



M C K E L L I N S T I T U T E ' S

Annual Report 2023

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A Message from the Chair

2023 has been another impactful and productive year at the McKell Institute.

After a strong start to the year, former CEO Michael Buckland departed the Institute for a senior role within the NSW Government.

We thank Michael Buckland for his service to the McKell Institute. For two years, Michael navigated the challenges of COVID-19 skilfully, leaving the Institute in a stronger position than before the pandemic. We wish him well in his new role.

In June, the McKell Institute board appointed long-serving McKell Institute staff member Ed Cavanough to the role of CEO. Since, we have continued to host meaningful dialogues with key decision makers, and undertake research focused on identifying practical, real-world solutions to the issues facing everyday Australians.

We're encouraged that this year, we have seen numerous McKell Institute proposals shape government policy.

Our wage theft, labour-hire reform, Free TAFE and community battery proposals are now Albanese Government policy. At state levels, we have seen governments in Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria adopt McKell Institute ideas on issues as diverse as manufacturing, skills & training, and the provision of mental health services.

These achievements are detailed in this year's *Impact Statement* and reflect the Institute's focus on translating practical policy ideas into real-world outcomes.

As we look toward 2024, we see an increasingly complicated set of policy challenges facing governments across Australia.

In the near term, cost of living pressures, exacerbated by increasing interest rates and rising rents, are testing Australian households.

Meanwhile, the international environment is becoming more complex, straining global supply chains, increasing the price of essentials such as fuel, and placing additional demands on government.

Amid this context, the Albanese Government has passed the half-way point of its first term, and the conversation will soon shift towards a second-term agenda.

The McKell Institute looks forward to playing a constructive and impactful role in 2024.



HON DR CRAIG EMERSON



CEO Statement: A Year of Transition, Growth & Impact

After a busy run up to the state election in New South Wales, former CEO Michael Buckland departed the Institute in April for a senior role in the new Minns Labor Government.

Michael ushered the organisation through a challenging period, as COVID-19 lockdowns changed the way we all worked and did business.

That we emerged stronger on the other side of the COVID-19 restrictions is testament to Michael's leadership. McKell's loss has truly been the NSW people's gain.

After being appointed Acting CEO upon Michael's departure, I was honoured to receive the board's endorsement in June to undertake the role in an ongoing capacity.

Since then, we have been busy continuing the Institute's program of research, events and advocacy, while also building our team and expanding our network right across the country.

I am proud to lead the McKell Institute because our mission is not just to talk about issues but to solve real-world problems.

This year's annual report includes the McKell Institute's inaugural **Impact Statement**, which details the efficacy of this approach.

In it, we highlight **10 McKell Institute policies** we're proud to see being put into action.

In Canberra, we have seen the Albanese Government work to close labour hire loopholes, pursue gig work reform and crack down on wage theft.

This comes after the commencement of the rollout of community batteries and free TAFE policies — ideas advanced in McKell reports prior to the 2022 Federal Election.

And at a state level, our impact has been similarly forceful.

The Minns Government's action on toll road relief, housing and homelessness, retail violence, and domestic manufacturing mirror proposals we have championed.

The Palaszczuk Government's decision to adequately fund the essential service of *Lifeline* came on the back of our advocacy.

In Victoria, we welcomed the Andrews Government's plan to boost apprenticeship completion rates, an outcome championed by the Institute in partnership with the Victorian Trades Hall Council.

The McKell Institute is also a forum for lively debate, discussion and innovative new ideas.

This year we held more than 30 events across New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland.

We heard from a bipartisan roster of premiers, treasurers, state and federal ministers and senior opposition figures, as well as senior public servants, agency leaders and other influential guests.

Particularly poignant was the sobering address from Ukrainian Ambassador Vasyl Myroshnychenko, detailing the ongoing conflict in Ukraine, and how Australia can continue to show solidarity with Kiev as Russia's senseless assault continues.

