
- less welfare,
- less regulation of markets, and
- less regulation of use and pollution of the natural environment.

Essentially, neoliberalism is unregulated capitalism. At its theoretical extreme, it gives capitalism a really bad name, especially insofar as it pursues a range of policies which can only result in growth in inequality. It also results in national economies being smaller than they would otherwise be because it withdraws the strength of the biggest single player in growing an economy: it withdraws the government sector from participation.

By cramping public spending, government trading enterprises and taxpayer participation in their own economy, neoliberalism unnecessarily reduces the size of the economy. Instead of freeing up taxpayer funds and giving taxpayers a say in how they would like to spend their own money and invest in themselves, neoliberalism encourages a transfer of the national revenue from the taxes paid by workers over to business owners and multinational corporations. In Australia's case this has resulted in massive taxpayer subsidies to mining companies.

Australians are used to hearing about "transfer payments" to those on unemployment benefits, as though those transfer payments are drag on the economy, not the stimulant that they are. But far bigger transfers are actually made to business owners. In the case of the fossil fuel subsidy, this transfer has grown to a disproportionately large figure. Taxpayers are currently being forced to transfer well over \$10 billion a year to fossil fuel companies in various forms of subsidy. They receive no return for this in the form of:



- enhanced private capital investment growth in private capital investment has been negative for years;
- increased wages these have been flat for years;
- tax revenues corporate tax avoidance has ballooned;
- job creation subsidised sectors of private industry are not big employers.

Growth in Australia's economy is being seriously hampered by neoliberalism, particularly insofar as it is pushing the government owned sector and taxpayers out of participation in their own economy. A reversal of this sorry economic trend can only be secured by ensuring that **both** the public and private sectors participate to their fullest competitive capacity. This will require an overhaul of our current National Competition Policy. This policy has become the instrument of neoliberal raids on public assets and services. It is operating to reduce the competition that can be established by an active government sector. It is embedding corporate inefficiency and seriously reducing the competitiveness of our exports.

Competition policy was meant to:

- prevent anti-competitive conduct by any business, government or private;
- introduce competitive neutrality principles restricting governments from gaining business advantages;
- prevent mergers and acquisitions that are contrary to the public interest; and
- provide access for businesses to monopoly infrastructure on fair and equitable terms.



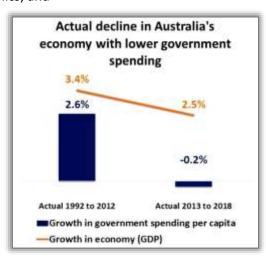
But instead it led to:

- a rise in anti-competitive behaviour by the private sector;
- a weakening of the government sector in the economy and its competitive reforms;
- an increase in private sector monopolies;
- unsustainable exploitation of resources;
- sales of public assets for less than their worth; and
- transfer of public profits into private hands.

Other policies on public sector participation which are now embedding economic decline include:

- artificial capping of government sector participation by adoption of an arbitrary tax-to-GDP cap of 23.9% – a cap which has no basis in economics; and
- significantly slowed spending by government as both a proportion of GDP and on a per capita basis – a spending trend which significantly slows growth.

In the twenty years to 2012, growth in real government spending per capita averaged 2.6% per annum and our economy *grew* in that period. By contrast, from 2013, spending per capita declined on average and our economy *slowed* significantly. Put simply, the government has not been spending enough to grow the economy. And neoliberalism is stomping all over our right to spend our own money on ourselves and sucking our money away to transfer it to a privileged few.





Many Australians who have been taught to think that taxation and government spending are bad things may instinctively support strategies which cap government spending. But spending by governments pumps spending power for consumers into the economy which is what makes it grow. Spending wisely is desirable – obviously. Efficiency in government is desirable – obviously. But reduced government sector spending in total is not wise at all. Government makes up a quarter of the size of Australia's economy. It's the biggest single player. So reducing the size of government can have only one effect – an economy that is smaller and can carry fewer Australians to a decent quality of life.

Australia is on the cusp of an economic transformation, but it can go either way. The path to good fortune will consist in traveling in the reverse direction to the path of neoliberalism. Put simply, we can choose from two policy menus:

Australians can choose from two different types of policy menus for their					
next economic transformation					
Neoliberalism	Reversing neoliberalism				
Reduces GDP / Increases inequality	Increases GDP / Reduces inequality				
Continue the tax-to-GDP cap	Remove the tax-to-GDP cap				
Continue the regressive tax cuts which reduce tax for the rich but make the poor pay it back over the next decade	Repeal the regressive tax cuts which reduce tax for the rich but make the poor pay it back over the next decade				
Reduce the tertiary education sector	Rebuild the tertiary education sector				
Reduce or cramp welfare payments and stifle demand and consumption	Expand welfare payments to improve spending power of more than a million Australians				
Reduce health services relative to demand	Expand health services and grow employment				
Stifle investment in renewable power generation, discourage public ownership and resist a price on carbon	Buy into renewable power generation and maintain it in public ownership and jump into pricing carbon				
Provide grants to those who can afford renovations above \$150,000 with no focus on buildings efficiency	Provide financial incentives and loans for home and buildings efficiency retrofits				
Continue stagnant investment in social housing and pay more in mental health, policing and prison services	Expand public housing to eliminate homelessness and decrease bills in mental health, policing and prisons				
Limit the pay of teachers, nurses, aged carers, child carers, cleaners and health support workers	Increase the pay of teachers, nurses, aged carers, child carers, cleaners and health support workers				
Continue to allow tax evasion by big business	Introduce a corporate cash flow tax				
Continue to subsidise uncompetitive businesses, especially fossil fuels	Abolish all fossil fuel subsidies and introduce a social wage for all adult Australians				

The last line of this table, suggesting that Australians introduce a social wage, is an option for a pivotal transformation that can:

- stimulate economic growth sustainably,
- · steer the nation towards full employment,
- reduce inequality, and
- free up unused capacity in the labour force to give Australians far more satisfying opportunities for work in their preferred industries.

A social wage is a wonderful opportunity for everyone if it is introduced in the context of a new **Accord between Australians and their parliaments on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing**. For more information see <u>Episode 2 of Snapshots from Australia Together</u> on YouTube.







Issue No. 13 – Lost public ownership

Over the last three decades Australians have witnessed a massive sell off of publicly owned assets, services, and government commercial trading enterprises (GTEs).

We have written ourselves out of ownership of ports, airports, an airline, toll roads, buses, electricity generation and transmission infrastructure, a very big bank, a commercial health insurer, commercial laboratories, vital data bases, and too many other vital assets and services to mention. Massive money making businesses for the nation have been sold off. In some cases we've even written ourselves out of this ownership by entering deals detrimental to the assets and services we've retained – such as deals in which the port in Sydney was sold with promises to restrain future competition from the competing ports, such as Newcastle. In other words these things are frequently sold in a manner that reduces competition. And this results in price rises.

Privatisation on such a grand scale has reduced returns to taxpayers from these assets and services. It has reduced their shares of wealth in their own economy. And it has come to this because of the way the privatisations have been administered.

Originally, these privatisations were meant to occur in the context of the introduction of the National Competition Policy by the Hawke-Keating government. This was a policy which focussed on ensuring a level playing field for public and private sector competitors in the market, and protecting Australia against the anticompetitive behaviour that occurs when private entities get too much market power. It was not the intention to unleash unregulated private monopolies onto the economy. The intention was to create competition and to skill up the public service in efficient and profitable operation of competitive

Originally, sales of public assets were meant to occur in the context of National Competition Policy.

But gradually,

Competition Policy was discarded, enabling remarkably profitable public assets to be sold off as monopolies.

government trading enterprises alongside private competitors.

But gradually, Competition Policy was effectively discarded, governments abandoned efficiency programs for public sector enterprises, vacated competitive markets and simply sold off these vital assets and enterprises, very often with little or no regulatory constraints. On the contrary, regulations were often loosened to allow a privileged few to make even more profits from assets and services that taxpayers had spent decades establishing. And remarkably, they were frequently

sold off as monopolies, creating immense market power for a few lucky. The sale of NSW Land & Property Information service – the LPI – was an egregious

example.

