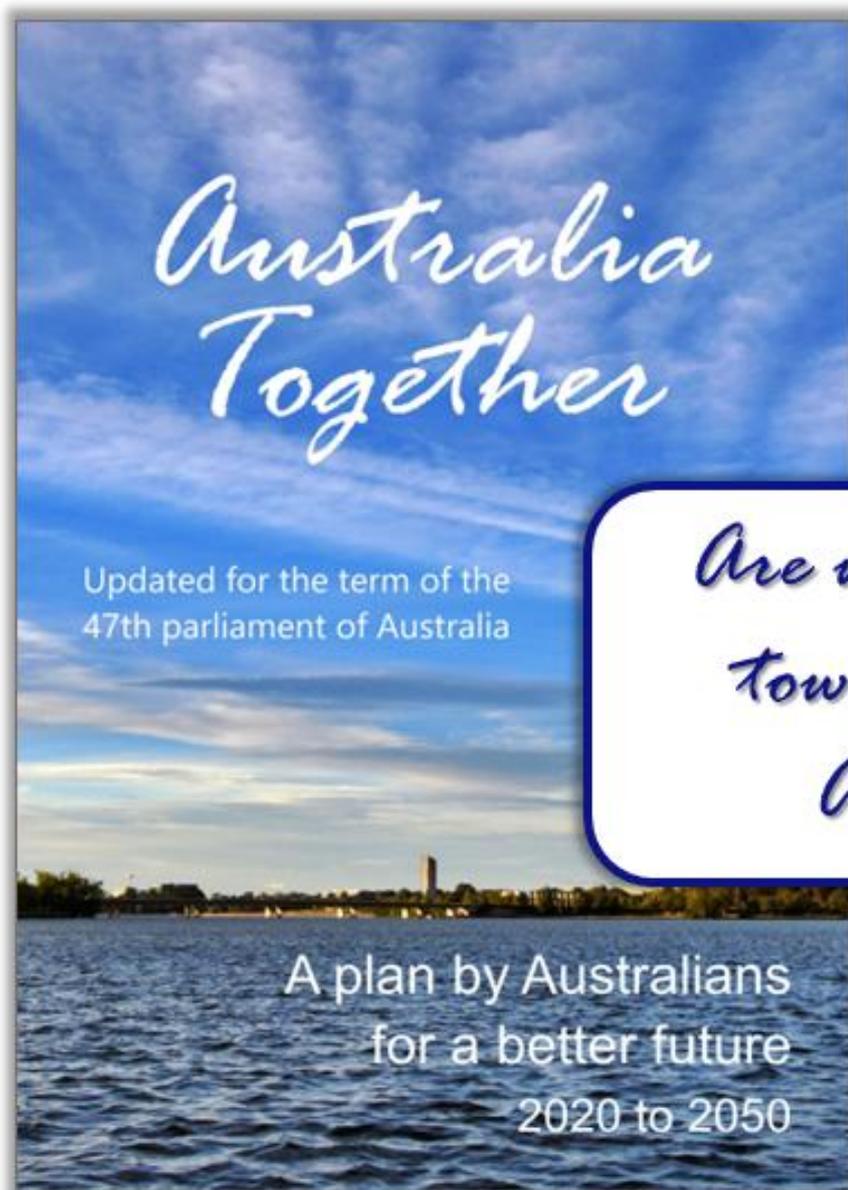


The State of Australia 2025

End of Term Report

47th Parliament of Australia



**Full
report**

*Are we progressing
towards a better
Australia?*



The State of Australia 2025

A report on the nation's progress towards
and away from the
Vision for *Australia Together*
during the term of office of
the 47th Parliament of Australia
and over the longer term.

This report is produced by
Australian Community Futures Planning
February 2025



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 21st 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 in-kind contributions of volunteers.

ACFP's Founder is Dr Bronwyn Kelly. **Dr Kelly is the Principal** author of this End of Term Report on **the state of Australia in 2025**.

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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Note: This report is timed to assist Australians in judgement of performance by the Australian parliament, government and nation as a whole over the decade prior to the 2025 federal election, which is due by no later than May 2025.

Changes in parliamentary or government performance occurring after 1 February 2025 have not been taken into account. Updates may be produced if policy changes after 1 February 2025 will substantially affect scores awarded in this report.

Questions and requests for updates may be forwarded by email to info@austcfp.com.au

ACFP reserves the right to update the report and make corrections if required by new factual evidence or changes in evidence.

Overview – Are we progressing towards a better Australia?

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 2025 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 2025, 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 in 2020 a new systematic process called **National Integrated Planning & Reporting** was 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 the 2020s, in Australia at least, no attempt has been made to address the full question in detail, in one place, using a coherent, wide-ranging, evidence-based measurement framework. We have lots of little surveys of progress and some excellent books on Australia's history 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. We have no reports of progress towards a Vision for our safety, security and wellbeing as individuals, and our prospects as a nation for peace, prosperity and decency.

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.

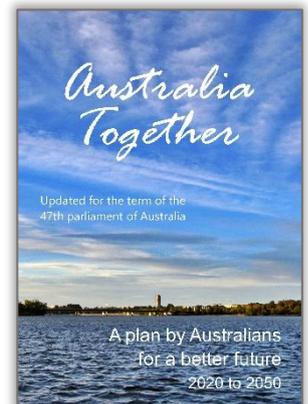
Fortunately though, some of those same surveys and research programs that have been made public in the last twenty years have described not just the features of our present state, but many of the features of an ideal future, the one we might aspire to if we were given the chance to let our imaginations 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”¹ 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 short term, it mires Australians in disagreement and stalls progress. But an integrated **National Planning & Reporting (National IP&R)** 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. 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 **National Integrated Planning & Reporting** 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 safety, 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 47th parliament of Australia and over the last ten to twenty years. It is designed to help Australians understand more about:

¹ Australia ReMADE, “[Creating the Best Version of Us](#)”, page 1.

- our weaknesses as a nation;
- the threats to which we are unnecessarily exposing ourselves;
- the opportunities we are missing;
- what we are doing well and not well; and
- what we need to change in policy and practice if we want to make the Vision for *Australia Together* a reality.

The report is built on the data collated by ACFP in the ***Australia Together National Wellbeing Index***. This is a very large dataset about the health and wellbeing of our society, environment, economy, democracy and international reputation. It has been collated by Australian Community Futures Planning as part of a wider research program designed to help Australians use the data to their best advantage by building it into a plan for the best future they can imagine and then monitoring progress against that plan. In this wider research program ACFP has:

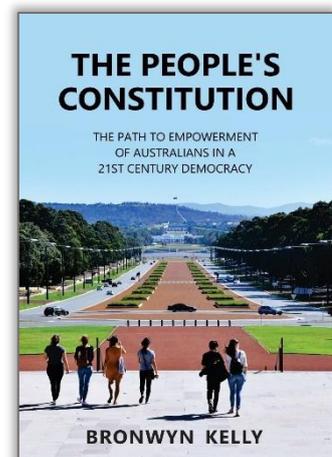
1. developed the **tools Australians will need** to build and continuously review the nation’s first long term community futures plan, ***Australia Together***, and the processes they can use to monitor progress towards the Vision and Targets of the plan;
2. devised a **structure for the plan** that will be easy to follow – *Australia Together* is structured as a map of the safe paths towards the Vision and contains a signpost system to help Australians select Strategies that are the most likely to take us towards the Vision via safe Directions rather than unsafe routes;
3. conducted the **research to assemble the first draft Vision for *Australia Together***; and
4. **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*.



ACFP also conducts **ongoing research on trends in the preferences of Australians for their future**. This includes research on what Australians value in:

- their quality of life now and for future generations;
- the country they want to protect; and
- the sort of nation they want to become and belong to, its essential purpose and its preferred governance arrangements.

The latest findings in that research have been published in ***The People’s Constitution: the path to empowerment of Australians in a 21st century democracy*** by ACFP’s Founder Bronwyn Kelly.



Status of the 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 in a single space to Australians today. The Index is being built progressively and is currently estimated to be about 85% complete. It contains **368 Indicators of progress** complete with both baseline data and data showing our position in 2025 in relation to the **205 Targets** and **163 Strategies** included in the plan up to December 2024 for making the Vision for *Australia Together* a reality. Target data are usually supplied in quantitative form. Data on progress in relation to Strategies is supplied in qualitative and/or quantitative form as appropriate. 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**. [Click here for the full wording of the Vision and Directions.](#)

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

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

The remaining five Directions will be reported on in future End of Term Reports once baseline and target data are established for them. The five as yet unmonitored Directions are **Environment 5** – Environmental education; **Environment 9** – Fresh water supply; **Environment 17** – Architectural & cultural site heritage; **Economy 8** – Technology development & digitisation; and **Economy 9** – International economic engagement & trade.

Relationship to the Australian Government’s Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework

The *Australia Together* National Wellbeing Index incorporates the indicators selected by Australia’s Treasurer Jim Chalmers in 2023 for inclusion in his Measuring What Matters (MWM) wellbeing framework, except for those deemed by ACFP to be of minimal or no utility for long term integrated national planning purposes (which is the case for 9 measures out of the 72 measures used in the 50 MWM indicators). Incorporation of the MWM indicators into the *Australia Together* National Wellbeing Index enabled ACFP to set Targets for them (the MWM framework does not set targets) and to provide an independent report on movement towards or away from the Targets. In 2025, it was not evident that the Australian government intended to provide such a report itself. For more information on the alignment between the *Australia Together* National Wellbeing Index and the government’s Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework see the [ACFP Fact Sheet: Does *Australia Together* measure what matters?](#)

Purpose of the report

The purpose of this report on The State of Australia 2025 is to update Australians on whether, during the current federal parliament’s term of office and over the longer term in the 21st century, Australia has moved towards or away from the better future Australians themselves have said they would prefer.

Australian Community Futures Planning's research on the preferences Australians have expressed over the last two decades for their future has led to development of the draft [Vision for Australia Together](#). This report sets out progress towards and away from that Vision. Using the data and information in the *Australia Together* National Wellbeing Index it examines:

- short term changes in performance on indicators of health, wellbeing, environmental sustainability, economic strength, ethical governance and security; and
- our progress as a nation towards or away from longer term aspirations about all these things.

The report is useful to Australians in several ways. It isolates where policies are working effectively but it also provides 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.

If read in full, a complexion of government emerges from the report, enabling Australians to make more fully informed decisions about parties and candidates in forthcoming elections and also about the value of the agendas they offer in terms of what really matters most to Australians and Australia for now and the future.

The State of Australia 2025 reports progress on all 368 Targets and Strategies in **Issue No. 9 of the starting draft of *Australia Together*** released in February 2025, where data are available. 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.**
- **Split arrows in both directions ←/→ denote mixed results, heavily qualified results, stagnation, or absence of data.**
- **Red arrows twisting down ↘ denote a negative outlook trend for the future, arising from situations where current policies that look positive will actually have an adverse long term impact.**

Overview of Results

Overall, for more than a decade, Australia has not been travelling towards the destination described in the Vision for *Australia Together*. As a wealthy country, we could have done much better. Progress during the 47th parliament has been a little better than during the 46th parliament and the previous decade, but it is still far too slow.

- **On balance, we are moving away from rather than towards 13 of the 17 Vision elements.** This result is a slight improvement on the result for the 46th parliament.
- **Progress on the remaining four Vision elements has been mixed.**
- In relation to the 52 Directions monitored, on balance:
 - **In only 4 cases have we moved in accordance with the safe direction of travel.**
 - **In 3 cases we have moved in accordance with the safe direction, but too slowly or indecisively.**
 - **In 5 cases, evidence is absent or mixed, or progress is stagnant.**
 - **In 40 cases we have moved contrary to the safe Direction of travel, but in 2 cases we have the means to reverse this.**
 - **In 29 indicators where policy choices may be viewed as positive in the short term, long term adverse consequences are being baked in as a result of the choice. So the long term outlook for those 29 indicators is negative. There is one case of a positive outlook trend.**

Consolidated results – Are we travelling towards the Vision for <i>Australia Together</i> ?	
<i>The Draft Vision for Australia Together By 2050 ...</i>	<i>Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?</i>
We are all safe	←
We have achieved a lasting reconciliation between First Nations peoples and non-Indigenous Australians, based on our shared values of justice and self-determination	←
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 Australian 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 for all	←
Scarce resources are conserved and fairly shared	←
National wealth is fairly raised and fairly shared	←
Our economy is sustainable and supports rewarding opportunities and continuous improvements in living standards, wellbeing and security 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	←
Democracy is assured by a well informed and engaged community of political equals	← / →
We can confidently trust our parliaments, governments, and courts to act fairly and justly in accordance with the rights and interests of the public and future generations	←
We take pride in Australia as a responsible international citizen, active in building a safe, peaceful and united world	← / →

Consolidated results – Are we travelling towards the Vision via the safe Directions?					
Quadrant	<i>On balance yes</i>	<i>On balance yes but indecisively or too slowly</i>	<i>Evidence is absent or mixed, or progress is stagnant</i>	<i>On balance no but we have the means of reversing this</i>	<i>On balance no</i>
	→	← / →	← / →	← / →	←
Society	1	1	1	0	13
Environment	1	1	4	0	10
Economy	1	1	0	0	5
Governance	1	0	0	2	10
Total	4	3	5	2	38

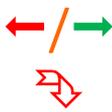
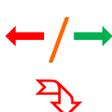
Longer term outlook trends – negative and positive

This report has identified a number of areas in which short term policies that may look positive are actually baking in adverse long term consequences. One long term positive trend has been identified.

Consolidated results – Negative and positive outlook trends			
Target/Strategy	Short term trend	Long term trend and outlook	Why is the outlook trend negative or positive?  or 
Econ01.01 Sustainability of growth and development	 / 	 /  	The outlook trend is negative due to Australia’s policies on climate change, which do not accord with the Paris Agreement, and Australia’s failure to develop a plan to implement the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals and a budget for their delivery. With Australia’s current policies and institutional arrangements, the chance that Australia will meet the UNSDGs by 2030, as agreed, is zero.
Econ01.03 GDP growth	 / 	 /  	The outlook trend is negative due to continued pursuit of GDP growth by governments unaccompanied by programs to counter its detrimental effects on Australia’s natural and human resources.
Econ01.03.01 GDP growth per capita	 / 	 /  	
Econ01.06.01 Transition away from export of both fossil fuels and the raw materials used in production of steel, aluminium, fertilisers, polysilicon, etc., and towards export of zero emissions goods	 / 	 	The outlook trend is negative because the few positive steps that have been taken in transition to a more sustainable economy are being countered by backward steps such as: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • approvals of investments (such as in coal mines) which detract from Australia’s chance of capitalising on the identified opportunities; • the slow pace of private investment in renewable energy (renewables still only make up 9% of total energy consumption and policy settings are not working to improve this); and • resistance by the federal government to direct investment of public funds in ownership and operation of electricity transmission, relying instead on providing concessional finance for private investors. Policy settings in 2024 will not transform Australia into a renewable energy superpower before global heating overwhelms the planet and destroys the economic returns that might otherwise have accrued.
Econ02.04 National plan for full employment supported by a universal basic income		 /  	The outlook trend is negative because prospects for income security and employment of choice are adversely impacted by the federal government’s “Working Future” white paper on jobs and industries and its lack of integration with programs for security and equity.
Econ02.05 National Economic Transitions Commission	 / 	 /  	The outlook trend is negative because positive steps such as a Net Zero Economy Authority are undermined by other policy settings.
Econ02.05.01		 / 	The outlook trend is negative because of the slowness and underfunding of the Net Zero Economy Authority’s work.

Consolidated results – Negative and positive outlook trends			
Target/Strategy	Short term trend	Long term trend and outlook	Why is the outlook trend negative or positive?  or 
Coal industry closure			
Econ04.03 Restoration of a fair and progressive taxation system		 	The outlook trend is negative because, while the 2025 changes to the Stage 3 tax cuts have reduced the negative effect on middle income earners, they have baked in increases in taxation for low income earners that will arise from bracket creep. The tax bite on low incomes will continue to grow.
Econ04.04.03 Planning for and reporting on closure of corporate tax loopholes		 	The outlook trend is negative because low tax rates for multinationals have now been legitimated and embedded and will be unlikely to shift. They make the necessary tax reforms under Econ04.04.01 and Econ04.04.02 harder to achieve politically and therefore don't assist smaller corporates.
Env02.01 Achievement of net zero carbon emissions within a carbon budget that will maximise chances of limiting global heating as near as possible to 1.5o Celsius		 	The outlook trend is negative because the carbon budget the government is allowing itself is far too big. Assumed annual reductions in carbon emissions under the adopted budget (probably around 13.5 million tonnes year on year) will mean Australia won't achieve net zero until 2056, by which time we will have emitted a total of 8,147 Mt (from 2022 to 2056). This is more than double the emissions we can afford to emit if we wish to do our fair share to prevent heating above 2° Celsius. If anything, heating above 2° Celsius is guaranteed by the adopted budget. Australia's options for preventing planetary heating are narrowing and will soon close up entirely. No evidence is present of an intention to adopt a safe carbon budget, which in 2024 would be in the order of 3,530 Mt CO ₂ -e (3.5 BT). From 2020, Australia should aim to emit no more than 3.53 BT <i>ever</i> .
Env06.01 Renewable energy – electricity		 	The outlook trend is negative because short term action, although positive, is insufficient and far too slow to avert the overwhelming and imminent negative impacts from climate change.
Env06.01.01 Renewable energy – vehicles		 	The outlook trend is negative because short term action, although positive, is insufficient and far too slow to avert the overwhelming and imminent negative impacts from climate change.
Env06.01.02 Renewable energy – road transport systems services and fleets		 	The outlook trend is negative because short term action, although positive, is insufficient and far too slow to avert the overwhelming and imminent negative impacts from climate change.
Env06.01.03 Renewable energy – manufacturing and agriculture		 	The outlook trend is negative because short term action, although positive, is insufficient and far too slow to avert the overwhelming and imminent negative impacts from climate change.
Env06.01.04 Renewable		 	The outlook trend is negative because short term action, although positive, is insufficient and far too slow to avert the

Consolidated results – Negative and positive outlook trends			
Target/Strategy	Short term trend	Long term trend and outlook	Why is the outlook trend negative or positive?  or 
energy – industry and construction			overwhelming and imminent negative impacts from climate change.
Env06.01.05 Renewable energy – air and sea transport		 	The outlook trend is negative because short term action, although positive, is insufficient and far too slow to avert the overwhelming and imminent negative impacts from climate change.
Env06.03 National Renewable Energy Targets (RETs) – setting targets for economic sustainability and prevention of global heating		 	The outlook trend is negative because progress is simply too slow to meet the target and policy settings are inadequate to achieve both the targets of the plan and those of the government. The sooner governments recognise that policy settings are inadequate, the sooner Australia can get back on track towards elimination of fuels that cause climate change.
Env08.01 Sustainability of agriculture – transition to food security in the age of climate change		 /  	The outlook trend is negative because the prospect of sustainable food production is set to be defeated by the government’s policies on emissions reduction. Australian food supply is highly vulnerable to climate shocks and not enough is being done to make food production safe and sustainable in the age of climate change.
Env12.01 Proportion of land areas dedicated to long term conservation	 / 	 	The outlook trend is negative due to the government’s shelving of reforms of the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation (EPBC) Act and ongoing refusals to pass legislation to protect native forests.
Env15.01 Protection of the Great Barrier Reef – implementation of plans		 	The outlook trend is negative due to the inadequacy of the Reef 2050 Plan itself and the government’s ineffective approach to climate change.
Env15.01.01 Protection of the Great Barrier Reef – prevention of threats from climate change		 	The outlook trend is negative due to the inadequacy of the Reef 2050 Plan itself and the government’s ineffective approach to climate change.
Env15.02 Proportion of marine areas dedicated to long term conservation	 / 	 	The outlook trend is negative due to the government’s shelving of reforms of the EPBC Act and refusal to pass legislation to protect native forests. Refusal to protect native forests will have detrimental effects on Australia’s marine environments, especially the already threatened Great Barrier Reef.
Env18.01 Urban consolidation in the largest capital cities – Sydney,		 /  	The outlook trend is negative mainly because federal government policies on housing and climate resilience will negatively affect progress.

Consolidated results – Negative and positive outlook trends			
Target/Strategy	Short term trend	Long term trend and outlook	Why is the outlook trend negative or positive?  or 
Melbourne, Brisbane			
Env18.01.01 Urban consolidation – legislation to change urban planning to increase housing within major city ‘middle rings’			The outlook trend is negative mainly because the neoliberal focus of the National Urban Policy on growth and economic development is likely to outweigh commitment to quality of life, social inclusion, and real environmental sustainability. The expected collaboration between states, businesses and developers to deliver sustainable and climate-resilient urban environments is yet to demonstrate progress towards the equitable and inclusive outcomes envisaged in the policy.
Gov01.03.04 Cohesion and stability of democracy			The outlook trend is negative given the predisposition of the two major political parties of government that is still heavily in favour of neoliberalism with all that it implies about services and income insecurity. While incomes and services are insecure, inequality will grow which will undermine social cohesion and therefore democracy. A democracy of political equals cannot arise from an economy that causes growth in inequality.
Gov01.04 Constitutional reform – Establishment of The National People’s Voice – Legislation in lieu of the more preferable constitutional enshrinement			The outlook trend is positive because civil society groups now have access to National Integrated Planning & Reporting, a means of efficient, effective, ethical and fair participation in democracy. In 2025, few Australians had taken advantage of National IP&R but the process was freely available. This report – The State of Australia 2025 – is itself a significant opportunity for Australians to participate more efficiently and far more effectively in their democracy than they have been able to do to date. Use of National IP&R is likely to increase in future and can significantly improve the operation of Australia’s democracy.
Gov06.04 Federal independent commission against corruption			The outlook trend is negative because the NACC has been very poorly designed. What should have been a positive for transparency, corruption prevention and trust has embedded a more secretive institution in democracy in which corruption is likely to be free to fester and accountability will be lost.
Soc12.03 A new Aged Care Act			The outlook trend is negative because the new Aged Care Act 2024 bakes in the potential for aged care system and service failure.
Soc12.04 Aged care funding – federal budget minimums			The outlook trend is negative because the Aged Care Act 2024 and the tenor of industry, governance and regulatory reforms (which favour private sector service delivery) bake in the potential for aged care system and service failure.
Soc16.02 Statement of Adherence to and Performance on the National Disaster Risk Reduction Framework			The outlook trend is negative because short term action in risk assessment is insufficient to avert the overwhelming negative impacts from climate change.

Summary of performance during the 47th parliament

Taking in the results on the direction of movement in relation to the 368 indicators in the Index:

- **During the 47th parliament, negative performance (travelling contrary to the preferred safe Direction) outweighed positive performance by a factor of 257%.**
- In all four quadrants, negative performance outweighed positive performance.
- The **worst performance** was in the **Governance** quadrant, where out of 91 indicators monitored only 5 results were positive. 27 were neutral and 59 were negative. Negative results outweighed positive results by a factor of 11.8.
- The **second worst performance** was in the **Society** quadrant, where out of 154 indicators monitored only 29 results were positive. 38 were neutral and 87 were negative. Negative results outweighed positive results by a factor of 3.0.

These results are different to those of the period of the 46th parliament where the worst areas of performance were in the **Environment** and **Economy** quadrants.

Summary of performance over the longer term

Taking in the results on the direction of movement in relation to the 368 indicators in the Index:

- **During the longer term, negative performance (travelling contrary to the preferred safe Direction) outweighed positive performance by a factor of 400%.**
- In all quadrants, negative performance outweighed positive performance.
- The **worst performance** has been in the **Governance** quadrant, where out of 91 indicators monitored only 8 results are positive. 16 are neutral and 67 are negative. Negative results are outweighing positive results by a factor of 8.4.
- The **second worst performance** has been in the **Economy** quadrant, where out of 75 indicators monitored only 9 results are positive. 19 are neutral and 47 are negative. Negative results are outweighing positive results by a factor of 5.2.

Comparing results for the 46th and 47th parliaments

More than 100 extra indicators were monitored for the period of 47th parliament, compared to the 46th. When performance is measured in terms of negative results versus positive results, both parliaments looked to have performed poorly during their respective periods of office.

Factors by which negative results outweighed positive results				
Quadrant	Short term 46 th parliament 265 indicators monitored	Long term 46 th parliament 265 indicators monitored	Short term 47 th parliament 368 indicators monitored	Long term 47 th parliament 368 indicators monitored
Society	1.4	2.8	3.0	3.1
Environment	15.0	7.5	1.2	2.4
Economy	6.7	54.0	1.2	5.2
Governance	2.6	4	11.8	8.4
Total	2.6	5.2	2.6	4.0

Note: Numerical values in this table are not comparable due mainly to changes in the number of indicators being monitored between the 2022 and 2025 reports. The numerical factors simply indicate that, based on what was being measured, the two parliaments received more negative than positive results. There are no net positive results for either parliament.

Over the longer term, things seem to be getting a little better when looked at this way. However, it is also clear that the pace of change has been far too slow if we are to make the Vision for *Australia Together* a reality. Progress has been quite severely hampered by divisive politicians, irresponsible news and social media, and corporate and foreign interference. As a result, Australia is not moving fast enough to meet the essential targets of the plan, especially in relation to the need to mitigate climate change, build resilience for the nation's economy and society, stop the trend of species extinctions, and establish an enduring peace within a globalised world. Several policy decisions during both the 46th and 47th parliaments have significantly decreased Australia's chances of overcoming the worst of climate change and significantly increased our exposure to military conflict and democratic decline.

The conclusion on balance

Reporting on performance against the Targets and Strategies of *Australia Together* is always done **on balance**.

This reporting technique allows us to use data and other evidence about policies to estimate progress in either direction – towards or away from the Vision – on each individual indicator. Analysis of forward and backward movements over a large number of indicators is provided to help Australians get a sense of **net progress overall** and the evidence for it.

In this sort of reporting, it's a bad thing when results show so many negative movements outweighing positive movements – as this report does. But the knowledge that, during both the 47th and 46th parliaments Australians as a national collective and their governments took far more steps away from the Vision than towards it, is useful. The assembled evidence about performance on each indicator functions as an efficient and open warning system about the work that needs to be done to get back on track and the policy adjustments that should be made by parliaments and governments if we are to pull the direction of travel towards the positive.

This report shows that there were dozens of policy decisions that, on balance, took Australia much further away from the Vision than towards it. In addition to the 29 negative outlook trends shown above, there are another 69 instances of negative outlook trends. On balance, there has been much more poor performance than good performance over the last decade. Too many choices have been made by a succession of governments and parliaments in favour of policies that cannot possibly take us towards the Vision, especially those aspects of it which focus on our aspirations for:

- personal safety, health and security;
- achieving fairness and equity, especially political equality;
- the opportunity for education leading to employment of choice;
- a tolerable climate; and
- a peaceful life on an unpolluted planet with healthy biodiversity.

Much more about our lives is getting worse than is getting better. And the weight of policy development over the decade is very unlikely to take us to where we want to go as a nation. It will certainly not take us there safely.

As a nation, Australia has, on balance, travelled away from the Vision for *Australia Together* and in many cases we have followed very unsafe directions. **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. The speed with which it has drifted away from the Vision has slowed a little during the 47th parliament but the direction of travel is still distinctly against the national and public interest.**

Causes of the drift away from the Vision are complex but still quite easily discernible. The data and information in the *Australia Together* National Wellbeing Index shed light on weaknesses in performance and the direction of travel. In general, though, the failures reflect incompetence, conflicts of interest and short-sightedness in a succession of governments, and an unwillingness by the two major political parties to work together with the rest of the parliament in the interests of all Australians. The government's lack of respect for the parliament is most evident in decisions regarding human rights and war powers reform. This is a serious issue of attitudinal immaturity that must be overcome if we are to be able to reverse the current very evident direction of travel away from the Vision for *Australia Together*.

Over the last ten to twenty years Australians 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 sections on the best and worst performance and the most significant improvements and deteriorations in the state of Australia. The combined effect of each of these – as they have all come into play at once and all been accelerated by poor governance by both major parties – is the likely cause of Australia's clear continuation of movement away from the Vision for *Australia Together*.

Worst areas of performance

In our society

In our society, some of the **worst areas of performance** are evident in:

- a sharp and quite steep decline in our physical and mental health;
- the growth of inequality over the decade, especially the political inequality of all Australians;
- a significant and continuous pattern of decline of Australia's social cohesion;
- a failure to revert to a universal health care system and thereby control the costs of health care so as to ensure accessibility for all;
- the continuing preference for targeted welfare over more cost efficient universal systems for health and social services;
- a failure to revert to free tertiary education and, by extension, the locking in of low productivity;
- continual under-funding of education and discriminatory distribution of funds away from public schools – in other words, significant growth in inequality of opportunity;
- continuing ill-treatment of refugees and migrants in ways that contravene the human rights conventions to which Australia is a party;
- a significant increase in intergenerational inequity, most evident in the housing crisis;
- a refusal by a succession of governments to do all things necessary to provide housing or ensure it is affordable for all; and
- a withdrawal by the Coalition political parties from the bipartisan commitment to multiculturalism that Australians have been able to enjoy for decades – this withdrawal had devastating effects in wedging divisions within our society that resulted in exclusion of First Nations peoples from a voice in their governance and a continuation of permissions for racism in our laws.

In our environment

In our environment, some of the **worst areas of performance** are evident in:

- a complete lack of progress over a whole decade in meeting our nation's commitments under the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGs);
- adoption of a carbon budget and an emissions reduction target (43% by 2030) that is incapable of stemming global heating and will actually lock in heating well above 2° Celsius;
- approvals of more coal and gas extraction projects and expansion of fossil fuel exports;
- abandonment of legislative proposals designed to effectively address biodiversity and extinction crises;
- continuing losses of large numbers of species of flora and fauna; and
- a failure to secure the sustainability of Australian agriculture – arising from the failure to adopt a carbon budget capable of mitigating the coming climatic conditions that will make current forms of agriculture unworkable.

In our economy

In our economy, some of the **worst areas of performance** are evident in:

- more than 3 million Australians including over 700,000 children who continue to live in poverty;
- a persistent favouritism within both major political parties for neoliberalism and for corporate welfare in preference to the rights and wellbeing of Australians;
- a continuation of competition policies that have downgraded the potential for public sector involvement in markets to act as an effective and essential brake on the excesses arising from monopolistic and other anti-competitive activity by the private sector;
- a continuing commitment to taxation arrangements which are incapable of securing essential services for Australians;
- an expansion of commitment to taxation arrangements favouring subsidies that heavily incentivise industries causing climate change;
- introduction of a significantly less progressive and therefore more unfair taxation system;
- a continuation of over-investment in mining and fossil fuel extraction to the exclusion of more sustainable industries, services and economic compositions; and
- the introduction of a “Future Made in Australia” (FMIA) initiative that may help diversify Australia's industrial base a little but which is more likely to defeat the purpose of transforming Australia into a renewable energy superpower due to its excessive expenditures on military industries (which are more than twice as much as other planned expenditures in the FMIA program and will cause heavy increases in carbon emissions as well as diversion of scarce human capacity away from more sustainable industries). The FMIA is more likely than not to weaken the economy in the face of climate change and expose Australia unnecessarily to a greater risk of war.

In our governance

In our governance, some of the **worst areas of performance** are evident in:

- a continual failure to reform the founding document of the nation – the Constitution – and particularly a failure to remove or curtail permissions for racism in the Constitution;
- a failure to regulate news media and social media to stem the proliferation of mis- and disinformation;

- a failure to design, as promised, a transparent National Anti-Corruption Commission “with teeth”, and attendant on that, a failure to secure justice for the victims of Robodebt, one of the great crimes of the state against its people in the 21st century;
- a refusal to introduce a Human Rights Act so that Australians may at last access rights they have under international law but not in domestic law;
- an executive refusal to allow the parliament to consider and determine whether Australia may become involved in armed conflict and war;
- a failure to acknowledge the rights of future generations;
- increasing secrecy without accountability;
- a series of torturous actions – including denial of their rights in justice – towards whistleblowers making truthful disclosures in the public interest;
- continuation of excessive market concentration by Australian-based news media businesses, Murdoch and Nine; and
- a failure to establish electoral funding reform capable of ensuring fairness in elections, including “one vote = one value” – Australia continues to be a nation without equal suffrage;
- the imposition of extremely expensive defence policies which are exposing Australia to greater risk of war, a complete loss of independent defence capability, and a near-full ceding of sovereignty to America;
- a failure to articulate support for the rulings of the International Court of Justice on genocide in Gaza, potentially exposing Australia to complicity, especially if we have supplied weapons or weapons components used in the war;
- an ongoing failure to sign the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) and actual participation in nuclear proliferation (via endorsement of AUKUS);
- continuation of reliance on defence policy advice provided by private entities funded by foreign governments and arms manufacturers; and
- continued action by the Defence Department as a quasi broker for profitable sales for private arms dealers, who then sell arms that are used to kill women and children on a very large scale in foreign countries. Between 2016 and 2023/24 the value of weapons exports from Australia increased almost 100-fold from \$1.5 billion to more than \$100 billion. It was an obscene increase in making money from selling killing machines.

Best areas of performance

The **best areas of performance** almost all arise from the community itself and the civil society groups that have organised themselves to champion for peace, climate change mitigation, and equality. Relatively few arise from the performance of the 47th parliament or government.

In our society, the **best areas of performance** are evident in:

- the fact that Australians have continued to reject growth in the gap between rich and poor;
- the fact that Australians continue to support multiculturalism;
- the increase in representation of women in positions of power and senior leadership; and
- the increased access to more affordable childcare, albeit that childcare is still not affordable for the poorest Australians.

In our economy, the **best areas of performance** are evident in:

- the provision of cost of living relief by the federal government in a fiscally responsible way;
- the way inflation has been brought down without significantly increasing unemployment; and

- the way employment prospects for Australians have improved significantly, due to long overdue expansion of the public sector in health, education and social services.

In our governance, the **best areas of performance** are evident in:

- the courage and determination of cooperative Australians who have organised themselves to campaign for peace, hold a People’s Inquiry on the case for an Independent Australia (IPAN), and make recommendations on a path toward an enduring peace;
- the initiative by Australia’s Council for the Human Future to develop and propose an Earth System Treaty;
- the cooperative participation of Australians in international forums including the Roundtable on the Human Future which proposed creating a People’s Assembly within the United Nations;
- the work of other civil society groups including Australians for War Powers Reform, the International Women’s League for Peace and Freedom, the Medical Association for Prevention of War, and the Women’s Climate Congress;
- the fact that a majority of Australians continue to support neutral postures in confrontations between major powers;
- the federal government’s work to restabilise Australia’s relationship with its biggest trading partner, China, after destruction of a positive relationship under the previous government, although it is unfortunate that defence postures and AUKUS are undermining the renewed trust between Australia, China and Pacific countries; and
- the fact that Australians now have a means of efficiently and effectively participating in their own governance because of the introduction of National Integrated Planning & Reporting (National IP&R). This gives Australians an independent and transparent means of assessing the performance of governments in relation to what matters most to Australians, not to politicians and corporations. With the advent of National IP&R they can also now create a single space on the internet for free, fully open, well informed and orderly democratic engagement about choices for the future and can present governments with a coherent agenda for safe travel towards the destination of their choice.

In our environment, **ACFP has been unable to determine that there are any very good areas of performance.**

The table below provides more detail on some of the more significant improvements and deteriorations in the state of Australia over the period of the 47th parliament. Detailed data and other evidence supporting each point are provided in the *Australia Together* National Wellbeing Index in Chapters 7 to 10.

Significant improvements and deteriorations in the state of Australia

Significant improvements and deteriorations in the state of Australia.	
Vision element	Where are we getting better and worse ?
We are all safe.	<p>Getting worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feelings of safety in the context of world events are in decline and are seriously impacting mental health. • We are actually more at risk of involvement in war. • Fears of exclusion and violence due to ethnic origin (including indigeneity) are on the rise. • Fear of climate or nuclear catastrophe is evident. • Australia is not prepared for or resilient enough to withstand disasters.

Significant improvements and deteriorations in the state of Australia.

Vision element	Where are we getting <i>better</i> and <i>worse</i>?
<p>We have achieved a lasting reconciliation between First Nations peoples and non-Indigenous Australians, based on our shared values of justice and self-determination.</p>	<p>Getting worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Despite some improvements, the majority of indicators in Closing the Gap still trended away from rather than towards their respective targets, especially in relation to incarceration, removal of children from their families, and suicide. • A Voice for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders on matters that affect them has been rejected by referendum. • There is still no acknowledgement in the founding document of the nation – the Australian Constitution – of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders as the First Nations of Australia. • The Australian government has walked back from its commitment to establish a Makarrata Commission for agreement making, truth and justice, in favour of an unspecified process of “coming together”.
<p>Everyone is welcome to participate positively in community life.</p>	<p>Getting worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As measured in the Scanlon Index, social cohesion and particularly our sense of belonging and sense of being accepted have declined significantly since 2007. In 2024, social cohesion reached its lowest point ever since the start of the index in 2007. • The fall in social cohesion is coincident with a period where more politicians have politicised issues such as immigration, multiculturalism, and Indigenous peoples’ rights and where withdrawal of financial support provided during Covid-19 has highlighted injustice and growing inequality. • Australian’s have not reduced their vulnerability to divisive politics yet by coherently articulating what they value and stand for as a nation. This presents a significant risk. Our silence increases our vulnerability to divisive political and media campaigns and makes us more likely to enter wars which are not in Australia’s interests, if only because we, as a collective, have not said what those interests are. Further deterioration is likely in the absence of stated and agreed national values.
<p>We are inspired and able to renew our physical and spiritual wellbeing.</p>	<p>Getting worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Almost every aspect of the physical and mental health of Australians deteriorated during the 47th parliament. • The proportion of the population living with one or more chronic conditions has continued to increase, rising from 11.4 million people (47%) in 2017/18 to 12.7 million people or 50% in 2022. This equates to an 11% increase in the number of people or 1.3 million more with chronic disease in only four years. • In the ten years to 2022, the number of Australians with a mental or behavioural condition more than doubled from 2.996 million (13.6%) in 2011/12 to 6.632 million (26.1%) in 2022. • There has been a steady decline in reported happiness by Australians. • Necessary reforms of Australia’s health care system to make it truly universal and accessible by all have not occurred. Subsidies for private health care are negatively impacting accessibility. • Current funding, the structure of the health care system itself and a failure to address the causes of ill-health – particularly poverty and social exclusion – are aggravating the decline in the health of Australians. • Optimism is in short supply.
<p>We act together as a compassionate society.</p>	<p>Getting worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The federal government has persisted with neoliberalism and policies of targeted welfare which deny support to disadvantaged Australians sufficient to ensure they can lead a life of dignity. The message promoted by the federal government is that no-one will be left behind, but the practice is to leave millions behind in poverty, hunger and homelessness.

Significant improvements and deteriorations in the state of Australia.	
<i>Vision element</i>	<i>Where are we getting better and worse?</i>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Welfare continues to be treated not as a human right but as a privilege available only for those deemed “worthy” by the state. Poverty does not necessarily qualify a person for welfare. Corporations, by contrast, qualify as “worthy”. They qualify for billions more in welfare than the unemployed. 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.
Equality is valued as enriching human community, cultural harmony and social progress.	<p>Getting better</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Australians have continued to reject growth in the gap between rich and poor. Representation of women in positions of power and senior leadership roles has been increasing. <p>Getting worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Intergenerational equity is in decline. A growing number of Australians believe future generations will be less well off than their parents. Relative to other countries, Australia’s performance in achieving gender equality in areas including educational attainment, economic opportunity and participation, and health and survival has fallen dramatically over the last two decades. Business does not share wealth and profits fairly with Australians. Corporate profits have risen significantly as a share of GDP while wages have fallen significantly as a share of GDP.
Diversity is positively appreciated as a basis for a successful Australian society.	<p>Getting worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Between 2021 and 2024, the proportion of people who felt racism is now a fairly big or very big problem in Australia rose steadily from 60% to 63%. Australia’s Constitution continues to enable discrimination on the grounds of race (sections 25 and 51(xxvi)). This especially and adversely affects Indigenous Australians. Their chances of suffering discrimination are now worse than before the referendum, especially since the federal and Queensland governments moved to shut down Makarrata processes. There has been an obvious regression in bipartisan national commitment to multiculturalism with the Liberal/National Coalition campaigning against the Indigenous Voice and calling for other exclusionist and even punitive policies for migrants and refugees.
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.	<p>Getting worse – continuing poorly</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The educational sector continues to be seriously underfunded in Australia and is programmed to decline. With these funding arrangements, the government is set to fail on its own targets for productivity and increases in Australians with university degrees. Distribution of funds for school education remains highly unequal, with a disproportionate amount going to private schools compared to public schools. 98% of private schools are still being funded above the School Resourcing Standard while more than 98% of public schools are funded below it. The failure to restore fee-free university degrees will also spell failure for productivity targets. The affordability of tertiary education has continued to fall. The government has failed to recognise lifelong education as a fundamental human right. 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,

Significant improvements and deteriorations in the state of Australia.	
Vision element	Where are we getting better and worse?
	<p>work which is not drudgery and demeaning – are being denied to many young Australians.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Prospects for income security and employment of choice have been adversely impacted by the federal government’s “Working Future” white paper roadmap and its lack of integration with programs for security and equity.
Vital services are fully accessible for all.	<p>Getting better in part and only temporarily</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Access to affordable childcare is improving for some but is still not affordable for the poorest. It should be free. <p>Getting worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Access to health services has been reduced due to destruction of universality in Australia’s health care system since 1999 and its replacement with a system that supports the wealthy not the less wealthy, the old and not the young. Australians do not have security of services in health, aged care, childcare, disability or housing. Governments have continued to deny Australians the most cost-efficient system for their health – a universal system of reliable and equitable public funding for an integrated public and private health care system. They are baking in inequality of access to health care. The system is resembling the American health care model more and more each year. Refusals by the federal government to take on the role of direct provider of public housing are consigning millions of young Australians to a cycle of poverty. Home ownership rates among Australians aged under 45 are back to where they were in the late 1940s and 1950s. In the longer term, as a direct result of the new Aged Care Act, Australians cannot be sure that aged care services will be there for them when they reach old age at all. Clients will be dependent on the good graces of those private providers who were found during the Royal Commission to be by far the worst abusers of clients. The Aged Care Act 2024 effectively exonerates the government from its obligations under ICESCR and the CRPD. The recommendation of the Aged Care Royal Commission for introduction of a Medicare-style levy for aged care was rejected by the Aged Care Taskforce, in favour of increasing user charges. Incentives for private sector profit-driven involvement in aged care have been strengthened during the 47th parliament. In 2025, the Australian government remained committed to taxation settings which were incapable of securing essential services for Australians and affordable access to those services for all. It was prepared to sacrifice services (particularly in housing) and/or limit service provision in pursuit of budget surpluses, no matter the cost to the most vulnerable Australians, who now number in their millions. It also favoured tax and subsidy policies which heavily incentivise industries causing climate change and thus are bound to negatively impact the wellbeing of Australians.
Scarce resources are conserved and fairly shared.	<p>Getting worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> National mineral assets are being heavily exploited by private corporations with little or negative returns to Australians, principally because mining royalties are too low and there is no carbon price in Australia. In the forward estimates of the 2024/25 federal budget, fossil fuel subsidies were projected to increase from \$57 billion to a record \$65 billion. All up, Australians were being made to increase their subsidies to the fossil fuel industry by \$8 billion over three years while clawing back only \$2.4 billion extra in PRRT. Australians aren’t just giving gas away for free, they are being

Significant improvements and deteriorations in the state of Australia.

<i>Vision element</i>	<i>Where are we getting better and worse?</i>
	<p>made to pay gas exporters to take it away. They are also being left with the bill for restoration.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Over-investment in mining and fossil fuel extraction is a key reason why Australia has become the least self-sufficient economy in the developed world with the lowest share of manufacturing in its economy of any OECD country. • Australia has not moved towards sustainability in agriculture. A CSIRO roadmap set targets for five identified areas of opportunity but was underpinned by assumptions that current Australian government targets for a 43% reduction in greenhouse gas emissions by 2030 and net zero emissions by 2050 would allow for sustainable food production in Australia, when the reality is that those emission reduction targets will destroy the possibility of sustainable food production because they will create climatic conditions that will make current forms of agriculture unworkable. • Australia has been successful in initiatives to secure returns from agriculture but not in securing the future of food production itself.
<p>National wealth is fairly raised and fairly shared.</p>	<p>Getting worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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. • The taxation system is getting less progressive and no compensating fairer re-distribution system, such as a UBI, is being considered. • Oligopolistic control of mining and some types of farming is excluding Australians from the returns on their resources. • Duopoly control of news media by Murdoch and Nine is ejecting both truth and balance from mainstream journalism, which in turn is turbocharging wealth inequality and unfair taxation. • Shares of the national wealth generated through the labour of Australians are not being returned to workers 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 2024, only 52.5% of national income went to Australians in wages and the share that went to corporate profits had increased to 29.4%. • A royal commission into Robodebt uncovered its full horror as a fundamental breach of several human rights. However, pursuit of welfare recipients for debts is still favoured above programs to reduce corporate welfare. No consideration has been given to welfare as a universal human right or to the concept that fair and indisputable shares of national wealth can be distributed to all Australians if targeted welfare is replaced with a universal basic income (UBI). Justice has not been done for the victims of Robodebt because of the failure of the NACC to act on referrals by the Royal Commission. • No progress has been made on development of an Accord between Australians and their parliaments on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing. There are still no terms of agreement between Australians and governments as to the principles that should govern any decisions that may be made for the purpose of securing wellbeing, equality, and a future of safety for all citizens. The result of the failure to establish this Accord is rising inequality and unfair distribution of the burden of taxation and the benefits of public monies. • No progress has been made to ensure the Australian community can become more involved in national financial planning (participatory budgeting).

Significant improvements and deteriorations in the state of Australia.	
Vision element	Where are we getting <i>better</i> and <i>worse</i> ?
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • During the 47th parliament the federal government remained committed to targeted welfare in preference to universal income and services security. The targeted welfare system is embedding social and economic inequality into the foundations of Australian society. It constitutes a rejection of the “fair go” and equal opportunity. • Amendments to the Stage 3 tax cuts in 2024, although they looked fairer, still left substantial tax hikes in place for the low paid. They have baked in increases in taxation for low income earners that will arise from bracket creep. • Tax avoidance by major corporates has continued to increase with several big companies paying no tax. • No positive progress has been made to price or tax carbon.
Our economy is sustainable and supports rewarding opportunities and continuous improvements in living standards, wellbeing and security for everyone.	<p>Getting better</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little to no evidence has been found that Australia’s current economy is sustainable. However, evidence is available that cost of living relief has been well managed by the federal government and in a fiscally responsible way. Inflation has been brought down without significantly increasing unemployment. Cost of living pressures have been well managed by the government despite a lack of assistance from the Reserve Bank in its very poor management of monetary policy. • Employment prospects for Australians have improved significantly, due to long overdue expansion of the public sector in health, education and social services. <p>Getting better but only for a short while</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The federal government’s Future Made in Australia (FMIA) initiative may assist with improving the complexity and sustainability of Australia’s economy, although it is unlikely to transform Australia into a renewable energy superpower before global heating overwhelms the planet and destroys the economic returns that might otherwise have accrued. The excessive amount of spending on defence in the FMIA will undo twice over the gains that can be made in transition to renewable energy. Excessive expenditures on defence in the FMIA (which are more than twice as much as other planned expenditures in the program and will cause heavy increases in carbon emissions as well as diversion of scarce human capacity away from more sustainable industries) are likely to weaken the economy in the face of climate change and expose Australia unnecessarily to a greater risk of war. <p>Getting worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neoliberalism has resulted in decades of lost returns for the public, declines in the quality of services (eg., aged care) and price increases, especially for electricity, gas, health cover, and housing. • Neoliberalism has also resulted in an economy that lacks the complexity necessary for sustainability and maintenance of quality of life. Australia has become the least self-sufficient economy in the developed world with the lowest share of manufacturing in its economy of any OECD country. The Future Made in Australia initiative is not well designed and is unlikely to turn this around quickly enough or sufficiently. • Australia is also very poorly placed to capitalise on opportunities to diversify industries and increase exports of products embodying renewable energy because it has not applied a price on carbon, a carbon solutions levy or other financial mechanism necessary to drive investment in renewable energy and forms of green manufacturing and industrial production.

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<i>Vision element</i>	<i>Where are we getting better and worse?</i>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More than 3 million Australians, including over 700,000 children, are living in deep poverty for extended periods of time. • Australia continued to be extremely unlikely to meet its 2015 commitments to reach the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGs) by 2030. These goals matter more to the fate of species, including humans, than any others. Australia’s response is extremely disappointing. There has been next to no progress in in ten years. • Australia’s rates of species extinction are among the highest in the world. • Reliance on export markets in minerals is increasingly self-defeating since the profits are being largely offshored and relatively few jobs (only about 2%) 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 (well over 25%) – are being underfunded or privatisation is continuing, which is causing cost increases. • Living standards are falling, particularly as measured by affordability of housing. • Australia still has no overall planning process for composition and re-composition of its economy over the longer term and no accepted tools for guidance in reforms to compose a sustainable economy. Decisions on public investments and incentives for economic and industry development strongly favour neoliberal approaches of transferring public funds to support private sector, profit-driven ventures at the expense of essential services and payments for the public. The government remained wedded to trying to make the market work for the various social ends that it was seeking rather than to expansion of direct involvement by the public sector as a competitor to the private sector on a level playing field. • Reviews of competition policy did not prioritise a reversal of neoliberal policies and market domination by private monopolies. On the contrary, the government espoused policies that downgraded the potential for public sector involvement in markets to act as an effective and essential brake on any excesses arising from anti-competitive activity by the private sector. • In 2025, positive steps such as a Net Zero Economy Authority are set to be undermined by other policy settings, especially those for tax and subsidies.
<p>As a nation we have the courage to take a leading place in achieving the environmental aims of a global society.</p>	<p>Getting better in the short term, not in the long term</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 2022, Australia made a commitment under the UNFCCC for the first time to a carbon budget. It adopted a multi-year emissions budget from 2021-2030 of 4,381 Mt CO₂-e, based on a 43% reduction by 2030. This budget is not sufficient to contain heating to below 2° Celsius, let alone 1.5° as per Australia’s commitment under the Paris Agreement. It means Australia is unlikely to achieve net zero before 2056, by which time we will have emitted a total of 8,147 Mt (from 2022 to 2056), well over what Australia should emit to contain heating. However, it’s a start. • Federal government actions to address climate change are all undermined by approvals of more coal and gas extraction and expansion of fossil fuel exports. • Australia still has the capacity to become a renewable energy superpower but has not created the market conditions necessary for that purpose. <p>Getting worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 2025, Australia is no closer to setting a target for achievement of net zero emissions within a safe and fair budget of carbon emissions. No evidence is present of an intention to adopt a safe carbon budget, which in 2024 would

Significant improvements and deteriorations in the state of Australia.	
Vision element	Where are we getting better and worse?
	<p>be in the order of 3,530 Mt CO₂-e (3.5 BT). From 2020, Australia should aim to emit no more than 3.53 BT ever.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Labor government’s legislation to reduce emissions by 43% below 2005 levels by 2030, combined with its refusal to cap total emissions, its poor leadership in UNFCCC COPs (compared to what should be forthcoming from a wealthy country), and its ongoing approvals of fossil fuel extraction and export, effectively guarantees heating above 2° Celsius. • The federal government has approved 10 new coal mines or expansions and has also granted permits for new gas exploration and sea dumping off the coasts of Western Australia, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania. These projects will also increase Australia’s emissions. Overall, during the 47th parliament, the government has been adding emissions, not reducing them and has thereby been making it impossible to meet net zero within the timeframe of this plan.
Stewardship of ecology is affirmed as fundamental to planetary and human survival.	<p>Getting worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the period of the 47th parliament, the government walked away from its commitment to introduce a suite of laws to effectively address Australia’s extinction crisis, including new national environmental standards against which development proposals would be assessed. • Extinction of Australia’s diverse flora and fauna has continued apace. During the 47th parliament, an extra 188 species of fauna were listed as threatened, bringing the total threatened fauna species to 666. An extra 110 species of flora were listed as threatened, bringing the total threatened flora species to 1,472. • Abundance of Australia’s threatened and near-threatened species has declined by 60% since 1985. • Native vegetation is still being cleared and invasive species are increasing. • No progress has been made on legislation prohibiting deforestation.
Democracy is assured by a well informed and engaged community of political equals.	<p>Getting better, thanks to the community, not the parliament.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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. <i>Australia Together</i> contains a National Wellbeing Index that provides easily accessible data about the nation’s health and wellbeing. • Australia also has a clearly prescribed, open and inclusive National Integrated Planning & Reporting² process, including community engagement and long term national financial planning. These new processes have significant potential to ensure that Australians can participate in Australia’s democracy as well-informed political equals. • In November 2023, Australian Community Futures Planning published a proposal for the conduct of a National Collaborative Process for Development of a New Australian Constitution, one fit for a 21st century democracy of political equals. • Trust in democracy has been eroded somewhat although the evidence suggests that Australia’s social cohesion and equality is not yet so broken that conditions are being set for the sort of democratic upheavals and decline being experienced in America. • Civil society groups in Australia are increasingly well organised and their influence in their democracy is increasing, for example, in the “kitchen table” community groups that have selected alternative candidates for parliament to

² 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](#)

Significant improvements and deteriorations in the state of Australia.

<i>Vision element</i>	<i>Where are we getting better and worse?</i>
	<p>run as independents who will work to achieve progress on issues of importance to them, such as climate, integrity and equality.</p> <p>Getting worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No progress has been made in government circles on evolution of a Constitution fit for 21st century Australian democracy. Australia’s Constitution continues to exclude Australians from any share of power in their own democracy and in particular makes it impossible to hold executive governments to account. • Progress on constitutional reform went backwards during the 47th parliament due to the failure of the Voice referendum, the Labor government’s subsequent retreat from its commitment to support a Makarrata Commission, and the government’s rejection of senate committee recommendations for human rights law reform. • The federal government has refused to commit to introduction of a Human Rights Act. This leaves Australians without security of their rights, even the right to vote. • The government has also treated the parliament with contempt by squashing any possible reforms that might be suggested by parliamentary committees in relation to war powers reform. • In 2025, Australia remained the only “democracy” in the world not to have passed a law directly implementing the ICCPR. The Australian government remained free to breach civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, unrestrained by law. In reality, a country cannot be regarded as a democracy if its citizens have no rights. Australia remains a constitutional monarchy, not a constitutional democracy.
<p>We can confidently trust our parliaments, governments, and courts to act fairly and justly in accordance with the rights and interests of the public and future generations.</p>	<p>Getting better, thanks to the community, not the parliament.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The representative system of government in Australia is still designed to shut down the diverse voices of the Australian community, not to give them an orderly means of expressing their will for the future – the sovereign will of the people. However, the initiatives in <i>Australia Together</i> to create a National People’s Voice and an Independent Commission for National Engagement and Integrated Planning can give Australians an independent and transparent means of assessing the performance of governments in relation to what matters most to Australians, not politicians and corporations. • 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, well informed and orderly democratic engagement about choices for the future. <p>Getting worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parliaments and governments have given no commitment to the rights of future generations. In 2025, there was little if anything in Australia law that may prevent governments and parliaments from making significant decisions that pose a material risk of harm to future generations or the natural environment and biodiversity. • The rights of current generations are also at risk due to the government’s refusal to enact a Human Rights Act. • An increasing lack of transparency is eroding trust in government. Secrecy has increased and people who blow the whistle on state corruption are being denied justice and persecuted for telling the truth about state abuses of power and crimes committed by state agents.

Significant improvements and deteriorations in the state of Australia.	
Vision element	Where are we getting better and worse?
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The public's right to know about the risks we are exposed to, especially climate risk, is being denied. Informed and productive participation in democracy will be impossible if that arrangement continues. Excessive market concentration of large news media businesses and social media companies has become a significant threat to our social cohesion, climate security, defence security, economic security, and to our democracy. The vast majority of Australians do not believe that governments put the public before vested interests. Establishment of the National Anti-Corruption Commission (NACC) should have been a positive but the legislation precluded transparency in investigation of corruption and the NACC seemed more likely to be inherently susceptible to corruption itself due to its poor design. The Labor government's proposed legislation on electoral funding reform did not promote fairness in elections or "one vote = one value". The bill was more likely to militate against equal suffrage and political equality for electors, and failed to eliminate the influence of corporate money and wealthy donors in elections. In particular the bill would reduce the capacity of new independent candidates to enter electoral competitions. Australia is a nation without equal suffrage.
We take pride in Australia as a responsible international citizen, active in building a safe, peaceful and united world	<p>Getting better, thanks to the community, not the parliament.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Civil society is doing the most in terms of promoting peace. The Independent and Peaceful Australia Network (IPAN) continued to champion a discourse for peace and held a People's Inquiry on the case for an independent and peaceful Australia. It was a groundbreaking community engagement and collaborative policy development process which dared to place citizens alongside the parliament and at the centre of Australia's foreign policy and defence decisions. Consensus that the government is on the wrong track with AUKUS and national defence policies was apparent. Civil society groups in Australia have also developed and proposed an Earth System Treaty, although the Australian government has not yet agreed to submit an Earth System Treaty to the United Nations. Other civil society groups including Australians for War Powers Reform, the International Women's League for Peace and Freedom, the Medical Association for Prevention of War, and the Women's Climate Congress continued to campaign for peace, justice and cooperation on the international stage. A majority of Australians continue to support neutral postures in confrontations between major powers. There is little appetite for confrontation and aggression with China, and a substantial appetite for sound relationship management to avert war. A significant majority of Australians recognise that a war with China would not be in their interests. The federal government has restabilised Australia's relationship with its biggest trading partner, China, and with Pacific countries, but actions in relation to defence postures and AUKUS are undermining the renewed trust between Australia, China and Pacific countries. <p>Getting worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Australia remains one of the least cooperative countries in the world in terms of attempts to mitigate the impacts of its development on other nations attempting to meet the UN Sustainable Development Goals. Australia's military alliances are provocative of war. They continue to draw us into wars and warlike operations against countries that have not attacked Australia and are not sanctioned by the United Nations.

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<i>Vision element</i>	<i>Where are we getting better and worse?</i>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Australia has refrained from expressing support for the rulings of the International Court of Justice in relation to claims of genocide in Gaza and the illegality of Israel’s occupation of Palestian territories. The government has not taken concrete steps to fully implement the ICJ's recommendations regarding Israel's actions in Gaza. Silence and inaction on a court ruling on genocide may lead Australia into complicity, especially if Australia has been supplying weapons components that have been used in the war. • While support for the US alliance remained high from 2020 onwards, Australia’s capacity to develop an independent defence capability and independence in sovereignty declined significantly. The government’s continuation of support for AUKUS is leading Australia away from developing an independent defence capability. • Between 2020 and 2024, Australia’s defence planning and its handling of the US alliance detracted significantly from the preferences expressed by Australians for peace and security during the IPAN People’s Inquiry, the ability of the parliament to consider defence strategies and decisions on war, and Australia’s capacity to develop strategies arcing towards neutrality, disarmament and peace. Defence policy was at odds with the preferences of the majority of Australians and was putting Australians in danger. • Aggressive, hawkish defence postures have almost totally eclipsed diplomacy. • Defence advisors are still funded by foreign arms dealers and the federal government still supports obviously conflicted foreign and defence policy advisors with public funding. • The Defence Department continues to act as a quasi broker for profitable sales for private arms dealers, who then sell arms that are used to kill women and children on a very large scale in foreign countries. Between 2016 and 2023/24 the value of weapons exports from Australia increased almost 100-fold from \$1.5 billion to more than \$100 billion. It was an obscene increase in making money from selling killing machines. • Australia has still not signed the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW). • The government’s National Defence Strategy is an extremely expensive mistake for Australia especially because of its lack of integration with other programs that should be (but have not been) developed for national resilience in climate change and economic disruption. In 2025, Australia’s foreign and defence policies are still undermining, not improving, national security and increasing the risk of war in our region. • The federal government shows no willingness to engage respectfully with the Australian community or even the parliament on defence, foreign policy or decisions on entry into wars. It has retained the “executive” right to enter even illegal wars without the consent of the Australian people. It has shown a contemptuous disregard of both the parliament and the will of the people of Australia, over 90% of whom have answered Yes to the question, “Do you think the Prime Minister should be required to get approval from parliament before making a decision to go to war?” • Australia’s military 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.

Prospects for success in the top twenty most urgent areas

In *The State of Australia 2022*, a report was provided on performance during the 46th parliament and the previous decade which set out the evidence of continuing decline in twenty key areas of weakness for Australia which must be solved before 2035 at the absolute latest if we are to be assured of a safe and secure future of wellbeing. Performance in all twenty areas was poor but it was particularly poor in relation to:

- Issue 9 – Unethical governance,
- Issue 10 – Fractious international relations, and
- Issue 16 – Climate policy failure.

Chapter 12 provides an update of where we are in 2025 in relation to each of these top twenty issues based on the data in the *Australia Together* National Wellbeing Index. It also offers a description of what we can reasonably expect to achieve by 2030 in each case, based on current policies. The following table summarises those reasonable expectations.

In some cases it is apparent that urgent changes to current policies to align them with the Vision and Directions of *Australia Together* will significantly improve Australia's chances of avoiding continuing decline. In other cases it may be already too late to avoid a decline. The table shows that if policy changes are made to align those policies with the Vision, further declines can still be feasibly and most easily avoided in:

- Issue 1 – Growing inequality
- Issue 3 – Loss of the fair go for all
- Issue 7 – Loss of rights in open governance and transparency
- Issue 8 – Declining participation in democracy
- Issue 9 – Unethical governance
- Issue 10 – Fractious international relations
- Issue 12 – Economic decline
- Issue 14 – Inertia in transition to decarbonisation
- Issue 19 – Declining quality of life and loss of social cohesion
- Issue 20 – Declining wellbeing and happiness

This is not to say that it's game over for the other ten issues and that targets to fix them are entirely unattainable. But it will be much harder to resolve those issues and turn the negative trends of performance around to a positive, especially if policies are not reformed immediately. Australia has made these issues unnecessarily hard to resolve by continually supporting policies which do not value the natural environment, human rights, and the need for universality in income and services. In certain areas, delays and reticence in essential policy reforms have wedged Australia into a position where it has lost far too much in regulatory control of private markets. That loss, caused as it has been by continuing support for neoliberalism, is probably the biggest single immediate policy threat to Australia. Unless it can be reversed there is a likelihood that Australia will fail on all twenty urgent issues.

The other big threat is Australia's own Constitution and the refusal of governments to offer Australians an orderly and apolitical process for building a Constitution fit for a 21st century democracy of political equals. An outmoded and failing Constitution – one that offers Australia no means of control over their future, next to no human rights, and permits racism – presents one of the most serious risks to Australia's capacity to resolve the most urgent issues. It is probably *the* most serious risk if Australia wishes to reduce our susceptibility to the sort of democratic decline so vividly on display in 2025 in America under the Trump presidency.

Strategies to reduce income inequality and gaps in access to education and truthful information, as well as a program of constitutional reform, will be vital in heading off democratic decline. Collaborative programs to design a universal basic income for all Australians also offer an excellent opportunity to reverse the growth in inequality and poverty in the 21st century and establish fair systems of taxation capable of ensuring service security for everyone’s health and education, and their sense that life is good and worth living. In Australia, it is not too late to invoke these strategies. They are vital if we wish to prevent transformation of Australia’s democracy into an autocratic state.

For the details about progress in these top twenty issues, see Chapter 12.

Are we making progress in the top 20 urgent areas for the 2020s?			
The top 20 urgent areas	Direction of travel		Expectations by 2030
	During the 46 th parliament	During the 47 th parliament	
Growing inequality	←	← / →	Expectations are that most forms of inequality are more than likely to grow in the 2020s due to policy settings on tax, housing, education and electoral funding. Continuing to improve gender equality may offer the best opportunities for reversing other forms of inequality.
Growing poverty, homelessness and hunger	←	←	Expectations are that poverty, hunger and homelessness will continue to rise due to policy settings on tax, housing and education.
Loss of the fair go for all	←	← / →	Expectations are that adequate levels of service, particularly in aged care and affordable health care, are unlikely to be realised, certainly not by 2030.
Growth in racial and religious conflict	←	←	Expectations are that racial and religious tensions will continue to increase due to continuing permissions for racism in Australian law and the heavily divisive discourse of some Australian conservative politicians. Australia’s legal systems are too weak and undemocratic and its social cohesion is becoming too fragile for Australians to have a reasonable expectation that by 2030 the nation will be able to withstand the sort of rise in autocratic and undemocratic systems of government that is occurring in some other countries. Major constitutional reform is required to prevent a similar decline in Australian democracy.
Indigenous exclusion	←	←	Expectations are that sufficient steps will not be taken to ensure that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples can at last be guaranteed a voice in decisions that affect them although this could happen by 2030 if constitutional reform programs are well organised. The gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians will not be closed by 2030, if only because the government is not aiming to close it by then, or in some cases at all.
An outmoded and failing Constitution	←	←	Expectations are that further deterioration in democracy and social cohesion is likely, unless Australians can organise themselves to state their values and rights in a new constitution fit for a 21 st century democracy. Opportunities for a constitutional convention led by the people of Australia themselves should be taken whenever they arise.

Are we making progress in the top 20 urgent areas for the 2020s?			
The top 20 urgent areas	Direction of travel		Expectations by 2030
	During the 46 th parliament	During the 47 th parliament	
Loss of rights, open governance and transparency	←	← / →	Expectations are that, notwithstanding a renewed focus on ensuring the public service “embodies integrity in everything it does”, the prospects for openness and transparency in the Commonwealth government and by the executive are not likely to improve because sufficient grounds have not been laid in institutional reforms for the purpose.
Declining participation in democracy	←	→	Expectations are that if Australians begin to use the National IP&R process, they will be able to enhance the effectiveness of all other forms of political participation and activism. To date, few Australians have involved themselves in National IP&R. But the process is there for their benefit. Failure to increase political participation by using National IP&R will significantly reduce Australia’s chances of resolving all other priority issues in the 2020 decade.
Unethical governance	←	← / →	Expectations are that unethical governance and corporate bribery of officials will continue unless significant reforms are enacted.
Fractious international relations	←	← / →	Expectations are that unless Australia abandons aggressive defence postures and reverts to diplomacy and economic partnerships as the principal means of managing international relations, we will see our status as a respected, democratic nation disappear and with it our economic and personal security.
Corporate irresponsibility	←	←	Expectations are that unless neoliberalism and its attendant practices of corporate lobbying and state capture are abandoned, Australia’s exposure to climate change and income and wealth inequality will be irreversible by 2035 if not sooner.
Economic decline	←	← / →	Expectations are that advances in economic management may well be defeated due to refusals to take on the systemic reforms necessary to reverse the threats listed above. However, this is something that can be fixed if governments decide to fix it.
Lost public ownership	←	←	Expectations are that advances in economic management will be very short-lived if governments remain wedded to trying to make profit-driven private markets work for various social ends, rather than to expansion of direct involvement by the public sector as a competitor to the private sector on a level playing field. Governments need to recognise that the private sector will not act in the public interest without regulation and will not improve competition without pressure from a very big competitor. Only the public sector is sizeable enough to apply the necessary pressure.

Are we making progress in the top 20 urgent areas for the 2020s?			
The top 20 urgent areas	Direction of travel		Expectations by 2030
	During the 46 th parliament	During the 47 th parliament	
Inertia in transition to decarbonisation	←	← / →	Expectations are that the government's hopes of meeting the target of 82% of electricity from renewables by 2030 will be dashed if investment does not pick up soon.
Environmental decline	←	←	Expectations are that efforts to conserve nature and marine treasures such as the Great Barrier Reef will be defeated by campaigns by the mining lobby. There is no evidence of a will within the two major political parties to stand up to the mining lobby.
Climate policy failure	←	←	Expectations are that global temperature increases will not be capped below 2° Celsius. Australia's policies will aid and abet extinction if there is no acceptance of a fair carbon budget (3,530 Mt CO ₂ -e (3.5 BT) from 2020). Australian governments will be responsible for ecocide and genocide.
Declining health and safety at home	←	←	Expectations are that we will not close the gap 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 ill-health. Current funding, the structure of the health care system itself and a failure to address the causes of ill-health – particularly poverty, social exclusion, intergenerational inequity, and climate change – are aggravating the decline in the health of Australians.
Declining educational attainment	←	←	Expectations are that it will be impossible for the government to meet its targets for increasing the number of Australians with degrees and vocational qualifications if they continue to underfund public schools. The failure to abolish fees for university will also spell failure for productivity targets.
Declining quality of life and loss of social cohesion	←	←	Expectations are that if Australia's social cohesion and quality of life and trust in their governments continue to decline, Australia will be more susceptible to the sort of social and democratic breakdown evident in America. Strategies to reduce income inequality and gaps in access to education and information, as well as a program of constitutional reform, will be vital in heading off democratic decline. It is not too late to invoke these strategies.
Declining wellbeing and happiness	←	←	Expectations are that health and wellbeing will continue to decline unless the social determinants of mental and physical ill health are directly addressed by providing a level playing field with equal opportunity for all, including by shifting away from targeted welfare toward systems of universal income and services security. Collaborative programs to design a universal basic income for all Australians offer the best opportunity by far to reverse the growth in inequality and poverty in the 21st century and establish fair systems of taxation capable of ensuring service security for everyone's health and education, and their sense that life is good and worth living.

Introduction

The State of Australia 2025 is the second report on the state of Australia as a nation.

The first report was [The State of Australia 2022](#). Both reports have 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 and fairly.

For information on how to become involved in building *Australia Together*, visit the [ACFP website](#). Participation is open to all Australians.



The State of Australia 2025:

1. assembles data across 368 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 47th 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 about the origins and content of the draft Vision for Australia Together.](#)

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

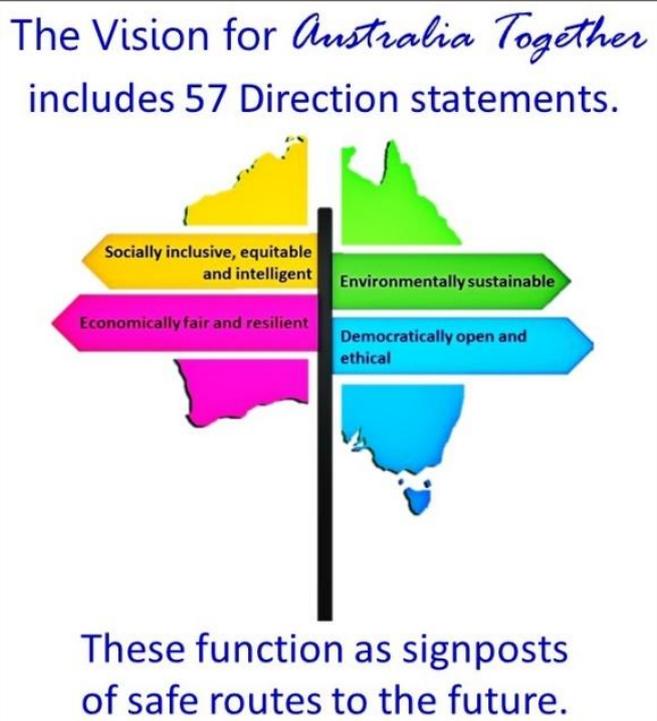
The 57 Direction statements within the Vision for *Australia Together* function as **signposts of the safe routes of travel** toward the preferred future wellbeing and security described in the Vision, and they indicate what Australia will become, in character as a nation, by moving in those Directions.

In *Australia Together*, these Directions of travel are:

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

The full wording of the 57 draft Directions is set out in Chapter 3 of the latest draft of *Australia Together*, or at <https://www.austcfp.com.au/vision-and-directions-of-australia-together>

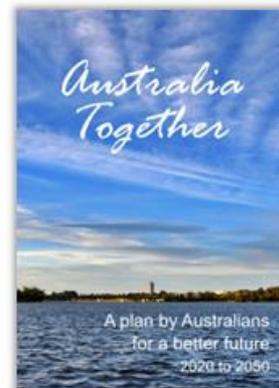
This End of Term Report is structured to report on Australia's progress with travel along the Directions in the **starting draft** of *Australia Together*, to the extent that data are available.



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*.

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 all safe

We have achieved a lasting reconciliation between First Nations peoples and non-Indigenous Australians, based on our shared values of justice and self-determination

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 the basis for a successful Australian 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 for all

Scarce resources are conserved and fairly shared

National wealth is fairly raised and fairly shared

Our economy is sustainable and supports rewarding opportunities and continuous improvements in living standards, wellbeing and security 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

Democracy is assured by a well informed and engaged community of political equals

We can confidently trust our parliaments, governments and courts to act fairly and justly in accordance with the rights and interests of the public and future generations

We take pride in Australia as a responsible international citizen, active in building a safe, 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 the early 2020s.

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.