I want to thank every McKell Institute sponsor for their ongoing support, and everyone who has taken the time to reach out this year since

I assumed the CEO role. McKell is bettered by its partnerships across civil society, the trade union movement and corporate Australia, and it has been a joy to get to know and work with so many of you since June.

Next year will again be a big year in Australian public policy.

The ACT and Queensland governments will go to the polls in October, while governments and oppositions in Tasmania, Western Australia and at the Commonwealth level will be considering their policy objectives ahead of elections in 2025, all amid cost-of-living pressures.

I look forward to continuing to champion practical, progressive ideas for a fairer Australia in the year ahead.



ED CAVANOUGH CEO

MCKELL INSTITUTE QUEENSLAND

ED Statement

With October marking a year to go until the next state Queensland election, the next 12 months will provide an opportunity to debate the policy challenges that will shape the next decade.

Already we know the next decade is set to be shaped by the infrastructure pipeline underpinning the Energy and Jobs Plan, the Housing Investment Fund, the historic spend in Health and the lead in to the 2032 Brisbane Olympics.

It will be crucial to the success of these projects and the continued prosperity of the state of Queensland that we get the delivery right.

We need to understand just what transition looks like practically, for rural and urban Queensland communities.

We need to make sure we have the right pathway of training needed for these new State-defining projects as well as the new industries that will emerge, and ensure skilling for Queenslanders transitioning from existing employment to these new opportunities.

We know, too, that the cost-of-living is biting. We are seeing high housing prices and rents, the rising costs of goods, energy, education and healthcare. These are an ongoing concerns for Queenslanders.

In this complex policy environment, McKell Institute Queensland is excited to contribute.

At McKell, our focus is on producing progressive research, looking at practical solutions to existing and emerging problems.

In addition to our research, our regular events seek to bring together government ministers, senior policy makers, businesspeople and community leaders to engage with audiences on important issues.

These conversations provide invaluable insights and help inform our research agenda.

With a full schedule of events and research planned for 2024, we look forward to the coming 12 months.

SARAH MAWHINNEY

McKell Institute Queensland
Executive Director



MCKELL INSTITUTE VICTORIA

ED Statement

Ongoing wage theft and the cost-of-living crisis underpinned the Institute's work in Victoria throughout 2023.

Unfinished Business: the ongoing battle against wage theft was released in August, showing how much workers have been ripped off in every federal electorate. We'll be reminding Members of Parliament and their constituents of these worrying figures as the Commonwealth Closing the Loopholes Bill progresses in 2024.

Our spotlight on unpaid work, presented in partnership with HESTA, showed how workers across the caregiving sector are carrying an undocumented load that supports the public health system, often at the expense of their own wellbeing.

We were honoured to have Professor Emeritus Dame Marilyn Waring launch *Our place in time: making unpaid work count*.

Other highlights included our annual Victorian budget lunch with Treasurer Tim Pallas. We hosted state and federal ministers at boardroom events to discuss health and medical research, the future of the inner city, changing workforce needs and the state's landmark housing plan.

We pushed for sophisticated solutions to housing pressures, called for a nationwide rental market overhaul, and for long-term tenancies to be protected over short-stay accommodation.

Since joining the McKell Institute earlier this year, I have been grateful for the support of the Victorian Board, chaired by Kelvyn Lavelle. Kel's enthusiasm for the Institute's Victorian branch is a key contributor to our success.

I thank previous Executive Director, Ryan Batchelor, for his dedication to progressive public policy, which has taken him to the state's Legislative Council.

Victoria's recent leadership transition from Daniel Andrews, a once in a generation political leader, to Jacinta Allan, one of the state's most experienced ministers, comes at a crucial time.

We will continue to be a pragmatic voice in complex conversations surrounding our evolving workforce, the housing market, and difficult economic conditions.