Sale of the LPI by the NSW Government

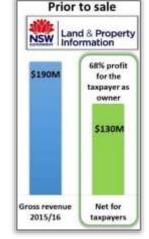
Prior to its sale the LPI was earning \$190 million a year selling very cheap property title protection to NSW buyers and owners and making \$130 million in profit. On top of that, NSW property owners were paying next to nothing for transactions on titles and next to nothing on title insurance.

The NSW government sold the LPI for 35 years for a mere \$2.6 billion. It also gave away the growth in business that would have come to taxpayers from the addition of 1.8 million titles predicted to arise from population growth and retained title insurance costs.

NSW residents <u>lost a minimum of \$5 billion</u> in earnings from year 19 onwards.

The sale of the LPI was a facilitated raid on a

public asset, selling it for less than half its value.

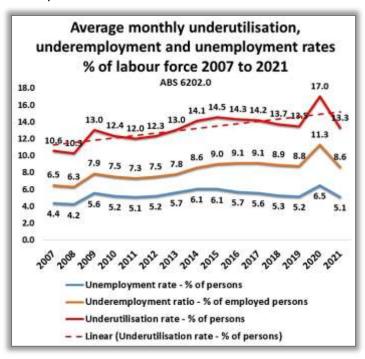


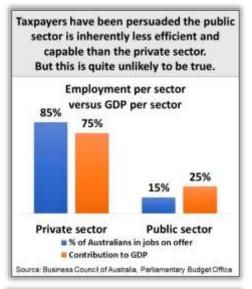


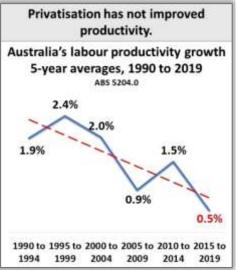
Sale of assets for less than they are worth amounts to grand theft. But this has been allowed because we have made assumptions that the public sector is inherently less efficient and less capable than the private sector and that, if the economy is to grow, we must give private interests the public assets we have worked hard to create and let them manage these in an unregulated market. The Business Council of Australia has bolstered this argument by statements like "The actions that will improve our lives ... require ... creating the environment where Australians can succeed because employers are doing well." But this is very unlikely to be true.

For instance, the Business Council now boasts that the private sector sweeps up 85% of Australia's workers. Unfortunately, it uses them so inefficiently that they produce only 75% of the GDP. The public sector provides work for the other 15% of employed Australians but they produce 25% of the GDP. None of that attests to the comparative efficiency of the private sector.

Nor has the sell-off led to an increase in productivity. Productivity has declined. This is no testimony to the notion that as we hand over more public assets to the private sector, productivity and efficiency will increase. If they will, we're still waiting. We are also still waiting for private sector dominance of the economy to actually improve employment. Since the pandemic recession, unemployment has dropped to just over 4% but this masks the real unemployment rate because it does not take underemployment into account. Total unemployment, or underutilisation of the willing labour force, was 10.9% in January 2022.









For Australia's economy, based heavily as it is on services, the big employer with potential to grow employment is the is the public sector.



After 30 years of sales of valuable public assets it is high time Australia reviewed its National Competition Policy. The policy has become the enabler of neoliberalism and the growth of private monopolies. If we had adhered more closely to the original National Competition Policy and simply used the brains of Australians to make public sector GTEs competitive with the private sector, it might have been a different story. But sell-offs of taxpayer owned assets and services have only resulted in:

- increased prices, costs, risks and liability for taxpayers,
- reduced competition,
- reduced efficiency and productivity,
- increased market concentration,
- reduced accountability,
- diminished national wealth, and
- diminished sharing of national wealth.

It is not a good report card. The situation has been exacerbated by the neoliberal zeal for deregulation which has seen unrestrained corporations willing to exploit Australian citizens in the most unconscionable ways, purely in order to maximise their own profits. Examples abound including the banking sector, the aged care and the private tertiary education sector. With such large scale divestment of assets and services into private unregulated markets it is logical to ask:

Are we better off by backing out of just about every one of our own assets and services and buying in only to private corporations? Are we worse off?

- If inequality is a measure, we would have to say more of us are worse off than better off.
- If increased corporate profits but reduced growth in GDP and wages is a measure, then we would have to say we are worse off.
- And if price increases are the result of sell-offs of assets like electricity generation, toll roads and property title data, then we would have to say we are worse off.

Privatisation of public assets and services has been a failure in Australia and all the evidence is that it is too risky to assume competency in private sector operators of public services. Business competency is not something we can be assured of in those who have bought our energy assets over the years and who are now seeking increased taxpayer subsidies for ventures which have no place in Australia's future – namely the gas and mining corporations who are currently doing their best to drag Australia back to the dark ages of an economy based on fossil fuels.

Australia's economy is on the brink of collapse and needs to be newly made by a rapid shift to

decarbonisation alongside a significant expansion of public sector employment in health, welfare and education, a diversification of our industrial base, and an inclusive industrial relations system. This is the minimum required for a better report card next time around.





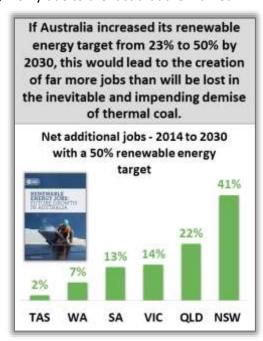
Issue No. 14 – Inertia in transition to decarbonisation

Given Australia's abundant resources of sunlight and open land and our need to avert the more disastrous effects of climate change, it is inevitable that the renewable energy industry will expand to become a mainstay of Australia's economy and jobs market. And yet the federal government of Australia has backed what it calls a "gas led recovery" from the Covid-19 recession to the almost complete neglect of the renewable energy sector – the sector that is far more likely to provide secure and safe jobs for Australians.

In 2020, the renewable energy industry employed more than 25,000 people due to the establishment in 2001 of the Renewable Energy Target (RET). This target required energy companies to move towards sourcing 23% of electricity from clean renewable sources. The target resulted in significant investment in large scale renewable energy generation capacity. But when the target was finally reached in 2019, the Australian government refused to raise it beyond 23%. This inaction triggered a sudden 50% drop in large-scale renewable energy investment compared with 2018 – just at the time we should have been increasing such investment, if only due to the fact that the market

for fossil fuels is set inevitably to decline and renewables are now a cheaper source of power in Australia than coal and gas.

It is well established that if Australia increased its renewable energy target from 23% to 50% by 2030, this would lead to the creation of far more jobs than will be lost in the inevitable and impending demise of thermal coal. Climate Council studies show that "Job losses in coal fired electricity generation would be more than compensated for by increased employment in the renewable energy sector." ⁶⁸ In fact net additional jobs would be created in *all* states. The biggest net increases would be in the states currently supporting the largest number of coal mining jobs – Queensland and NSW. In job terms those states would be substantially net better off. They would have stronger economies with no thermal coal mining and a full shift to renewable energy.



While asserting that its focus is on jobs, the Morrison government has, contrary to Australia's best interests, selected an economy based on expensive carbon emitting fuels which provide far less jobs than clean renewables. Renewable energy will be a major source of jobs in the next few years. Coal and gas will not. The federal government's policy settings encouraging coal and discouraging renewables are therefore all upside-down from both an economy and a jobs point of view, not just from an environmental point of view. They are a mark of serious incompetence in economic management and downright perversity in relation to job creation.

Fortunately, for Australia, we have some responsible agencies such as the Australian Energy Market Operator (AEMO), the Australian Clean Energy Regulator and some other private sector players who are demonstrating significant capacity to steer the nation towards renewable energy. It may take longer without the assistance of the federal government; and since the world is very short of time to reach net zero emissions before global heating becomes too intense for the planet and humanity, there is still a significant threat to our future.

⁶⁸ Climate Council, Renewable Energy Jobs, Future Growth in Australia, 2016.