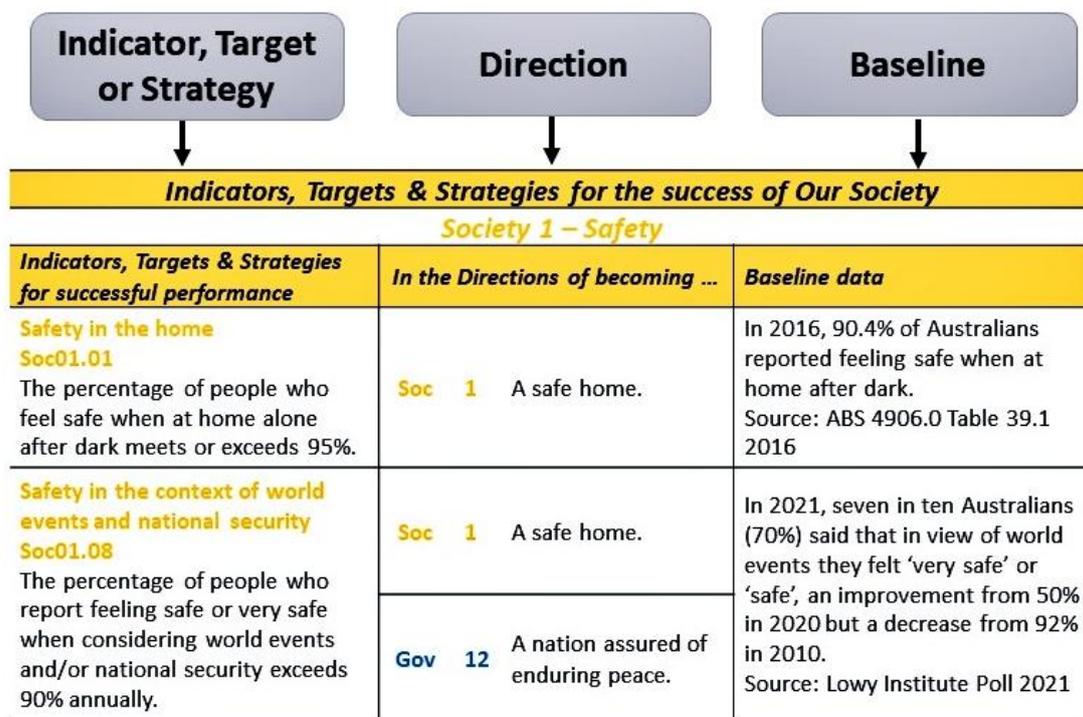
ACFP has been able to assemble this structure for a long term national plan by using a specially designed **National Integrated Planning & Reporting** process – **National IP&R**. For detailed information about National IP&R and how to become involved, visit the [ACFP website](#).

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 February 2025, ACFP estimated that the Index was about 85% complete – meaning that it contained over 360 Targets and Strategies with reliable baseline data, but that it may be expected that another 20 to 30 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:

Structure of the *Australia Together* National Wellbeing Index

For every Indicator, Target & Strategy, a baseline is established alongside a list of which Directions they follow.



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 February 2025 to be only about 85% 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. 9 of the starting draft of *Australia Together*, released in February 2025³ and adds another column which reports on the direction of movement from the Baselines for each Indicator, Target and Strategy.

Australia Together National Wellbeing Index - Original			End of Term Report
Indicator, Target or Strategy	Direction	Baseline	Report on progress
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society			
Society 1 – Safety			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Perceptions of safety and trust in the community Soc01.07.01</p> <p>The proportion of Australians reporting trust in “most people” increases continuously.</p>	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	<p>In 2024, 47% of Australians reported that “Generally speaking ... most people could be trusted”, a decline in the average between 2007 and 2022. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2024</p> <p>The short and longer term trends are negative.</p> <p>←</p>
<p>Perceptions of safety in the context of world events and national security Soc01.08</p> <p>The percentage of people who report feeling safe or very safe when considering world events and/or national security exceeds 90% annually.</p>	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	<p>In 2024, 62% of Australians said that in view of world events they felt “very safe” or “safe”. Source: Lowy Institute Poll 2021</p> <p>The short and longer term trends are negative.</p> <p>←</p>
	Gov 12 A nation assured of enduring peace.		

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:

³ 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: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> no progress in a positive or negative direction at all, or <ul style="list-style-type: none"> that progress was generally stagnant through time, or <ul style="list-style-type: none"> that progress was variable in both directions through time (and therefore neither clearly positive nor clearly negative), or <ul style="list-style-type: none"> that no data were available to form a conclusion.
	Denotes a negative outlook trend for the future, arising from situations where current policies that look positive in the short term will have an adverse impact in the long term.

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 requires judgements.

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, email ACFP at info@austcfp.com.au.

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:



- 205 Targets, and
- 163 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 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 several views of the data:

- View No. 1:** By the 17 elements of the Vision for *Australia Together*.
- View No. 2:** Dissected by the quadrants of **society**, **environment**, **economy** and **governance**.
- View No. 3** By reference to our current position and performance in relation to the top twenty most serious issues affecting Australia in the 2020 decade.
- View No. 4:** For selected longer term negative or positive impacts and the worst and best areas of performance.

View No. 1 – 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. 2 – 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  Detailed	Top	Overview & 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*.
	Lower The full <i>Australia Together</i> 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.
<small>* Short term results pertain to the 47th parliament. * 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, 45th and 46th parliaments.</small>			

View No. 3 – by reference to progress on the top twenty most serious issues is located in Chapter 12 in detail and in the Overview in summary.

View No. 4 – for selected longer term negative and positive impacts and the worst and best areas of performance is located in the Overview.

View No. 1 and View No. 2 hold the detailed data and information on results. They record progress and the direction of travel – towards or away from the Vision during the 47th parliament and over the longer term where results data are available.

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 the opinions and expressed values of Australians](#) 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 350 to 400. As at early 2025, ACFP has been able to assemble over 360 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 368 Indicators enabling us to report on progress in accordance with 52 of the 57 Directions.		
Quadrant	No. of Directions	Indicators, Targets & Strategies monitored
Society	16 All monitored	154 comprising 109 Targets and 45 Strategies
Environment	19 16 monitored, 3 not yet monitored	48 comprising 23 Targets and 25 Strategies
Economy	9 7 monitored, 2 not yet monitored	75 comprising 37 Targets and 38 Strategies
Governance	13 All monitored	91 comprising 36 Targets and 55 Strategies
Total Indicators monitored for this End of Term Report		368 comprising 205 Targets and 163 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 for *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 organisations.

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 47th parliament

Consolidated results for the period of the 47 th parliament				
Are we travelling towards the Vision via the safe Directions?				
Quadrant	Indicators, Targets & Strategies monitored	No. of positive, neutral & negative results		
		→	← / →	←
Society	154 comprising 109 Targets and 45 Strategies	29	38	87
Environment	48 comprising 23 Targets and 25 Strategies	17	11	20
Economy	75 comprising 37 Targets and 38 Strategies	25	21	29
Governance	91 comprising 36 Targets and 55 Strategies	5	27	59
Total during the 47th parliament		76	97*	195

* No data were available to update results for 25 of the 97 neutral results.

Notable conclusions on performance of the nation during the 47th parliament:

- During the 47th parliament, negative performance (travelling contrary to the preferred safe Direction) outweighed positive performance by a factor of 257%.
- In all quadrants, negative performance outweighed positive performance.

- The **worst performance** was in the **Governance** quadrant, where out of 91 indicators monitored only 5 results were positive. 27 were neutral and 59 were negative. Negative results outweighed positive results by a factor of 11.8.
- The **second worst performance** was in the **Society** quadrant, where out of 154 indicators monitored only 29 results were positive. 38 were neutral and 87 were negative. Negative results outweighed positive results by a factor of 3.0.

Consolidated results during the longer term

Consolidated results for the longer term				
Are we travelling towards the Vision via the safe Directions?				
Quadrant	Indicators, Targets & Strategies monitored	No. of positive, neutral & negative results		
		→	← / →	←
Society	154 comprising 109 Targets and 45 Strategies	30	32	92
Environment	48 comprising 23 Targets and 25 Strategies	11	11	26
Economy	75 comprising 37 Targets and 38 Strategies	9	19	47
Governance	91 comprising 36 Targets and 55 Strategies	8	16	67
Total during the longer term – over the last 10 to 20 years		58	78*	232

* No data were available to update results for 23 of the 78 neutral results.

Notable conclusions regarding the longer term national performance:

- During the longer term, negative performance (travelling contrary to the preferred safe Direction) outweighed positive performance by a factor of 400%.
- In all quadrants, negative performance significantly outweighed positive performance.
- The **worst performance** has been in the **Governance** quadrant, where out of 91 indicators monitored only 8 results were positive. 16 were neutral and 67 were negative. Negative results outweighed positive results by a factor of 8.4.
- The **second worst performance** has been in the **Economy** quadrant, where out of 75 indicators monitored only 9 results were positive. 19 were neutral and 47 were negative. Negative results outweighed positive results by a factor of 5.2.

This reflects a slightly slower rate of decline compared to that reported in The State of Australia 2022 for the 46th parliament. Overall, the result shows a continuation of the steady decline for the nation similar to what was predicted as merely a potential decline by the Australian National Outlook in 2019⁴, except that this picture shows the decline is already in play and has been for some years. 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.

⁴ In 2019, the CSIRO and National Australia Bank worked with a number of other agencies to produce the [Australian National Outlook 2019](#). 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.



Topic Area		Direction Australia becomes ...	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	Change since The State of Australia 2022
Society 1	Safety	A safe home.	On balance, no.	Deteriorated. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ On balance, yes ”. In 2025, the result is a move away from the preferred destination.
Society 2	Indigenous Heart	A land with an Indigenous heart.	On balance, no.	Deteriorated. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ On balance, no ”. In 2025, the result is the same but worse. It amounts to an even further move away from the preferred destination.
Society 3	Belonging & inclusion	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	On balance, no.	Deteriorated. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ On balance, no ”. In 2025, the result is the same but worse. It amounts to an even further move away from the preferred destination of an inclusive, welcoming and enabling society.
Society 4	Health & wellbeing	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	On balance, no.	Sharply deteriorated. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ On balance, no ”. In 2025, the result is the same but worse. Australia is not becoming a place of optimal health and wellbeing.
Society 5	Education	A model of lifelong educational opportunity.	On balance, no.	No substantial improvement or deterioration. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ On balance, no ”. In 2025, the result is the same. Australia is no closer to providing lifelong educational opportunity.
Society 6	Equality	A society of equals.	On balance, no.	No substantial improvement or deterioration. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ On

Topic Area		Direction Australia becomes ...	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	Change since The State of Australia 2022
				balance, no ". In 2025, the result is the same.
Society 7	Diversity	A success because of its diversity.	On balance, no.	Deteriorated. In 2022, the result was " On balance, yes but it is fragile. " In 2025, the fragility had led to a decline in Australia's capacity to reap the benefits of its diversity.
Society 8	Women & LGBTIQ+	A success because of gender equality.	On balance, yes.	Improved. In 2022, the result was " On balance, yes, but very slowly. " In 2025, Australia's chances of success due to gender equality were improving.
Society 9	Housing	A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.	On balance, no.	Deteriorated seriously. In 2022, the result on this Direction was " On balance, no ". In 2025, the result is the same but worse. Australia is not becoming a land without homelessness and does not have decent affordable housing for all.
Society 10	Family cohesion & community services	A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.	On balance, no.	No substantial improvement or deterioration. In 2022, the result on this Direction was " On balance, no ". In 2025, the result is the same. Australia is not becoming a place of supportive familial and other connections without domestic abuse.
Society 11	Early childhood care	A land without child disadvantage.	On balance, yes, but it is tenuous.	Improved. In 2022, the result was " On balance, no. " In 2025, Australia was moving incrementally towards universal early education and childcare but tenuously. There was still a long way to go before it might become a land without child disadvantage.

Topic Area		Direction Australia becomes ...	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	Change since The State of Australia 2022
Society 12	Aged care & disability services	A sure provider of lifelong dignity.	On balance, no.	Deteriorated somewhat. In 2022, the result was “On balance, no.” In 2025, the result is the same but policies to improve aged care in the short term have tended towards locking in system failure in the longer term.
Society 13	Arts & culture	A wellspring of inspiration & creativity.	On balance, no.	Nil. No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.
Society 14	Police services	A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in policing.	On balance, the evidence is mixed.	No substantial improvement or deterioration. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, the evidence is mixed.” In 2025, the result is the same.
Society 15	Justice	Confident of justice for all.	On balance, no.	Deteriorated. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, the evidence is mixed.” In 2025, the results reflect very poorly on the whole justice system. Australians cannot be, or expect to become, confident of justice for all.
Society 16	Emergency services	A society prepared & resilient in times of disaster.	On balance, no.	Deteriorated. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no.” In 2025, the result is the same but Australia has less time to manage its risks. We are not a society that is prepared and resilient in the face of disasters.

Consolidated results by quadrant – Our Environment



Topic Area		Direction Australia becomes ...	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	Change since The State of Australia 2022
Environment 1	Environmental advocacy	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	On balance, no.	Deteriorated. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ On balance, no. ” In 2025, the result is the same but Australia has less time to stop heating and is not sufficiently cooperative on the global stage.
Environment 2	Climate change prevention	A net zero emissions nation.	On balance, no.	Deteriorated seriously. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ On balance, no. ” In 2025, the result is the same but much worse. Australia shows no signs of becoming a net zero emissions nation before planetary heating overwhelms the world.
Environment 3	Climate change adaptation	A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.	On balance, no.	Deteriorated somewhat. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ On balance, no. ” In 2025, the result is the same but somewhat worse due to time wasting. Australia is a nation ill-prepared for climate change.
Environment 4	Environmental regulation & approvals	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.	On balance, no.	Nil. No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.
Environment 5	Environmental education	An environmentally educated community.	No baseline data established yet.	Nil. No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.
Environment 6	Energy	A renewable energy superpower.	On balance, yes but not quickly enough.	Improved somewhat. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ On balance, we are not travelling clearly yet either toward or away from the destination. ” In 2025, the result is better but the lapse of time detracts from the positive impact. Progress looks

Topic Area		Direction Australia becomes ...	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	Change since The State of Australia 2022
				good in the short term but slowness is locking in long term failure.
Environment 7	Transport	Efficiently connected with zero-emissions transport.	On balance, yes.	Nil. No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.
Environment 8	Agriculture & fisheries	Environmentally & economically sustainable in agriculture & fisheries.	On balance we are not travelling clearly yet either towards or away from the destination.	Nil. No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.
Environment 9	Fresh water supply	Confident of safety and security of its water supplies.	No baseline data established yet.	Nil. No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.
Environment 10	Biodiversity	A biodiversity haven.	On balance, no.	Deteriorated seriously. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ On balance, no. ” In 2025, the result is the same but worse. Australia is certainly not a biodiversity haven.
Environment 11	Vegetation	A replanted & reforested land.	On balance, no.	No detectable improvement or deterioration due to data gaps. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ On balance, no. ” In 2025, the result is the same. Australia has shown no progress in restoring deforested and denuded lands.
Environment 12	Land & resource conservation	A protector of scarce resources.	On balance, no.	Nil. No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.
Environment 13	Parks & open space	A provider of accessible national & urban parkland.	No data are available to determine the direction of travel since 2021.	Nil. No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.
Environment 14	Air & water quality	A pollution free biosphere.	On balance, no.	Deteriorated. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ No data ”

Topic Area		Direction Australia becomes ...	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	Change since The State of Australia 2022
				are available to determine the direction of travel since 2016.” In 2025, the result is a move away from the preferred destination.
Environment 15	Marine protection	A marine wildlife haven.	On balance, no.	No substantial improvement. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no.” In 2025, the result is the same. Australia’s planning and actions for marine conservation are being defeated by its failure to address the cause of decline – climate change.
Environment 16	Waste reduction & recycling	Regenerative by design in consumption & production.	No data are available to determine the direction of travel since 2021.	Nil. No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.
Environment 17	Architectural & cultural site heritage	A conservator of cultural & built heritage.	No baseline data established yet.	Nil. No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.
Environment 18	Cities planning	Multi-central in its cities, efficiently connecting people with jobs, health, education & recreation.	On balance, no.	Nil. No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.
Environment 19	Regional planning	A land of thriving self-supporting regions.	On balance we are not travelling clearly yet either towards or away from the destination.	Nil. No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.



Topic Area		Direction Australia becomes ...	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	Change since The State of Australia 2022
Economy 1	Economic planning, growth & composition	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	On balance, no.	Deteriorated. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ On balance, no. ” In 2025, the result is the same but Australia has less time to shift successfully from excessive consumption to sustainability and the bandwidth of policy is too narrow – too neoliberal – to help reverse the trend.
Economy 2	Employment planning & industry transition	A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.	On balance, yes.	Improved. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ On balance, no. ” In 2025, the result is a significant improvement. There is considerably more justice in industrial reforms and transitions.
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, yes but the evidence is mixed.	Improved. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ On balance, no. ” In 2025, fair improvement in living standards was apparent.
Economy 4	National wealth generation & sharing	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.	On balance, no.	Deteriorated. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ On balance, no. ” In 2025, the result is the same. Australia is no closer to becoming a nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.
Economy 5	Market regulation & competition policy	A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.	On balance, no.	Deteriorated. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ On balance, no. ” In 2025, the result is the same. Australia does not have sufficiently fair market regulation.
Economy 6	Government competitive business participation	An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.	On balance, no.	Deteriorated. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ On balance, no. ” In 2025, the result is the same but

Topic Area		Direction Australia becomes ...	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	Change since The State of Australia 2022
				worse. Australia has moved further away from being an economy with competitive and profitable public sector participation.
Economy 7	Science, research, innovation & collaboration	A collaborative intelligent nation.	On balance, no.	Nil. No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.
Economy 8	Technology development & digitisation	Enabled in meeting the communication & information demands of the future.	No baseline data established yet.	Nil. No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.
Economy 9	International economic engagement & trade	Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.	No baseline data established yet.	Nil. No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.



Topic Area		Direction Australia becomes ...	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	Change since The State of Australia 2022
Governance 1	Strength of democracy	A proactive participatory democracy.	On balance, no. But we now have the means of reversing this.	Some improvement and some deterioration. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no. But we now have the means of reversing this.” In 2025, the result is the same. Australia is not yet a proactive participatory democracy but it has the means to become one.
Governance 2	National values & identity	A nation knowing & affirming decency.	On balance, no. But we now have the means of reversing this.	Deteriorated. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, progress is stagnant.” In 2025, the result is worse. Australians have not articulated their national values, what counts as decency, or their purpose as a nation, but they have the means of reversing this in <i>Australia Together</i> and National Integrated Planning & Reporting.
Governance 3	Human & other rights	A nation with avowed rights for all.	On balance, no.	Deteriorated. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no.” In 2025, the result is the same but worse. Federal governments have not accepted that Australians have human rights and they have not accepted their obligations to Australians.
Governance 4	Constitutional reform	A free, self-governing, modern nation.	On balance, no.	Deteriorated. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no.” In 2025, the result is the same but worse. Australia remains on the precipice of collapse of its cohesion as a democratic nation due to its out of date Constitution.
Governance 5	Transparency, openness & accountability	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.	On balance, no.	Deteriorated seriously. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no.” In 2025, the result is the same but worse. This

Topic Area		Direction Australia becomes ...	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	Change since The State of Australia 2022
				result amounts to one of serious danger for democracy, transparency, government accountability, and prevention of abuse by the state in Australia. It threatens to be a forerunner of a Trumpian Australia.
Governance 6	Government ethics	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	On balance, no.	Deteriorated. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no.” In 2025, the result is the same but worse. What should have been a positive for transparency, corruption prevention and trust (the NACC) has embedded a more secretive institution prone by its legislation towards cover-ups.
Governance 7	Public service independence & excellence	Committed to public service independence & excellence.	On balance, yes.	Improved somewhat. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, yes.” In 2025, the result is the same but better in terms of the quality of service from the APS.
Governance 8	Electoral system & funding reform	Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.	On balance, no.	Deteriorated somewhat. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no.” In 2025, the result is the same but somewhat worse due to time wasting and the likelihood that legislation may be passed which will reduce electoral equality for candidates and provide no equality for the electors. Australia is a nation without equal suffrage.
Governance 9	Corporate & NGO responsibility	A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.	On balance, no.	Deteriorated. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, yes for NGOs. On balance, no for corporates.” In 2025, the result is a move away from the preferred destination. The government’s persistent reliance on neoliberalism is structurally incapable of

Topic Area		Direction Australia becomes ...	Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	Change since The State of Australia 2022
				delivering security of essential services for the Australian community. As such, it is incapable of making the Vision for <i>Australia Together</i> a reality.
Governance 10	Free communications policy & regulation	A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.	On balance, no.	Deteriorated. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ On balance, no. ” In 2025, the result is the same but worse. Attempts to improve accountability for truthful reporting in news and social media were misguided and all failed.
Governance 11	International participation & global justice	A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.	On balance, no.	Deteriorated somewhat. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ On balance, no. ” In 2025, the result is the same but somewhat worse due mainly to some cruel new laws on refugees and a general reticence to uphold human rights.
Governance 12	Peace & security	A nation assured of enduring peace.	On balance, no.	Deteriorated seriously. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ On balance, no. ” In 2025, the result is the same but worse. Australia is not becoming a nation assured of enduring peace.
Governance 13	Humanitarian effort	A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.	On balance, no.	Improved somewhat. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “ On balance, no. ” In 2025, the result is the same but commitments to foreign aid have improved.

Consolidated results by Vision element

In regard to whether Australia may be moving towards or away from making the Vision for *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 368 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.

<i>The Draft Vision for Australia Together By 2050 ...</i>	<i>Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?</i>	
We are all safe		There are significant indications are that we are moving away from the Vision and closer to the reverse vision.
We have achieved a lasting reconciliation between First Nations peoples and non-Indigenous Australians, based on our shared values of justice and self-determination		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. But we now have the means of reversing this.
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.
Equality is valued as enriching human community, cultural harmony and social progress		On balance, Australia appears to be travelling toward the Vision in some ways but away from it in others.

<i>The Draft Vision for Australia Together By 2050 ...</i>	<i>Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?</i>	
Diversity is positively appreciated as a basis for a successful Australian society		On balance, Australia appears to be travelling neither toward nor away from a Vision in which diversity is viewed as a strength.
Everyone can realise their full potential in life, as individuals, members of a family and citizens though unlimited opportunities in education and employment of choice		Insufficient funding of the higher and public education sectors continues. On balance, Australia is moving away from this element of the Vision.
Vital services are fully accessible for all		On balance, we are moving away from the Vision.
Scarce resources are conserved and fairly shared		On balance we are moving away from the Vision.
National wealth is fairly raised and 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, wellbeing and security for everyone		On balance, we are moving away from the Vision. Relatively small gains made in the short term are baking structural weakness into the economy for the longer term.
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.
Democracy is assured by a well informed and engaged community of political equals		On balance, we have been moving a little more away from being a strong, participatory democracy. But we now have the means of reversing this. Progress is the result of initiatives by civil society groups rather than the parliament.
We can confidently trust our parliaments, governments, and courts to act fairly and justly in accordance with the rights and interests of the public and future generations		On balance, we have been moving away from the Vision. But we now have the means of reversing this. Progress is the result of initiatives by civil society groups rather than the parliament.
We take pride in Australia as a responsible international citizen, active in building a safe, peaceful and united world		On balance, we have been moving more away from the Vision than towards it, but civil society groups are leading the way towards peace.

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.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Soc01.01	Safety in the home	→	→	<p>On balance, no.</p> <p>Progress towards Targets is outweighed by movement away from others or stagnation.</p> <p>Generally Australians perceive themselves as less safe than they did in the early 2020s. Most feel safer in their home and local community than they do when online, although fear of becoming a victim of crime has increased noticeably.</p> <p>Safety from sexual assault is in decline.</p> <p>Perceptions of safety in the context of world events and national security have declined significantly. Australians appear to have emerged from the Covid-19 pandemic (and the security provided by border lockdowns and fiscal stimulus in that period) with increased fears about global events. Escalations in international tensions with wars in the Middle East and Ukraine, as well as ongoing concerns about climate change, have negatively impacted Australians' sense of their safety.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Deteriorated.</p> <p>In 2022, the result on this Direction was "On balance, yes".</p> <p>In 2025, the result is a move away from the preferred destination.</p>
Soc01.02	Safety on transport	→	→	
Soc01.02.01	Safety on the streets	← / →	←	
Soc01.02.02	Safety online	←	← / →	
Soc01.03	Homicide	← / →	→	
Soc01.04	Sexual assault	←	←	
Soc01.05	Child assault	← / →	←	
Soc01.06	Road deaths	←	→	
Soc01.07	Victims of crime (fear of becoming a victim)	←	←	
Soc01.07.01	Perceptions of safety and trust in the community	←	←	
Soc01.08	Safety in the context of world events and national security	←	←	

Society 2 – Indigenous Heart

Summary of progress for success in Our Society				
Society 2 – Indigenous Heart				
Direction: Australia becomes a land with an Indigenous heart.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Soc02.01	First Nations constitutional recognition, Makarrata, treaty, justice and reconciliation – Constitutional recognition of First Nations – Statement of Acceptance of the Principle of Coexistence of Sovereignties	←	←	On balance, no. In regard to First Nations constitutional recognition, Makarrata, treaty, justice and reconciliation: Progress in relation to a crucial foundational issue for the nation – namely the need for a Voice for First Nations enshrined in the Constitution – trended decidedly away from the Target and Vision with the failure of the Voice referendum in October 2023.
Soc02.01.01	First Nations constitutional recognition, Makarrata, treaty, justice and reconciliation – Constitutional reform to establish a First Nations Voice in the Constitution	←	←	Australia’s chances of becoming a land with an Indigenous heart diminished significantly. Exclusion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples increased socially, economically, and in terms of their constitutional equality and recognition. It was a low point in Australia’s history as a nation of equals.
Soc02.01.02	First Nations constitutional recognition, Makarrata, treaty, justice and reconciliation – Makarrata Commission	←	←	While the 47 th parliament voted to hold a referendum to establish a constitutional voice for First Nations, opposition members (mainly from the Liberal/National Coalition) campaigned against this which reduced Indigenous Australian’s chances of having a say in decisions affecting them and reduced Australia’s chances of achieving reconciliation with dispossessed First Nations peoples. Aspirations contained in the Uluru Statement from the Heart to walk together with Australians were rejected by 60% of voters.
Soc02.02	Indigenous life expectancy	←	← / →	
Soc02.03	Indigenous infant health and survival – child mortality	← / →	← / →	
Soc02.03.01	Indigenous infant health and survival – birthweight	→	← / →	As a result of the failure of the parliament to work together and the

Summary of progress for success in Our Society				
Society 2 – Indigenous Heart				
Direction: Australia becomes a land with an Indigenous heart.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Soc02.03.02	Indigenous infant health and survival - birthweight (ACFP additional target)	←	←	<p>divisive actions of the federal opposition, Australians were more divided after the referendum than before. A fundamental refusal of self-determination for Indigenous, inequality before the law, and a failure to tell the truth about the violent foundations of Australia is all still in place.</p> <p>In regard to closing the gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous on factors of health, wellbeing, justice, culture, education, opportunity and equality: The majority of indicators trended away from rather than towards their respective targets.</p> <p>Short term progress was:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • negative for 15 indicators, • zero for 4 indicators, and • positive for 11 indicators. <p>Longer term progress was:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • negative for 14 indicators, • zero for 10 indicators, and • positive for 6 indicators. <p>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 Indigenous suicide, incarceration and removal of children from their families. Several targets for “closing the gap” that do not actually seek to close the gap at all still pervade the system and display a disregard for the welfare of Indigenous Australians by governments.</p> <p>In regard to the Priority Reforms of the National Agreement on Closing the Gap: The signing of the National Agreement on Closing the Gap appears to have made no difference to the plight of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander populations. This</p>
Soc02.04	Indigenous pre-school education - attendance	→	→	
Soc02.04.01	Indigenous pre-school education - enrolment	→	→	
Soc02.04.02	Indigenous pre-school education - developmentally on track	←	→	
Soc02.05	Indigenous school education	→	← / →	
Soc02.06	Indigenous tertiary education	→	← / →	
Soc02.07	Indigenous employment - 15-24 year olds	→	← / →	
Soc02.07.01	Indigenous employment - 15-24 year olds (ACFP additional target)	← / →	←	
Soc02.07.02	Indigenous employment - 25-64 year olds	→	→	
Soc02.07.03	Indigenous employment - 25-64 year olds (ACFP additional target)	← / →	← / →	
Soc02.08	Indigenous housing	→	← / →	
Soc02.08.01	Indigenous housing (ACFP additional target)	→	← / →	

Summary of progress for success in Our Society				
Society 2 – Indigenous Heart				
Direction: Australia becomes a land with an Indigenous heart.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Soc02.09	Indigenous incarceration - adults	←	←	<p>should not be surprising since the government is yet to put in place any measures for reform. If reforms were working, it would be impossible to know. Measures on outcomes for closing the gap show clearly that whatever the government is or might be doing isn't working. The purported shift towards partnership with Indigenous Australians does not seem to have occurred. Performance in closing the gap is worse than it was in the 46th parliament.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Deteriorated.</p> <p>In 2022, the result on this Direction was "On balance, no". In 2025, the result is the same but worse. It amounts to an even further move away from the preferred destination.</p>
Soc02.09.01	Indigenous incarceration - adults (ACFP additional target)	←	←	
Soc02.09.02	Indigenous incarceration - 10-17 year olds	←	← / →	
Soc02.09.03	Indigenous incarceration - 10-17 year olds (ACFP additional target)	←	←	
Soc02.10	Indigenous family cohesion	←	←	
Soc02.10.01	Indigenous family cohesion (ACFP additional target)	←	←	
Soc02.11	Indigenous domestic and community abuse and violence	←	←	
Soc02.12	Indigenous suicide	←	←	
Soc02.13	Indigenous land and sea rights - land rights	→	→	
Soc02.13.01	Indigenous land and sea rights - sea rights	→	→	
Soc02.14	Indigenous language and cultural preservation	← / →	←	
Soc02.15	Priority Reforms of the National Agreement on Closing the Gap	←	←	

Society 3 – Belonging & inclusion

Summary of progress for success in Our Society				
Society 3 – Belonging & inclusion				
Direction: Australia becomes inclusive welcoming and enabling.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Soc03.01	Belonging and inclusion – sense of belonging	←	←	<p>On balance, no.</p> <p>In relation to our sense of belonging and acceptance or rejection: The period of the 47th parliament has seen a fall in the sense of belonging, a decline in acceptance of people from other cultures and a rise in rejection because of skin colour, ethnic origin or religion.</p> <p>These are two of the indicators in the Scanlon Index of Social Cohesion which in 2024 reached its lowest point ever since the start of the index in 2007. Between 2007 and 2024 the Index fell from its starting point of 100 to 78 (an average of the scores for the five components in the index). Scores for the sense of belonging (77) and acceptance/rejection (63) reached their lowest point ever, as did scores for sense of worth (74) and social justice and equity (74).</p> <p>This paints a clear picture of a society coming apart, which is something that any government worried about social breakdown, upheaval and instability should attend to. It's a warning of potential turmoil.</p> <p>The fall in social cohesion is coincident with a period where more politicians have politicised issues such as immigration, multiculturalism, and Indigenous peoples' rights and where withdrawal of financial support provided during Covid-19 has highlighted injustice and growing inequality.</p>
Soc03.01.01	Belonging and inclusion – sense of acceptance or rejection	←	←	
Soc03.02	Building an inclusive society by community volunteering	←	←	

Summary of progress for success in Our Society			
Society 3 – Belonging & inclusion			
Direction: Australia becomes inclusive welcoming and enabling.			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
	During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
			<p>Governments may attend to the fact that social cohesion increased from 89 to 92 during Covid-19 when the government almost doubled JobSeeker. Upon its withdrawal of the basic assistance, the Index plummeted. For as long as issues of immigration, race, and cultural difference are politicised and so long as human rights are withheld from Australians, and the state refuses to accept its responsibility for the wellbeing and income security of all, it is highly unlikely that we will see any substantial increase in the national sense of belonging and inclusion.</p> <p>In relation to commitment to creating inclusion through volunteering: Volunteering has been steadily and quite steeply declining in Australia over the decade. Census data show that it continued falling between 2016 and 2021. 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.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Deteriorated. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no”. In 2025, the result is the same but worse. It amounts to an even further move away from the preferred destination of an inclusive, welcoming and enabling society.</p>

Society 4 – Health & wellbeing

Summary of progress for success in Our Society				
Society 4 – Health & wellbeing				
Direction: Australia becomes a place of optimal health and wellbeing.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Soc04.01	Life expectancy - males	←	→	<p>On balance, no.</p> <p>The scope of our physical and mental health: Overall, the health of Australians has declined during the period of the 47th parliament, particularly our mental health. In the ten years to 2022, the number of Australians with a mental or behavioural condition more than doubled from 2.996 million (13.6%) in 2011/12 to 6.632 million (26.1%) in 2022. Unsurprisingly, anxiety and depression loom large in the picture. The increase in mental health problems for millions of Australians is coincident with growing awareness of and worry about climate change, obvious environmental degradation and pollution, and a lack of hope among the young for a safe and secure future in a peaceful land.</p> <p>The proportion of the population living with one or more chronic conditions has continued to increase, rising from 11.4 million people (47%) in 2017/18 to 12.7 million people or 50% in 2022. This equates to an 11% increase in the number of people or 1.3 million more with chronic disease in only four years. This is challenging Australia’s health system.</p> <p>On health care system funding: Underfunding of our healthcare system continues to be a cause for real concern. The 2023 Intergenerational Report indicates a planned reduction of funding for health in the short term as a proportion of GDP. While the</p>
Soc04.01.01	Life expectancy - females	←	→	
Soc04.01.02	Life expectancy – health adjusted – males	←	←	
Soc04.01.03	Life expectancy – health adjusted – females	←	←	
Soc04.02	Perceptions of health	← / →	←	
Soc04.03	Mental health – experience of psychological distress	←	←	
Soc04.03.01	Mental health – mental and behavioural conditions	←	←	
Soc04.03.02	Mental health – anxiety	←	←	
Soc04.03.03	Mental health – depression	←	←	
Soc04.04	Burden of disease	← / →	→	
Soc04.05	Physical health – obesity	←	←	

Summary of progress for success in Our Society				
Society 4 – Health & wellbeing				
Direction: Australia becomes a place of optimal health and wellbeing.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Soc04.05.01	Physical health – diabetes	←	←	<p>report sheds no light on whether planned funding will be sufficient to maintain the health of Australians as they age and live longer with chronic conditions, economic downturns and climate change, indications are that emphasis is being placed on improving the “efficiency” of health care so as to allow cost savings which somehow are expected not to cause more detriments to health. The short and longer term health of Australians is being put at risk.</p> <p>Large inequities in health within this country have persisted during the 47th parliament. It is evident that we will not close the gap 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 ill-health. Current funding, the structure of the health care system itself and a failure to address the causes of ill-health – particularly poverty and social exclusion – are aggravating the decline in the health of Australians.</p> <p>On prospects for reintroduction of universal health care and security of health services: The federal budget continues to be structured to subsidise private health care insurers and providers at great expense to Australians. The subsidy to private health insurers is projected to increase by almost \$700 million over four years, not counting the cost to taxpayers from premium increases, the Medicare levy surcharge and other tax</p>
Soc04.05.02	Physical health – cardiovascular (heart, stroke, vascular) disease	←	←	
Soc04.05.03	Physical health – cancer	←	←	
Soc04.05.04	Physical health – musculoskeletal conditions	← / →	←	
Soc04.05.05	Physical health – respiratory conditions	←	←	
Soc04.05.06	Physical health – chronic conditions	←	←	
Soc04.06	Happiness and wellbeing – world ranking and scores	←	←	
Soc04.06.01	Happiness and wellbeing – reported by Australians	←	← / →	
Soc04.06.02	Happiness and wellbeing - optimism/pessimism	←	←	
Soc04.06.03	Happiness and wellbeing – life satisfaction for the youngest to oldest generations	← / →	←	
Soc04.06.04	Happiness and wellbeing – life satisfaction for diverse elements of the community	← / →	←	

Summary of progress for success in Our Society				
Society 4 – Health & wellbeing				
Direction: Australia becomes a place of optimal health and wellbeing.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Soc04.07	Security of funding for health	←	←	<p>exemptions for private health care providers. These policy settings militate against universal health care and force the poorer and younger Australians to subsidise the wealthier and older people. Governments have continued to deny Australians the most cost-efficient system for their health – a universal system of reliable and equitable public funding for an integrated public and private health care system. They are baking in inequality of access to health care resembling the American health care model more and more each year.</p> <p>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 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 the entire population. 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. There is an urgent need for</p>
Soc04.07.01	Security of funding for health – Abolition of subsidies for private health insurance and reinstatement of universal health care in public and private hospitals funded by a single public fund based on a fair Medicare levy	←	←	
Soc04.07.02	Security of funding for health – Development of plans to implement integrated funding for and delivery of all public and private hospital services	←	←	
Soc04.08	Health equity - teenage birth rates	→	→	
Soc04.08.01	Health equity – Accessible abortion, contraception and family planning services	← / →	←	
Soc04.09	Health accessibility – reform of universal health care (Medicare)	←	←	
Soc04.09.01	Health services accessibility – cost barriers	←	←	
Soc04.09.02	Health services accessibility – waiting times	←	←	
Soc04.10	Health system sustainability and universality – scholarships and	←	←	

Summary of progress for success in Our Society				
Society 4 – Health & wellbeing				
Direction: Australia becomes a place of optimal health and wellbeing.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
	bonds for medical students			reform of Medicare to ensure it provides universal coverage. See more below.
Soc04.10.01	Health system sustainability and universality – trust in the health care system	←	← / →	

On our happiness, wellbeing and optimism for the future: The overall picture of happiness and wellbeing is continuing to move backwards. Optimism also appears to be in shorter supply since the end of the Covid-19 pandemic, with less than half of Australians feeling optimistic about the country’s future. This is in line with the negative trend seen in mental health and with a rise in resentment towards corporations and the shares of wealth they command and with an increase in distrust of governments that many feel do not protect them from the theft and other crimes being committed by corporations.

The reasons for the decline in optimism are likely to be complex but they are identifiable. Consideration should be given to the impact of the Global Financial Crisis (GFC) and the COVID-19 pandemic on people’s sense of their prospects for justice in national and global emergencies. 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 effort to move the dial forward in all areas of our society, environment, economy, and democracy.

Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Sharply deteriorated.
 In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no”.
 In 2025, the result is the same but worse. Australia is not becoming a place of optimal health and wellbeing.

Society 5 – Education

Summary of progress for success in Our Society				
Society 5 – Education				
Direction: Australia becomes a model of lifelong educational opportunity.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Soc05.01	Tertiary education – Reintroduction of fee-free tertiary education	← / →	←	<p>On balance, no.</p> <p>On funding of education: The educational sector continues to be underfunded in Australia, and most of the burden is being felt by our most disadvantaged populations.</p> <p>There was a turnaround in funding for tertiary education with the 2024/25 federal budget projecting an increase of 19% in spending over four years. But the 2023 Intergenerational Report revealed that spending on all education (primary, secondary and tertiary) is projected to decrease as a share of GDP from 1.7% in 2022/23 to 1.2% in 2062/63, suggesting an expected real decline in per capita spending on all education until at least 2030. With these funding arrangements, the government is set to fail on its own targets for productivity and increases in Australians with university degrees. The Labor government received and accepted a report from the Universities Australia Accord stating that if Australia’s future skills needs are to be met, we will need to more than double the number of Commonwealth supported students in universities from 860,000 to 1.8 million by 2050. Current funding and fee arrangements will mean defeat on these targets.</p> <p>On equity of access to education: Distribution of funds for school education remains highly unequal, with a disproportionate amount going to private schools compared to</p>
Soc05.01.01	Tertiary education – cancelation of student debt for social services workers	→	←	
Soc05.01.02	Tertiary education – security of funding for universities	←	←	
Soc05.01.03	Tertiary education – funding for vocational education	→	←	
Soc05.01.04	Tertiary education – reform of governance in public universities	←	←	
Soc05.01.05	Tertiary education attainment – degree qualifications	← / →	→	
Soc05.01.06	Tertiary education attainment – Certificate qualifications	←	→	
Soc05.02	School education – funding	→	← / →	
Soc05.02.01	School education funding equity – Reversal of public school underfunding and private school overfunding	←	←	
Soc05.02.02	School education – years of attendance	←	←	

Summary of progress for success in Our Society				
Society 5 – Education				
Direction: Australia becomes a model of lifelong educational opportunity.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Soc05.02.03	School education – educational attainment	← / →	←	<p>public schools. 98% of private schools are still being funded above the School Resourcing Standard (SRS) while more than 98% of public schools are funded below it. Again, it will be impossible for the government to meet its targets for increasing the number of Australians with degrees and vocational qualifications if they continue to underfund public schools. The failure to abolish fees for university will also spell failure for productivity targets. An obsession within the higher education sector with getting students “job-ready” to work for profit-driven corporations (via technical studies) rather than life-ready (via humanities studies) will also reduce Australia’s capacity to address the social determinants of ill-health and to design new institutions to support the creation of a public interest economy – one that can replace the neoliberal institutions that promote only the private interests of the wealthiest and corporations.</p> <p>A failure to recognise lifelong education as a fundamental human right, and indeed a refusal to introduce legislation committing to the progressive attainment of that and other economic, social and cultural rights, suggests that the government in place during the 47th parliament was not willing to accept its obligations to Australians.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = No substantial improvement or deterioration.</p> <p>In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no”.</p> <p>In 2025, the result is the same. Australia is no closer to providing lifelong educational opportunity.</p>
Soc05.02.04	School education – educational attainment (Year 12)	←	→	
Soc05.03	Pre-school education – early development performance	←	→	
Soc05.03.01	Pre-school education – accessibility of early learning as a factor in educational attainment at school	→	→	
Soc05.04	Lifelong education – Education as a right	←	←	

Society 6 – Equality

Summary of progress for success in Our Society				
Society 6 – Equality				
Direction: Australia becomes a society of equals.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Soc06.01	Gender equality - economic gap	← / →	←	<p>On balance, no.</p> <p>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. At the current rates of improvement the gender pay gap will not be closed before 2050.</p>
Soc06.02	Gender equality in income and wealth - cash earnings	→	← / →	<p>On gender equality of opportunity: Relative to other countries, Australia’s performance in achieving gender equality in areas including educational attainment, economic opportunity and participation and health and survival has fallen dramatically over the last 2 decades. Whereas Australia occupied the No. 1 position for gender equality in educational attainment from 2006 to 2021, it fell to No. 87 in 2022 and then No. 78 in 2023. Overall, between the years 2006 and 2023, Australia dropped from rank No. 15 in the World Economic Forum’s Global Gender Gap Report to No. 26. Other countries are overcoming the gender gaps faster than Australia.</p>
Soc06.02.01	Gender equality in income and wealth - superannuation balances	← / →	←	<p>Equality is also measured in numerous other parts of this Report including Society 2, Society 5, Society 8 and Economy 3.</p>
Soc06.03	Equality before the law	←	→	<p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = No substantial improvement or deterioration.</p> <p>In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no”.</p> <p>In 2025, the result is the same.</p>

Summary of progress for success in Our Society				
Society 7 – Diversity				
Direction: Australia becomes a success because of its diversity.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Soc07.01	Attitudes to multiculturalism – positive support by Australians			<p>On balance, no.</p> <p>On multiculturalism: Various polls indicate that Australians have consistently displayed a high level of agreement that multiculturalism has been good for Australia.</p>
Soc07.01.01	Attitudes to multiculturalism – as a strength for Australia			<p>However, it should be noted that 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 (typically about 10% to 15% lower in the decade to 2024). 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 “because of [their] skin colour, ethnic origin, or religion” almost doubled from 9% in 2007 to 17% in 2024. Experience of discrimination and rejection because of skin colour increased from 2013 and has not subsided. Between 2021 and 2024, the proportion of people who felt racism is now a fairly big or very big problem in Australia rose steadily from 60% to 63%.</p>
Soc07.01.02	Attitudes to multiculturalism – experience of cultural and racial discrimination			
Soc07.02	Freedom from discrimination on religious grounds			
Soc07.03	Constitutional reform – Elimination of racism in Australian law			
Soc07.04	Australia’s multicultural framework – Implementation of the road map			<p>On religious discrimination: Australian law still enables some types of discrimination on religious grounds. No progress has been made on this issue during the 47th parliament.</p> <p>On constitutional reform for elimination of racism in law: Australia’s Constitution is a law</p>

Summary of progress for success in Our Society			
Society 7 – Diversity			
Direction: Australia becomes a success because of its diversity.			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
	During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
			<p>which enables discrimination on the grounds of race (sections 25 and 51(xxvi)). In the Voice referendum of 2023, 60% of voters rejected the proposal for an Indigenous Voice in the Constitution. This left the Constitution unchanged in relation to its capacity to enable racism in Australia, inasmuch as no voice was accorded to Australia’s First Peoples, but the racist clauses which have been used since federation to exclude and discriminate against them (and only them) were left intact in law. The grounds for continuing exclusion of First Nations people persist. Their chances of suffering discrimination are now worse than before the referendum, especially since the federal and Queensland governments moved to shut down Makarrata processes.</p> <p>Notwithstanding the introduction by the federal government of a new policy in 2024 in support of multiculturalism and diversity, there were some notable steps backwards in Australia’s capacity to remain a country that continues to enjoy the benefits of its diversity, including an obvious regression in bipartisan national commitment to multiculturalism with the Liberal/National Coalition campaigning against the Indigenous Voice and calling for other exclusionist and even punitive policies for migrants and refugees.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Deteriorated. In 2022, the result was “On balance, yes but it is fragile.” In 2025, the fragility had led to a decline in Australia’s capacity to reap the benefits of its diversity.</p>

Society 8 – Women & LGBTIQ+

Summary of progress for success in Our Society				
Society 8 – Women & LGBTIQ+				
Direction: Australia becomes a success because of gender equality.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Soc08.01	Women in power and leadership - federal parliament	→	→	<p>On balance, yes.</p> <p>The representation of women in positions of power has been increasing in both the private and public sectors. The rise of independent “Teal” members of parliament (all women) since 2022 has led to significant improvements in equality of representation.</p>
Soc08.01.01	Women in power and leadership - CEO and board positions	→	→	
Soc08.01.02	Women in power and leadership - managerial positions	→	→	
Soc08.02	Women’s National Integrated Reform Program for Safety, Respect and Equity	← / →	← / →	<p>Workplace safety for women has also improved due to progress made by the government with the Respect@Work reform agenda. A key reform was the introduction of a positive duty in the Sex Discrimination Act 1984 that requires employers to take reasonable measures to eliminate certain forms of unlawful sex discrimination.</p>
Soc08.02.01	National Women’s Council for oversight of the Women’s National Integrated Reform Program for Safety, Respect and Equity	← / →	← / →	
Soc08.03	Workplace safety for women and LGBTIQ+	→	→	<p>Regarding safety, respect, and equity: Little progress has been made to date in the development of an integrated, holistic approach that seeks to address women’s inequality. Bipartisan commitment to programs that address the social determinants of violence, disrespect and inequity for women and girls are essential. Commitment is needed to fee-free tertiary education, cancellation of all student debt, free childcare and a universal basic income.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Improved somewhat.</p> <p>In 2022, the result was “On balance, yes, but very slowly.”</p> <p>In 2025, Australia’s chances of success due to gender equality were improving somewhat due to increased respect and recognition for women in public life.</p>

Society 9 – Housing

Summary of progress for success in Our Society				
Society 9 – Housing				
Direction: Australia becomes a land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Soc09.01	Homelessness	←	←	<p>On balance, no.</p> <p>On homelessness: Homelessness continued to increase in the period of the 47th parliament. This is not only the result of a lack of affordable housing but also an insufficient social welfare system, and complications surrounding mental ill health, trauma, substance misuse, and domestic abuse. Reducing the prevalence of homelessness will require a significant positive shift in a wide array of government policies to align them with the Targets and Strategies in <i>Australia Together</i>. Commitments to increase direct provision of public housing by the government are essential but an integrated approach which deals with all the social determinants of ill-health and poverty is also required.</p> <p>In 2025, the Productivity Commission reported that the number of Australians facing long term homelessness surged almost 25% in just five years. Close to 37,780 people were stuck in “persistent homelessness” in 2023-24, up from 30,306 in 2019-20.</p> <p>On housing affordability: Housing affordability in Australia has been on the decline since the 1980s. During the 47th parliament the problem reached crisis level. Between 1980 and 2024, the price of a home rose from around 3 to 4 times average annual earnings to 12.6 times average annual earnings. Between 2012 and 2023 average annual earnings rose by 40% but average dwelling prices rose 99%.</p>
Soc09.01.01	Homelessness – Ending homelessness by tackling systemic drivers	← / →	←	
Soc09.02	Housing affordability – ownership by younger generations	←	←	
Soc09.02.01	Housing affordability – housing stress in all households	← / →	←	
Soc09.02.02	Housing affordability – housing stress in lower income households	← / →	← / →	
Soc09.02.03	Housing affordability – home ownership	←	←	
Soc09.03	Housing as a right	←	←	
Soc09.04	Housing supply – social and public housing waiting list	←	←	
Soc09.04.01	Housing supply – elimination of the social and public housing waiting list	←	←	
Soc09.04.02	Housing supply – establishment of a federal Department of Housing	← / →	← / →	
Soc09.04.03	Housing supply – creation of sufficient supply through adjusted taxation policy	←	←	
Soc09.04.04	Housing supply – creation of sufficient supply through control of immigration	←	←	
Soc09.04.05	Housing supply – creation of sufficient	←	←	

Summary of progress for success in Our Society

Society 9 – Housing

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

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
	During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
supply through market regulation			<p>In 2025, home ownership is further away from the average Australian than ever. Home ownership rates among Australians aged under 45 are back to where they were in the late 1940s and 1950s.</p> <p>Taxation policies which incentivise speculation on housing and drive up prices must be revoked. Immigration policies and housing market regulation also need revision.</p> <p>See more below.</p>

On the need for public housing: Waiting lists for public housing rose to 169,209 households by 2023, 9.5% higher than in 2014. But proposals by the government like the Housing Australia Future Fund (HAFF) were not designed well enough to reduce the waiting lists. A particular policy weakness was the government’s reliance on the private sector to deliver housing. At the rate of demand for all types of social housing and the poor level of commitment by the federal government to investment in creating public housing, the waiting list for public housing is not likely to be eliminated inside 140 years. To halve the waiting list by 2033 the government will need to create a new Department of Housing and directly spend at least \$5 billion per annum on building public housing. It has refused to do this.

A failure to recognise housing as a fundamental human right, and indeed a refusal to introduce legislation committing to the progressive attainment of that and other economic, social and cultural rights, suggests that the government in place during the 47th parliament was not willing to accept its obligations to Australians.

Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Deteriorated seriously.

In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no”.

In 2025, the result is the same but worse. Australia is not becoming a land without homelessness and does not have decent affordable housing for all.

Society 10 – Family cohesion & community services

Summary of progress for success in Our Society				
Society 10 – Family cohesion & community services				
Direction: Australia becomes a place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Soc10.01	Family and community support – reliability of community support in time of need	←	←	<p>On balance, no.</p> <p>On the incidence of domestic violence and abuse: Domestic violence has risen since 2021, including an increase in homicide from family and domestic violence from 106 in 2021 to 157 in 2023. Trends in emotional abuse are improving slightly. National data collection in this area is poor.</p> <p>On legislative reform: Legislation to make coercive control a criminal offence has been introduced in NSW, Queensland and Tasmania. No national legislation is in place but education about coercive control has improved nationally.</p> <p>See more below.</p>
Soc10.01.01	Family and community support – availability of support from outside-the-home sources	←	←	
Soc10.02	Domestic abuse – violence	←	←	
Soc10.02.01	Domestic abuse – emotional	← / →	← / →	
Soc10.02.02	Domestic abuse – homicide	←	→	
Soc10.02.03	Domestic abuse – hospitalisation	←	← / →	
Soc10.03	Domestic abuse – legislative program	→	→	
Soc10.04	Domestic abuse – education and counselling services	→	→	
Soc10.05	Domestic abuse – support and funding	←	← / →	
<p>On support for victims: The number of people reporting that they have people external to their household to confide in has decreased by almost 10% since 2006 to only 86.2%. And for victims in crisis, support is diminishing. In 2023/24, the number of clients who were turned away from Women’s Community Shelters grew by 58%, primarily due to a lack of beds. In 2024, 54,000 women were reported to be homeless every night in Australia, with the main reason being domestic violence. Increases in federal government funding to assist women to leave violent living arrangements were good but did not include extra funding for shelters. A rise in demand for specialist homelessness services has not been met. Long term and deeper commitment to both financial and legislative initiatives are essential to drive change in the current trends on domestic abuse.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = No substantial improvement or deterioration. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no”. In 2025, the result is the same. Australia is not becoming a place of supportive familial and other connections without domestic abuse.</p>				

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.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?	
	During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term		
Soc11.01	Funding for childcare – Universal access to free Early Childhood Education and Care	→	← / →	<p>On balance, yes, but it is tenuous.</p> <p>On progress in establishing universal free childcare: Although no integrated plan has been developed to establish a fully universal early childhood education and care system, some progress has occurred during the 47th parliament through improvements to the subsidy system for childcare. These have made childcare cheaper on average. The government has also committed to creating more childcare centres.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>See more below.</p>
<p>Implementing free childcare would have some of the most far 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.</p> <p>The implementation of this strategy is essential if we are to move forward as a nation.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Improved. In 2022, the result was “On balance, no.” In 2025, Australia was moving incrementally towards universal early education and childcare but tenuously. There was still a long way to go before it might become a land without child disadvantage.</p>				

Society 12 – Aged care & disability services

Summary of progress for success in Our Society				
Society 12 – Aged care & disability services				
Direction: Australia becomes a sure provider of lifelong dignity.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Soc12.01	Aged care package waiting times	←	← / →	<p>On balance, no.</p> <p>On satisfaction with aged care services: Surveys suggest that aged care service users are somewhat more satisfied with service during the period of the 47th parliament, although there was a significant increase in people living at home reporting that their needs were not being met and in 2023/24 complaints about residential aged care service quality increased.</p> <p>On legislative reforms proposed by the Royal Commission into Aged Care: The 47th parliament passed a new Aged Care Act in 2024. The Act was promoted as a “rights-based” law which defined rights for those in the system. However, it offered only limited rights to <i>access</i> the system itself and encoded no obligation on the government to provide access or to ensure sufficient services are available. A major flaw in the Act was its tacit but nevertheless extensive reliance on the private sector to meet consumer needs. A further failure in the legislation was that it ensured no proceedings could be taken against the government or providers for breach of rights. In effect, the Aged Care Act 2024 exonerates the government from its obligations under the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD).</p> <p>In the longer term, as a direct result of the new Aged Care Act,</p>
Soc12.02	Aged care system performance monitoring – confidence in the aged care system	← / →	← / →	
Soc12.02.01	Aged care system performance monitoring – safety, quality and user experience indicators	→	← / →	
Soc12.02.02	Aged care system performance monitoring – satisfaction with aged care assistance	←	←	
Soc12.03	Aged Care Royal Commission, implementation of recommendations – A new Aged Care Act	→	← ↩	
Soc12.03.01	Aged Care Royal Commission, implementation of recommendations – new independent and accountable institutional arrangements	←	←	
Soc12.04	Aged care funding - federal budget minimums	→	← ↩	
Soc12.04.01	Aged care funding - levies	←	←	
Soc12.04.02	Aged care funding - Accountability of service providers in return for public funding	←	←	

Summary of progress for success in Our Society				
Society 12 – Aged care & disability services				
Direction: Australia becomes a sure provider of lifelong dignity.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Soc12.05	Disability services system performance monitoring – satisfaction with assistance to the disabled	← / →	← / →	Australians cannot be sure that aged care services will be there for them when they reach old age at all. They may have some greater surety that once in the system they may get reasonable care, but they will be dependent on the good graces of those private providers who were found during the Royal Commission to be by far the worst abusers of clients. The Aged Care Act 2024 bakes in the potential for aged care system and service failure.
Soc12.05.01	Disability services system performance monitoring – satisfaction with assistance to carers for people with a disability	← / →	←	See more below.
<p>On security of funding for aged care: Curiously, the federal budget in 2024/25 overcooked the funding for aged care compared to the needs assessed by the Grattan Institute. These extra funds were allocated mainly as an inflated source of subsidy for private sector providers without establishing a higher degree of accountability for quality service. The recommendation of the Aged Care Royal Commission for introduction of a Medicare-style levy for aged care was rejected by the Aged Care Taskforce, in favour of increasing user charges. This represented a step away from universal and secure aged care. Incentives for private sector profit-driven involvement in aged care have been strengthened during the 47th parliament. This is highly dangerous for aging Australians.</p> <p>On disability services: In 2022, a majority of Australians living with a disability reported a need for more support than they were receiving but a significant percentage of those who did receive support were satisfied with the quality.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Deteriorated somewhat. In 2022, the result was “On balance, no.” In 2025, the result is the same but policies to improve aged care in the short term have tended towards locking in system failure in the longer term. Despite some positive reforms, the Aged Care Act 2024 and the tenor of industry, governance and regulatory reforms will have an overall effect of baking in the potential for aged care system and service failure. Australia will not be a sure provider of lifelong dignity if it is excessively reliant upon a poorly regulated, unaccountable, privately run aged care service sector.</p>				

Summary of progress for success in Our Society				
Society 13 – Arts & culture				
Direction: Australia becomes a wellspring of inspiration & creativity.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Soc13.01	Pilot scheme for a universal basic income – UBI for artists	←	→	<p>On balance, no.</p> <p>On universal income security: During the 47th parliament no progress was made towards universal income security. The federal government remained wedded to targeted welfare rather than the welfare reforms that would establish services and income security and end poverty in Australia in accordance with commitments given under the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals and as a signatory to all seven core international covenants on human rights. Policy preferences of the two major parties for targeted welfare indicate a rejection of rights to income security, including the progressive realisation of those rights.</p> <p>Approaches to the federal Treasurer to consider community engagement on universal income security were rejected. The longer term trend, however, at the community level is positive. Community support for a universal basic income is growing and community-led engagement programs are being developed. For more information see ACFP's webpage on the collaboration for design of a UBI.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Nil. No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.</p>

Society 14 – Police services

Summary of progress for success in Our Society				
Society 14 – Police services				
Direction: Australia becomes a model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in policing.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Soc14.01	Trust in federal police	←	←	<p>On balance, the evidence is mixed.</p> <p>On trust in the police: Surveys have tended to indicate that trust in the police fell during the period of the 47th parliament, although trust varies across surveys.</p> <p>Trust in the police also varies across communities with Indigenous populations continuing to complain 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.</p> <p>Since 2022, police departments have not exposed themselves to perceptions of succumbing to undue political influence, bullying and misuse of public resources to the same extent that they did during the period of the 46th parliament.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = No substantial improvement or deterioration.</p> <p>In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, the evidence is mixed”.</p> <p>In 2025, the result is the same.</p>
Soc14.02	Trust in state police	←	←	
Soc14.03	Trust in police nation-wide	← / →	← / →	

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		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Soc15.01	Trust in the High Court	← / →	← / →	<p>On balance, no.</p> <p>On trust in the justice system: During the 47th parliament trust in Australia’s justice system appears to have declined.</p> <p>On the reliability and equity of our justice system: Confidence in the justice system is not present among First Nations people, who are incarcerated at a much higher rate than non-Indigenous Australians, and who quite rightly have protested that they are not an innately criminal people⁵. The justice system is not serving them fairly. However, the system is serving migrants more fairly since the High Court overturned rulings which had previously allowed refugees to be detained indefinitely.</p> <p>See more below.</p>
Soc15.02	Trust in the justice system	←	← / →	
Soc15.03	Justice in the incarceration system – target for reduction of the number of people in prison	← / →	←	
Soc15.03.01	Justice in the incarceration system – strategies for reduction of the number of people in prison	← / →	←	
Soc15.04	Access to justice – civil	←	←	
Soc15.04.01	Access to justice – criminal	← / →	←	
<p>On justice in incarceration: Incarceration rates have risen from 172.2 per 100,000 of adult population in 2013 to 208 per 100,000 of adult population in 2024. The system allows incarceration of 10-13 year-olds in the same prisons as adults and in appalling conditions, both of which arrangements are contrary to international law.</p> <p>Indigenous Australians are disproportionately represented in prisons. Indigenous children aged 10-17 years are 29 times as likely as non-Indigenous children to be in detention (a nice way of saying “prison”). For children aged 10-13, this figure rises to 46 times. Most of them (81%) are awaiting sentencing. The justice system does not serve Indigenous Australians well or fairly. Initiatives to address growth in non-Indigenous incarceration are not apparent at the federal level.</p> <p>In 2024, Australia attained an overall score of 0.72 on the World Justice Project Rule of Law Index for the effectiveness of its criminal justice system, the lowest point of performance since 2015. Australia scored poorly in the Index on the impartiality of the criminal system and the effectiveness of the correctional system in reducing criminal behaviour.</p>				

⁵ Uluru Statement from the Heart.

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		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
	During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
<p>On inequality before the law: Some Australians, particularly those operating illegally in intelligence agencies, are now above the law and governments have actually frustrated the development of systems in which they and other government agencies can be held accountable under the law – for example, by creating a National Anti-Corruption Commission that is not required to hold public hearings. By contrast, socioeconomically disadvantaged people have been refused protection of the law and the right to presumption of innocence – eg., Robodebt victims. In 2024, the justice system failed Robodebt victims when the National Anti-Corruption Commission refused to act on a referral by the Robodebt Royal Commission of persons who should be investigated for their part in Robodebt. Robodebt victims joined Indigenous Australians in having been denied justice in Australia.</p> <p>On the threat of rising secrecy in the justice system: 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 happened in the trial of Bernard Colleary before the government withdrew the prosecution – and cannot count on the right to trial by jury in open court. Something is also seriously wrong when the law itself is deemed to prohibit whistleblowers from pleading the public interest as a defence in cases where they have made truthful public interest disclosures – as happened in the trial of David Mc Bride. The Australian justice system is inclined to favour and protect the state against the people rather than its people from abuse by the state.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Deteriorated. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, the evidence is mixed”. In 2025, the results reflect very poorly on the whole justice system. Australians cannot be, or expect to become, confident of justice for all.</p>			

Summary of progress for success in Our Society				
Society 16 – Emergency Services				
Direction: Australia becomes a society prepared & resilient in times of disaster.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Soc16.01	Preparedness for Global Crises - Sovereign Capability Strategy for National Resilience in Global Crises	←	←	<p>On balance, no.</p> <p>On preparedness for global crises: In 2025, Australia remains as unprepared for global crises as it was in 2018 when the Department of Home Affairs profiled Australia’s vulnerability to disaster risks due to its high dependency on external suppliers, low levels of storage of fuel, and dependence on imports to meet demand. Risks to Australia have increased during the 47th parliament, mainly due to the government’s failure to recognise climate change as the primary driver of an impending cascade of nation-wide disasters likely in the economy, poverty, hunger, food insecurity, large scale migration, and war and its attendant failure to develop a program sufficiently capable of reducing these risks.</p>
Soc16.02	Preparedness for and prevention of disasters in Australia - Statement of Adherence to and Performance on the National Disaster Risk Reduction Framework	← / →	← ↪	<p>The government did introduce the Future Made in Australia Package of \$22.7 billion over ten years to facilitate private sector investment in Australia’s economy, including in manufacturing to improve Australia’s self-sufficiency but provided more than double that (\$50.3 billion over ten years) to implement the 2024 National Defence Strategy to meet Australia’s strategic needs, none of which investment would increase resilience, self-sufficiency, productive industrialisation, or progress towards a net zero emissions economy because defence industries contribute significantly to carbon emissions and divert scarce human capital and natural resources away from the production of essentials. The Future Made in</p>
Soc16.02.01	Preparedness for and prevention of disasters in Australia – National Community Council for Risk Reduction Review	← / →	← / →	

Summary of progress for success in Our Society			
Society 16 – Emergency Services			
Direction: Australia becomes a society prepared & resilient in times of disaster.			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
	During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
			<p>Australia package will have the net effect of depleting Australia’s resilience because it will spend more than twice as much on activities which speed up climate change and other threats – and thereby reduce resilience – as it will on activities to improve resilience.</p> <p>See more below.</p>
<p>On sovereign capability in global crises: In 2025, Australia still has no strategy to ensure Australia retains sovereign capability during global crises. No systemic or integrated approach adequately addressing the chief cause of the worst possible global crises – climate change – is evident. Australia is more exposed than ever to the threat of food and economic insecurity arising from climate change and is aggravating the problem by prioritising investment in offensive military build-up rather than investment in prevention of crises.</p> <p>On preparedness and prevention of disasters in Australia: In 2022 the Australian Security Leaders Climate Group (ASLCG) warned that “Climate change is an existential risk to society and human security, and the UN warns of possible collapse because risk creation is outstripping risk reduction. The risks are systemic and abrupt system change is happening faster than forecast.” ASLCG recommended that the government conduct a comprehensive Australian Climate and Security Risk Assessment, using the best available information. The prime minister commissioned a review by the Office of National Intelligence (ONI) of the security threats posed by the climate crisis but refused to release the report.</p> <p>A “National Climate Risk Assessment: First pass assessment report” provided insights in general terms to risks arising from climate change but promoted an impression that, except in the case of primary industries and food, risk exposures are not all that great before 2050 and strategic planning for risk reduction is not an urgent requirement, when in fact it was apparent in data on temperatures, emissions and severe weather events that climate change was well underway. A tactic of withholding information from the Australian public and underplaying the risks is not in Australia’s interests and reduces time to prepare for averting crises the government knows are imminent, not distant.</p> <p>In 2025, Australia still has no national security or resilience strategy and no up-to-date or sufficiently detailed risk assessments against which to report that effective actions are being taken to reduce the identified risks. Australia also has no national energy security assessment, no integrated health risk assessment, and no agriculture risk assessment.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Deteriorated. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no.” In 2025, the result is the same but Australia has less time to manage its risks. We are not a society that is prepared and resilient in the face of disasters.</p>			

Chapter 4 – Progress by Direction in Our Environment



Environment 1 – Environmental advocacy

Summary of progress for success in Our Environment				
Environment 1 – Environmental advocacy				
Direction: Australia becomes a leading global advocate for action on climate change.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
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	←	←	<p>On balance, no.</p> <p>Australia's conduct in Paris Agreement negotiations on climate change: During the 47th parliament, Australia continued to behave in Paris Agreement talks in a manner that would defeat global efforts to stop whatever planetary heating can still be stopped. The Labor government’s legislation to reduce emissions by 43% below 2005 levels by 2030, combined with its refusal to cap total emissions, its poor leadership in UNFCCC COPs (compared to what should be forthcoming from a wealthy country), and its ongoing approvals of fossil fuel extraction and export, effectively guarantees heating above 2° Celsius.</p> <p>See more below.</p>
Env01.02	Climate change performance - action, international cooperation and policy	→	→	
<p>On the effectiveness of Australia’s climate policy and global advocacy: Australia’s scores on the international Climate Change Performance Index (CCPI) improved during the 47th parliament but were still rated poorly. Relative to the scale and imminence of climate disasters being faced by Australians, the government’s incremental approach to emissions reduction is inefficient and ineffective against planetary heating. It is also economically disastrous. The 2023 Intergenerational Report notes that the economic cost of lost labour productivity due to heat could be between \$135 billion and \$423 billion, not counting the economic losses affecting a multiplicity of other sources including threats to the tourism industry. The magnitude of economic costs is known but it has resulted in no commitment to effective policy change.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Deteriorated. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no.” In 2025, the result is the same but Australia has less time to stop heating and is not sufficiently cooperative on the global stage.</p>				

Environment 2 – Climate change prevention

Summary of progress for success in Our Environment				
Environment 2 – Climate change prevention				
Direction: Australia becomes a net zero emissions nation.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Env02.01	Achievement of net zero carbon emissions within a carbon budget that will maximise chances of limiting global heating as near as possible to 1.5° Celsius		 	On balance, no. On carbon emissions ceiling (budget): In 2022, Australia made a commitment under the UNFCCC for the first time to a carbon budget. It adopted a multi-year emissions budget from 2021-2030 of 4,381 Mt CO ₂ -e, based on a 43% reduction by 2030. This budget is not sufficient to contain heating to below 2° Celsius, let alone 1.5° as per Australia’s commitment under the Paris Agreement. It means Australia is unlikely to achieve net zero before 2056, by which time we will have emitted a total of 8,147 Mt (from 2022 to 2056), well over what Australia should emit to contain heating. It equates to an assumption by the Albanese government that travel on a path to much greater than 1.8 degrees of heating is in Australia’s interests.
Env02.01.01	Carbon emissions reduction - Emissions reduction target for 2030			In 2025, Australia is no closer to setting a target for achievement of net zero emissions within a safe and fair budget of carbon emissions. No evidence is present of an intention to adopt a safe carbon budget, which in 2024 would be in the order of 3,530 Mt CO ₂ -e (3.5 BT). From 2020, Australia should aim to emit no more than 3.53 BT ever. In terms of temperature increases: October 2024 was 1.65°C above pre-industrial level, marking the 15th month in a 16-month period with average temperatures above the 1.5°C threshold set by the Paris Agreement. And in 2024, Australia experienced its second-warmest year since national records began in 1910, with the national mean temperature
Env02.01.02	Carbon emissions reduction - Achievement of net zero emissions by 2033 within the carbon budget			
Env02.01.03	Planetary heating – Limitation of global temperature rise			
Env02.01.04	Planetary heating – Limitation of annual mean temperature rises in Australia			
Env02.02	Elimination of fossil fuel subsidies			
Env02.03	Cessation of new coal, gas and oil investments – legislative program			
Env02.04	Phase out of existing investments in coal, oil and gas – legislative program			
Env02.04.01	Elimination of military greenhouse gas emissions			
Env02.05	Accountability for achievement of commitments to stop climate change			
Env02.05.01	Accountability for achievement of commitments to stop			

Summary of progress for success in Our Environment				
Environment 2 – Climate change prevention				
Direction: Australia becomes a net zero emissions nation.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
	climate change – sovereign and personal liability for ecocide or genocide through climate change			1.46°C warmer than the 1961–1990 average. This was an alarming jump from the mean annual temperature reported in 2023 (January to November) of 0.92°C. In the period 47 th parliament, Australia’s policies on climate change have failed to reverse or even stabilise increasing temperatures on the continent. See more below.
<p>On fossil fuel subsidies: During the 47th parliaments, subsidies for fossil fuels increased. The Australia Institute estimated that in 2023–24, Australian governments provided \$14.5 billion worth of spending and tax breaks to assist fossil fuel industries, a 31% increase on 2022-23. The Institute also noted that subsidies in the forward estimates have increased from \$57 billion to a record \$65 billion, a sum 6.5 times greater than the Housing Australia Future Fund. In 2025, there are no signs that the subsidy will be stopped, despite the resistance to continuation of the subsidy by the majority of Australians.</p> <p>On fossil fuel industry and export expansion: Between May 2022 and December 2024, the Federal Environment Minister approved 10 new coal mines or expansions with 2,449 million tonnes of lifetime emissions and there were 22 additional proposals for new or expanded coal mines awaiting federal government approval. If all 32 mines proceed, they will emit 13.1 billion tonnes of carbon – equivalent to keeping all of Australia's coal-fired power stations operating for an additional 95 years – which is fully incompatible with limiting dangerous climate change. In July 2024, the government also granted permits for new gas exploration and sea dumping off the coasts of Western Australia, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania. These projects will also increase Australia’s emissions. Overall, during the 47th parliament, the government has been adding emissions, not reducing them and has thereby been making it impossible to meet net zero within the timeframe of this plan.</p> <p>On acceptance of accountability for climate change: In 2024, no legislation had been established in which ministers, heads and board members of corporations, and financiers may be held personally and fully liable (without limitation financially) and subject to terms of imprisonment up to and including life imprisonment for any actions in policy contributing to climate change. No legislation had been submitted requiring decision makers to be more accountable and responsible and to accept liability for decisions. On the contrary, actions taken by the government, particularly in approval of new coal mines and gas extraction, were taken without demonstrating legitimate offsets sufficient to negate the known risk. Neither in legislation nor practice did the government commit to accepting accountability for achievement of commitments to stop climate change so as to prevent ecocide or genocide and so as to prevent either personal liability or the extraordinary sovereign liability arising from policies and decisions that aggravate the possibility of creating a climate on earth that is intolerable to all species.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Deteriorated seriously. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no.” In 2025, the result is the same but much worse. Australia shows no signs of becoming a net zero emissions nation before planetary heating overwhelms the world.</p>				

Environment 3 – Climate change adaptation

Summary of progress for success in Our Environment				
Environment 3 – Climate change adaptation				
Direction: Australia becomes a proactive planner of climate change adaptation.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Env03.01	National Climate Change Prevention, Mitigation and Adaptation Commission	→	←	<p>On balance, no.</p> <p>On climate adaptation planning: In 2024, DCCEEW stated that the 2023–24 federal Budget allocated \$27.4 million over 2 years to deliver Australia’s first National Climate Risk Assessment and National Adaptation Plan. The stated purpose of both documents was that they would “provide analysis to guide decisions on how Australia should adapt to its significant climate risks.” The National Climate Risk Assessment was expected to deliver a shared national framework to inform Australia’s national priorities for climate adaptation and resilience actions.</p> <p>In 2024, the government released the “National Climate Risk Assessment: First pass assessment report” (which understated Australia’s climate risks) and foreshadowed the release of a “second pass” risk assessment adaptation plan. This represents progress but not enough to build an appropriate amount of resilience in climate change. The progress is too slow (because temperatures are already exceeding 1.5° Celsius) and therefore likely to be too late for cost effective mitigation or adaptation purposes.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Deteriorated somewhat. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no.” In 2025, the result is the same but somewhat worse due to time wasting. Australia is a nation ill-prepared for climate change.</p>

Environment 4 – Environmental regulation & approvals

Summary of progress for success in Our Environment				
Environment 4 – Environmental regulation & approvals				
Direction: Australia becomes a nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Env04.01	Overhaul of the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999	←	←	<p>On balance, no.</p> <p>On reform of the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act: In 2024, the Albanese government introduced three “Nature Positive” bills to begin reforms necessary to compensate for the inadequacies of the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation (EPBC) Act but in November 2024, the bills were reportedly “killed off” (in their original form at least) by the prime minister in response to objections by the Western Australian premier and the mining lobby. In the period of the 47th parliament, the government also walked away from its commitment to introduce a suite of laws to effectively address Australia’s extinction crisis, including new national environmental standards against which development proposals would be assessed. In its first term of office, the Labor government achieved nothing to overcome the failures of Australia’s environmental laws and administration.</p> <p>In January 2025, the Australian Conservation Foundation reported that while the government did nothing to reform environmental laws, the amount of threatened species habitat approved to be razed under federal law more than doubled in 2024 (25,769 hectares) compared to 2023 (10,426 hectares).</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Nil. No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.</p>

Environment 6 – Energy

Summary of progress for success in Our Environment				
Environment 6 – Energy				
Direction: Australia becomes a renewable energy superpower.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Env06.01	Renewable energy - electricity	→	→ ↩	<p>On balance, yes but not quickly enough.</p> <p>On progress towards 100% renewable energy: In 2024, the Australian government’s target for renewable electricity was to increase the share of the National Electricity Market (NEM) to 82% by 2030. But it was not planning actions in renewable energy sufficient to ensure temperature increases can be kept well below 2° Celsius and as near as possible to 1.5° Celsius as per the Paris Agreement.</p> <p>Nevertheless, during the 47th parliament, some positive progress was made on renewable energy including expansion of the Capacity Investment Scheme (CIS), a new standard for vehicle emissions on new cars sold in the Australian market, and introduction of a National Renewable Energy Storage Target.</p> <p>In 2023, 35% of Australia’s total electricity generation was from renewable energy sources, including solar (16%), wind (12%) and hydro (6%). This increased to 39% in 2024. The share of renewables in total electricity generation in 2023 was the highest on record. Overall though, while renewable energy as a proportion of total energy had been growing at an average of 5% per year for ten years, renewable energy sources still accounted for</p>
Env06.01.01	Renewable energy - vehicles	→	→ ↩	
Env06.01.02	Renewable energy - road transport systems services and fleets	→	→ ↩	
Env06.01.03	Renewable energy - manufacturing and agriculture	→	→ ↩	
Env06.01.04	Renewable energy - industry and construction	→	→ ↩	
Env06.01.05	Renewable energy - air and sea transport	→	→ ↩	
Env06.01.06	Renewable energy – buildings	↔	↔	
Env06.02	National Electricity Market system investment and security	↔	↔	

Summary of progress for success in Our Environment

Environment 6 – Energy
Direction: Australia becomes a renewable energy superpower.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Env06.03	National Renewable Energy Targets (RETs) – setting targets for economic sustainability and prevention of global heating	→	← ↺	only 9% of Australian energy consumption in 2022-23, obviously nowhere near enough to stop climate change. See more below.
Env06.04	National Renewable Energy Storage Target	→	→	

On energy industry/market structure and public ownership to secure returns to Australians: In 2024, no government owned entity had been established to rebuild and modernise the electricity grid and to ensure that taxpayers share fully in the benefits of investment in the National Electricity Market. The government’s preference was to stimulate private sector investment in renewable energy generation and transmission, not returns to the public. While the government’s Rewiring the Nation initiative committed to investing \$20 billion to modernise the electricity grid and deliver new and upgraded transmission infrastructure, the intention was to indirectly invest these public funds by making finance available to private investors at concessional rates to minimise the costs of their investments. Net returns to the public from these outlays were not required and will not be realised.