The McKell Institute Victoria heads into 2024 with a bold, progressive agenda that I look forward to delivering with our growing member base and through our political engagement, thought leadership and public advocacy.

REBECCA THISTLETON

McKell Institute Victoria
Executive Director





2023 Impact Statement

McKell Institute research is designed to make *real-world impact*.

We measure impact not by digital shares or media hits, but by policies adopted and pursued by governments.

This year's Impact Statement charts the real-world outcomes of McKell Institute's research and advocacy.

OUTCOME

MCKELL INSTITUTE'S ROLE

Lifeline funding commitment in Queensland

In 2022, the McKell Institute partnered with Lifeline to make the case for more sustainable funding for its essential services. This year, the Queensland Government committed \$12 million to do just that, accepting our recommendations.

Announcement of new manufacturing strategy in NSW

In the lead up to the NSW State Election, McKell argued for reprioritising domestic manufacturing in the state, highlighting how overseas procurement of ferries, trains and trams had cost NSW over 4000 local jobs. Citing our findings, the NSW Government has established an inquiry into its future manufacturing strategy.

Toll road reform in NSW

McKell's 2021 options paper, *Incentivising Tradeswork & Shiftwork post COVID-19*, argued for toll road relief for commuters in Western Sydney. In 2023, the Minns Government in NSW committed to doing so, bringing real economic relief to commuters in Sydney.

Community batteries begin rolling out across Australia

McKell's 2022 *Power to the People* report detailed a plan for community batteries to help lower the costs of renewable energy storage for everyday Australians.

That policy became part of Federal Labor's 2022 election pitch.

In September this year, Federal Minister for Climate Change, Chris Bowen, unveiled the first community battery — storing solar energy for 50 connected households in Cabarita, Sydney.

Energy poverty alleviation for Pacific Islanders, & clean-tech export opportunities for Australian businesses

In 2019, Ed Cavanough published *Islands of Opportunity*, arguing for a dedicated portion of Australia's Pacific infrastructure Fund to be allocated to small-scale electrification initiatives in energy-deprived Pacific Island nations.

The policy was designed to improve lives in the region; provide opportunities for Australian businesses to enter new markets; and expand Australia's development impact in the Pacific.

In October, this policy commenced operation, with Australian businesses invited to pitch the Australian Government with new ideas to help solve this stubborn challenge.

OUTCOME

MCKELL INSTITUTE'S ROLE

Proposed reforms to labour hire, gig work & wage theft

In 2020, then Opposition Leader, Anthony Albanese, launched McKell's paper *Wage Cutting Strategies in the Mining Sector*, which detailed the misuse of labour-hire as a strategy to undercut wages.

That paper helped inform the then Opposition's industrial relations strategy, and its key recommendation is at the heart of the Government's *Closing Loopholes* Industrial Relations Bill.

Other key areas of McKell Institute research are also front and center in this important bill.

It promises to crackdown on wage theft, on which McKell has taken a leading role.

And it proposes modest, commonsense safeguards for gig workers, which McKell Institute research has found is highly dangerous, and leaves many workers underpaid.

Crackdown on retail violence in NSW

Earlier in 2023, the McKell Institute produced data showing a concerning rise in retail-based violence and abuse in NSW.

Citing this research, the Minns Government committed to, and then legislated, new laws that will help protect frontline workers from violence and abuse.

Commitments to housing & homelessness

In June, McKell partnered with the Property Council of NSW to bring together a nonpartisan, sector-wide set of property stakeholders to chart a course for more housing and better homelessness services in NSW.

The *Outcomes Report* from that summit included several recommendations aimed at addressing immediate issues, such as short-term funding issues for homelessness providers.

The expansion of free TAFE

McKell's 2021 *Trading Up* paper made the case for an expansion of free TAFE courses to alleviate skills shortages and address cost of living pressures.

Advances in import regulations for exploitation-exposed seafood products

Throughout 2023, McKell has been working closely with a broad stakeholder group concerned about Australia's exposure to imports of illegal, unreported and unregulated seafood.