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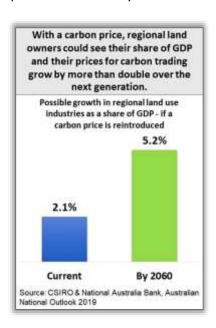
Recognising that threat, in 2021, the International Energy Agency (IEA) reported that in order to reach net zero global carbon emissions by 2050, consistent with the Paris Agreement, existing unabated fossil fuel production would need to be phased out in developed countries by 2030 and in all countries by 2040. The IEA stated that if the world is to reach net zero emissions before planetary heating exceeds 1.5°C, there must be no more new oil and gas fields approved for development and no new coal mines or mine extension. And yet Australia has approximately 50 more projects in development.

Making matters worse, in 2021, the federal government released its "Plan to Deliver Net Zero: The Australian Way". The "Plan" included no proposals to phase out coal, oil or gas as sources of energy and made no statement on phasing out combustion vehicles. Instead it proposed to rely on technology developments for abating emissions and on buying (rather than producing) carbon offsets. No data were provided to verify the emissions reductions purported to arise from the plan. In stating that: "Our plan ... will not shut down coal or gas production, or require displacement of productive agricultural land", the "Plan" runs directly contrary to IEA conclusions that no further fossil fuel projects are needed or can be permitted if the world is to achieve net zero. It also runs contrary to both AEMO's 2020 Integrated System Plan for the energy market and their 2022 draft ISP. And it runs counter to the wishes of the Australian people, 82% of whom reported on survey in 2021 that they supported a phase out of coal fired power stations⁶⁹. If implemented, the federal government's "Plan to Deliver Net Zero: The Australian Way" will result in total failure on temperature targets in the Paris Agreement.

Recent studies by the Institute for Sustainable Futures at the University of Technology Sydney have demonstrated that if policies are set to signal a future for renewables, the renewable energy industry could create 20,000 extra jobs in the next five years, increasing the total jobs from the current 25,000 to 45,000⁷⁰. AEMO's has developed a "step plan" to help make that a reality. ⁷¹

However, the speed of Australia's shift to an electricity grid powered by renewable energy is likely to be too slow to keep temperature increases within the 1.5oC to 2.0oC required under the Paris Agreement. Two major factors that will slow decarbonisation in Australia include our failure to stop fossil fuel subsidies and our failure to reintroduce a price on carbon.

With a carbon price Australia could look forward to excellent prices and income to be gained for the nation, and particularly for its farmers, merely for planting trees on land not useful for food and fibre production. But instead, everything in Australian federal policy is set against pricing the very thing we could sell domestically and internationally at very good prices — carbon permits. Year after year, Australians are being put upon to subsidise fossil fuels even though the days when subsidies for fossil fuels will produce a better return than investment in renewables are over.



⁷¹ Australian Energy Market Operator (AEMO), Integrated System Plan 2020.



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⁶⁹ Australia Institute, Climate of the Nation 2021.

⁷⁰ UTS Institute for Sustainable Futures& Clean Energy Council, <u>Renewable Energy Jobs in Australia, Stage 1</u>, June 2020.

Issue No. 15 – Environmental decline

Degradation of Australia's magnificent natural environment has accelerated dramatically since the arrival of Europeans in Australia. According to the Australian Museum, ecosystems lost in the last 200 years include:

- 75% of rainforests and nearly 50% of all forests;
- over 60% of coastal wetlands in southern and eastern Australia;
- nearly 90% of temperate woodlands and mallee;
- more than 99% of south-eastern Australia's temperate lowland grasslands;
- over 83% of Tasmania's lowland grasslands and grassy woodlands;
- about 95% of brigalow scrub that originally grew in Queensland; and
- over 90% of Victoria's grasslands.

And the *rate* of decline in our biodiversity is increasing. In the nation's most recent State of the Environment Report in 2016 it was reported that, "Most jurisdictions consider the status of threatened species to be poor and the trend to be declining."

Recent decline of Australia's biodiversity							
	Threatened 2019	Threatened 2021	Extinct 2019	Extinct 2021			
Fauna	463	478	54	67			
Flora	1336	1362	37	37			

This, however, is bound to be an under-representation of the facts, because

- the federal government does not have a good track record in data collection, and
- data collection pre-dates the 2019/20 east coast bushfires.

The bushfires burnt out 97,000 square kilometres of vegetation – habitat for 832 species of native vertebrate fauna. Seventy animal types had more than 30% of their habitat impacted and 21 of these were already listed as threatened with extinction.

The Australian Bureau of Statistics has analysed historical data at least up until 2010 and has gleaned

enough to state that "Australia has experienced the largest documented decline in biodiversity of any continent over the past 200 years." The finding is all the more alarming, bearing in mind the United Nations Report handed down in 2019 which stated that "The global rate of species extinction is already at least tens to hundreds of times higher than the average rate over the past 10 million years and is accelerating." To be the worst among a really bad lot is surely damning.



State and federal policy responses show no signs of attempts to retrieve the situation. Despite the growth in numbers of listed endangered species, at least three state governments, Queensland, NSW and Victoria have presided over continued land clearing and forest logging which has significantly impacted ecological communities. In NSW alone, where the state government introduced new legislation in 2016, ostensibly "to arrest and ultimately reverse the current decline in the state's biodiversity" specifically by slowing the rate of land clearing, land clearing has accelerated.



In only two years from 2016, the area of land cleared under the Biodiversity Conservation Act in NSW exceeded the area set aside for conservation by a factor of ten. The federal development approval system under the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999 operates with similarly devastating impacts.

Policy and regulation for biodiversity protection is in tatters. In 2020 the Australian National Audit Office released an audit report on the government's management of approvals of controlled activities under the federal Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999. The report was scathing in its findings on the use of an "offset system" for controlling the impact of development on biodiversity. These "offsets" do not guarantee replacement habitat for threatened species or ecosystems and corruption and profiteering from the

system is increasing. Administrators are giving approvals for destruction on a grand scale, and then failing to gather data to monitor impacts or compliance.

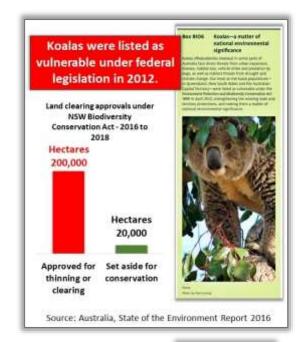
Australians are given little opportunity for insight into the entirely unnecessary

impact of flora and fauna loss on their economy. Planning for economic development assumes biodiversity must be disregarded. But environmental renewal is now the biggest enabler of economic growth. Landowners could soon make far more money from planting a tree than cutting one down, but only if we reintroduce a price on carbon, as has been recommended by our most credible economists and business owners.

By repealing the carbon price in 2014, Australia has pulled itself out of an incredibly lucrative opportunity. But we can take full advantage of that opportunity once again if only we make the right choice between two diametrically opposed paths to the future:

Two choices:

- We can choose simply to put the trees back on the land that we know is not well suited to agriculture, re-establish ecological communities and watch our natural environment make money for us simply by thriving – simply by storing carbon naturally and selling the product of carbon farming – which is carbon credits.
- Or we can choose to continue ripping our land to pieces, we can keep extinguishing biodiversity, and we can watch the economy and our natural resources spiral into decline together.





"The Australian emissions trading scheme was due to be integrated into the European one from 1 July 2014. Those arrangements went into hibernation with Australian carbon pricing. If something like them were brought back to life, we could now expect Australia to be a rapidly expanding exporter of goods embodying renewable energy, and to be engaged in close discussion of adjustments in rules to allow large-scale trade in legitimate carbon credits from the land sector. We can make a significant start on developing an important carbon farming industry through domestic markets, and go further when policy change allows large-scale international trade in carbon credits." Ross Garnaut, Super-power

The choice is easy.

It is Australia's very great good fortune that we don't have to sacrifice our environment to save our economy.

On the contrary, we can only save our economy by saving our environment.

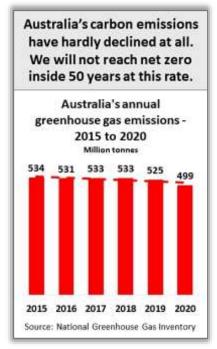


Issue No. 16 – Climate policy failure

Australia, every other country, and the planet are all in serious trouble due to climate change. But we can fix it if Australia plays a fair part with other nations. It is still possible to prevent planetary heating above 1.5° Celsius, just as we agreed to do with every other nation when Australia signed the Paris Agreement in 2015. But this means Australia and the world will need to achieve net zero carbon emissions not by 2050 but by about the year 2033 – or sooner depending on when we start with strategies necessary to stop the heating.