In 2024, the Clean Energy Council reported that 2023 saw a slowdown in new financial commitments to utility scale generation capacity at \$1.5 billion, significantly down on \$6.5 billion for 2022. The Council stated that there will need to be “urgent and careful policy design undertaken in the first half of 2024 to ensure the program realises its critical objective to turbocharge private investment in the coming years.” In 2025, it is too early to tell whether the CIS is a stimulant to private investment in energy generation sufficient to meet the government’s target of 82% of electricity from renewables by 2030.

In 2025, the government showed no signs of directly investing in renewable energy in its own right. Only time will tell whether that was the right choice. In 2023, reliance on the private sector did not lead to added capacity in electricity generation sufficient to meet the government’s target of 82% of electricity from renewable sources by 2030.

Short term progress towards renewable energy during the 47th parliament was positive but still too slow when the temperature impacts of inadequate policies on renewable energy are taken into account. Short term action has been insufficient to avert the overwhelming negative impacts from climate change.

Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Improved somewhat.

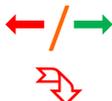
In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, we are not travelling clearly yet either toward or away from the destination.”

In 2025, the result is better but the lapse of time detracts from the positive impact. Progress looks good in the short term but slowness is locking in long term failure. Economic impacts are likely to be particularly severe due to the slowness with which Australia is adopting renewable power.

Environment 7 – Transport

Summary of progress for success in Our Environment				
Environment 7 – Transport				
Direction: Australia becomes efficiently connected with zero-emissions transport.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Env07.01	Inter city-regional rapid public transport	→	← / →	<p>On balance, yes.</p> <p>On rapid public transport: During the 47th parliament, the federal government established the High Speed Rail Authority and began developing a business case for the Sydney to Newcastle section of the high-speed rail network, with \$500 million allocated for planning and corridor works. There was also some planning for a future high speed rail network to connect Brisbane, Sydney, Canberra, Melbourne and regional communities across the east coast of Australia. However, no integrated planning was evident between state and federal governments that mandated development of high speed (150-200 kms per hour) rail radiating from capital cities to desirable regional centres. Instead, the diversification of options for housing development in regional centres was still being driven (or rather, limited) by the plans for high speed rail. It was also potentially being limited by the suggestion that business cases were necessary before investment could occur. Should business cases be required to stack up from a commercial point of view (including private sector profits) rather than from the point of view of total returns to the community in reduced housing costs and other amenity, there will be no guarantee that the necessary links will proceed.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Nil. No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.</p>
Env07.01.01	Inter city-regional rapid public transport - federal funding	← / →	← / →	
Env07.02	Kilometres travelled by passenger vehicles	← / →	←	

Environment 8 – Agriculture & fisheries

Summary of progress for success in Our Environment				
Environment 8 – Agriculture & fisheries				
Direction: Australia becomes environmentally & economically sustainable in agriculture & fisheries.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Env08.01	Sustainability of agriculture – transition to food security in the age of climate change			<p>On balance, we are not travelling clearly yet either towards or away from the destination.</p> <p>On the sustainability of food supplies: In 2023, the CSIRO released a roadmap called Reshaping Australian Food Systems, which offered an array of approaches to securing a more sustainable, productive, and resilient future for Australia’s food, environment, and people. The roadmap set targets for five identified areas of opportunity including enabling equitable access to healthy and sustainable diets, minimising waste and improving circularity, facilitating Australia’s transition to net zero emissions, aligning resilience with socioeconomic and environmental sustainability, and increasing value and productivity.</p> <p>However, the roadmap was underpinned by assumptions that current Australian government targets for a 43% reduction in greenhouse gas emissions by 2030 and net zero emissions by 2050 would allow for sustainable food production in Australia, when the reality is that those emission reduction targets will destroy the possibility of sustainable food production because they will create climatic conditions that will make current forms of agriculture unworkable. The scope of the task and the magnitude of threats to sustainable food production from “system-wide disturbances” such as climate change were fully</p>

Summary of progress for success in Our Environment			
Environment 8 – Agriculture & fisheries			
Direction: Australia becomes environmentally & economically sustainable in agriculture & fisheries.			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
	During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
			<p>comprehended in the roadmap but Australia’s capacity to realise the goals of the roadmap was also fundamentally undermined by its acceptance of the government’s emission reduction policies.</p> <p>The roadmap provided some guidance towards achieving sustainable food production but did not constitute a plan for the sort of shift necessary for sustainable food production in the age of climate change. Reliance on large scale agribusiness and assumptions that outdoor agriculture (at any scale on seriously depleted soils and frequently without water or with too much in floods) would be feasible in the age of climate change were questionable features of the roadmap.</p> <p>During the 47th parliament, Australia has been successful in initiatives to secure returns from agriculture but not in securing the future of food production itself.</p> <p>Australian food supply is highly vulnerable to climate shocks and not enough is being done to make food production safe and sustainable in the age of climate change. If plans for agriculture are to work, the government must do all that is necessary to stop planetary heating as soon as possible.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Nil. No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.</p>

Environment 10 – Biodiversity

Summary of progress for success in Our Environment				
Environment 10 – Biodiversity				
Direction: Australia becomes a biodiversity haven.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Env10.01	Fauna conservation and extinction prevention	←	←	<p>On balance, no.</p> <p>On threatened and extinct species: Extinction of Australia’s diverse flora and fauna has continued apace. During the 47th parliament, an extra 188 species of fauna were listed as threatened, bringing the total threatened fauna species to 666. An extra 110 species of flora were listed as threatened, bringing the total threatened flora species to 1,472.</p> <p>International listings also showed increases in threatened species in Australia. The federal government itself reported that the abundance of Australia’s threatened and near-threatened species has declined by 60% since 1985.</p> <p>See more below.</p>
Env10.01.01	Flora conservation and extinction prevention	←	←	
Env10.02	Protection of threatened species	←	←	
Env10.03	Legislation establishing a measurable baseline and target consistent with the global goal of reaching Nature Positive by 2030	←	←	
Env10.03.01	Strengthening the Nature Positive Plan to ensure biodiversity loss is halted by 2030	←	←	
<p>On Nature Positive legislation: In the period of the 47th parliament, there was neither legislation nor a Nature Positive Plan establishing a baseline against which assessments could be made of whether loss of nature was being reversed or halted. Nor was a timeframe selected by which nature should improve.</p> <p>In 2024, despite the acknowledged need for urgent reforms of the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation (EPBC) Act 1999 for purposes of halting nature loss, reform of the EPBC Act was shelved by the government.</p> <p>The failure to select a baseline on nature abundance for measurement purposes constitutes a serious risk to prospects for halting nature loss, especially if the government’s selected target of protecting 30% of Australia’s land and seas by 2030 turns out to allow more degradation of nature. In 2024, sufficient information on species under threat was available and suitable for use in measuring declines and gains in nature but the government made no progress towards establishing baselines.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Deteriorated seriously.</p> <p>In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no”.</p> <p>In 2025, the result is the same but worse. Australia is certainly not a biodiversity haven.</p>				

Environment 11 – Vegetation

Summary of progress for success in Our Environment				
Environment 11 – Vegetation				
Direction: Australia becomes a replanted & reforested land.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Env11.01	Forests and environmental plantings - Legislated program to increase GDP and returns to landholders and mitigate climate change by increasing native forestry cover and restoring degraded ecosystems	←	←	<p>On balance, no.</p> <p>On land clearing: In 2024, the Wilderness Society Reported that “Over 7.7 million hectares of forest and bushland was destroyed by land clearing between 2000 and 2017. That’s an area the size of Ireland. Australia is the only ‘developed’ country on the list of global deforestation hotspots.”</p> <p>No data after 2021 appear to be available. However, the State of the Environment Report 2021 stated, among other things, that native vegetation is still being cleared and invasive species are increasing. Growing profits from agriculture, forestry and mining are driving up clearing rates, native vegetation that has regrown after past clearing is increasingly being re-cleared, often without authorisation, and there is a lack of clarity around what is being cleared, where and for what purpose.</p>
Env11.02	Introduction of a Stewards of the Earth Fund and Program for rewilding farming and forestry systems to lock up carbon, conserve water, and restore biodiversity	← / →	← / →	<p>During the 47th parliament, no progress was made on legislation prohibiting deforestation or on the establishment of a publicly owned Carbon in the Land and Sea Trading Corporation to allow for ethical carbon trading with profits returned to Australia.</p> <p>On progress with re-wilding: In 2025, no progress was evident towards securing public funding for rewilding lands affected by unsustainable forms of farming and grazing, or by mining and forestry. Nor was there evidence of any planning by governments for a significant shift towards sustainable</p>

Summary of progress for success in Our Environment				
Environment 11 – Vegetation				
Direction: Australia becomes a replanted & reforested land.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
				<p>forms of farming, including regenerative farming and indoor farming near urban centres.</p> <p>However, the World Wide Fund for Nature was working on several rewilding projects in South Australia, Tasmania and New South Wales to restore the populations of quolls, bandicoots, potoroos, bettongs, greater gliders, platypus and frogs.</p> <p>In the period of the 47th parliament there was no discussion of hypothecation of funds raised through taxation for rewilding or other projects.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = No detectable improvement or deterioration due to data gaps.</p> <p>In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no”.</p> <p>In 2025, the result is the same.</p> <p>Australia has shown no progress in restoring deforested and denuded lands.</p>

Environment 12 – Land & resource conservation

Summary of progress for success in Our Environment				
Environment 12 – Land & resource conservation				
Direction: Australia becomes a protector of scarce resources.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Env12.01	Proportion of land areas dedicated to long term conservation			<p>On balance, no.</p> <p>On land areas dedicated to conservation: During the 47th parliament, no data updates were available on terrestrial protected areas. Between 2002 and 2022, the proportion of land area dedicated to the long-term conservation of nature, its ecosystem and cultural values rose from 10% to 22%. This looks like a positive result. However, there can be no confidence that reserved lands for conservation have been increasing in the short term and the outlook is negative due to the government’s shelving of reforms of the EPBC Act and refusal to pass legislation to protect native forests.</p> <p>See more below.</p>
Env12.02	Cessation of native forest logging - urgent legislation			

On cessation of native forest logging: In April 2024, progress against the objectives of the government’s 2022 “Nature Positive Plan: better for the environment, better for business” took a backward step when proposed reforms of the EPBC Act were shelved by the government in favour of a staged approach of establishing new institutions of Environment Protection Australia (EPA) and Environment Information Australia (EIA), rather than a full package of reforms to fix the broken EPBC Act.

In 2024, the Environmental Defenders Office testified that, “Without a comprehensive overhaul of the EPBC Act, the new institutions will simply be monitoring and regulating broken laws: A new EPA may mean that compliance and enforcement may be more likely to occur if habitat is illegally cleared, but that is after the fact, when the harm has already occurred. Having a State of Environment report every 2 years by the new EIA will simply document the decline and demise of our threatened species more regularly, without strong laws to actually prevent the harm occurring in the first place.”

In January 2025, the Australian Conservation Foundation reported that while the government did nothing to reform environmental laws the amount of threatened species habitat approved to be razed under federal law more than doubled in 2024 (25,769 hectares) compared to 2023 (10,426 hectares).

Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Nil. No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.

Environment 13 – Parks & open space

Summary of progress for success in Our Environment				
Environment 13 – Parks & open space				
Direction: Australia becomes a provider of accessible national & urban parkland.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Env13.01	Proportion of land areas covered by green space			<p>No data are available to determine the direction of travel since 2021.</p> <p>Loss of green space: The 2021 State of the Environment Australia report recorded that between 2013 and 2020 the percentage of land covered by hard surfaces in 131 of Australia’s local government areas grew from 33.69% to 38.08% while the proportion covered by green space fell from 66.29% to 61.92%. Loss of green space has impacts on health and wellbeing.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Nil. No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.</p>

Environment 14 – Air & water quality

Summary of progress for success in Our Environment				
Environment 14 – Air & water quality				
Direction: Australia becomes a pollution free biosphere.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Env14.01	Air quality	←	← / →	<p>On balance, no.</p> <p>On air quality: The 2021 State of the Environment Australia report recorded that “Although all cities have maintained a ‘very good’ assessment for PM2.5 since 2016, peak reported levels of PM2.5 in each year remain above the air quality NEPM standard in all capital cities in Australia. PM2.5 levels are stable in Darwin, Hobart and Melbourne, but increasing elsewhere.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Deteriorated. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “No data are available to determine the direction of travel since 2016.”. In 2025, the result is a move away from the preferred destination.</p>

Environment 15 – Marine protection

Summary of progress for success in Our Environment				
Environment 15 – Marine protection				
Direction: Australia becomes a marine wildlife haven.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Env15.01	Protection of the Great Barrier Reef - implementation of plans		 	On balance, no. On the state of the Great Barrier Reef: In 2021, the federal and Queensland governments released an updated “Reef 2050 Long-Term Sustainability Plan 2021-2025” with five priority areas for action. In 2024, DCCEEW stated that “Australian and Queensland governments have made good progress in implementing the Reef 2050 Plan.” If so, it would appear that the planned activities have not yet met the objectives for habitat, species health, Indigenous heritage and human dimensions, including the overarching objective of “values and ecological processes in poor condition are restored and values and ecological processes in good condition are maintained”. The planned activities have not led to the planned outcomes. This is not surprising, especially since the planned activities on climate change are known to be wholly inadequate to stop climate change.
Env15.01.01	Protection of the Great Barrier Reef - prevention of threats from climate change		 	In February 2022, the 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. ⁶
Env15.02	Proportion of marine areas dedicated to long term conservation	 / 	 	In 2024, the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority reported that the condition of the reef varied between 2019 and 2024. The reef experienced three mass bleachings between 2019 and 2024. The Authority concluded that “climate

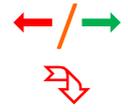
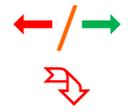
⁶ IPCC, [Climate Change 2022, Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability](#), Chapter 11 – Great Barrier Reef in Crisis, February 2022.

Summary of progress for success in Our Environment				
Environment 15 – Marine protection				
Direction: Australia becomes a marine wildlife haven.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
				<p>change, combined with chronic and legacy impacts, are undermining the Reef’s resilience. The Region’s overall long-term outlook remains one of continued deterioration due largely to climate change.”</p> <p>The outlook for the reef is negative due to the inadequacy of the Reef 2050 Plan itself and the government’s ineffective approach to climate change.</p> <p>On marine conservation areas: No data updates were available on marine protected areas. Between 2002 and 2022, the proportion of Australia’s marine area dedicated to the long-term conservation of nature, its ecosystem and cultural values rose from 7% to 45%. However, the outlook for marine conservation areas is poor due to the government’s shelving of reforms of the EPBC Act and refusal to pass legislation to protect native forests. Refusal to protect native forests will have detrimental effects on Australia’s marine environments, especially the already threatened Great Barrier Reef.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = No substantial improvement. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no”. In 2025, the result is the same. Australia’s planning and actions for marine conservation are being defeated by its failure to address the cause of decline – climate change.</p>

Environment 16 – Waste reduction & recycling

Summary of progress for success in Our Environment				
Environment 16 – Waste reduction & recycling				
Direction: Australia becomes regenerative by design in consumption & production.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Env16.01	Reduction of waste generation	← / →	← / →	<p>No data are available to determine the direction of travel since 2021.</p> <p>On reduction and recycling of waste: In 2006/07 Australians generated 3.1 tonnes per capita of waste and recycled 50% for reuse, recycling or energy. In 2021/22 Australians generated 3.0 tonnes per capita of waste and recovered 63% for reuse, recycling or energy. On waste recovered the longer term trend is positive but Australians are still producing too much waste.</p>
Env16.01.01	Increased recovery of waste for reuse	← / →	→	<p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Nil. No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.</p>

Environment 18 – Cities planning

Summary of progress for success in Our Environment				
Environment 18 – Cities planning				
Direction: Australia becomes multi-central in its cities, efficiently connecting people with jobs, health, education & recreation.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Env18.01	Urban consolidation in the largest capital cities – Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane			On balance, no.
Env18.01.01	Urban consolidation – legislation to change urban planning to increase housing within major city ‘middle rings’			<p>On sustainable growth of cities: In 2024, the federal government released a National Urban Policy which set out a vision for the sustainable growth of our cities and suburbs. Planning ministers across the nation jointly agreed a shared vision for sustainable urban growth, including a strong focus on ensuring Australia’s cities and suburbs meet the needs of both current and future generations – with housing affordability as the primary goal. The policy included five agreed planning principles which, if adhered to, would help somewhat in building inclusive, sustainable cities. It also included a series of implementation principles and actions for the federal government to take forward in collaboration with partner governments and stated that the federal government will deliver regular State of Australian Cities reports.</p> <p>The National Urban Policy is a step in the right direction but progress on the ground is not evident yet. Key areas for improvement identified in the Policy, including affordable housing and climate resilience, are undermined by other policies such as the federal government’s withdrawal from direct provision of public housing and approaches to urban design which increase hard surfaces and reduce green space.</p> <p>On urban consolidation: In 2024, the NSW government changed planning</p>

Summary of progress for success in Our Environment			
Environment 18 – Cities planning			
Direction: Australia becomes multi-central in its cities, efficiently connecting people with jobs, health, education & recreation.			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
	During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
			<p>laws so that from 1 July 2024, dual occupancies and semi-detached homes will be allowed in R2 low-density residential zones across NSW. Also, all states have agreed to the National Urban Policy which suggests there is support by state and territory governments for a principle of delivering high-quality urban places with “appropriate” density.</p> <p>The National Urban Policy is driven by a commitment to growth and economic development that may well outweigh commitment to quality of life and real environmental sustainability. It prioritises strategies for productivity in commercial business more so than commitments to increased direct investment by governments. It is a neoliberal policy. Only time will tell whether the cooperative collaboration it aspires to between states, businesses and developers will deliver the sustainable and climate-resilient urban environments and the equitable and inclusive outcomes envisaged in the policy. The neoliberal focus of the National Urban Policy does not portend well. The expected collaboration between states, businesses and developers to deliver the sustainable and climate-resilient urban environments is yet to prove itself.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Nil. No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.</p>

Environment 19 – Regional planning

Summary of progress for success in Our Environment				
Environment 15 – Regional planning				
Direction: Australia becomes a land of thriving self-supporting regions.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Env19.01	Decentralisation of housing for affordability	→	← / →	<p>On balance, we are not travelling clearly yet either towards or away from the destination.</p> <p>On sustainable regions: In 2023, the federal government released its “Regional Investment Framework: The Australian Government’s approach to supporting strong and sustainable regions.” It was intended to “coordinate across governments to make investments work better for regions and provide an integrated and coordinated framework for regional development regardless of a region’s economic circumstances.” The framework required specific regional investment across all portfolios. The framework is a significant step forward in organising Commonwealth agencies to “work in genuine partnerships with local and state and territory governments through refreshed, regular forums supporting joined-up outcomes.” The government’s commitment to high speed rail is also a positive sign.</p> <p>On regional housing affordability: In 2024, the State of Australia’s Regions Report observed that, “While for most of the past two decades households in regional Australia were able to save a housing deposit faster than those in capital cities, it now takes 9.7 years in regional Australia, only slightly less than the 10 years it takes in capital cities.”</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Nil. No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.</p>

Chapter 5 – Progress by Direction in Our Economy



Economy 1 – Economic planning, growth & composition

Summary of progress for success in Our Economy				
Economy 1 – Economic planning, growth & composition				
Direction: Australia becomes a model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Econ01.01	Sustainability of growth and development	← / →	← / → ↻	<p>On balance, no.</p> <p>On sustainable development: During the 47th parliament, Australia continued to be extremely unlikely to meet its 2015 commitments to reach the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGs) by 2030. In 2025, Australia still had no integrated program of agreed essential projects and no federal budget supporting either Commonwealth projects or voluntarily offered projects by other levels of government and the private sector aimed at achieving the UNSDGs. Australia has not submitted a voluntary review of performance towards the UNSDGs since 2018 and its reporting platform on the UNSDGs was closed on 10 March 2024, ostensibly due to “unsupported software”. In December 2024 it had still not been restored.</p> <p>In 2024, Australia ranked 37th out of 167 countries on the UNSDGs – a fall of two places since 2021 – and is doing poorly in progress on all but one of the goals, a very poor performance for a developed country. These goals matter more to the fate of species, including humans, than any others. Australia’s response is extremely disappointing.</p> <p>On productivity growth: Between 2002 and 2004, labour productivity growth averaged 2.5% per annum. From then on productivity fell. Between 2022 and</p>
Econ01.01.01	Productivity growth	←	←	
Econ01.02	Private investment for economic growth	←	←	
Econ01.03	GDP growth	← / →	← / → ↻	
Econ01.03.01	GDP growth per capita	← / →	← / → ↻	
Econ01.03.02	Population growth	← / →	← / →	
Econ01.03.03	Population growth – Strategic planning for population	←	←	
Econ01.04	A National Sustainable Industries Index	←	←	
Econ01.04.01	Reform of federal budget planning processes for service security and sustainable economic growth	← / →	← / →	
Econ01.05	Economic composition and transformations – Services sector expansion	→	← / →	
Econ01.06	Economic composition and transformations – Cessation of fossil fuel exports	→	←	
Econ01.06.01	Economic composition and transformations –	← / →	← ↻	

Summary of progress for success in Our Economy				
Economy 1 – Economic planning, growth & composition				
Direction: Australia becomes a model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
	Transition away from export of both fossil fuels and the raw materials used in production of steel, aluminium, fertilisers, polysilicon, etc., and towards export of zero emissions goods			2024, labour productivity growth averaged -0.7% per annum. In only three of the 20 three-year rolling cycles between 2000 and 2024 did labour productivity growth exceed 1.6%. On private capital investment: Private capital investment has been variable since 2019, but the trend since 2005 is a fairly steep fall. Since 2012, business in Australia has not been pulling its weight or giving back to the Australian economy any decent shares of the returns it has enjoyed, courtesy of massive public subsidies since the early 2000s.
Econ01.06.02	Economic composition and transformations – Comparative economic complexity	←	←	On GDP growth: Between 2022 and 2024 GDP growth per annum dropped from 4.2% to 3.4% and then to 1.4%. However, GDP growth is causing breaches of several planetary boundaries which will cause growth in species extinction and therefore poverty and hunger world-wide. The rate of extinction is now 1,000 times faster than before the Industrial Revolution. If this continues, scientists warn, the Earth will be able to support only another sixty years of harvests. Australia's rates of species extinction are among the highest in the world. At this point in world economic history, GDP growth is doing more harm than good. Acceleration of growth will do Australia no favours over the longer term if consumption outstrips the capacity of the planet to sustain biodiversity (including humans). Continued pursuit of GDP growth by governments, unaccompanied by programs to counter its detrimental effects on Australia's natural and human resources, will harm Australians.
Econ01.06.03	Economic composition and transformations – Expansion of manufacturing as a share of Australia's economy	←	←	
Econ01.07	Economic composition and transformations – Carbon credits market development & a Carbon in the Land and Sea Finance and Trading Corporation	→	→	
Econ01.08	Reintroduction of a price on carbon	←	←	
Econ01.09	Integrated & Funded Program for Meeting Australia's Commitments to the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGs)	←	←	
Econ01.09.01	Citizens' oversight of progress towards the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGs)	←	←	

Summary of progress for success in Our Economy

Economy 1 – Economic planning, growth & composition
Direction: Australia becomes a model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
	During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
			See more below.

On population growth: Since the end of the Covid-19 pandemic, population growth in Australia has been too high for the continued sustainability of its biodiversity, agricultural yields and economy. Australia also has no long term planning process for capping total population or immigration based on articulated principles for sustainability. Departments involved at the federal level, including Home Affairs, Infrastructure, Transport, Cities and Regional Development, Social Services, and Treasury are not working towards a common objective of sustainable population. Basically, the approach is to sit back and watch population grow to levels far higher than are sustainable.

On economic composition and increased government sector participation: In 2025, Australia still had no overall planning process for composition and re-composition of its economy over the longer term and no accepted tools for guidance in reforms to compose a sustainable economy. Decisions on public investments and incentives for economic and industry development strongly favoured neoliberal approaches of transferring public funds to support private sector, profit-driven ventures at the expense of essential services and payments for the public. The government remained wedded to trying to make the market work for the various social ends that it was seeking rather than to expansion of direct involvement by the public sector as a competitor to the private sector. This is doomed to fail. A sustainable economic composition cannot be achieved by private sector exploitation. The evidence shows the need for the government to establish principles for re-composition of the economy so that there is a guidance system for selection of industries based on their value and net contribution to the long term sustainability of Australia’s natural resources, biodiversity, economy, social security and social capital. See **Econ01.04** for more information.

On barriers to a sustainable economy – over-dependency on mining and fossil fuels: In 2025, there is strong evidence that the Australian economy should be weaned off its dependency on mining and particularly fossil fuels. However, no progress was made on ceasing fossil fuel use and exports during the 47th parliament. The economy lacks the complexity necessary for self-sufficiency on essentials during crises. Australia was also very poorly placed to capitalise on opportunities to diversify industries and increase exports of products embodying renewable energy because it had not applied a price on carbon, a carbon solutions levy or other financial mechanism necessary to drive investment in renewable energy and forms of green manufacturing and industrial production. Australia was also running out of time to ensure Australian producers will have tariff free access to EU markets and can realise a green premium for their products where CBAMs apply.

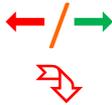
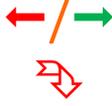
In 2024, no projects in the federal government’s Future Made in Australia (FMIA) initiative were sufficiently advanced either to seize the identified economic opportunities before they disappear or reduce carbon emissions before excessive global heating is locked in. It would be fair to characterise the FMIA as “too little too late” and even in some ways as being in opposition to realisation of the superpower opportunities. The policy settings of 2025 will not transform Australia into a renewable energy superpower before global heating overwhelms the planet and destroys the economic returns that might otherwise have accrued.

Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Deteriorated. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no.” In 2025, the result is the same but Australia has less time to shift successfully from excessive consumption to sustainability and the bandwidth of policy is too narrow – too neoliberal – to help reverse the trend.

Economy 2 – Employment planning industrial reform & industry transition

Summary of progress for success in Our Economy				
Economy 2 – Employment planning, industrial reform & economic transition				
Direction: Australia becomes a model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Econ02.01	Employment – Participation	→	← / →	<p>On balance, yes.</p> <p>In relation to employment: During the period of the 47th parliament, employment prospects for Australians improved significantly. Participation rates improved and the trend of high unemployment, underemployment and underutilisation of labour in the decade to 2022 has been reversed. There was also a significant improvement in the duration of unemployment.</p> <p>In relation to initiatives to achieve full employment: During the 47th parliament, the government released “Working Future”, a white paper on jobs and industries, the main objective of which was to deliver “sustained and inclusive full employment.” The roadmap had some strengths but also a fairly significant weakness in that it was neither linked to nor acknowledged necessary reforms of the welfare system which should be designed to create a fair economy of equal opportunity in Australia based on principles selected by citizens.⁷ Nor was there acknowledgement of the need for income security for all Australians during economic transitions (and for purposes of workforce mobility that suits the preferences, talents and aspirations of Australians) that could be provided via introduction of a universal basic income (UBI).</p>
Econ02.01.01	Employment – Participation rate	→	→	
Econ02.01.02	Employment – Participation rate of 15-64 year-olds	← / →	→	
Econ02.02	Underemployment	→	→	
Econ02.02.01	Underutilisation of the labour force	→	→	
Econ02.03	Duration of unemployment	→	←	
Econ02.03.01	Permanence and casualisation of employment	→	←	
Econ02.03.02	Permanence and casualisation of employment – access to paid leave entitlements	→	←	
Econ02.04	Employment planning – National plan for full employment supported by a universal basic income	→	← / → ↻	
Econ02.04.01	Employment planning – Increasing government sector participation in the economy by a program of expansion of public sector employment in health, aged care, disability services, employment and welfare services, education, housing, conservation and land	→	→	

⁷ For example, those listed for community consideration in the draft [National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing](#) released by ACFP in April 2024.

Summary of progress for success in Our Economy				
Economy 2 – Employment planning, industrial reform & economic transition				
Direction: Australia becomes a model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
	care, renewable energy, buildings efficiency and transport			Short term benefits will arise from the roadmap but its preference for targeted welfare, as opposed to universal income security, will embed inequality and hamper progress with the roadmap itself. For more information on the benefits of income security in creating and maintaining full employment see ACFP’s resources on a universal basic income for all Australians .
Econ02.05	Economic transition funding to drive sector-wide transformations with safety nets – National Economic Transitions Commission			
Econ02.05.01	Economic transition funding to drive sector-wide transformations with safety nets – Coal industry closure			The roadmap doesn’t take Australians towards employment of choice; it takes them toward employment of an employer’s choice. In that form it does not offer net progress towards the Vision for <i>Australia Together</i> and does not offer security through transitions.
Econ02.05.02	Economic transition funding to drive sector-wide transformations with safety nets – Higher education (university) sector recovery and expansion			Prospects for income security and employment of choice are adversely impacted by the federal government’s white paper roadmap and its lack of integration with programs for security and equity. See more below.
<p>In relation to the need for expansion of job opportunities in public sector services: During the 47th parliament the government increased the size of the federal public service by more than 30,000. The three biggest increases were for education and training, public administration and safety, and health care and social assistance.</p> <p>Workforce planning designed specifically to increase direct employment by the government in health, aged care, employment and welfare services, education, housing, conservation and land care, renewable energy, buildings efficiency and transport, was not established as a centralised priority activity. However, there was a significant reversal of the trend of contracting out of public service roles leading to total savings on contractors and consultants of \$4 billion over 3 years and a significant boost to the capacity of the public service. The increase in the size of the public service represented a significant increase in the strength and resilience of the Australian economy. Increases in employment to support health, education, administration and safety, if sustained, will build a people centred economy in Australia where the public interest comes first.</p>				

Summary of progress for success in Our Economy			
Economy 2 – Employment planning, industrial reform & economic transition			
Direction: Australia becomes a model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
	During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
<p>In relation to establishment of a National Economic Transitions Commission: No progress was made on this essential reform during the 47th parliament. Preparation for transitions was more <i>ad hoc</i> and reactive than proactive and, overall, was more likely to result in greater rather than less exposure to risks of war and climate change.</p> <p>In 2025, Australia had no recognised guidance system or principles (such as the National Sustainable Industries Index envisaged under Econ01.04 above or a National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing envisaged under Econ04.02) to aid in the selection of directions for the economy and the most appropriate composition of industries for the future.</p> <p>Between 2022 and 2024, however, some progress was made in relation to fair transition towards a lower carbon economy with the establishment of the Net Zero Economy Authority.</p> <p>The Future Made in Australia package released in 2024 also contained some initiatives to assist transitions, but its potential beneficial effects were counteracted (possibly twice over) by the fact that it proposed excessive expenditures on defence which would significantly weaken the economy in the face of climate change and expose Australia unnecessarily to a greater risk of war.</p> <p>Australia also continued to suffer from a lack of coordination across agencies in establishment of market structures necessary to ensure the resilience of any new economic transformations. Reviews of competition policy did not prioritise a reversal of neoliberal policies and market domination by private monopolies. On the contrary, the government espoused policies that downgraded the potential for public sector involvement in markets to act as an effective and essential brake on any excesses arising from anti-competitive activity by the private sector. The lack of policy favouring an expanded and strong public sector presence in direct competition with private players, particularly in human services, posed a significant threat to efficient and sustainable market structures.⁸</p> <p>Generally, federal government also policy left subsidies and tax arrangements in place that were set to detract from achievements that might be expected from the Net Zero Economy Authority. In 2025, positive steps such as a Net Zero Economy Authority are therefore set to be undermined by other policy settings.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Improved.</p> <p>In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no.”</p> <p>In 2025, the result is a significant improvement. There is considerably more justice in industrial reforms and transitions.</p>			

⁸ For more information see Bronwyn Kelly, [Conversations with Australia’s Treasurer about building an Australian people’s economy](#), Part 3, Conversations about a competitive economy, ACFP, March 2023.

Economy 3 – Equitable improvement in living standards

Summary of progress for success in Our Economy				
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.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Econ03.01	Income inequality	←	←	On balance, yes but the evidence is mixed.
Econ03.01.01	Wealth inequality	→	←	
Econ03.01.02	Distribution of national wealth – corporations versus wage earners	→	←	<p>On income and wealth inequality: Income inequality has been rising since 2003 and appears to have increased quite steeply in 2021/22 to a point that is well above the average of the previous 20 years. No later data are available.</p> <p>Wealth inequality has also been rising since 2003 but appears to have decreased in 2022/23 during the 47th parliament. The average net worth of the top 20% of Australian households is now more than 90 times that of the lowest 20%. In 2020, households in the top 20% had \$3.2 million each in net worth compared to households in the bottom 20% that had just \$35,200. If standards of living are to improve, inequality must be reversed.</p> <p>On the distribution of fair shares of national wealth: 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 went to corporate profits had almost doubled to 30%. This improved a little during the 47th parliament. In 2024, 52.5% of national income went to Australians in wages and the share that went to corporate profits was 29.4%. However, in the five years to March 2024, total</p>
Econ03.02	Distribution of growth in income & wealth – wages growth relative to growth in company profits	→	←	
Econ03.02.01	Distribution of growth in income & wealth – growth in wages (hourly rates of pay) relative to growth in GDP	→	← / →	
Econ03.02.02	Distribution of growth in income & wealth – household disposable income	→	→	
Econ03.02.03	Distribution of growth in income & wealth – net worth of households	← / →	←	
Econ03.02.04	Distribution of growth in income & wealth – earnings for welfare workers	→	→	
Econ03.03	Elimination of poverty	← / →	←	
Econ03.03.01	Elimination of poverty – children	← / →	←	
Econ03.03.02	Elimination of poverty – young people	← / →	←	
Econ03.04	Elimination of hunger	← / →	←	
Econ03.05	Indebtedness – households	← / →	←	
Econ03.06	Perceptions of economic opportunity	←	←	

Summary of progress for success in Our Economy				
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.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Econ03.06.01	Perceptions of economic (class) mobility	→	← / →	<p>corporate profits in Australia rose by 49.2% or an average of 8.6% annually while total paid in wages rose by only 33.0% or an average of 5.9% annually. Over the five years, profits rose at 1.49 times the rate of wages paid. Parity has not been achieved and nor have the shares of wages lost to corporate profits over decades been made up.</p> <p>On household disposable income: During the 47th parliament wages growth exceeded growth in GDP so wage earners were receiving a bigger share of GDP than they had been since 2015. However, between 2022 and 2024, while wages grew on average at 3.5% per annum, the CPI grew on average by 5.7%, resulting in falls in real wages. Wages earners gathered more shares of GDP but had less spending power. In the year to June 2024 real wage growth turned from negative to positive 0.3%.</p> <p>See more below.</p>
Econ03.07	Perceptions of quality of life - prospects for improvement	←	←	
Econ03.07.01	Perceptions of quality of life - prospects for decline	←	←	
Econ03.07.02	Perceptions of quality of life - current financial situation	←	←	
Econ03.08	Perceptions of long term economic/financial prospects – Intergenerational financial security	←	←	
Econ03.08.01	Perceptions of long term economic/financial prospects – Australia's global economic performance	←	←	
Econ03.09	Perceptions of economic inequality (gap between rich and poor) – rejection of growth in poverty and inequality	→	→	

On inequity of opportunity to achieve better living standards: In Australia welfare and care workers are paid substantially less than the average wage. In August 2024, the average weekly earnings of welfare workers were:

- Health and welfare support workers = \$1,414.90;
- Community and personal service workers = \$1,067.20;
- Carers and aides = \$993.50.

In August 2024, the average weekly earnings for Australians were Full time adult ordinary time earnings = \$1,924.60, and Earnings, persons, total = \$1,479.10.

Between 2014 and 2024 the gap between average wages of some welfare workers and average earnings of all workers narrowed. As a proportion of average weekly full time adult earnings, average weekly earnings for:

- Health and welfare support workers rose from 67% in 2014 to 73% in 2022 and then 74% in 2024;
- Community and personal service workers rose from 50% in 2014 to 53% in 2022 and then 55% in 2024;
- Carers and aides rose from 44% in 2014 to 48% in 2022 and then 52% in 2024.

Summary of progress for success in Our Economy

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.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
	During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	

The gap is closing but it is still big. In August 2024, the Australian Government announced a 15% wage increase for early childhood education and care (ECEC) workers to be phased in over two years. Aged care workers also received wage rises of between 2.3% and 13.5% from January 2025.

On elimination of poverty: The Australian government does not measure poverty and did not choose to do so in its new Measuring What Matters Wellbeing Index. This is unacceptable when independent studies have shown that at least 3.3 million Australians live in poverty and that poverty rates have trended upward since 2013, interrupted only during Covid-19 reflecting the effects of the income supports introduced in 2020.

On elimination of hunger: In 2020, Foodbank reported that 28% of Australians experienced food insecurity. Between 2022 and 2024, Foodbank reported an average of 34% experienced food insecurity, although in that same period the proportion of severely food insecure households where adults had not eaten for a whole day almost every month because there was not enough money to buy food fell from 53% to 35%.

On Australia as a land of opportunity: In 2024, 61% 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 74% in 2021, 69% in 2022, and 63% in 2023. Satisfaction with Australia as the land of opportunity has been dropping steadily. There is a consensus that younger generations will be less well off than their parents. In 2022, 72% of Australians surveyed said that when children today in Australia grow up, they will be worse off financially than their parents, an increase from 65% in 2019 and 53% in 2013.

On perceptions of financial prospects for a better quality of life: The proportion of Australians who feel their lives will be much improved in 3 or 4 years has fallen significantly since 2007 (when it was 24%) and continued to fall during the 47th parliament from 11% down to 7%. In 2024, 59% of Australians were satisfied or very satisfied with their financial situation, down from 74% in 2007 and down from a brief period during Covid-19 when as much as 73% reported being satisfied or very satisfied with their financial situation, no doubt due to government stimulus and support. When the support was withdrawn, satisfaction fell.

On optimism about Australia’s economy: Optimism about Australia’s economic prospects in the world fell from 86% in 2009 to 65% in 2019, just before Covid-19. Between 2022 and 2024 it fell further from 62% to 58%.

On the attitudes of Australians to the size of the gap between rich and poor: The percentage of Australians rejecting growth in poverty and inequality is increasing.

In 2024, 84% believed the gap between rich and poor is too large. Australians have continuously perceived and rejected growth in inequality. Over 60% of Australians do not agree that people living on low incomes receive enough financial support. Over 60% also think that government policies have contributed to poverty. 75% think poverty can be solved with the right systems and policies. This has encouraging implications supporting introduction of a universal basic income. And it is a positive reflection on the Australian community’s 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.

Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Improved.

In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no.”

In 2025, fair improvement in living standards was apparent.

Economy 4 – National wealth generation & sharing

Summary of progress for success in Our Economy				
Economy 4 – National wealth generation & sharing				
Direction: Australia becomes a nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Econ04.01	Provisions for welfare – Federal budget	→	← / →	<p>On balance, no.</p> <p>On provisions for the welfare of Australians in the federal budget:</p> <p>In the 20 years to 2022, total government welfare spending almost doubled from \$112.5 billion to \$212.5 billion in real terms, although it remained steady as a proportion of GDP (averaging 9.1% per annum). The federal budget for 2024/25 projected an increase in spending on social security and welfare averaging 4.8% per annum until 2027/28. However, the proportion of the total social security and welfare budget allocated for assistance to Indigenous Australians was only 1.3%, declining to 1% by 2027/28. This compares poorly to the allocations for veterans which were three times the value of those for Indigenous Australians. Both these groups need increased welfare funding but Indigenous groups need significantly more if we are to close the gap in Indigenous disadvantage.</p> <p>The JobSeeker (unemployment) payment remains culpably low. It is among the lowest in the OECD and is a primary cause of poverty. It is a deliberate political choice to impoverish hundreds of thousands of Australians unnecessarily. In 2024, at just \$393 per week, JobSeeker was only 20% of the average wage and only 43% of the minimum wage and 69% of the aged pension. It is impossible to live on especially when housing costs are taken into account. The welfare budget is structured to discriminate heavily against Indigenous</p>
Econ04.01.01	Provisions for welfare – Jobseeker payment	← / →	←	
Econ04.02	National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing – Establishment of a National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing	←	←	
Econ04.02.01	National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing – Revocation of policies restricting government sector participation in Australia’s economy	← / →	←	
Econ04.02.02	National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing – Community engagement on and justification of national budget priorities – participatory budgeting	←	←	
Econ04.02.03	National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing – Community Australia Bank	← / →	←	
Econ04.02.04	National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing – Community engagement on introduction of a universal basic income	←	←	
Econ04.03	Fair & progressive taxation - Restoration of a fair and	← / →	← ↘	

Summary of progress for success in Our Economy				
Economy 4 – National wealth generation & sharing				
Direction: Australia becomes a nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
	progressive taxation system			Australians and the unemployed. Australia can easily afford to stop that sort of cruelty.
Econ04.03.01	Fair & progressive taxation - Transformation of Australia's taxation system consistent with transition to universal income security and universal services security under a National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing	←	←	On establishing a National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing: In 2025, no progress had been made by the federal government on development of an Accord between Australians and their parliaments on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing. There were still no terms of agreement between Australians and governments as to the principles that should govern any decisions that may be made for the purpose of securing wellbeing, equality and a future of safety for all citizens. In the absence of an Accord on Wealth Welfare and Wellbeing, longer term negative trends are apparent in terms of rising inequality and unfair distribution of the burden of taxation and the benefits of public monies. For examples of the growth of unfairness in Australia see especially the sections on Housing and Education. In 2025, the extent to which corporate welfare (eg., subsidies for fossil fuels, private health insurers) outstrips payments for the wellbeing of everyday Australians is appalling. Australians will not be able to build fairness back into their social and economic systems without a National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing.
Econ04.04	Corporate taxation – maintenance of corporate tax contributions	← / →	← / →	
Econ04.04.01	Corporate taxation – Introduction of a corporate cash flow tax, replacing corporate income tax	← / →	← / →	
Econ04.04.02	Corporate taxation – Re-introduction of a corporate super profits tax	←	←	
Econ04.04.03	Corporate taxation – planning for and reporting on closure of corporate tax loopholes	→	← / → ↩	
Econ04.05	Royalties – Mining exports	→	← / →	
Econ04.06	Fossil fuel taxes – gas exports	←	←	
Econ04.07	Electronic financial transactions tax	← / →	← / →	See more below.
<p>On giving Australians more control over how their tax revenues are raised and spent: In 2024, Australia's tax-to-GDP ratio was well below the OECD average and Australia was a low taxing country compared to OECD countries. During the 47th parliament expenditure on the public service increased, which was long overdue, but no progress was made to ensure the Australian community could become more involved in national financial planning (participatory budgeting). Overall, the trends of reform for public sector budgeting, revenue collection, expenditure and distribution have been stagnant.</p>				

Summary of progress for success in Our Economy			
Economy 4 – National wealth generation & sharing			
Direction: Australia becomes a nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
	During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
<p>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. In 2025, the Australian government remains over-reliant on the private sector to deliver programs and is not protecting taxpayer investments in Australia by maintaining public ownership and operation of services and infrastructure. This neoliberalism has resulted in decades of lost returns for the public, declines in the quality of services (eg., aged care) and price increases, especially for electricity and health cover.</p> <p>On a universal basic income (UBI): During the 47th parliament the federal government remained committed to targeted welfare in preference to universal income and services security. This commitment remained despite the fact that a targeted welfare system is more expensive than universal systems, inasmuch as it creates the conditions for increasing poverty and therefore drives up the cost of services. By contrast, universal systems prevent poverty and therefore contain the cost of services, especially in health. The targeted welfare system embeds social and economic inequality into the foundations of society itself. It constitutes a rejection of the “fair go” and equal opportunity. As such, targeted welfare is highly unlikely to take Australia towards the Vision for <i>Australia Together</i>.</p> <p>For more information on the disadvantages of targeted welfare systems, see the answers to questions 20 and 21 in ACFP’s question and answer paper, What is the Strategy in Australia Together for a Universal Basic Income? June 2024.</p> <p>In the decade to 2025, no signals of a predisposition toward universal income security were forthcoming from any government.</p> <p>In 2025, for all its wealth, Australia had not achieved security of either income or services for its people. Refusals by governments to engage with the Australian public regarding the feasibility of a universal basic income effectively denied them the opportunity to establish both universal income and universal services security.</p> <p>On the fairness of taxation: Refusal by governments to engage with Australians regarding a UBI also denied them the opportunity to design and establish a fair taxation system in which service security could be guaranteed. In addition, during the 46th and 47th parliaments, Australia’s income tax system was made more unfair and less progressive by legislated tax cuts. Amendments to the Stage 3 tax cuts in 2024, although they looked fairer, still left substantial tax hikes in place for the low paid. They have baked in increases in taxation for low income earners that will arise from bracket creep.</p> <p>On the adequacy of taxation for service sustainability: In 2025, the Australian government remained committed to taxation settings which were incapable of securing essential services for Australians and affordable access to those services for all. It was prepared to sacrifice services (particularly in housing) and/or limit service provision in pursuit of budget surpluses, no matter the cost to the most vulnerable Australians. It also favoured tax and subsidy policies which heavily incentivise industries causing climate change and thus are bound to negatively impact the wellbeing of Australians.</p> <p>No progress was made in tax reforms that would establish fairness in funding for services, such as the introduction of a tax on all electronic financial transactions – a tax which is known to raise huge funds for services more efficiently and fairly than any other, especially if it were to be implemented in conjunction with a universal basic income.</p>			

Summary of progress for success in Our Economy			
Economy 4 – National wealth generation & sharing			
Direction: Australia becomes a nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
	During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
<p>In November 2024, in the absence of major party support for taxation reform, the independent Member for Wentworth, Allegra Spender, released a green paper on tax. The paper proposed some new principles for taxation reform which supported fair and progressive taxation but did not prioritise wellbeing and the need to fund services necessary for wellbeing. While Ms Spender’s paper is consistent with some aspects of the Vision for <i>Australia Together</i> (eg., in its focus on fairness and progressivity in taxation) the principles developed in the paper are on balance not likely to lead to realisation of the Vision. The green paper has more potential to divert tax revenues away from wellbeing projects and toward maximisation of corporate benefit and private profit.</p> <p>On corporate taxation: During the 47th parliament, no progress was made with introduction of a corporate cash flow tax or a corporate super profits tax. Tax avoidance by major corporates continued to increase with several big companies paying no tax. Professor Ross Garnaut was still arguing for a tax on economic rents to be imposed as a cash flow tax. He stated that with a cash flow tax, “Companies that are innovating and investing at high rates would pay less tax than under current arrangements. Companies that are receiving high rents and not investing much would pay more. The tax is less vulnerable to international tax avoidance than the corporate income tax in its current form.” Professor Garnaut’s assessment shows that if Australia introduced taxes on economic rents via his suggested cash flow tax mechanism, private capital investment would increase but not at the expense of national taxation revenues.</p> <p>In 2024, legislation to establish both a global and domestic minimum tax of 15% for large multinationals was passed. The 15% rate was too low, but it was a positive change in that it should (might) mean multinationals will be unable to pay no tax. However, 15% effectively embeds a tax cut of 50% for these companies. They should be paying 30%.</p> <p>On taxing fossil fuels: No positive progress was made during the 47th parliament to price or tax carbon. In 2024, the federal government introduced reforms to the petroleum resources rent tax (PRRT) that were expected increase tax receipts by \$2.4 billion over the forward estimates from 2023–24. However, exports of LNG based on royalty-free gas were valued at a total of \$149 billion over the previous four years. The programmed increases in PRRT receipts would be around \$800 million per annum but it would be expected that \$150 billion or more worth of gas would still be given away free. Also, in the forward estimates fossil fuel subsidies were projected to increase from \$57 billion to a record \$65 billion. All up, Australians were being made to increase their subsidies to the fossil fuel industry by \$8 billion over three years while clawing back only \$2.4 billion extra in PRRT. Australians weren’t just giving gas away for free, they were being made to pay gas exporters to take it away. They are also being left with the bill for restoration.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Deteriorated. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no.” In 2025, the result is the same. Australia is no closer to becoming a nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.</p>			

Economy 5 – Market regulation & competition policy

Summary of progress for success in Our Economy				
Economy 5 – Market regulation & competition policy				
Direction: Australia becomes a strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Econ05.01	National Competition Policy review	←	←	On balance, no. On National Competition Policy: During the 47 th parliament, the federal government commenced a review of competition laws, policies and institutions. The focus was on merger reform, options for coordinated reform with states and territories, non-compete clauses that restrict workers from shifting to a better-paying job, and providing advice on competition issues raised by new technologies, the net zero transformation and growth in the care economy. Nothing was disclosed to indicate that the government had adopted an agenda to correct the failures over 30 years of the National Competition Policy in relation to excessive privatisation and the anti-competitive measures in the old policy that restrict government participation in the national economy for public benefit. As it had been in the Hilmer and Harper years, the focus in 2023 was still on artificially advantaging the private sector to help it compete rather than on releasing constraints on the public sector so as to recreate a level playing field, maximise returns to taxpayers on their investments in services and minimise the price they then pay for those services when they use them. The weight of policy for competition and for the economy overall was still in favour of private sector domination of the economy unhindered by fair and effective competition from the public sector. The review is quite likely to harm to the public interest.
Econ05.02	Ethical regulation of carbon credits markets	→	← / →	
Econ05.03	Ethical certification and regulatory enforcement of plans by businesses for achievement of net zero carbon emissions by 2033	←	←	

Summary of progress for success in Our Economy

Economy 5 – Market regulation & competition policy
Direction: Australia becomes a strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
	During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
			<p>because it will not lead to reduction of private monopoly power.</p> <p>In 2025, the National Competition Policy continues to stand as one of the largest threats to the shares of our economy that Australians may enjoy and to the economy itself. It is a barrier to re-entry of the public into their own economy.</p> <p>For more information on the failure of Australia’s competition policy and the need for significant reforms to restore the public sector’s capacity to compete on a level playing field see ACFP, the Australia Together Podcast, Series 1 Part 3, Conversations with Australia’s Treasurer about building an Australian people’s economy, March 2023.</p> <p>See more below.</p>

On maintenance of systems enabling Australia to enter new markets in carbon trading: The credibility of Australian Carbon Credit Units (ACCUs) is vital to Australia’s ability to enter lucrative carbon trading markets and avoid carbon border taxes when trading in all sorts of markets. During the 47th parliament, the government made progress in reforms to maintain the credibility of ACCUs but more work is required. A failure in this area will only add to Australia’s trade problems arising from the fact that it does not have a price on carbon and has struggled to establish proper measurement of carbon emissions.

On regulating businesses to achieve net zero carbon emissions: During the 47th parliament, the federal government’s proposals for achievement of net zero emissions were all based broadly on attempts to incentivise businesses to eliminate emissions rather than on regulating them to do it. This was a hangover from the years of neoliberalism from the early 2000s, which had not resulted in a trajectory of emissions reductions consistent with the emissions tonnage requirements necessary for achievement of the temperature obligations of the Paris Agreement (less than 2 degrees of heating and as close as possible to 1.5 degrees). The government compounded the problem by assisting businesses to increase carbon emissions by increasing exports of fossil fuels. While domestic emissions were falling in this period and dropped from 622 MtCO₂-e in 2005 to 465 MtCO₂-e in 2023, emissions from exports (which are much larger than its domestic emissions) almost doubled from 0.7 GtCO₂-e in 2005 to 1.2 GtCO₂-e in 2023. The adverse impact on Australia’s capacity to compete in global markets is inestimable.

There has been a potentially catastrophic failure of all governments since 2000 in their refusals to establish regulations requiring Australian companies to phase out use and export of fossil fuels and utter naivete and

Summary of progress for success in Our Economy			
Economy 5 – Market regulation & competition policy			
Direction: Australia becomes a strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
	During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
<p>state of delusion in the Albanese government in supposing that corporations, business and capital would put the values of Australians “at the forefront of how our economies work” and of their own free will would choose to act responsibly on climate change, especially when there is no carbon price. The failure is even more offensive and injurious to the security of Australians in that vast amounts of profits are not returned to Australia and fossil fuel industries employ only 0.3% of tax paying Australians.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Deteriorated.</p> <p>In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no.”</p> <p>In 2025, the result is the same. Australia does not have sufficiently fair market regulation.</p>			

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.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Econ06.01	Government sector workforce plan and economic participation – Program for recovery of ownership and operation of government trading enterprises	←	←	<p>On balance, no.</p> <p>On government sector business and trading: Between 1990 and 2020 Australian governments divested ownership and/or operations of a vast array of taxpayer-owned assets and services. This transferred 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.</p> <p>In 2025, it was clear from the tenor of Treasurer Chalmers’ essay, “Capitalism After the Crises” and the Labor government’s failure to pursue a competition policy which would reverse the deleterious effects of neoliberalism and re-establish a competitive government sector, that there was no commitment to recovery from excessive privatisation of public services and assets. The government displayed no appetite for direct investment in new government trading enterprises capable of providing positive returns to taxpayers on their invested funds. The preference for boosting private profit at public expense remained dominant.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Deteriorated. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no.” In 2025, the result is the same but worse. Australia has moved further away from being an economy with competitive and profitable public sector participation.</p>
Econ06.01.01	Program for recovery of ownership and operation of government trading enterprises – direct investment of public funds	←	←	
Econ06.01.02	Program for recovery of ownership and operation of government trading enterprises – publication of plans	←	←	

Economy 7 – Science, research, innovation & collaboration

Summary of progress for success in Our Economy				
Economy 7 – Science, research, innovation & collaboration				
Direction: Australia becomes a collaborative intelligent nation.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Econ07.01	Research and Development Expenditure – Increasing public and private investment in R&D	←	←	<p>On balance, no.</p> <p>On investment in research and development: Between 2009 and 2022, business expenditure on R&D (BERD) dropped from 1.37% of GDP to 0.88% of GDP. No later data are available on BERD.</p> <p>During the period of Coalition government from 2015 to 2019, government expenditure on R&D (GOVERD) fell below the average by an average of 5.9% per annum. During the 47th parliament, GOVERD rose to a 15-year high of \$4.344 billion in 2023, but GOVERD as a proportion of GDP remained unchanged between 2021 and 2023 at 0.17%.</p> <p>In 2023, gross expenditure on R&D (government and non-government combined – GERD) was reported as 1.68% of GDP, a fall from 1.8% reported in 2019 and significantly below the OECD average of 2.7%.</p> <p>Australia’s performance in this area is poor, thanks to its private sector.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Nil. No Targets or Strategies for this Direction were included in The State of Australia 2022.</p>

Chapter 6 – Progress by Direction in Our Governance



Governance 1 – Strength of democracy

Summary of progress for success in Our Governance				
Governance 1 – Strength of democracy				
Direction: Australia becomes a proactive participatory democracy.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Gov01.01	Consistency of legislative programs with the Vision for <i>Australia Together</i>	←	←	<p>On balance, no. But we now have the means of reversing this.</p> <p>On legislation that is consistent with <i>Australia Together</i>: Between 2022 and 2024, the Australian government enacted a number of pieces of legislation that will not take Australia towards the Vision for <i>Australia Together</i>. In fact they have potential to fully defeat Australia’s chances of achieving the Vision. This is most noticeable in relation to legislation on climate change, housing, taxation, national security and defence, and corruption prevention.</p> <p>For details of the problems with legislation in these areas see Environment 1 and 2 on climate change, Society 9 on housing, Economy 4 on fairness in taxation, Governance 6 on ethics, and Governance 12 on defence and security.</p> <p>On satisfaction with democracy and Australia’s system of government: In 2023, ANU reported that satisfaction with democracy in Australia declined over the long term from in 81.4% in 2008 to 77% in January 2023 and then fell again to 65.9% in October 2023 during the Voice referendum process. Satisfaction with democracy was at its lowest ebb in Australia during the Coalition governments elected in 2016 (60%) and 2019 (59%).</p>
Gov01.01.01	Strength of democracy	←	←	
Gov01.02	Satisfaction with democracy	←	←	
Gov01.02.01	Satisfaction with Australia’s system of government	←	←	
Gov01.03	Participation in democracy – participation and social justice	→	→	
Gov01.03.01	Participation in democracy – voter turnout	←	←	
Gov01.03.02	Participation in democracy – ability to have a say	→	→	
Gov01.03.03	Participation in democracy – Legislation to lower the voting age to 16 years	←	←	
Gov01.03.04	Cohesion and stability of democracy	←	← / → ↺	
Gov01.04	Constitutional reform – Establishment of The National People’s Voice – Legislation in lieu of the more preferable constitutional enshrinement	←	← ↗	
Gov01.04.01	Constitutional reform – Independent Commission for National Engagement	← / →	←	

Summary of progress for success in Our Governance

Governance 1 – Strength of democracy
Direction: Australia becomes a proactive participatory democracy.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
	and Integrated Planning			Satisfaction with democracy has tended to be higher (almost 10% higher on average) when Labor governments are in power than it does with Coalition governments.
Gov01.05	Skills development in National Integrated Planning & Reporting and community engagement in national long term financial planning – participatory budgeting	← / →	←	<p>In 2024, Edelman reported that “In Australia, no single institution [of democracy – government, business, NGOs, the media] has succeeded in reaching trusted territory for another consecutive year.”</p> <p>The proportion of Australians who do not think the system of government is working well is growing. In the 2024 Scanlon Index of Social Cohesion, it was reported that 45% of adults believe the system of government we have in Australia needs major changes or should be replaced, an increase from 31 per cent in 2020.</p> <p>See more below.</p>

On active participation by Australians in their democracy: Political participation in Australia appeared to increase during the 47th parliament. This typically happens when Australians perceive an increase in social injustice and inequity. On balance, Australians do not appear to be disengaging from political participation. They are increasing their activism. In response, governments are introducing anti-protest laws.

On access to an efficient, effective, ethical, and fair means of participation in democracy: In the period of the 46th and 47th parliaments, Australians also had access to a more positive and efficient means of participation in democracy in the form of National Integrated Planning & Reporting (National IP&R), aided by the creation of the Australia Together National Wellbeing Index (on which this report on The State of Australia 2025 provides results on changes in the Index since 2020) and a long term integrated plan – *Australia Together* – with over 360 Targets and Strategies all aimed at building a cohesive society, a sustainable environment, a fair and resilient economy, and an open and ethical governance system.

In 2025, few Australians had taken advantage of National IP&R but the process was freely available. This report – The State of Australia 2025 – is itself a significant opportunity for Australians to participate more efficiently and far more effectively in their democracy than they have been able to do to date. Use of National IP&R is likely to increase in future and will significantly improve the operation of Australia’s democracy.

On the stability of Australia’s democracy: During the 47th parliament, trust in democracy was eroded somewhat but evidence suggested that Australia’s social cohesion and equality is not yet so broken that

Summary of progress for success in Our Governance			
Governance 1 – Strength of democracy			
Direction: Australia becomes a proactive participatory democracy.			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
	During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
<p>conditions are being set for the sort of democratic upheavals being experienced in America. Still, it could be headed that way if there are further increases in inequality and policies for equitable and affordable access to services and universal income security are not invoked. Strategies to reduce income inequality and gaps in access to education and information will be vital in heading off democratic decline. The outlook for Australians on this point is not encouraging, given the predisposition of the two major political parties of government that is still in favour of neoliberalism with all that it implies about services and income insecurity and a preference to do nothing about rising poverty and inequality.</p> <p>On institutional and planning reforms to give Australians greater say in matters affecting their future: In 2025, the representative system of government in Australia was still designed to shut down the diverse voices of the Australian community, not to give them an orderly means of expressing their will for the future – the sovereign will of the people. The initiatives in <i>Australia Together</i> to create a National People’s Voice and an Independent Commission for National Engagement and Integrated Planning would give Australians an independent and transparent means of assessing the performance of governments in relation to what matters most to Australians, not politicians and corporations. These initiatives were yet to be established, but the processes by which they could be established had been developed and set out in The People’s Constitution: the path to empowerment of Australians in a 21st century democracy.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Some improvement and some deterioration. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no. But we now have the means of reversing this.” In 2025, the result is the same. Australia is not yet a proactive participatory democracy but it has the means to become one.</p>			

Governance 2 – National values & identity

Summary of progress for success in Our Governance				
Governance 2 – National values & identity				
Direction: Australia becomes a nation knowing & affirming decency.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Gov02.01	Pride in Australian culture	←	←	<p>On balance, no. But we now have the means of reversing this.</p> <p>Opinion on what constitutes decency for Australia and Australians remains unconfirmed. Australians have not articulated what they value and stand for as a nation or the purpose for which we wish to come together and stay together as a nation. This presents a significant risk. Our silence increases our vulnerability to divisive political and media campaigns and makes us more likely to enter wars which are not in Australia’s interests, if only because we, as a collective, have not said what those interests are.</p> <p>On our pride in Australian culture: Between 2018 and 2024, the proportion of Australians reporting that they took pride in the Australian way of life and culture “to a great extent”, declined from 43% to 34% while the proportion reporting that they took pride “only slightly or not at all” increased from 13% to 19%. The result suggests a significant increase in dissatisfaction with the Australian way of life, a decrease in agreement or identification with the perceived dominant culture in Australia (which is usually taken to be for fairness and multiculturalism, not monoculture). It also suggests an increase in feelings of social and economic exclusion and a growing susceptibility to divisive and discriminatory politics and lies, none of which is good for social cohesion. Social cohesion has been declining in Australia for over 15 years, as shown</p>
Gov02.02	Satisfaction with national direction	←	←	
Gov02.03	Support for the Vision and Directions of Australia Together - support for the Vision elements	← / →	← / →	
Gov02.03.01	Support for the Vision and Directions of Australia Together - support for the Directions	← / →	← / →	

Summary of progress for success in Our Governance

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

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
	During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
			by the Scanlon Index. Further deterioration is likely in the absence of stated and agreed national values. See more below.

On satisfaction with the national direction: In June 2022, 48% of Australians said that the country was headed in the right direction and 27% said it was headed in the wrong direction. From then on, until December 2024, the proportion who said Australia was headed in the right direction trended downwards to 31% and those who felt Australia was on the wrong track trended upward to 51%. A later survey in January 2025, improved but did not reverse the long term downward trend of dissatisfaction with the direction of the country. A decline in satisfaction with the direction of the nation (to its lowest point in the period of the 47th parliament) was observable after the failure of the referendum on the Indigenous Voice in October 2023, suggesting that many Australians were disappointed with and felt alienated by the outcome.

On support for the Vision for *Australia Together*: In 2025, there is no coherent, stated idea of what Australians want their nation to be and become other than the [Vision and Directions for Australia Together](#). No funds are yet available for statistically valid surveys of the opinion of Australians about the Vision and Directions for *Australia Together*. Therefore ACFP has no data about support for the Vision.

However, awareness of the Vision for *Australia Together* grew throughout the period of the 47th parliament due to ACFP’s expansion of communications via [The State of Australia on Substack](#) and the [Australia Together Podcast](#) as well as media articles and radio interviews. Growth in familiarity with and understanding of the Vision did not result in adverse comment. ACFP is yet to receive any comments suggesting that the Vision for *Australia Together* does not align with the aspirations of Australians for the future and analysis of survey responses about what Australians *don’t* want and *don’t* support in current policies and in their own lives strongly suggests that the Vision does align with their preferences for their future. Because they freely say what they don’t want, it is possible to figure out what they do want and to develop a plan to safely make that a reality.

Australia Together offers Australians a framework to specify their preferred national direction and overcome what is a core weakness in our society that is life threatening for the whole nation. Throughout the 48th parliament, ACFP will seek support within community-based groups for programs assessing support for the Vision and Directions for *Australia Together*.

In 2025, increasing mis- and disinformation as well as AI and quantum computing pose an extraordinary threat to the capacity of Australians to determine what is true and what they want for their future. *Australia Together* and National IP&R give them a means to freely and collectively determine their preferred future rather than have it decreed by politicians and their corporate backers. All is not lost while Australians can organise themselves to use this process. National IP&R may be our only defence against loss of freedoms and control over our future.

Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Deteriorated.

In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, progress is stagnant.”

In 2025, the result is worse. Australians have not articulated their national values, what counts as decency, or their purpose as a nation, but they have the means of reversing this in *Australia Together* and National Integrated Planning & Reporting.

Governance 3 – Human & other rights

Summary of progress for success in Our Governance				
Governance 3 – Human & other rights				
Direction: Australia becomes a nation with avowed rights for all.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Gov03.01	Constitutional reform – A National Agreement on Human Rights and Obligations in the Australian Constitution	←	←	<p>On balance, no.</p> <p>On enshrining rights for Australians in law: During the 47th parliament, Attorney-General Mark Dreyfus commissioned the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Human rights to inquire into Australia’s human rights framework, including whether Australia should have a Human Rights Act. On release of the committee’s report, Dreyfus immediately rejected their recommendation for the introduction of a limited form of Human Rights Act. This paralleled the contempt for parliament displayed by the Defence Minister Richard Marles in squashing any possible reforms that might be suggested by parliamentary committees in relation to war powers reform. Human rights, including the right to reject entry into wars that are not in Australia’s interests, have been dismissed by the Labor government.</p> <p>In the absence of either legislation or constitutional amendments establishing human rights for Australians, governments remain free to disregard the public interest and human rights. This is a very high risk for Australians. This risk is the greater due to the absence of any mention of the need to consider human rights in the Code of Conduct for Ministers.</p> <p>See more below.</p>
Gov03.01.01	Constitutional reform – Nation-wide community engagement for enshrinement of a National Agreement on Human Rights and Obligations in the Constitution	←	←	
Gov03.01.02	Constitutional reform – A National Agreement on Human Rights and Obligations in the Constitution – Rights conferred under international treaties, conventions and covenants	←	←	
Gov03.01.03	Legislated obligation for parliamentarians and members of the executive to swear a Statement of Commitment to the Rights of Future Generations of Australians	←	←	
Gov03.02	Voluntary assisted dying – legislation	→	→	
Gov03.02.01	Constitutional reform – Voluntary assisted dying – rights in the Constitution	← / →	← / →	
Gov03.03	Maintenance of political rights and civil liberties	← / →	←	

Summary of progress for success in Our Governance				
Governance 3 – Human & other rights				
Direction: Australia becomes a nation with avowed rights for all.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Gov03.03.01	Australia's performance on observing and maintaining human rights – civil, political, economic and social	←	← / →	
<p>On Australians' access to human rights: Throughout the 47th parliament, Australia was still in breach of its obligations under international law. It had not complied with the requirement of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (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, and showed every intention of refusing to comply. In 2025, Australia remained the only democracy in the world not to have passed a law directly implementing the ICCPR. The Australian government remained free to breach civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, unrestrained by law.</p> <p>On the commitment of parliaments and governments to the rights of future generations: In 2025, there was no legislated obligation for parliamentarians and members of the executive to swear a statement of any sort of commitment to future generations. A bill put forward by Senator David Pocock to establish acceptance of a duty of care for future generations was dismissed. In 2025, there was little if anything in Australian law that may prevent governments and parliaments from making significant decisions that pose a material risk of harm to future generations or the natural environment and biodiversity. Rejection of Senator Pocock's bill by the senate committee meant that destructive disregard of future generations was confirmed as a deliberate choice, rather than a piece of tacit neglect. It was one of the 47th parliament's worst moments, trashing the rights of children and future generations.</p> <p>On rights to voluntary assisted dying: By June 2024, all states and the Australian Capital Territory had passed legislation creating an assisted suicide and euthanasia scheme for eligible individuals. These laws typically referred to the practices as "voluntary assisted dying". Voluntary euthanasia and assisted dying continued to be unlawful in the Northern Territory. By 2025, no progress had been made to amend the Constitution to confer explicit rights on Australians to determine the circumstances and timing of their own death.</p> <p>On maintenance of human rights in Australia: During the 47th parliament, Australia's scores in international surveys on maintenance of human rights were neutral to negative. In 2024, the Lowy Poll reported that Australians marked the Labor government's report card very hard on "promoting and defending human rights internationally", giving it a score of only 4.9 out of 10. Concern about civil and political rights is increasing.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Deteriorated. In 2022, the result on this Direction was "On balance, no." In 2025, the result is the same but worse. Federal governments have not accepted that Australians have human rights and they have not accepted their obligations to Australians.</p>				

Governance 4 – Constitutional reform

Summary of progress for success in Our Governance				
Governance 4 – Constitutional reform				
Direction: Australia becomes a free, self-governing, modern nation.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Gov04.01	Constitutional reform – Constitutional convention	←	←	<p>On balance, no.</p> <p>On constitutional reform: No progress has been made on evolution of a Constitution fit for 21st century Australian democracy during the 47th Parliament. Australia’s Constitution continues to exclude Australians from any share of power in their own democracy and in particular makes it impossible to hold executive governments to account. If anything, progress on constitutional reform went backwards during the 47th parliament due to the failure of the Voice referendum, the Labor government’s subsequent retreat from its commitment to support a Makarrata Commission, and the government’s rejection of senate committee recommendations for human rights law reform.</p> <p>In 2025, on a society-wide basis, there was also very little recognition of the need for constitutional reform or the threats posed by the 125-year-old Australian Constitution to political freedoms and participation, social inclusion, equality, and independence in sovereignty. Australians continued to be without protection from abuse of many of their rights by the state (the Crown), had not secured the right to vote, and were accorded no voice in their own governance beyond voting. Aside from the means of orderly political participation offered by ACFP’s introduction of National Integrated Planning & Reporting, they had no means of playing a more influential role as political equals in a participatory democracy. They also had been given no opportunity by the government to collaborate on development of a statement of Australian values and as such remained silent on what Australia stands for as a nation and incapable of providing guidance</p>
Gov04.01.01	Constitutional reform – National Collaborative Process for Development of The Australian People’s Constitution	←	←	
Gov04.02	Constitutional reform – Referendum to establish Australia as a Republic	←	←	
Gov04.03	Constitutional reform – A permanent, independent constitutional review commission	←	←	

Summary of progress for success in Our Governance			
Governance 4 – Constitutional reform			
Direction: Australia becomes a free, self-governing, modern nation.			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
	During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
			<p>to governments on the nature of the public interest.</p> <p>Australia’s Constitution was also <u>fully inconsistent with the Vision for Australia Together</u> and it could not be expected that the Vision could be made a reality unless major reforms for a new people’s constitution could be initiated.</p> <p>In November 2023, Australian Community Futures Planning published a proposal for the conduct of a <u>National Collaborative Process for Development of a New Australian Constitution – The Australian People’s Constitution</u>. A <u>seven-step program for the convention</u> was proposed and updates are available at https://www.austcfp.com.au/collaborative-constitutional-convention</p> <p>For more detailed information on how Australia’s Constitution needs to be reformed and why, see ACFP, the Australia Together Podcast, <u>Saving Australian democracy and sovereignty by building a new Constitution</u>, November 2023.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Deteriorated.</p> <p>In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no.”</p> <p>In 2025, the result is the same but worse. Australia remains on the precipice of collapse of its cohesion as a democratic nation due to its out of date Constitution. For more evidence, see <u>The People’s Constitution: the path to empowerment of Australians in a 21st century democracy</u>, by ACFP’s founder Bronwyn Kelly.</p>

Governance 5 – Transparency, openness & accountability

Summary of progress for success in Our Governance				
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		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Gov05.01	Trust in federal parliaments	←	→	On balance, no. On our trust in parliaments and governments: Between 2021 and 2024, trust in federal, state and territory parliaments and governments declined. After the withdrawal of fiscal stimulus (JobSeeker and JobKeeper) in 2021, trust fell substantially. The brief increase in trust in the federal parliament during the Covid-19 pandemic constituted a brief interruption in low levels of trust for governments in Australia over the longer term. Parliaments and governments could benefit from realising that when they spend public funds on the public, trust in them goes up.
Gov05.01.01	Trust in state and territory parliaments	←	← / →	
Gov05.01.02	Trust in elected local governments (councils)	← / →	← / →	
Gov05.01.03	Trust in federal governments	←	→	
Gov05.01.04	Trust in state and territory governments	←	← / →	
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	←	←	On the impact of national security policy and legislation on freedoms and transparency: Since 2019 there has been no progress with establishing a Royal Commission into national security legislation and its impact on key safeguards for Australia's democracy. But between 2016 and 2024 the Independent National Security Legislation Monitor (INSLM) conducted reviews of 12 aspects of national security laws, the most recent of which concentrated on secrecy provisions in legislation. The government was not obliged to and did not accept all of the recommendations. Secrecy remains the default position of the government as evidenced by the defence minister Richard Marles' squashing of any possible reforms that might be suggested by parliamentary committees in relation to war powers reform. In
Gov05.02.01	Openness and accountability of governments - Protection of whistleblowers making genuine public interest disclosures	←	←	
Gov05.02.02	Establishment of a National Independent Whistleblower Protection Authority	←	←	
Gov05.02.03	Legislation prohibiting failure to disclose findings of risk assessments and inquiries identifying security and safety	←	←	

Summary of progress for success in Our Governance				
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		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
	threats to Australia and its people			2023, the Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade (JSCFADT) released the final report from its Inquiry into international armed conflict decision making, the recommendations of which the government accepted (indeed, dictated ⁹). This report had the effect of obliterating transparency in national security matters and information, insofar as transparency may be necessary to safeguard democracy and human rights. In 2025, it is impossible to know when the executive government is or is not acting in the public interest in committing Australian armed forces to war. See more below.
Gov05.03	Security of funding for open and accountable governance	← / →	← / →	
Gov05.04	Transparency in lobbying, gifts and donations – Real-time disclosure	←	←	
Gov05.04.01	Transparency in lobbying, gifts and donations – Prohibition of gifts to politicians and public officials	←	←	
Gov05.05	Post-separation employment of politicians – stopping the revolving door	←	←	

On protection of whistleblowers: Between 2019 and 2025, federal governments persisted with a range of prosecutions and potential prosecutions of whistleblowers who had made public interest disclosures, including proceedings against various citizens. In each case, it was the whistleblower that was on trial for disclosing the potential breaches of law by the Australian government and its representatives, rather than the government itself. The breaches themselves were not denied by the governments. Whistleblowers were largely acknowledged in civil society and the media as being on trial for disclosing the truth.