McKell's Year of Events

The McKell Institute / Across New South Wales, Queensland and Victoria

JANUARY

- Chief of Staff to the Minister of Health, Nick Martin, joined us in Sydney to address our health policy members on the Labor Government's health priorities for 2023.
- Dr Chris Sarra, former Director-General of the Department of Seniors, Disability Services and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Partnerships, provided us with an update of his portfolio in Brisbane. *Hosted in partnership with Deloitte*

FEBRUARY

- Then NSW Leader of the Opposition, Chris Minns, addressed us in Sydney ahead of the NSW State Election in March. *Hosted in partnership with KPMG*
- CS Energy CEO Andrew Bills and CleanCo CEO Tom Metcalfe joined us in Brisbane to discuss the push for Queensland's publicly owned energy generators to power towards 70 per cent renewable energy by 2032. *Hosted in partnership with Allens*

MARCH

- Policy forum 'Building Back Better: Is Queensland Ready for its Next Natural Disaster?' held in Brisbane, featuring Deputy Premier Dr Steven Miles, Mayor of Moreton Bay Council Peter Flannery, Professor Cheryl Desha from the School of Engineering and Built Environment and Theme at Griffith University, and Suncorp Group CEO Steve Johnston. *Hosted in partnership with Suncorp*
- Launch of McKell report, 'Communities in Crisis: Lifeline QLD Supporting Those in Need', in Brisbane.

APRIL

- As part of our Meet the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Economics, McKell members heard from Member for Parramatta, Dr Andrew Charlton, and Member for Fraser, Dr Daniel Mulino in Sydney. *Hosted in partnership with Zurich Financial Services*
- Minister for Aged Care and Sport, Anika Wells, joined us for a discussion in Brisbane on reforming aged care. *Hosted in partnership with Maurice Blackburn*
- Chair of the Medical Services Advisory Committee, Professor Robyn Ward, addressed our health policy members in Sydney. *Hosted in partnership with Bayer*



McKell's Year of Events

The McKell Institute / Across New South Wales, Queensland and Victoria

MAY

- Continuing with our program Meet the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Economics, Member for Wentworth, Allegra Spender, spoke to McKell members in Sydney.
Hosted in partnership with Zurich Financial Services

JUNE

- NSW Minister for Housing and Homelessness, Rose Jackson MLC, and NSW Minister for Planning and Public Spaces, Paul Scully, gave keynote addresses at the NSW Housing Summit, held in partnership with the Property Council of Australia.
- Chancellor of Griffith University and former Deputy Premier, Andrew Fraser, joined us in Brisbane to discuss rebuilding higher education.
Hosted in partnership with the Star Entertainment Group

JULY

- Treasurer of Victoria, Tim Pallas, provided the McKell Institute with an update following the 2023-24 Victorian State Budget in Melbourne.
Hosted in partnership with Plenary
- Reserve Bank Governor, Philip Lowe, joined us for a boardroom dialogue in his final weeks as RBA Governor in Sydney.
Hosted in partnership with Allens
- Danny Pearson addressed our members in Melbourne in his former capacity as Victorian Minister for Government Services.
Hosted in partnership with CBRE
- Launch of McKell report, 'Micro but Mighty: Magnifying Microbusiness in Australia', featuring an address from NSW Minister for Women, Jodie Harrison.
Hosted in partnership with IAG
- NSW Minister for Transport, Jo Haylen, joined us for a boardroom dialogue in Sydney.
Hosted in partnership with Mirvac

AUGUST

- Queensland Investment Corporate CEO, Kylie Rampa, addressed our members in Brisbane.