Australia has made no progress in emissions reduction since signing the Paris Agreement. With the exception of the 2020 year which saw a sizeable drop in Australia's carbon emissions due to the Covid-19 lockdowns, a drop we may expect to disappear when the pandemic is over, our domestic emission trends have remained generally flat, reducing by only 1.7% in total between 2015 and 2019. We won't reach net zero inside 50 years at this rate. And every year we delay shaves a year off our time for dealing with the heating problem.

A second imperative is that if we are to honour our commitment in Paris, we will need to ensure that Australia does not exceed a total carbon budget of about 3.5 billion tonnes of emissions. In other words we will have to achieve net zero without emitting more than this total tonnage of carbon between 2020 and 2033. In fact we have to emit no more than this ever. Otherwise, Australia will be emitting far more than its fair share of the remaining global stock of carbon emissions.



The whole object of the exercise of reducing emissions is to get the heating to stop. We won't do that if we insist on emitting more than a fair share of what's left of the world's safe limit of carbon emissions.

Australia's fair share is no more than 3.5 billion tonnes of emissions between 2020 and whenever we reach net zero emissions.

For more information on Australia's fair share of the remaining carbon the world can emit before global heating will rise above 1.5° Celsius, view these videos on YouTube:

The State of Australia in 2020
Episode 6, Part 2 – Climate policy
failure and how to fix it by global
leadership

What's at stake at COP 26?

Everything!

Snapshots from Australia

Together, Episode 1 – A plan for
fixing climate change









Australia's progress towards becoming a net zero carbon emissions nations and a renewable energy super-power has been abysmal due to the fact that political parties, particularly the Liberal and National parties, have turned the issue of climate change into a weapon to be deployed in the culture wars that have replaced political debate in our national life. But this has effectively become a war against the future of the Australian people and their country, homes, lives and livelihoods. The "climate wars" as they are now called have been prosecuted by fossil fuel companies, their lobbyists and peak business and industry associations in league with the conservative governments of prime ministers Abbott, Turnbull and Morrison. The climate wars started most notably in 2014 with the repeal of the carbon price by the Abbott government purely for political gain. This has robbed Australians of many billions in national income that could have accrued from carbon trading and has possibly robbed us of the chance to reach net zero emissions before global heating exceeds 1.5° Celsius. In short it may have robbed us of a liveable planet.

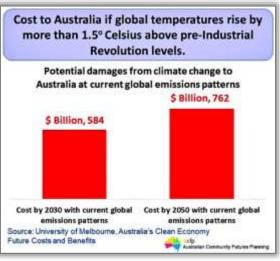
In 2022 Australia is listed last in the world CCPI for climate change policy and ranks at the very low end of the scale for all areas of performance necessary to prevent climate change and its impacts. Throughout the 46th parliament we have continued to slip to the bottom of the Index.

This uncooperative stance on climate change, combined with a persistent failure to protect Australia's unique biodiversity, are the biggest threats to the nation's future prosperity and economic strength, as the University of Melbourne has made clear in research about the cost of the world's current trajectory of carbon

emissions reduction⁷². In 2020, researchers were able to quantify these potential losses to Australia at \$584 billion by 2030 and \$762 billion by 2050. These losses are entirely unnecessary.

Because Australia has so seriously delayed reducing its emissions, the annual reductions required to ensure that Australia at least does the minimum necessary in cooperation with other countries to cap temperature increases at 1.5° Celsius will now need to be much higher and faster than they would have been if we had started reducing emissions in 2000. However, due to recent large scale bushfires and floods, Australians have by and large turned to governments to reduce emissions urgently.





⁷² University of Melbourne, Melbourne Sustainable Society Institute, "Australia's Clean Economy Future: Costs and Benefits", June 2019, https://sustainable.unimelb.edu.au/publications/issues-papers/australias-clean-economy



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There is a growing recognition that Australia has arrived at a point But unaffordable bills where failure to meet ambitious emissions reduction targets will and lifestyle devastation make climate change adaptation unaffordable for future generations. can still be avoided if Australia reaches net Australia's total annual emissions – zero emissions before Actual to 2019 and comparisons of projected emissions in 2030 under different targets 2033. (million tonnes CO2-e) 627 Eurrent federal government target for emissions reduction-605 611 Australia will not reach net zero until 2062, almost 30 years. 533 532 too late to prevent heating above 1.5° Calsius 452 Alternative urgent emission reduction targets The sooner we reach Aims to reach net net zero, the more zero by 2033 affordable will be 153 our adaptation 112 costs. **Future generations** cannot afford for 1990 Climate Council ACFP Target for 2030 1995 2005 2007 2014 2019 Current Australian current generations

Australia needs major institutional change and economic transition if we are to deal with climate change. For this reason, an integrated plan is being mapped out in *Australia Together* for strategies that will help communities and business to manage economic transitions, build resilience and

Target for 2030 -

tonnage emitted in

2005 C SINCE

carbon emissions in

2030

- 79% reduction on

2019

||cfp

75% reduction on tonnage emitted in

to go slower.

Actual Actual Actual Actual Actual Actual target for volume of

Australian Community Futures Planning

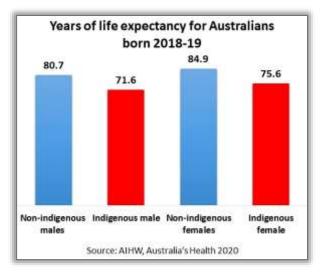




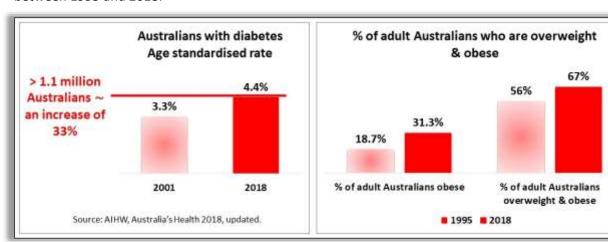
Issue No. 17 – Declining health and safety at home

The life expectancy of Australians is among the best in the world on average, unless you are an Indigenous Australian. Australian men and women live for around nine years longer on average than Indigenous Australians.

And although we have a good public health and hospital system by world standards, we are experiencing increases in the incidence of some critical health problems, such as diabetes and obesity. The incidence of diabetes among Australians has increased by almost 50% since 2001. Over 1.1 million Australians now suffer from diabetes.

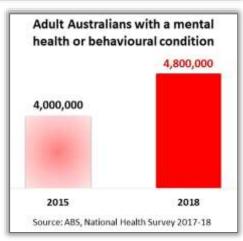


And since 1995, the proportion of adults aged 18 years and over who were overweight or obese increased from 56% to 67%. Most of the increase was from people shifting from being merely overweight to suffering full-on obesity. The rate of obesity in adult Australians increased by 66% between 1995 and 2018.



But perhaps one of the most challenging facts about our health and wellbeing is that in 2015, 4 million or 17.5% of Australians had a mental or behavioural condition. This then increased in only three years to 4.8 million. 20% of Australians had a mental or behavioural condition in 2018. The Australian Bureau of Statistics' National Health Survey in 2018 showed this increase was due predominantly to a rise in the number of people with anxiety-related conditions or depression.

These sorts of health issues have ramifications throughout the entirety of our lives, particularly on family cohesion, something which shows up nowhere more clearly than it does in trends of domestic abuse.