In 2023, the Labor government successfully argued in the ACT Supreme Court that the public interest could not be used as a defence in prosecutions of certain whistleblowers. Injustice became embedded in Australia’s legal system for people making public interest disclosures.

In 2025, no legislation had been introduced to strengthen protections for whistleblowers making genuine public interest disclosures or for those receiving the disclosures. Civil society and media groups were unanimous in complaints about the chilling effect on transparency and government accountability. Nor had the government done anything to introduce a limited framework for external disclosures of intelligence information or limit the scope of “intelligence information” insofar as it includes information relating to law enforcement. In its rejection of some of the recommendations of the INSLM’s review of secrecy provisions in the criminal code, it determined to maintain or toughen penalties for public interest disclosures of national security information (including breaches) by public servants, regardless of the public interest.

⁹ In letters on the considerations of the JSCFADT, Deputy Prime Minister Richard Marles did not even give the committee a chance to consider the issue before he instructed that the existing arrangements whereby governments can commit Australia to war without parliamentary authorisation should “not be disturbed”. As The Guardian reported: “Marles told the committee conducting the review that under the existing system, decisions about the deployment of the Australian defence force into international armed conflicts were ‘within the prerogative powers of the executive’. ... ‘I am firmly of the view that these arrangements are appropriate and should not be disturbed,’ he wrote.” Daniel Hurst, [“Australia’s defence minister advises against giving parliament veto over military deployments”](#), The Guardian, 10 October 2022.

Summary of progress for success in Our Governance			
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		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
	During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
<p>On the government’s failure to disclose information vital to public safety: In 2025, Australian governments still had no legislative obligation to disclose findings of risk assessments and inquiries identifying security and safety threats to Australia and its people. The government had not released the suppressed ONI report on security threats posed by the climate crisis. The preference of the government for secrecy and exclusion in relation to the existential threats of climate change and war constituted a major risk for Australia.</p>			
<p>On maintenance of funding for agencies essential to open and accountable governance and vital information: In 2025, funding for the ABC, ABS, ANAO, and OAIC was still precarious and therefore vulnerable to political interference. Budget allocations for these agencies improved during the 47th parliament but for short periods only. No legislated floor or floor increase had been established for these essential components of democracy. Real budget cuts were still being foreshadowed in the case of the ABS and the OAIC. These essential agencies are still highly vulnerable to political pressure. Their independence is essential to democracy and it is not yet assured.</p>			
<p>On transparency in lobbying, gifts and donations: In 2025, no progress had been made in federal parliament to improve transparency on lobbying, gifts or real time donations, although several independent and Greens party members proposed bills on this and related matters.</p>			
<p>On 18 November 2024, the federal government introduced the Electoral Legislation Amendment (Electoral Reform) Bill 2024 and attempted to push the 200-page bill through without community engagement, resulting in complaints that the government was “trying to entrench its incumbency and reduce competition in our democracy,” and that “The changes would significantly benefit Labor and the Coalition, giving them a huge financial advantage over independents and minor party candidates seeking a seat in the Australian Parliament.”</p>			
<p>In 2023 and 2024, the Labor government used parliamentary procedure to prevent debate of alternative and fairer bills put forward by independents and the Greens on the crossbenches. The manipulation of the process of parliamentary debate militated against fair reform of donations and transparency for voters in selection of the best system of democratic election funding and corruption prevention.</p>			
<p>On prevention of corruption in post-separation employment – stopping the revolving door: Post-separation employment offers to politicians are bribes. In 2025, no progress had been made to tighten standards preventing former federal ministers from employment in lobbying in areas where they have had a ministerial responsibility. The standards remained weak and unenforceable. In 2024, the independent MP Monique Ryan introduced the Lobbying (Improving Government Honesty and Trust) Bill 2024, intended to stop the revolving door.</p>			
<p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Deteriorated seriously.</p> <p>In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no.”</p> <p>In 2025, the result is the same but worse. This result amounts to one of serious danger for democracy, transparency, government accountability, and prevention of abuse by the state in Australia. It threatens to be a forerunner of a Trumpian Australia.</p>			

Governance 6 – Government ethics

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 preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Gov06.01	Perceptions of corruption	← / →	←	<p>On balance, no.</p> <p>On perceptions of corruption: Since 2012, Australia has displayed a consistent pattern of decline in perceptions of corruption and this was not reversed during the 47th parliament. In 2024, Transparency International stated that “Australia’s corruption fight remains at a crossroads. ... Australia has maintained its score from last year but still lags woefully behind where we were (85/100) just a decade ago. If we are to continue to climb back up the ladder, anti-corruption reform must be a priority for the Albanese Government in 2024.” In 2024, the Albanese government did not achieve corruption and transparency reforms. Instead it enabled more secrecy than transparency by establishing a Nation Anti-Corruption Commission that was not required to hold public hearings.</p> <p>See more below.</p>
Gov06.02	Trust in leaders' conduct – parliamentarians	← / →	←	
Gov06.02.01	Trust in leaders' conduct – executive governments	←	→	
Gov06.03	Binding code of ethics and conduct for federal parliamentarians	← / →	←	
Gov06.03.01	Compulsory and satisfactory completion of training in ethics and proof of competency in permissible voting practice for parliamentarians	← / →	← / →	
Gov06.04	Federal independent commission against corruption	←	← ↘	
<p>On ethical standards for governments: In 2025, federal parliamentarians were obliged to act in accordance with a “code of behaviour”. This code was merely a workplace behaviour code. It was not binding and it did not require conformance to specified standards of ethics. A code of conduct for ministers was general in its application, requiring ministers (not other members) to act with integrity and fairness, accept accountability and responsibility, and act in what <i>they regard</i> as the public interest.</p> <p>In 2024, the Australian parliament had not adopted an enforceable code of ethics updated with standards applicable for the 2020s. It retained the Lobbying Code of Conduct and a ministerial code first published in 2007, both of which were worded so broadly in relation to ethics that breaches are barely possible and none have been found (at least by the prime ministers in charge of the codes). Moreover, if a genuine breach were to be discovered, nothing would probably happen because no part of the code sets out penalties. Effectively under the current codes a minister has to commit, and be known to have committed, a serious criminal offence before any action might be taken.</p> <p>The lack of a code of ethics for government and parliamentary members is likely to be linked to and causal of falls in trust in governments and political systems. Cases of state capture by corporates that skew decision making in directions contrary to the public interest are abundantly evident, for example in the case of</p>				

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 preferred destination?
	During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
<p>support for mining and fossil fuels and most recently in the case of the Labor government’s refusal to ban gambling advertising because it will affect media companies’ advertising revenues.</p> <p>On the National Anti-Corruption Commission (NACC): In 2022, the Australian parliament established a National Anti-Corruption Commission that could not achieve transparency in investigation of corruption and seemed more likely to be inherently susceptible to corruption itself due to its poor design. In 2024, the Commissioner was found to have engaged in officer misconduct as defined in section 184(3) of the NACC Act – basically for having declared a conflict of interest but in continuing to participate in the investigation. The NACC legislation simply established another institution capable of protecting governments from oversight.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Deteriorated.</p> <p>In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no”.</p> <p>In 2025, the result is the same but worse. What should have been a positive for transparency, corruption prevention and trust (the NACC) has embedded a more secretive institution prone by its legislation towards cover-ups.</p>			

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.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Gov07.01	Trust in the public service	←	← / →	On balance, yes.
Gov07.02	Satisfaction with the public service - federal and state	← / →	← / →	<p>On trust in and satisfaction with the public service: Between September 2022 and December 2023, trust in the Commonwealth public service fell from 53% to 39% according to the Essential Report. However, in 2024, the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet said that 58% of Australians have confidence in government services across the country and said, “This marks the third consecutive year of stable trust levels.”</p>
Gov07.02.01	Satisfaction with the public service - Commonwealth	→	← / →	<p>On reform of the federal public service: In October 2022, the Labor government announced a reform agenda for the Australian public service (APS). It included four priority areas for an APS that “embodies integrity in everything it does, puts people and business at the centre of policy and services, is a model employer, and has the capability to do its job well.” In 2024, the government released a report on progress which was positive and stated that Australia performed above the OECD average on a range of indicators. “68% are satisfied with the administrative services they used,” and 64% find it likely that their application for government benefits would be treated fairly, compared to the OECD average of 52%.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Improved somewhat. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, yes.” In 2025, the result is the same but better in terms of the quality of service from the APS.</p>

Governance 8 – Electoral system & funding reform

Summary of progress for success in Our Governance				
Governance 8 – Electoral system & funding reform				
Direction: Australia becomes protected from undue sectional influence in elections.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Gov08.01	Truth in advertising – legislative program	← / →	←	<p>On balance, no.</p> <p>On truth in political advertising: In 2024, despite a number of bills by independent members and Greens party members to legislate truth in political advertising, no law reform had occurred. In November 2024, the Labor government submitted the Electoral Legislation Amendment (Electoral Communications) Bill 2024, to establish new civil penalty provisions to prohibit lies in political advertising. In January 2025, the bill had not been passed.</p> <p>On electoral funding reform: On 18 November 2024, the federal government introduced the Electoral Legislation Amendment (Electoral Reform) Bill 2024 and attempted to push the 200-page bill through without community engagement. The hurried passage of the legislation was stalled when a breakdown occurred in talks between the government and the Coalition opposition parties with neither happy about the amount they might get in donations. In 2023 and 2024, the Labor government used parliamentary procedure to prevent debate of alternative and fairer bills put forward by independents and the Greens on the crossbenches.</p> <p>In 2024, the Labor government’s proposed legislation did not promote fairness in elections or “one vote = one value”. The bill was more likely to militate against, equal suffrage and political equality for electors, and failed to eliminate the influence of corporate money and wealthy donors in elections. In</p>
Gov08.02	Constitutional reform – community engagement on electoral funding reform	←	←	
Gov08.02.01	Electoral funding and expenditure reform – prohibition and/or regulation of permissible donations to political parties and candidates	←	←	
Gov08.02.02	Electoral funding and expenditure reform – imposition of spending caps for political parties, candidates and associated entities (“third parties”) in elections	←	←	
Gov08.02.03	Electoral funding and expenditure reform – protection of democracy through introduction of equitable taxpayer funding for elections	←	←	

Summary of progress for success in Our Governance				
Governance 8 – Electoral system & funding reform				
Direction: Australia becomes protected from undue sectional influence in elections.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
				<p>particular the bill would reduce the capacity of new independent candidates to enter electoral competitions. Election spending caps contemplated in the bill were less restrictive for political parties than they were for independent candidates and access to public funding was inequitable. Only incumbents would benefit, not new candidates.</p> <p>Between late November 2024 and mid January 2025, over 31,000 people signed a petition calling on the government to immediately establish a parliamentary inquiry, with public hearings, to assess the proposed changes to Australia’s electoral laws before major changes to Australian electoral law are put to Parliament for a vote.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Deteriorated somewhat. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no.” In 2025, the result is the same but somewhat worse due to time wasting and the likelihood that legislation may be passed which will reduce electoral equality for candidates and provide no equality for the electors. Australia is a nation without equal suffrage.</p>

Governance 9 – Corporate & NGO responsibility

Summary of progress for success in Our Governance				
Governance 9 – Corporate & NGO responsibility				
Direction: Australia becomes a nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Gov09.01	Trust in NGOs	←	→	On balance, no. On trust in institutions of government, business, NGOs and the media: In 2024, Edelman reported that “In Australia, no single institution has succeeded in reaching trusted territory for another consecutive year.” However, other surveys by Essential suggest that although trust is low in local, state and federal government it was still higher in 2024 than it was for international corporations. Only 24% of Australians trusted international corporations. 76% did not. Between October 2021 and December 2023, Essential reported declines in trust in: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> scientific bodies – 68% down to 58%; universities – 59% down to 51%; state and federal health authorities – 64% down to 47%; police, courts and the justice system – 61% down to 47%; Commonwealth public service – 52% down to 39%; State or territory parliaments – 55% down to 36%; and federal parliament – 48% down to 34%. See more below.
Gov09.01.01	Trust in private institutions and public institutions	←	←	
Gov09.02	Trust in corporates	←	→	
Gov09.02.01	Trust in corporates – perceptions of corporate versus worker power balance	← / →	←	
Gov09.03	Prohibition of rent-seeking by for-profit companies in certain community services	←	←	
Gov09.04	Prohibition of government contracts to private sector companies that do not have certified plans to achieve net zero carbon emissions by 2033	←	←	
Gov09.05	Regulation of corporate misconduct – Reform of the Australian Securities and Investments Commission (ASIC)	← / →	← / →	
<p>On perceptions of corporate versus worker power imbalance: In 2022, 74% of Australians said, “big business has too much power.” Only 40% of Australians said, “unions have too much power.” A large majority of Australians think business has too much power and unions do not have too much. The power imbalance is perceived to be heavily in favour of corporates.</p> <p>On limiting corporate power in profiting contrary to the public interest: In 2025, the government was heavily predisposed to direct funding, subsidies and tax breaks to private businesses and through that means</p>				

Summary of progress for success in Our Governance			
Governance 9 – Corporate & NGO responsibility			
Direction: Australia becomes a nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
	During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
<p>continued “trying to make the market work for the various social ends that it [was] seeking”. This had not resulted in noticeably improved satisfaction with services or increased acceptance of responsibility for costs and harmful outcomes by businesses. The government made no effective attempt to impose taxes on resource rents, see Econ04.04. During the 47th parliament it couldn’t even see its way clear to implementing the relatively simple approach of withholding government contracts from businesses that do not have certified plans to achieve net zero carbon emissions by 2033. Instead they introduced “reforms” which would do nothing more than make some businesses and financial institutions more transparent about the investments they have made in destruction of a sustainable environment and give governments warning about whether a financial bail-out may be required. The “reform” does not stop these investments from being made in the first place.</p> <p>See also Econ01.04, Econ05.03, Econ06.01, Econ06.01.01 for more information on the failure of these neoliberal approaches to economic management.</p> <p>From around the year 2000 onward, there was a potentially catastrophic failure of successive governments to protect Australians from climate change through responsible regulation of businesses. Their refusals to establish regulations requiring Australian companies to phase out use and export of fossil fuels constituted the highest irresponsibility. It would have been so easy to implement regulatory strategies to transition Australia safely to a carbon free economy, and yet they did not.</p> <p>The failure is even more offensive and injurious to the security of Australians in that vast amounts of profits are not returned to Australia and fossil fuel industries employ only 0.3% of tax paying Australians.</p> <p>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. Corporate greed is out of control in Australia.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Deteriorated.</p> <p>In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, yes for NGOs. On balance, no for corporates.” In 2025, the result is a move away from the preferred destination. The government’s persistent reliance on neoliberalism is structurally incapable of delivering security of essential services for the Australian community. As such, it is incapable of making the Vision for <i>Australia Together</i> a reality.</p>			

Governance 10 – Free communications policy & regulation

Summary of progress for success in Our Governance				
Governance 10 – Free communications policy & regulation				
Direction: Australia becomes a guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Gov10.01	Trust in the media	←	← / →	On balance, no.
Gov10.01.01	Trust in news media and journalism – effectiveness of self-regulation	← / →	←	On trust in the media: In 2021, 51% of the general population said they trusted the media. In 2022, trust in the media fell back to 43%, then to 38% in 2023 and 40% in 2024. At no time since 2012 has the media been rated as a “trusted” ¹⁰ institution by Australians.
Gov10.01.02	Trust in social media – effectiveness of self-regulation	← / →	←	
Gov10.02	Regulation of an ethical, democratic information market – Development of a national regulatory framework for an ethical, democratic information market	← / →	←	In 2024, survey data published by Essential suggests Australians trusted traditional media more than social media. 24% of Australians said they had no trust at all in traditional media. 52% said they had no trust at all in social media.
Gov10.03	Regulation and codes of ethical conduct for news media and social media – a Independent regulation of compliance with a code of ethical conduct by publishers and social media – development of a model Code	← / →	←	On establishing and regulating an ethical democratic information market: In 2025, no substantive progress had been made in establishing a regulatory framework for an ethical, democratic information market. Nor had there been a commitment to collaborative community engagement on options for the design of a democratic information market fit to handle the challenges to truth, ethics, community safety and fairly competitive markets, arising from the digital age.
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	← / →	←	In 2024, the Labor government had attempted to address some of the problems arising from information and news media market concentration by introducing its Communications Legislation Amendment (Combatting

¹⁰ In the Edelman Trust Barometer, “trust” ratings are only awarded when scores reach 61% or above.

Summary of progress for success in Our Governance			
Governance 10 – Free communications policy & regulation			
Direction: Australia becomes a guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
	During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
			<p>Misinformation and Disinformation) Bill 2024. This bill proposed to establish a scheme by which the Australian Communications and Media Authority may require digital communications platform providers to regulate misinformation and disinformation on their platforms. The bill failed to gain support and was withdrawn. Information markets in Australia are not properly regulated for the purpose of promotion of truth. Nor will they be with legislation that allows social media platform operators to decide what is false and harmful.</p> <p>In 2025, news media market concentration remained unchallenged as did the power of digital platform operators to distribute mis- and disinformation on their platforms.</p> <p>In 2025, no specific acknowledgement had been forthcoming from the federal government of the need to design an <i>integrated</i> regulatory framework suitable for an information market in the digital age, despite the fact that a Senate Committee Inquiry into Media Diversity in Australia had concluded in 2021 that the regulatory framework for news media is not fit for purpose, especially in prevention of the spread of misinformation. The Senate Committee noted that in the last decade “no progress has been made on updating Australia’s out of date media regulation system”.</p> <p>See more below.</p>

Summary of progress for success in Our Governance			
Governance 10 – Free communications policy & regulation			
Direction: Australia becomes a guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
	During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
<p>On self-regulation of news media and improving the quality of journalism: In 2025, no change had been made to the Australian Press Council Statement of General Principles, compared to 2014. Self-regulation systems for news media had no more capacity to regulate journalists and journalism than they had in 2014.</p> <p>On self-regulation of social media: During the 47th parliament, despite a 2021 Senate Committee’s acknowledgement that self-regulation of both news and social media is no longer effective, no progress was made with establishment of an independent “platform-neutral single news regulator.” Nor was there any regular monitoring of either performance or perceptions of performance by social media and online news in ethical information dissemination.</p> <p>On strengthening regulation of news and social media for purposes of truth: During the 47th parliament the Labor government’s bill for combatting misinformation and disinformation failed. The bill allowed the digital platform operators to select their own approach to managing (and assessing the risk of harm arising from) misinformation and disinformation on their platforms, rather than stipulating the processes by which they must prevent the spread of mis- and disinformation in order to retain a licence to operate and avoid civil and criminal penalties for any harm caused. The legislation did not offer a platform-neutral model Code of Conduct with binding standards for news media on ethics in production and publication of journalistic content, and for social media on practice in management of misinformation and disinformation on their platforms. As the Australian Human Rights Commission pointed out, had it passed it would have also increased the power of digital platform operators to opportunistically label any information as “misinformation” or “disinformation” and thereby to “delegitimise alternative opinions, and limit open discussion about issues of public importance.” The risks to democracy would be heightened, not lessened.</p> <p>The bill attempted to widen ACMA’s powers and increase penalties for certain breaches, but it did so without applying sufficient safeguards for freedom of expression.</p> <p>In 2025, the regulatory environment for news and social media was no stronger than it was when a Senate Inquiry held in 2021 found that “the current regulatory environment for news media is weak, fragmented, and inconsistent. As a result, large media organisations have become so powerful and unchecked that they have developed corporate cultures that consider themselves beyond the existing accountability framework.”</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Deteriorated. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no”. In 2025, the result is the same but worse. Attempts to improve accountability for truthful reporting in news and social media were misguided and all failed.</p>			

Governance 11 – International participation & global justice

Summary of progress for success in Our Governance				
Governance 11 – International participation & global justice				
Direction: Australia becomes a just & cooperative participant on the global stage.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Gov11.01	Participation in international cooperative forums	←	←	<p>On balance, no.</p> <p>On participation in the United Nations: In 2025, Australia was one of 14 markets globally which neither trusted nor distrusted the United Nations. Since 2018 Australia’s trust in the United Nations has fluctuated between 60% and 52% but has never entered trusting territory – strange for a nation that was a key player in establishing the UN. Developing countries and countries with low inequality (the Nordic countries) tend to trust the UN more than developed countries.</p> <p>In relation to global cooperation for sustainable and equitable world development: In 2025, Australia remains one of the least cooperative countries in the world in terms of attempts to mitigate the impacts of its development on other nations attempting to meet the UN Sustainable Development Goals.</p> <p>See more below.</p>
Gov11.02	International cooperation for global sustainability	← / →	←	
Gov11.03	Protection of refugees seeking asylum	←	←	
Gov11.04	Strategic planning for humanitarian aid and global adaptation in response to climate change	→	←	
Gov11.05	Earth Systems Treaty – Proposal for establishment in international law	← / →	←	
Gov11.05.01	Earth Systems Treaty – Promotion in Australia	← / →	←	
<p>On Australia’s role as a responsible international citizen: During the 47th parliament, Australia continued to disregard international laws and covenants protecting refugees and continued to impose unnecessary expenses on Australians for detention of migrants and displaced persons. In January 2025, Human Rights Watch released its World Report 2025. The report was particularly critical of Australia’s human rights record for refugees.</p> <p>National Justice Project CEO Adjunct Professor George Newhouse called the report “a damning indictment of the way refugees and First Nations people, particularly children, have been used as a political football over too many years.” In November, the parliament made matters worse by passing new laws that grant the government authority to pay third-party countries to accept non-citizens, including recognized refugees, seek jail time for those who resist deportation, and ban phones from detention centres.</p> <p>On an Earth System Treaty: In 2025, the Australian government had developed no proposal to submit an Earth System Treaty to the United Nations. In 2024, community-led initiatives at the global level included a</p>				

Summary of progress for success in Our Governance			
Governance 11 – International participation & global justice			
Direction: Australia becomes a just & cooperative participant on the global stage.			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
	During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
<p>Roundtable on the Human Future, which covered a proposal to strengthen global governance by creating a People’s Assembly within the United Nations and an Earth System Treaty at the United Nations. The UN also convened a Summit of the Future which resulted in development of a Pact for the Future. The Pact was affirmed by all 193 member nations.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Deteriorated somewhat.</p> <p>In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no.”</p> <p>In 2025, the result is the same but somewhat worse due mainly to some cruel new laws on refugees and a general reticence to uphold human rights.</p>			

Governance 12 – Peace & security

Summary of progress for success in Our Governance				
Governance 12 – Peace & security				
Direction: Australia becomes a nation assured of enduring peace.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Gov12.01	Australian involvement in military operations	←	←	<p>On balance, no.</p> <p>On Australia’s orientation towards war rather than peace: During the 47th parliament, Australia continued to participate in wars against countries that had not attacked Australia, including through provision of military personnel and weapons. Australia retained its aggressive stance in defence, including by continuing its involvement in aggressive operations aimed at containment of China.</p> <p>However, Australians themselves continue to support neutral postures. In the 2023 Lowy Poll, in relation to a military conflict between China and the US, a majority of Australians preferred a passive, neutral response. 56% said “Australia should remain neutral” and 51% said Australia should “place more importance on a stable relationship with China than working with allies to deter China’s use of military force”. 75% of those polled said “Australia’s alliance with the United States makes it more likely Australia will be drawn into a war in Asia that would not be in Australia’s interests.” There is little appetite for confrontation and aggression with China, and a substantial appetite for sound relationship management to avert war. Australians recognise that a war with China would not be in their interests.</p>
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	←	←	
Gov12.01.03	Government readiness for an independent defence capability versus dependence on the US alliance	←	←	
Gov12.01.04	Promotion of peace in a multipolar world – Championship of peace at home and abroad	←	←	
Gov12.01.05	Promotion of peace and economic cooperation in a multipolar world – Planning for transition to peaceful cooperation for economic prosperity in a multipolar world	←	←	
Gov12.02	Arms control – Prohibition of weapons exports	←	←	
Gov12.02.01	Arms control – Ratification of and conformance with the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW)	←	←	
Gov12.03	Prohibition of funding of public institutions and officials by foreign owned or domestically	←	←	

Summary of progress for success in Our Governance				
Governance 12 – Peace & security				
Direction: Australia becomes a nation assured of enduring peace.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
	owned/operated arms dealers or manufacturers			<p>dependence on the US alliance: Between 2021 and 2022, support for the US alliance rose 9 percentage points from 78% to 87%, then fell again to 82% in 2023 and 83% in 2024. War mongering by Canberra hawks was very effective in 2022, despite the fact that 77% of those polled in 2022 also said “Australia’s alliance with the United States makes it more likely Australia will be drawn into a war in Asia that would not be in Australia’s interests.” While support for the US alliance remained high from 2020 onwards, Australia’s capacity to develop an independent defence capability and independence in sovereignty declined significantly. Between 2020 and 2024, Australia’s defence planning and its handling of the US alliance detracted significantly from the preferences expressed by Australians for peace and security during the IPAN People’s Inquiry, the ability of the parliament to consider defence strategies and decisions on war, and Australia’s capacity to develop strategies arcing towards neutrality, disarmament and peace. Defence policy was at odds with the preferences of the majority of Australians and was putting Australians in danger.</p> <p>See more below.</p>
Gov12.04	Defence, diplomacy and security policy - Integrated Strategy for Defence, Diplomacy and Security	←	←	
Gov12.04.01	Defence, diplomacy and security policy - Green Paper and community engagement to define Australia’s Strategic Interests in Territorial Sovereign Defence	←	←	
Gov12.04.02	Defence, diplomacy and security policy - Adoption of a legally binding commitment to neutrality for Australia in international confrontations between major powers (such as the USA, China and Russia)	←	←	
Gov12.04.03	National plan for safe withdrawal from activities, agreements and alliances inhibiting sovereign independence and peace	←	←	
Gov12.05	Development of the capacity of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) and abolition of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI)	←	←	
Gov12.06	Constitutional reform – Parliamentary supremacy in	←	←	

Summary of progress for success in Our Governance				
Governance 12 – Peace & security				
Direction: Australia becomes a nation assured of enduring peace.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	Direction of movement from the baseline			Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
	During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term		
	decisions on entry into war			
<p>On government readiness for an independent defence capability versus dependence on the US alliance: Between 2022 and 2025, reforms by the Australian government in defence and foreign policy did not project the country towards an independent defence capability. Nor did it project Australia towards fulfilment of the needs of Australians as expressed in the IPAN-led People’s Inquiry. Defence and foreign policy did not accord with at least seven recommendations of the people-led inquiry. During the 46th and 47th parliaments, government readiness for an independent defence capability declined substantially and dependence on the US alliance increased substantially leaving Australia in a high risk position for defence and exposed to be drawn into wars which are not in Australia’s interests.</p> <p>On championship of peace: During the 46th and 47th parliaments, the prominence of a discourse for war (which reached a frenzied height in the “Red Alert” series by the Sydney Morning Herald in 2023) has successfully bitten into the consciousness of Australians, to the detriment of our prospects for peace. Research in 2022 which showed that Australians were more frightened of China than were the Taiwanese, demonstrated that the warmongering discourse had been extraordinarily successful. No progress has been made since 2019 in establishing a more prominent discourse for securing international peace, relative to the discourse for war. In particular the Australian parliament and government has shown no commitment to the 12 actions to achieve more effective multilateral action for peace specified in the United Nations New Agenda for Peace 2023. In 2025, a discourse for war based on lies, unsubstantiated fearmongering and misinformation remained dominant in defence and foreign policy and continued to trouble and instil fear in Australians. However, community-led programs for peace, such as those by the Independent and Peaceful Australia Network (IPAN), continued to champion a discourse for peace.</p> <p>On promotion of peace and economic cooperation in a multipolar world: In 2025, the Australian government displayed no apparent recognition of the need to develop a response to the rise of multipolar economic blocs in the global south, much less a need to seek a new and realistic basis for its choices in international relations in a multipolar world. Foreign policy did not openly contemplate scenarios of continued military failure by the United States or the possible consequences for Australia of further involvement in US-led wars and further deterioration of democracy in America. The US Congress had acknowledged that with its current capability it can’t win in global conflicts and yet Australian foreign policy and defence was still shackled to dependence on a hegemonic power that had admitted incapability in military conflicts. The risk exposure for Australia was very high, especially since Australia had not developed a capacity to independently defend itself. Nor was it evident that an ongoing, transparent planning process and plan had been developed that would enable Australia to facilitate the formation of all necessary strategic partnerships for economic cooperation and peace with any country or group of countries. The Albanese government had taken some steps to create better relationships with countries in Asia and the Pacific. It had successfully re-stabilised the relationship with China but its policies on AUKUS undermined that. In 2025, Australia lacked an awareness of the need to keep all its options for strategic and economic partnerships, especially with Asia, as open as possible.</p> <p>On prohibition of weapons exports: Between 2016 and 2023/24 the value of weapons exports from Australia increased almost 100-fold from \$1.5 billion to more than \$100 billion. It was an obscene increase in making money from selling killing machines.</p> <p>During the war in Palestine, Australia exported weapons components which have been used in that war. Since 2018 there has been a staggering increase in weapons exports from Australia, none of which Australia has any real control over once they have left this country.</p>				

Summary of progress for success in Our Governance			
Governance 12 – Peace & security			
Direction: Australia becomes a nation assured of enduring peace.			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
	During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
<p>On arms control: In 2025, Australia had not signed the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW). The Minister for Foreign Affairs Penny Wong had not acted in accordance with her commitment “to identify realistic pathways for nuclear disarmament and to reduce the risks posed by nuclear weapons.” The Labor government’s approval of AUKUS had instead locked Minister Wong’s government into nuclear forms of weaponry including nuclear powered submarines which, despite statements that they would not carry nuclear warheads, would still expose Australia and other countries to proliferation of nuclear contamination via nuclear waste disposal or as a result of destruction of the nuclear reactors in battle or in port. The Australian government’s actions in support of AUKUS did not “reduce the risks posed by nuclear weapons”, they increased those risks.</p>			
<p>On foreign influence in Australia’s defence policy: Australia continues to allow foreign arms dealers to influence defence policy. During the 47th parliament a review of Commonwealth funding for strategic policy work was completed by Peter Varghese AO. It did not recommend cessation of government funding to private think tanks that derived funding from foreign governments or foreign/domestic arms manufacturers and dealers. Instead of recommending prohibition of funding of strategic policy think tanks by foreign governments and arms businesses, it recommended a funding model which continued to permit foreign and commercial interference. Foreign policy and defence advice provided by private think tanks in Australia is not independent and free of conflict of interest.</p>			
<p>On an integrated strategy for defence, diplomacy and security: In 2024, the Australian government released its National Defence Strategy and committed to double the Defence budget over 10 years from \$53 billion to \$100 billion. The 2024/25 budget proposed a mere 1.8% average annual increase in the budget for diplomacy until 2027/28. The budget was geared to massively increase spending on aggressive postures and to reduce expenditures, in real terms, on preventing aggression through diplomacy.</p>			
<p>The 2024 National Defence Strategy was an extremely – even impossibly – expensive proposal which unnecessarily placed Australia’s defence service on an aggressive footing in foreign territories including for invasions of the countries of economic partners. It detracted in significant measure from Australia’s capacity to achieve resilience, self-reliance and meet the needs of its people for social services, detracted severely from Australia’s capacity to assist other nations to develop sustainably, and was bound to defeat efforts to improve cooperation with other nations via diplomacy.</p>			
<p>The 2024 National Defence strategy, especially in its endorsement of AUKUS, effectively undid any good work the Labor government was doing in diplomacy, including that of the foreign minister Penny Wong in stabilising relations with China and improving relations with Pacific countries. It contributed significantly to increases in greenhouse gas emissions which would severely affect Australia and the Pacific countries in particular.</p>			
<p>The lack of integration and balance between the National Defence Strategy, other programs for national resilience in climate change and economic disruption, and foreign policy meant that Australia’s foreign and defence policies were still undermining, not improving, national security and increasing the risk of war in our region. In 2025, strategies for defence and diplomacy were set to disable strategies for security, independence, sovereignty, growth in national resilience, and peace.</p>			
<p>On community engagement to define Australia’s strategic interests in territorial sovereign defence: In 2022, the IPAN People’s Inquiry, “Exploring the Case for an Independent and Peaceful Australia,” recommended that “The Australian government should engage in extensive community consultations to</p>			

Summary of progress for success in Our Governance			
Governance 12 – Peace & security			
Direction: Australia becomes a nation assured of enduring peace.			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
	During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
<p>develop a new defence policy for Australia that upholds the fundamental objective of protecting territorial Australia and its air and maritime approaches without foreign assistance.” Successive Australian governments have consistently refused to engage with Australians in development of defence and foreign policies. In 2025, no agreed statement exists that will provide sufficient guidance to parliaments and ensure that any decisions made on territorial defence and entry into wars in or against other countries will in fact be in the acknowledged best interests of Australians and will thereby safeguard our independence, sovereignty, security and peace.</p> <p>The Labor government’s decision in 2023 to maintain its sole right to commit Australia to war (including wars of choice when Australia has not been attacked and illegal wars which have not been approved by the United Nations Security Council) whenever it might deem war to be in the “national interest”, stands as one of the lowest points of decency and respect by a government towards people and citizens, overshadowed only by the same government’s decisions not to protect Australians from climate change</p> <p>In 2025, Australia is no closer to a sensible, respectful and transparent decision making process for defence and foreign policy or entry into and participation in war. The IPAN People’s Inquiry proves that Australians are more than capable of participating positively in decision processes for defence, strategic and international relations and national security. Executive government high-handedness and a persistence with undemocratic processes on vital decisions has not delivered security to Australia.</p> <p>On a commitment to neutrality in wars between major powers: In 2025, Australia had passed no legislation obliging the Commonwealth, along with the members of its parliaments and executive, to neutrality in wars between major powers. The government had also rejected all proposals for parliamentary involvement in decisions on war (and therefore consideration of adoption of a policy of neutrality in relation to any war) despite the fact that in a nation-wide statistically valid survey in April 2023 over 90% of Australians answered Yes to the question: “Do you think the Prime Minister should be required to get approval from parliament before making a decision to go to war?” Instead, the Australian government had webbed Australia more tightly into a more dangerous alliance with the US by significantly increasing interdependencies between the armed forces of Australia and the US (including by providing military bases for US troops on Australian soil and disposal of US and UK nuclear waste in Australia) without demonstrating that this was in Australia’s interests or even that it would succeed on its own terms. The government had thereby reduced the chance of resisting entry into wars which are not in Australia’s interests and in the opinion of defence experts (and even the US Congress) are not winnable. The Labor government’s confirmation of its commitment to AUKUS increased the tightness and risks of its alliance with the US at a minimum cost of \$368 billion for submarines that, as Professor Hugh White famously said, “we don’t need and we won’t get.”</p> <p>On plans for withdrawal from activities, agreements and alliances inhibiting sovereign independence and peace: In 2025, no such plans existed. The Australian government had given no consideration to processes for disarmament (gradual or otherwise) or withdrawal from any activities or alliances which inhibit Australia’s independence, sovereignty, potential for neutrality in global conflicts, and chances of peace. All steps in defence policy (including weapons exports policies, funding of think tanks with conflicts of interest, and refusal to ratify the TPNW) were dragging Australia the other way, towards increasing nuclear proliferation, war, and the perilous climatic, economic, and human rights abuse consequences of armaments.</p> <p>On constitutional reform for parliamentary supremacy in decisions on war: In 2023, Australians for War Powers Reform submitted a Response to the Parliamentary Inquiry into War Powers, stating that “the</p>			

Summary of progress for success in Our Governance			
Governance 12 – Peace & security			
Direction: Australia becomes a nation assured of enduring peace.			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
	During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
<p>problem remains of decisions for war being in the hands of a tiny number of people, and it is an increasingly urgent problem to resolve.” AWPR also noted “the very significant warnings against change that were given by Defence Minister Marles and Foreign Minister Wong very early in the inquiry process. These were not good faith interventions but were anti-democratic and clearly intended to squash any aspirations for change on the scale that’s needed.”</p> <p>In particular, and in response to the committee’s finding that “decisions regarding armed conflict including war or warlike operations are fundamentally a prerogative of the Executive”, AWPR stated that “The Constitution doesn’t specify an Executive prerogative to make decisions about going to war. The Australian people have never agreed to this, and in fact opinion polls show that the Australian people overwhelmingly do not want this.”</p> <p>Other recommendations in the report, particularly to establish a new Joint Statutory Committee on Defence to “supersede and enhance the Defence related functions currently undertaken by the Joint Standing Committee of Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade,” were plainly insidious and downright dangerous. In 2025, this committee had yet not been established but if it was it would bind any members to secrecy rather than aid transparency. If implemented in concert with other recommendations which allowed the government to withhold any information it wished from the committee and avoid the need to explain to parliament how a decision to commit armed forces was in the public interest, Australians would have even less transparency about whether the government was acting in the public interest than they do now and be even more defenceless against illegal conduct by the state. As it is, Australians still have no way of compelling the government to be accountable to them for decisions on entry into armed conflict. Australian governments can visit war upon the people regardless of the public and national interest and the risk to the lives and livelihoods of all Australians.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Deteriorated seriously.</p> <p>In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no.” In 2025, the result is the same but worse. Australia is not becoming a nation assured of enduring peace.</p>			

Governance 13 – Humanitarian effort

Summary of progress for success in Our Governance				
Governance 13 – Humanitarian effort				
Direction: Australia becomes a nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance		Direction of movement from the baseline		Are we travelling towards the preferred destination?
		During the 47th parliament	Over the longer term	
Gov13.01	Foreign aid			<p>On balance, no.</p> <p>On foreign aid: In 2024/25, projected increases in Australia’s Official Development Assistance (ODA) meant that foreign aid was expected to decline in real terms. In 2025, Australian Aid Tracker stated that, “Australia’s aid generosity is now on a prolonged downward trajectory, and is projected to fall to 0.14% by 2036-37.”</p> <p>On contributions to the Green Climate Fund: In December 2023, at COP28, Australia announced it would rejoin the fund (after the Morrison government had withdrawn Australia as a contributor) and would contribute \$50 million to the Green Climate Fund. It also announced a \$100 million foundational contribution to the Pacific Resilience Facility (PRF).</p> <p>These contributions are lower than contributions pledged and made between 2014 and 2018 and far less than is needed from a wealthy country. Small donations of \$50 million and \$100 million are insufficient to offset costs that will be imposed on Australia as Pacific countries suffer sea level rises.</p> <p>Increases in foreign aid are entirely affordable for a wealthy nation like Australia and would enhance Australia’s reputation in the world.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Improved somewhat. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no.” In 2025, the result is the same but commitments to foreign aid have improved.</p>
Gov13.02	Contribution to the Green Climate Fund under the Paris Agreement			<p>Increases in foreign aid are entirely affordable for a wealthy nation like Australia and would enhance Australia’s reputation in the world.</p> <p>Change since The State of Australia 2022 = Improved somewhat. In 2022, the result on this Direction was “On balance, no.” In 2025, the result is the same but commitments to foreign aid have improved.</p>

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



Society 1 - Safety

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society			
Society 1 – Safety			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Safety in the home Soc01.01</p> <p>The percentage of people who feel safe when at home alone after dark meets or exceeds 95%.</p>	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>	<p>In 2016, 90.4% of Australians reported feeling safe when at home alone after dark, up slightly from 88.7% in 2005. Source: ABS 4906.0 Table 39.1 2016 Note: the ABS revised these results in 2023 when it reported that in 2016, 93.4% of Australians reported feeling safe when at home alone after dark.</p>	<p>In 2021/22, 95.8% of Australians reported feeling safe when at home alone after dark.</p> <p>➔</p> <p>The longer term trend is positive.</p> <p>➔</p> <p>Source: ABS General feelings of safety, 2021–22, Table 2.3.</p>
<p>Safety on transport Soc01.02</p> <p>The percentage of people who feel safe when waiting for public transport alone after dark meets or exceeds 50%.</p> <p>Note: This target has been revised from Issue No. 9 onwards taking ABS methodological/reporting changes into account. It has been reset to read: The percentage of people who feel safe when waiting for public transport alone after dark does not diminish.</p>	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>	<p>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 Note: the ABS revised these results in 2023 when it reported that in 2016, 79% of Australians reported feeling safe when waiting for public transport alone after dark. No direct explanation for the extraordinary revision has been identified by ACFP. We can only assume it was the result of a change in methodology or their original reporting was wrong.</p>	<p>In 2021/22, 83.5% of Australians reported feeling safe when waiting for public transport alone after dark, up from 79% in 2016.</p> <p>➔</p> <p>The longer term trend is positive.</p> <p>➔</p> <p>Source: ABS General feelings of safety, 2021–22, Table 2.3.</p>
<p>Safety on the streets Soc01.02.01</p> <p>The percentage of people who feel safe when walking alone in their local area</p>	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>	<p>In 2005, 84.5% of Australians reported feeling safe when walking alone in their local area after dark.</p>	<p>In 2021, 90.7% of Australians reported feeling safe when walking alone in their local area after dark.</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 1 – Safety

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
after dark does not diminish.		<p>Source: ABS General feelings of safety, 2021–22, Table 2.3.</p> <p>Note: The above ABS reporting is distinctly at odds with reporting from the Scanlon Monash index of social cohesion below.</p> <p>In 2021, 50% of women and 22% of men reported feeling a bit unsafe or very unsafe when walking alone at night in their local area.</p> <p>Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2024</p>	<p>Source: ABS General feelings of safety, 2021–22, Table 2.3.</p> <p>Note: Because the above result is starkly inconsistent with other monitoring below, the trend is considered to be stable rather than positive.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>In 2024, 54% of women and 25% of men reported feeling a bit unsafe or very unsafe when walking alone at night in their local area.</p> <p>Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2024</p> <p align="center"></p>
<p>Safety online Soc01.02.02</p> <p>The proportion of people who have experienced online harm or negative content in the last 12 months declines continuously.</p>	Soc 1 A safe home.	<p>Between 2019 and 2022, the proportion of adults (18 to 65 years) who experienced online harm or negative content in the last 12 months rose from 58% to 75%.</p> <p>Source: Australian Government Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework – online safety.</p>	<p>In 2022, the proportion of adults (18 to 65 years) who experienced online harm or negative content in the last 12 months increased compared to the baseline of 58% in 2019.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>No longer term trend data are available.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>Source: Australian Government Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework – online safety.</p>
<p>Homicide Soc01.03</p> <p>The rate of homicide related offences declines continuously.</p>	Soc 1 A safe home.	<p>In 2018, the rate of homicides (homicide related offences) per 100,000 of population was 1.5 (declining continuously from 2.1 since 2010).</p> <p>Source: ABS 4510.1, Table 1 2018</p>	<p>In 2023, the rate of homicides per 100,000 of population was stable at 1.5.</p> <p>Source: ABS Recorded Crime – Victims, 2023. Table 1 Victims, Selected offences, 1993–2023.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>Homicide (murder, attempted murder and manslaughter) has</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 1 – Safety

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			dropped since 2000 and remains steady. 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 2023, the rate of sexual assaults per 100,000 of population rose to 136.3. Source: ABS Recorded Crime – Victims, 2023. Table 1 Victims, Selected offences, 1993–2023.  Sexual assault has steadily increased since 2010 with the rate now more than 60% higher than it was in 2010. The longer term trend is negative. 
Child assault Soc01.05 The rate of child assault and maltreatment declines continuously.	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 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 member. For Indigenous children, about 2 in 3 (68%, or 83) were abused by a parent or family member. Source: AIHW, “Family, domestic and sexual violence in Australia: Continuing the national story, 2019 In 2017/18, 158,612 (28.7 per 1,000) Australian	No directly comparable data or trends are accessible. However, from 2010–11 to 2020–21, 5,024 children had at least one hospital stay due to family and domestic violence (FDV). First Nations young people were disproportionately represented among young people who had at least one FDV hospital stay (33% of those in the FDV group). Source: AIHW, Health service use among young people hospitalised due to family and domestic violence, 2010-11 to 2020-21, 2024. In 2022/23, 180,125 (31.5 per 1,000) Australian children aged under 18 came into contact with the child
	Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.		
	Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 1 – Safety

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
		<p>children aged under 18 came into contact with the child protection system. 32,031 (8.5 per 1,000) became subjects of substantiated maltreatment. That is, an investigation concluded that they were being, or were at risk of being, maltreated. Source: AIHW, Child protection Australia 2017-18.</p> <p>In 2019/20, 174,419 (31 per 1,000) Australian children aged under 18 came into contact with the child protection system. 48,886 (8.7 per 1,000) became subjects of substantiated maltreatment. Source: AIHW, Child protection Australia 2019-20.</p>	<p>protection system. 45,424 (7.9 per 1,000) became subjects of substantiated maltreatment. Source: AIHW, Child protection Australia 2022–23.</p> <p>The short term trend can't be determined. </p> <p>The longer term trend is negative. </p>
<p>Road deaths Soc01.06 The number of road deaths declines continuously.</p>	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>	<p>In 2019, there were 1,186 fatalities on Australian roads. Source: BITRE Road Safety Statistics</p>	<p>In 2023, there were 1,258 fatalities on Australian roads, an increase of 6.6% on 2022 and an increase of 11.4% compared to 2021.</p> <p>Between 2012 and 2019, average road fatalities were 1,210 per annum. Between 2020 and 2023, average road fatalities were 1,166 per annum, 3.6% lower than the average of the previous 8 years.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative. </p> <p>The longer term trend is positive although the trend of fatalities per annum between 2020</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 1 – Safety

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			and 2023 has increased (from 1,095 to 1,258).  Source: BITRE Road Safety Statistics
<p>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.</p>	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>	<p>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</p> <p>Note: In 2021, Scanlon split reporting on this indicator into males and females. In 2021, 25% of women and 19% of men reported being fairly worried or very worried about becoming a victim of crime in their local area. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2024</p>	<p>In 2024, 36% of women and 25% of men reported being fairly worried or very worried about becoming a victim of crime in their local area. The proportion who worried increased consistently between 2021 and 2024. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2024</p>  <p>Data to determine the longer term trend have been disrupted but the likely trend is towards the negative.</p> 
<p>Perceptions of safety and trust in the community Soc01.07.01 The proportion of Australians reporting trust in “most people” increases continuously.</p>	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>	<p>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</p> <p>Between 2007 and 2022, an average of 49% of Australians reported that, “Generally speaking, ... most people can be trusted”, with scores ranging between 55% in 2009 and 42% in 2018. Source: Dr James O’Donnell, Mapping Social Cohesion 2023, Scanlon Foundation, Monash University.</p>	<p>In 2020, 61.9% of Australians on survey felt “most people could be trusted”, up from 55.2% in 2019. No updated ABS data available. Source: ABS General Social Survey 2020, Table 17.1</p> <p>In 2024, 47% of Australians reported that, “Generally speaking, ... most people can be trusted”, a decline in the average between 2007 and 2022. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2024</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> 

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 1 – Safety

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			The longer term trend is negative. 
<p>Perceptions of safety in the context of world events and national security Soc01.08</p> <p>The percentage of people who report feeling safe or very safe when considering world events and/or national security exceeds 90% annually.</p>	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>	<p>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</p>	<p>In 2024, 62% of Australians said that in view of world events they felt ‘very safe’ or ‘safe’. Source: Lowy Institute Poll 2024</p> <p>The short term trend is negative. </p> <p>The longer term trend is distinctly negative. Between 2005 and 2018, 86% of Australians felt safe in view of world events as an annual average. Between 2020 and 2024, 60% of Australians felt safe in view of world events as an annual average. Source: Lowy Institute Poll 2023</p> 
	<p>Gov 12 A nation assured of enduring peace.</p>		

Society 2 – Indigenous Heart

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society			
Society 2 – Indigenous Heart			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>First Nations constitutional recognition, Makarrata, treaty, justice and reconciliation</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Constitutional recognition of First Nations – Statement of Acceptance of the Principle of Coexistence of Sovereignties Soc02.01</p> <p>By 2025, as an essential and defining part of nation-wide community engagement for a new Constitution under Gov04.01 and Gov04.01.01 and in accordance with the spirit and letter of the Uluru Statement from the Heart, the federal parliament is to:</p> <p>a) establish a statement of acceptance of the principle that the sovereignty of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples has never been ceded and coexists with the sovereignty of the Crown (or with state sovereignty if Australia becomes a republic);</p>	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>	<p>In 2017, 250 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander delegates to the National Constitutional Convention called for the establishment of a First Nations Voice in the Constitution. The Uluru Statement from the Heart recommended a constitutionally enshrined Voice to parliament, a Makarrata or truth-telling commission and an eventual treaty between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. Source: Uluru Statement from the Heart</p> <p>In 2021, Australians supported the following as priorities for government:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Include Aboriginal recognition in the Constitution = 69%. • Establish an Indigenous ‘voice’ to advise the Parliament = 66%. • Agree a treaty with Indigenous Australia = 61%. <p>Source: Essential Research, 6 July 2021</p> <p>In 2021,</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 90% of Australians on survey agreed or strongly agreed that the relationship between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders and the wider Australian 	<p>In 2024, no progress had been made towards any aspiration or request in the Uluru Statement from the Heart.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 2023, a referendum to establish a First Nations Voice in the Constitution failed and no bill was put forward to legislate the Voice to Parliament. • In 2024, the Australian government walked back from its commitment to establish a Makarrata Commission for agreement making, truth and justice, in favour of an unspecified process of “coming together”. • No progress has been made on treaty at the federal level although several states have commenced a treaty making process (Victoria, Northern Territory, South Australia, Queensland and New South Wales). • No progress has been made towards acceptance of the coexistence of First Nations sovereignty
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 15 Confident of justice for all.</p>		
	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing & affirming decency.</p>		
	<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>		

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Society 2 – Indigenous Heart

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>b) acknowledge and then celebrate this coexistence as a fuller expression of Australia’s nationhood; and</p> <p>c) ensure all other constitutional reforms, necessary to give effect to the statement are set in train to empower First Nations to take a rightful place in their own country.</p> <p>Important note: Rationale for the need for a Statement of Acceptance of the Principle of Coexistence of Sovereignties.¹¹</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy:</p>	<p>Gov 4 A free, self-governing, modern nation.</p>	<p>community is very important for Australia as a nation, and</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 88% agreed it is important for Indigenous histories and cultures to be included in the school curriculum. <p>Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2021.</p> <p>In 2021, it was noted by historian Henry Reynolds that “the legal foundations of the colony were unsound and remain so to this day,” an authoritative conclusion which marked the recognition of a turning point on the contentious issue of sovereignty in Australia and unambiguously signalled a fundamental need to finally resolve</p>	<p>with that of the Crown.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> No progress has been made to resolve the foundational matters for the nation in justice. <p align="center"></p> <p>In 2023 6.3 million Australians (40% of those who cast a vote) voted in favour of an Indigenous Voice to parliament while 9.5 million (60%) voted no, signalling a significant reversal of support for the request made by First Peoples of Australia. The contrast between this result and the resounding vote of 91% in favour of inclusion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People in Australian</p>

¹¹ **Rationale for the need for a Statement of Acceptance of the Principle of Coexistence of Sovereignties:** Despite the defeat of the Voice referendum in 2023, calls implicit in the Uluru Statement from the Heart for a recognition of the coexistence of Indigenous and state sovereignty remain outstanding. Bearing in mind that in the event of a referendum on the republic questions may arise as to the nature and source of sovereignty in Australia, clarification of principles regarding Indigenous sovereignty will be essential for social cohesion and fair and just treaty-making. In the event that any referendum on a republic or other constitutional reform:

1. results in a formal transfer of the source of sovereignty away from the Crown and to the People of Australia (as opposed to the State – meaning the Executive/executive government); and
2. establishes a form of state where the People as sovereign are able, through the design of their own Constitution, to:
 - a. authorise and limit the rightful powers of the parliament, the executive government, the courts, the states and territories, and
 - b. define any other arrangements of democracy necessary for the rightful balance of power between those authorised to exercise its various types,

an agreement on the principle of Indigenous sovereignty and its co-existence with that of the State is a prerequisite for justice, fairness and stability in the new form of state and any treaties that may be made by that new state, including treaties which allow every Australian to exercise the right of self-determination (determining how we shall be governed) and all other human rights as political equals.

Irrespective of whether Australians adopt constitutional reforms which vest sovereignty in the People, acceptance of the principle of a coexistence of Indigenous and non-Indigenous sovereignties is fundamental to reconciliation and justice. The terms and principles on which a rightful and peaceful coexistence of sovereignties is based must be clear and acceptable to all – otherwise neither reconciliation nor justice is possible. The Vision for *Australia Together* assumes reconciliation and justice are essential if Australians are to create an inclusive democracy where everyone has political equality.

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Society 2 – Indigenous Heart

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Constitutional reform to establish a First Nations Voice in the Constitution Soc02.01.01 By 2025, notwithstanding the rejection by 9.5 million Australian voters of an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Voice in the Constitution in the 2023 referendum but recognising that 6.3 million Australians voted for it, the federal government must as a minimum:</p> <p>a) acknowledge that constitutional recognition of Australia’s First Peoples is still essential to fulfilment of the aspirations expressed by them in the Uluru Statement from the Heart and that failure to recognise the First Australians constitutes an undemocratic exclusion, a major political inequality, and a denial of their right to self-determination under the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples; and</p> <p>b) pursuant to the acknowledgement in a), support the federal parliament</p>		<p>foundational matters for the nation in justice. Source: Henry Reynolds, Truth-telling: History, Sovereignty and the Uluru Statement of the Heart, 2021, NewSouth Publishing, page 63.</p> <p>In 2022, the Australian government regarded itself as a “supporter” of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) but had still done nothing in law to extend those rights to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders. Source: Australian Human Rights Commission, <i>Implementing UNDRIP</i></p> <p>In 2023, 60.06% of Australian electors rejected the referendum question seeking an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Voice in the Constitution, leaving the first Australians unrecognised in the Constitution and no closer to reconciliation as imagined in the Uluru Statement from Heart. Rejection of the Voice was notably inconsistent with the Vision for <i>Australia Together</i>. Source: Australian Community Futures Planning, Questions about <i>Australia Together</i> Fact Sheet: “How is the Indigenous Voice consistent with the Vision for Australia Together?”</p> <p>In 2023, recognising that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “the legal foundations of the colony of Australia are unsound”; 	<p>society and law in the 1967 referendum indicates that the longer term trend on constitutional recognition, truth-telling, Makarrata, treaty, sovereignty, and generally on inclusion and equality is negative.</p> <p></p>

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Society 2 – Indigenous Heart

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>to commence and fund the process for independent constitutional reform as outlined in Gov04.01.01 – the National Collaborative Process for Development of the Australian People’s Constitution, recognising that the failure to achieve constitutional recognition for First Nations Peoples will deny them political equality as members of the Australian democratic state; and</p> <p>c) acknowledge the reality that until the rights of all Australians are safely secured in the Constitution as per processes under Gov04.01.01 and Gov03.01, it will not be possible to establish a just and fair treaty with First Nations that will be necessary pursuant to a Makarrata Commission under Soc 02.01.02.</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy:</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the issue of Australia’s arrangements of sovereignty as an independent self-governing nation of free equals has never been settled, Australian Community Futures Planning’s Founder asserted in testimony to the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Human Rights’ Inquiry into Australia’s Human Rights Framework that “A stable treaty with First Nations will not be possible unless human rights are first assured for all Australians equally.” Specifically: “A stable treaty between First Nations, non-Indigenous Australians and the Australian State can only be achieved in a democracy if it has been made freely by a nation where all people are first confident of their status as political equals. The people of a nation can only be confident that they are both free and equal by declaring in law that rights are the equal property of all and that this cannot be negated by governments without the express permission of the people. Until they declare that, non-Indigenous Australians will not be confident that a treaty with First Nations people will not disadvantage them, relative to Indigenes. 	

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Society 2 – Indigenous Heart

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Makarrata Commission Soc02.01.02 Preparatory to the Constitutional Convention under Gov04.01, establish a Makarrata Commission to supervise a process of agreement-making between governments and First Nations and truth-telling about our history. Ensure that the Commission is unconstrained (including by inadequate funding and/or restricted terms of reference) in the full and effective stewardship of:</p> <p>a) the truth-telling process about the effect of European invasion and colonisation on First Nations, their lives, their civilization, their ancient connection with the land and ancestors, and their relationship with non-Indigenous Australians; and</p> <p>b) the agreement-making process for:</p> <p>i. resolution of conflict, and</p> <p>ii. preparation of the terms of reconciliation and justice formalised in a treaty.</p> <p>By 2024:</p>		<p>Nor will Indigenous be confident that the treaty is fair and that they have been acknowledged as equal. Enshrinement of all human rights in the Constitution as the property of all people equally is therefore a condition precedent to any treaty with First Nations that all will agree is just and fair and will not result in disadvantage to any of the parties.</p> <p>Development of a treaty without first enshrining all human rights in the Constitution will ensure no treaty is ever really viable. Human rights are the primordial treaty we must make with each other before we can make other treaties and laws that can be regarded as just and fair.”</p> <p>Source: ACFP, Bronwyn Kelly, Supplementary Submission to the PJCHR Inquiry into Australia’s Human Rights Framework, September 2023.</p>	

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 2 – Indigenous Heart

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • reach agreement on establishment of the Makarrata Commission in terms considered fair and satisfactory to the members of the Referendum Council (reconvened if necessary); and • develop an agreed plan for the conduct of the truth-telling and agreement-making process, complete with objectives, timeframes, and rules of participation. <p>By December 2024, open the truth-telling and agreement-making process in accordance with the pre-agreed plan.</p> <p>By June 2025, deliver a statement to the Australian people on the outcomes (even if these are preliminary), preparatory to commencement of the Constitutional Convention under Gov04.01 and Gov04.01.01.</p>			

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Society 2 – Indigenous Heart

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>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).</p>	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>	<p>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</p>	<p>In 2024, for the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population born in 2020–2022, life expectancy was estimated to be:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> for males – 71.9 years or 8.8 years lower than that of the non-Indigenous population; and for females – 75.6 years or 8.1 years lower than that of the non-Indigenous population. <p>Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap, Information Repository, 2024.</p> <p></p> <p>Since 2005 the gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous life expectancy has been narrowing very slowly, reducing from 11.4 to 8.8 years for men and from 9.5 to 8.1 years for women. The longer term trend has been positive until 2020-22, when it declined again. Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024 and ABS Life Expectancy Estimates.</p> <p></p>
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>		
<p>Indigenous infant health and survival – child mortality Soc02.03 Close the gap in child mortality rates for 0-4 year olds between</p>	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>	<p>In 2016, child mortality rates for 0-4 year olds were 146 per 100,000 for the Indigenous population compared to 70 per 100,000 for the</p>	<p>In 2017–2021, in the 5 jurisdictions combined (NSW, QLD, WA, SA, NT), the death rate among First Nations children aged 0–4 was 145 deaths per 100,000 children –</p>
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		

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Society 2 – Indigenous Heart

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians within a generation (by 2031).	Soc 6 A society of equals.	non-indigenous population. In 2017, child mortality rates for the Indigenous population rose to 164 per 100,000, which was 2.4 times the mortality rate for the non-indigenous population (68 deaths per 100,000). Source: AIHW, Australia's Health 2018 and Australian Government, Closing the Gap Report 2019	2.1 times the rate for non-Indigenous children (70 per 100,000 children). No later data appear to be available. Source: AIHW, Infant and Child Mortality.
	Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.		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 short term trend can't be determined.  The longer term trend is neutral.  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 By 2031, increase the proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander babies with a healthy birthweight to 91 per cent (as per Closing	Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.	In 2017, 88.8% of Indigenous babies were born alive within a healthy birth weight (2,500-4,499g), compared to 93.9% of non-Indigenous babies. Source: Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020	In 2021, 89.6% of Indigenous babies were born alive within a healthy birthweight (2,500-4,499g), compared to 94.2% of non-Indigenous babies.
	Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.		
	Soc 6 A society of equals.		

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>the Gap in Partnership 2020).</p> <p>Indigenous infant health and survival – birthweight (ACFP additional Target) Soc02.03.02</p> <p>By 2031, increase the proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander babies with a healthy birthweight to 94% to close the gap.</p>	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>	<p>In 2014, 93.8% of non-Indigenous babies and 89% of Indigenous babies were born with a healthy birthweight, indicating a gap of 4.8 percentage points.</p> <p>Source: Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020</p>	<p>Closing the Gap Information Repository reported that, “Nationally, based on progress from the baseline, the target shows good improvement and is on track to be met. This assessment is provided with a low level of confidence.”</p> <p>Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024</p> <p></p> <p>In 2021, 94.2% of non-Indigenous babies and 89.6% of Indigenous babies were born with a healthy birthweight, indicating a gap of 4.6 percentage points. The long term trend is stagnant.</p> <p>Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap, Information Repository, 2024.</p> <p></p> <p>The government’s target is very weak, aiming merely to increase the healthy birthweight of Indigenous babies to 91% by 2031, not to close the gap. Also performance has been erratic from year to year in terms of the gap. ACFP’s additional target is to close the gap by 2031. This is not on track to be met.</p> <p>Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024</p> <p></p>

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Society 2 – Indigenous Heart

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Indigenous pre-school education – attendance Soc02.04</p> <p>The proportion of Indigenous children attending early childhood education for 600 hours or more a year equals that of non-indigenous children.</p>	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>	<p>In 2017, 68% of all Indigenous children enrolled in early childhood education programs attended for more than 600 hours, whereas 78% of enrolled non-Indigenous children attended for more than 600 hours. Source: Australian Government, Closing the Gap Report 2019</p>	<p>No data that are directly comparable with the baseline have been located. However, in 2024, the Productivity Commission reported that, “Nationally in 2023, of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children enrolled in a preschool program in the YBFS, 73.1% attended for 15 hours or more in the reference week.” If this is applied across a year, short term progress would appear to be positive compared to the baseline. Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024</p> <p>➔</p> <p>In 2016, 64% of Indigenous children enrolled in YBFS pre-school attended for more than 15 hours in a week. By 2021 this had risen to 73.1%. The long term trend is positive. Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024</p> <p>➔</p>
	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p>		
<p>Indigenous pre-school education – enrolment Soc02.04.01</p> <p>By 2025, increase the proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children enrolled in Year Before Fulltime Schooling (YBFS) early childhood education to 95 per</p>	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>	<p>In 2018, 84.6% of Indigenous children were enrolled in a preschool program in state-specific year before full-time schooling (YBFS). (88.8% of non-Indigenous children were enrolled in YBFS.) Source: Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020</p>	<p>In 2024, the Productivity Commission reported that, “Nationally in 2023, 101.8% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children in the Year Before Fulltime Schooling (YBFS) age cohort were enrolled in a preschool program.”</p>
<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>			
<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>			
<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>			

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
cent (as per Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020).	<p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p>		<p>Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024.</p> <p></p> <p>Note: ACFP can offer no explanation for how more than 100% of children can be enrolled. However, the long term trend would appear to be positive.</p> <p></p>
<p>Indigenous pre-school education – developmentally on track Soc02.04.02 By 2031, increase the proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children assessed as developmentally on track in all five domains of the Australian Early Development Census (AEDC) to 55 per cent (as per Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020).</p>	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>	<p>In 2018, 35% of Indigenous children were assessed as developmentally on track in all five domains of the Australian Early Development Census (AEDC). (57% of non-Indigenous children were on track in all five domains of the AEDC.) Source: Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020</p> <p>In 2010, 25.5% of Indigenous children enrolled were assessed as developmentally on track in all five domains of the Australians early development Census, compared to 51.9% of non-Indigenous children, a gap of 26.4 percentage points. Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024</p>	<p>In 2024 the Productivity Commission reported that, “Nationally in 2021, 34.3% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children commencing school were assessed as being developmentally on track in all five AEDC domains. This is a decrease from 35.2% in 2018 (the baseline year). Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024.</p> <p></p> <p>In 2021, 33.3% of Indigenous children enrolled were assessed as developmentally on track in all five domains of the Australians early development Census, compared to 56.2% of non-Indigenous children, a gap of 21.9 percentage points. The long term trend is positive but still terrible. Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024</p> <p></p>
	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p>		

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Indigenous school education Soc02.05 By 2031, increase the proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (age 20-24) attaining year 12 or equivalent qualification to 96 per cent (as per Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020).</p>	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>	<p>In 2016, 63.2% of Indigenous 20–24 year olds had attained Year 12 or an equivalent non-school qualification. (88.5% of non-Indigenous 20-24 year olds had attained Year 12 or equivalent.) Source: Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020</p>	<p>In 2024, the Productivity Commission reported that, “Nationally in 2021, 68.1% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people aged 20–24 years had attained Year 12 or equivalent qualification. This is an increase from 63.2% in 2016. Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024</p> <p></p>
	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>	<p>In 2001, 39.4% of Indigenous 20-24 year olds had attained Year 12 or equivalent, or a non-school qualification at Certificate level III or above compared to 77.6% of non-Indigenous 20-24 year olds, a gap of 38.2 percentage points. Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024</p>	<p>In 2021, 68.1% of Indigenous 20-24 year olds had attained Year 12 or equivalent, or a non-school qualification at Certificate level III or above compared to 90.7% of non-Indigenous 20-24 year olds, a gap of 22.6 percentage points. Solidly improving since 2001. However, progress is too slow to close the gap by the government’s target date or perhaps ever. The longer term trend is positive but too slow relative to the target. Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024</p> <p></p> <p>Note: Oddly enough, non-Indigenes have not met this target yet either.</p>
<p>Indigenous tertiary education Soc02.06 By 2031, increase the proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people</p>	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>	<p>In 2016, 42.3% of Indigenous 25–34 year olds had attained non-school qualifications of Certificate level III or above. (72% of non-Indigenous 25–34 year</p>	<p>In 2024, the Productivity Commission reported that, “Nationally in 2021, 47.0% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people aged 25–34 years had completed</p>
<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>			

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>aged 25-34 years who have completed a tertiary qualification (Certificate III and above) to 70 per cent (as per Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020).</p>	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>	<p>olds had attained non-school qualifications of Certificate level III or above.) Source: Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020</p>	<p>non-school qualifications of Certificate III or above. ... Nationally, based on progress from the baseline, the target shows improvement but is not on track to be met.” Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024</p> <p></p> <p>In 2021, 47% of Indigenous 25-34 year olds had completed a tertiary qualification (Certificate III and above) compared to 75.9% of non-Indigenous 25-34 year olds, a gap of 28.9 percentage points. Solidly improving since 2001. However, progress is too slow to close the gap by the government’s target date or perhaps ever and the gap itself is only 1.4 percentage points lower than it was in 2001. The longer term trend is stagnant. Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024</p> <p></p>
	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>		
<p>Indigenous employment – 15-24 year olds Soc02.07 By 2031, increase the proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander youth (15-24 years) who are in employment, education or training to 67 percent (as per</p>	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>	<p>In 2016, 57.2% of Indigenous 15–24 year olds were fully engaged in employment, 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</p>	<p>In 2024, the Productivity Commission reported that, “Nationally in 2021, 58.0% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people aged 15–24 years were fully engaged in employment, education or training. This is an increase from 57.2% in 2016. ... Nationally, based on progress from the baseline, the target</p>
	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>		

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>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 gap.</p>	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		<p>shows improvement but is not on track to be met.” Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024</p> <p></p> <p>In 2021, 58% of Indigenous 15-24 year olds were fully engaged in employment, education or training compared to 79.9% of non-Indigenous 15-24 year olds, a gap of 21.9 percentage points. Steadily improving since 2001, although not on track to close the gap or meet the target – which it must be noted is not a target to close the gap. This target here is: “By 2031, increase the proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander youth (15-24 years) who are in employment, education or training to 67%.” In effect this is a target that is 13 percentage points lower than that achieved on average for non-Indigenes from 2001 onwards. It’s progress but it does not close the gap. Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024</p> <p></p>
<p>Indigenous employment – 25-64 year olds Soc02.07.02</p>	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart. Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>	<p>In 2016, 51% of Indigenous 25–64 year olds were employed. (75.7% of non-Indigenous</p>	<p>In 2024, the Productivity Commission reported that, “Nationally in 2021, 55.7% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander</p>

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Society 2 – Indigenous Heart

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>By 2031, increase the proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people aged 25-64 who are employed to 62 percent (as per Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020).</p> <p>Indigenous employment – 25-64 year olds (ACFP additional target) Soc02.07.03</p> <p>By 2031, increase the proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people aged 25-64 who are employed to 75% to close the gap.</p>	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>	<p>25–64 year olds were employed.) Source: Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020</p>	<p>people aged 25–64 years were employed. This is an increase from 51.0% in 2016. Nationally, based on progress from the baseline, the target shows good improvement and is on track to be met.” Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024</p> <p>→</p> <p>In 2021, 55.7% of Indigenous 25-64 year olds were employed compared to 77.7% of non-Indigenous 25-64 year olds, a gap of 22 percentage points. This gap is basically stagnant since 1996. Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024</p> <p>← / →</p>
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
<p>Indigenous housing Soc02.08</p> <p>By 2031, increase the proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people living in appropriately sized (not overcrowded) housing to 88 per cent (as per Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020).</p> <p>Indigenous housing (ACFP additional target) Soc02.08.01</p> <p>By 2031, increase the proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people living in appropriately sized (not overcrowded) housing</p>	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>	<p>In 2016, 78.9% of Indigenous persons lived in appropriately sized (not overcrowded) housing. (92.9% of non-Indigenous persons lived in appropriately sized (not overcrowded) housing.) Source: Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020</p>	<p>In 2024, the Productivity Commission reported that, “Nationally in 2021, 81.4% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people were living in appropriately sized (not overcrowded) housing. This is an increase from 78.9% in 2016. Nationally, based on progress from the baseline, [the] target shows improvement but is not on track to be met.” Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024</p> <p>→</p> <p>In 2021, 81.4% of Aboriginal and Torres</p>
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 9 A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.</p>		
<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 2 – Indigenous Heart

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
to 92 per cent to close the gap.	<p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p> <p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		<p>Strait Islander people were living in appropriately sized (not overcrowded) housing compared to 93.5% of non-Indigenous people, a gap of 12.1 percentage points. This gap has been steadily closing since 1996, although it is not set to close in the next decade.</p> <p>Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024</p> <p></p>
<p>Indigenous incarceration – adults Soc02.09 By 2031, reduce the rate of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander adults held in incarceration by at least 15 per cent (as per Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020).</p> <p>Indigenous incarceration – adults (ACFP additional targets) Soc02.09.01 By 2035, Indigenous incarceration rates are the same as for the non-Indigenous population.</p>	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p> <p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p> <p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p> <p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p> <p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p> <p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p> <p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p> <p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p> <p>Soc 14 A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in policing.</p>	<p>In 2019 (based on ABS Prisoners in Australia), the imprisonment rate of non-Indigenous Australians was 173.2 per 100,000 adult population. In 2019 the imprisonment rate for Indigenous Australians was 2,087.5 per 100,000 adult population.</p> <p>Source: Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020</p> <p>In 2019, the imprisonment rate of all Australians was 219.5 per 100,000 adult population. In 2019 the imprisonment rate for Indigenous Australians was 2,370.9 per 100,000 adult Indigenous population.</p> <p>Source: ABS 4512.0 - Corrective Services, Australia, December Quarter 2019, Table 3 and Table 14</p>	<p>In 2024, the Productivity Commission reported that, “Nationally at 30 June 2023, the age-standardised rate of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander prisoners was 2,265.8 per 100,000 adult population. The 2023 rate is an increase from the previous year (2,151.1 per 100,000 adult population in 2022) and an increase from 2,142.9 per 100,000 adult population in 2019. Nationally, based on progress from the baseline, the target is worsening.”</p> <p>Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024</p> <p></p> <p>In 2023, the imprisonment rate of Indigenous adult Australians was 2,265.8 per 100,000 adult population compared to</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 2 – Indigenous Heart