McKell's Year of Events

The McKell Institute / Across New South Wales, Queensland and Victoria

SEPTEMBER

- Premier of New South Wales, Chris Minns, joined us ahead of the NSW State Budget, to address housing, public debt and energy issues. **Hosted in partnership with NAB**
- Ambassador of Ukraine to Australia, Vasyl Myroshnyenko, provided insight into investment opportunities post-war, as Ukraine seeks to recover and rebuild. **Hosted in partnership with BusinessNSW**
- Treasurer of New South Wales, Daniel Mookhey MLC, joined us the day after the NSW State Budget to discuss housing, staffing reform, healthcare, debt and the cost of living crisis. **Hosted in partnership with Accenture**
- CEO of the Brisbane 2032 Coordination Office, Graham Fraine, outlined the pathway to the 2032 Olympics for our members in Brisbane as part of our boardroom dialogue series. **Hosted in partnership with Allens**
- Launch of McKell report, 'Our Place in Time: Making Unpaid Work Count' featuring a keynote from public policy scholar Professor Dame Emeritus Marilyn Waring. **Hosted in partnership with HESTA**
- Victorian Minister for Health, Mary-Anne Thomas, addressed our health policy members in Melbourne. **Hosted in partnership with Bristol Myers Squibb**
- Assistant Minister for Competition, Charities and Treasury, Dr Andrew Leigh, delivered a keynote address on AI and competition in Sydney. **Hosted in partnership with Allens**
- Launch of 'Divided Isles: Solomon Islands & The China Switch' by McKell Institute CEO Ed Cavanough in conversation with SMH International Editor Peter Hartcher.

OCTOBER

- Queensland Shadow Treasurer and Shadow Minister for Investment and Trade, David Janetzki, addressed our members in Brisbane.
- Policy forum, 'Bridging Policy Gaps Between Union Members, Superannuation and Life Insurance' held in Melbourne.

NOVEMBER

- NSW Secretary for Health, Susan Pearce, joined us to update our health policy members in Sydney. **Hosted in partnership with Johnson & Johnson and Sanofi**

DECEMBER

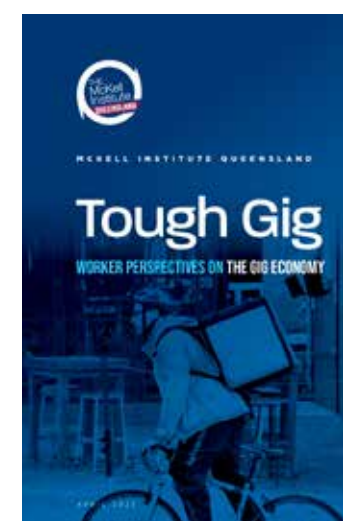
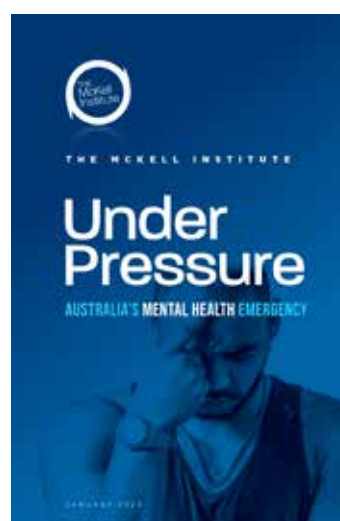
- Launch of 'The Sun Will Rise', by leading expert on the rise of global authoritarianism, Misha Zelinsky, featuring NSW Premier Chris Minns and ALP President Wayne Swan.
- Chair of the Standing Committee on Economics Dr Daniel Mulino in Melbourne.

Our 2023 Research Projects

This year, McKell produced 17 research reports and appeared in seven parliamentary or policy inquiries to present expert opinion and analysis to inform policymakers.