Trends in domestic abuse in Australia are not easily observable because some states simply don't report on trends, and data gaps are substantial. But what is known is that:



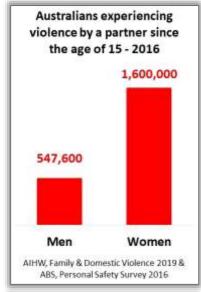
- In 2016/17, 4,600 women and 1,700 men were hospitalised due to family and domestic violence.
- Between 2013 and 2014, the National Homicide Monitoring Program recorded 213 domestic homicide victims. This increased slightly in the next year when 218 victims were reported killed.
- In 2016–17, there were 611 hospitalisations of children aged 0–14 for injuries due to domestic abuse, including 156 Indigenous children.
- In 2016, the ABS reported that 6% of men (547,600) and 17% of women (1.6 million) had experienced violence by a partner since the age of 15.
- 23% or 2.2 million women and 16% or 1.4 million men reported they had experienced emotional abuse by a partner since the age of 15.

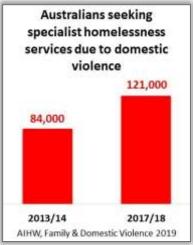
Given all this it shouldn't be surprising that nationally, the number of Australians reporting that because of domestic violence they had sought assistance from specialist homelessness services rose from 84,800 people in 2014 to 121,000 in 2018. This has occurred at the same time as there has been a recorded *decrease* in services specific to female domestic violence sufferers and a slow withdrawal of federal funding.

By 2019, "more than 1 in 2 women in Australia were being turned away from crisis accommodation every night."

Women's Community Shelters homepage 2019

What we are witnessing here is a slow societal breakdown and an embedding of inequality. Australia's Prime Minister proudly stated on New Year's Day in 2020, "that there is no better place to raise kids anywhere on the planet". But the truth is there are many better places in the developed world to raise children. Some countries, including ones less wealthy than Australia, are doing much better. Data from UNICEF in 2007 (the latest comparative data available), showed clearly that in terms of both the health and safety and material wellbeing of children, Australia scored below the average of 25 economically advanced OECD countries.





	Health & safety of children	Material wellbeing of children	
Best performer	Sweden	Sweden	
OECD average =	Australia - 14th	Australia - 13th	
Worst performer	USA	Poland	

Australia also had the second highest percentage of households with children without an employed parent and has since made this worse for families with children, by freezing Newstart/Jobseeker so that it has failed to keep pace with the costs of living and housing, and by transferring single parents from the Parenting Payment to the lower Newstart payment, deepening poverty and exclusion for children from these families.

Child disadvantage in Australia has shown up in the trend of decline in school educational attainment.



Issue No. 18 – Declining educational attainment

In 2018, Australia scored in the bottom third of developed countries for equality of attendance at preschool, and educational attainment in primary and secondary school.

We were ranked 30th out of 38 rich countries, indicating that the disparity of educational attainment across all three levels of pre-school enrolment, primary school reading scores and secondary school reading scores was comparatively and unhealthily wide.

Australia has a greater proportion of our children left at the bottom of the literacy scale than 29 other developed countries.

Australian children attend preschool

less
than 35 other wealthy OECD
countries.





According to the OECD, 15-year-olds who report having had more than one year of pre-primary education do substantially better at reading than those with no pre-primary education, even after accounting for the child's economic and social position.

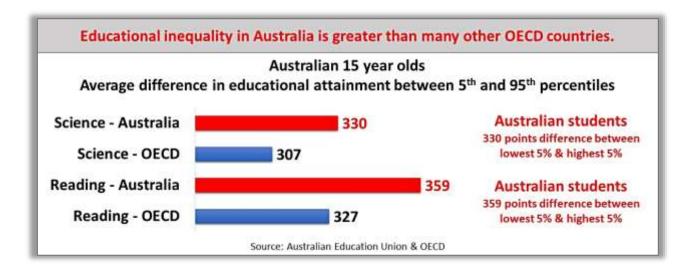
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This poor attendance rate for pre-school education translates through life to lower educational attainment, an outcome reflected in Australia's scores in the OECD's Program for International Student Assessment – otherwise known as PISA scores. The scores of students aged 15 years in Australia have been dropping consistently since 2003 in reading, science and maths.

	ng in PISA scores out of more 70 Consistently declining since 200	
Reading 2003 2006 2009 2012 2015 2018 4th 17th	Science 2003 2006 2009 2012 2015 2018 8th 18th	Maths 2003 2006 2009 2012 2015 2013 10th 30t
	Source: OECD & Wikipedia, PISA Program	

The OECD's 2018 report on PISA scores also shows that the gap between the highest and lowest achievers in Australian schools is significantly greater than the OECD average. **We are plumbing new depths of inequality in education leaving more and more of our kids at the bottom.** In Australia the average difference between the 5th and 95th percentiles for Scientific Literacy is 330 points, greater than the OECD average which is 307 points. For Reading Literacy the difference between the 5th and 95th percentiles in Australia is 359 points but the OECD average is only 327 points.





This inequality has coincided and indeed been caused by an excessive focus by some state governments on students already doing well and little or no stated focus on those stuck at the bottom. This is a state and federal government failure, not a teacher failure.

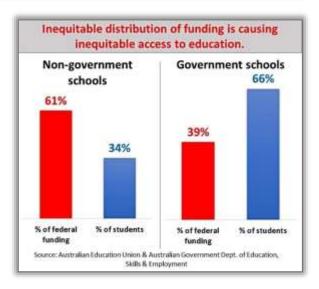
The NSW government is a particular but not singular culprit in this institutional neglect having set "Premier's Priorities" for education which focus purely on getting more children from the second highest band into the top band of NAPLAN scores to the almost total exclusion of strategies that help

those most in need at the bottom. Years of this focus has resulted in no improvement whatsoever in average scores in either PISA or NAPLAN. On several measures, scores have simply got worse. Across Australia average scores have either barely improved or have stagnated.

NAPLAN – Mean scores for Australian children Change from 2008 to 2019						
	Year 3	Year 5	Year 7	Year 9		
Reading	Slight improvement	Slight improvement	No change	No change		
Numeracy	No change	No change	Slight improvement	No change		

The problem has been unconscionably aggravated by inequitable distribution of federal funding to privileged schools over schools with less privileged students. In the federal government's distribution of our taxes:

- 61% of funding is going to nongovernment schools even though they teach only 34% of the students.
- Only 39% of our taxpayer funded support for schools is going to government schools, even though they teach 66% of students.



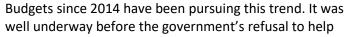
This leaves the states struggling to fund state schools and supporting private schools as well. And although the totality of state and federal government funding is 70% for government schools, the inequity is still clear in that those attending privileged private schools are being subsidised more than is necessary. Parents who pay exorbitant fees for the private school education of their children (fees which have already reached up to an astonishing \$40,000 per student per annum in NSW) are not taking the burden off the taxpayer or funding their children's education on their own. They are simply paying for a luxury level of education which others cannot afford and which in fact others are



missing out on because they are subsidising private school education for the already privileged. This is not the fair go for all.

At a certain point, luxury for some in education needs to be funded entirely by the privileged wealthy and not by the taxpayer. At present Australia so obviously does not have this balance worked out well enough to lift those who are less privileged to a level of educational attainment that will enable them to reach their full potential in life. Nor are there plans in place in 2022 to address funding needs for education. Instead, the federal government is planning major funding cuts for education.

Australians are very likely to be expecting that their children and grandchildren will be able to afford an education in 2050. But alas, in the fine print of the most recent "Intergenerational Reports" from federal Treasurers in 2015 and 2021 it is apparent that the longer term planning is being set to cut education funding, as a proportion of GDP, by 40% by 2061.

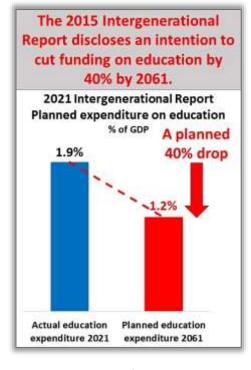


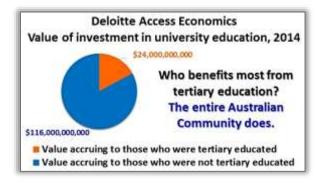
universities in the Coronavirus pandemic made the situation instantly much worse. If there is a shred of truth that Australia is the best country to raise a child, by 2050 that will have evaporated if we keep following the "plan" set out in the 2015 and 2021 Intergenerational Reports.