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	<p>Soc 15 Confident of justice for all.</p>		<p>149.0 per 100,000 adults for non-Indigenous people. The imprisonment rate for Indigenous adults was 15.2 times that of non-Indigenous adults, up from a rate of 11.2 times in 2009. The long term trend has steadily and substantially worsened. Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024</p> <p></p>
<p>Indigenous incarceration – 10-17 year olds Soc02.09.02 By 2031, reduce the rate of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people (10-17 years) in detention by at least 30 per cent (as per Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020).</p> <p>Indigenous incarceration – 10-17 year olds (ACFP additional target) Soc02.09.03 By 2035, Indigenous youth detention rates are the same as for the non-Indigenous population.</p>	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p> <p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p> <p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p> <p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p> <p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p> <p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p> <p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p> <p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p> <p>Soc 14 A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in policing.</p> <p>Soc 15 Confident of justice for all.</p>	<p>In 2018/19, 33.7 Indigenous young people aged 10-17 per 10,000 population were in detention on an average day compared to 1.5 non-Indigenous young people per 10,000 population. Source: Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020</p> <p>The above baselines have since been slightly revised by the Productivity Commission as follows: In 2018/19, 32.1 Indigenous young people aged 10-17 per 10,000 population were in detention on an average day compared to 1.4 non-Indigenous young people per 10,000 population. Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024</p>	<p>In 2024, the Productivity Commission reported that, “Nationally in 2022-23, the rate of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people aged 10–17 years in detention on an average day was 29.8 per 10,000 young people in the population. The 2022-23 rate is above the previous three years (from a low of 23.6 per 10,000 young people in 2020-21) but it is a decrease from 32.1 per 10,000 young people in 2018-19. Nationally, the trend for the target shows no change from the baseline.” Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024</p> <p></p> <p>In 2022/23, the rate of detention of Indigenous Australians aged 10-17 was 29.8 per 10,000 of young people in the population compared to 1.1 per 10,000 for non-Indigenous people. The detention rate for</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 2 – Indigenous Heart

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline																		
			Indigenous adults was 27.1 times that of non-Indigenous young people, up from a rate of 19.4 times in 2010/11. The long term trend has been erratic but generally negative. Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024 																		
<p>Indigenous family cohesion Soc02.10 By 2031, reduce the rate of over-representation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children in out-of-home care by 45 per cent (as per Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020). Indigenous family cohesion (ACFP additional target) Soc02.10.01 By 2031 eliminate over-representation of Indigenous children in out-of-home care to equal the rate for non-Indigenous children.</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="491 808 603 904">Soc 2</td> <td data-bbox="619 808 810 904">A land with an Indigenous heart.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="491 904 603 943">Soc 1</td> <td data-bbox="619 904 810 943">A safe home.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="491 943 603 1039">Soc 3</td> <td data-bbox="619 943 810 1039">Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="491 1039 603 1135">Soc 4</td> <td data-bbox="619 1039 810 1135">A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="491 1135 603 1209">Soc 6</td> <td data-bbox="619 1135 810 1209">A society of equals.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="491 1209 603 1305">Soc 7</td> <td data-bbox="619 1209 810 1305">A success because of its diversity.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="491 1305 603 1435">Soc 8</td> <td data-bbox="619 1305 810 1435">A success because of gender equality.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="491 1435 603 1659">Soc 10</td> <td data-bbox="619 1435 810 1659">A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="491 1659 603 2024">Soc 11</td> <td data-bbox="619 1659 810 2024">A land without child disadvantage.</td> </tr> </table>	Soc 2	A land with an Indigenous heart.	Soc 1	A safe home.	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	Soc 6	A society of equals.	Soc 7	A success because of its diversity.	Soc 8	A success because of gender equality.	Soc 10	A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.	Soc 11	A land without child disadvantage.	<p>In 2019, there were 54.2 Indigenous children per 1,000 population in out-of-home care compared to 5.1 non-Indigenous children per 1,000 population. Source: Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020</p>	<p>In 2024, the Productivity Commission reported that, “Nationally in 2023, the rate of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children aged 0–17 years in out-of-home care was 57.2 per 1,000 children in the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population. The 2023 rate is below the rate in 2021 (57.6 per 1,000 children) but it is an increase from 54.2 per 1,000 children in 2019. Nationally, based on progress from the baseline, the target is worsening.” Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024  In 2022/23, the rate of Indigenous children aged 0–17 years in out-of-home care was 57.2 per 1,000 children in the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population compared to 4.7 per 1,000 for non-Indigenous children. The rate of out-of-home care for Indigenous children was 12.2 times that of</p>
Soc 2	A land with an Indigenous heart.																				
Soc 1	A safe home.																				
Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.																				
Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.																				
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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 2 – Indigenous Heart

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			non-Indigenous children, up from a rate of 10.6 times in 2019. The long term trend is negative. Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024 
<p>Indigenous domestic and community abuse and violence Soc02.11 A significant and sustained reduction in violence and abuse against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women and children towards zero (as per Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020).</p>	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>	<p>Nationally in 2018-19, 8.4% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander females aged 15 years and over experienced domestic physical or threatened physical harm. Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository Beta</p>	No new comparable data available. 
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		No longer term comparable data available. 
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		However, data regarding hospitalisation due to domestic violence do offer a good indicator of trends in family and domestic violence against Indigenous women. See below. Nationally in 2021-22, 778.0 per 100,000 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women aged 15 or over were hospitalised for family violence related assaults. The rate for non-Indigenous women was 23.3. Indigenous women were 33.4 times more likely to be hospitalised for family violence related assaults than non-Indigenous women. This rate of hospitalisation for Indigenous women has decreased from 872.8 per 100,000 in 2018-19 following increases in 2019-20 and 2020-21.
	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.</p>		
	<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>		<p>Nationally in 2018-19, 872.8 per 100,000 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women aged 15 or over were hospitalised for family violence related assaults. The rate for non-Indigenous women was 27.6. Indigenous women were 31.6 times more likely to be hospitalised for family violence related assaults than non-Indigenous women. Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024</p>
<p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p>			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 2 – Indigenous Heart

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>While this looks like a short term improvement it does not mean the gap is closing. The short term trend in the gap is negative. Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024</p> <p>←</p> <p>The long term trend in the gap is negative. ←</p>
<p>Indigenous suicide Soc02.12 Significant and sustained reduction in suicide of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people towards zero (as per Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020).</p>	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>	<p>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</p> <p>In the five years between 2009 and 2013 (in NSW, QLD, SA, WA & NT) there were 20.2 suicides by Indigenous Australians per 100,000 compared to 10.7 per 100,000 non-Indigenous Australians.</p>	<p>In 2024, the Productivity Commission reported that, “In 2022, the suicide age-standardised rate for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people was 29.9 per 100,000 people (for New South Wales, Queensland, Western Australia, South Australia and the Northern Territory combined). ... Nationally, based on progress from the baseline, the target is worsening.” Totals in reality are much higher because Victoria, Tasmania and the ACT do not provide data. Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024</p> <p>←</p> <p>In the five years between 2018 and 2022 (in NSW, QLD, SA, WA & NT) there were 27.6 suicides by Indigenous Australians per 100,000 compared to 12.2 per 100,000 non-Indigenous Australians. The ratio of</p>
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
		<p>The ratio of Indigenous to non-Indigenous suicides was 1.9. Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024</p>	<p>Indigenous to non-Indigenous suicides was 2.3.  Between 2009-13 and 2018-22, the rate of suicide worsened for Indigenous people by 37% and for non-Indigenous people by 14%. Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024 The longer term trend is negative. </p>
<p>Indigenous land and sea rights – land rights Soc02.13 By 2030, a 15 per cent increase in Australia’s landmass subject to Aboriginal and Torres 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).</p>	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>	<p>In 2020, Native Title was determined to exist over 3,015,122 square kilometres of Australia or 39.2%.</p> <p>In 2020, land under Indigenous legal rights or interests was 3,908,387 square kilometres or 50.9%.</p> <p>In 2011, Native Title was determined to exist over 70,477 square kilometres of Australian sea country or 1.0%.</p> <p>In 2020, Native Title was determined to exist over 90,252 square kilometres of Australian sea country or 1.3%.</p>	<p>In 2023, Native Title was determined to exist over 3,333,488 square kilometres of Australia or 43.4%.</p> <p>In 2023, land under Indigenous legal rights or interests was 4,213,978 square kilometres or 54.9%. The short term trend is positive.  The longer term trend is positive.  In 2023, Native Title was determined to exist over 113,461 square kilometres of Australian sea country or 1.6%. Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024 The short term trend is positive. </p>
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
	<p>Env 19 A land of thriving self-supporting regions.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing & affirming decency</p>		
	<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all</p>		

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Society 2 – Indigenous Heart

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
		Source: Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020	The longer term trend is positive. 
<p style="color: #f1c40f;">Indigenous language and cultural preservation</p> <p style="color: #f1c40f;">Soc02.14</p> <p>By 2031, there is a sustained increase in number and strength of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages being spoken.</p>	<p style="color: #f1c40f;">Soc 2</p> <p>A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>	<p>In 2014/15, the <i>National Indigenous Languages Surveys, AIATSIS</i> estimated that 100 Indigenous languages were critically or severely endangered. Languages gaining speakers was estimated at 31.</p> <p>Source: Closing the Gap in Partnership 2020</p> <p>Nationally in 2018-19, there were 123 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages being spoken (with 14 considered strong).</p> <p>Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository Beta</p>	<p>No new data available.</p> <p></p> <p>In 2021, the Productivity Commission reported that the number of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages being spoken was 123, a decline from 145 in 2004/05. The number of strong languages spoken dropped from 18 to 14 during this period.</p> <p>Source: Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository 2024</p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p></p>
	<p style="color: #f1c40f;">Soc 3</p> <p>Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
	<p style="color: #f1c40f;">Soc 6</p> <p>A society of equals.</p>		
	<p style="color: #f1c40f;">Soc 7</p> <p>A success because of its diversity.</p>		
	<p style="color: #f1c40f;">Soc 13</p> <p>A wellspring of inspiration & creativity.</p>		
<p style="color: #f1c40f;">Priority Reforms of the National Agreement on Closing the Gap</p> <p style="color: #f1c40f;">Soc02.15</p> <p>Implement and monitor progress with the Priority Reforms of the National Agreement on Closing 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.¹²</p>	<p style="color: #f1c40f;">Soc 2</p> <p>A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>	<p>In July 2020, the National Agreement on Closing the Gap was signed by all Australian governments and the Coalition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peak Organisations (Coalition of Peaks). The agreed objective was to “overcome the entrenched inequality faced by too many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people so that their life outcomes are equal to all Australians”.</p>	<p>In 2024, the Productivity Commission reported that in relation to the Priority Reforms of the National Agreement on Closing the Gap, “there is not yet a framework in place or agreement on the data to be collected that could inform an assessment of progress towards them. Since the 2023 ADCR, work on developing these measures has commenced; however, they remain under development.”</p>
	<p style="color: #f1c40f;">Soc 1</p> <p>A safe home.</p>		
	<p style="color: #f1c40f;">Soc 2</p> <p>A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>		
	<p style="color: #f1c40f;">Soc 3</p> <p>Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
	<p style="color: #f1c40f;">Soc 4</p> <p>A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p>		
	<p style="color: #f1c40f;">Soc 5</p> <p>A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>		
	<p style="color: #f1c40f;">Soc 6</p> <p>A society of equals.</p>		

¹² For detail on targets and indicators see Table A, [National Agreement on Closing the Gap](#), July 2020 and Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Information Repository Beta, [Closing the Gap Annual Data Compilation Report July 2021](#), Table 2.1.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 2 – Indigenous Heart

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.	<p>The National Agreement marked a shift in the approach to the Closing the Gap Strategy. It introduced a structural change that commits Australian governments to work in full and genuine partnership' with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in making policies to close the gap.</p> <p>Central to the Agreement are four Priority Reforms that aim to change the way governments work with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Developing new partnerships that empower Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to share decision-making authority with governments. 2. Building Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community-controlled sectors to deliver services. 3. Transforming mainstream 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 	<p>Source: Productivity Commission, Annual Data Compilation Report July 2024</p> <p>In short, in the four years since the adoption of the National Agreement on Closing the Gap, the government has hardly even begun to drive measurement of reform let alone the reforms themselves. Progress on developing measures for the priority reform targets is apparently stagnant. But taking the above updates of progress (or lack of it) in closing the gap, it is equally apparent that if reforms are underway, they are not working. The gap is not closing and with the defeat of the Voice referendum the cause of Aboriginal empowerment has suffered a severe setback. Little if anything has changed in the way administration of Indigenous affairs is managed. No improvement in the accountability of government can be demonstrated when there has been next to no progress on measurement. Progress in the short term is on balance heavily negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>The longer term trend has, of course, been negative. Australia needs</p>
	Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.		
	Soc 9 A land without homelessness and with decent affordable housing for all.		
	Soc 10 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.		
	Soc 13 A wellspring of inspiration & creativity.		
	Soc 14 A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in policing.		
	Soc 15 Confident of justice for all.		
	Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.		
	Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity,		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 2 – Indigenous Heart

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	<p>growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	<p>communities and organisations. Source: Commonwealth Government Productivity Commission, Closing the Gap Annual Data Compilation Report July 2021</p>	<p>a whole new constitutional framework to be able to address these basic accountability failures.</p> <p align="center"></p>
	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing and affirming decency.</p>		
	<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>		
	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>		
	<p>Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.</p>		

Society 3 – Belonging & inclusion

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society			
Society 3 – Belonging & inclusion			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Belonging and inclusion – sense of belonging Soc03.01</p> <p>By 2030, the percent of people who report that they have sense of belonging in Australia to a great extent exceeds 77%.</p> <p>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.</p>	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming and enabling.	<p>In 2020, 47% of Australians reported that they had a sense of belonging “to a great extent”, down from 63% in 2019 and, over the longer term, down from 77% in 2007. This index fell steadily after 2015 and steeply after 2020. Source: Scanlon Foundation, Mapping Social Cohesion Survey 2024 The short term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>Between 2021 and 2024, the overall score for the index of sense of belonging in the Scanlon Index of Social Cohesion fell from 84.2 to 77.0. This was the lowest score since the introduction of the Index in 2007. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion Survey 2024 The short term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>The longer term trend is negative. Australian society has been slowly coming apart.</p> <p>←</p>
	Soc 2	A land with an Indigenous heart.	
	Soc 6	A society of equals.	
	Soc 7	A success because of its diversity.	
	Soc 8	A success because of gender equality.	
	Gov 1	A proactive participatory democracy.	
	Gov 2	A nation knowing & affirming decency.	
Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.	<p>In 2019, 63% of Australians reported that they had a sense of belonging “to a great extent”, down from 77% in 2007. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion Survey 2019</p> <p>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</p>	
<p>Belonging and inclusion – sense of acceptance or rejection Soc03.01.01</p>	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming and enabling.	<p>Between July 2020 and November 2020, during the first year of the Covid-19 pandemic</p>
	Soc 1	A safe home.	

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 3 – Belonging & inclusion

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>The index of acceptance/rejection in the Scanlon Index of Social Cohesion rises continuously to reach 100.</p>	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>	<p>72.1 (27.9 points below the baseline of 100 in 2007), but up from 64.1 in 2017 (the lowest score in this part of the Index since its inception). Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion Survey 2019</p>	<p>(when the government almost doubled Jobseeker and introduced JobKeeper), the index of acceptance/rejection rose from 67.4 to 86.6. But it then fell steadily after the cessation of the Covid-19 fiscal support until in 2024 it reached its lowest point on the Index ever – 63.0. The fall in the score for acceptance/rejection since 2020 has tracked in parallel with a similar fall in the score for social justice and equity, which dropped from 110.5 in 2020 down to 74.0 in 2024, indicating that increases in inequality and attacks on fairness and justice are highly destructive of social cohesion and inclusion.</p> <p>Since 2007, the acceptance/rejection score has generally been the lowest in the scores for the five domains of social cohesion in the Scanlon Index of Social Cohesion. Source: Scanlon Foundation, Mapping Social Cohesion Survey 2024</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend is negative. Australian society has been slowly coming apart.</p>
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.</p>		
	<p>Soc 13 A wellspring of inspiration & creativity.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing & affirming decency.</p>		
<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 3 – Belonging & inclusion

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Building an inclusive society by community volunteering Soc03.02 The rate of volunteering does not fall below 30%.</p>	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming and enabling.</p>	<p>In 2010, 36.2% of Australians on survey said they had undertaken unpaid voluntary work through an organisation in last 12 months.</p> <p>Between 2006 and 2019 an average of 32.5% of Australians on survey said they had undertaken unpaid voluntary work through an organisation. Source: ABS, General Social Survey 2020</p>	<p>←</p> <p>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. Source: ABS, General Social Survey 2020 No new data since 2020 from the ABS General Social Survey. However, in 2022 the ABS reported Census results showing that “2,933,646 Australians were doing unpaid voluntary work. This is a 19 per cent decrease from 2016.” Source: ABS, Unpaid work and care, Census 2021.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative. ←</p> <p>The longer term trend is negative. ←</p>
	<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>		
	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing and affirming decency.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for 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
<p>Life expectancy – males Soc04.01 Life expectancy for males is steady or increasing.</p> <p>Life expectancy – females Soc04.01.01 Life expectancy for females is steady or increasing.</p>	<p>Soc 4</p> <p>A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>	<p>In 2015-17, life expectancy for males was 80.2 years and for females was 83.4 years. Source: AIHW, Australia’s Health 2019</p>	<p>In 2019-21, life expectancy for males was 81.3 years and for females was 85.4 years. In 2024, the ABS reported that in 2020-22, life expectancy at birth decreased for the first time since the early 1990’s: life expectancy at birth was 81.2 years for males and 85.3 years for females, a decrease of 0.1 years for both from the previous year (2019-21) Source: ABS, Life Expectancy at Birth Short term trend</p> <p></p> <p>Since 1998-2000 life expectancy has increased by 4.6 years for males and 3.3 years for females. The longer term trend is positive. Source: ABS, Life Expectancy at Birth</p> <p></p>
<p>Life expectancy – health adjusted – males Soc04.01.02 Health adjusted life expectancy for males is steady or increasing.</p> <p>Life expectancy – health adjusted – females Soc04.01.03 Health adjusted life expectancy for females is steady or increasing.</p>	<p>Soc 4</p> <p>A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>	<p>Between 2003 and 2022 the years of life spent in full health grew:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> for males by 2.2 years; for females by 1.3 years. <p>Between 2003 and 2022 the proportion of</p>	<p>In 2024, the ABS reported that between 2022 and 2023 the years of life spent in full health:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> remained unchanged for males (71.6 years); and declined for females by 0.5 years from 74.1 to 73.6 years. <p>The short term trend is negative, at least for females.</p> <p></p> <p>In 2024, the ABS reported that between 2003 and 2023 the proportion of life</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for 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
		<p>life spent in full health declined:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • for males from 88.9% to 88.2%; • for females from 87.7% to 86.8%. <p>Source: Australian Government Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework – life expectancy, 2022.</p>	<p>spent in full health continued to decline:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • for males from 88.8% 88.0%; and • for females from 87.7% to 86.5%. <p>Source: Australian Government Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework – life expectancy, 2024.</p> <p>Basically the long term trend is that Australians are living longer but with more years in ill-health. The longer term trend is therefore negative.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p>
<p>Perceptions of health Soc04.02</p> <p>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.</p>	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>	<p>In 2017/18, 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.</p> <p>Source: ABS, National Health Survey, First results Australia 2017-18</p> <p>Between 2006 and 2019, an average of 54.9% of Australians self-assessed their health status as excellent or very good.</p> <p>Source: ABS, General Social Survey 2020</p>	<p>In 2022, 56.5% of Australians aged 15 years and over considered themselves to be in excellent or very good health, while 15.0% reported being in fair or poor health. This has remained generally constant over the last 10 years.</p> <p>Source: ABS, National Health Survey 2022</p> <p>Based on ABS reports, the short and longer terms trends are stable.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>In 2024, Macquarie University et al reported that “In 2021, three-quarters of Australians rated their health as either good (n = 1678, 32.9%) or very good to excellent (n = 2353/5100, 46.1%). However, across the five surveys, self-rated health status significantly declined ...; in 2021 and 2018, an average of 45.2% (n = 2767/6124) of Australians rated their</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for 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
			<p>health as very good to excellent, compared with 56.3% (n = 1994/3544) of Australians across the 2012, 2010 and 2008 Menzies-Nous surveys.” Source: Louise A Ellis, et al, Public Perceptions of the Australian Health System During COVID-19: Findings From a 2021 Survey Compared to Four Previous Surveys, 2024.¹³ Based on the Macquarie University figures, overall, the longer term trend is negative.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p>
<p>Mental health – experience of psychological distress Soc04.03 The proportion of Australians experiencing high or very high levels of psychological distress is continuously declining.</p>	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>	<p>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. Measuring What Matters Dashboard – Mental Health.</p>	<p>In 2024, the ABS reported that the proportion of adults experiencing high or very high levels of psychological distress in 2022 was 14.3%, up from 13.5% in 2018. Source: ABS, Measuring What Matters Dashboard – Mental Health. In 2024, the ABS further reported that the proportion of adults experiencing high or very high levels of psychological distress in 2020-22 was 16.7%. Source: ABS, National Study of Mental Health and Wellbeing: Summary Results, 2020–2022.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>The proportion of adults experiencing high or very high levels of psychological distress has risen since 2011/12 (10.8%) and 2014/15 (11.7%).</p>

¹³ Ellis LA, Dammary G, Gillespie J, Ansell J, Wells L, Smith CL, Wijekulasuriya S, Braithwaite J, Zurynski Y. Public Perceptions of the Australian Health System During COVID-19: Findings From a 2021 Survey Compared to Four Previous Surveys. Health Expect. 2024 Aug;27(4):e14140. doi: 10.1111/hex.14140. PMID: 38992904; PMCID: PMC11239533.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for 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
			Source: ABS, Measuring What Matters Dashboard – Mental Health. The longer term trend is negative. 
<p>Mental health – mental and behavioural conditions Soc04.03.01 The proportion of Australians experiencing a mental or behavioural condition is continuously declining.</p>	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>	<p>In 2017-18, 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 and 1.8 million (9.6) in 2001. Source: ABS, National Health Survey, First results Australia 2017-18</p>	<p>In 2022, 26.1% or 6.6 million Australians had a mental or behavioural condition. In the ten years to 2022, the number of Australians with a mental or behavioural condition more than doubled from 2.996 million (13.6%) in 2011/12 to 6.632 million (26.1%) in 2022. Source: ABS, National Health Survey 2022 In 2024, the ABS also reported that in 2022 the proportion of persons (16 to 85 years):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> with a lifetime mental disorder (including anxiety, depressive, bipolar or substance disorder) was 42.9%; and with a 12-month mental disorder (including anxiety, depressive, bipolar or substance disorder) was 21.5%. <p>Source: ABS, National Study of Mental Health and Wellbeing: Summary Results, 2020–2022. The shorter term trend is negative.  The longer term trend is negative. </p>
<p>Mental health – anxiety Soc04.03.02</p>	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>	<p>In 2017-18, 3.2 million Australians (13.1%) had an anxiety-related</p>	<p>In 2022, the ABS reported that the proportion of persons (16 to 85 years):</p>

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Society 4 – Health & wellbeing

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>The proportion of Australians experiencing an anxiety-related condition is continuously declining.</p>		<p>condition, an increase from 11.2% in 2014-15. Source: ABS, National Health Survey, First results Australia 2017-18</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> with a lifetime anxiety disorder was 28.8%; and with a 12-month anxiety disorder was 17.2%. <p>Source: ABS, National Study of Mental Health and Wellbeing: Summary Results, 2020–2022. These data suggest an increase in anxiety disorders in the short term.</p> <p>←</p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p>
<p>Mental health – depression Soc04.03.03 The proportion of Australians experiencing depression is continuously declining.</p>	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>	<p>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</p>	<p>No new directly comparable data are available. However, in 2024 the ABS reported that the proportion of persons (16 to 85 years):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> with a lifetime depressive (affective) disorder was 16.0%; and with a 12-month depressive (affective) disorder was 7.5%. <p>These data suggest an increase in depression in the short term. Source: ABS, National Study of Mental Health and Wellbeing: Summary Results, 2020–2022.</p> <p>←</p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p>
<p>Burden of disease Soc04.04 The burden of disease, expressed as the age-standardised DALY rate (Disability Adjusted</p>	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>	<p>In 2011, the age standardised rate was 189.9 DALY per 1,000 population, improved from 2003 when it was</p>	<p>In 2023, the age standardised rate was 186.0 DALY per 1,000 population, “little changed” from 186.2 DALY</p>

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Society 4 – Health & wellbeing

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>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.</p>		<p>208 DALY per 1,000 population. Source: AIHW, Australia’s Health 2018</p> <p>In 2023, AIHW revised these figures as follows: In 2011, the age standardised rate was 193.0 DALY per 1,000 population, improved from 2003 when it was 209.3 DALY per 1,000 population. Source: AIHW, Australian Burden of Disease Study 2023.</p>	<p>per 1,000 population in 2018. Source: AIHW, Australian Burden of Disease Study 2023.</p> <p>The short term trend is steady. </p> <p>The longer term trend is positive. </p>
<p>Physical health – obesity Soc04.05 The prevalence of obesity in persons aged 15 and over declines continuously.</p>	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>	<p>In 2014/15, the proportion of Australians above the age of 18:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> with obesity was 27.9%, up from 18.6% in 1995; either overweight or obese was 63.4%, up from 56.2% in 1995. <p>Source: AIHW, Australia’s Health 2018 & AIHW Overweight and Obesity website 2024.</p>	<p>In 2024, AIHW reported that in 2022 the proportion of Australians above the age of 18:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> with obesity was 31.7%, up from 31.3% in 2017/18; either overweight or obese was 65.8%, down from 67.0% in 2017/18 but up from 63.4% in 2014/15. <p>Source: AIHW, Overweight and Obesity website 2024.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend is negative. </p>
<p>Physical health – diabetes Soc04.05.01 The age standardised prevalence rate of diabetes declines continuously.</p> <p>The proportion of Australians with diabetes declines continuously.</p>	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>	<p>In 2017-18, the age standardised prevalence rate of self-reported diabetes was 4.4%. Source: AIHW, Australia’s Health 2018</p> <p>In 2017-18, 4.9% of Australians had</p>	<p>In 2022, the age standardised prevalence rate of self-reported diabetes was 4.5%. Source: ABS, National Health Survey 2022</p> <p>The shorter term trend is negative. </p> <p>In 2022, 5.3% or 1.3 million people had</p>

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Society 4 – Health & wellbeing

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
		diabetes, an increase from 3.3% in 2001. Source: ABS, National Health Survey 2022	diabetes. Diabetes prevalence has slowly increased from 3.3% in 2001 to 5.3% in 2022. Source: ABS, National Health Survey 2022 The longer term trend is negative. 
<p>Physical health – cardiovascular (heart, stroke, vascular) disease Soc04.05.02 The age standardised prevalence rate of cardiovascular (heart/stroke/vascular) disease declines continuously.</p> <p>The proportion of Australians with heart/stroke/vascular disease declines continuously.</p>	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>	<p>In 2017-18, the age standardised prevalence rate of heart/stroke/vascular disease was 4.2%. Source: ABS, National Health Survey 2022</p> <p>In 2017-18, 4.8% of Australians or 1.15 million had heart/stroke/vascular disease, an increase from 4.1% in 2001. Source: ABS, National Health Survey 2022</p>	<p>In 2022, the age standardised prevalence rate of heart/stroke/vascular disease was 4.3%. Source: ABS, National Health Survey 2022</p> <p>In 2022, 5.2% or 1.3 million people had heart/stroke/vascular disease, up from 4.1% or 782,000 in 2001. Source: ABS, National Health Survey 2022 The shorter term trend is negative.  The longer term trend is negative. </p>
<p>Physical health – cancer Soc04.05.03 The incidence of cancer (malignant neoplasms) declines continuously.</p>	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>	<p>In 2017-18, 1.8% of Australians or 432,000 had cancer, an increase from 1.4% in 2001. Source: ABS, National Health Survey 2022</p>	<p>In 2022, 1.8% or 456,000 people had cancer, up slightly from 432,000 in 2017-18 and up from 1.4% or 261,000 in 2001. Source: ABS, National Health Survey 2022</p> <p>The shorter term trend is negative.  The longer term trend is negative. </p>

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Society 4 – Health & wellbeing

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Physical health – musculoskeletal conditions Soc04.05.04 The prevalence of musculoskeletal conditions declines continuously.</p>	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>	<p>In 2014-15, 35% of Australians (8.05 million) were suffering from a musculoskeletal condition including arthritis, back pain and osteoporosis. Source: ABS, National Health Survey 2022</p> <p>In 2017-18, 35.2% of Australians (8.5 million) were suffering from a musculoskeletal condition including arthritis, back pain and osteoporosis. Source: ABS, National Health Survey 2022</p>	<p>In 2022, 33.6% of Australians (8.52 million) were suffering from a musculoskeletal condition including arthritis, back pain and osteoporosis. Source: ABS, National Health Survey 2022</p> <p>Proportionally in the short term this is an improvement, but not in total numbers.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p></p>
<p>Physical health – respiratory conditions Soc04.05.05 The prevalence of chronic respiratory conditions declines continuously.</p>	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>	<p>In 2014-15, 32.8% of Australians (7.5 million) were suffering from chronic respiratory conditions including COPD, hay fever, and asthma. Source: ABS, National Health Survey 2022</p> <p>In 2017-18, 33.0% of Australians (7.97 million) were suffering from chronic respiratory conditions including COPD, hay fever, and asthma. Source: ABS, National Health Survey 2022</p>	<p>In 2022, 37.2% of Australians (9.48 million) were suffering from chronic respiratory conditions including COPD, hay fever, and asthma. Source: ABS, National Health Survey 2022</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p></p>
<p>Physical health – chronic conditions Soc04.05.06 The proportion of persons with a chronic condition declines continuously.</p>	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>	<p>In 2007/08, 42.2% of Australians (8.7 million) had a chronic health condition.</p> <p>In 2017/18, 47.3% of Australians (11.4 million) had a chronic health condition. Source: ABS, National Health Survey 2022 Source: Measuring What Matters Dashboard –</p>	<p>In 2022, 49.9% of Australians (12.7 million) had a chronic health condition. Source: ABS, National Health Survey 2022 Source: Measuring What Matters Dashboard – Prevalence of Chronic Conditions</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p></p>

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
		Prevalence of Chronic Conditions	The longer term trend is negative. 
<p>Happiness and wellbeing – world ranking and scores Soc04.06 Australia’s ranking and life evaluation scores in the World Happiness Report do not decline.</p>	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>	<p>In 2017, Australia was ranked as the 9th happiest country in the world, with a life evaluation (surveyed happiness score out of 10) score of 7.284.</p> <p>In 2020, Australia was ranked as the 12th happiest country in the world, with a life evaluation (surveyed happiness score out of 10) score of 7.223. Source: United Nations Sustainable Development Solutions Network, World Happiness Report</p>	<p>In 2024, Australia was ranked as the 10th happiest country in the world, with a life evaluation (surveyed happiness score out of 10) score of 7.057. Source: United Nations Sustainable Development Solutions Network, World Happiness Report 2021</p> <p>In the short term Australia’s ranking has improved but its life evaluation score has worsened, indicating a decline in happiness by Australians.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend is consistently negative for life evaluation scores but improving for world rankings.</p> <p></p> <p>The mix of results here indicates that Australians are less happy than they were in 2009 but relative to the majority of other nations, they are happier. Australia’s happiness ranking has improved not because we are happier but because other nations have become more unhappy.</p>
<p>Happiness and wellbeing – reported by Australians Soc04.06.01 The proportion of Australians reporting that they are happy or</p>	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>	<p>In 2018,</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 14% of Australians reported they had been “very happy” in the last year; and 	<p>In 2024,</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 12% of Australians reported they had been “very happy” in the last year; and • 78% of Australians reported they had

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>very happy does not decline from the baseline.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 78% of Australians reported they had been happy or very happy in the last year. <p>Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2024</p>	<p>been happy or very happy in the last year. Between 2018 and 2024, reported happiness has been steady.</p> <p>Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2024.</p> <p>Between May 2022 and January 2025, Australians reported a decline in happiness with their life overall from 6.8 out of 10 to 6.3 out of 10.</p> <p>Source: Essential Report 21 January 2025.</p> <p>The shorter term trend is neutral to negative.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>The longer term trend is steady.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p>
<p>Happiness and wellbeing – optimism/pessimism Soc04.06.02</p> <p>The proportion of Australians who are optimistic about their future "overall" does not decline.</p>	<p>Soc 4</p> <p>A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>	<p>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.</p> <p>Source: Source: ABC Australia Talks National Survey 2021</p>	<p>No comparable data have been identified. However, in 2022, NCLS Research surveyed Australians about their sense of purpose and their hope for the future:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 65% of Australians surveyed agreed their life has a sense of purpose; and 61% indicated they felt hopeful about the future <p>Source: NCLS Research, Australian Community Survey 2022</p> <p>Also, in 2024 Bastion Australia reported that "while Australians remain generally satisfied with their lives, their optimism for the future is dwindling." Results provided include:</p>

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Personal optimism has plummeted to its lowest point since 2021, with less than half of Australians feeling hopeful about the country’s future. • Younger generations, facing greater economic pressures, exhibit growing pessimism about their prospects. <p>Source: Bastion’s Australia Now & Next survey, conducted from July 16-18, 2024</p> <p>Note also, Australians’ economic optimism declined between 2021 and 2024 when it reached its lowest recorded point (58%) in twenty years (bar 2020, the first year of Covid-19). See Econ03.08.01.</p> <p>Source: Lowy Institute Poll 2024.</p> <p>An Essential poll in January 2025 also reported that Australians were overall not optimistic about what might happen in 2025 in relation to Australia in general, their personal financial situation, workers, small businesses, the Australian economy, and the planet. However, they thought that 2025 would be a good year for them and their family overall and a very good year for corporations.</p> <p>Source: Essential Report, 21 January 2025.</p> <p>While available data are not directly comparable with the baseline, they all indicate a decline in all</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			aspects of optimism in the short term.  The longer term trend appears to be negative. 
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.	Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	Between 2014 and 2020, all age groups of Australians reported drops on average in life satisfaction: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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. Overall, between 2014 and 2020 life satisfaction dropped from 7.6 to 7.2 out of 10. Source: ABS General Social Survey, Summary Results, Australia, 2020, Table 8.1, Measuring What Matters.	No further updates of data from the ABS General Social Survey are to be made available before 2026. More recent data from the HILDA Survey suggest there has been no change at all in life satisfaction (as measured by HILDA) since 2014, with the score every year being 7.9 out of 10. Source: Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) 2014 to 2022  The longer term trend is neutral to negative. 
	Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.		
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.	Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	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: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Men = 7.6 down to 7.1; • Women = 7.7 down to 7.2; 	No further updates of data from the ABS General Social Survey are to be made available before 2026.  Across the board, Australians are experiencing a sustained decline in their life satisfaction, although it should be noted that the ABS appears not to have surveyed life satisfaction for Indigenous groups.
	Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.		

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Society 4 – Health & wellbeing

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Migrants and temporary residents = 7.7 down to 7.1; • Not migrants and temporary residents = 7.6 down to 7.2; 	<p>The longer term trend is negative for all groups.</p> <p></p>
	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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 = 7.5 down to 6.9; 	
	<p>Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Without a long term health condition = 7.9 down to 7.4; • With a disability = 7.2 down to 6.7; • Without a disability = 7.8 down to 7.4; 	
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Heterosexual = 7.7 down to 7.2; and • Not heterosexual (defined as “gay, lesbian or bisexual”) = 7.0 down to 6.3. <p>The two groups with the largest decline in life satisfaction were those with a mental health condition and those in the LGBTIQ+ group. The ABS appears not to have surveyed life satisfaction for Indigenous groups.</p> <p>Source: ABS General Social Survey, Summary Results, Australia, 2020, Table 8.1</p>	

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for 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
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Security of funding for health Soc04.07</p> <p>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 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.</p>	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>	<p>In 2018/19, federal government total expenditure on health including medical services 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.</p>	<p>In the 2023 Intergenerational Report, it was noted that “Australian Government health spending is projected to grow from 4.2 per cent of GDP in 2022–23 to 6.2 per cent of GDP in 2062–63.” Spending in 2023 was below the baseline of 4.27% of GDP in 2018/19 and would appear to be set to fall further for some years before beginning to rise, indicating a planned reduction of allocations for health as a proportion of GDP in the short term. Also, no progress has been made towards the target of introducing a protected floor expenditure for health in the federal budget. Source: 2023 Intergenerational Report, page 148.</p>
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	<p>In the “2015 Intergenerational Report – Australia in 2055” the federal Treasurer noted that while the Australian Government was spending 4.2% of the nation’s GDP on health and would expect that to rise to 5.5% in 2055, the real expected spending level that will be a necessity by 2055 on our health is 7.1% of GDP. Subsequent federal budget papers have made no commitment to establish funding sufficient to meet expected demand. Source: Commonwealth of Australia, Budget 2019-20, Budget Paper No. 1, Statement 5: Expenses and Net Capital Investment, page 5-19, & “2015 Intergenerational Report”, pages 76-77 and page xvi</p>	
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for 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																		
			<p>Report are unlikely to be sufficient to meet projected health needs, even with expected efficiencies. The longer term target of 6.2% of GDP for health spending by 2062/63 is lower than the 7% thought necessary by 2055 in 2015 and is very unlikely to be adequate. The health of Australians is at risk. The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p>																		
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Security of funding for health – Abolition of subsidies for private health insurance and reinstatement of universal health care in public and private hospitals funded by a single public fund based on a fair Medicare levy Soc04.07.01 By 2030, recognising that private health insurance (PHI) is highly detrimental to the financial sustainability and the universality of both public and private hospital services in Australia because PHI:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • makes hospital costs and the fees charged by medical professionals in hospitals difficult if not impossible to control; 	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1010 608 1048">Soc 4</td> <td data-bbox="608 1010 799 1093">A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1093 608 1131">Soc 1</td> <td data-bbox="608 1093 799 1131">A safe home.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1131 608 1214">Soc 2</td> <td data-bbox="608 1131 799 1214">A land with an Indigenous heart.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1214 608 1296">Soc 3</td> <td data-bbox="608 1214 799 1296">Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1296 608 1379">Soc 6</td> <td data-bbox="608 1296 799 1379">A society of equals.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1379 608 1648">Soc 10</td> <td data-bbox="608 1379 799 1648">A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1648 608 1731">Soc 11</td> <td data-bbox="608 1648 799 1731">A land without child disadvantage.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1731 608 1814">Soc 12</td> <td data-bbox="608 1731 799 1814">A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1814 608 2045">Econ 1</td> <td data-bbox="608 1814 799 2045">A model of transition from excessive consumption</td> </tr> </table>	Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	Soc 1	A safe home.	Soc 2	A land with an Indigenous heart.	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	Soc 6	A society of equals.	Soc 10	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.	Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption	<p>In 2024, funding for Australia’s health system was organised in two streams:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • government funding, and • private health insurance (PHI). <p>Government funding was through the Medicare scheme, which subsidised out-of-hospital medical treatment and funded free treatment in a public hospital. Private insurance was optional but in general covered most of the cost to patients of treatment in a private hospital. In effect, the majority of private hospital expenses or treatment as a private patient in a public hospital were funded by PHI companies but these in turn were funded by premiums paid by the Australians that could afford them and by substantial extra</p>	<p>No progress has been made towards abolition of subsidies for private health insurance. The federal budget for 2024/25 indicates that the intention is to increase the direct subsidy to private health insurers and the private health insurance rebate costs from \$9.083 billion to \$9.764 billion. This does not count the cost to the taxpayer from premium increases, the Medicare levy surcharge, the not-for-profit private health insurers’ income tax exemption. Nor is the government unwinding the “Lifetime Health Cover Loading” which forces young Australians to subsidise older Australians for health care while gaining no utility for their own.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>The long term trend is also negative.</p>
Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.																				
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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for 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	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> has administrative costs that are three times those of Medicare; has imposed premium increases at double the rate of CPI for the last 20 years and at least 1.5 times the rate of wage increases; has led to an increase in pressure on public hospital emergency departments (not a reduction); has led to an inability of public hospitals to retain specialists due to dramatic increases in salaries offered by the private sector (salaries in private hospitals are three to five times higher than public hospitals); has led to “under-servicing populations who cannot afford to maintain access while over-servicing those who can”,¹⁴ has led to an overall cost to Australians for their health care system that is much higher than is necessary; and 	to sustainability.	subsidies from taxpayers.	←	
	Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.	By 2024, it was known that the two-stream system of private and public funding for hospital care was incapable of supporting a reliable hospital system to which everyone could be confident of access, meaning it was wholly inconsistent with the Vision for <i>Australia Together</i> . In 2024, the sustainability of the system began to be seriously questioned, due to an increase in costs for private hospitals which was not being offset by the private health insurance funds. In the previous five years, “71 private hospital services closed down as a result of workforce shortages and funding from private insurers failing to keep pace with soaring costs of providing care.” The efficiency and fairness of the system was also questioned inasmuch as “PHI has administrative costs three times higher than Medicare” and “for decades the premiums payable to PHI have increased at	By failing to delete subsidies for private health insurance and establish a single fund with the provisions necessary to reliably fund public and private health care the government is denying the people of Australia the most cost-efficient funding system for their health and is baking in inequality of access to health care.	
	Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.			As to progress with development of plans to implement integrated funding for and delivery of all public and private hospital services, commencement of activities under Soc04.07.02 is not required before 2026. The short term trend is therefore neutral. Failure to commence action, however, exacerbates impacts over the longer term and delays health care security to Australians.
	Econ 4 A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.			
	Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.			
	Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable public participation.			
	Gov 2 A nation knowing and affirming decency.			
	Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.			←

¹⁴ Martyn Goddard, “[Private health insurance: and the rort goes on](#)”, John Menadue’s Pearls and Irritations, 11 October 2023.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for 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
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> acts as a system of syphoning taxpayer funds for their health away from the health services and towards private profiteering, eliminate all federal budget direct funding and subsidies for private health insurance and replace the current two-stream funding structure with a single stream of funding for all hospitals (regardless of whether they are public or private) in accordance with programs developed under Soc04.07.02. <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Security of funding for health – Development of plans to implement integrated funding for and delivery of all public and private hospital services Soc04.07.02</p> <p>By 2026,</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> preparatory to the full implementation of health system funding reforms in Soc04.07.01, and recognising that those reforms are necessary to ensure the viability of both public and private hospitals, commence the process of securing a 	<p>Gov 9</p> <p>A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>	<p>about three times the rate of increase in CPI and 1.5 times the rate of increase in wages.”</p> <p>Source: John Menadue, “Private hospitals seeking more government subsidies”, Pearls and Irritations, 20 June 2024.</p> <p>Source: Martyn Goddard, “Private health insurance: and the rort goes on”, Pearls and Irritations, 11 October 2023.</p> <p>In 2024/25, public subsidies for private health insurance were estimated at \$7.53 billion and hidden subsidies up to another \$7 billion in the form of tax exemptions and other public contributions were also likely.</p> <p>In 2023, APRA reported that Australians paid private health insurance premiums of \$27.396 billion giving PHI providers a gross profit of 17.4%. When taken together it is clear that taxpayers are contributing between \$34 billion and \$40 billion annually to private health insurers and thereby diverting significant profits to them which are not being reinvested in their health care. All these funds can be diverted back into a single fund so that they are combined with funds from the Medicare levy to progressively re-</p>	

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for 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
<p>sustainable, cost-effective and fully universal hospital services system by:</p> <p>a) developing a program for the staged integration of the current two-stream funding system for private and public hospital care into a single-stream funding system in which all hospitals (private and public) are funded directly by a single Medicare-administered fund;</p> <p>b) developing a plan for the staged opening of private hospitals to all patients (not just those who can afford to pay for their own treatment), thereby establishing a single, integrated hospital system with public and private components;</p> <p>c) developing a 10-year model to estimate the demand for and likely cost of hospital services to determine any necessary increase in the Medicare levy,¹⁵ recognising</p>		<p>establish a truly universal, high-standard health care system in Australia. Such a system would ensure that private hospitals could still operate viably and be available for any patient who wished to access them.</p> <p>Source: Federal Budget Paper No. 1 2024/25. Source: Centre for Policy Development, Jennifer Doggett & Ian McAuley, <i>Private Health Insurance Consultations</i>, 1 December 2015. Source: APRA, Operations of Private Health Insurers Annual Report 2022/23.</p> <p>In 2024, in response to the stress created by the two-stream funding system for hospital care, ACFP identified a consistent pattern of research findings suggesting a need for elimination of subsidies for PHI, but noted also that the impact of elimination of subsidies on the viability of private health insurance businesses is likely to be significant. However, maintenance of the subsidies and the two-stream funding system would be inconsistent with the Vision for <i>Australia Together</i> in that it would destroy the possibility that by 2050</p>	

¹⁵ **Rationale for an increase in the Medicare levy in the event of abolition of subsidies for PHI:** Elimination of subsidies for private health insurance will require an increase in the Medicare levy. This is because the elimination of subsidies for PHI

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for 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
the need to distribute burden for both the levy and the total cost of the hospital system more fairly and cost-efficiently than will be possible in a two-stream funding arrangement; d) developing programs for cost control including by introducing an independent body for setting fees and salaries for doctors, surgeons, specialists and other medical professionals in the hospital system; and by e) developing any other plans and implementation timelines		“vital services are fully accessible for all.” Selection of the Strategy of elimination of subsidies for PHI was self-evidently consistent with the Vision.	

will result in many people abandoning their PHI cover, which will in turn result in a loss of funds to the health system. These funds will need to be replaced – i.e., they cannot disappear from the total pool of funds already used to finance our health. Instead they will need to be transferred into the single Medicare-administered fund by way of an increase in the Medicare levy. The quantum of funds that will need to be replaced to ensure sustainability of both public and private hospitals will depend on how many people drop their private health insurance. Based on the APRA’s 2022/23 annual report of the operations of PHI, ACFP has estimated that complete abandonment of PHI would deplete available funds for the hospital system by approximately \$17 billion in a year. ACFP has also estimated that a 1% increase in the Medicare levy (increasing it from 2% of taxable income to 3%) would recover \$17 billion of funding lost through abandonment of PHI. For a median earner this would result in an increase in the Medicare levy of \$676 for the year. However, abandonment of PHI may produce a saving in the private health rebate expense item in the budget (inasmuch as the rebate would not be payable if no-one is taking out PHI cover). Whether that saving is possible depends on the accounting treatment of the rebate but if the saving is present, it is likely to equate to over \$7 billion. This is funding that would not have to be replaced because it is funding that is not being used to finance health services. In that event, the amount of funds that will need replacement in the first year is likely to be only \$10 billion. If this is correct then the necessary increase in the Medicare levy is probably 0.5% rather than 1%. A 0.5% increase in the Medicare levy would cost a median earner in 2024/25 an extra \$338 for the year. Modelling shows that Medicare levy increases for all income earners sufficient to replace the full \$17 billion of assumed lost funds will result in net savings for anyone currently paying for private health insurance but likely increases for lower income earners if they do not currently have private cover. However, a uniform levy on taxable income is a transparently fair and efficient way to cover the cost of health throughout life, in contrast to the less transparent cross-subsidies which currently function to transfer national tax revenues from the poor to the rich in cash and/or in the form of lost health services. Were a higher Medicare levy to be introduced concurrently with a Universal Basic Income under the model proposed by ACFP [here](#), any negative impact on poor people would be well and truly negated.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for 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
<p>necessary for a successful transition to a sustainable, universal health care system, eg., those under Soc04.09 for reform of universal health care (Medicare), and Soc04.10 for health system sustainability and universality – scholarships and bonds for medical students.</p>			
<p>Health equity – teenage birth rates Soc04.08 Australia’s birth rate for mothers aged 15–19 does not rise and is below the OECD average.</p>	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p> <p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p> <p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p> <p>Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.</p> <p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p> <p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p> <p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards</p>	<p>In 2022, AIHW reported that Australia’s birth rate for mothers aged 15–19 in 2019 was 7.7 births per 1,000. This was lower than the OECD average of 36 countries (11.7 births per 1,000). Source: AIHW Australia’s Children webpage, 25 February 2022 and OECD family database, July 2023.</p>	<p>The reported birth rate for teenage mothers dropped from 17.6 in 2006 to 8.2 in 2018 and then to 7.7 in 2019. No later data are available. The short term trend is positive. →</p> <p>The longer term trend is positive. →</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for 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
	improve continuously for all.		
	Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.		
<p>Health equity – accessible abortion, contraception and family planning services Soc04.08.01 By 2024, recognising:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> that access to contraception, safe family planning and abortion is fundamental to women’s health and the quality of children’s lives, that inaccessibility of or barriers to these services is life threatening for women, and that health system sustainability would be improved by full coverage of these services under Medicare and the PBS¹⁶, <p>ensure that complete coverage of costs for all forms of abortion, contraception and family planning is provided under government health rebate schemes and</p>	Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	In 2022, abortion was legal in all Australian states and territories. However, access to abortion, contraception and family planning services was variable and in the case of abortion was limited by the fact that Medicare rebates do not cover the full cost of all forms of the procedure. Only some forms of abortion procedures and contraceptive methods were covered (and not necessarily in full) under Medicare and the Pharmaceutical Benefits Scheme (PBS). Source: Children by Choice Association webpage	In 2024, Medicare rebates did not cover the full cost of abortion. Nor were costs for contraceptive fully covered by the PBS. No progress since 2022.  Note that failure to provide free contraception imposes unnecessary and increasing costs on the health care system. The longer term trend is neutral to negative. 
	Soc 1 A safe home.		
	Soc 6 A society of equals.		
	Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.		
	Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.		
	Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.		
	Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.		
Econ 4 A nation fairly raising and			

¹⁶ Note: See Ian Lowe, Jane O’Sullivan and Peter Cook, Population and Climate Change Discussion Paper, www.population.org.au In 2022, “the most effective, long acting contraceptive options (IUDs and injectables) were little used in Australia because they were quite costly. If they were provided free, it would save the health system money while improving women’s lives and avoiding at least a little child poverty. Such a scheme in Colorado saved the health system around \$5.85 in perinatal care for every \$1 invested, while greatly reducing teen pregnancy and abortion rates. France has recently extended free contraception to women up to the age of twenty-four.”

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Society 4 – Health & wellbeing

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>ensure that barriers* to abortion may not be imposed on other than health grounds.</p> <p>* Note: for example a barrier to abortion services should not be imposed on religious grounds and doctors who refuse requests for abortion services should be obliged to refer the patient to another accessible service provider.</p>	<p>sharing its wealth.</p>		
	<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>		
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Health accessibility – reform of universal health care (Medicare) Soc04.09</p> <p>By 2025, recognising that affordable access to medical, mental health and dental services is diminishing for Australians and has become unaffordable for the poorest Australians, legislate to reform the universal health care system by:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. introducing an independent body for fee setting for GPs, including a new scheme of “participating providers” under which practices would: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. bulk-bill everyone (with no out-of-pocket expenses), b. participate in agreed 	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>	<p>In 1975, the Whitlam government introduced Medibank, Australia’s first universal health insurance scheme.</p> <p>In 1981, the Fraser government succeeded in closing Medibank.</p> <p>In 1984, the Hawke/Keating government established Medicare.</p> <p>In 2024, due to a range of policy changes in Medicare in response to demands for cost control, medical researchers reported that “Health consumers, especially those with chronic conditions, identified significant cost barriers to access of healthcare. Equitable access to healthcare must be at the centre of health reform.”</p>	<p>In 2022-2024, despite improvements in bulk billing, cost of medicines on the PBS, there was little or no progress in systemic reform of health care to secure reliable and equitable access for all Australians. The effect on access has been such as to exclude more Australians. Note the increase in Australians delaying access to health care due to cost – see Soc04.09.01 below.</p> <p>Also, the proportion of people who reported that cost was a reason for delaying or not seeing a health professional for their own mental health when needed increased as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2020/21 – 12%, • 2021/22 – 16.7%, • 2022/23 – 19.3% • 2023/24 – 20.4%. <p>Source: ABS Patient Experiences, 2020/21 to 2023/24.</p> <p>Cost of health care is now a significant barrier to</p>
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>		
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.</p>		
	<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>		
	<p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p>		
	<p>Soc 12 A sure provider of</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for 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
quality-improvement programs, and non-participating practices would be ineligible for Medicare benefits; 2. in pathology and imaging: a. prohibit patient co-payments, and b. establish a payment system for service providers which requires competitive tendering by both private sector businesses and public hospitals for provision of pathology and imaging; and 3. establish Medicare funded free dental care for all.	lifelong dignity.	Source: Yvonne Zurynski et. al., "Accessible and affordable healthcare? Views of Australians with and without chronic conditions," Wiley Internal Medicine Journal, 24 June 2021. In 2024, all Australians could get public hospital care without any financial barrier. But the financial barriers to seeing a GP or a private specialist (out of hospital) remained. Medical fees for GPs were not regulated, with Medicare often only covering a portion of their fees. Many patients faced significant out-of-pocket payments. Dental services were not covered by Medicare. "About 1.2 million Australians deferred or missed out on seeing a GP because of cost in the 2022-23 financial year [and] more than two million Australians missed out on oral health care because of cost." Lower-income Australians had higher rates of missing out on care. Source: Stephen Duckett, "Medicare turns 40: since 1984 our health needs have changed but the system hasn't. 3 reforms to update it," John Menadue's Pearls and Irritations, 1 February 2024. The proportion of people who reported that cost was a reason	access and is a direct result of lack of reform to establish universality in the health care system.
	Env 18 Multi-central in its cities, efficiently connecting people with jobs, health, education and recreation.		Dental services continue to be not covered by Medicare.
	Env 19 A land of thriving self-supporting regions.		Incremental changes to a few small parts of the system have not improved access. The short term trend is negative.
	Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.		←
	Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.		The long term trend is negative.
	Econ 4 A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.		←
	Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.		
	Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable		

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Society 4 – Health & wellbeing

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	<p>public participation.</p> <p>Econ 7 A collaborative intelligent nation.</p> <p>Gov 2 A nation knowing and affirming decency.</p> <p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p> <p>Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.</p> <p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>	<p>for delaying or not seeing a health professional for their own mental health when needed increased to 19.3% in 2022-23, from 16.7% in 2021-22. Source: ABS Patient Experiences, 2022/23.</p> <p>In 2016, it was estimated that reform of the system by which the government pays for pathology services by introducing competitive tendering could save the government and taxpayers at least \$175 million annually. Source: Stephen Duckett, <i>Blood Money: Paying for pathology services</i>, the Grattan Institute, February 2016.</p>	
<p>Health services accessibility – cost barriers Soc04.09.01 The proportion of people who delay seeing a GP or a medical specialist due to cost is continuously diminishing.</p>	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>	<p>The proportion of people who at least once delayed or did not see a General Practitioner (GP) when needed due to cost was:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> in 2013/14 – 4.9%, in 2020-21 – 2.4%, and in 2021/22 – 3.5%. <p>The proportion of people who at least once delayed or did not see a medical specialist when needed due to cost was:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> in 2013/14 – 7.9%, in 2020/21 – 5.9%, and in 2021/22 – 8%. 	<p>In 2022/23, the proportion of people who at least once delayed or did not see a General Practitioner (GP) when needed due to cost was 7%. Source: ABS Patient Experiences 2023-24, Measuring What Matters The short term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center">←</p> <p>In 2022/23, the proportion of people who at least once delayed or did not see a medical specialist when needed due to cost was 10.5%. Source: ABS Patient Experiences 2023-24, Measuring What Matters</p>

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Society 4 – Health & wellbeing

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
		Source: Australian Government Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework – Access to health services, Source: ABS Patient Experiences 2022-23	The longer term trend is neutral to negative. 
<p>Health services accessibility – waiting times Soc04.09.02</p> <p>The proportion of people who wait longer than they feel is acceptable to see a GP or a medical specialist is reduced to 10% by 2030 and thereafter continuously declines.</p>	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>	<p>The proportion of people waiting longer than they felt acceptable for an appointment with a General Practitioner (GP) was:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> in 2013/14 – 22.6%, and in 2021/22 – 23.4%. <p>The proportion of people waiting longer than they felt acceptable for an appointment with a medical specialist was:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> in 2013/14 – 25%, and in 2021/22 – 26.7%. <p>Source: Australian Government Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework – Access to health services.</p>	<p>In 2022/23, the proportion of people waiting longer than they felt acceptable for an appointment with:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a General Practitioner (GP) was 29.6%, and a medical specialist was 27.9%. <p>The short term trend is negative. Source: ABS Patient Experiences 2023-24, Measuring What Matters</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend is negative. </p>
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Health system sustainability and universality – scholarships and bonds for medical students Soc04.10</p> <p>By 2026, in anticipation of abolition in 2030 of subsidies for private health insurance under Soc04.07.01, and in association with other</p>	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p> <p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p> <p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p> <p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p> <p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p> <p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>	<p>In 2024, it was important to recognise that any proposal such as that in Soc04.07.01 that aims to reorganise funding for a sustainable universal health care system in Australia, may be likely to result in some members of the main doctors’ trade union (professional association) and any associated entities threatening (as is their right) to withdraw</p>	<p>In 2022-24, no progress was made towards systemic reform of health care on the scale necessary to reverse growing inaccessibility and inequity as shown in Soc04.09, Soc04.09.01 and Soc04.09.02. No preparations were made for a systemic review.</p> <p>In 2023, Jobs and Skills Australia projected that between 2023 and 2033 the number of jobs in health care and social</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for 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
<p>strategies for re-introduction of fee-free tertiary education under Society 5, establish and fund a scholarship program to ensure Australia has enough doctors and medical professionals in public hospitals and can provide attractive conditions and remuneration for those seeking medical careers in Australian hospitals.</p> <p>In the first instance:</p> <p>a) ensure the scholarship covers all course fees and a living allowance (set above the poverty line and not less than \$35,000 per annum indexed from 2024) in exchange for acceptance of a bond requiring the recipients to work in a public hospital for a period of no more than six years on graduating; and</p> <p>b) limit the available scholarships to the number necessary to ensure an adequate supply of doctors and medical professional for hospitals.</p> <p>Review the scheme after the first five years</p>	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>	<p>their labour by refusal to work within the public hospital system.</p>	<p>assistance was expected to grow (in response to demand) by more than 533,000 (more than twice as much as the next highest growth in occupation – professional, scientific and technical services), and yet in 2024 the Australian Universities Accord recommended continuing support for the Higher Education Loan Program (HELP), which leaves students with significant debts for their education and which is actively discouraging students from enrolling. The Accord Review found that “significant change is needed — small reforms to programs and funding won’t be enough.”</p> <p>Source: Jobs and Skills Australia. Source: Australian Universities Accord Final Report 2024.</p>
	<p>Soc 16 A society prepared and resilient in times of disaster.</p>	<p>In order to avert the serious impacts that would arise from a lack of doctors and medical professionals in the public hospital system, it is advisable to introduce a program of scholarships for Australian medical students and associated health care practitioners, such as anaesthetists and radiologists, which cover their fees in full and a living allowance, in exchange for acceptance of a bond to work for six years in the public hospital system.</p>	<p>Source: Australian Universities Accord Final Report 2024.</p>
	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>	<p>It should be noted that ending subsidies for private health insurance by 2030, as per Soc04.07.01, will also risk the loss of specialists from the public system. This would need to be dealt with by strategies for independent determination of all specialists’ fees. In 2024, the lack of regulation of doctors’ fees and salaries was making it too difficult for public hospitals to attract and retain doctors. Consideration should be given to establishment of an</p>	<p>In 2023, the federal Department of Education reported that “The number of commencing domestic undergraduate students ... decreased by 1.8 per cent from 267,107 in 2022 to 262,396 in 2023. This is the lowest number of commencing domestic undergraduate students in the last 10 years and is an 8.9 per cent decrease since 2017, the last peak in domestic commencing enrolments (7-year trend).”</p>
	<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.</p>	<p>Between 2021 and 2023, the number of</p>	
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.</p>		
	<p>Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.</p>		
	<p>Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for 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
<p>to determine whether it needs to be continued.</p> <p>See Note¹⁷ for further qualification of this Strategy.</p>	<p>public participation.</p> <p>Econ 7 A collaborative intelligent nation.</p>	<p>Independent Pricing Tribunal for Medical Services, bearing in mind that the health care system (public and private) is entirely funded by Australians.</p>	<p>commencing domestic undergraduate students:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • in health fell by 7%, and • in nursing fell by 9.3%, indicating the significant impact of the cost of education and cost of living pressures on enrolment in higher education in health. <p>Source: Australian Government Department of Education, Key findings from the 2023 Higher Education Student Statistics</p> <p>Reversal of these trends will require abolition of HELP and universal income support. Failure to signal any intention of the “significant change” deemed necessary by Universities Accord Australia indicates that the short term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center">←</p> <p>The long term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center">←</p> <p>For the rationale on these negative ratings see Note¹⁸</p>
	<p>Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.</p>		

¹⁷ (i) In detailed design of this scholarship, consideration should be given to extending the program to nurses. (ii) If all university fees are abolished as per **Soc05.01**, consider options for expanding the living allowance under the scholarship to maintain its attractiveness to students. (iii) If a Universal Basic Income (UBI) is introduced at the poverty level for all Australians as per **Econ04.02.04**, consider options for topping up the UBI to maintain the attractiveness of the scholarship to students.

¹⁸ **Important note: Assignment of a negative trend rating to a strategy with a target date that is yet to arrive may be considered unfair. However, in a long term plan it is implicit that lead times for commencement of major reforms require at least some signal of commitment to commencement of the reform by or well before the due date in order to deserve a neutral or positive rating. In the case of systemic health reform for equitable and reliable accessibility, no such signals have been detected and trends are negative in key indicators of stress on the system, its employees and users (in other words, things are getting worse while not enough is being done soon enough). Hence, overall, the negative ratings for both the short and long term are appropriate. In a long term planning process, parliaments should not expect to receive neutral or positive ratings in the absence of signals that they are committed to the future security of Australians**

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for 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
<p>Health system sustainability and universality – trust in the health care system Soc04.10.01</p> <p>The proportion of Australians reporting trust in the health care system does not decline and trust rises continuously for those in remote areas.</p>	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p>	<p>In 2019, 66.9% of Australians reported that they had trust in the health care system. In 2020, 76.4% reported that they had trust in the health care system. However, in 2020, only 69.6% of Australians from outer regional and remote areas reported trust in the health care system compared to 77.6% of Australians in the major cities and 74.6% in inner regional areas. Source: Australian Government Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework – trust in key institutions. Source: ABS General Social Survey 2020.</p>	<p>No directly comparable data update is available from the ABS General Social Survey.</p> <p>However, in December 2023, Essential Research reported that trust in state and federal health care authorities fell to 47% after averaging 61% during the Covid-19 pandemic. Source: Essential Report, 11 December 2023, Trust in Institutions</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>No data are available to assess the longer term trend.</p> <p>← / →</p>
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>		
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.</p>		
	<p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p>		
	<p>Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</p>		
<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.</p>			

and are in fact neglecting their future security. This neglect leads Australia away from the Vision of the plan, not towards it.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 5 – Education

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Tertiary education</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Re-introduction of fee-free tertiary education Soc05.01</p> <p>By 2026, tertiary education, (university, technical and vocational) is fee-free for all Australians aged over 18, securely funded by a legislated floor in expenditure on tertiary education as a proportion of GDP – a floor which ramps up 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 indexation of places to population growth.</p> <p><small>*Consistent with UNSDG, 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 men to affordable and quality technical, vocational and tertiary education,</small></p>	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>	<p>In 2018/19, federal government expenditure on tertiary education (university and vocational) was 0.6% 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</p>	<p>In the 2021/22 federal budget the higher education budget was set 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%. Source: Federal Budget 2021/22, Budget Paper No. 1, page 169.</p>
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>	<p>Economic returns expected from free tertiary education: In 2015, “Deloitte valued the contribution of tertiary education to Australia’s productive capacity at \$140 billion in 2014, of which \$24 billion accrued to the</p>	<p>In 2024, notwithstanding the above turnaround in commitment to tertiary education, no commitment to fee-free tertiary education, especially at the university level, was apparent. And for the longer term the outlook was not promising. In 2023/24, federal expenditure on tertiary education (higher education and vocational) was 0.51% of GDP (down from 0.6% of GDP in 2018/19¹⁹). And in the 2023 Intergenerational</p>
	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>	
	<p>Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.</p>		

¹⁹ Since 2019, the ABS has revised estimates of GDP upward for the baseline year of 2018/19, which suggests that federal expenditure on tertiary education may well have been only 0.5% of GDP in the baseline year (not 0.6% as claimed in the 2015 Intergenerational Report). Future measurements will nevertheless continue to set the baseline for this indicator at 0.6% of GDP, since that baseline is still way below where investment in tertiary education needs to be.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 5 – Education

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>including university.” 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.”</p>	<p>Econ 7 A collaborative, intelligent nation.</p>	<p>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.” Source: Mike Secombe, “Turnbull’s war on universities”, The Saturday Paper, 6-12 May 2017</p>	<p>Report it was reported that while “Australian Government spending on [all] education and training is projected to increase in absolute and real per capita terms over the next 40 years” ... “spending [on all education – primary, secondary, tertiary] is projected to decrease as a share of GDP from 1.7 per cent of GDP in 2022–23 to 1.2 per cent of GDP in 2062–63”. Charts within the Intergenerational Report 2023 suggest a projected real decline in per capita spending on all education until at least 2030. Source: Australian Government, Federal Budget 2024/25, Budget Paper No. 1, page 205. Source: ABS, Australian National Accounts: National Income, Expenditure and Product - September 2024 Source: Intergenerational Report 2023, Australia’s future to 2063, page 184.</p> <p>The combination of the actual reduction in tertiary education funding as a proportion of GDP between 2018/19 and 2023/24 and the projected reduction apparently intended under the Intergenerational Report provides no confidence that sufficient funds will be allocated in federal budgets to provide universal access to education, notwithstanding the projected real increase in federal spending.</p>
	<p>Econ 8 Enabled in meeting the communication & information demands of the future.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 5 – Education

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>The short term trend is neutral.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend in policy and budgeting is negative (moving away from the target).</p> <p></p>
<p>Tertiary education – Cancellation of student debt for social services workers Soc05.01.01 By 2026, commence full cancellation of 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.</p>	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>	<p>In 2017/18, the total amount of outstanding HELP debt was \$60.2 billion. Source: Parliament of Australia, Updated Higher Education Loan Program (HELP) debt statistics – 2017/18 webpage</p>	<p>In 2023/24, the total amount of outstanding HELP debt was \$81.1 billion. Source: Parliament of Australia, HELP Debt webpage, 9 June 2023</p>
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		<p>In 2024, the Australian Government announced it will “reduce every Australian’s HELP or student loan debt by 20%” (one time only) and also cap the indexation applied to student loans to either the lower of the Wage Price Index or the Consumer Price Index. The two measures were estimated to reduce total HELP and other student loan debt by nearly \$20 billion, effectively reducing total student debt to the level it was in 2017/18. Source: Australian Government, Department of Education, HELP webpage</p>
	<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>		<p>These measures are a neutral to positive step in the short term.</p> <p></p>
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		<p>No progress has been made towards the target of cancelling outstanding student debt for social services workers and those earning less than</p>
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 5 – Education

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			the average weekly earnings. As such they do nothing to improve fairness. Contrary to the government’s claim, the 2024 announced changes to HELP and student loan repayments do not make payments and debts fairer. The longer term trend in relation to the target is neutral to negative. 
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Tertiary education – security of funding for universities Soc05.01.02</p> <p>By 2026, acknowledging that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • fee-free university education is vital for Australia’s people and economy; • the current funding structure relying heavily on income from overseas students is likely to be unreliable; • neoliberal business models for universities strip funding away from teaching and research and into non-productive asset creation and financial dealings; and 	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p> <p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p> <p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p> <p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p> <p>Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.</p> <p>Econ 7 A collaborative, intelligent nation.</p>	<p>In 2019/20, actual expenditure by universities and vocational training institutions was \$14.487 billion (approximately 0.72% of GDP). However, the federal government budget for higher education (universities) was only \$9.652 billion (approximately 0.48% of GDP). The remainder of expenses was funded by fees and contributions from various sources.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>In 2020, sources of funding from overseas students</p>	<p>In 2023/24 actual expenditure by the federal government on higher education (universities) was \$10.918 billion or 0.42% of GDP (down from the 2019/20 baseline of 0.48% of GDP²⁰). Nor does projected expenditure indicate that the target of 0.7% of GDP will be met by 2025/26.</p> <p>Source: Federal Budget 2024/25, Budget Paper No. 1. Source: ABS, Australian National Accounts: National Income, Expenditure and Product - September 2024 Source: Intergenerational Report 2023, Australia’s future to 2063.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral to negative.</p>  <p>There is no signalled intention within the 2024/25 federal budget or the 2023 Intergenerational Report to increase spending on education as a proportion of GDP. On</p>

²⁰ Estimates of GDP for the baseline year of 2019/20 have been revised (upwards) for Issue No. 9 of *Australia Together*. The upward revision indicates that actual expenditure by the federal government on higher education (universities) in the baseline year equated to 0.41% of GDP. Future measurements will nevertheless continue to set the baseline for this indicator at 0.48% of GDP, since that baseline is still way below where investment in tertiary education needs to be.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 5 – Education

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> accessible lifelong education is essential to the national economy, ensure that the university education needs of Australians are securely funded by a legislated floor in expenditure as a proportion of GDP to be directly funded by the federal government (on top of alternative sources of funds). The directly funded floor expenditure is to ramp up federal higher education funding (university) from a baseline of \$9.652 billion (0.48% of GDP) in 2019/20 until budgeted direct funding reaches at least 0.7% of GDP (preferably by 2025/26) and maintains direct 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 direct federal government funding to ensure full coverage of expected costs. <p>To ensure maintenance of total funding, combined</p>		<p>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</p> <p>In 2019/20, combined state and local government expenditure on tertiary education (university and vocational) was \$7.611 billion (in addition to federal funds). Source: 55120DO095_202122 Government Finance Statistics, Australia, 2021-22, Table 2.</p>	<p>balance, the intention appears to be to reduce spending on education as a proportion of GDP. The implication is that shares of Australia’s income will continue to be diverted away from education. The longer term trend in policy and budgeting is negative (moving away from the target).</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 5 – Education

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
state and local government expenditure on tertiary education (university and vocational) must not drop below \$7.611 billion. No increases in federal funding may occasion drops in state and local government funding.			
<p>Tertiary education – funding for vocational education Soc05.01.03 By 2026, ensure that the vocational education and training needs are securely funded by a legislated floor in expenditure as a proportion of GDP – a floor which ramps up federal higher education funding (vocational) from a baseline of \$1.713 billion (0.08% of GDP) in 2019/20 until budgeted funding reaches at least 1.1% of GDP (preferably by 2025/26) and maintains funding at not less than 1.1% 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.</p>	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>	<p>In 2019/20, actual expenditure by universities and vocational training institutions was \$14.487 billion (approximately 0.72% of GDP). However, the federal government budget for higher education (vocational training) was only \$1.713 billion (approximately 0.08% of GDP). The remainder of expenses was funded by fees and contributions from various sources. 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.</p>	<p>In 2023/24 actual expenditure by the federal government on vocational education and training was \$2.351 billion or 0.09% of GDP (up from the 2019/20 baseline of 0.08% of GDP). However, projected expenditure does not indicate that the target of 1.1% of GDP will be met by 2025/26. Source: Federal Budget 2024/25, Budget Paper No. 1. Source: ABS, Australian National Accounts: National Income, Expenditure and Product - September 2024 Source: Intergenerational Report 2023, Australia’s future to 2063.</p> <p>The short term trend is positive. </p> <p>There is no signalled intention within the 2024/25 federal budget or the 2023 Intergenerational Report to increase spending on education as a proportion of GDP. On balance, the intention appears to be to reduce spending on education as a proportion of GDP. The implication is that shares of Australia’s income will continue to be diverted away from education. The</p>
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>		
	<p>Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.</p>		
	<p>Econ 7 A collaborative, intelligent nation.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 5 – Education

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			longer term trend in policy and budgeting is negative (moving away from the target). 
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Tertiary education – reform of governance in public universities Soc05.01.04</p> <p>By 2026, establish a royal commission to independently review the governance of Australia’s public universities under terms of reference which stress that accountability and transparency are core principles that our universities’ executives and governing bodies – known primarily as university councils, university senates and boards of trustees – must adhere to. As a minimum, ensure:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the adoption of Public Universities Australia’s Declaration for 	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>	<p>In 2020 and 2021, during the COVID-19 pandemic, university managements focused on their investment portfolios, while staff and students suffered. This included significant redundancies, restricted research funds, course and subject cuts, and increased workloads related to online teaching. The pandemic was used by neoliberal managers to justify the termination of around 35,000 academic and professional staff, while slashing courses and further casualising university workforces.²¹ Source: James Guthrie, Adam Lucas, “How we got</p>	<p>In 2024, the Australian Universities Accord released a report examining Australia’s higher education system and recommending “ambitious targets to increase the number of places in the tertiary education system to meet Australia’s skills needs [including] increasing the proportion of university educated Australians aged 25 to 34 from 45% currently to 55% by 2050.” The report said that “to achieve this increase, the system will [need to] more than double the number of Commonwealth supported students in universities from 860,000 currently to 1.8 million by 2050.”</p> <p>The report made no recommendations for</p>
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>		
	<p>Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.</p>		
	<p>Econ 7 A collaborative, intelligent nation.</p>		
	<p>Econ 8 Enabled in meeting the</p>		

²¹ **Rationale for the Strategy for reform of governance in public universities:** Authors (James Guthrie and Adam Lucas) of the peer reviewed paper, [How we got here: The transformation of Australian public universities into for-profit corporations](#), have assembled detailed research which supports conclusions that the neoliberal business model for universities “is driving the Australian higher education system to a breaking point.” Guthrie and Lucas observe that: “Public accountability with respect to these neoliberal changes has been rendered problematic as the result of legislative changes to the governance clauses of universities. We consider the broader economic and cultural focus of NPM [New Public Management] as calculative and commodifying practices that are constructed to be largely impervious to public evaluation. These regressive changes have legitimated [sic] by reducing the oversight of staff and student representatives on university governing bodies.” The authors conclude that: “The legislated functions contained in university acts make clear that public universities should serve the public interest. However, the neoliberal policies that currently inform executive and senior managerial decision-making in Australia’s public universities relegate those functions to virtual irrelevance. The widespread adoption of accounting methodologies explicitly developed to manage the finances of for-profit corporations is just one example of how those functions have been rendered irrelevant. An ethically grounded accounting discourse informed by the public interest principles of transparency and accountability would go a long way to

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 5 – Education

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Public Universities Australia, which sets out the principles, practices and protocols that should guide Australian public universities' governance, funding regimes and praxis; and</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> introduction of the PUA Model Act to re-establish Australian public universities as statutory bodies owned by and acting for the public. 	<p>communication & information demands of the future.</p>	<p>here: The transformation of Australian public universities into for-profit corporations," (Peer reviewed), Social Alternatives Journal, Volume 41, No. 1, 2022.</p>	<p>reform of governance that would be considered consistent with the principles of Public Universities Australia's Declaration for Public Universities Australia for democratic governance, eg., there were no recommendations to defend academic freedom, reinstate tenure and democratic forms of governance and decision making (as opposed to corporate driven decisions), cap executive salaries, or manage healthy workloads. Instead it proposed an Australian Tertiary Education Commission to centralise systemic reform outside the universities themselves and administer a "needs-based" funding model (which has some positive features), but without clarifying processes for preventing undue political and corporate interference.</p> <p>In general the overarching "vision" of the Universities Australia Accord report was to grow tertiary education so that Australians could "create and thrive in jobs of the future", implying a continuing focus on making Australians job ready in response to corporate drivers rather</p>
	<p>Econ 9 Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.</p>		
	<p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p>		
	<p>Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.</p>		
	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>		
	<p>Gov 10 A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.</p>		

restoring staff and student confidence in how our universities are run." The authors called for "a Royal Commission into the governance of public universities. The terms of reference should focus on their undemocratic structures, lack of transparency and accountability, profit-making activities, unhealthy relationships with senior management, and external consultancies and engagement with the Big Four accountancy firms." See "[James Guthrie and Adam Lucas: It's time for a Royal Commission into the governance of Australia's public universities](#)", Pearls and Irritations, 3 August 2022.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 5 – Education

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline															
			<p>than for purposes of social cohesion and the public interest. The report was distinctly industry focussed – i.e., on building technical skills rather than capacity for analytical judgement. A key failure of the report relates to recommendations to retain the HELP system (with minor reforms). This will result in increasing exclusion of students from low socioeconomic backgrounds. As far as the issue of funding goes, the report focusses more on securing the universities as institutions than it does on affordable access to education for all. Source: Australian Universities Accord Final Report.</p> <p>On balance, short term progress is neutral to negative.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>In the longer term prospects for improved governance are not positive.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p>															
<p>Tertiary education attainment – degree qualifications Soc05.01.05 The proportion of working age people with a university degree increases continuously.</p> <p>Tertiary education attainment – Certificate qualifications</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1608 539 1644">Soc</td> <td data-bbox="564 1608 587 1644">5</td> <td data-bbox="628 1563 772 1688">A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1688 539 1724">Soc</td> <td data-bbox="564 1688 587 1724">6</td> <td data-bbox="628 1688 772 1765">A society of equals.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1765 539 1800">Soc</td> <td data-bbox="564 1765 587 1800">7</td> <td data-bbox="628 1765 772 1868">A success because of its diversity.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1868 539 1904">Soc</td> <td data-bbox="564 1868 587 1904">13</td> <td data-bbox="628 1868 772 1966">A wellspring of inspiration & creativity.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1966 539 2002">Env</td> <td data-bbox="564 1966 587 2002">5</td> <td data-bbox="628 1966 772 2033">An environmentally</td> </tr> </table>	Soc	5	A model of lifelong educational opportunity.	Soc	6	A society of equals.	Soc	7	A success because of its diversity.	Soc	13	A wellspring of inspiration & creativity.	Env	5	An environmentally	<p>In 2024, the Australian government accepted the recommendation of the Australian Universities Accord regarding targets for the level of participation in tertiary education that the review had suggested was necessary for</p>	<p>No data (census) updates are available for the number of Australians with a degree or Certificate I to IV.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>The longer term trend is positive.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>In 2023, 72.7% of people aged 25-34 had a Certificate III level</p>
Soc	5	A model of lifelong educational opportunity.																
Soc	6	A society of equals.																
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<p>Soc05.01.06 The proportion of working age people with at least a Certificate III qualification increases continuously.</p>	educated community.	<p>Australia’s prosperity. The adopted targets were that by 2050:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 55% of young people have a university qualification; and • 80% of the Australian workforce has either a TAFE qualification or a university degree. <p>The targets were accepted consistent with the view of Jobs and Skills Australia that over the decade to 2035 more than 90% of jobs will require post-school qualifications including 50% with a bachelor degree and 44% with a VET qualification. This in turn would require a doubling of the number of Commonwealth supported student places in universities from 860,000 in 2024 to 1.8 million by 2050.</p> <p>Source: Australian Universities Accord Final Report 2024.</p> <p>In the 2021 census,</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 5.5 million people (5,464,631) reported having a bachelor degree or higher, a 30.7 per cent 	qualification or above, down from 73.1% in 2022 but up from 66% in 2014. Source: Australian Government Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework – Education attainment. The short term trend is neutral to negative.
	Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.		←
	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 improve continuously for all.		→
	Econ 4 A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.		
	Econ 7 A collaborative intelligent nation.		
	Econ 8 Enabled in meeting the communication & information demands of the future.		
	Gov 10 A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.		
			The longer term trend is positive.