SELECTED RESEARCH PROJECTS & ANALYSES

- **The Cost of Workplace Injury**
Considered the economic impact of workplace injury in South Australia.
- **A Decade of Wages Lost**
Detailed the consequences of over a decade of low wage growth in Australia.
- **Flexible but Fair: The Case for Extending Portable Leave Entitlements to the NDIS Workforce**
Argued for a portable long-service leave scheme to incentivise NDIS workforce retention.
- **Under Pressure: Worker Perspectives on the Gig Economy**
Examined the mental health crisis and argued for more funding for psychology services.
- **Tough Gig: Worker Perspectives on the Gig Economy**
Informed by a survey of over 1000 workers, detailed the poor treatment of gig workers in rideshare, food and parcel delivery.
- **Communities in Crisis: Lifeline QLD Supporting Those In Need**
Called for the funding model for community services like lifeline to be improved.
- **The Upskill Battle: NSW's Growing Regional Skills Challenge**
This Commonwealth-funded investigation detailed NSW's skilled worker shortfall.
- **Micro but Mighty: Magnifying Microbusiness in Australia**
Highlighted the opportunity to support female entrepreneurs in microbusinesses.
- **Unfinished Business: Ending Wage Theft in Australia**
Provided fresh estimates of the scale of wage theft ahead of the Federal Government's 'Closing Loopholes' legislation
- **Our Place in Time: Making Unpaid Work Count**
Highlighted the scale of unpaid domestic work, and proposed new methods of recognising this contribution.
- **The Rise of Retail Violence & Abuse in Tasmania**
Quantified the growth in violence in retail settings in Tasmania.



TESTIMONY & SUBMISSIONS TO PARLIAMENTARY & POLICY INQUIRIES

McKell Institute researchers appeared in seven separate inquiries throughout 2023, across State and Commonwealth parliaments:

- SA parliamentary inquiry into gig work reform
- Vic parliamentary inquiry into the rental and housing affordability crisis in Victoria
- NSW parliamentary inquiry into Net Zero emissions targets
- Joint Committee into Consulting Reform
- ACTU Inquiry into Price Gouging
- Senate Standing Committee on Community Affairs inquiry into the worsening rental crisis in Australia.
- The Treasury consultation for legislating the objective of superannuation

MCKELL CEO RELEASES BOOK

Divided Isles: Solomon Islands & the China Switch

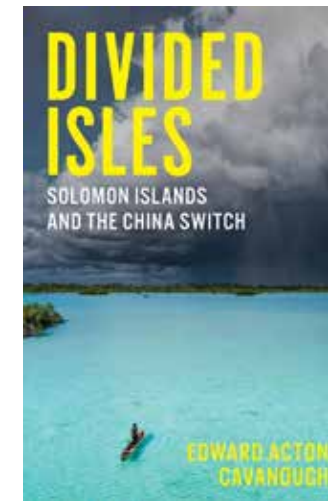
In September, Ed Cavanough's first book, ***Divided Isles: Solomon Islands & The China Switch***, was released through Black Inc.



Launched by Sydney Morning Herald International Editor, Peter Hartcher, *Divided Isles* offers a journalistic, insider account of Solomon Islands' emerging relationship with China, and what this means for everyday people on the ground.

***Divided Isles* will be released in the UK, US and internationally in April 2024 through Manchester University Press.**

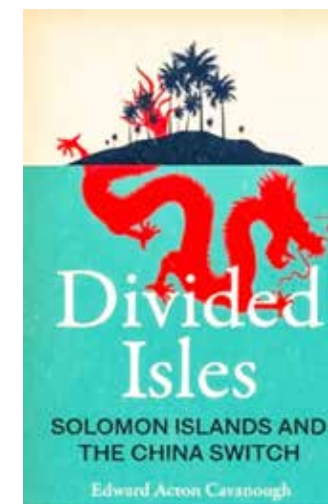
REVIEWS



Divided Isles, Australian Cover

'Divided Isles is well balanced and multifaceted, providing an urgently needed counterbalance to the hawkish or complacent commentaries that skirt or reduce domestic complexities.'