Finally, the federal government's attacks on the tertiary education sector severely disadvantage Australian students compared to other developed countries. Not only did the attacks result in the loss of an estimated 40,000 jobs in the sector (35,000 in universities and another 5,000 in vocational education⁷³), they will inevitably result in economic loss for Australia and a lower standard of living for everyone. In its 2021/22 budget, the federal government doubled down on its attack by setting the tertiary education budget to decline by 9% over the four years to 2024/25. Over the same period, vocational and other education was set to be cut by 26%.

But from the point of view of economic growth and standards of living, there is absolutely no benefit in cutting expenditure on tertiary education. As Deloitte Access Economics has pointed out, the value accruing to Australia's total productive capacity in 2014 due to tertiary education was \$140

billion, of which only \$24 billion accrued to the tertiary educated themselves. The "spillover effects", it found, meant that for every one percentage point increase in the number of workers with a university degree, the wages of those without tertiary qualifications rose 1.6 to 1.9 per cent. That's a far bigger contribution to wages growth, per dollar invested, than the current government has managed with its investments in fossil fuels since 2014.





⁷³ The Australia Institute, An Avoidable Catastrophe: Pandemic Job Losses in Higher Education and their Consequences, September 2021.

⁷⁴ Source: Mike Seccombe, "Turnbull's war on universities", The Saturday Paper, 6-12 May 2017

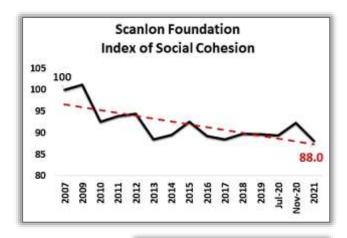


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Issue No. 19 – Declining quality of life and loss of social cohesion

Australia's social cohesion is in decline, having improved only once in the history of surveys undertaken by the Scanlon Foundation – way back in 2009. Thereafter it has been mostly downhill for Australia's sense of social cohesion and has been noticeably downhill in terms of attitudes to immigration, multiculturalism and diversity (see Issue No. 4 above).

The current score for our social cohesion on the Scanlon Index is the lowest in the history of the survey.⁷⁵



In 2021, Australia's federal government attempted, with funding from the Department of Home Affairs, to "redraw the map of social cohesion" by establishing the "Australian Cohesion Index". This new index incorporated the Scanlon Index of Social Cohesion as a set of "subjective" measures of cohesion and added in 24 other "objective" measures of a cohesive society.

It was noted that the new combined Index would measure "more significant things regarding human life than just the market value of commodities bought and sold [GDP]". 76 This new development is in line with what several other countries including Canada and the UK have been doing in establishing monitoring programs for wellbeing and cohesion. Each takes a different approach to selection of indicators and in "Mapping Social Cohesion 2021" it is noted that:



there is considerable variance in the number of domains and indicators, and the balance of objective and subjective indicators. The simplest indexes comprise only one indicator, such as the World Happiness Report, which uses a self-assessed level of happiness (rated on a scale of 0 to 10) obtained from the Gallup World Poll, which ranks 95 countries by their level of happiness. In contrast the OECD's How's Life? Report comprises 15 domains and over 80 indicators. The Canadian Index comprises 8 domains, with 8 indicators in each, heavily weighted towards objective indicators, comprising 55 objective and 9 subjective indicators. The UK National Wellbeing Dashboard comprises 24 objective and 17 subjective indicators.

In comparison to these, the Australia Together National Wellbeing Index – with 265 Indicators, Targets and Strategies (and growing) – is significantly more complex. It incorporates the same types of Indicators in the above mentioned indexes but it is able to hold and validate many more because it adds the perspective of the future.

⁷⁵ Note that lower scores were registered in the Scanlon Survey in 2018 and 2019, during the period of changeover from (and overlap of) one data collection methodology (RDD) to a new one (Lin A). ACFP has worked with the higher scores for those two years. See Scanlon Foundation, Mapping Social Cohesion. ⁷⁶ Australian Government, Monash University, Scanlon Foundation, Emeritus Professor Andrew Markus, et al., Mapping Social Cohesion 2021, Part 2.



The abovementioned Indexes do not set targets. They are in essence, aimless. By contrast the *Australia Together* National Wellbeing Index comprises indicators that must be monitored if we are to isolate weaknesses in our overall wellbeing – weaknesses which will disable our progress towards a preferred future if they are not attended to soon enough. Using these indicators, it aims to answer these main questions:

- 1. Are we moving towards or away from our preferred future?
- 2. Are we moving along the safe routes or are we straying into danger?



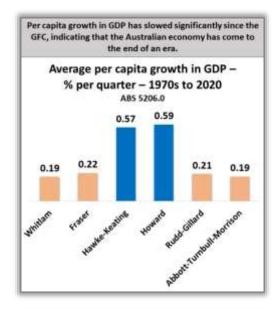
The simpler and more straightforward dashboards of wellbeing are useful for determining whether we are getting better or worse on a relatively small number of parameters. But at the same time they do not reflect complexity. They also tend to stop us from seeing things as soon as we need to if we are to stay on course to a better future. And because of the extreme selectivity of the indicators they can be misused for political purposes with relative ease. Bright pictures of progress can be painted when perhaps they shouldn't. Conversely, pessimistic conclusions can be drawn when they shouldn't, particularly if they prevent identification of the strengths that are actually present in a nation and that should be capitalised on. A good wellbeing index needs to give it to us straight.

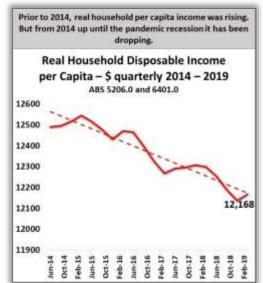
However it has to be said that when it comes to painting accurate pictures of our quality of life and social cohesion, the inaugural Australian Cohesion Index may obscure somewhat more than it reveals. For instance, the indicators selected to monitor material conditions relate to income and assets and the ultimate results are published as a positive gain between 2008 and 2018. The implication is:

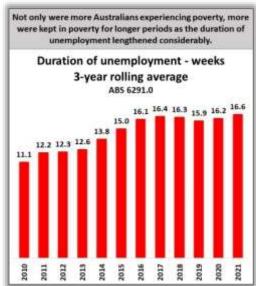
- that economic growth per capita is improving when in the broader trend, it is not;
- that household incomes are growing substantially when in the broader trend they are not;
- that poverty is declining when in the broader trend it is not; and
- that income inequality is lessening when in the broader trend it is not.

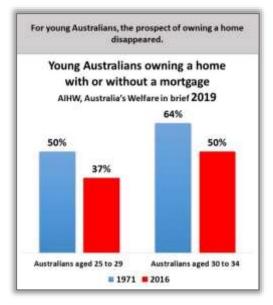


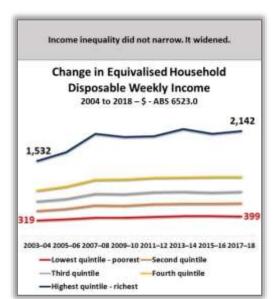
The fuller picture of our quality of life on these factors can been seen over time:

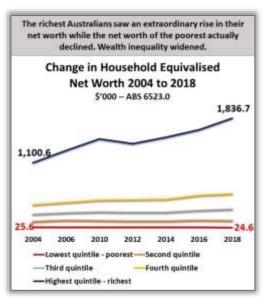






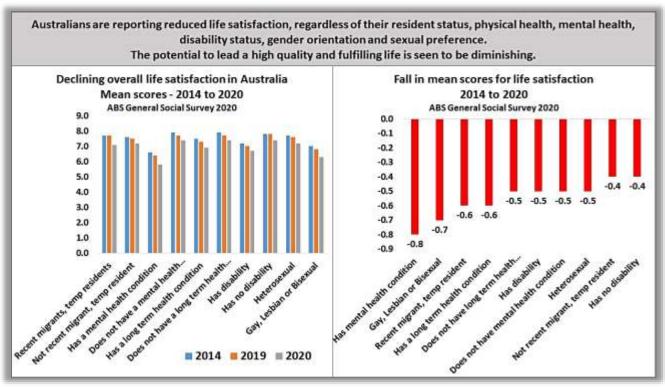






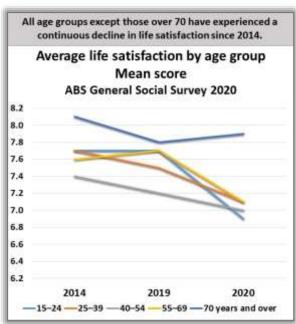


These results and myriad others do not indicate that we are on course to an improving quality of life. Nor does it seem that Australians feel that to be the case. In all ABS General Social Surveys since 2014 all groups of Australians except those aged over 70 years have reported continuous drops in life satisfaction.