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		<p>increase since 2016; and</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 4 million people (3,962,732) reported having certificate I to IV, a 10.6 per cent increase since 2016. <p>Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Census 2021, education and training.</p> <p>In 2022, 73.1% of people aged 25-34 had a Certificate III level qualification or above.</p> <p>Source: Australian Government Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework – Education attainment.</p>	
<p>School education – funding Soc05.02</p> <p>Federal funding for school education is maintained at no less than 1.1% of GDP as per its baseline in 2018/19.</p>	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p> <p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p> <p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p> <p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>	<p>In 2018/19, federal government expenditure on school education (excluding student assistance and administration) was 1.08% of GDP and was scheduled to decline.</p> <p>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</p>	<p>In 2023/24, federal government expenditure on school education (excluding student assistance and administration) was 1.17% of GDP and was scheduled to rise to 1.22% in 2025/26.</p> <p>Source Federal Budget 2024/25, Budget Paper No. 1.</p> <p>The short term trend is positive.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer policy commitment is neutral, due to the unfairness of the distribution of the increased funding between public and private schools. See Soc05.02.01 below.</p> <p></p>

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Society 5 – Education

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>School education – funding equity</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Reversal of public school underfunding and private school overfunding. Soc05.02.01</p> <p>By 2024, recognising that:</p> <p>a) government schools enrol more than two-thirds of children and over 80% of the nation’s disadvantaged children; and that</p> <p>b) between 2009 and 2019 government funding per private school student increased by 22.4% compared to only 2.4% for public schools; and that</p> <p>c) taxpayers should not fund luxury levels of education for private school students,</p> <p>ensure that:</p> <p>1. total federal and state funding for non-government schools and government schools is redistributed so that the proportion of taxpayer funding for the government system is, as a minimum,</p>	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>	<p>In 2018/19, non-government schools received 61% of taxpayer funded federal funding while teaching only 34.3% of Australian students. In 2018/19, government schools received only 39% of taxpayer funded federal funding 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 ABS, 4221.0, Schools Australia, 2019</p>	<p>In the 2024/25 federal budget, non-government schools were set to receive an average of 62% of federal funding over the four years to 2027/28 while government schools were set to receive an average of 38%, despite teaching 64% of students. Source: Federal Budget 2024-25, Budget Paper No. 1.</p>
	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>		
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>	<p>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</p>	<p>←</p>
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>	<p>A success because of its diversity.</p>	<p>In 2024, Save Our Schools (SOS) reported that “Despite enrolling the vast majority of students with the most learning challenges, public schools are massively under-funded. Public schools are only funded at 87.6% of their Schooling Resource Standard (SRS) in 2024. ... The funding shortfall [for public schools] in 2024 is about \$6.8 billion.” SOS also reported that “Commonwealth over-funding of private schools is compounded by state/territory government over-funding. The most recent funding</p>
	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>	<p>A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	
	<p>Econ 3</p>	<p>A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>	
	<p>Econ 4</p>		

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<p>commensurate with the proportion of students within the government schools, and that</p> <p>2. between 2024 and 2030, consistent with recognitions a), b) and c) above:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> government schools are all 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. <p>Review the equity of the funding situation in 2030.</p>	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing & affirming decency.</p>	<p>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.</p>	<p>compliance report by the National Schools Resourcing Board shows that every state government except the Northern Territory is funding private schools at above 20% of their SRS.”</p> <p>Source: Trevor Cobbold, Save Our Schools and ACARA.</p>
	<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>	<p>In 2021, over 80% of disadvantaged students were enrolled in public schools and over 90% of disadvantaged schools were public schools.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Source: Save Our Schools Education Research Paper by Trevor Cobbold, "Private School Funding Increase is Six Times the Public School Increase", March 2021</p>	<p>There is a deep inequity embedded in Australia’s education system. This inequity was further embedded in 2024 with the passage of the Better and Fairer Schools (Funding and Reform) Bill 2024. While this removed the 20% federal funding ceiling for public schools (40% for the Northern Territory) and created a floor below which federal shares of funding for public schools cannot fall (until the next time legislation is amended), it locked in the prospect of there being no need to further increase the proportion or total of federal funds for public schools to the extent necessary to restore the funds lost over the last decade. This virtually guarantees that public schools will not be funded to their school resourcing standard in the foreseeable future.</p> <p>Source: Better and Fairer Schools (Funding and Reform) Bill 2024.</p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p></p>

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>School education – years of attendance Soc05.02.02</p> <p>The proportion of students staying in school until year 12 equals 90% (for both males and females).</p>	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>	<p>In 2018, the proportion of students staying in school until Year 12 was:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Males 81%, and • Females 89%. <p>Source: AIHW, “Australia’s Welfare 2019 in brief”</p>	<p>In 2023, the proportion of students staying in school until Year 12 was:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Males 75.2%, • Females 83.2%, • Total persons 79.1%. <p>Source: ABS - Schools database, 2023.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>In 2023, school retention rates were lower than rates in 2013.</p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center"></p>
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
<p>School education – educational attainment Soc05.02.03</p> <p>The scores of Australian 15-year old students in the OECD’s Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) are consistently above the OECD average, are consistently improving, and by 2030 return to the levels attained in 2000.</p>	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>	<p>Between 2000 and 2018, mean performance by Australian children on PISA scores declined steadily:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In reading from a score of 528 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. <p>Source: OECD PISA (Program for International Student Assessment) Results 2018</p>	<p>In 2022, mean performance by Australian children on PISA scores compared to 2018 was:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • in reading = 498, down from 503 in 2018; • in maths = 487, down from 491 in 2018; and • in science = 507, up from 503 in 2018. <p>All scores were above the OECD average.</p> <p>The short term trend is generally stable, although scores in reading and maths declined.</p> <p>Source: OECD, PISA 2022 Results (Volume I and II) - Country Notes: Australia.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>PISA scores have trended downward over the longer term:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • in reading, down from 528 in 2000 to 498 in 2022; • in maths, down from 524 in 2003 to 487 in 2022; and
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> in science, down from 527 in 2006 to 507 in 2022. The longer term trend is clearly negative. 
<p>School education – educational attainment (Year 12) Soc05.02.04 The proportion of people aged 20–24 with Year 12 or equivalent increases continuously and Year 12 completion rates continuously improve.</p>	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>	<p>In 2022, 86.2% of people aged 20-24 had a Year 12 qualification or equivalent. However, between 2021 and 2022, the proportion of the Year 12 population that met the requirements of a Senior Secondary Certificate or equivalent dropped from 78.7% to 76.3%. Source: Australian Government Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework – Education attainment.</p>	<p>In 2023, 84.9% of people aged 20-24 had a Year 12 qualification or equivalent, down from 86.2% in 2022 but up from 76.8% in 2014. Source: Australian Government Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework – Education attainment. No further updates are available on Year 12 certification rates. The short term trend is neutral to negative.  The longer term trend is positive. </p>
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.</p>		
	<p>Econ 7 A collaborative intelligent nation.</p>		
<p>Pre-school education – early development performance Soc05.03 The developmental health and wellbeing of children starting school shows no significant decline.</p>	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>	<p>In 2018, Australian Early Development Census (AEDC) scores showed:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a significant decrease in the proportion of children developmentally on track to start school in terms of language and cognitive skills, and significant increases in the proportion of children starting school who were developmentally 	<p>In 2021, the proportion of children developmentally on track in all five domains of the Australian Early Development Census was 54.8%, down from 55.4% in 2018, but up from 50.7% in 2009. The short term trend is negative. Source: Australian Early Development Census National Report 2021. Source: Source: Australian Government, Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework – Access to care and support services </p>
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p>		

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		vulnerable in emotional maturity and language and cognitive skills, compared to the 2015 AEDC. Source: Australian Early Development Census National Report 2018 Source: Source: Australian Government Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework – Access to care and support services.	The longer term trend is positive. 																						
<p>Pre-school education – accessibility of early learning as a factor in educational attainment at school Soc05.03.01</p> <p>From 2024, in line with initiatives for provision of universal access to free childcare under Soc11.01 and recognising that among OECD countries:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 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; children who attend preschool are more likely to complete other levels of school and graduate from university and tend to have more 	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 831 608 965">Soc 5</td> <td data-bbox="608 831 837 965">A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 965 608 1032">Soc 1</td> <td data-bbox="608 965 837 1032">A safe home.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1032 608 1099">Soc 2</td> <td data-bbox="608 1032 837 1099">A land with an Indigenous heart.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1099 608 1211">Soc 3</td> <td data-bbox="608 1099 837 1211">Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1211 608 1301">Soc 4</td> <td data-bbox="608 1211 837 1301">A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1301 608 1368">Soc 6</td> <td data-bbox="608 1301 837 1368">A society of equals.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1368 608 1570">Soc 10</td> <td data-bbox="608 1368 837 1570">A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1570 608 1659">Soc 11</td> <td data-bbox="608 1570 837 1659">A land without child disadvantage.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1659 608 1771">Soc 13</td> <td data-bbox="608 1659 837 1771">A wellspring of inspiration & creativity.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1771 608 1906">Env 5</td> <td data-bbox="608 1771 837 1906">An environmentally educated community.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1906 608 2027">Econ 3</td> <td data-bbox="608 1906 837 2027">A country where economic opportunity, growth &</td> </tr> </table>	Soc 5	A model of lifelong educational opportunity.	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.	Soc 6	A society of equals.	Soc 10	A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.	Soc 11	A land without child disadvantage.	Soc 13	A wellspring of inspiration & creativity.	Env 5	An environmentally educated community.	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth &	<p>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. In 2018, Australian children attended preschool less than 35 other wealthy OECD countries. Source: UNICEF: Innocenti Report Card 15, 2018</p> <p>In 2020, a total 319,580 Australian children were enrolled for 15 hours or more per week of pre-school education for the year. Per SEIFA quintile:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 16.6% resided in Quintile 1 (most disadvantaged), 18.6% resided in Quintile 2 20.7% resided in Quintile 3 22.9% resided in Quintile 4 	<p>In 2023, a total 323,778 Australian children were enrolled for 15 hours or more per week of pre-school education for the year. Per SEIFA quintile:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 18.0% resided in Quintile 1 (most disadvantaged), 19.3% resided in Quintile 2 21.1% resided in Quintile 3 21.5% resided in Quintile 4 20.2% resided in Quintile 5 (least disadvantaged). <p>Source: ABS 4240.0, Preschool education Australia 2023</p> <p>The short term trend is positive. </p> <p>The longer term trend is positive. </p>
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<p>years of education;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> those who benefit most from pre-school attendance are children from poorer families; and that providing universal access to early childhood learning and care is a significant means of reducing inequality, develop pre-school enrolment programs to ensure that: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> the number of children enrolled for at least 600 hours per annum 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 increases continuously until it reaches or exceeds the proportion in the two least disadvantaged socioeconomic quintiles. 	<p>prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 21.1% resided in Quintile 5 (least disadvantaged). <p>Source: ABS 4240.0, Preschool education Australia 2020</p> <p>In 2015, a total 277,452 Australian children were enrolled for 15 hours or more per week of pre-school education for the year. Per SEIFA quintile:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 17.2% resided in Quintile 1 (most disadvantaged), 18.4% resided in Quintile 2 20.0% resided in Quintile 3 21.8% resided in Quintile 4 22.5% resided in Quintile 5 (least disadvantaged). <p>Source: ABS 4240.0, Preschool education Australia 2015.</p>	
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>		
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Lifelong education – Education as a right Soc05.04</p>	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>	<p>In 1975, the Australian federal parliament ratified the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights</p>	<p>No legislation has been introduced at the federal level acknowledging the right to education and the obligation of governments to provide it consistent with the International</p>
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p>		

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<p>By 2025, introduce Commonwealth legislation recognising:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the right of all citizens to lifelong education, and the obligation of governments (federal and state) to ensure that all citizens have free and unlimited access to education at pre-school, primary, secondary and tertiary levels, including VET and university levels. 	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>	<p>(ICESCR) which acknowledges that education is a core human right which may not unlawfully be escaped by governments. The treaty mandated, among other things, that “education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity, ... shall strengthen the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms ... and shall enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society.”</p> <p>Despite this, no federal government has acknowledged any obligation to ensure Australians can enjoy this right, fundamental though it is to every other possibility of economic security and self-sufficiency for any person. The failure of governments to acknowledge education as a right is a repudiation of basic human rights, a breach of international law and undermines Australia’s economy</p>	<p>Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights.</p> <p>No evidence is apparent that the government will introduce legislation even in the limited form proposed by the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Human Rights in 2024, the recommendations of which did not extend to lifelong education and did not endorse a right to university education (either on an unequal or equal basis) and as such fell short of complying with the right that was to be conferred under the ICESCR.</p> <p>The extended delay in conferring rights already available to Australians under international law but denied to them in domestic law amounts to a denial of justice. Rights delayed are rights denied.</p> <p>Short term progress is neutral to negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>The long term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p>
	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.</p>		
	<p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p>		
	<p>Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 13 A wellspring of inspiration & creativity.</p>		
	<p>Env 5 An environmentally educated community.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.</p>		
	<p>Econ 7 A collaborative intelligent nation.</p>		
<p>Econ 8 Enabled in meeting the communication & information demands of the future.</p>			
<p>Gov 1 A proactive participatory democracy.</p>			

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	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing and affirming decency.</p>	<p>and equity within society.</p>	
	<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>	<p>Source: International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights [1976] ATS 5 (austlii.edu.au) and Australian Human Rights Commission Chart of Australian Treaty Ratifications.</p>	
	<p>Gov 4 A free, self-governing, modern nation.</p>	<p>In 2024, the federal Parliamentary Joint Committee on Human Rights recommended that a limited right to education be conferred in a new Human Rights Act. The recommendation did not extend to lifelong education and did not endorse a right to university education (either on an unequal or equal basis) and as such fell short of complying with the right that was to be conferred under the ICESCR.</p>	

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Society 6 – Equality

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Gender equality – economic gap Soc06.01</p> <p>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.</p>	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>	<p>In 2006, Australia was ranked No. 15 in the World Economic Forum’s Global Gender Gap Report. From there onwards Australia slipped to No. 23 in 2011, No. 45 in 2016 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:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> in economic participation and opportunity – Australia ranked 12th in 2006 but 70th in 2021; in health and survival – Australia ranked 57th in 2006 but 99th in 2021; in political empowerment – Australia ranked 32 in 2006 but 54th in 2021. <p>Source: World Economic Forum Global Gender Gap Report 2021 and Wikipedia Global Gender Gap Report.</p>	<p>In 2023, Australia was ranked No. 26 in the World Economic Forum’s Global Gender Gap Report with an overall score of 0.778, an improvement on scores in 2006 (0.7163), 2021, (0.731) and 2022 (0.738).</p> <p>In 2023, Australia’s scores and rankings for gender equality in educational attainment and health and survival were lower than they were in 2006 as was Australia’s ranking for gender equality in economic participation and opportunity.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral.</p> <p></p> <p>Australia has not regained its place in the top 15 countries and is still well short of the target. The longer term trend is neutral to negative.</p> <p></p>
	<p>Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.</p>		
	<p>Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>		
<p>Gender equality in income and wealth – cash earnings Soc06.02</p> <p>The female to male ratio of adult weekly total cash earnings improves continuously and = 1.0 by 2030.</p>	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>	<p>In 2014, the female to male ratio of adult weekly total cash earnings was 0.66 (average) and 0.69 (median).</p> <p>In 2018, the female to male ratio of adult weekly total cash</p>	<p>In 2024, the ABS reported the gender pay gap as anywhere between 8.4% and 26.4%, depending on the measure chosen. For the “most commonly chosen measure” of mean weekly ordinary time</p>
	<p>Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.</p>		
	<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 6 – Equality

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	<p>connections & without domestic abuse.</p> <p>A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p> <p>Econ 2</p>	<p>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</p>	<p>earnings of full-time adult employees, the gap was 11.5%, an improvement on the gap in 2014 (18.3%) and 2022 (14.1%).</p>
	<p>A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p> <p>Econ 3</p>	<p>In 2024, the ABS reported on the gender pay gap using a range of different indicators and reported in percentage terms instead of ratios. Using the new measurements, the ABS reported that based on mean weekly ordinary time earnings of full-time adult employees, the gender pay gap was:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • May 2014 = 18.3%, • May 2022 = 14.1%, • May 2024 = 11.5%. <p>Source: ABS Gender Indicators 2024 and Gender Pay Gap Guide.</p>	<p>In 2024, the Australian Government Workplace Gender Equality Agency (WGEA) reported that, “As of May 2024, the full-time adult average weekly ordinary time earnings across all industries and occupations was \$2014.3 for men and \$1782.8 for women. For every dollar on average men earned, women earned 89 cents. ... Over the course of a year, this difference adds up to \$12,038.” Based on the measure used by WGEA, the gender pay gap in 2024 was 21.8%, an improvement on the gap in 2014 (28.6%) and 2022 (22.8%).</p> <p>The short term trend is positive but nowhere near fast enough to meet the target.</p> <p></p> <p>The gender pay gap is closing but too slowly. At the current rates of improvement the gender pay gap will not be closed before 2050. The longer term trend is best classified as neutral.</p> <p></p>
<p>Gender equality in income and wealth –</p>	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>	<p>In 2011/12 the median female superannuation</p>	<p>In 2019/20, the median female superannuation</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 6 – Equality

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>superannuation 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.</p>	<p>Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.</p>	<p>balance at or approaching retirement age (55 to 64 years) was \$72,930 while the median male balance was \$120,161, a ratio of 0.607:1. In 2017/18 the median female superannuation balance (55 to 64 years) 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 inequality is improving but has slowed and is well short of equality. Source: ABS 4125.0, Gender Indicators Australia December 2020</p>	<p>balance at or approaching retirement age (55 to 64 years) was \$125,000 while the median male balance was \$191,500, a ratio of 0.653:1. Source: Household Income and Wealth, Australia: Summary of Results, 2019–20, Table 12.3, Superannuation Balances. No later comparable data appear to be available.</p> <p>Progress on eliminating superannuation inequality is stagnant in the short and long term. In 2018, Australian Government Treasury reported that “while future superannuation balances at retirement will continue to increase for both genders, women’s balances will continue to lag behind men’s balances. ... The gender gap in balances is expected to reduce, but persist.”²² Source: Australian Government Treasury, Information Note, Superannuation balances at retirement.</p> <p>On current trends there is no prospect of reaching this target by 2030 or by 2050. The short term trend is stagnant.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>The longer term trend is neutral to negative.</p>
	<p>Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>		

²² It is noteworthy that Treasury also opined that, “As long as women continue to have lower labour force participation and incomes than men, they will continue to make up a higher proportion of those with lower balances in retirement.” This indicates that initiatives which release or incentivise women into the workforce should be a priority, which in turn strengthens the case for the introduction of a Universal Basic Income in line with **Econ04.02.04**.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 6 – Equality

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Equality before the law Soc06.03</p> <p>Australia’s scores on all aspects of the World Justice Project for protection and promotion of fundamental human rights in the law and justice system are continuously improving and scores for equal treatment and absence of discrimination in the law and justice system continuously improve and reach 0.9 or above by 2035.</p>	Soc 6 A society of equals.	<p>In 2022, Australia attained an overall score of 0.78 on the World Justice Project Rule of Law Index for the maintenance of human rights in its justice system (where a score of 1 in the Index shows a country is performing well), having dropped from a score of 0.82 in 2015. However, in 2022, Australia scored only 0.67 in the Index on equal treatment and absence of discrimination in its system of laws and justice, indicating the need for reforms to establish equality before the law.</p> <p>Source: World Justice Project Rule of Law Index.</p>	<p>In 2022, Australia scored only 0.66 in the Index on equal treatment and absence of discrimination in its system of laws and justice, a fall compared to 2022 (0.67) and 2019 (0.69) but higher than the score in 2015 (0.60).</p> <p>Australia’s scores in equal treatment in the system of laws are comparatively poor.</p> <p>The short term trend in relation to equal treatment and discrimination in the law is negative.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>The longer term trend is neutral to positive.</p> <p align="center"></p>
	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 and wellbeing.		
	Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.		
	Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.		
	Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.		
	Soc 14 A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in policing.		
	Soc 15 Confident of justice for all.		
Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society			
Society 7 – Diversity			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Attitudes to multiculturalism – positive support by Australians Soc07.01</p> <p>The percentage of people who agree or strongly agree that multiculturalism is a positive for Australia exceeds 85%.</p>	Soc 7	A success because of its diversity.	<p>In 2017, 85% of Australians on survey agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that “multiculturalism has been good for Australia”.</p> <p>Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2019</p> <p>In 2024, 85% of Australians on survey agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that “multiculturalism has been good for Australia”, down from 88% in 2022 and 89% in 2023.</p> <p>Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2024.</p> <p>In 2024, a Lowy Institute poll found that 90% of Australians think Australia’s culturally diverse population has been positive for Australia:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 69% think it is mostly positive; and 21% think it is entirely positive. <p>Source: Lowy Poll 2024.</p> <p>The shorter term trend is neutral.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend is neutral to positive.</p> <p></p>
	Soc 2	A land with an Indigenous heart	
	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	
	Soc 6	A society of equals.	
	Soc 13	A wellspring of inspiration & creativity.	
	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	
	Gov 1	A proactive participatory democracy.	
	Gov 2	A nation knowing & affirming decency.	
<p>.....</p> <p>Attitudes to multiculturalism – as a strength for Australia Soc07.01.01</p> <p>The percentage of people who disagree that accepting immigrants from many different countries makes Australia</p>	Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.	<p>.....</p> <p>In 2017, 30% of Australians disagreed with the statement that “accepting immigrants from many different countries makes Australia stronger”, up slightly from 29% in 2013.</p> <p>In 2024, 28% of Australians disagreed with the statement that “accepting immigrants from many different countries makes Australia stronger”, up from 23% in 2021. The shorter term trend is negative.</p>
	Gov 11	A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.	
	Gov 12	A nation assured of enduring peace.	

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 7 – Diversity

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline												
<p>stronger is no higher than 25%.</p> <hr/> <p>Attitudes to multiculturalism – experience of cultural and racial discrimination Soc07.01.02 The percentage of people reporting a sense of rejection or experience of discrimination because of their skin colour, ethnic origin or religion is no higher than 9%.</p>	<p align="center">Gov 13</p> <p align="center">A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.</p>	<p>Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2019</p> <hr/> <p>In 2017, 20% of Australians indicated a sense of rejection and reported experience of discrimination “because of [their] skin colour, ethnic origin or religion”, up from 9% in 2007. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2019</p>	<p>Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2024.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>The longer term trend is neutral.</p> <p align="center"></p> <hr/> <p>In 2024, 17% of Australians indicated a sense of rejection and reported experience of discrimination “because of [their] skin colour, ethnic origin or religion”, similar to the average between 2021 and 2023 but up from 9% in 2007. The short term trend is neutral.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2024</p>												
<p>Freedom from discrimination on religious grounds Soc07.02 Australia is free of legislation enabling discrimination on religious grounds.</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td align="center">Soc 7</td> <td>A success because of its diversity.</td> </tr> <tr> <td align="center">Soc 1</td> <td>A safe home.</td> </tr> <tr> <td align="center">Soc 2</td> <td>A land with an Indigenous heart.</td> </tr> <tr> <td align="center">Soc 3</td> <td>Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</td> </tr> <tr> <td align="center">Soc 4</td> <td>A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</td> </tr> <tr> <td align="center">Soc 5</td> <td>A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</td> </tr> </table>	Soc 7	A success because of its diversity.	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.	Soc 5	A model of lifelong educational opportunity.	<p>In 2019:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 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 	<p>In 2024, under Australian law, discrimination on the basis of religion was not prohibited in the same way as other protected attributes such as race, age, sex and sexuality. Sex discrimination laws contained broad exemptions for religious educational institutions, allowing them to expel gay and transgender students or fire teachers for their sexuality and gender.</p>
Soc 7	A success because of its diversity.														
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.														
Soc 5	A model of lifelong educational opportunity.														

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 7 – Diversity

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	Soc 6 A society of equals.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 78% agreed that “respecting religious traditions and beliefs should 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 2019”. The bill was marketed as legislation to “outlaw religious discrimination” whereas in reality it was legislation to <i>legalise</i> 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. In 2024, polling of more than 1,500 Australians, commissioned by the advocacy group Just.Equal Australia, showed 52% are against an exemption in the Sex Discrimination Act – which allows religious schools to discriminate against people on the basis of their sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, intersex status, marital or relationship status – while 35% support it.	In 2024, the Australian Law Reform Commission (ALRC) recommended repealing section 38 of the Sex Discrimination Act, which allows religious schools to discriminate against people on the basis of their sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, intersex status, marital or relationship status. It proposed that religious institutions should be allowed to preference staff based on their religious beliefs so long as it is “reasonably necessary” and “proportionate” to the aim of maintaining a community of faith and does not breach sex discrimination laws Source: Paul Karp, Australia’s religious and sex discrimination laws need fixing, a new report says. What happens next? The Guardian, 23 March 2024. In 2024, no legislation pertaining to religious discrimination had been listed for consideration by the 47 th parliament. Australia is still not free of legislation enabling discrimination on religious grounds. The short term trend is neutral.  The long term trend is neutral to negative. 
	Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.		
	Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.		
	Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.		
	Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.		
	Gov 2 A nation knowing & affirming decency.		
	Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 7 – Diversity

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Constitutional reform – Elimination of racism in Australian law Soc07.03</p> <p>By 2030, in association with:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the Constitutional Convention under Gov04.01; the National Collaborative Process for Development of the Australian People’s Constitution under Gov04.01.01; and the Makarrata Commission and process for truth telling, agreement making and treaty under Soc02.01.02, <p>but recognising that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> if we are to prevent adverse discrimination and disadvantage to Indigenous Australians, it will be necessary to simultaneously establish human rights for all Australians in the Constitution as per Gov03.01, Gov03.01.01 and Gov.03.01.02, (as a condition precedent to <i>safe</i> removal of the races powers), ensure that the Australian Constitution 		Source: YouGov/Galaxy Poll 2018, updated in 2024 for Just.Equal Australia.	
	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>	<p>In 1901, Australia’s first Constitution contained clauses which enabled:</p> <p>a) laws to be made on the basis of race (Section 51 (xxvi)); and for</p> <p>b) Australian enfranchised voters to be disqualified from voting on the grounds of race (Section 25 – Provisions as to races disqualified from voting).</p> <p>In 2024, these clauses still pertained and Australia was “the only nation in the world with a Constitution that contains a clause that empowers a national Parliament to discriminate against a group on the basis of race.”</p> <p>Source: Australian Government Solicitor, Australia’s Constitution with Overview and Notes by the Australian Government Solicitor, page v. foi-2021-017.pdf (pmc.gov.au) Source: Megan Davis and George Williams, <i>Everything You Need to Know About the Uluru Statement from the Heart</i>, UNSW Press, 2021.</p> <p>Between 1901 and 2024, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders were the only group to have suffered discrimination in law under these provisions. Source: Megan Davis and George Williams, <i>Everything</i></p>	<p>In 2023, Australians by a 60% majority in a referendum voted against the establishment of an Indigenous Voice to parliament. This left the Constitution unchanged in relation to its capacity to enable racism in Australia, inasmuch as no voice was accorded to Australia’s First Peoples but the racist clauses which have been used to exclude and discriminate against them remain extant in law. The safety of Australians, particularly from the potential for abuse by the state of their human rights, has not improved.</p> <p>In 2024, the safety of Indigenous Australians from discrimination on the grounds of race was worse than before the referendum, since, for example, the federal government walked back from its commitment to a Makarrata Commission and the Queensland government shut down the treaty making process in that state.</p> <p>In 2024, 63% of Australians believed that racism is a fairly or very big problem in Australia, up from 60% in 2021. Source: Scanlon Foundation, Mapping Social Cohesion 2024.</p>
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>		
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.</p>		
	<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>		
	<p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p>		
	<p>Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</p>		
<p>Soc 13 A wellspring of inspiration & creativity.</p>			
<p>Soc 14 A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in policing.</p>			
<p>Soc 15 Confident of justice for all.</p>			
<p>Econ 3 A country where economic</p>			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 7 – Diversity

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>is safely altered to delete any and all powers to make laws for groups of Australians on the basis of race.</p> <p>Note: Constitutional experts and Indigenous law advocates have expressed concerns that removal of the races powers, while necessary, may result in adverse discrimination and disadvantage to Aborigines. However, these concerns can be resolved if a right of self-determination is conferred on all Australians as peoples – Indigenous and non-Indigenous. Safe removal of the racist clauses therefore requires prior conferral of the right to self-determination on all Australian peoples as equals in Australian law. The equal right to self-determination is also a condition precedent to a fair and just treaty between First Nations, the Australian state (the Crown), and the people of Australia. For more information see Bronwyn Kelly, <i>The People’s Constitution: the path to empowerment of Australians in a 21st century democracy</i>, ACFP Publishing, January 2023, Chapter 8, Essential No. 4d. https://www.austcfp.com.au/publications</p>	<p>opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	<p><i>You Need to Know About the Uluru Statement from the Heart</i>, UNSW Press, 2021.</p> <p>In 2023, it was apparent that "No race, even a white one, is protected by the Australian Constitution from the possible loss of voting rights," and as such the rights of all Australians in democracy are insecure, including the right to self-determination and all other civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights for humans under international law. In particular, the lack of rights for all Australian peoples to self-determination constituted a major threat to the nation’s capacity to achieve stable democracy and the economic advancement necessary for the continuing wellbeing of all Australian citizens. Racist provisions in the Constitution also threatened social cohesion in Australia, particularly enabling ongoing discrimination and systemic disadvantage for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People. Source: Bronwyn Kelly, <i>The People’s Constitution: the path to empowerment of Australians in a 21st century democracy</i>, ACFP Publishing, January 2023,</p>	<p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center">←</p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center">←</p>
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.</p>		
	<p>Econ 7 A collaborative intelligent nation.</p>		
	<p>Gov 1 A proactive participatory democracy.</p>		
	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing and affirming decency.</p>		
	<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>		
	<p>Gov 4 A free, self-governing, modern nation.</p>		
	<p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p>		
	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>		
<p>Gov 10 A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider</p>			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 7 – Diversity

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	information market.	https://www.austcfp.com.au/publications	
	Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.	<p>In 2023 the following proportions of Australians believed that racism is a fairly or very big problem in Australia:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Australians born overseas = 59%; • Australians born here = 62%; • Total Australians = 62%. <p>Source: Dr James O’Donnell, Mapping Social Cohesion 2023, Scanlon Foundation, Monash University.</p> <p>In submissions about racist provisions in the Constitution received by an Expert Panel convened by the federal government in 2012, “97.5 per cent supported the repeal of section 25, while 94 per cent supported change to the races power. Independent polling conducted by the Expert Panel of the community at large also found that 73 per cent of respondents were in favour of removing these provisions.” However, disputes remained about the safe way to remove the provisions so as not to disadvantage Indigenous people.</p> <p>Source: Megan Davis and George Williams, <i>Everything You Need to Know About the Uluru Statement from the Heart</i>, UNSW Press, 2021.</p>	
	Gov 12 A nation assured of enduring peace.		
	Gov 13 A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 7 – Diversity

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
		In 2023, a safe way to remove the racist provisions in the Constitution was set out in Chapter 8, Essential No. 4d of <i>The People’s Constitution: the path to empowerment of Australians in a 21st century democracy</i> . Source: Bronwyn Kelly, <i>The People’s Constitution: the path to empowerment of Australians in a 21st century democracy</i> , ACFP Publishing, January 2023, Chapter 8, Essential No. 4d. https://www.austcfp.com.au/publications In 2024,	
<p>Australia’s multicultural framework – Implementation of the road map Soc07.04</p> <p>By 2027, recognising the importance placed by Australians on maintenance of Australia’s multicultural society and national character, fully implement the road map towards the multicultural framework recommended in the report, “Towards Fairness: a multicultural Australia for all”, and in particular ensure implementation of recommendations regarding:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • bipartisan national commitment to multiculturalism; • strategic planning and coordination 	Soc 7	A success because of its diversity.	<p>In 2024, in recognition of the 50th anniversary of the adoption of multiculturalism as public policy, the Australian government released “Towards Fairness: a multicultural Australia for all”, which contained measures needed to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “remain a country that continues to enjoy the benefits of its diversity;” and • “adapt to the present social, economic and political landscape.” <p>The report, prepared by an independent review panel which travelled the country in a community engagement program, concluded that: “In numerous consultations and</p>
	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 and wellbeing.	
	Soc 5	A model of lifelong educational opportunity.	
	Soc 6	A society of equals.	
	Soc 7	A success because of its diversity.	
	Soc 8	A success because of gender equality.	
Soc 10	A place of supportive familial & other		
			<p>No progress has been made on implementation, although it is early days. Since 2022 there have been some noteworthy steps backwards in terms of Australia’s capacity to both:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “remain a country that continues to enjoy the benefits of its diversity;” and • “adapt to the present social, economic and political landscape”, including an obvious regression in bipartisan national commitment to multiculturalism with the main opposition party at the federal level (the Liberal/National Coalition) campaigning against the Indigenous Voice and calling for other exclusionist and even punitive policies for migrants and refugees.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 7 – Diversity

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>through a dedicated Department of Multicultural Affairs, Immigration and Citizenship;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a Multicultural Australia Commission to lead implementation of Multicultural Framework; • collaboration across the country and community, Multicultural Ministerial Forum and Multicultural Community Advisory Council; • a national plan to celebrate multiculturalism; • a sustainable national language policy for social and economic outcomes; • investment in community organisations and cultural programs for creative solutions to drive social change through the arts and sport; and • uplift of cultural capability across the Australia Public Service, driven by proactive and accountable leadership by the Australian Public Service Commission, 	connections & without domestic abuse.	submissions, there were recurring appeals to embrace the principles of multiculturalism that shifted Australia from an emphasis on White Australia to being a nation that values and protects the diverse experiences within its population.”	<p>The capacity of Australia’s political leadership to commit to a fair multicultural Australia for all, let alone implement it, is not evident and is instead showing signs of being in decline. The effect of this on the wider population is evident in the hardening of attitudes by Australians towards doing more to learn about the customs and heritage of different ethnic and cultural groups in this country, where the percent of those who agree we should do more fell from 72% in 2023 to 66% in 2024, reversing a trend of increasing agreement between 2018 and 2022. Source: Scanlon Foundation, Mapping Social Cohesion 2024.</p> <p>Short term progress is neutral to negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>This strategy is unlikely to be implemented in the longer term and it’s not off to a promising start, but it’s early days.</p> <p>← / →</p>
	Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.	The panel developed a road map to establish a new multicultural framework for Australia and made 29 recommendations, ten of which the panel viewed as immediately actionable.	
	Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.	Source: Commonwealth of Australia, <i>Towards Fairness: a multicultural Australia for all</i> , 2024.	
	Soc 13 A wellspring of inspiration & creativity.		
	Soc 14 A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in policing.		
	Soc 15 Confident of justice for all.		
	Soc 16 A society prepared and resilient in times of disaster.		
	Env 2 A net zero emissions nation.		
	Env 3 A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.		
	Env 8 Environmental ly and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.		
Env 9 Confident of safety and security of its water supplies.			
Env 17 A conservator of cultural & built heritage.			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 7 – Diversity

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
and ensure implementation of the ten priority recommendations of the panel.	<p>Env 19 A land of thriving self-supporting regions.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.</p>		
	<p>Econ 7 A collaborative intelligent nation.</p>		
	<p>Econ 9 Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.</p>		
	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing and affirming decency.</p>		
	<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>		
	<p>Gov 4 A free, self-governing, modern nation.</p>		
	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>		
	<p>Gov 7 Committed to public service</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 7 – Diversity

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	independence & excellence.		
	Gov 10 A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.		
	Gov 11 A just and cooperative participant on the global stage.		
	Gov 12 A nation assured of enduring peace.		
	Gov 13 A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society			
Society 8 – Women & LGBTIQ+			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Women in power and leadership – federal parliament Soc08.01</p> <p>The percentage of women in federal parliament in both the House of Representatives and the Senate reaches 50% by 2030.</p>	<p>Soc 8</p> <p>A success because of gender equality.</p>	<p>In 2019, women held 36% of seats in both houses of federal parliament (29.8% in the House of Representatives and 48.7% in the Senate). Source: Wikipedia</p>	<p>In 2022, women held 44% of seats in both houses of federal parliament (38.4% in the House of Representatives and 53.9% in the Senate). Source: Wikipedia</p> <p>The short and long term trends are positive.</p> <p>➔</p>
<p>Women in power and leadership – CEO and board positions Soc08.01.01</p> <p>The percentage of women in CEO and board positions reaches 50% by 2035.</p>	<p>Soc 8</p> <p>A success because of gender equality.</p>	<p>In 2019, 17.1% of CEO positions and 26.8% of board positions were held by women. Source: Australian Government, Workplace Gender Equality Agency "Australia's Gender Equality Scorecard 2019"</p>	<p>In 2023, 19% of CEO positions and 34% of board positions were held by women. Source: Australian Government, Workplace Gender Equality Agency, Gender Equality Data 2023.</p> <p>The short and long term trends are positive.</p> <p>➔</p>
<p>Women in power and leadership – managerial positions Soc08.01.02</p> <p>The percentage of women in managerial positions reaches 50% by 2035.</p>	<p>Soc 8</p> <p>A success because of gender equality.</p>	<p>In 2019, 39.4% of managerial positions were held by women. Source: Australian Government, Workplace Gender Equality Agency "Australia's Gender Equality Scorecard 2019"</p>	<p>In 2023, 42% of managerial positions were held by women. Source: Australian Government, Workplace Gender Equality Agency, Gender Equality Data 2023.</p> <p>The short and long term trends are positive.</p> <p>➔</p>
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Women's National Integrated Reform Program for Safety, Respect and Equity Soc08.02</p> <p>By 2025 – recognising that unless we address the social determinants and causes of violence,</p>	<p>Soc 8</p> <p>A success because of gender equality.</p>	<p>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</p>	<p>No progress is evident in planning to secure safety, respect and equity for women and girls that is integrated with other plans addressing the social determinants and causes of violence, disrespect and inequity for women and girls. Until these causal factors are addressed it</p>
	<p>Soc 1</p> <p>A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 2</p> <p>A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>		
	<p>Soc 3</p> <p>Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4</p> <p>A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 8 – Women & LGBTIQ+

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>disrespect and inequity for women and girls there will be no possibility of achieving what women are calling for – establish a national reform program for safety, respect and equity for women and girls that integrates the strategies and initiatives necessary to ensure safe workplaces, fair and equal pay, high quality free early learning, and effective justice and support systems for survivors of abuse.</p> <p>Within the program, link all the strategies called for with any related strategies as they arise including those already included in <i>Australia Together</i> for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • fee-free tertiary education under Soc05.01; • cancellation of student debt under Soc05.01.01; • universal access to free childcare under Soc11.01; • equal pay and superannuation under Soc06.02 	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>	<p>to Grace Tame and Brittany Higgins. Calls from previous decades from women of colour, disability, and genderqueer women, were reiterated. It was a momentous time.</p> <p>The essence of the call for safety, respect and equity was specific in the following terms:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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. <p>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, Georgie Dent</p>	<p>is to be expected that safety, respect and equity for women will stagnate or decline over the longer term. In the shorter term, some progress has been made in terms of access to childcare and equal pay.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>The longer term outlook is neutral to negative.</p> <p align="center"></p>
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>		
	<p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p>		
	<p>Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 14 A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in policing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 15 Confident of justice for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>		
<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>			

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Society 8 – Women & LGBTIQ+

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>and Soc06.02.01;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> introduction of a universal basic income for all Australians under Econ02.04 and Econ04.02.04; and growth in income and wealth for welfare workers under Econ03.02.04. <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: National Women’s Council for oversight of the Women’s National Integrated Reform Program for Safety, Respect and Equity Soc08.02.01</p> <p>By 2025, establish and fund a National Women’s Council charged with responsibility for development and oversight of the Integrated Reform Program under Soc08.02, including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> engagement with the community on all aspects of the Program; monitoring Australia’s progress towards the goals of the Program; and 	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing and affirming decency.</p> <hr/> <p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 8 – Women & LGBTIQ+

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> advising on the adequacy and allocation of funds in federal and state budgets when shortfalls in progress towards the Program goals are detected. 			
<p>Workplace safety for women and LGBTIQ+ Soc08.03</p> <p>Implement and monitor progress with all 55 recommendations in the Respect@Work report including a positive duty on employers.</p>	<p>Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.</p>	<p>In 2020, the Australian Human Rights Commission released “Respect@Work: National Inquiry into Sexual Harassment in Australian Workplaces”. The report noted that Australia was once at the forefront of tackling sexual harassment globally and had played a strong leadership role in the 1970s and 1980s by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ratifying the International Labour Organization’s Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention in 1973 and the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (‘CEDAW’) in 1983, and by introducing anti-discrimination laws. <p>However, over 35 years on, the rate of change has been disappointingly slow. Australia now lags behind other countries in preventing and</p>	<p>In 2024, the Australian government’s Respect@work website stated that “The government is committed to fully implementing all recommendations of the Respect@Work Report and has prioritised action to have the most meaningful and immediate impact to stop sexual harassment and create safer, respectful and more equitable workplaces.” Legislative action has commenced and implements 6 outstanding legislative recommendations of the Respect@Work Report (recommendations 16, 17, 18, 19, 23 and 43).</p> <p>A key reform is the introduction of a positive duty in the Sex Discrimination Act 1984 that requires employers to take reasonable and proportionate measures to eliminate certain forms of unlawful sex discrimination, including sexual harassment, as far as possible.</p>
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>		
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 15 Confident of justice for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>		
<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing and affirming decency.</p>			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 8 – Women & LGBTIQ+

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
		<p>responding to sexual harassment. Since 2003, the Australian Human Rights Commission has conducted four periodic surveys on the national experience of sexual harassment. The most recent survey conducted in 2018 showed that sexual harassment in Australian workplaces is widespread and pervasive. One in three people experienced sexual harassment at work in the past five years.</p> <p>Respect@Work contained 55 recommendations to help prevent sexual harassment within and outside workplaces. Source: Australian Human Rights Commission, Respect@Work: National Inquiry into Sexual Harassment in Australian Workplaces 2020</p>	<p>Progress was also made in relation to recommendations:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 24 and 25 on cost reforms; • 9, 48, 41 and 52 on a new Respect@Work website that brings together a comprehensive set of resources for employers and workers; • 46 on a good practice Indicators framework for preventing and responding to workplace sexual harassment; and • 38 on guidelines on the use of confidentiality clauses in the resolution of workplace sexual harassment complaints. <p>Source: Australian Government Attorney-General's Department, Respect@work Implementation Highlights webpage 2024.</p> <p>No consolidated update of progress with all 55 recommendations in the Respect@Work report has been located.</p> <p>Short term progress is positive. →</p> <p>Long term progress is positive. →</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society			
Society 9 – Housing			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Homelessness Soc09.01</p> <p>The proportion of Australians who experience homelessness declines continuously and is at least halved by 2030 compared to the baseline year (2016).</p>	<p>Soc 9 A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.</p>	<p>On census night 2016, 116,427 Australians, or 49.8 per 10,000 of population, were experiencing homelessness, an increase from 2011 when 102,439 Australians, or 47.6 per 10,000 of population, were experiencing homelessness.</p> <p>Source ABS, 2049.0 Census of Population and Housing 2016</p>	<p>On census night 2021, 122,494 Australians, or 48.2 per 10,000 of population, were experiencing homelessness, an increase from 2011 when 102,439 Australians, or 47.6 per 10,000 of population, were experiencing homelessness.</p> <p>Source ABS, Estimating Homelessness Census (2021), 22 March 2023.</p> <p>In 2025, the Productivity Commission reported that the number of Australians facing long term homelessness surged almost 25% in just five years. Close to 37,780 people were stuck in “persistent homelessness” in 2023-24, up from 30,306 in 2019-20.</p> <p>Source: Australian Government, Productivity Commission, Report on Government Services 2025 PART G: RELEASED ON 30 JANUARY 2025.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p>
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>		
<p>Homelessness – Ending homelessness by tackling systemic drivers Soc09.01.01</p>	<p>Soc 9 A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.</p>	<p>In 2023, Everybody’s Home, having identified several systemic drivers of homelessness including:</p>	<p>In 2022-2024, little if any progress was made to reverse the systemic drivers of homelessness:</p>
<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 9 – Housing

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>By 2033, end homelessness in Australia by implementing policies that tackle its systemic causes, including policies to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • reduce tax concessions for private sector housing; • reduce outsourcing of housing services; • significantly increase government sector provision of housing; • combat poverty, including by the introduction of a universal basic income as per Econ02.04, Econ02.04.01 and Econ04.02.04; and by the full array of other strategies in <i>Australia Together</i> to reduce inequality and end poverty. 	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • poverty; • unavailability of housing; • income inequality; • inequity and unaffordability of tax concessions for private housing; and • insufficient participation by government in provision of housing and excessive reliance on charity groups to shoulder what used to be governments' responsibility to ensure basic shelter for people with all the social dividends that secure housing provides, called for a national strategy to end homelessness and provide safe, decent and affordable housing by prioritising long-term investment in social and affordable housing, with the remit and resources to support prevention and early intervention. <p>Source: Everybody's Home Policy Platform 2023.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tax concessions still favoured private sector housing and creation of housing for profit rather than for occupation. • Housing services were largely outsourced. • No commitment has been provided in increase government sector provision of housing to the extent necessary to eliminate the growth in homelessness, much less homelessness itself. See Soc09.04 and Soc09.04.01 below. • No recognition is apparent that eliminating poverty is a prerequisite to eliminating homelessness. <p>The short term trend is neutral at best.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>The longer term trend is negative as is the outlook for this indicator.</p> <p align="center"></p>
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.</p>		
	<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>		
	<p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p>		
	<p>Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 15 Confident of justice for all.</p>		
	<p>Soc 16 A society prepared and resilient in times of disaster.</p>		
	<p>Env 18 Multi-central in its cities, efficiently connecting people with jobs, health, education and recreation.</p>		
	<p>Env 19 A land of thriving self-supporting regions.</p>		
<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 9 – Housing

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.</p>		
	<p>Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.</p>		
	<p>Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable public participation.</p>		
	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing and affirming decency.</p>		
	<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>		
	<p>Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.</p>		
	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 9 – Housing

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Housing affordability – ownership by younger generations Soc09.02 The proportion of young Australians (aged under 35) who own their own home (with or without a mortgage) rises continually and reaches 60% by no later than 2035.</p>	<p>Soc 9 A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.</p>	<p>In 2016, 37% of Australians aged 25-29 owned a home, compared to 50% in 1971. In 2016, 50% of Australians aged 30-34 owned a home compared to 64% in 1971. Source: AIHW, “Australia’s Welfare 2019 in brief”</p>	<p>In 2024, AIHW reported that between 1971 and 2021, there have been decreases in home ownership rates for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 25–29-year-olds: from 50% to 36%, and • 30–34-year-olds: from 64% to 50%. <p>Between 1996 and 2021, the proportion of people aged under 35 who were renting increased from 55.4% to 60.1%. Source: AIHW, “Australia’s Welfare 2023 in brief” and AIHW, Home ownership and housing tenure web article, 12 July 2024.</p> <p>Home ownership rates among Australians aged under 45 are back to where they were in the late 1940s and 1950s. Source: Saul Eslake, Widening the Gap – An Intergenerational Lens on Wealth Inequality in Australia, 12 December 2024.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral to negative. </p> <p>The longer term trend is negative. </p>
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
<p>Housing affordability – housing stress in all households Soc09.02.01 The proportion of households spending more than 30% of their gross weekly income on housing costs declines continuously.</p>	<p>Soc 9 A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.</p>	<p>In 2019/20, AIHW reported that 16.2% of households spent more than 30% of gross household income on housing, up from 15.4% in 2007/08 but down from 17.7% in 2013/14. (30% is the typical indicator of</p>	<p>No data update available. </p> <p>The longer term trend is negative. </p>
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 9 – Housing

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Housing affordability – housing stress in lower income households Soc09.02.02 The proportion of lower income households spending more than 30% of their gross weekly income on housing costs declines continuously.</p>	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>	<p>housing/financial stress.) Source: AIHW Housing Affordability, 7 September 2023</p> <p>In 2017/18, the proportion of lower income households spending more than 30% of their gross weekly income on housing costs was:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 56.9% of those renting from a private landlord, and • 41.3% of owners with a mortgage. <p>Source: ABS 4130.0, Housing Occupancy and Costs 2017/18</p>	<p>In 2019/20, the proportion of lower income households spending more than 30% of their gross weekly income on housing costs was:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 58% of those renting from a private landlord, and • 37% of owners with a mortgage. <p>Source: ABS, Housing Occupancy and Costs, 25 May 2022.</p> <p>No more recent data are available. The short term trend can't be determined.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>The longer term trend can't be determined.</p> <p align="center"></p>
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>		
	<p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p>		
	<p>Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.</p>		
	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing and affirming decency.</p>		
	<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>		
<p>Housing affordability – home ownership Soc09.02.03 Between 2023 and 2033 the average dwelling price drops progressively from 12.4 times average annual earnings to 4</p>	<p>Soc 9 A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.</p>	<p>In 1980, the price of a house was around 3 to 4 times average annual earnings. By May 2012, average annual earnings were \$55,034 and mean dwelling prices were \$489,900 or 8.9 times average</p>	<p>In May 2024, average annual earnings were to \$77,209 and mean dwelling prices were \$976,600 or 12.6 times average annual earnings.</p> <p>Between 2012 and 2023 average annual earnings</p>
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p>		

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
times annual earnings and does not rise above 4 times annual earnings again.	Soc 6 A society of equals.	annual earnings. In May 2023, average annual earnings had risen to \$73,090 and mean dwelling prices were \$906,200 or 12.4 times average annual earnings. Between 2012 and 2023 average annual earnings rose by 33% but average dwelling prices rose 85%. Source: ABS Average Weekly Earnings & ABS Total Value of Dwellings Using alternative measures, between the 1980s and 2023 median dwelling prices rose from 3 to 4 times average weekly earnings to 7 to 8 times. "Any serious effort to deal with housing affordability should be explicitly aimed at getting that ratio down [to where it was in 1980] and keeping it there." Source: Alan Kohler, Quarterly Essay, "The Great Divide: Australia's Housing mess and how to fix it," Issue 92, 2023.	rose by 40% but average dwelling prices rose 99%. Source: ABS Average Weekly Earnings & ABS Total Value of Dwellings The short term trend is negative. ← Home ownership is further away from the average Australian than ever. The long term trend is negative. ←
	Soc 10 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.		
	Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.		
	Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.		
	Econ 4 A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.		
	Gov 2 A nation knowing and affirming decency.		
Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.			
Top Priority Target/Strategy: Housing as a right Soc09.03 By 2025, introduce Commonwealth legislation recognising:	Soc 9 A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.	In 1975, the Australian federal parliament ratified the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights which acknowledges that housing is a core human right which	In 2024, the federal government showed no signs of accepting the recommendation by the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Human Rights that a limited right to housing be conferred in a new Human Rights
	Soc 1 A safe home.		
	Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 9 – Housing

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the right of all citizens to housing, the obligation of governments (federal and state) to ensure that all citizens have secure access to housing of a decent standard at an affordable cost. 	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p>	<p>may not unlawfully be escaped by governments. Despite this, no government currently acknowledges any obligation to ensure Australians can enjoy this right, fundamental though it is to every other possibility of economic security and self-sufficiency for any person. The failure of governments to acknowledge housing as a right and instead to class it as welfare is a repudiation of basic human rights, a breach of international law and undermines Australia's economy. Source: International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights [1976] ATS 5 (austlii.edu.au) and Australian Human Rights Commission Chart of Australian Treaty Ratifications</p> <p>In 2024, the federal Parliamentary Joint Committee on Human Rights recommended that a right to education be conferred in a new Human Rights Act. However, the recommendation did not extend to lifelong education and did not endorse a right to university education (either on an unequal or equal basis) and as such fell short of complying with the right that was to be</p>	<p>Act. It is now 50 years since the parliament ratified the ICESCR and still Australians have no right to housing in federal law.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>The long term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p>
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>		
	<p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p>		
	<p>Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.</p>		
	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing and affirming decency.</p>		
	<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>		
<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 9 – Housing

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline																						
		conferred under the ICESCR.																							
<p>Housing supply – social and public housing waiting list Soc09.04</p> <p>By 2033, halve the waiting list for public housing and state owned and managed Indigenous housing (SOMIH) as well as that of all other community housing services. By 2040, ensure the waiting list is zero and never returns.</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 571 619 741">Soc 9</td> <td data-bbox="619 571 837 741">A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 741 619 779">Soc 1</td> <td data-bbox="619 741 837 779">A safe home.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 779 619 875">Soc 3</td> <td data-bbox="619 779 837 875">Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 875 619 972">Soc 4</td> <td data-bbox="619 875 837 972">A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 972 619 1041">Soc 6</td> <td data-bbox="619 972 837 1041">A society of equals.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1041 619 1137">Soc 8</td> <td data-bbox="619 1041 837 1137">A success because of gender equality.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1137 619 1337">Soc 10</td> <td data-bbox="619 1137 837 1337">A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1337 619 1433">Soc 11</td> <td data-bbox="619 1337 837 1433">A land without child disadvantage.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1433 619 1529">Soc 12</td> <td data-bbox="619 1433 837 1529">A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1529 619 1890">Econ 3</td> <td data-bbox="619 1529 837 1890">A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1890 619 2018">Econ 4</td> <td data-bbox="619 1890 837 2018">A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.</td> </tr> </table>	Soc 9	A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.	Soc 1	A safe home.	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	Soc 4	A place of optimal health and wellbeing.	Soc 6	A society of equals.	Soc 8	A success because of gender equality.	Soc 10	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.	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	Econ 4	A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.	<p>In 2022, the waiting list for public housing and state owned and managed Indigenous housing (SOMIH) was 174,624 households, up 13% from 2014 (when it was 154,566) and up 11,116 since 2021 (when it was 163,508). These data exclude waiting lists for community run housing and Indigenous community housing schemes that service over 28% of the households in social housing (no data were supplied on their waiting lists). Therefore it is likely that the above figure of 174,624 households represents only 70% of the real waiting list. Source: AIHW Housing assistance in Australia - 14 July 2023</p> <p>In 2024, it was reported that the Productivity Commission had “counted 224,326 households on waiting lists for social housing with nearly half of them identified as being of greatest need, yet the number of public and community permanent dwellings grew by only 2111 last year to 412,554.”</p>	<p>In 2023, the waiting list for public housing and state owned and managed Indigenous housing (SOMIH) was 169,209 households, up 9.5% from 2014 (when it was 154,566) and up by 5,701 or 3.5% since 2021 (when it was 163,508), but down by 5,415 from the historic high of 174,624 in 2022. Source: AIHW Housing assistance in Australia - 14 July 2024.</p> <p>It should be noted that policies adopted for creation of public housing in 2023 (the Housing Australia Future Fund or HAFF and the Social Housing Accelerator) will not reduce waiting lists. Instead they will bake in long term increases in waiting lists, if only because assumptions about the number of homes that can be built for the funds being supplied are false (massively overstated). See Soc09.04.01. The number of homes likely to be built with HAFF funds over five years is probably about 6,000, not 30,000, because the fund is too small. The Social Housing Accelerator will provide only 4,000 new homes.</p>
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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 9 – Housing

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	<p>Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.</p> <p>Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable public participation.</p> <p>Gov 2 A nation knowing and affirming decency.</p> <p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>	<p>Source: Michael Pascoe, "For all the talk, public and social housing just got worse", 27 January 2024, John Menadue's Pearls and Irritations.</p>	<p>The short term trend is neutral to negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>At the rate of demand for all types of social housing and the commitment by the federal government to investment in creating public housing, the waiting list for public housing is not likely to be eliminated inside 140 years. See Soc09.04.01. To meet the target of halving the waiting list by 2033 the government will need to spend at least \$5 billion per annum on building public housing. The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p>
<p>.....</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Housing supply – elimination of the social and public housing waiting list Soc09.04.01</p> <p>From 2024/25, recognising:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the significant benefits to the Australian economy, social cohesion, and quality of life for all; the need to eliminate the social and public housing waiting list (see Soc09.04); 	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>	<p>.....</p> <p>In 2023, the federal government proposed a Housing Australia Future Fund (HAFF) whereunder they would borrow \$10 billion to invest it on the money market and then invest any net earnings (up to \$500 million per annum) on creation of 30,000 units of public housing, ostensibly over five years. However, in 2023 the waiting list for public housing was 174,624 households (see Soc09.04). Bearing in mind that in April 2022 figures from the ABS</p>	<p>.....</p> <p>In 2024, the waiting list for public housing was 169,209 households (see Soc09.04). Bearing in mind that in April 2022 figures from the ABS suggested that, on average, building a home costs around \$473,000 (including houses and unit data), this indicates that the HAFF would be unable to eliminate the waiting list in under 140 years.</p> <p>No other policies, including those for taxation (which over the next decade are expected to deplete</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 9 – Housing

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the evident possibility that the waiting list will grow due to the unaffordability of housing for most people born after the 1980s due to structural economic and tax arrangements; and the need to comply with legislation recognising housing as a fundamental human right rather than welfare (see Soc09.03), <p>ensure allocation in the federal budget of \$5 billion per annum for direct investment in publicly owned and operated housing for renting to qualifying recipients of social housing including, as a minimum, the 174,624 households on the waiting list in 2023.</p>		<p>suggested that, on average, building a home costs around \$473,000 (including houses and unit data), this indicates that the HAFF would be unable to eliminate the waiting list in under 145 years. By contrast the Australian Greens suggested a policy of directly investing \$5 billion per annum to create social and affordable housing given the enormity of the housing crisis.</p> <p>Source: AIHW Housing assistance in Australia - 14 July 2023 and Erin Delahunty: "How much does it cost to build a house in 2023?", realestate.com.au, 23 January 2023.</p>	<p>government funds available for housing by \$146 billion), have been amended or introduced that would reliably and cost-effectively eliminate waiting lists for public housing. Direct public investment in housing is by far the most cost-efficient way to meet obligations. However, the allocation of funds under</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the HAFF (interest that may be earned, less costs, from \$10 billion borrowed by the government and invested in the money market), and the Social Housing Accelerator (a \$2 billion one-off grant to the states) <p>is fully insufficient to reverse the growth in waiting lists.</p> <p>Source: Everybody's Home, "Written Off: The high cost of Australia's unfair tax system", January 2024.</p> <p>It is worth noting that Everybody's Home has called on the federal government to construct 25,000 social homes per year. According to SGS Economics this would generate an annual economic output of \$12.9 billion, and create 15,700 jobs. It would cost approximately \$12 billion per annum but could be financed in its entirety with no ill effects on the nation's finances by eliminating the fossil fuel subsidy (\$14.5 billion in 2024)</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 9 – Housing

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>and in any case is far cheaper than subsidising the private sector to construct housing. Source: Everybody’s Home Budget position paper and SGS Economics.</p> <p>Due to insufficient funding, major policy failures in taxation and a lack of legislation to recognise housing as a human right, the short term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p>
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Housing supply – establishment of a federal Department of Housing Soc09.04.02</p> <p>By 2025, for purposes of ensuring compliance with all other targets in this section (Society 9 – Housing), establish a federal Department of Housing with a charter to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • deliver a publicly owned and operated build-to-rent property portfolio for qualifying recipients of social housing; and to • devise policies (including on tax, urban development and planning, 	<p>Soc 9 A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.</p> <p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p> <p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p> <p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p> <p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p> <p>Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.</p> <p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p> <p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p>	<p>In 2023, policy for housing was run via the Department of Social Services which made housing a welfare issue rather than an essential element of economic sustainability for the nation. It was heavily dependent on the willingness of private sector investors to develop land and that of banks to lend finance. In effect, housing in Australia was “a cartel of the majority with banks and developers helping them maintain high house prices with the political class actively supporting them.” Skewed housing policy was one of the biggest contributors to the increase in economic</p>	<p>In 2024, no progress had been made towards this target. The federal government exhibited persistent refusal to develop policies on tax, urban development and population that would reverse policies of reliance on the private sector to provide housing and its effects on the growth of poverty and inequality in Australia. Source: ACCC, Public Competition Assessments. Source: NSW Government, Revenue NSW.</p> <p>The short term trend is stagnant.</p> <p>← / →</p> <p>The long term trend is stagnant.</p> <p>← / →</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 9 – Housing

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>population and immigration) with a view to ensuring the most cost-efficient and reliable supply of affordable housing for all Australians.</p> <p>Transfer all responsibility for social housing away from the Department of Social Services to the new Department of Housing and bind it to legislation as per Soc09.03.</p> <p>.....</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Housing supply – creation of sufficient supply through adjusted taxation policy Soc09.04.03</p> <p>By 2025, recognising that the private sector creates the vast majority of housing supply in Australia and will do so even if the federal governments steps in to become a major supplier of housing (as they should – see Soc09.01.01, Soc09.04.01 and Soc09.04.02), introduce policies to:</p> <p>a) limit negative gearing by investors to newly</p>	<p>Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</p>	<p>inequality among Australians and certainly the biggest factor increasing wealth inequality and the impoverishment of ever growing numbers of Australians. This policy focus was also a cause of overall economic decline and an “undermining of the proper economic functioning of the nation [particularly by] focussing wealth creation on an unproductive asset.”</p> <p>Source: Alan Kohler, Quarterly Essay, “The Great Divide: Australia’s Housing mess and how to fix it,” Issue 92, 2023.</p> <p>.....</p> <p>In 2023, the federal government announced an aspirational target (not a promise) of creating 1 million (private not publicly owned) houses over five years and later increased that target to 1.2 million via an offer of a \$15,000 bounty to state governments for every extra block of land released capped at \$3 billion. However, the government made no other policy changes to ensure the aspirational target may be reached. Nor did they propose policies which would increase the chances of housing affordability for all Australians.</p>	<p>In 2024, no progress had been made towards this target. The federal government exhibited persistent refusal to develop policies on taxation that would reverse trends of massively increasing house prices.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative. ←</p> <p>The long term trend is negative. ←</p>
	<p>Env 2 A net zero emissions nation.</p>		
	<p>Env 3 A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.</p>		
	<p>Env 4 A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.</p>		
	<p>Env 6 A renewable energy superpower.</p>		
	<p>Env 7 Efficiently connected with zero-emissions transport.</p>		
	<p>Env 12 A protector of scarce resources.</p>		
	<p>Env 13 A provider of accessible national & urban parkland.</p>		
	<p>Env 16 Regenerative by design in consumption & production.</p>		
	<p>Env 17 A conservator of cultural & built heritage.</p>		
<p>Env 18 Multi-central in its cities, efficiently connecting people with jobs, health, education and recreation.</p>			
<p>Env 19 A land of thriving self-supporting regions.</p>			
<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 9 – Housing

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>b) built homes and only one per taxpayer; and eliminate the capital gains discount on investment properties.</p> <p>For the policy rationale on this see Alan Kohler, Quarterly Essay, “The Great Divide: Australia’s Housing mess and how to fix it,” Issue 92, 2023 and Everybody’s Home, “Written Off: The high cost of Australia’s unfair tax system”, January 2024 – Note²³.</p>	<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>	<p>Source: Australian Government Department of Social Services “Housing support” webpage, 24 November 2023.</p> <p>In 2024, Everybody’s Home reported that private rental housing now receives five times more support from the federal government in the form of tax breaks than public spending on social housing and that “by turning away from social housing and prioritising the tax treatment of investors, governments have pushed up the cost of housing.” The study showed the federal budget will lose \$146 billion over the decade to 2023 in tax breaks for private housing. Up to 500,000 homes could be funded if tax breaks for property investors were axed.</p> <p>Source: Everybody’s Home, “Written Off: The high cost of Australia’s unfair tax system”, January 2024.</p>	
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.</p>		
	<p>Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.</p>		
	<p>Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable public participation.</p>		
	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing and affirming decency.</p>		

²³ **Rationale for the strategy of reducing tax breaks for property investors:** In his Quarterly Essay on “The Great Divide: Australia’s housing mess and how to fix it”, Alan Kohler posed numerous reasons for the need to address distortions in the tax system as a cause of housing unaffordability for young Australians: “The houses we live in, the places we call home and bring up our families in, have been turned into speculative investment assets by the 50 years of government policy failure, financialisation and greed that resulted in 25 years of exploding house prices. The doubling of prices as a proportion of both average income and GDP per capita has turned a house from somewhere to live while you get on with the rest of your life into the main thing, and for many people a terrible burden.” In general this indicates a need to reduce or eliminate tax breaks for property investors because it has driven property prices for owner-occupiers up to entirely unaffordable levels. While Kohler recommended reduction rather than elimination of tax breaks, Everybody’s Home in their 2024 report, “Written Off: The high cost of Australia’s unfair tax system,” observed that negative gearing and the capital gains discount “have a dual perverse effect of both reducing housing affordability and increasing wealth inequality” and made a very strong case for elimination of negative gearing, the capital gains tax discount and rental assistance (which is in effect a subsidy to landlords, not welfare for renters). In consideration of the competing arguments, a policy which reduces negative gearing tax concessions but eliminates the capital gains tax discount entirely is necessary in line with the other objectives of the Vision for *Australia Together*.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 9 – Housing

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>		
	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>		
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Housing supply – creation of sufficient supply through control of immigration Soc09.04.04</p> <p>By 2025, link immigration to the capacity of the Australian construction industry – specifically, net overseas migration must be kept at 2 to 2.5 times the number of housing approvals, but up to a maximum of 60,000 persons a year.</p> <p>In any year, immigration must be capped to ensure total population does not exceed 35 million as per Econ01.03.02. In the absence of the task force in Econ01.03.03 required to confirm the necessary caps on annual net migration, impose a ceiling of 60,000 per annum up to a maximum</p>	<p>Soc 9 A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.</p>	<p>Between 2000 and 2023, immigration policy for Australia was driven by the demand for labour, particularly cheap labour preferred by businesses. This contributed to in a growing shortage of housing for rent and purchase. By 2023 the capital city rental vacancy rate was 1% compared to a ten year average of 2.8%. Accordingly rents were rising at well above the inflation rate.</p> <p>Between 2003 and 2023 net migration averaged about 200,000 per year which saw Australia’s population grow by 7.2 million from 19.5 million to 26.7 million. However the total number of dwellings increased by only 3 million. “Assuming 2 people per dwelling on average, that leaves a shortfall of 1.2 million houses [or 1.2 million people not housed].” Alarming, Australia added 518,100 people through net migration in the 2022-23</p>	<p>In 2024 the federal government set the 2024–25 permanent Migration Program at a planning level of 185,000, three times the target annual increase of 60,000. For every year the government fails to deal with excessive immigration, the chances of meeting the long term population target limit of 35 million as per Econ01.03.02 are negatively affected and housing supply issues worsen.</p> <p>Source: Department of Home Affairs, Migration Program Planning Levels webpage 2024. The short term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center">←</p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center">←</p>
	<p>All All All other directions as per Soc09.04.02 and Soc09.04.03.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 9 – Housing

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
population of 35 million. ²⁴		financial year. The government expected this to settle back to 235,000 annually which is way above levels considered to be sustainable. Source: Alan Kohler, Quarterly Essay, "The Great Divide: Australia's Housing mess and how to fix it," Issue 92, 2023. Source: ABS National, state and territory population June 2023.	
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Housing supply – creation of sufficient supply through market regulation Soc09.04.05</p> <p>By 2025, recognising that housing has become unaffordable in Australia for generations born after 1980 and that a major contributing factor is that land is deliberately withheld from release by developers and that the market therefore has features of monopoly control, ensure that:</p>	Soc 9 A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.	<p>In 2023, it was recognised that housing in Australia had become "a cartel of the majority with banks and developers helping them maintain high house prices with the political class actively supporting them." These cartels indulged in withholding land releases for excessive periods thus driving up the price of land. It was observed that "At the moment it's obviously worthwhile for developers to pay the holding cost (of the land banks) to boost their eventual sale</p>	<p>The ACCC reviews competition in the property market in a number of ways, including by "public competition assessments". These provide an analysis of competition issues in the property market but mainly those arising from mergers rather than from practices like land banking and other practices to maximise returns from land development. The ACCC has not prohibited land banking.</p> <p>Nor do land tax reforms appear to be designed to discourage land banking.</p>
	Soc 1 A safe home.		
	Soc 6 A society of equals.		
	Env 12 A protector of scarce resources.		
	Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.		
Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards			

²⁴ **Rationale for the target selected for immigration:** Immigration targets should be subject to considerations of the total population that would be sustainable in Australia, not just from a housing point of view but from an environmental and economic point of view. See population expert Jane O'Sullivan: "The main criterion for sustainability is that migration should be low enough to allow Australia's population to stop growing. Nothing can grow for ever on a finite resource base, and the more we grow from now, the more we lose in terms of environmental health and quality of life." Therefore the immigration target should float in relation to changes in the fertility rate of women in Australia. "If fertility stays below 1.7, sustainability would be found in the range of 60,000–80,000 NOM." To be on the safe side and to allow for inflows of climate change refugees to be accommodated if need be, the target should be set at 60,000, net immigration up to a maximum population of 35 million as per **Econ01.03.02**. Employer needs for cheap labour should not be a consideration for immigration levels. This is because "The proliferation of low-wage work in Australia, to absorb the many migrants whose skills are not really in demand, has contributed to sluggish productivity growth." It has also contributed to very high house prices. Overall, immigration in excess of 60,000 per annum negatively impacts wages, economic growth and inequality quite seriously. See Jane O'Sullivan, "[What is a sustainable immigration level anyway?](#)" John Menadue's Pearls and Irritations, 30 December 2023.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 9 – Housing

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the ACCC maintains oversight of the property market and prohibits anti-competitive tactics such as land banking for decades; and taxes on the cost of holding land are increased enough to create a disincentive for long term land banking. 		improve continuously for all.	<p>In NSW the government introduced a land tax discount for new build-to-rent housing projects until 2040 but this is more a tax break for developers than a tax to discourage land banking.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center">←</p> <p>The longer term trend is neutral.</p> <p align="center">←</p>	
	Econ 4	A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.		<p>price; the balance of that equation needs to tip the other way.”</p> <p>Source: Alan Kohler, Quarterly Essay, “The Great Divide: Australia’s Housing mess and how to fix it,” Issue 92, 2023</p>
	Econ 5	A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.		
	Econ 6	An economy with competitive & profitable public participation.		
	Gov 2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.		
	Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.		
	Gov 9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.		