KURT JOHNSON
The Saturday Paper



Divided Isles, UK Cover

'A lucid, well written and detailed examination of a neglected part of contemporary China's diplomacy. Based on first-hand experience, Cavanough's book brings to light the upside, and the downside, of how the smallest states engage with China, and how, far from being a one-way street, this all too often ends up more like a tussle where neither side quite gets what they want.'

KERRY BROWN
Author of Xi: A Study in Power

McKell In the Media

In 2023, McKell Institute research was cited **in publications in every state and territory**, covering issues as diverse as wage theft and gig economy reform, portable entitlements for NDIS workers; mental health reform, and workplace safety.

MEDIA HIGHLIGHTS

ABC NEWS

"A report by the McKell Institute... found demand for sessions climbed by an average of 70 per cent year-on-year since the pandemic began. The organisation also found that 52 per cent of clients wait longer than 6 weeks while 27 per cent wait longer than two months for services"

ABC News reported on:

McKell's research into the shortage of available psychologists.

"Ambassador Vasyly Myroshnychenko shared a grim warning with business leaders after giving a keynote address hosted by the McKell Institute in Sydney"



News.com.au reported on: McKell's event with the Ukrainian Ambassador.

THE AUSTRALIAN

"The total amount of actual wage theft is likely much higher. This is an extraordinary amount of money being stolen and it's unacceptable. Being unaware is not an excuse. The onus is on employers to understand their obligations to their employees," Mr Cavanough said.

The Australian reported on: McKell's research quantifying the scale of wage theft.



9 News reported on:

McKell Institute's research into wage theft

"If you go and steal a car, that's a crime.

So why isn't stealing people's wages a crime too?"

Thistleton told 9 News.

The Australian Financial Review on: McKell's research into wage theft reform.

"Anyone concerned that the Commonwealth wage theft bill may affect state schemes should work to ensure their interoperability, rather than use those concerns to argue for a watering down of long-overdue Commonwealth protections," Cavanough told AFR.

FINANCIAL REVIEW

The Sydney Morning Herald reported on: McKell's work on wage theft and the cost of living crisis.

The McKell Institute's chief executive officer Ed Cavanough said cost-of-living pressures had a "significant impact" on people's ability to risk shifts or roles by speaking up about payment issues. "That fundamental dynamic and that power imbalance is still there and leaves room for the minority of unscrupulous employers to push the boundaries," he told the SMH.

The Sydney Morning Herald

The Age reported on: McKell Institute's survey of over 1000 gig economy workers

McKell Queensland executive director Sarah Mawhinney told The Age the survey showed the gig economy could be behind "the biggest case of wage theft" in Australia's history.

THE AGE

The Mercury reported on: McKell's research into the rise of retail violence in Tasmania.



Hobart Mercury
3 October 2023

McKell In the Media

The New York Times reported on: Ed Cavanough's new book, *Divided Isles*.

The New York Times

A new book, *"Divided Isles: Solomon Islands and the China Switch,"* by Edward Acton Cavanough, analyzes what happened leading up to and after the diplomatic change and examines the locals who have been influential figures in the story.

The West Australian reported on: McKell Institute's research on price gouging.

The West Australian

"McKell Institute's Rebecca Thistleton highlighted instances where consumers had paid \$12 for a box of Cornflakes, or \$13 for a small jar of Vegemite."

The Advertiser reported on: McKell Institute research into workers' compensation reform in South Australia.

The Advertiser

"Workplace injuries are plaguing the state's economy to the tune of more than \$100m, a [McKell Institute] report has found"

Adelaide's InDaily reported on: McKell Institute testimony to a South Australian parliamentary inquiry into the gig economy.

"Cavanough said that in this post-COVID era of flexible work being promoted by employers, gig economy platforms were using popular corporate terms as a 'Trojan horse for underpayment and exploitation'."

INDAILY
ADELAIDE Independent news

Our Team

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Get Involved

/ Interested in supporting the McKell Institute's work? /

Get in touch at mckell@mckellinstitute.org.au
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