What we are witnessing here is not "social cohesion in broadly solid shape, despite COVID-19", as claimed in the Scanlon Foundation website headline on release of Mapping Social Cohesion 2021⁷⁷. There are distinct and sizeable misgivings across all groups. This should be attended to sooner rather than later.

The Scanlon Index makes a call that social cohesion is solid based on "the high — although declining — level of support for government, the high level of trust in fellow citizens, the level of economic satisfaction, and optimism for the future." And it is happily true that from the onset of Covid-19 there has been a sudden reversal in trends of distrust of governments and economic pessimism. This may have arisen from our experience of bushfires, floods and a pandemic in which it became more obvious to many that, within our federation structure, our safety at home relies



somewhat more on state government capability than it does on federal government services and our economic security relies more heavily on federal government fiscal stimulus. A new appreciation for the structure of our federation has emerged along with a new awareness of the benefits of

⁷⁷ Scanlon Foundation 2021 Mapping Social Cohesion website.



having the government sector participate in the economy much more than would be preferred by adherents of neoliberalism.

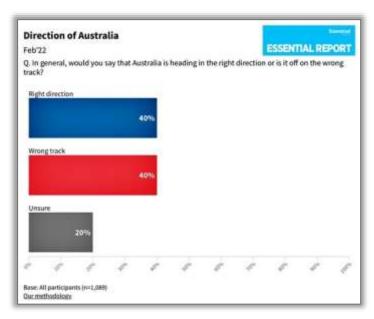
If we are to ensure that this new-found optimism and trust is not simply a one-off, then in 2022, it is evident that the level of government requiring the most reform is the federal level, especially insofar as in policy orientation it has demonstrated:

- distinct unwillingness to recognise the dead weight placed on our economy and our quality of life by thirty years of neoliberalism;
- inaction on stemming corruption;
- stubborn refusal to address climate change; and
- willingness to beat the drums of war.

A society capable of addressing such weaknesses will need to be a more closely aligned across cultures, ages and genders than we are in 2022.

Despite evident new-found trust in each other and glimmers of willingness to work together for a better quality of life for all, it is still of significant concern that, after more than a decade of what are routinely recognised now as "culture wars", Australia is now a distinctly divided

society on the issue of whether we are headed in the right direction. This observation must be qualified insofar as there is no agreed articulation either of the direction we are actually headed in or the direction we would prefer to head in. But either way, it does not reflect a cohesive society. It is more an indication of the fragility of our democracy and our capacity to keep it all together.



Willingness to work together is clearly present but our capacity to do so is not yet secured.

In 2022, multiple surveys indicate that fewer Australians are viewing Australia as a land of opportunity with positive prospects for them. There is clear consensus that younger generations will be less well off than their parents. Perceptions about longer term economic prospects vary from year to year but the longer term trend is clearly negative and the speed with which recent optimism may have already turned sour is reflected in the fact that the federal election of 2022 is shaping up to be fought over the issue of the cost of living.

Australians coalesce in a view that the gap between rich and poor is too wide. Inequality is the central breakdown point of our social cohesion. It is reducing the positive effect of everything good that we manage to do together, and this at a time when Australians are not yet confident that our system of democratic governance is strong. The evidence is that our democracy is considered to be fragile and perhaps on the brink of turning towards civil unrest. The prospect that peaceful transfers of power may be disrupted as they were in the 6 January 2021 insurrection in America is not one to be ignored. Populist demonstrations in Canberra in early 2022 involving property destruction do not bode well. There is a need to improve the way we utilise our democracy. This can be done with National Integrated Planning & Reporting. It can help recognise the signs of discontent and prepare us better for the future.



Issue No. 20 – Declining wellbeing and happiness

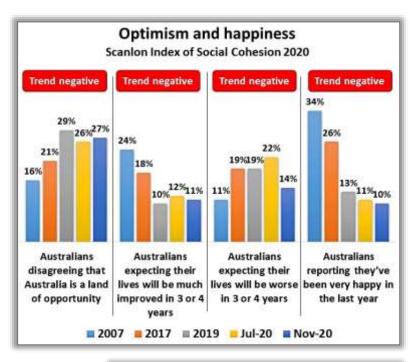
Wellbeing and happiness seem to be set on a downward slide for Australians. Our optimism and expectations that our lives will get better in the future are diminishing.

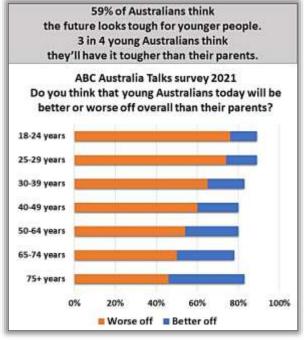
For instance, those disagreeing with the proposition that Australia is a land of economic opportunity where hard work is rewarded have nearly doubled since 2007, indicating that more Australians now feel they are being left behind. This applies particularly to the young. All age groups agree that the future looks tough for younger people.

Fewer Australians have confidence that their lives will be better in

three or four years and overall we do not trust our governments to build a resilient and cohesive Australia. Evidence abounds that, post-Covid, many Australians trust government more than they used to. But while in 2021 we may have briefly trusted that governments will deal well with a crisis in the present, (at least until the recent floods in eastern Australia), there is no evidence that Australians believe their governments can be trusted to deal with future challenges, particularly climate change.

The ABC's giant-sized Australia Talks 2021 Survey of 60,000 Australians, for instance, showed that 63% of us rated climate change as a big problem, but sadly 68% of us thought Australia was "doing poorly" at addressing it. Likewise, the Lowy Institute Poll in 2021 found that 61% of Australians thought climate change would pose a critical threat to our interests in the next decade. But we gave the





federal government a very poor score on its management of climate change. We gave it 4.6 out of 10, the worst score for any of the priority reform areas we had identified. We view climate change as our biggest challenge but it is the area of policy where our governments have displayed the worst level of readiness. In Australia, fear of climate change has set in and it is extremely unsettling, adding seriously to a decline in mental health and wellbeing. It is notable that ABS surveys of the impacts of Covid-19 on households registered high or very high levels of psychological distress throughout the first two years of the pandemic – over 20% for all Australians and 30% for young Australians aged 18 to 34 years. This is significantly higher than in pre-pandemic surveys when it was around 13%.

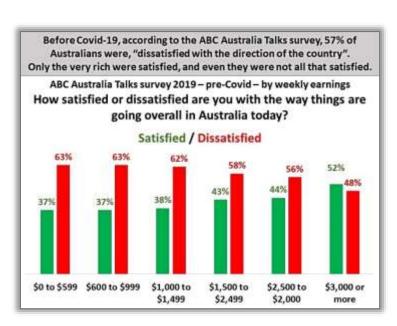
⁷⁸ ABS Household Impacts of Covid-19 survey, June 2021.



Australia is a society not confident of its ability to deal with the future. This does not mean that confidence cannot be built. But there is a long way to go.

In the early 2020s Australians are not reporting growth in happiness. We live in the 12th wealthiest country in the world but it seems that money does not make Australians very happy and we are not satisfied with our country's direction. According to the ABC's Australia Talks National Survey of 55,000 Australians in 2019, 57% of Australians "are *dissatisfied* with the direction of the country", which lines up fairly closely with the results of the Essential survey mentioned in Issue No. 19 above, although that is a little more optimistic.