Society 10 – Family cohesion & community services

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society			
Society 10 – Family cohesion & community services			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Family and community support – reliability of community support in time of need Soc10.01</p> <p>The percent of people who know someone they could rely on in time of need exceeds 95%.</p>	<p>Soc 10</p> <p>A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>	<p>In 2017, 95% of Australians knew someone they could rely on in time of need. Source: OECD Better Life Index</p>	<p>In 2024, OECD reported that in 2020 93% of Australians knew someone they could rely on in time of need. Source: OECD Better Life Index</p>
	<p>Soc 3</p> <p>Inclusive, welcoming and enabling.</p>		<p>In 2020, 92.7% of Australians over 18 years on survey said that they were able to get support in times of crisis from persons living outside the household, down from 94.2% in 2019 and 94.6% in 2014. Source: ABS, General Social Survey 2020</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p>
<p>Family and community support – availability of support from outside-the-home sources Soc10.01.01</p> <p>The proportion of Australians reporting that they have family or friends living outside the household to confide in increases continuously.</p>	<p>Soc 10</p> <p>A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>	<p>In 2019, 89% of Australians on survey reporting having “family or friends living outside the household to confide in”, down slightly from 91.5% in 2014. Source: ABS General Social Survey 2020, Table 17.1.</p>	<p>In 2020, 86.2% of Australians over 18 years on survey reported having “family or friends living outside the household to confide in”, down from 89% in 2019, 91.5% in 2014, and 95.5% in 2006. Source: ABS General Social Survey 2020.</p>
	<p>Soc 1</p> <p>A safe home.</p>		<p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p>
	<p>Soc 3</p> <p>Inclusive, welcoming and enabling.</p>		<p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p>
	<p>Soc 4</p> <p>A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
<p>Domestic abuse – violence</p>	<p>Soc 10</p> <p>A place of supportive</p>	<p>In 2016, 17% of women (1.6 million)</p>	<p>In 2021/22,</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 10 – Family cohesion & community services

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Soc10.02 The proportion of women and men reporting experience of domestic/relationship violence declines continuously.</p>	<p>familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>	<p>and 6% of men (547,600) reported having experienced violence by a partner since the age of 15. Source: ABS Personal Safety Survey 2016</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 27% of women reported experiencing violence by an intimate partner or family member since the age of 15; and • 23% of women reported experiencing violence by an intimate partner since the age of 15, up from 17% in 2016. <p>In 2021/22,</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 12% of men reported experiencing violence by an intimate partner or family member since the age of 15; and • 7.3% of men reported experiencing violence by an intimate partner since the age of 15, up from 6% in 2016. <p>Source: ABS Personal Safety Australia, 2021/22. Source: AIHW, Intimate Partner Violence webpage, February 2024.</p> <p>Reported domestic violence has increased substantially for women and slightly for men. The short term trend is negative.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">←</p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">←</p>
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming and enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.</p>		
<p>Soc 14 A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in policing.</p>			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 10 – Family cohesion & community services

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Domestic abuse – emotional Soc10.02.01 The proportion of women and men reporting experience of domestic/relationship emotional abuse declines continuously compared to that recorded in 2016.</p>	<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>	<p>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</p>	<p>In 2021/22, 23% of women and 14% of men experienced emotional abuse by a cohabiting partner since the age of 15. Source: ABS Personal Safety Australia, 2021/22.</p> <p>Reported emotional abuse by a partner is unchanged since 2016 for women but lower for men.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral to positive. </p> <p>The longer term trend is neutral to positive. </p>
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming and enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.</p>		
	<p>Soc 14 A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in policing.</p>		
<p>Domestic abuse – homicide Soc10.02.02 The number of homicide victims from family and domestic violence (FDV) per annum declines continuously.</p>	<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>	<p>Between 2014/15 and 2015/16, the National Homicide Monitoring Program recorded 218 domestic homicide victims (including 107 victims of intimate partner homicide, 45 victims of filicide, 28 victims of parricide, 13 victims of siblicide, 25 victims of other family homicide). The reported number of domestic homicide victims from 2014–15 to 2015–16 is slightly higher than the previous reporting period (213 victims</p>	<p>In 2023, the number of homicides due to family and domestic violence (FDV) were:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 66 males, up from 45 in 2021 and 57 in 2022; and 94 females, up from 59 in 2021 and 71 in 2022. <p>In 2023, the total number of FDV homicide victims, including those where the gender of victims was not stated, was 157, up from 106 in 2021 and 131 in 2022. Source: ABS Recorded Crime, Victims, 2023.</p>
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming and enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 8 A success because of</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 10 – Family cohesion & community services

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	<p>gender equality.</p> <p>Soc 14 A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in policing.</p>	<p>were killed in 200 incidents from 2012–13 to 2013–14). As at 2019, 1 woman is killed every 9 days and 1 man is killed every 29 days by a partner. Source: AIHW & Australian Institute of Criminology</p>	<p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p></p> <p>Between 2014 and 2019 (notably before the onset of Covid-19) homicide due to FDV trended downwards and averaged 149.7 per annum. The downward trend continued during Covid-19 (2020 and 2021) before rising again in 2022 and 2023.</p> <p>Generally the longer term trend since 2014 has been positive.</p> <p></p>
<p>Domestic abuse – hospitalisation Soc10.02.03 The number of hospitalisations due to family and domestic violence (FDV) declines continuously.</p>	<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p> <p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p> <p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming and enabling.</p> <p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p> <p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p> <p>Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.</p> <p>Soc 14 A model of community service & responsible exercise of</p>	<p>In 2016/17, 4,600 women and 1,700 men (total 6,300) were hospitalised due to family and domestic violence. Source: AIHW, “Australia’s Welfare 2019, in brief”</p>	<p>In 2022/–23, 1 in 3 (33% or 6,700) assault hospitalisations were due to family and domestic violence (FDV), up from the figure reported in 2016/17 of 6,300. Source: AIHW Family, domestic and sexual violence webpage, 9 December 2024.</p> <p>In 2023, using alternative data from AIHW, hospitalisations due to family and domestic violence were:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Female – 4,749, down from the average of the previous three years of 5,472. Males – 1,729, down from the average of the previous three years of 1,970. <p>Source: AIHW, National Hospital Morbidity Database, 25 September 2024</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 10 – Family cohesion & community services

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline														
	authority in policing.		Datasets on this indicator are affected by a break in the series in 2018 and by other data collection issues at the national level, making comparisons between datasets and isolation of trends difficult. On balance the short term trend would appear to be neutral to negative.  The long term trend can't be determined. 														
<p>Domestic abuse – legislative program Soc10.03 By 2025, legislate to make coercive control illegal throughout Australia.</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1037 635 1294">Soc 10</td> <td data-bbox="635 1037 818 1294">A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1294 635 1373">Soc 1</td> <td data-bbox="635 1294 818 1373">A safe home.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1373 635 1473">Soc 3</td> <td data-bbox="635 1373 818 1473">Inclusive, welcoming and enabling.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1473 635 1574">Soc 4</td> <td data-bbox="635 1473 818 1574">A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1574 635 1653">Soc 6</td> <td data-bbox="635 1574 818 1653">A society of equals.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1653 635 1776">Soc 8</td> <td data-bbox="635 1653 818 1776">A success because of gender equality.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1776 635 1998">Soc 14</td> <td data-bbox="635 1776 818 1998">A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in policing.</td> </tr> </table>	Soc 10	A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.	Soc 1	A safe home.	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming and enabling.	Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	Soc 6	A society of equals.	Soc 8	A success because of gender equality.	Soc 14	A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in policing.	In 2020, no plans were in place to develop legislation recognising coercive control as a crime.	In 2022, coercive control became a criminal offence in NSW. In 2023, coercive control became a criminal offence in Queensland. In 2005, some types of coercive control (economic abuse and emotional abuse) became a criminal offence in Tasmania. Source: AIHW, Family, domestic and sexual violence, Coercive Control webpage, 19 July 2024. No national legislation is in place. The short term trend is positive.  The longer term trend is positive.
Soc 10	A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.																
Soc 1	A safe home.																
Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming and enabling.																
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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 10 – Family cohesion & community services

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	<p>Soc 15 Confident of justice for all.</p> <p>Gov 2 A nation knowing & affirming decency.</p> <p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>		→
<p>Domestic abuse – education and counselling services Soc10.04</p> <p>By 2025, establish a permanent national education program on coercive control, its features and illegality and where to go to seek help.</p>	<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p> <p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p> <p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming and enabling.</p> <p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p> <p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p> <p>Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.</p> <p>Soc 14 A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in policing.</p>	<p>In 2021, no plans were in place to develop a national education program on coercive control.</p>	<p>In 2023, the Standing Council of Attorneys-General released the National Principles to Address Coercive Control in Family and Domestic Violence. Principles are designed to be used by government and non-government organisations involved in addressing coercive control, including by education, early intervention, prevention, recovery and healing.</p> <p>Source: AIHW, Family, domestic and sexual violence, Coercive Control webpage, 19 July 2024.</p> <p>Source: Australian Government, Attorney-General’s Department, Coercive Control webpage.</p> <p>The short term trend is positive.</p> <p>→</p> <p>The longer term trend is positive.</p> <p>→</p>
<p>Domestic abuse – support and funding</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: End domestic violence by restoring funding for shelters and support</p>	<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>	<p>In 2019, it was reported that: “It’s been almost half a century since feminists opened the first domestic violence shelters. Ever since, they’ve had to beg for</p>	<p>In 2023/24, Women’s Community Shelters (WCS) accommodated 42% more clients than in 2022/23. However, demand continued to grow faster than supply. The number of clients</p>

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Society 10 – Family cohesion & community services

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>services enabling 100% of women threatened by domestic violence to escape to safety. Soc10.05 By 2024, and until such time as a structure can be established for determination of priority federal budget expenditure under Econ04.02.02, establish a floor increase in federal funding allocations for domestic violence shelters, starting from a position of restoring federal funding to pre-2012 levels (effectively double what they were reduced to by 2020).</p> <p>Ensure the floor increase on the restored annual funding (which should be at least \$160 million) is maintained at a minimum of 5% per annum and guaranteed until 2030.</p> <p>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.</p>	Soc 1 A safe home.	<p>every dollar to keep women safe. The furious words of these women have, in recent years, been stolen by self-serving politicians, who wax lyrical about ending domestic abuse while dabbling with piecemeal initiatives, gutting essential services and forcing the sector to plead for basic funding. No matter how many prime ministers ‘commit’ to ending domestic violence, the fact remains: Australia is a rich nation that tolerates abuse towards women and children.” Source: Jess Hill, <i>See What You Made Me Do</i></p> <p>Across Australia in 2019, more than 1 in 2 women were turned away from crisis accommodation every night. Source: Women’s Community Shelters homepage</p> <p>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</p>	<p>unassisted grew by 58%, primarily due to lack of beds available.</p> <p>In 2024, WCS reported that 54,000 women are homeless every night in Australia and more than 1 in 2 women are turned away from crisis accommodation every night. Source: Women’s Community Shelters, Annual Report 2023/24.</p> <p>In 2024, AIHW reported that in 2023/24 the main reason for seeking assistance from Specialist Homelessness Services was domestic violence – 71,800 clients, mostly women – indicating a need for significantly increased government funding if domestic violence is to be reduced. Source: AIHW, Specialist homelessness services annual report 2023–24.</p> <p>In 2024, AIHW also reported that between 2011/12 and 2023/24 the number of clients seeking specialist homelessness service because of FDV rose on average per annum by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2.3% for women (from 62,179 in 2011/12 to 81,990 in 2023/24), and • 3.9% for men (from 17,432 in 2011/12 to 27,497 in 2023/24),
	Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.		
	Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.		
	Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.		
	Soc 6 A society of equals.		
	Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.		
	Soc 9 A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.		
	Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.		
	Soc 14 A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in policing.		
	Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.		
Econ 4 A nation fairly raising &			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 10 – Family cohesion & community services

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
	<p>sharing its wealth.</p>	<p>Women and their Children 2010-2022". Source: Australian Government, Department of Social Services</p>	<p>with women seeking services at more than three times the rate of men. Source: AIHW, Specialist homelessness services annual report 2023–24, Historical data tables 2011/12 to 2023/24.</p>	
	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing & affirming decency.</p>			<p>In October 2022, the government released the National Plan to End Violence against Women and Children 2022–2032. In support of the plan the 2024/25 federal budget included \$925.2 million over five years from 2023–24 to establish the permanent Leaving Violence Program and \$44.1 million in legal assistance. These allocations raised the federal government contribution notionally to about \$185 million per annum but did not include extra funding for shelters.</p>
	<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>			<p>Source: Federal Budget 2024/25, Budget Paper No. 1, page 32.</p> <p>Given the rise in need for specialist homelessness services for escape from domestic violence it is difficult to tell whether the welcome increase in federal funding will keep pace with need. State government funding has increased but will not meet demand. In NSW in 2024 the state government provided \$426.6 million over four years to expand the</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 10 – Family cohesion & community services

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>“Core and Cluster initiative”, to deliver and operate new women’s refuges that “will support up to an additional 2,900 women and children escaping domestic and family violence each year.” This will mean tens of thousands will still be turned away from shelter every year.</p> <p>The short term trend is likely to be neutral to negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>The longer term trend can’t be determined.</p> <p>← / →</p>

Society 11 – Early childhood care

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 ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Funding for childcare</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Universal access to free Early Childhood Education and Care Soc11.01</p> <p>By 2025, consistent with its commitment in 2023 to “making access to high-quality, equitable and affordable early childhood education and care universal”, the federal government is to deliver a plan for implementation by 2028 of a genuinely universal Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC) system, as recommended by the Centre for Policy Development in 2024 in “Growing Together: A future universal early childhood education and care system for Australia,” but with variations in regard to the entitlement to free Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC) as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alternative A – In the event of introduction of a Universal Basic Income (UBI) for all Australians at the poverty level as per Option B in Econ04.02.04, guarantee three 	<p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p>	<p>In 2021, 60% of Australians supported universal access to free childcare and early learning for families with young children. Only 16% opposed this. Source: Essential Report, 29 March 2021</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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 expenditure on</p>	<p>No integrated plan has been developed to establish a fully universal early childhood education and care system.</p> <p>Between 2022 and 2024 some incremental improvements were made by improving the subsidy system for childcare. In 2024, the prime minister Anthony Albanese said that the government had “cut the cost of early education for more than 1 million Australian families through our Cheaper Child Care reforms. The average family receiving Child Care Subsidy has saved around \$4,400 as a result of our reforms.” The prime minister also repeated commitments to fund creation of more childcare centres and claimed that “these changes will bring Australia closer to universal early education than ever before.” Source: Anthony Albanese, Media release, Next steps in building a universal early education system, 11 December 2024.</p> <p>Short term progress is positive.</p> <p>➔</p> <p>In the longer term, the absence of a bipartisan integrated plan to establish universal early education and childcare</p>
	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>		
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.</p>		
	<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>		
	<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>		
<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living</p>			

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 ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
		<p>market distortion (in the for-profit sector), and workforce shortages. CPD suggested a holistic approach including “a national entitlement for all young children to access a minimum of three days of early childhood education and care per week free or at a low set fee.”</p> <p>Source: Commonwealth Government, “Working Future, The Australian Government’s White Paper in Jobs and Opportunities,” September 2023. Source: Centre for Policy Development, “Growing Together, A future universal early childhood education and care system for Australia,” 2024.</p>	

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 successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Aged care package waiting times Soc12.01 Aged care package waiting times are reduced to: Level 1 = 3 months Level 2-4 = <4 months</p>	<p>Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</p>	<p>In 2020, aged care package waiting times were reported as Level 1 (basic in-home care) = 3-6 months Levels 2, 3 & 4 (higher care levels) = 12+ months Source: Australian Government, myagedcare.gov.au</p>	<p>In October 2021, aged care package waiting times were reported as Level 1 (basic in-home care) = 3-6 months Levels 2, 3 & 4 (higher care levels) = 6-9 months Source: Australian Government, myagedcare.gov.au, updated October 2021</p> <p>In November 2024, for people with a medium priority, the expected wait time for an approved Home Care Package (starting from the date on the letter of approval) was:</p> <p>Level 1: 3 - 6 months Level 2: 6 - 9 months Level 3: 9 - 12 months Level 4: 12 - 15 months Source: Australian Government, myagedcare</p> <p>This is a decline from wait times in 2021. The short term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>The longer term trend is stagnant.</p> <p>← / →</p>
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 9 A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.</p>		
	<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>			
<p>Aged care system performance</p>	<p>Soc 12 A sure provider of</p>	<p>In 2021, “more than half of Australians</p>	<p>In 2023, the federal Department of Health</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 12 – Aged care & disability services

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>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.</p>	lifelong dignity.	(55.2 per cent) were estimated to have not very much confidence [in the aged care system], with a further 12.0 per cent who had no confidence at all. ... Only 1.8 per cent of Australians said they had a great deal of 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 system in Australia, April 2021	and Aged Care conducted an Aged Care Reforms Survey for older people. There were 629 respondents. Results included that respondents were “moderately confident about the changes to aged care”, although it did not cite proportions. Reporting on outcomes of this survey is not transparent. A second survey was conducted between February and April 2024, attracting 3,729 responses. No tabulated results were provided and no mention was made of levels of confidence in the aged care system. Source: Australian Government Department of Health and Aged Care, Results of the latest Consumer Pulse Survey, 31 January 2024 & Results of the latest survey for older people 10 July 2024 Reporting on results of the above surveys is not transparent. It’s not possible to track trends.  No longer term trend is evident. 
	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.		
	Soc 6 A society of equals.		
	Soc 9 A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.		
	Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.		
	Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.		
Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.			
<p>Aged care system performance monitoring – safety,</p>	Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.	In 2021, the Royal Commission into Aged Care Quality and Safety recommended the	In 2022 and 2023, the government commissioned independent surveys of

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 12 – Aged care & disability services

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>quality and user experience indicators Soc12.02.01</p> <p>The proportion of Australians reporting positive experiences with aged care services increases continuously from the baseline performance survey of 2022.</p>	Soc 1 A safe home.	<p>introduction and implementation of aged care quality indicators. The government agreed in principle. The government also accepted recommendations to report on the experience 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.</p> <p>Source: Australian Government Response to the Final Report of the Royal Commission into Aged Care Quality and Safety, Recommendations 22, 94 & 95.</p>	<p>the experience of users of residential aged care, the Residents' Experience Survey (RES). For all questions in the Residents' Experience Survey for 2023, residents were as positive or more positive than the 2022 survey. All areas in organisational aspects of care provision received more favourable responses in the 2023 survey compared to the 2022 survey, except for the question on "Do you like the food here?", which remained unchanged as the lowest scoring question at 70% positive responses.</p> <p>Source: Australian Government Department of Health and Aged Care, Residents' Experience Survey Report, What we heard in 2022 and 2023.</p> <p>The short term trend is positive</p> <p align="center">→</p> <p>No longer term data analysed.</p> <p align="center">← / →</p>
	Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.		
	Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.		
	Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.		
	Soc 6 A society of equals.		
	Soc 9 A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.		
	Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.		
	Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.		
	Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.		
Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.			
Aged care system performance	Soc 12 A sure provider of	In 2018, 34% of people aged 65 years and	In 2022, 47.7% of people aged 65 years and over,

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 12 – Aged care & disability services

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>monitoring – satisfaction with aged care assistance Soc12.02.02 Satisfaction with aged care assistance and with aged care services for people over 65 who live in households is continuously increasing.</p>	lifelong dignity.	<p>over, living at home and receiving aged care reported that their need for assistance was not fully met, an increase from 30.8% in those with unmet needs in 2015.</p> <p>In 2018, 84.4% of people, aged 65 years and over and living in households that received formal aged care services, were satisfied with the quality. Between 2012 and 2018, the proportion of people (aged 65 years and over) living in households who were satisfied with the quality of aged care assistance they received declined from 88.6% to 84.4%. Source: Australian Government Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework – Access to care and support services.</p>	<p>living at home and receiving aged care services reported their need for assistance was not fully met – an increase from 34% in 2018 and 30.8% in 2015 in those with unmet needs.</p> <p>In 2022, 85.4% of people, aged 65 years and over and living in households that received formal aged care services, were satisfied with the quality, up slightly from the proportion satisfied in 2018 but still less than the proportion satisfied in 2012 and 2015. Source: Australian Government Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework – Access to care and support services.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral to negative. </p> <p>The longer term trend is negative. </p>
	Soc 1 A safe home.		
	Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.		
	Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.		
	Soc 6 A society of equals.		
<p>Aged Care Royal Commission, implementation of recommendations – A new Aged Care Act Soc12.03 By 2024 legislate to replace the Aged Care Act 1997 with a new Act consistent in its entirety with all the objects, rights and principles for aged care specified by the Aged Care Royal</p>	<p>Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</p> <p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p> <p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p> <p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p> <p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>	<p>In 2021, the Royal Commission into Aged Care Quality and Safety made 148 recommendations of which the federal government:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> accepted 106, qualified its support for 20, and rejected (in effect or outright) 22. <p>Critically, the government accepted</p>	<p>In 2024, the Australian parliament passed a new Aged Care Act. The Act was promoted as a “rights-based” law giving effect to Australia’s obligations under the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD). But while it defines quality care and offers</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 12 – Aged care & disability services

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Commissioners, including in particular objects to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • assist older people to live an active, self-determined and meaningful life, • ensure older people receive high quality care in a safe and caring environment for dignified living in old age, • protect and advance the rights of older people 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 enhance social and economic participation by people receiving aged care, and • specify a list of rights of people seeking and receiving aged care. 	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>	<p>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 the Royal Commission into Aged Care Quality and Safety.</p>	<p>rights to good care once a client is in the system, it offers limited rights to access the system itself (client have rights to assessment for entry and to palliative care but nothing in between) and encodes no parallel obligation on the government to ensure the services exist.</p> <p>A major flaw in the Act is its tacit but nevertheless extensive reliance on markets (private sector for-profits and NGOs) to address consumer needs, albeit with some improvement in regulatory oversight. The new Act specifies the obligations of providers and workers, which is a significant advance, but not the obligations of the government. No onus is placed on the government to ensure services are available. And in any event both government and private providers are given a “get out of jail free card” because the final clause of the sections on rights (24(3)) states that “Nothing in this Division creates rights or duties that are enforceable by proceedings in a court or tribunal”.</p> <p>Source: Aged Care Act 2024. Source: Stephen Duckett, Proposed new Aged Care Act leaves gaps in rights, John Menadue’s Pearls and Irritations, 12 January 2024.</p>
	<p>Soc 9 A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.</p>		
	<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 12 – Aged care & disability services

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>The short term trend is neutral to positive.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>In effect, the Act exonerates the government from its obligations under the ICESCR and the CRPD. In the longer term, as a direct result of the new Aged Care Act, Australians cannot be sure that aged care services will be there for them when they reach old age at all. They may have some greater surety that once in the system they may get reasonable care, but they will be dependent on the good graces of those private providers who were found during the Royal Commission to be by far the worst abusers of clients. It is extremely unlikely that the adverse provisions in the Act will be reversed in the coming decade. The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>The outlook trend is negative because the Act bakes in the potential for aged care system and service failure.</p>
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Aged Care Royal Commission, implementation of recommendations –</p>	<p>Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</p>	<p>In 2021, Aged Care Royal Commissioner Pagone recommended new institutional arrangements involving three main</p>	<p>In 2024, the new Aged Care Act set out rules for how the aged care sector will operate. The changes sought to:</p>
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 12 – Aged care & disability services

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>new independent and accountable institutional arrangements Soc12.03.01 By 1 July 2025, recognising that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> acceptance of Commissioner Briggs' recommendation on maintaining institutional arrangements for aged care within a politicised Ministerial framework would be more likely to perpetuate the failures exhibited in aged care; and that other recommendations were accepted by the (Morrison) government which do nothing to increase the accountability of service providers for proper use of taxpayer funding, 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 <i>Public Governance, Performance and Accountability Act 2013</i> (Cth), with all 	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>	<p>players to ensure quality and safety in aged care, free of political interference and to ensure accountability for management of the aged care system:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> an Australian Aged Care Commission (a body corporate with perpetual succession, "able to sue and be sued in its corporate name", and "independent of ministerial direction"); an Inspector General of Aged Care; and 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). <p>An alternative set of institutional arrangements was proposed by Aged Care Royal Commissioner Briggs which perpetuated Ministerial control instead of the independent and accountable model recommended by Commissioner Pagone. The government accepted</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> "increase protections for older people and empower them to exercise their rights; promote a new set of values and behaviour across the sector; improve provider capability, sector sustainability and public confidence in the system and providers; and recognise and celebrate providers who are innovative and deliver high quality care." <p>Source: Australian Government, Department of Health and Aged Care.</p> <p>Notably this new regulatory framework specified nothing about the accountability of providers beyond what they must do to qualify (and continue to qualify) for government funding.</p> <p>Given that the new Aged Care Act excludes Australians from the possibility of taking legal action against providers and the government on breaches of aged care rights (see Soc12.03 above), it is apparent that no progress has been made in providing accountable governance and independent oversight of the industry.</p>
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 9 A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.</p>		
	<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>		
	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		
	<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>		
<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve</p>			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 12 – Aged care & disability services

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
functions and accountabilities as specified within Commissioner Pagone’s recommendation.	continuously for all.	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 accountability for proper use of taxpayer funds in aged care.	The inherent propensity for failure in this arrangement in residential aged care (in other words, for the most vulnerable aged) is already demonstrated in the increase in the number of complaints received by the Aged Care Quality and Safety Commission. Between 2022/23 and 2023/24, complaints regarding residential aged care increased by 6.9% from 5,077 to 5,427, and the number of issues included in the complaints rose by 10.5%. In contrast, complaints about home services increased by only 0.4% from 4,015 to 4,031 with a 7.8% increase in issues included in complaints. Researchers have also independently reported that quality of care is still “below par” ²⁶ . Source: Australian Government, Aged Care Quality and Safety Commission, Complaints about aged care services – Year in review, July 2023 – June 2024.
	Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.		
	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 & affirming decency.		
	Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.		
	Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its 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 & where private sector business		

²⁶ Natasha May, [Aged care residents only receiving appropriate care half the time, world-first Australian study finds](#), The Guardian, 23 January 2024.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 12 – Aged care & disability services

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline								
	<p>practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>		<p>Commissioner Pagone), the new Aged Care Act risks growth in abuse of the most vulnerable aged. But the most serious weakness of the new regulatory framework under the Aged Care Act 2024 is that it provides no incentive to either government or the industry’s providers (largely private sector) to plan for and fund service expansion sufficient to meet the needs of a growing ageing population. It basically lets private providers run largely as they did before the Royal Commission with little more accountability than they had before. It also lets the government off the hook for ensuring service availability.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral to negative.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">←</p> <p>The long term trend is negative.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">←</p>								
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Aged care funding – federal budget minimums Soc12.04</p> <p>To maximise the chances of success of the model proposed under Soc12.03.01, legislate to secure a funding system for aged care which</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1615 635 1742">Soc 12</td> <td data-bbox="635 1615 818 1742">A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1742 635 1848">Soc 3</td> <td data-bbox="635 1742 818 1848">Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1848 635 1953">Soc 4</td> <td data-bbox="635 1848 818 1953">A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1953 635 2009">Soc 6</td> <td data-bbox="635 1953 818 2009">A society of equals.</td> </tr> </table>	Soc 12	A sure provider of lifelong dignity.	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	Soc 6	A society of equals.	<p>In 2020, after extensive research, reviews of the Royal Commission into Aged Care, and reviews of the adequacy of spending in the sector, the Grattan Institute proposed that: “The federal government should create a new Aged Care Act to</p>	<p>In 2024/25, the federal budget for aged care (including for Aged Care Services, Aged Care Quality and Access and Information) totalled \$37.43 billion, \$17.2 billion more than actual spending in 2019/29. Source: Federal Budgets, 2020/21 through to 2024/25, inclusive.</p>
Soc 12	A sure provider of lifelong dignity.										
Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.										
Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.										
Soc 6	A society of equals.										

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 12 – Aged care & disability services

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>establishes a floor for Aged Care Services funding as follows:</p> <p>By 2024/25 increase federal funding for aged care by a minimum of \$7 billion compared to the 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 review should be conducted to determine new funding requirements.</p> <p>(Note: This target will be subject to revision after further analysis of funding necessary to meet the objectives of a new Aged Care Act proposed by the Royal 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 billion.)</p>	<p>Soc 9 A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.</p>	<p>enshrine a rights-based system that will require an additional \$7 billion of government spending per year.”</p> <p>Source: Grattan Institute, Reforming Aged Care: A practical plan for a rights-based system, November 2020</p> <p>Note: Other sources have been reported as suggesting that an extra \$10 billion per year is required.</p> <p>Note also: The Parliamentary Budget Office has estimated that beyond 2022/23 it will 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 real growth of at least 4%.</p> <p>Source: Parliamentary Budget Office 2020/21 Medium Term Fiscal Projections</p>	<p>This is a lot more than the Grattan Institute had said was necessary – so the government has significantly overcooked this budget according to the needs assessed by the Grattan Institute and others. Moreover, this unnecessarily high funding has been allocated mainly as an inflated source of subsidy for private sector providers while the new Aged Care Act 2024 has not established a higher degree of accountability in the sector. For-profit providers face stronger tests for retention of access to public funding but are not accountable at law for beaches of rights (see Soc12.03 and Soc12.03.01 above). Strictly speaking, when assessed against the target, progress in the short term is mildly positive.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>In the longer term, however, the financial structure established for the aged care services suggests a backward step in industry reform inasmuch as it locks in taxpayer-funded profits for private aged care providers that would not need to be paid if the service was run entirely by the government and non-profit entities. Taking into account the</p>
	<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>		
	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		
	<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 12 – Aged care & disability services

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>failures of the new Aged Care Act 2024, it is likely that risk associated with private sector provision of aged care services will not be reduced. Strategies that would suffice to reduce this risk are included in <i>Australia Together</i> under:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Econ02.04.01 for increasing government sector participation in the economy by a program of expansion of public sector; and • Gov09.03 for prohibition of rent-seeking by for-profit companies in certain community services. <p>The long term trend is negative.</p> <p></p> <p> The outlook trend is negative because the Aged Care Act 2024 and the tenor of industry, governance and regulatory reforms bake in the potential for aged care system and service failure.</p>
<p>Aged care funding – levies Soc12.04.01 By 2024/25 introduce an Aged Care Funding Levy of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 0.5% for all taxpayers earning below \$120,000; 	<p>Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</p> <hr/> <p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p> <hr/> <p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>	<p>In 2021, the Aged Care Royal Commissioners both recommended a Medicare style levy as a means of hypothecating tax revenues to securely finance aged care quality and safety to a</p>	<p>In 2024, the Aged Care Taskforce, which was composed of aged care sector representatives, most with vested interests, recommended that older people should pay more to cover the cost of aged care, and</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 12 – Aged care & disability services

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1% for those earning between \$120,000 and 179,999; and 1.5% for those earning above \$180,000 in addition to the Medicare Levy. 	<p>Soc 3</p>	<p>Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>	<p>ruled out both a Medicare-style levy and changes to the treatment of family home. There were no proposals for a policy on private profit in the sector and no requirement for providers to spend the extra money that people will have to pay on more or better services.</p> <p>Source: Australian Government, Final Report of the Aged Care Taskforce 2024.</p> <p>See Note²⁷ for information on inequities arising from the decision to increase user charges.</p> <p>No work has been done to assess how much cheaper it would be for everyone to bridge any shortfall in funding for aged care via a Medicare style levy rather than increasing user charges, but a levy would be the only equitable lifetime approach, especially if introduced in line with introduction of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing and a Universal Basic Income as per Econ04.02, Econ04.02.04, and Econ04.03.01; and
	<p>Soc 4</p>	<p>A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>	
	<p>Soc 6</p>	<p>A society of equals.</p>	
	<p>Soc 9</p>	<p>A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.</p>	
	<p>Soc 10</p>	<p>A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>	
	<p>Econ 3</p>	<p>A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	
	<p>Econ 4</p>	<p>A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>	

²⁷ Kathy Eagar, [Albanese government wedged on aged care](#), John Menadue’s Pearls and Irritations, 4 April 2024: “The aged care industry estimated that, if all recommendations are taken up by Government, older people using aged care services will be asked to pay an extra \$3.4 billion a year. If the estimate for residential care is correct, that is the equivalent of more than \$10,000 extra per resident per year. Based on estimates by Anna Howe, only about half of aged care recipients have a capacity to pay. Taking this into account (which the Taskforce proposes) means that the remaining 50% would be required to contribute an average of more than \$20,000 a year on top of what they are already paying.”

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 12 – Aged care & disability services

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline															
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> strategies for re-balancing the proportions of public and private sector shares in ownership and operation of aged care services so as to diminish private sector for-profit involvement as per Econ02.04.01 and Gov09.03.²⁸ <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center">←</p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center">←</p>															
<p>Aged care funding – Accountability of service providers in return for public funding Soc12.04.02 By 2025, in order to remove the profit motive from the publicly funded but largely privately run aged care sector, and consistent with Gov09.03,²⁹ legislate to</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="499 1182 547 1216">Soc</td> <td data-bbox="579 1182 611 1216">12</td> <td data-bbox="635 1137 802 1261">A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="499 1261 547 1294">Soc</td> <td data-bbox="579 1261 595 1294">1</td> <td data-bbox="635 1261 786 1294">A safe home.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="499 1328 547 1361">Soc</td> <td data-bbox="579 1328 595 1361">2</td> <td data-bbox="635 1305 802 1395">A land with an Indigenous heart.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="499 1429 547 1462">Soc</td> <td data-bbox="579 1429 595 1462">3</td> <td data-bbox="635 1395 802 1485">Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="499 1529 547 1563">Soc</td> <td data-bbox="579 1529 595 1563">4</td> <td data-bbox="635 1496 802 1585">A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</td> </tr> </table>	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.	<p>In 2021 the Aged Care Royal Commission made several recommendations to improve accountability of aged care service providers for their use of public funds. Some were accepted by the government but some were not, leaving taxpayers with a lower standard of accountability for use</p>	<p>In 2021, the Royal Commission into Aged Care Quality and Safety reflected adversely on the performance and appropriateness of the private sector (particularly the for-profit participants) in aged care services. (See Gov09.03 and the footnote on this page.)</p>
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.																

²⁸ Elimination of a for-profit presence in provision of aged care services is likely to be an essential prerequisite to the introduction of a Medicare style levy for aged care. See Kathy Eagar, [Albanese government wedged on aged care](#), John Menadue’s Pearls and Irritations, 4 April 2024: “There is no point considering options such as a levy while aged care continues to be framed as a competitive private for-profit market. The electorate would not accept paying extra taxes to fund uncapped profits for providers. Yet taxpayers will continue to fund the majority of aged care costs regardless of the financing arrangements. Reframing aged care as a taxpayer funded social good is the essential first step in genuine and sustainable reform.”

²⁹ Baseline information for the strategy under **Gov09.03** states that: In 2021, the Royal Commission into Aged Care Quality and Safety reported that, “private providers [in aged care] have much worse quality outcomes than government and not-for-profit providers. In effect, the increasingly private composition of the market has placed further pressure on quality and safety in aged care.” The finding has implications for the sustainability of taxpayer support and value-for-money returns for taxpayers when core community services are provided by for-profit companies. For-profit involvement in certain community services is not sustainable for taxpayers. Source: [Royal Commission into Aged Care Quality and Safety, Final Report Volume 1](#), page 50.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 12 – Aged care & disability services

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>prohibit for-profit companies from qualifying for any form of taxpayer assistance – including but not limited to direct funding, subsidies and tax breaks – for provision of services in aged care.</p>	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>	<p>of the funding they provide. Source: Australian Government Response to the Final Report of the Royal Commission into Aged Care Quality and Safety</p>	<p>In 2024, risks associated with the private sector’s domination of aged care services had not abated and no significant industry structure reforms had been adopted or implemented to provide confidence that risks would decline in the short or longer term. The new Aged Care Act 2024 provided some non-structural improvements (see Soc12.03, Soc12.03.01 and Soc12.04.01 above) but did little or nothing to reduce the significant risk associated with running an essential social service as a competitive private for-profit market. No progress has been made towards eliminating the profit motive and its risks from Australia’s aged care services sector. The short term trend is negative. ← The longer term trend is negative. ←</p>
	<p>Soc 9 A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.</p>		
	<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>		
	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>		
	<p>Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets, creating confidence for investors.</p>		
	<p>Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable</p>		

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Society 12 – Aged care & disability services

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	public sector participation.		
	Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.		
	Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.		
	Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.		
<p>Disability services system performance monitoring – satisfaction with assistance to the disabled Soc12.05 Satisfaction with assistance to the disabled is continuously increasing.</p>	Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.	<p>In 2018, 37.5% of people with a disability aged 15-64 years living at home and receiving formal disability support reported a need for more formal disability assistance than they were receiving, an increase from 34% in those with unmet needs in 2012.</p> <p>In 2018, 76.6% of people (aged 15-64 years) who received formal disability support were satisfied with the quality, a fall from 79.5% in 2012 and 78.7% in 2015. Source: Australian Government Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework – Access to care and support services.</p>	<p>In 2022, 50.3% of people with a disability aged 15-64 years living at home and receiving formal disability support reported a need for more formal disability assistance than they were receiving – an increase from 37.5% in 2018 in those with unmet needs.</p> <p>In 2022, 76.8% of people (aged 15-64 years) who received formal disability support were satisfied with the quality, slightly improved compared to 2018 (76.6%) but still lower than in 2012 and 2015. Source: Australian Government Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework – Access to care and support services.</p>
	Soc 1 A safe home.		
	Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.		
	Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.		
	Soc 6 A society of equals.		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 12 – Aged care & disability services

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>The ABS advises that these data are not necessarily comparable due to differences in survey methods. The short term trend can't be determined.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend is best assessed as neutral.</p> <p></p>
<p>Disability services system performance monitoring – satisfaction with assistance to carers for people with a disability Soc12.05.01 Satisfaction with assistance to carers for the disabled is continuously increasing.</p>	<p>Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</p>	<p>Between 2009 and 2018, the proportion of carers for people with disability who reported a need for further assistance in their caring roles increased from 22.8% to 32%.</p> <p>Source: Australian Government Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework – Access to care and support services.</p>	<p>No data beyond 2018 are available.</p> <p>Source: ABS Measuring What Matters, Table 15A.28, Primary carers (carers of people with disability aged 0–64 years) who report a need for further assistance in their caring roles. Source: Productivity Commission, Report on Government Services 2024 PART F, SECTION 15: RELEASED ON 22 JANUARY 2024</p> <p>No data are available on a short term trend.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p></p>
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society			
Society 13 – Arts & culture			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Pilot scheme for a universal basic income – UBI for artists Soc13.01 By 2024, recognising the valuable learning that can be gathered prior to establishment of a universal basic income for all Australians as per Econ04.02.04 (and associated Strategies), the Australian government is to establish a UBI for Artists Pilot Scheme by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • using the Irish government’s Basic Income for the Arts pilot scheme participant selection and information/data collection processes for evaluation of the trial; • setting the basic income for the Australian trial at or above the 	Soc 13	A wellspring of inspiration & creativity.	<p>In 2024, no progress was made at the federal level for a trial of a UBI. The federal government appears to remain wedded to targeted welfare rather than universal welfare and income security. The disadvantages of targeted welfare are apparent in the rising inequality and growth in poverty for Australians. See Note³¹ for more information.</p> <p>The short term trend at the federal level is neutral to negative.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>In 2024 and 2025, some progress is being made towards establishing trials of a universal basic income by community groups. A groundswell of support in Australia for a UBI is growing. For updates visit:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ACFP’s webpage on the UBI, and
	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	
	Soc 4	A place of optimal health and wellbeing.	
	Soc 5	A model of lifelong educational opportunity.	
	Soc 6	A society of equals.	
	Soc 7	A success because of its diversity.	
	Soc 9	A land without homelessness and with decent affordable housing for all.	
	Soc 10	A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.	
Soc 11	A land without child disadvantage.		
		<p>In 2022, the Irish government introduced the Basic Income for the Arts Pilot Scheme to address the financial instability faced by many working in the arts. 2,000 eligible artists and creative arts workers were selected at random and invited to take part in the pilot scheme running for 3 years until 2025. Pilot scheme participants received €325 (AU\$537) a week (€16,900 or AU\$27,924 per annum) for the three years of the trial.</p> <p>Early feedback on the progress of the Irish pilot scheme showed it to be remarkably productive, creating fulfilling work for artists and extra jobs in the arts. In 2024, The Guardian reported that, “The concept of a guaranteed income is gaining traction as a solution to the impact of AI and way to encourage more rewarding and socially valuable work.”</p>	

³¹ For more information see ACFP, [What is the Strategy in Australia Together for a Universal Basic Income?](#): “In **systems of universal income security**, a secure income is acknowledged as a human right to which everyone is equally entitled (from birth, as all other human rights are); and further, that a government is correspondingly obliged to secure that right by taking all steps ‘especially economic and technical, to the maximum of its available resources, with a view to achieving progressively the full realization of the right’ [as in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights]. **Systems of targeted welfare**, by contrast, do not accept that there is a societal obligation to provide a secure income for all its members. Societies that tend to think of themselves as ‘fair’ might accept that income security for all should be an ideal, but not necessarily that it is an entitlement or right common for all. These societies function on a different value system by accepting, often tacitly, that its members have no (or limited) obligations to each other instead of equal and minimum obligations to each other.”

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 13 – Arts & culture

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>poverty level in Australia in 2019/20 – i.e., at no less than \$25,428 for a single adult; and</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> devising rules for operation of the trial that will enable learning around efficient and fair scheme administration and taxation that can be fed back into the citizens’ jury process for assessment of a UBI for all Australians under Econ04.02.04(b). <p>By 2025, commence publishing learning and/or outcomes of the trial (preliminary and/or final) for scrutiny by Australians and for use in the citizen’s jury process on a UBI for all Australians under Econ04.02.04(b).</p>	<p>Soc 12</p> <p>A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</p>	<p>Source: Irish Government, Citizen Information Basic Income for the Arts webpage. Source: Donna Ferguson, “Money for nothing: is universal basic income about to transform society?”, The Guardian, 14 July 2024.</p> <p>See Note³⁰ for further information on selection of a basic income amount for a trial of a UBI in Australia.</p> <p>In 2024, Creative Australia (previously the Australia Council for the Arts) released the latest report of a 4-decade study, “Artists as Workers: an economic study of professional artists in Australia”, which showed that Australia’s artists contribute substantially to culture and the economy but that the vast majority of them are struggling to earn enough money to live off. The study highlighted the constant need for resilience that artists must have as they face the ongoing challenges of rising costs, increasingly precarious employment, and the new threats they face in a digitised environment. This makes the artists of Australia ideal candidates for</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Basic Income Australia’s website. <p>The longer term trend at the community level is neutral to positive.</p> <p align="center">➔</p>
	<p>Econ 1</p> <p>A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		
	<p>Econ 2</p> <p>A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3</p> <p>A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 4</p> <p>A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.</p>		
	<p>Econ 7</p> <p>A collaborative intelligent nation.</p>		
	<p>Gov 2</p> <p>A nation knowing & affirming decency.</p>		

³⁰ The Irish government’s selection of the amount of basic income for the trial (€16,900 per annum), if applied in Australia, would equate to an amount slightly higher than the poverty level in Australia, which in 2019/20 was approximately \$25,428 per annum for a single adult. In 2024, consistent with Australia’s commitment under the United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 1 to end poverty in all its forms everywhere by 2030, ACFP made a case for establishing a universal basic income (UBI) at or above this level. See [What is the Strategy in Australia Together for a Universal Basic Income?](#), June 2024.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 13 – Arts & culture

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
		participation in a trial of a universal basic income. Source: Creative Australia, "Artists as Workers: an economic study of professional artists in Australia," 6 May 2024. Source: Kace O'Neill, "Aussie artists are struggling to make a living," HR Leader, 13 May 2024.	

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society			
Society 14 – Police services			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Trust in federal police Soc14.01</p> <p>Trust in the federal police is steady or increasing.</p>	<p>Soc 14</p> <p>A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in policing.</p>	<p>In 2019, 66% of Australians (net) said they trusted the federal police. Source: Essential, Trust in Institutions 2019</p>	<p>In 2023, according to an Essential poll, 47% of Australians said they trusted the police, courts and justice system, down from 61% in 2021. By contrast, a more recent poll by Resolve in 2024, found that only a third of Australians have faith in our courts and justice system but nearly 70 percent say they trust the police. Source: Essential, Trust in Institutions December 2023.</p>
<p>Trust in state police Soc14.02</p> <p>Trust in the state police is steady or increasing.</p>	<p>Soc 14</p> <p>A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in policing.</p>	<p>In 2019, 66% of Australians (net) said they trusted the state police. Source: Essential, Trust in Institutions 2019</p>	<p>Other studies suggest that “Australia, historically known for high levels of satisfaction with the police, has experienced a decline in public confidence.” See Note³². “The public rating of police ethics and honesty was at a high level in 2017, with 76% of the respondents considering it very high or high. However, there was a significant decline in 2021, with only 51% of the public rating police ethics and honesty at a very high or high level, reaching a record low.”</p>

³² Amy Rogers, Kelly Hine and Tim Prenzler, [Understanding the decline: a procedural justice approach to the key factors behind the downward shift in opinions of police](#), Criminal Justice Studies, Volume 37, 2024, Issue 2: “Australia, historically known for high levels of satisfaction with the police, has also experienced a decline in public confidence (Morgan, [Citation2017](#), [Citation2021](#); Productivity Commission, [Citation2023](#)). The public rating of police ethics and honesty was at a high level in 2017, with 76% of the respondents considering it very high or high (Morgan, [Citation2017](#)). However, there was a significant decline in 2021, with only 51% of the public rating police ethics and honesty at a very high or high level, reaching a record low (Morgan, [Citation2021](#)). This decline in public confidence in police is a major source of concern for police-citizen relationships.”

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 14 – Police services

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>Between 2017/18 and 2021/22, the Productivity Commission reported a drop in satisfaction with the police from 79.9% to 76.8%. Source: Productivity Commission Report on Government Services 2023, PART C, SECTION 6: 6 JUNE 2023.</p> <p>The short term trend as far as police are concerned is neutral to negative.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p>
<p>Trust in police nation-wide Soc14.03 Trust in police is steady or increasing.</p>	<p>Soc 14 A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in policing.</p> <hr/> <p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>	<p>In 2019, 76.8% of Australians on survey felt that police could be trusted. Source: ABS General Social Survey 2020, Table 1.3</p>	<p>In 2020, 79.3% of Australians on survey felt that police could be trusted. No later data are available. Source: ABS General Social Survey 2020, Table 1.3</p> <p>The short term trend can't be determined.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>No longer term data analysed.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society			
Society 15 – Justice			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Trust in the High Court Soc15.01 Trust in the High Court is steady or increasing.</p>	<p>Soc 15 Confident of justice for all.</p>	<p>In 2019, 58% of Australians (net) said they trusted the High Court. Source: Essential, Trust in Institutions 2019</p>	<p>In 2020, 61% of Australians (net) said they trusted the High Court. No later data are available. However, results for trust in the judiciary reported in Society 14 – Police services, above, do not suggest an improvement in trust. Source: Essential, Trust in Institutions 2020 No data are available on short term trends.</p> <p></p> <p>No longer term data analysed.</p> <p></p>
<p>Trust in the justice system Soc15.02 Trust in the justice system is steady or increasing.</p>	<p>Soc 15 Confident of justice for all.</p>	<p>In 2019, 57.6% of Australians felt the justice system could be trusted. Source: ABS General Social Survey 2020, Table 1.3</p>	<p>In 2020, 62.9% of Australians felt the justice system could be trusted. Source: ABS General Social Survey 2020, Table 1.3</p> <p>However, in 2021, Next25 reported that only 46% of Australians believe Australia has a fair, honest and capable legal system, with poorer people and women having a significantly lower level of confidence than richer people and men. Source: Source: Next25 Navigator, Social Research report 2021, page 17.</p> <p>A more recent poll by Resolve in 2024, found that only a third of Australians have faith in</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 15 – Justice

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline																		
			our courts and justice system. Source: Sydney Morning Herald, “We trust the police. But the court system? Not so much”, 30 July 2024 (paywalled). Overall, the short term trend is neutral to negative.  No longer term data analysed. 																		
<p>Justice in the incarceration system – target for reduction of the number of people in prison Soc15.03 By 2030, halve the number of people in Australian prisons.</p> <p>Justice in the incarceration system – strategies for reduction of the number of people in prison Soc15.03.01 By 2025, require Australian governments to adopt and implement the Justice Reform Initiative’s proposal for reform to reduce the numbers of people incarcerated in Australia, including strategies for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • building pathways out of the criminal justice system; • addressing the wide-spread 	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 920 608 981">Soc 15</td> <td data-bbox="608 920 790 981">Confident of justice for all.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1055 608 1115">Soc 1</td> <td data-bbox="608 1055 790 1115">A safe home.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1137 608 1198">Soc 2</td> <td data-bbox="608 1137 790 1198">A land with an Indigenous heart.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1220 608 1281">Soc 3</td> <td data-bbox="608 1220 790 1281">Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1303 608 1364">Soc 4</td> <td data-bbox="608 1303 790 1364">A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1386 608 1447">Soc 6</td> <td data-bbox="608 1386 790 1447">A society of equals.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1469 608 1529">Soc 7</td> <td data-bbox="608 1469 790 1529">A success because of its diversity.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1552 608 1612">Soc 8</td> <td data-bbox="608 1552 790 1612">A success because of gender equality.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1635 608 1695">Soc 10</td> <td data-bbox="608 1635 790 1695">A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</td> </tr> </table>	Soc 15	Confident of justice for all.	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 and wellbeing.	Soc 6	A society of equals.	Soc 7	A success because of its diversity.	Soc 8	A success because of gender equality.	Soc 10	A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.	In 2021, the Justice Reform Initiative identified significant problems arising from the fact that in Australia “prison has become the default measure used to address crime in the criminal justice system, and a default system to ‘manage’ complex disadvantage”. The conclusion was that “prisons are ineffective as a deterrent, ineffective at reducing crime, and ineffective at addressing the drivers of criminal justice system involvement.” It was further reported that “over-use of incarceration is a waste of human potential and a misuse of taxpayer dollars. The evidence shows that the majority of people entering prison usually arrive there because of an underlying cycle of disadvantage, and that prison both exacerbates	In 2024, there were 44,403 prisoners in Australia (208 per 100,000 adult population) up from 30,773 in 2013 (172.2 per 100,000 adult population). Source: ABS Prisoners in Australia 2024. The short term trend for imprisonment rates is neutral.  The longer term trend for imprisonment is negative. It is quite unlikely that the target of halving Australia’s prisoner numbers by 2030 will be met.  In 2023, the Australian Government committed \$69 million over 4 years to establish a National Justice Reinvestment Program to support up to 30 community-led justice reinvestment
Soc 15	Confident of justice for all.																				
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 and wellbeing.																				
Soc 6	A society of equals.																				
Soc 7	A success because of its diversity.																				
Soc 8	A success because of gender equality.																				
Soc 10	A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.																				

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 15 – Justice

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>the work of the JRO and imprisonment trends in Queensland. Source: Queensland Government, Department of Justice, Justice Reform Office webpage.</p> <p>The short term trend in justice reform is neutral.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>The long term trend and outlook is neutral to negative.</p> <p align="center"></p>
<p>Access to justice – civil Soc15.04</p> <p>Australia’s scores on all aspects of the World Justice Project for access to civil justice are continuously improving.</p>	<p>Soc 15 Confident of justice for all.</p>	<p>In 2022, Australia attained a score of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 0.58 for “people can access and afford civil justice”; and • 0.8 for “alternative dispute resolution mechanisms are accessible, impartial, and effective”, <p>on the World Justice Project Rule of Law Index (where a score of 1 in the Index shows Australia is performing well).</p> <p>In 2022, Australia’s overall score for civil justice on the Index was 0.74, having dropped from a score of 0.77 in 2016.</p> <p>Source: World Justice Project Rule of Law Index. Source: Australian Government Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework – access to justice.</p>	<p>In 2024, Australia attained a score of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 0.57 for “people can access and afford civil justice”; and • 0.8 for “alternative dispute resolution mechanisms are accessible, impartial, and effective”, <p>on the World Justice Project Rule of Law Index (where a score of 1 in the Index shows Australia is performing well).</p> <p>In 2024, Australia’s overall score for civil justice on the Index remained at 0.74, the lowest point of performance since 2015.</p> <p>Source: World Justice Project Rule of Law Index, 2024. Source: ABS Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework – access to justice.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral to negative.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>The long term trend is negative.</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 15 – Justice

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Access to justice – criminal Soc15.04.01 Australia’s scores on all aspects of the World Justice Project for effectiveness of the criminal justice system are continuously improving.</p>	Soc 15 Confident of justice for all.	<p>In 2022, Australia attained an overall score of 0.73 on the World Justice Project Rule of Law Index for the effectiveness of its criminal justice system (where a score of 1 in the Index shows Australia is performing well), having dropped from a score of 0.77 in 2015. However, in 2022, Australia scored poorly in the Index on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the impartiality of the criminal system – 0.58; and the effectiveness of the correctional system in reducing criminal behaviour – 0.62. <p>Source: World Justice Project Rule of Law Index.</p>	<p>In 2024, Australia attained an overall score of 0.72 on the World Justice Project Rule of Law Index for the effectiveness of its criminal justice system, the lowest point of performance since 2015.</p> <p>In 2024, Australia scored poorly in the Index on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the impartiality of the criminal system – 0.57, equivalent to the average score between 2015 and 2024; and the effectiveness of the correctional system in reducing criminal behaviour – 0.61, the lowest point of performance since 2015. <p>Source: World Justice Project Rule of Law Index.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>The long term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center"></p>
	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 and wellbeing.		
	Soc 6 A society of equals.		
	Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.		
	Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.		
	Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.		
	Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.		
Soc 14 A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in policing.			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society				
Society 16 – Emergency services				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
<p>Preparedness for global crises</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Sovereign Capability Strategy for National Resilience in Global Crises Soc16.01</p> <p>By 2024/25, develop a draft comprehensive strategy to build “sovereign capability” in areas of economic activity and human capital necessary to ensure Australia is prepared for global crises arising from climate change, pandemics, global economic downturns and wars, the overall objective being to ensure Australia can scale up to provide security for Australians in times of crisis by establishing:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • manufacturing capability in critical medicines and PPE; • minimum stocking levels for imported medical supplies and fuels; • scale-up capacity for emergency facilities, hospitals and quarantine; • a skilled and experienced workforce in both 	Soc 16	A society prepared & resilient in times of disaster.	<p>In 2018, the Department of Home Affairs outlined how Australia was highly vulnerable to disaster risks, due to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • high levels of dependency and growing system interconnectedness; • just-in-time supply and low levels of storage; • single sources or lines of supply and few alternative sources; • dependence on imports to meet demand (e.g. food, fuel). <p>Source: Australian Government, Department of Home Affairs. 2018. Profiling Australia’s Vulnerability: the interconnected causes and cascading effects of systemic disaster risk.</p> <p>In 2022, the Australian Security Leaders Climate Protective Group (ASLCG) warned that climate change was the primary driver of an impending cascade of nation-wide disasters likely in the economy, poverty, hunger, food insecurity, large scale migration, and war. Source: Australian Security Leaders Climate Group, Australian Climate & Security Risk Assessment Implementation Proposal, June 2022,</p> <p>In 2024, the federal Labor government introduced the Future Made in Australia Package of \$22.7</p>	
	Soc 1	A safe home.		<p>In 2020, at the start of the Covid-19 pandemic, Australia had:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 25% less total hospital beds than the OECD average, and • only 9.4 intensive care beds per 100,000 population, in contrast to Germany (33.9), the US (25.8) and Canada (12.9). <p>In 2020, Australia:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • imported over 90% of medicines; • was import dependent for almost all Personal Protective Equipment (PPE); • had no mandated minimum stocking levels for critical medical items; • imported 90% of fuels; and • was reliant on the foreign owned / controlled maritime trade system for 98% of imports and exports.
	Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.		
	Soc 5	A model of lifelong educational opportunity.		
	Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.		
	Env 5	An environmentally educated community.		
	Env 6	A renewable energy superpower.		
	Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.		
	Econ 7	A collaborative, intelligent nation.		
	Econ 9	Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.		
Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 16 – Emergency services

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>crisis prevention and response, underpinned by expanded and internationally collaborative research and development capability and elevated diplomacy programs;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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. <p>By 2025, undertake widespread community engagement on the draft Sovereign Capability Strategy and the funding required. By 2026, finalise the Strategy and embed the necessary funding in federal, state, and local government budgets.</p>	<p>Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</p>	<p>Source: Institute for Integrated Economic Research Australia, “Smart Sovereignty & Trusted Supply Chains: A National Sovereignty / Resilience Imperative” and Global Access Partners & Institute for Integrated Economic Research Australia “The Australian Health System: ‘Just in time’ or ‘Just in case?’” December 2020</p>	<p>billion over ten years to facilitate private sector investment in Australia’s economy, including in manufacturing to improve Australia’s self-sufficiency, but provided more than double that (\$50.3 billion over ten years) to implement the 2024 National Defence Strategy to meet Australia’s strategic needs, none of which investment would increase resilience, self-sufficiency, productive industrialisation, or progress towards a net zero emissions economy because defence industries contribute significantly to carbon emissions and divert scarce human capital and natural resources away from the production of essentials (see Econ01.06.01 and Econ01.06.03). As such, the Future Made in Australia package will have the net effect of depleting Australia’s resilience because it will spend more than twice as much on activities which speed up climate change – and thereby reduce resilience – as it will on activities to improve resilience.</p> <p>Source: Federal Budget 2024/25: Investing in a Future Made in Australia.</p> <p>In 2025, Australia still had no strategy to ensure Australia retains sovereign capability during global crises. No systemic or integrated approach addressing the chief cause</p>
	<p>Gov 12 A nation assured of enduring peace.</p>		
	<p>Gov 13 A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 16 – Emergency services

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>of the worst possible global crisis – climate change – was evident. In 2025, Australia was probably more exposed than ever to the threat of food and economic insecurity arising from climate change and was aggravating the problem by prioritising investment in offensive military build-up rather than investment in prevention of crises. The government was also suppressing reports regarding the risks faced by Australia in climate change (see Soc16.02, Gov05.02.03 and Gov11.04 below).</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">←</p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">←</p>
<p>Preparedness for and prevention of disasters in Australia</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Statement of Adherence to and Performance on the National Disaster Risk Reduction Framework Soc16.02</p> <p>By 2025, consistent with Strategies for a National Climate Change Prevention, Mitigation and Adaptation</p>	<p>Soc 16 A society prepared & resilient in times of disaster.</p> <hr/> <p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p> <hr/> <p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>	<p>In 2018, the federal government released a “National Disaster Risk Reduction Framework”, with four priority actions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Understand disaster risk 2. Accountable decisions 3. Enhanced investment 4. Governance ownership and responsibility. <p>The framework established a 2030 vision, goals and</p>	<p>In 2022, the Australian Security Leaders Climate Group (ASLCG) warned that, “Climate change is an existential risk to society and human security, and the UN warns of possible collapse because risk creation is outstripping risk reduction. The risks are systemic and abrupt system change is happening faster than forecast. At present those risks to Australia are neither fully understood nor incorporated into policy.” The ASLCG</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 16 – Emergency services

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Commission under Env03.01 and the Integrated Strategy for Defence, Diplomacy and Security under Gov12.04, enact legislation making it obligatory for federal, state and local governments to prepare annual Statements of Adherence to and Performance on the National Disaster Risk Reduction Framework, such statements to demonstrate:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> actions taken during the year that have positively reduced the risk of natural and other national disasters by dealing with or reducing causal factors (most notably by preventing climate change and the risk of war in Australian territory); actions taken during the year that have increased the risk of natural and other national disasters; and whether Australia has therefore 	<p>Env 1 A leading global advocate for action on climate change.</p>	<p>priorities broadly aligned to the Sendai Framework and the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals.³⁴ However, the framework lacked targets, and imposed no obligations for or incentives to compliance, effectively pushing accountability down to unnamed government and private institutions that are not geared yet to take it on.</p> <p>The framework was also not integrated with any other strategy for dealing with the key causes of either natural disasters or other types of national disaster such as an invasion or military attack.</p> <p>The effect is that the framework is likely to be ineffective in preventing disasters. Source: Commonwealth of Australia, National Disaster Risk Reduction Framework, 2018.</p>	<p>recommended that the government should appoint a well-resourced, independent Expert Panel to urgently conduct a comprehensive Australian Climate and Security Risk Assessment, using the best available information, to report publicly within the first year of office. Source: Australian Security Leaders Climate Group, Australian Climate & Security Risk Assessment Implementation Proposal, June 2022.</p> <p>In 2022, Australia’s prime minister Anthony Albanese commissioned a review by the Office of National Intelligence (ONI) of the security threats posed by the climate crisis. In 2023, the government refused to release the report (see Gov05.02.03 below). Instead, in 2024, the government released the “National Climate Risk Assessment: First pass assessment report” (see Env03.01 below.) This “first pass” report provided insights in general terms to risks arising from climate change but promoted an impression that, except in the case of primary industries and food, risk exposures were not all that great before 2050 and strategic planning for risk reduction was not an</p>
	<p>Env 2 A net zero emissions nation.</p>		
	<p>Env 3 A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.</p>		
	<p>Env 8 Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.</p>		
	<p>Env 9 Confident of safety and security of its water supplies.</p>		
	<p>Env 10 A biodiversity haven.</p>		
	<p>Env 14 A pollution free biosphere.</p>		
<p>Env 15 A marine wildlife haven.</p>			

³⁴ The [National Disaster Risk Reduction Framework](#) 2018, page 8.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 16 – Emergency services

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>moved towards or away from fulfilment of the “2030 Vision for Disaster Risk Reduction in Australia” as expressed in the National Disaster Risk Reduction Framework 2018³³.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: National Community Council for Risk Reduction Review Soc16.02.01</p> <p>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</p>	<p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p>		<p>urgent requirement, when in fact it was apparent in data on temperatures, emissions and severe weather events that climate change was well underway (see Env01.01, Env02.01.03 and Env02.05.01 above). Downplaying the risk was also questionable given that the government’s refusal to release the ONI report implied a very high degree of concern arising from climate change for national security. A tactic of withholding information from the Australian public and underplaying the risks is not in Australia’s interests and reduces time to prepare for averting crises the government knows are imminent, not distant.</p> <p>In 2025, Australia still had no national security or resilience strategy (integrated or otherwise) and no up-to-date or sufficiently detailed risk assessments against which to report that effective actions had been taken to reduce the identified risks. Australia also had:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • no national energy security assessment, • no integrated health risk assessment, and • no agriculture risk assessment.
	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>		
	<p>Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.</p>		
	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>		
	<p>Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</p>		
	<p>Gov 12 A nation assured of enduring peace.</p>		

³³ The [National Disaster Risk Reduction Framework](#) 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.”

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Society

Society 16 – Emergency services

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Reduction Review and charge the Council with responsibility for steering consultation with Australians enabling the production of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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. 			<p>Source: Air Vice-Marshall John Blackburn AO (Retd), Chair of the Institute for Integrated Economic Research – Australia, Co-Founder Australian Security Leaders Climate Group</p> <p>See Note³⁵ for some examples of risks and vulnerabilities not being attended to in 2024.</p> <p>In 20254, Australia was no closer to a reporting framework on risk reduction than it was when the National Disaster Risk Reduction Framework was released in 2018. Obfuscation rather than transparency, action and accountability was the order of the day. This was exposing Australians unnecessarily to existential risk.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral at best.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p></p> <p> The outlook trend is negative because short term action in risk assessment is insufficient to avert the overwhelming negative impacts from climate change.</p>

³⁵ In 2024, there was a world-wide shortage of IV bags, an essential in surgery and other hospital procedures. In the deadliest and most destructive hurricane of the season on record, Hurricane Helene made landfall in Florida as a Category 4 hurricane in September. It is notable that just this one hurricane (in a season of nine) took out 60% of US IV bags. \$230 billion was lost in this single event compared to \$4 billion for Australia’s bushfires. Another example of systemic cause for concern is the fact that Australia has no flagships. Almost everything Australian farmers need to support food production – including fuel, fertilisers, chemicals, machinery and a large proportion of the workforce – is imported, making the lack of flagships that are under Australian control a severe risk. Source: John Blackburn, Australian Security Climate Leaders Group.

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



Environment 1 – Environmental advocacy

Important Note: From Issue No. 7 of *Australia Together* onwards, baseline data and targets for carbon emissions reduction may be adjusted periodically due to the failure of the world and Australia to take action to reduce carbon emissions sufficiently to prevent global heating above 1.5° Celsius – a failure which by 2023 had already resulted in a mean annual temperature on the Australian continent of 1.5° Celsius above the 1961–1990 average (at least for the 2023 year). Issues of *Australia Together* from 2024 take it as a given that global heating will exceed 1.5° Celsius but that it is still possible to keep global temperature increases close to 1.5° Celsius and below 2° Celsius and that governments should not be given permission to exempt themselves from Australia’s legal commitments under the Paris Agreement and set Australia on a path to 2° Celsius of heating or more, when it can still be avoided.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 1 – Environmental advocacy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: 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 Env01.01</p> <p>By the 2024 COP29 meeting (or as soon as possible thereafter), recognising that:</p> <p>a) Australia has everything to lose (economically and in all other respects) by failing to support the UNFCCC negotiations to cap heating at 1.5° Celsius (or as near as possible thereto), and can gain more than any other nation by ensuring heating does not rise above</p>	Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	<p>In 2024, at COP29 Australia did not offer a new basis for the UNFCCC negotiations based on limiting shares of carbon emissions to the total tonnage limits necessary to prevent planetary heating above 1.5° Celsius. Instead Australia continued to assist in the defeat of global efforts to prevent global heating in a manner contrary to its legal and moral obligations under the UNFCCC and the Paris Agreement.</p> <p>The government’s legislation to reduce emissions by 43% below 2005 levels by 2030, combined with its:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • refusal to cap total emissions,
	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.	
	Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.	
	Env 6	A renewable energy superpower.	
	Env 7	Efficiently connected with zero-emissions transport.	
	Env 8	Environmentally & economically sustainable in agriculture & fisheries.	
	Env 10	A biodiversity haven.	
	Env 11	A replanted & reforested land.	
	Env 14	A pollution free biosphere.	
	Env 15	A marine wildlife haven.	
		<p>In 2016, Australia signed the Paris Agreement as a party to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC).</p> <p>In 2021, Australia’s stance and conduct in relation to the Paris Agreement was to negotiate on the basis of offering percentage reductions in carbon emissions compared to a baseline year. In mid 2021, the reduction on offer from Australia was 26%-28% on 2005 emissions by 2030 and there was no commitment to meet net zero by 2050 or any other date.</p> <p>By 2022, Australia had revised this commitment to</p>	

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 1 – Environmental advocacy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>that temperature; and that</p> <p>b) it is not possible to keep global heating below or near to 1.5° Celsius without adoption of a global carbon budget of 235 billion tonnes and an agreement by all nations to emit no more than their fair shares of that budget,</p> <p>c) it is entirely inappropriate (and inconsistent with legal commitments under the Paris Agreement) for Australia to allow itself a carbon budget of 4,381 Mt CO₂-e to 2030 when this tonnage of emissions will consume an extremely unfair proportion of the remaining safe global budget of 235 BT and will still leave Australia in a position of not having reached net zero,</p> <p>attend the COP29 meeting offering a new basis for the framework negotiations as follows:</p> <p>1. That negotiations within the Framework should be shifted away from pledges to reduce emissions by self-nominated percentages – i.e., that approach should be abandoned.</p>	<p>Env 19 A land of thriving self-supporting regions.</p>	<p>reduce emissions by 43% below 2005 levels by 2030 and a multi-year emissions budget from 2021-2030. The DCCEEW reported that: “Based on a 43% reduction by 2030, our emissions budget for this period is 4,381 Mt CO₂-e.” This was the first time an Australian government adopted a carbon budget with a permissible tonnage target. However, the tonnage target of 4,381 Mt CO₂-e exceeds Australia’s estimated fair share of the remaining safe tonnage of global emissions before the world heats by more than 1.5 degrees Celsius. As such it locks Australia prematurely onto a path to >2 degrees of heating when there is still room to keep heating below that level.</p> <p>Adoption of a carbon budget of 4,381 Mt CO₂-e (between 2022 and 2030) notwithstanding, both the budget and the percentage emissions reduction commitment of 43% are still:</p> <p>1. embedding a global negotiation framework that will be wholly</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> extremely poor leadership in UNFCCC COPs, and ongoing approvals of fossil fuel extraction and export, effectively guarantees heating above 2° Celsius. <p>Between 2022 and 2024, there was no demonstration of government commitment to changing course before it is too late. Both major parties of government are committed to actions that will destroy tolerable climatic temperatures and weather patterns, create massive food shortages, collapse Australia’s economy, and cause further mass extinctions.</p> <p>In 2024, as to the economic cost of climate change, the forecast has worsened compared to the estimates in 2019 by the University of Melbourne Sustainable Society Institute. The Intergenerational Report 2023 notes that the economic cost of lost labour productivity due to heat could be between \$135 billion and \$423 billion, not counting the economic losses affecting a multiplicity of other sources including</p>
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		
	<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>		
	<p>Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets, creating confidence for investors.</p>		
<p>Econ 7 A collaborative, intelligent nation.</p>			
<p>Econ 9 Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.</p>			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 1 – Environmental advocacy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>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 per country to be determined by the following formula:</p> <p>a. a pre-determined budget of total global emissions necessary to ensure a near 100% probability of staying near or below 1.5°C (probably no more than 235 billion tonnes between 2020 and whenever net zero is reached by all countries), <i>multiplied by</i></p> <p>b. the percentage of the total load of global carbon emitted by each country to the</p>	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>	<p>insufficient to ensure that temperatures can be capped at 1.5° Celsius (or even close to it); and</p> <p>2. entirely at odds with the economic interests of Australia.</p> <p>In 2019, the economic loss to Australia as a result of global temperature rises of more than 1.5° Celsius was estimated by Melbourne University's Sustainable Society Institute³⁷ as a minimum of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • \$584.5 billion by 2030, • \$762 billion by 2050, and • more than \$5 trillion in cumulative damages from 2020 until 2100, <p>whereas the cost to meet the temperature targets would be a mere \$35.5 billion. In 2021, it was acknowledged that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • it is a road to self-defeat to 	<p>threats to the tourism industry. The magnitude of economic costs was known but it resulted in no commitment to policy change. Source: Australian Government, Intergenerational Report 2023.</p> <p>In 2024, Climate Action Tracker reported that current policies put the expected global temperature rise on track for 2.7C by the end of the century and that nothing had changed since the COP26 climate summit in Glasgow in 2021. "This three-year standstill underscores a critical disconnect between the reality of climate change and the urgency that governments are giving to the policies needed to reduce the greenhouse gas emissions, driving global warming at a rate of close to 0.3°C per decade." The prediction for warming in the most optimistic scenario rose from 1.8°C in 2023 to 1.9°C in 2024.</p>
	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>		
	<p>Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</p>		
	<p>Gov 12 A nation assured of enduring peace.</p>		
	<p>Gov 13 A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.</p>		

³⁷ 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://sgsep.com.au/assets/main/SGS-Economics-and-Planning_clean-economy.pdf

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 1 – Environmental advocacy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>atmosphere in 2019. <i>(In Australia’s case this would be roughly equivalent to 235BT x 1.5% = a final carbon budget of approx. 3.5BT.³⁶)</i></p> <p>3. That Australia should advocate for this new framework based on its advantages in:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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 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 		<p>stick to a negotiating stance that is based on percentage reductions of annual emissions because this will not achieve the aim of stopping global heating; and that</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Australia is “more vulnerable than any other developed country” to economic losses from climate change but has “more to gain than any other country from the world moving early to zero net emissions necessary for cessation of warming, and from full participation in the global transition to zero emissions”. <p>Sources: Department of Climate Change Energy, Environment & Water Australia’s Emissions Projections 2022 webpage, 14 Feb 2023. University of Melbourne Sustainable Society Institute, “Australia’s Clean Economy Future: Costs and Benefits”; ACFP, Dr Bronwyn Kelly, “By 2050”, “The State of Australia in 2020”, “What’s at Stake at COP26?”</p>	<p>Source: Climate Action Tracker, Publications webpage, As the climate crisis worsens, the warming outlook stagnates, 14 November 2024.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook is negative.</p> <p align="center"></p>

³⁶ For supporting information on this formula for determination of fair and equitable shares of the world’s remaining carbon budget see Episode 6 Part 2 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> and [What’s at Stake at COP26? Everything!](#), and [Snapshots from Australia Together, Episode 1 – A Plan for Fixing Climate Change](#).