Income is the key determining factor here. Only the very rich report that they are satisfied with the direction of Australia, and even they are not all that satisfied. It seems the more we earn, the happier we are with the direction of Australia – or shall we say, the less **unhappy** we are with our national direction and progress. But only about half of those earning above \$3,000 a week or above \$156,000 a year reported satisfaction with the direction of the country. It seems money has not made most Australians feel secure about the direction of Australia. Clearly most of us do not feel we are traveling to a better future or even that we are



going well as a nation in the present. This applies regardless of our personal income and wealth.

What seems apparent here is that the adversarial arrangement of our democracy in the last twenty years and our wealth as a nation have not taken us forward to a better life. A wealthy democracy — with all the freedoms and privileges it implies — ought to work to make us happier. But ours has not. In the annual "World Happiness Report" published by the United Nations Sustainable

Development Solutions
Network since 2016, Australia
has steadily slipped from being
ranked as the 9th happiest
country in 2017 (out of a total
of 153 participating countries)
to the 12 happiest in the world
in the 2020 survey report. We
went up one place in 2021 but
still scored fewer points for
"average life evaluations" —
meaning we are happier
relative to other countries but



not actually happier than we were the year before.

Putting all this into reasonable perspective – so that it is useful for purposes of turning our less than happy circumstances around – requires us to seek out our strengths. Our democracy and wealth can still work for us and we have much to build on. After all, we are still among the happiest of countries



and obviously we are NOT a nation about to abandon all hope. Our social capital may be dwindling (although we have no real measure for that other than that it may have been threatened by recent attacks on Australia's education system), but it should be reckoned that our human capital is nowhere near being depleted to the point where we cannot recover the happiness we apparently have lost over the last decade.

To recover it, however, we would also need to look at what has caused the slip (in addition to looking for our strengths). No doubt there are many factors contributing to the decline in our sense of our wellbeing and happiness. And the World Happiness Survey is quite helpful in that regard because it attempts to explain each nation's reported quantum of happiness. They have tried to explain it by considering correlations between reported happiness for each nation and their:

- GDP per capita,
- access to social support,
- life expectancy,
- the sense of the freedom to make life choices,
- national generosity in terms of the amount of foreign aid we provide, and
- perceptions of corruption within our borders.

The survey also works out each country's scores for this relative to what they call a benchmark "dystopia". In other words, based on our responses in surveys, it calculates how far away each country is from the nation that wretchedly scored the most recent worst case of unhappiness. What this reveals is that Australia's slide down the world happiness rankings does have some rather uncomfortable coincidence with recent:

- reductions in freedoms for Australians (outlined in Issue No. 7 above);
- our reduced access to social support because of the rise of neoliberalism (discussed in Issue Nos. 3, 11, 12, 13 and 19 above);
- our reduced confidence that our leaders in government and business are not corrupt (see Issue Nos. 9, 11, 12, 15 and 19 above);
- our recently reduced GDP per capita (see Issue No. 19 above); and
- our reduced contributions of foreign aid (see Issue No. 10 above).



Australia has exhibited all but one of the socioeconomic features identified by the World Happiness Survey as coincident with a decline in happiness. And into that potentially toxic mix we have added growth in inequality, embedded recently in Australia particularly by:

- our failure to raise and share national wealth fairly,
- unfair funding of school education, and by
- attacks on the tertiary education sector.



All these policy settings have set Australia on a trajectory to unhappiness.

Of course, what would make us happier needs to be articulated before we can reverse the trend of growing unhappiness. It is not enough just to know what is making us unhappy. It is not enough to know that simple reversals of things like neoliberalism will fix it. A national conversation about exactly what would make us happier – one where everyone can have a say if they so choose – is long overdue. Its time has come. Why wait for any further breakdown in our social fabric before we arrest the trend of our increasing unhappiness with the direction of Australia?

We can fix the things that we know are causing the breakdowns in our wellbeing and happiness. But finding out what would make more of us happier – in addition to the fixes – is a prerequisite to our ability to set ourselves up as a nation to achieve a higher degree of satisfaction with its direction. If that can be understood it will be possible to isolate the strengths we should capitalise on to shift into top gear towards a better future.

Australia has a marvellous set of strengths including but not limited to:

- enough wealth to share around,
- brilliant diversity of cultures,
- one of the widest biodiversities on the planet,
- arguably the most remarkable Indigenous nations in human history, holding millennia of wisdom within their heritage, culture and deep connection to all things in and of the land,
- clever workers, communities and business owners,
- renewable resources that provide opportunities to establish new economies that will be globally competitive in the coming century,
- a willingness to work together as a community to overcome the divisions that have been driven into our society since the start of the 21st century.

Australians also have one more strength that they may use, if they choose, to build their preferred better future. With the development of National Integrated Planning & Reporting they now have the tools they need to build a picture of their preferred future and the safe paths towards it. National IP&R offers Australians something new to strengthen their cohesion and their democracy. It offers them a way to build the nation they want and secure a future for their children – together. Anyone and everyone can become involved in building *Australia Together*. Find out how at www.austcfp.com.au





Chapter 13 – Acknowledgements

Australia Together is growing into a strong long term plan consolidating in one place, for the first time, baseline Indicators of our current wellbeing as a nation and the Targets and Strategies we will need if we are to follow the safest routes to make the Vision and Directions for Australia Together a reality by 2050 or sooner. Hundreds of thoughtful agencies and individuals, through the research they have made freely available, have made it possible to establish this assembly of community intelligence. ACFP especially wishes to thank the following for the work they have done. It's now up to we the people to engage with this research and work together to refine the plan.

Australian governments

Australian Bureau of Statistics
Parliamentary Budget Office
Australian Public Service Commission
Australian Government Treasury
Australian Institute of Health & Welfare

Library of the Parliament of Australia National Greenhouse Gas Inventory

Australian Government Clean Energy Regulator Australian Government Department of Agriculture,

Water & the Environment

Australian Government, State of the Environment

Reports

Australian Electoral Commission

State Library of NSW

Australian Government Attorney General's Department

Australian Senate Committees

Bureau of Infrastructure, Transport & Regional

Economics - BITRE

Closing the Gap in Partnership Australian Early Development Census

Australian Government Workplace Gender Equality

Agency

Australian Institute of Criminology

Australian Government Department of Social Services Commonwealth Government Department of Defence Australian Government Department of Health NSW Government Centre for Economic & Regional Development

Audit Office of NSW

Australian National Audit Office Council of Australian Governments Australian Human Rights Commission Queensland Government (State Plan)

Waverley Council

Council of the City of Sydney

Australian Government Productivity Commission Australian Competition & Consumer Commission

Australian Museum

Australian Government Department of the Environment

& Energy

Australian Government Department of Education, Skills

& Employment

Aged Care Royal Commission

CSIRO

High Court of Australia

Distinguished professional & scholarly contributors

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Global institutions

International Monetary Fund

Wikipedia

Transparency International Edelman Trust Barometer

United Nations Sustainable Development Solutions

Network

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United Nations Children's Fund - UNICEF Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

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Independent research & policy analysts & institutes

Australian National Outlook 2019 Centre for Policy Development

Essential Research McCrindle

Scanlon Foundation

Per Capita Next 25

Australia Institute Lowy Institute **Grattan Institute**

Institute for Integrated Economic Research - Australia

Australia reMADE Climate Council

Network for Greening the Financial System

New Democracy

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Brian Toohey Ross Gittins Greg Jericho

Luke Henriques-Gomes Katharine Murphy Kim Wingerei IdeaSpies Gareth Hutchens

Peak social support organisations

Coalition of Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander Peak

Organisations

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Heart

Australian Council of Social Service - ACOSS

Foodbank

Homelessness NSW

Save Our Schools, Trevor Cobbold Australian Education Union

Private sector sources

Business Council of Australia DIGI - Digital Industry Group Inc. Deloitte Access Economics National Australia Bank

Google

Public corporates & independent regulators

AEMO - Australian Energy Market Operator

Reserve Bank of Australia

Universities

Australian National University Crawford School of Public

Policy

Australian National University Centre for Social Research

Methods

La Trobe University

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University of Canberra News & Media Research Centre

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University of Queensland - Dr Rebecca Ananian-Welsh University of Sydney United States Studies Centre University of Technology Sydney Institute for Public

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