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 1 – Environmental advocacy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline									
<p>from a fund that may be established by wealthy developed countries as per Gov13.02 in meeting carbon budgets.</p> <p>Note: In Issue Nos. 1 to 6 of <i>Australia Together</i>, this target was set for the COP26 UNFCCC conference in 2021, in Glasgow. For Issue No. 7 of <i>Australia Together</i> this target has been adjusted to COP29.</p>		<p>Everything!”, and “Snapshots from Australia Together – Episode 1: A Plan for Fixing Climate Change”; and Professor Ross Garnaut, <i>Reset: Restoring Australia After the Pandemic Recession</i>, 2021.</p> <p>In 2024, it was reported that, “The planet was 1.48°C hotter in 2023 compared with the period before the mass burning of fossil fuels ignited the climate crisis.”</p> <p>Source: European Union, Copernicus Climate Change Service</p> <p>In December 2023, the Australian Bureau of Meteorology reported that “For Australia as a whole, the mean temperature for January to November was 0.92 °C above the 1961–1990 average. Australia’s maximum temperature for January to November was 1.29 °C above average and ninth warmest on record for the January to November periods from 1961–1990.”</p> <p>Source: Australian Bureau of Meteorology, Australia’s Annual Mean Temperature Anomaly</p>										
<p>Climate change performance – action, international cooperation and policy Env01.02</p> <p>By 2030, attain an overall rating of “very high” in the Climate Change Performance Index.</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="517 1776 564 1798">Env</td> <td data-bbox="596 1776 612 1798">1</td> <td data-bbox="660 1731 852 1854">A leading global advocate for action on climate change.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="517 1865 564 1888">Env</td> <td data-bbox="596 1865 612 1888">2</td> <td data-bbox="660 1865 852 1921">A net zero emissions nation.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="517 1955 564 1977">Env</td> <td data-bbox="596 1955 612 1977">4</td> <td data-bbox="660 1921 852 2013">A nation that puts the environment</td> </tr> </table>	Env	1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	Env	2	A net zero emissions nation.	Env	4	A nation that puts the environment	<p>In 2021, Australia ranked 54th out of 61 countries in the independent international Climate Change Performance Index (CCPI) with a total score of 28.82 and rankings in four</p>	<p>In 2025, Australia ranked 52nd out of 67 countries in the independent international Climate Change Performance Index (CCPI) with a total score of 45.52 and rankings in four</p>
Env	1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.										
Env	2	A net zero emissions nation.										
Env	4	A nation that puts the environment										

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 1 – Environmental advocacy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	before unsustainable consumption.	main indicators as follows: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In reduction of greenhouse gas emissions – 52nd place • In implementing renewable energy – 52nd place • In reducing energy use – 51st place • In climate policy – 60th (second last) No country performed well enough in all index categories to achieve an overall “very high” rating in the index. Source: Climate Change Performance Index (CCPI) 2021	main indicators as follows: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In reduction of greenhouse gas emissions – 41st place • In implementing renewable energy – 35th place • In reducing energy use – 57th place • In climate policy – 51st place. In 2025, the overall ranking and scores are improved compared to the baseline (2021), but show a slight fall compared to performance in 2024. Performance on reducing energy use is lower in 2025 than in 2021. The short term trend is neutral to positive. <p align="center">➔</p> The longer term trend is positive. <p align="center">➔</p>
Env 6	A renewable energy superpower.		
Env 7	Efficiently connected with zero-emissions transport.		
Env 8	Environmentally & economically sustainable in agriculture & fisheries.		
Env 10	A biodiversity haven.		
Env 11	A replanted & reforested land.		
Env 14	A pollution free biosphere.		
Env 15	A marine wildlife haven.		
Env 19	A land of thriving self-supporting regions.		
Soc 1	A safe home.		
Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.		
Soc 6	A society of equals.		
Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.		
Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.		

Environment 2 – Climate change prevention

Important Note: Strategies and Targets in **Environment 2 – Climate change prevention** are formulated in response to the fact that in the 16 years between 2006 and 2022 the proportion of Australians who wanted the government to do something to prevent climate change never dropped below 80%. As early as 2006, over 90% wanted the issue to be addressed, with approximately 70% of that group wanting something done immediately “even if this involves significant costs”. This indicates strongly that the vast majority of Australians wanted the country to get started early on heading off the problem. And in the years since 2017, the same proportion – 90% on average – have responded that steps need to be taken to deal with the threat.³⁸

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment			
Environment 2 – Climate change prevention			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Carbon emissions reduction</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Achievement of net zero carbon emissions within a carbon budget that will maximise chances of limiting global heating as near as possible to 1.5° Celsius Env02.01 By 2024, adopt a maximum carbon emissions budget for total emissions from domestic sources of 3.53 billion tonnes (expendable between the start of 2020 and whenever Australia reaches net zero) and acknowledge that emissions beyond this budget will result in Australia disproportionately and unfairly contributing to heating of the earth by more than 1.5° Celsius above pre-Industrial levels and consequent</p>	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.	<p>In 2022, Australia made a commitment under the UNFCCC for the first time to a carbon budget. It adopted a multi-year emissions budget from 2021-2030 of 4,381 Mt CO₂-e, based on a 43% reduction by 2030. This budget is not sufficient to contain heating to below 2° Celsius, let alone 1.5° as per Australia’s commitment under the Paris Agreement.</p> <p>As noted in the baseline update 2024, assumed annual reductions in carbon emissions under the adopted budget (probably around 13.5 million tonnes year on year) will mean Australia won’t achieve net zero until 2056, by which time we will have emitted a total of 8,147 Mt (from 2022 to 2056). This equates to an assumption by the</p>
	Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	
	Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.	
	Env 6	A renewable energy superpower.	
	Env 7	Efficiently connected with zero-emissions transport.	
	Env 8	Environmentally & economically sustainable in agriculture & fisheries.	
	Env 9	Confident of the safety & security of its water supplies.	
	Env 10	A biodiversity haven.	
	Env 11	A replanted & reforested land.	
	Env 12	A protector of scarce resources.	
		<p>For full baseline details and rationale for adopting this Target see ACFP’s videocasts: The State of Australia in 2020, Episode 6 Part 2 – Climate policy failure and how to fix it, and What’s at Stake at COP26? Everything!, and Snapshots from Australia Together, Episode 1 – A Plan for Fixing Climate Change.</p> <p>In 2020, Australia had no adopted carbon emissions budget and no target date for achievement of net zero emissions.</p> <p>In 2019, Australia’s domestic emissions (excluding exports) were 532 Mt of CO₂-e (later updated to 503 Mt of CO₂-e). Source: National Greenhouse Gas Inventory, June 2019 and June 2023.</p> <p>Baseline update 2024 In June 2022 DCCEEW reported that:</p>	

³⁸ Natasha Kassam, [Lowy Institute Poll 2022](#), page 27. The tables on this page show that between 2006 and 2022, an average of 52% of Australians wanted immediate action on climate change even if it involved significant costs and another 35% on average wanted more gradual action at lower cost. Only 12% on average wanted no action.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 2 – Climate change prevention

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>unaffordable economic loss for Australia.</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Emissions reduction target for 2030 Env02.01.01</p> <p>By 2024, adopt annual carbon emissions reduction interim target of 85% reduction by 2030 compared to annual emissions in 2019 (Australia’s domestic emissions in 2019 were 532 million tonnes, later updated by DCCEEW to 503 million tonnes), to be achieved by annual tonnage emission load reductions of at least 48.4 million tonnes, year-on-year, in order to avoid exceeding the 3.53 billion tonne emissions budget. Annual reductions of 48.4 million tonnes from 2023 onwards should result in Australia reaching net zero by 2032 with 164 million tonnes to spare in the 3.53BT budget of safe and fair emissions by Australia necessary to ensure heating is capped as close as possible to 1.5 degrees Celsius.</p> <p>(Note: In <i>Australia Together</i> Issue Nos. 1 to 6, this target was for a 79% reduction by 2030 on annual emissions in 2019.</p>	<p>Env 14 A pollution free biosphere.</p>	<p>“Australia updated its Nationally Determined Contribution (NDC) (required under the UNFCCC), committing to reduce greenhouse gas emissions to 43% below 2005 levels [622 Mt CO₂-e] by 2030. The revised 2030 commitment is both a single-year target to reduce emissions to 43% below 2005 levels by 2030 and a multi-year emissions budget from 2021-2030. Based on a 43% reduction by 2030, our emissions budget for this period is 4,381 Mt CO₂-e.” Source: DCCEEW, Department of Climate Change Energy, Environment & Water Australia’s Emissions Projections 2022 webpage, 14 Feb 2023</p> <p>In 2005 total emissions (excluding exports) were 622 Mt CO₂-e, which means the target annual emissions for 2030 with a 43% reduction is 355 Mt CO₂-e. Assuming annual even tonnage reductions of 13.5 Mt CO₂-e will be necessary to reduce emissions to 355 Mt CO₂-e in 2030, this would result in consumption of only 3,678 Mt of the 4,381 Mt CO₂-e adopted budget, leaving a couple of years spare in case of overruns. However, reductions of 13.5 million tonnes year on year will mean</p>	<p>Albanese government that travel on a path to much greater than 1.8 degrees of heating is in Australia’s interests.</p> <p>In 2025, Australia is no closer to setting a target for achievement of net zero emissions within a safe and fair budget of carbon emissions. If anything, heating above 2° Celsius is guaranteed by the adopted budget. Australia's options for preventing planetary heating are narrowing and will soon close up entirely. No evidence is present of an intention to adopt a safe carbon budget, which in 2024 would be in the order of 3,530 Mt CO₂-e (3.5 BT). From 2020, Australia should aim to emit no more than 3.53 BT ever.</p> <p>In relation to Env02.01: Short term progress is at best neutral to negative.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are both distinctly negative.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>In relation to Env02.01.01: Short term progress is negative.</p> <p align="center"></p>
	<p>Env 15 A marine wildlife haven.</p>		
	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		
	<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>		
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 2 – Climate change prevention

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>However, Australia failed to reduce emissions sufficiently. Therefore this target has necessarily been adjusted upwards to ensure Australia maximises its chances of meeting the temperature target of as close as possible to 1.5 degrees of global heating. For every year Australia fails to reduce emissions sufficiently, this target will need to be adjusted upwards again. Every year of delay will make the task of stopping global heating more difficult. The safety of Australians requires the federal government to take action consistent with the strategies in this plan, or face the penalties that have been or should be legislated under Gov02.05 and Gov02.05.01.)</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Achievement of net zero emissions by 2033 within the carbon budget Env02.01.02 By 2033, achieve net zero CO₂-e emissions to ensure the adopted carbon budget (3.53 billion tonnes) is not exceeded.</p>		<p>Australia won't achieve net zero until 2056, by which time we will have emitted a total of 8,147 Mt (from 2022 to 2056). This equates to an assumption by the Albanese government that travel on a path to much greater than 1.8 degrees of heating is in Australia's interests.</p> <p>Adoption of a 43% reduction of emissions by 2030 and a budget of 4,381 Mt CO₂-e for 2022 to 2030 is fully contrary to the national interest. Hence the need to set a target for achievement of net zero emissions within a safe and fair budget of carbon emissions. As shown in Env01.01, that safe budget is 3,530 Mt CO₂-e (3.5 BT). Australia should aim to emit no more than 3.53 BT ever.</p>	<p>The longer term trend is negative.  In relation to Env02.01.02: Short term progress is negative.  The longer term trend and outlook are both negative. </p>
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy:</p>	<p>Env 2 A net zero emissions nation.</p>	<p>In 2024, it was reported that, "The</p>	<p>In November 2024, Copernicus reported</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 2 – Climate change prevention

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline		
<p>Planetary heating – Limitation of global temperature rise Env02.01.03</p> <p>By 2030, achieve conditions that permanently stop global heating at less than 1.8 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial revolution temperatures.</p>	<p>Env 1 A leading global advocate for action on climate change.</p>	<p>planet was 1.48°C hotter in 2023 compared with the period before the mass burning of fossil fuels ignited the climate crisis.”</p> <p>Source: European Union, Copernicus Climate Change Service</p> <p>In 2024, it was also reported that: "With devastating extreme heat and storms and floods, 2023 was the first year 1.5°C warmer than the 1850-1900 baseline, and both Antarctic sea-ice loss and record northern hemisphere sea-surface temperatures were way beyond the ranges projected by climate models. Datasets of global temperatures vary a little depending on method, but two of the most significant are Berkeley Earth which put 2023 at 1.54°C above the pre-industrial (1850-1900) level, and Copernicus/ECMWF at 1.48°C."</p> <p>Source: David Spratt and Ian Dunlop, Breakthrough National Centre for Climate Restoration, "Humanity's new era of "global boiling": Climate's 2023 annus horribilis", John Menadue's Pearls and Irritations 25 January 2024.</p>	<p>that "It is now virtually certain that the year 2024 will be the warmest in the ERA5 reanalysis dataset, going back to 1940, based on the data available through October. The month was the second-warmest October globally, after October 2023, with an average surface air temperature of 15.25°C, 0.80°C above the 1991-2002 average for the month. October 2024 was 1.65°C above pre-industrial level, marking the 15th month in a 16-month period with average temperatures above the 1.5°C threshold set by the Paris Agreement.”</p> <p>Source: European Union, Copernicus Climate Change Service, Monthly Climate Bulletin, "The year 2024 set to end up as the warmest on record", 7 November 2024.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>The longer Term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p>		
	<p>Env 3 A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.</p>				
	<p>Env 4 A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.</p>				
	<p>Env 5 An environmentally educated community.</p>				
	<p>Env 6 A renewable energy superpower.</p>				
	<p>Env 7 Efficiently connected with zero-emissions transport.</p>				
	<p>Env 8 Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.</p>				
	<p>Env 9 Confident of safety and security of its water supplies.</p>				
	<p>Env 10 A biodiversity haven.</p>				
	<p>Env 11 A replanted and reforested land.</p>				
	<p>Env 12 A protector of scarce resources.</p>				
	<p>Env 14 A pollution free biosphere.</p>				
	<p>Env 15 A marine wildlife haven.</p>				
	<p>Env 16 Regenerative by design in consumption & production.</p>			<p>In December 2023, the Australian Bureau of Meteorology (BOM)</p>	<p>In 2024, Australia experienced its second-warmest year</p>
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>				

.....

Top Priority Target/Strategy: Planetary heating – Limitation of annual

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>mean temperature rises in Australia Env02.01.04 By 2030, achieve conditions that prevent the national mean temperature in any year in Australia from rising more than 1.0° Celsius above the 1961–1990 average.</p>	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>	<p>reported that “For Australia as a whole, the mean temperature for January to November was 0.92 °C above the 1961–1990 average. Australia’s maximum temperature for January to November was 1.29 °C above average and ninth warmest on record for the January to November periods from 1961–1990.” For the 2019 year, the BOM reported a mean annual temperature of 1.5°C above the 1961–1990 average. Source: Australian Bureau of Meteorology, Australia’s Annual Mean Temperature Anomaly</p>	<p>since national records began in 1910, with the national mean temperature 1.46°C warmer than the 1961–1990 average. “The national mean maximum temperature was 1.48°C above average, the fourth-warmest since national records began in 1910. The national mean minimum temperature was 1.43 °C above average, and the warmest since national records began in 1910. Warmth was persistent throughout the year. Nationally, summer 2023–24 was the third-warmest on record, winter was the second-warmest on record and spring was the warmest on record. Low-intensity to severe heatwave conditions affected large parts of Australia during early 2024 and from September to December.” Source: Australian Government, Bureau of Meteorology, Climate Summary Information for 2024, 2 January 2025.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p>
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 16 A society prepared and resilient in times of disaster.</p>		
	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		
	<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.</p>		
	<p>Econ 7 A collaborative intelligent nation.</p>		
	<p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p>		
<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 2 – Climate change prevention

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.		
	Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.		
	Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.		
	Gov 13 A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.		
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Elimination of fossil fuel subsidies Env02.02 Fossil fuel subsidies are wound back to zero by 2025.</p>	Env 2 A net zero emissions nation.	<p>In 2019, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) estimated Australia’s subsidies to the fossil fuel industry were AU\$42 billion (US\$29 billion) in the 2015 year or approximately 2.3% of GDP. This equated to AU\$1,700 per capita approximately. Source: International Monetary Fund Working Paper, WP/19/89</p> <p>In 2021, the Australia Institute survey, “Climate of the Nation” found that: “23% of Australians support the current level of fossil fuel industry subsidisation, compared to 57% that oppose it.” Source: Australia Institute Climate of the Nation Survey 2021</p>	<p>In 2024, the IMF updated its estimates of Australia’s subsidies to the fossil fuel industry as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2022 – AU\$66.8 billion (US\$47.4 billion) or 2.9% of GDP, equating to AU\$2,567 per capita. • 2023 – AU\$57.7 billion (US\$40.9 billion) or 2.4% of GDP, equating to AU\$2,192 per capita. • 2024 – AU\$57.2 billion (US\$40.3 billion) or 2.4% of GDP, equating to AU\$2,154 per capita. <p>Source: International Monetary Fund, Working Paper, WP/23/169</p>
	Env 1 A leading global advocate for action on climate change.		
	Env 4 A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.		
	Env 6 A renewable energy superpower.		
	Env 12 A protector of scarce resources.		
	Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.		
	Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.		
	Econ 3 A country where economic		

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	<p>opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		<p>See Note³⁹ for information of the IMF method of calculating the fossil fuel subsidy.</p> <p>In 2024, using a different methodology to that used by the IMF for calculating the extent of the fossil fuel subsidy in Australia, the Australia Institute estimated that in 2023–24, Australian governments provided \$14.5 billion worth of spending and tax breaks to assist fossil fuel industries, a 31% increase on 2022-23. The Institute also noted that subsidies in the forward estimates have increased from \$57 billion to a record \$65 billion, a sum 6.5 times greater than the Housing Australia Future Fund.</p> <p>Source: The Australia Institute, Fossil fuel subsidies in Australia 2024, Federal and state government assistance to major producers and users of fossil fuels in 2023-24.</p> <p>Methods for calculating the fossil subsidy differ but none are invalid based on</p>
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>		
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		

³⁹ IMF Fossil Fuel Subsidies, Data: 2023 Update, Simon Black, Antung A. Liu, Ian Parry, and Nate Vernon WP/23/169 summarises the IMF methodology for calculating fossil fuel subsidies as follows: “This paper provides an updated assessment of fossil fuel subsidies at a country, regional, and global level. It builds on a series of previous IMF reports, quantifying both explicit subsidies (undercharging for the supply costs of fossil fuels) and implicit subsidies (undercharging for environmental costs and forgone consumption tax revenues). The full gap between efficient prices (the sum of supply, environmental, and other costs) and retail prices multiplied by consumption equals the total fossil fuel subsidy. Indeed, the gap between efficient and current fuel prices is often substantial given, not least, the damages from climate change and the large number of people dying prematurely from fossil fuel air pollution exposure (4.5 million a year). Underpricing fossil fuels implies that governments forgo a valuable source of much-needed revenue and undermines distributional and poverty reduction objectives since most of the benefits from undercharging accrue to wealthier households.

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline						
			<p>what they measure. What is certain is that the fossil fuel subsidy in Australia is contributing materially to climate change. As at 2024, there are no signs that the subsidy will be stopped, despite the resistance to continuation of the subsidy by the majority of Australians. At its worst, taking into account the full cost of the fossil fuel subsidy to Australia’s economy as shown by the IMF, Australians are spending more on subsidising fossil fuel companies than they are on defence or health as a proportion of GDP. Every dollar they spend to improve or protect their health is negated by the dollars they spend on subsidising fossil fuels.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are both negative.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p>						
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Cessation of new coal, gas and oil investments – legislative program Env02.03 By 2024, legislate to help ensure carbon emissions reduction</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1711 619 1778">Env 2</td> <td data-bbox="619 1711 836 1778">A net zero emissions nation.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1778 619 1912">Env 1</td> <td data-bbox="619 1778 836 1912">A leading global advocate for action on climate change.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1912 619 2045">Env 4</td> <td data-bbox="619 1912 836 2045">A nation that puts the environment before</td> </tr> </table>	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.	Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before	<p>In 2021, the International Energy Agency (IEA) reported that fossil fuel expansion must end now if the planet is to address the climate crisis and specifically stated that:</p>	<p>Between May 2022 and December 2024, the Federal Environment Minister approved 10 new coal mines or expansions with 2,449 million tonnes of lifetime emissions.</p>
Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.								
Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.								
Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before								

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
targets of net zero are met by 2033 as per Env02.01, Env02.01.01 and Env02.01.02 by prohibiting approval of any and every new coal, oil and gas energy project (including mining, exploration for new fields, power generation and export).	unsustainable consumption.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> “The path to net-zero 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.” “In the net-zero emissions pathway presented in this report, the world economy in 2030 is some 40% larger than today but uses 7% less energy.” <p>In 2020, the Australia Institute survey, “Climate of the Nation” found that “65% of Australians think the Australian government should stop new coal mines.”</p> <p>Sources: International Energy Agency, Net Zero by 2050 – A Roadmap for the Global Energy Sector 2021, Australia Institute, Climate of the Nation 2020</p>	In December 2024, there were 22 additional proposals for new or expanded coal mines currently waiting for federal government approval. If all 32 mines proceed, they will emit 13.1 billion tonnes of carbon – equivalent to keeping all of Australia's coal-fired power stations operating for an additional 95 years – which is fully incompatible with limiting dangerous climate change. Source: The Australia Institute, Coal Mine Tracker	
	Env 19 A land of thriving self-supporting regions.			In July 2024, the government also granted permits for new gas exploration and sea dumping off the coasts of Western Australia, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania. These projects will also increase Australia’s emissions. Source: The Australia Institute, Government’s New Gas Exploration Permits Put Climate at Risk, 23 July 2024.
	Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.			
	Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets, creating confidence for investors.			
	Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.			
	Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.			
	Soc 1 A safe home.			
	Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.			
Soc 6 A society of equals.	In 2025, the government had given no commitment to phase out coal operations. Nor had legislation been passed prohibiting approval of any and every new coal, oil and gas energy project (including mining, exploration for			

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline														
			<p>new fields, power generation and export). Overall, the government has been adding emissions, not reducing them and has thereby been making it impossible to meet net zero within the timeframe of this plan.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center">←</p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center">←</p>														
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Phase out of existing investments in coal, oil and gas – legislative program Env02.04 By 2024, consistent with carbon emissions reduction targets of net zero by 2033 as per Env02.01, Env02.01.01 and Env02.01.02, legislate to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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: 	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="475 1025 624 1093">Env 2</td> <td data-bbox="624 1025 836 1093">A net zero emissions nation.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="475 1093 624 1227">Env 1</td> <td data-bbox="624 1093 836 1227">A leading global advocate for action on climate change.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="475 1227 624 1361">Env 3</td> <td data-bbox="624 1227 836 1361">A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="475 1361 624 1563">Env 4</td> <td data-bbox="624 1361 836 1563">A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="475 1563 624 1653">Env 6</td> <td data-bbox="624 1563 836 1653">A renewable energy superpower.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="475 1653 624 1787">Env 7</td> <td data-bbox="624 1653 836 1787">Efficiently connected with zero-emissions transport.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="475 1787 624 1942">Env 8</td> <td data-bbox="624 1787 836 1942">Environmentally & economically sustainable in agriculture & fisheries.</td> </tr> </table>	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.	Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	Env 3	A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.	Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.	Env 6	A renewable energy superpower.	Env 7	Efficiently connected with zero-emissions transport.	Env 8	Environmentally & economically sustainable in agriculture & fisheries.	<p>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. However, this modelling assumed a range of other actions vital to achieving carbon neutrality would be implemented in parallel, including Carbon Capture Utilisation and Storage.</p> <p>Given that CCUS is not viable for purposes of abatement of fossil fuels, it cannot be</p>	<p>In 2024, no legislation to phase out existing fossil fuel investments had been put to parliament. Instead the government had approved 10 new coal mines and other gas extraction. The net effect equates to massive increases in the tonnage of emissions and the consequent defeat of legislated climate change targets. See Env02.03 above.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center">←</p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center">←</p>
Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.																
Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.																
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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Australian grid security (after all other accessible supplies of renewable energy have been utilised) as determined by the Australian Energy Market Operator (AEMO) in their Integrated Systems Plans as amended from time to time, and for ○ supply of domestic non-industrial customers; and ● prohibit sales of new internal combustion engine cars and heavy vehicles by 2026. 	Env 19 A land of thriving self-supporting regions.	<p>relied on for planning purposes. Moreover, strategies which seek to achieve net zero by 2050 are highly unreliable in capping global heating to 1.5° Celsius.</p> <p>Noting the IEA Report and the AEMO’s ISP 2020 (see Env06.02) it is apparent that in 2021, global energy policy and planning agencies were developing plans to phase out coal, gas, and oil before world emissions exceed limits required to keep temperature increases below 1.5° or 2° Celsius.</p> <p>In 2020, the Australia Institute survey, “Climate of the Nation” found that “83% of Australians support a phase-out of coal-fired power stations.” Sources: International Energy Agency, Net Zero by 2050 – A Roadmap for the Global Energy Sector 2021 and Australian Energy Market Operator (AEMO) Integrated System Plan 2020, Australia Institute, Climate of the Nation 2020</p>	
	Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.		
	Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.		
	Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets, creating confidence for investors.		
	Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.		
	Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.		
	Soc 1 A safe home.		
	Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.		
Soc 6 A society of equals.			
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Elimination of military greenhouse gas emissions Env02.04.01 By 2025, Australia is to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● commit to improved 	Env 2 A net zero emissions nation.	<p>In 2022, it was estimated that the world’s militaries may be contributing 5.5 percent of global GHG emissions and that if the world’s militaries were a country, it would have the fourth highest carbon</p>	<p>In 2024, the key to meeting this target was to slow expenditure on defence and keep it to below 2% of GDP per annum indefinitely. However, the 2023 Intergenerational Report forecasted that</p>
	Env 1 A leading global advocate for action on climate change.		
	Env 3 A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.		

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>measurement, reporting, and scrutiny of military emissions;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> include military emissions from all sources and supply chains in overall calculations of Australia's emissions, and mandate a reduction target that reflects the urgency of the problem; commence ongoing work with other states to ensure that military emissions are on the table at every Conference of the Parties (COP) to the Paris Agreement; revise the 2023 Defence Strategic Review to incorporate climate change as a security risk of paramount concern and prepare a comprehensive plan to eliminate carbon emissions from Australia's military activities by 2033 unless genuine offsets can be demonstrated; and revise the national defence budget to confine total annual defence 	<p>Env 4 A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.</p>	<p>footprint (after China, the USA and India). As just one example of war's intense thirst for fuel, one B52 fighter jet consumes about as much fuel in one hour as the average car driver uses in seven years.</p> <p>Source: Conflict and Environment Observatory, New estimate: global military is responsible for more emissions than Russia. 10 November 2022.</p> <p>In the period 2001-2012, the Defence Department was responsible for 66 percent of total Australian Government emissions. Since 2012, no emissions data from the Defence Department has been made public, and reporting on energy use has been incomplete.</p> <p>Source: Dr Sue Wareham OAM, "To tackle climate change, we need peace – and also an accountable Defence department", Croakey, 30 June 2023.</p> <p>In 2023, the Australian Security Leaders Climate Group commented on the unclassified version of the recent Defence Strategic Review, stating that it "largely ignores the significance of climate risk". The group stated their impression that "the review regards climate change as a one paragraph concern,</p>	<p>between 2022/23 and 2062/63 spending on defence would increase from 2% of GDP to approximately 2.3% and the government was committed to maintaining defence expenditure above 2%.</p> <p>In 2023, the Intergenerational Report stated that, "The Government is investing more in our national security, with spending on defence (excluding operations) expected to increase from around 2.0 per cent of GDP in 2022–23 to around 2.3 per cent of GDP in 2032–33 (Chart 7.17), its highest share of GDP since around the end of the Cold War. This increase reflects the Government's commitment to implementing the Defence Strategic Review (DSR) to ensure Australia is positioned to respond under these complex strategic circumstances. Defence spending is then assumed to remain steady at 2.3 per cent of GDP from 2033–34 to the end of the projection period."</p> <p>Source: Australian Government, Intergenerational Report 2023, page 163.</p>
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 16 A society prepared and resilient in times of disaster.</p>		
	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		
	<p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p>		
	<p>Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.</p>		
	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>		
	<p>Gov 11 A just and cooperative participant on the global stage.</p>		
<p>Gov 12 A nation assured of enduring peace.</p>			

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline						
<p>expenditure to no more than 2% of GDP to ensure minimisation of carbon emissions from military activities and compliance with the requirement for development of a national plan for safe withdrawal from activities, agreements and alliances inhibiting sovereign independence and peace under Gov12.04.03.</p>		<p>which should not be allowed to interfere with the far more serious business of military mobilisation in preparation for WW3.” Source: Australian Security Leaders Climate Group, Chris Barrie, John Blackburn, Ian Dunlop, “Defence review reflects a profound failure of leadership”, Canberra Times, 18 June 2023.</p>	<p>Based on this, it is clear that Australia’s defence policies are such as to defeat Australia’s climate targets. See also Econ01.06.03 which shows that the government’s Future Made in Australia Package (FMIA) has a net adverse effect on Australia’s capacity to stop planetary heating due to the fact that defence expenditures of \$50.3 billion over 10 years under the program will be more than double that of expenditures which focus on reducing carbon emissions by reducing offshoring of manufacturing (\$22.7 billion over three years). Source: Federal Budget 2024/25: Investing in a Future Made in Australia.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative. </p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook is negative. </p>						
<p>Accountability for achievement of commitments to stop climate change Env02.05 In the ministerial annual reports required under the Climate Change Bill 2022, demonstrate</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1688 619 1756">Env 2</td> <td data-bbox="619 1688 836 1756">A net zero emissions nation.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1756 619 1890">Env 1</td> <td data-bbox="619 1756 836 1890">A leading global advocate for action on climate change.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1890 619 2016">Env 3</td> <td data-bbox="619 1890 836 2016">A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.</td> </tr> </table>	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.	Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	Env 3	A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.	<p>In 2022, the federal parliament passed the Climate Change Bill 2022 and the Climate Change (Consequential Amendments) Bill 2022. The Bill aimed to legislate Australia’s greenhouse gas emission reduction</p>	<p>In 2024, DCCEEW reported that “With 6 years to go until 2030, Australia’s decarbonisation journey is well underway. Australia’s emissions are currently 28.2% below 2005 levels.” They also</p>
Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.								
Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.								
Env 3	A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.								

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>progress towards achievement of legislated commitments on climate change (eg., 43% emission reductions by 2030 within a carbon budget of 4,381 Mt CO₂-e for that period) and provide responsible adjustment of targets for elimination of carbon emissions consistent with Env02.01, Env02.01.01 and Env02.01.02 and with the need to protect Australia from the risk of ecocide and genocide in accordance with Env02.05.01.</p>	<p>Env 4 A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.</p>	<p>targets of 43% reduction against a 2005 baseline (assessed in 2023 to have been 622 million tonnes) by 2030 and net zero emissions by 2050.</p> <p>The Bill:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> required an annual Ministerial statement to Parliament on progress towards achievement of these targets; and gave the Climate Change Authority a role in advising the Minister on the annual statement and on updated emissions targets to be communicated internationally. <p>The Consequential Amendments Bill amended 14 Acts on climate, energy, infrastructure and research, to insert reference to the emissions reduction targets into existing laws for selected Commonwealth entities and selected energy schemes.</p> <p>Source: Parliament of Australia, Climate Change Bill 2022 [and] Climate Change (Consequential Amendments) Bill 2022</p>	<p>projected that the legislated emissions reduction target of 43% below 2005 levels within the adopted budget of emissions by 2030 was on track to be met.</p> <p>Source: DCCEEW, Annual Climate Change Statement 2024.</p> <p>However, no commitment was made to responsible adjustment of targets. In 2024, the government’s adopted targets for 2030 were wholly insufficient to meet targets for capping temperature increases and were disposed to lock in more heating than reduce it. They would also do nothing to reduce Australia’s exposure to ecocide and genocide. See Env02.01 above.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral to negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook is negative.</p> <p>←</p>
	<p>Env 5 An environmentally educated community.</p>		
	<p>Env 6 A renewable energy superpower.</p>		
	<p>Env 7 Efficiently connected with zero-emissions transport.</p>		
	<p>Env 8 Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.</p>		
	<p>Env 9 Confident of safety and security of its water supplies.</p>		
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	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
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<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 2 – Climate change prevention

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	<p>Econ 7 A collaborative intelligent nation.</p> <p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p> <p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p> <p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p> <p>Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</p> <p>Gov 13 A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.</p>		
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Accountability for achievement of commitments to stop climate change – sovereign and personal liability for ecocide or genocide through climate change Env02.05.01 By 2025, in recognition of the following facts that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Australia signed the Paris Agreement in 2016 as a legally binding document acknowledging the need to submit Nationally 	<p>Env 2 A net zero emissions nation.</p> <p>Env 1 A leading global advocate for action on climate change.</p> <p>Env 3 A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.</p> <p>Env 4 A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.</p> <p>Env 5 An environmentally educated community.</p> <p>Env 6 A renewable energy superpower.</p>	<p>In 1948 Australia signed the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide and later incorporated its responsibilities under this Convention into Australian law via the Criminal Code 1996 and the International Criminal Court (Consequential Amendments) Act 2002. Under the Convention, Australia formally confirmed that “genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law</p>	<p>In 2023, the World Meteorological Organisation “warned of a 66% chance that, in at least one of the next five years, global temperature will temporarily exceed the 1.5°C threshold above pre-industrial levels, an important limit since it is above that established in the Paris Agreement.” Source: activesustainability.com, “The era of global boiling: the latest twist in the climate crisis”, 2023.</p> <p>In 2024, the WMO’s prediction was borne out when between January and October</p>

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<p>Determined Contributions (NDCs) that would maximise chances of meeting the temperature targets of the Agreement;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> as at 2023, Australia had failed to submit NDCs sufficiently capable of safely and fairly contributing to the achievement of the temperature targets and was not on track to meet even its own inadequate legislated commitments (of 43% reductions on 2005 emissions by 2030); Australian governments could not have failed to be fully aware of the inadequacy of both their NDCs and emissions reduction progress; Australian governments could also not 	Env 7	Efficiently connected with zero-emissions transport.	<p>global surface air temperatures rose by more than 1.5° Celsius above pre-industrial levels in every month but one, indicating that climatic conditions known to be intolerable to humans and other species were well embedded and that urgent action in policy and decisions would be required to prevent species devastation.</p> <p>Source: European Union, Copernicus Climate Change Service, Monthly Climate Bulletin, “The year 2024 set to end up as the warmest on record”, 7 November 2024.</p> <p>In 2024, no legislation had been established in which ministers, heads and board members of corporations, and financiers may be held personally and fully liable (without limitation financially) and subject to terms of imprisonment up to and including life imprisonment for any actions in policy, administrative or executive decisions,</p>
	Env 8	Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.	
	Env 9	Confident of safety and security of its water supplies.	
	Env 10	A biodiversity haven.	
	Env 11	A replanted and reforested land.	
	Env 12	A protector of scarce resources.	
	Env 14	A pollution free biosphere.	
	Env 15	A marine wildlife haven.	
	Env 16	Regenerative by design in consumption & production.	
	Env 18	Multi-central in its cities, efficiently connecting people with jobs, health, education and recreation.	
Env 19	A land of thriving self-supporting regions.	<p>which [it] undertake[s] to prevent and to punish.”</p> <p>Source: Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, UN General Assembly 1948</p> <p>In 2021, the cost and risk to the world of failure to adhere to the Paris Agreement and to keep the 1.5°C temperature target within reach was spelled out at COP26.⁴⁰ As such, governments knew the risk and cost to ecosystems and humanity of failing to contain global heating to 1.5° Celsius.</p> <p>Source: UN Climate Change Conference UK 2021, <i>COP26 Explained</i>.</p> <p>In July 2023, United Nations secretary general Antonio Guterres gave an emphatic speech to the press in New York in which he called for immediate climate action and referred to the present situation as “the era of global boiling”. At the same time, the World Meteorological</p>	
Soc 1	A safe home.		

⁴⁰ UN Climate Change Conference UK 2021, *COP26 Explained*, page 47: “WHY DOES LIMITING TEMPERATURE RISE TO 1.5 DEGREES MATTER? At 2 degrees of global warming, there would be widespread and severe impacts on people and nature. A third of the world’s population would be regularly exposed to severe heat, leading to health problems and more heat-related deaths. Almost all warm water coral reefs would be destroyed, and the Arctic sea ice would melt entirely at least one summer per decade, with devastating impacts on the wildlife and communities they support. We cannot rule out the possibility that irreversible loss of ice sheets in Greenland and the Antarctic could be triggered, leading to several metres of sea level rise over centuries to come. At 1.5°C, the impacts would be serious, but less severe. There would be lower risks of food and water shortages, lower risks to economic growth and fewer species at risk of extinction. Threats to human health from air pollution, disease, malnutrition and exposure to extreme heat would also be lower. That is why every fraction of a degree of warming matters, and why we are dedicated to keeping the prospect of holding temperature rises to 1.5 degrees alive.”

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Environment 2 – Climate change prevention

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>have failed to be aware of the illegality of these actions and their potential to lead to irreversible global temperature increases of well above 2.0° Celsius;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> by 2024, the world had already passed the point where temperature increases above 1.5° Celsius were locked in and accelerating and that Australian government policies and global cooperation were wholly inadequate for prevention of unsustainable planetary heating; and that Australian governments could also not have failed to be aware – and indeed were aware – that action by any country inconsistent with the Paris Agreement would cause the world to breach critical planetary boundaries and thereby cause both ecocide and genocide, establish legislation in which ministers, heads 	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>	<p>Organisation reported that July 2023 was the hottest month ever recorded and that “there is a 98% probability that at least one of the next five years will be the hottest ever recorded.” ... “The WMO also warned of a 66% chance that, in at least one of the next five years, global temperature will temporarily exceed the 1.5°C threshold above pre-industrial levels, an important limit since it is above that established in the Paris Agreement.”</p> <p>Source: activesustainability.com, “The era of global boiling: the latest twist in the climate crisis”, 2023.</p> <p>In September 2023, a team of scientists quantified, for the first time, all nine processes that regulate the stability and resilience of the Earth system. These nine planetary boundaries were first proposed by world renowned scientists (including Australia’s Professor Will Steffen) for the Stockholm Resilience Centre in 2009. By 2023, all boundaries had been quantified and it was concluded that six of the nine boundaries have been transgressed, including</p>	<p>and commercial development after the year 2024 which can be linked to increased risk of global temperature rises above 1.5° Celsius above pre-industrial revolution temperatures (or above 450 ppm CO₂ atmospheric concentrations). In short, no legislation had been submitted requiring decision makers to be more accountable and responsible and to accept liability for decisions. On the contrary, actions taken by the government, particularly in approval of new coal mines and gas extraction, were taken without demonstrating legitimate offsets sufficient to negate the known risk. Neither in legislation nor practice did the government commit to accepting accountability for achievement of commitments to stop climate change so as to prevent ecocide or genocide and so as to prevent either personal liability or the extraordinary sovereign liability arising from policies and decisions that aggravate the possibility of creating a climate on earth that is</p>
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 15 Confident of justice for all.</p>		
	<p>Soc 16 A society prepared and resilient in times of disaster.</p>		
	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		
	<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.</p>		
<p>Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.</p>			
<p>Econ 7 A collaborative intelligent nation.</p>			

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Environment 2 – Climate change prevention

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>and board members of corporations, and financiers may be held personally and fully liable (without limitation financially) and subject to terms of imprisonment up to and including life imprisonment for any actions in policy, administrative or executive decisions, and commercial development after the year 2024 which can be linked to increased risk of global temperature rises above 1.5° Celsius above pre-industrial revolution temperatures (or above 450 ppm CO₂ atmospheric concentrations) – such linkage to be deemed directly causal of unacceptable risk to the ecosphere and humanity where any actions taken in policy, administrative or executive decisions and/or commercial development are taken without demonstrating legitimate offsets sufficient to negate the risk.</p>	<p>Econ 9 Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.</p>	<p>atmospheric CO₂ concentration. As such, Australian governments knew that climate change had reached emergency levels and that no actions should be taken which contribute to net increased heating and they knew of the connection between climate change and ecocide and genocide. Source: Stockholm Resilience Centre, Stockholm University, Planetary Boundaries webpage and Richardson et al., Science Advances 9, eadh2458 (2023): “Earth beyond six of nine planetary boundaries”.</p>	<p>intolerable to all species.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p>
	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing and affirming decency.</p>		<p>The longer term trend and outlook is negative.</p> <p>←</p>
	<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>		
	<p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p>		
	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>		
	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>		
	<p>Gov 10 A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.</p>		
	<p>Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</p>		
	<p>Gov 12 A nation assured of enduring peace.</p>		
<p>Gov 13 A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.</p>			

Environment 3 – Climate change adaptation

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment			
Environment 3 – Climate change adaptation			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: National Climate Change Prevention, Mitigation and Adaptation Commission Env03.01</p> <p>By 2025 – recognising that necessity for a detailed risk assessment of potential impacts of climate change on Australia and the need for a fully detailed, costed and funded national prevention, mitigation and adaptation plan, complete with regulatory enforcement protocols – legislate to establish an independent National Climate Change Prevention, Mitigation and Adaptation Commission responsible for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> development of comprehensive risk assessments for climate change; development of national climate change prevention, mitigation and adaptation plans that align with targets for temperature caps and emissions reductions as per 	Env 3	A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.	<p>In 2015, the Australian government adopted a “National Climate Resilience and Adaptation Strategy”. However, beyond some guiding principles and some statements about actions being taken in some locations, the Strategy was:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> unsupported through funding, lacked targets, and imposed no obligations for or incentives to compliance. <p>Nor was the Strategy integrated with any other strategy for dealing with either the key causes or adverse socioeconomic effects of climate change.</p> <p>In 2020, the Member for Warringah proposed a Climate Change (National Framework for Adaptation and Mitigation) Bill in the federal parliament. The Bill was not debated.</p> <p>Source: Australian Government National Climate Resilience and Adaptation Strategy; Parliament of Australia, Climate Change Bill 2020</p> <p>Baseline update 2024 In 2021, the federal Department of Agriculture, Water and</p>
	Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	
	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.	
	Env 6	A renewable energy superpower.	
	Env 7	Efficiently connected with zero-emissions transport.	
	Env 8	Environmentally & economically sustainable in agriculture & fisheries.	
	Env 9	Confident of the safety & security of its water supplies.	
	Env 10	A biodiversity haven.	
	Env 11	A replanted & reforested land.	
	Env 12	A protector of scarce resources.	
	Env 14	A pollution free biosphere.	
	Env 15	A marine wildlife haven.	
	Env 19	A land of thriving self-supporting regions.	
Soc 1	A safe home.		
Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.		
			<p>In 2024, DCCEEW stated that the 2023–24 federal Budget allocated \$27.4 million over 2 years to deliver Australia’s first National Climate Risk Assessment and National Adaptation Plan. The stated purpose of both documents was that they would “provide analysis to guide decisions on how Australia should adapt to its significant climate risks.” More specifically, the National Climate Risk Assessment was expected to deliver “a shared national framework to inform Australia’s national priorities for climate adaptation and resilience actions.” DCCEEW also stated that “Once the National Adaptation Plan is finalised, it will replace the National Climate Resilience and Adaptation Strategy 2021–2025.”</p> <p>Source: Australian Government, DCCEEW, Climate adaptation webpage, December 2024.</p> <p>Summarising progress – In 2024, the government released the “National Climate Risk Assessment: First pass assessment report” and foreshadowed the release of a “second pass” risk assessment adaptation plan. See Soc16.02 and Soc16.02.01 below.</p>

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Environment 3 – Climate change adaptation

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Env01.01, Env02.01, Env02.01.01 and Env02.01.02;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> integration of such plans with other related plans and strategies for managing climate change and its impacts; and reports to Parliament on progress against those plans; and ensure alignment of any plans for climate change prevention, mitigation and adaptation with the objectives of all other related strategies in this plan including, in particular, Soc16.01, Soc16.02 and Soc 16.02.01. 	<p>Soc 16</p>	<p>A society prepared & resilient in times of disaster.</p>	<p>The short term trend neutral to positive.</p> <p>→</p>
	<p>Econ 1</p>	<p>A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>	<p>Given that progress is too slow (because temperatures are already exceeding 1.5° Celsius) and therefore likely to be too late for cost effective mitigation purposes, the longer term trend and outlook is neutral to negative.</p> <p>←</p>
	<p>Econ 2</p>	<p>A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>	<p>In 2022 there were still no national plans for preventing or mitigating climate change and the revised “National Climate Resilience and Adaptation Strategy 2021 – 2025” included no measures to make adaptation easier and less costly by preventing climate change in the first place.</p>
	<p>Econ 5</p>	<p>A strong regulator of fairness in markets, creating confidence for investors.</p>	<p>Source: Australian Government National Climate Resilience and Adaptation 2021-2025.</p>
	<p>Gov 6</p>	<p>A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>	
	<p>Gov 7</p>	<p>Committed to public service independence & excellence.</p>	
	<p>Gov 9</p>	<p>A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>	
	<p>Gov 11</p>	<p>A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</p>	
	<p>Gov 12</p>	<p>A nation assured of enduring peace.</p>	

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 Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Overhaul of the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999 Env04.01</p> <p>By 2024, recognising that the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation (EPBC) Act 1999, as a regulatory framework, is incapable of meeting the needs of Australia in the biodiversity restoration required under the government’s own Nature Positive Plan and under Env10.03 and Env10.03.01, legislate the full suite of reforms to the EPBC Act recommended by Professor Samuel in 2020, with the exception of those that contemplate continued use of offsets in circumstances where the stricter standards allow ecologically</p>	Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.	<p>In 2024, the Albanese government introduced three bills to begin reforms necessary to compensate for the inadequacies of the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation (EPBC) Act:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> the Nature Positive (Environment Information Australia) Bill 2024 – to establish the statutory position of the Head of Environment Information Australia to provide access to, assess and report on environmental information and data; the Nature Positive (Environment Law Amendments and Transitional Provisions) Bill 2024 – to support the establishment of Environment Protection Australia (EPA) and the Head of Environment Information Australia; and the Nature Positive (Environment Protection Australia)
	Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	
	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.	
	Env 3	A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.	
	Env 8	Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.	
	Env 9	Confident of safety and security of its water supplies.	
	Env 10	A biodiversity haven.	
	Env 11	A replanted and reforested land.	
	Env 12	A protector of scarce resources.	
	Env 13	A provider of accessible national & urban parkland.	
	Env 14	A pollution free biosphere.	
	Env 15	A marine wildlife haven.	
	Env 16	Regenerative by design in	

⁴¹ An environmental offset is supposed to compensate for unavoidable impacts on significant environmental matters, (e.g. valuable species and ecosystems) on one site, by securing land at another site, and managing that land over a period of time, to replace those significant environmental matters which were lost. However, this does not guarantee replacement habitat for threatened species or ecosystems; it simply provides that another area will not also be developed. The system allows developers to promise not to destroy an existing healthy ecosystem if they’re allowed to destroy another. This can only result in net loss of biodiversity.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 4 – Environmental regulation & approvals

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
feasible offsets to balance habitat loss from a development. Instead, the use of offsets must be prohibited due to the fact that biodiversity recovery is not possible with an offset system. An offset system will bake in further loss.		consumption & production.	Bill – to establish Environment Protection Australia as a statutory Commonwealth entity to undertake regulatory and implementation functions under a range of environmental Commonwealth laws.
	Env 19	A land of thriving self-supporting regions.	<p>In November 2024, the bills were reportedly “killed off” (in their original form at least) by the prime minister in response to objections by the Western Australian premier and the mining lobby. Source: Lisa Cox and Karen Middleton, Albanese kills off deal with Greens to pass ‘nature positive’ legislation after intervention by WA premier, The Guardian, 27 November 2024.</p> <p>In April 2024, the government had already walked away from its commitment to reform the EPBC Act and introduce a suite of laws to address Australia’s extinction crisis, including new national environmental standards against which development proposals would be assessed. Source: Lisa Cox and Adam Morton, Labor accused of broken promise after delaying laws to address Australia’s extinction crisis, The Guardian, 16 April 2024.</p> <p>In its first term of office the Labor government</p>
	Soc 1	A safe home.	
	Soc 2	A land with an Indigenous heart.	
	Soc 4	A place of optimal health and wellbeing.	
	Soc 16	A society prepared and resilient in times of disaster.	
	Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	
	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	
Gov 9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.	<p>included, among other things, that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the EPBC Act should be immediately amended to enable the development and implementation of legally enforceable National Environmental Standards; a comprehensive reworking of the EPBC Act should be undertaken; the EPBC Act should be amended to support more effective planning that accounts for cumulative impacts and past and future key threats and build environmental resilience in a changing climate; and the Commonwealth should reform the application of environmental offsets under the EPBC Act to address decline and achieve restoration. <p>Source: Independent Review of the EPBC Act – Final Report, October 2020, Professor Graeme Samuel AC.</p> <p>In 2020, ACFP collated research and findings of a range of professionals including</p>	

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Environment 4 – Environmental regulation & approvals

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
		<p>the Australian Museum, the ABS, Queensland and La Trobe Universities, IPBES, the SOE Report 2016, Australian National Outlook, the NSW Audit Office, and Professor Graeme Samuel AO, all of which pointed to unsustainable species and ecosystem loss arising from Australia’s poor environmental regulatory framework. This included findings by the ABS that “Australia has experienced the largest documented decline in biodiversity of any continent over the past 200 years.” The offset system is a critical weakness in the regulatory framework. Source: ACFP, The State of Australia in 2020, Episode 6 Part 1, Environmental Decline, YouTube.</p>	<p>achieved nothing to overcome the failures of Australia’s environmental laws and administration.</p> <p>In January 2025, the Australian Conservation Foundation reported that while the government did nothing to reform environmental laws the amount of threatened species habitat approved to be razed under federal law more than doubled in 2024 (25,769 hectares) compared to 2023 (10,426 hectares). (See Env10.03 and Env12.01 below.) Source: Australian Conservation Foundation, <i>Extinction Wrapped 2024</i>. Source: Dan Jervis-Bardy, “Almost 26,000 hectares of threatened species habitat approved for clearing under Labor in 2024, new report finds,” <i>The Guardian</i>, 21 January 2025.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral to negative.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>The longer term trend is negative. Extinctions are set to continue while reforms are delayed.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p>

Environment 5 – Environmental education

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment		
<i>Environment 5 – Environmental education</i>		
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data
<p>Education for sustainable development Env05.01</p> <p>Consistent with UN Sustainable Development Goal 4: “By 2030, 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 and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture’s contribution to sustainable development.”</p> <p>No specific Strategies have yet been established for this Direction. However, some Strategies which are closely integrated with and contribute to the achievement of this Direction are currently incorporated into the plan under:</p> <p>Soc05.01.05 Soc05.01.06 Soc05.03.01 Soc05.04 Soc16.01 Env02.01.03 Env02.05 Env02.05.01 Env05.01 Econ01.06.01 Econ01.06.02 Econ01.06.03 Econ01.09 Econ01.09.01 Econ07.01 Gov05.02.03 Gov10.02 Gov11.04 Gov11.05</p>	<p>Env 5 An environmentally educated community.</p>	<p>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.</p>
	<p>Soc 5 A model of educational opportunity.</p>	

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 6 – Energy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
<p>Renewable energy – electricity Env06.01 100% of electricity comes from renewable sources by no later than 2030 and no later than 2027 if other sectors do not reach emissions reduction targets.</p> <p>Renewable energy – vehicles Env06.01.01 100% of new vehicles are powered by electricity from renewable sources by no later than 2028. (This target is set to incentivise and accelerate delivery of new infrastructure for affordable power supply to vehicles.)</p> <p>Renewable energy – road transport systems, services and fleets Env06.01.02 100% of road transport systems, services and fleets are powered by electricity from renewable sources by no later than 2026 (This target is set to stimulate creation of an affordable second-hand electric vehicle market.)</p>	<p>Env 6 A renewable energy superpower.</p>	<p>In 2019, the renewable energy power percentage (RPP) in Australia was 18.60%. In 2021, the renewable energy power percentage (RPP) fell slightly to 18.54%. In 2020, 27.7% of Australia’s electricity generation came from renewable sources. Source: Australian Government Clean Energy Regulator and the Clean Energy Council, Clean Energy Australia Report 2021</p>	<p>In 2024, the Australian government’s target for renewable electricity was to increase the share of the National Electricity Market (NEM) to 82% by 2030. This means the government was not planning to meet either:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the <i>Australia Together</i> targets of 100% of electricity and energy for vehicles, road fleets, industry and other sectors to be from renewable sources by 2027-2030; or the slightly lower targets deemed necessary by the World Resources Institute for electricity generation and energy use by other sectors. <p>This in turn means that the government was not planning actions in renewable energy sufficient to ensure temperature increases can be kept well below 2° Celsius and as near as possible to 1.5° Celsius as per the Paris Agreement.</p> <p>Nevertheless, some positive progress was made on renewable energy including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> expansion of the Capacity Investment Scheme (CIS) – a 	
	<p>Env 1 A leading global advocate for action on climate change.</p>			<p>In 2023, the World Resources Institute reported on the targets that would need to be met by 2030 for reduction of emissions from energy generated by fossil fuels if world temperature increases are to be kept below 1.5° Celsius as per the Paris Agreement. The targets covered 42 sectors of energy use: including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increase the share of EVs to 75–95% of total annual LDV sales; Increase the share of zero-carbon sources in electricity generation to 88-91%;
	<p>Env 2 A net zero emissions nation.</p>			
	<p>Env 3 A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.</p>			
	<p>Env 4 A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.</p>	<p>In 2023, the World Resources Institute reported on the targets that would need to be met by 2030 for reduction of emissions from energy generated by fossil fuels if world temperature increases are to be kept below 1.5° Celsius as per the Paris Agreement. The targets covered 42 sectors of energy use: including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increase the share of EVs to 75–95% of total annual LDV sales; Increase the share of zero-carbon sources in electricity generation to 88-91%; 		
	<p>Env 7 Efficiently connected with zero-emissions transport.</p>			
	<p>Env 8 Environmentally & economically sustainable in agriculture & fisheries.</p>			
	<p>Env 12 A protector of scarce resources.</p>			
	<p>Env 14 A pollution free biosphere.</p>			
	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>			
<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>				
<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity,</p>				

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Environment 6 – Energy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Renewable energy – manufacturing and agriculture Env06.01.03 100% of manufacturing and agriculture is powered by electricity from renewable sources by no later than 2028.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Renewable energy – air and sea transport Env06.01.05 TBA.</p> <p>Note: In 2024 it was obvious that the above targets will not be met by their due dates. But it is worth noting that they were first set in</p>	<p>growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reforest 100 Mha; • Increase the share of GHG emissions subject to mandatory corporate climate risk disclosures to 75%; • Lower the share of coal in electricity generation to 4%; • Lower the share of unabated fossil gas in electricity generation to 5-7%; • Increase the share of electricity in the industry sector's final energy demand to 35-43%; • Lower the carbon intensity of global cement production to 360–70 kgCO₂/t cement by 2030; • Increase green hydrogen production capacity to 58 Mt; • Double the coverage of public transport infrastructure across urban areas, relative to 2020; • Increase the share of sustainable aviation fuels in 	<p>revenue underwriting scheme by the government to accelerate investment in renewable energy generation such as wind and solar and clean dispatchable capacity, such as battery storage; and</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a new standard for vehicle emissions on new cars sold in the Australian market. <p>In 2023, 35% of Australia's total electricity generation was from renewable energy sources, including solar (16%), wind (12%) and hydro (6%). The share of renewables in total electricity generation in 2023 was the highest on record, a share of 1% higher than the earlier 2022-23 financial year. Overall though, while renewable energy as a proportion of total energy had been growing at an average of 5% per year for ten years, renewable energy sources still accounted for only 9% of Australian energy consumption in 2022-23. Source: Australian Government, DCCEEW, Energy Data webpage. Source: DCCEEW, Australian Energy Update 2024</p> <p>In 2024, the Clean Energy Council reported that in 2023 39.4% of</p>
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>		
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 6 – Energy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline												
<p>2020 when it would not have been impossible to meet them. Due to inaction by governments it is now unlikely they can be met. But this doesn't make the targets any less necessary. It is practice and policy that needs to change, not the targets.</p>		<p>global aviation fuel supply to 13%; and</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 30 other sectors. <p>In 2023, the world was on track to meet only one of these targets – that relating to increasing the share of EVs to 75–95% of total annual LDV sales. Australia was on track to meet none.</p> <p>Source: World Resources Institute and Systems Change Lab, <i>State of Climate Action 2023</i>.</p>	<p>Australia's electricity generation came from renewable sources.</p> <p>Source: Clean Energy Council, Clean Energy Australia 2024.</p> <p>Short term progress is mildly positive.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>The longer term trend is positive but the outlook is negative when the temperature impacts of inadequate policies on renewable energy are taken into account.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p align="center"></p> <p>The outlook trend is negative because short term action, although positive, is insufficient and far too slow to avert the overwhelming and imminent negative impacts from climate change.</p>												
<p>Renewable energy – buildings Env06.01.06 100% of buildings are powered totally by electricity from renewable sources by no later than 2030.</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="464 1357 608 1447">Env 6</td> <td data-bbox="608 1357 823 1447">A renewable energy superpower.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="464 1447 608 1581">Env 1</td> <td data-bbox="608 1447 823 1581">A leading global advocate for action on climate change.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="464 1581 608 1648">Env 2</td> <td data-bbox="608 1581 823 1648">A net zero emissions nation.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="464 1648 608 1783">Env 3</td> <td data-bbox="608 1648 823 1783">A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="464 1783 608 1973">Env 4</td> <td data-bbox="608 1783 823 1973">A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="464 1973 608 2029">Env 14</td> <td data-bbox="608 1973 823 2029">A pollution free biosphere.</td> </tr> </table>	Env 6	A renewable energy superpower.	Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.	Env 3	A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.	Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.	Env 14	A pollution free biosphere.	<p>In 2022, the Climate Council stated that, "Australia's buildings account for around 20 per cent of our emissions. Cost-effective solutions to tackle this problem already exist. Emissions from buildings in Australia must drop to net zero – ideally by 2030. In the building sector, most of the solutions required to achieve zero emissions are mature and commercially competitive, and emerging solutions</p>	<p>No up-to-date data have been sourced for the proportion of energy use in buildings that comes from renewable sources. However, significant increases in rooftop solar on residential buildings suggests some progress is being made in the residential sector. In 2023, there were Approx. 3.7 million Australian households with rooftop solar, an increase from 3.4 million in 2022.</p> <p>The short term trend can't be determined.</p>
Env 6	A renewable energy superpower.														
Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.														
Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.														
Env 3	A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.														
Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.														
Env 14	A pollution free biosphere.														

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 6 – Energy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	could further reduce costs.” Source: Climate Council, “Power Up, Ten climate Game Changers”, 2022.	 The long term trend can't be determined.
	Soc 1 A safe home.		
	Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.		
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: National Electricity Market system investment and security Env06.02</p> <p>By 2025, recognising that consumer-led and technology-led transitions in energy use and supply will occur in the midst of global decarbonisation, and that necessary investment in transmission is beyond the appetite and capability of the private sector, establish a fully government-owned corporate Commonwealth entity, the Australian Renewable Electricity Investment & Security Corporation, to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> rebuild and modernise the electricity grid, establish renewable energy zone infrastructure as set out in the AEMO Integrated 	Env 6 A renewable energy superpower.	In 2020, the Australian Energy Market Operator (AEMO) released an Integrated System Plan for the National Electricity Market which set out a “Step Change” program for electricity network (generation and transmission) investment necessary to build “the lowest cost, secure and reliable energy system capable of meeting any emissions trajectory determined by policy makers at an acceptable level of risk.” The Step Change Program required significant investment in new transmission and the creation of renewable energy zones in NSW, QLD, VIC, TAS and SA which are most appropriately built, owned and operated by and for the public/government. Net benefits for Australians from investment in the Step Change Program	In 2024, no government owned entity had been established to rebuild and modernise the electricity grid and to ensure that taxpayers share fully in the benefits of investment in the National Electricity Market. The government’s preference was to stimulate private sector investment in renewable energy generation and transmission, not returns to the public. Energy transmission: Via its Rewiring the Nation initiative, the government committed to investing \$20 billion to modernise the electricity grid and deliver new and upgraded transmission infrastructure. The intention was to indirectly invest public funds by making finance available to private investors at concessional rates to minimise the costs of their investments. Net returns to the public from these outlays were not required.
	Env 1 A leading global advocate for action on climate change.		
	Env 2 A net zero emissions nation.		
	Env 3 A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.		
	Env 4 A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.		
	Env 12 A protector of scarce resources.		
	Env 14 A pollution free biosphere.		
	Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.		
	Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.		
	Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 6 – Energy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>System Plan 2020 (as revised from time to time),</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • make arrangements as needed with private sector contractors for delivery of infrastructure works, and • invest for purposes of electricity security and for purposes of ensuring all net returns to the public. 	<p>equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	<p>significantly exceed benefits arising from all other modelled alternative investments.</p> <p>Source: Australian Energy Market Operator (AEMO) Integrated System Plan 2020</p>	<p>Source: Australian Government, DCCEE, Rewiring the Nation webpage.</p> <p>Energy generation: In 2024, the Clean Energy Council reported that, “It was a strong year for rooftop solar and utility scale storage in 2023, and overall figures for capacity added are up on 2022, though there has been a significant slowdown in new financial commitments to large scale generation. ... 2023 saw a slowdown in new financial commitments to utility scale generation capacity at \$1.5 billion, significantly down on \$6.5 billion for 2022.”</p> <p>The Clean Energy Council further noted that, “The announcement of the Australian Government’s expansion of the Capacity Investment Scheme [CIS], to support the addition of 23 GW of new renewable electricity generation capacity between 2024 and 2027 and a further 9 GW of dispatchable capacity, is intended to get large-scale investment back on track. There will however need to be urgent and careful policy design undertaken in the first half of 2024 to ensure the program realises its critical objective to turbocharge</p>
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>		
	<p>Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets, creating confidence for investors.</p>		
	<p>Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.</p>		
	<p>Econ 7 A collaborative, intelligent nation.</p>		
	<p>Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.</p>		
	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>		
	<p>Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</p>		
<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 6 – Energy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline						
			<p>private investment in the coming years.” Source: Clean Energy Council, Clean Energy Australia 2024.</p> <p>It is too early to tell whether the CIS is a stimulant to private investment in energy generation sufficient to meet the government’s target of 82% of electricity from renewables by 2030.</p> <p>The government shows no signs of directly investing in renewable energy in its own right. Only time will tell whether that was the right choice. In 2023, reliance on the private sector did not lead to added capacity in electricity generation sufficient to meet the government’s target of 82% of electricity from renewable sources by 2030.</p> <p>The short term trend is at best neutral.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook can’t be determined.</p> <p align="center"></p>						
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: National Renewable Energy Targets (RETs) – setting targets for economic sustainability and prevention of global heating</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="464 1738 608 1839">Env 6</td> <td data-bbox="608 1738 823 1839">A renewable energy superpower.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="464 1839 608 1906">Env 2</td> <td data-bbox="608 1839 823 1906">A net zero emissions nation.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="464 1906 608 2031">Env 3</td> <td data-bbox="608 1906 823 2031">A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.</td> </tr> </table>	Env 6	A renewable energy superpower.	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.	Env 3	A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.	<p>In 2001, Australia introduced a mandatory Renewable Energy Target (RET). The Target provided a financial incentive to encourage the additional generation</p>	<p>In 2024, the Renewable Energy Target (RET – not to be confused with the government’s other “renewable energy target” of 82% of electricity from renewables by 2030) was set to deliver an</p>
Env 6	A renewable energy superpower.								
Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.								
Env 3	A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.								

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Environment 6 – Energy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Env06.03 By 2024, recognising that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 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; and that targets for prevention of global heating under Environment 1 and 2 will not be met unless all energy is generated from renewable sources, 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: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> re-introducing a price on carbon as per Econ01.08; and/or by introduction of a “Carbon Solutions Levy (CSL)” as per Econ01.06.01; and by introduction of a legislated Renewable Energy Storage Target as per Env06.04. 	<p>Env 4 A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.</p>	<p>of electricity from sustainable and renewable sources. In 2010, the mandatory RET was increased to 41,000 gigawatt-hours of renewable generation from power stations. This was subsequently reduced to 33,000 gigawatt-hours by the Abbott Government. In 2012, the RET and other policies incentivising renewables were supplemented by a carbon price and a \$10 billion-dollar fund to finance renewable energy projects. These initiatives were later withdrawn by the Abbott Federal Government. In 2019, Australia met its 2020 renewable energy target of 23.5% and 33,000 gigawatt-hours. The target was not renewed, which resulted in retailers withdrawing from the renewable energy market.</p> <p>In 2020, the Institute for Sustainable Futures at the University of Technology Sydney and the Clean Energy Council demonstrated that if policies are set to signal a future for renewables, the</p>	<p>extra 33,000 gigawatt-hours (GWh) of electricity from [large-scale] renewable sources every year from 2020 to 2030.</p> <p>Source: Australian Government, DCCEEW, Renewable Energy Target Scheme webpage.</p> <p>Additional gigawatt hours of renewable energy per year since 2020 were:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2020 = 9,046 GWh 2021 = 13,047 GWh 2022 = 10,440 GWh 2023 = 7,807 GWh <p>Source: DCCEEW, Australian Energy Statistics, Table O1.2.</p> <p>It would appear that the target of 33,000 additional GWh every year is not being met and given the rate of increase in the proportion of renewables in total electricity since 2015, the target of 82% is not likely to be met by 2030, at least in terms of gigawatt hours. The proportion of renewables in GWh is more likely to be in the order of 40%.</p> <p>The Clean Energy Council noted that the slowdown in utility scale generation in 2023 (see Env06.02 above) is in part due to the uncertainty created for investors “with a long-term Renewable Energy Target which is</p>
	<p>Env 7 Efficiently connected with zero-emissions transport.</p>		
	<p>Env 8 Environmentally & economically sustainable in agriculture & fisheries.</p>		
	<p>Env 12 A protector of scarce resources.</p>		
	<p>Env 14 A pollution free biosphere.</p>		
	<p>Env 16 Regenerative by design in consumption & production.</p>		
	<p>Env 19 A land of thriving self-supporting regions.</p>		
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 16 A society prepared & resilient in times of disaster.</p>		
<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>			
<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>			
<p>Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in</p>			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 6 – Energy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	markets, creating confidence for investors.	renewable energy industry could create 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 investment in renewables – either by large scale generators or households and businesses – then jobs will drop by 11,000, down to 14,000 by 2022. As at 2021, several states and territories had set their own renewable energy targets. ⁴² 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.	scheduled to wind-up at the end of 2030.” Source: Clean Energy Council, Clean Energy Australia 2024. In 2024, there was a lack of governmental commitment to an RET at 100% by 2030 (or ever) and lack of the support necessary to maximise the chance of achieving either 82% or 100% renewable energy. The absence of a price on carbon or a Carbon Solutions Levy will diminish Australia’s chances of achieving a full transfer to renewable energy and net zero emissions. The short term trend in terms of increasing renewable energy is positive but the policy settings are not working to ensure targets will be met. On balance the short term trend is neutral to positive.
Econ 7	A collaborative, intelligent nation.		
Econ 9	Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.		
Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.		
Gov 9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.		
Gov 11	A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.		

⁴² Clean Energy Council, “Clean Energy Australia Report 2021”, <https://assets.cleanenergycouncil.org.au/documents/resources/reports/clean-energy-australia/clean-energy-australia-report-2021.pdf>. As at 2021:

- Tasmania: 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.
- Victoria: 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.
- 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.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 6 – Energy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline								
		<p>In 2023, Prime Minister Albanese announced a “plan to boost renewables to 82 per cent of the grid by 2030”. This speech did not clarify that the ‘grid’ referred to only meant the National Electricity Market (NEM). It became known as a renewable energy target but was informal. Separately, the federal government established a new RET with a target to deliver an extra 33,000 gigawatt-hours (GWh) of electricity from renewable sources every year from 2020 to 2030. The relationship between the two “targets” is uncertain but neither is sufficient to establish 100% renewable electricity by 2030.</p> <p>Source: Rhys Thomas, Australian Energy Council, 17 August 2023. Source: Australian Government Clean Energy Regulator.</p>	<p align="center"></p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are neutral to negative.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p align="center"></p> <p>The outlook trend is negative because progress is simply too slow to meet the target and policy settings are inadequate to achieve both the targets of the plan and those of the government. The sooner governments recognise that policy settings are inadequate, the sooner Australia can get back on track towards elimination of fuels that cause climate change.</p>								
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: National Renewable Energy Storage Target Env06.04 By 2024, recognising the substantial benefits to Australia including:</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="464 1666 616 1756">Env 6</td> <td data-bbox="616 1666 826 1756">A renewable energy superpower.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="464 1756 616 1890">Env 1</td> <td data-bbox="616 1756 826 1890">A leading global advocate for action on climate change.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="464 1890 616 1957">Env 2</td> <td data-bbox="616 1890 826 1957">A net zero emissions nation.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="464 1957 616 2013">Env 3</td> <td data-bbox="616 1957 826 2013">A proactive planner of</td> </tr> </table>	Env 6	A renewable energy superpower.	Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.	Env 3	A proactive planner of	<p>In 2022, the Climate Council stated that “The Federal Government should put in place a Renewable Energy Storage Target by the end of 2023, with a mandate to increase grid storage across the NEM. The</p>	<p>In 2024, the Australian government announced the Capacity Investment Scheme which aimed to deliver an additional 32 gigawatts of capacity by 2030, including 23 gigawatts of renewable generation and 9 gigawatts of dispatchable storage.</p>
Env 6	A renewable energy superpower.										
Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.										
Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.										
Env 3	A proactive planner of										

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Environment 6 – Energy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> attracting investment in clean energy, and stabilising the power system, legislate to introduce a Renewable Energy Storage Target consistent with storage requirements as required by AEMO’s Integrated System Plans. 		climate change adaptation.	Source: DCCEEW, Capacity Investment Scheme webpage, last viewed February 2025.
	Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.	The short term trend is positive. ➡
	Env 7	Efficiently connected through low emissions transport.	The longer term trend is positive. ➡
	Env 12	A protector of scarce resources.	mandate should have specific targets per year for additions, from 2023 to 2030, consistent with the ‘Strong Electrification’ pathway in AEMO’s Integrated System Plan. Storage options supported by such a target could include pumped hydro, grid-scale batteries, community batteries, and behind-the-metre batteries that form part of a Virtual Power Plant – that is any battery system that is accessible and controllable to support grid security and resilience.” Source: Climate Council, “Power Up, Ten climate Game Changers”, 2022.
	Env 14	A pollution free biosphere.	
	Env 19	A land of thriving self-supporting regions.	
	Soc 1	A safe home.	
	Soc 2	A land with an Indigenous heart.	
	Soc 4	A place of optimal health and wellbeing.	
	Soc 16	A society prepared and resilient in times of disaster.	
	Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	
	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	
Econ 5	A strong regulator of fairness in		

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Environment 6 – Energy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	markets creating confidence for investors.		
	Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.		
	Gov 11 A just and cooperative participant on the global stage.		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 7 – Transport

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Inter city-regional rapid public transport Env07.01 By 2025,</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> in association with Env19.01 – Decentralisation of housing for affordability; and to help meet the target in Soc09.02.03 for Housing affordability – home ownership; and recognising that it has become extremely difficult for many to afford a decent home and still maintain employment, require state governments to diversify options for the location of housing and employment by establishing integrated urban and regional planning frameworks that mandate development of high speed (150-200 kms per hour) rail radiating from capital cities to desirable regional centres to enable 	<p>Env 7 Efficiently connected with zero-emissions transport.</p>	<p>In 2023, housing in cities for generations born after 1980 had become basically unaffordable, making it essential to build fast commuter trains capable of travelling 150-200 kms per hour between capital cities and regional centres located beyond 50kms from the CBD, so as to ensure that affordable housing could be accessible but employment opportunities could still be maintained. Source: Alan Kohler, Quarterly Essay, “The Great Divide: Australia’s Housing mess and how to fix it,” Issue 92, 2023. Source: NAB & CSIRO, Australian National Outlook, 2019</p>	<p>In 2023, the Australian government established the High Speed Rail Authority.</p> <p>In 2024, the Authority began developing a business case for the Sydney to Newcastle section of the high-speed rail network, with \$500 million allocated by the Australian Government for planning and corridor works. The Australian Government was also planning for a future high speed rail network to connect Brisbane, Sydney, Canberra, Melbourne and regional communities across the east coast of Australia. Source: Australian Government, High Speed Rail Authority</p> <p>In 2024 no integrated planning was evident between state and federal governments that mandated development of high speed (150-200 kms per hour) rail radiating from capital cities to desirable regional centres. Instead the diversification of options for housing development in regional centres was still being driven (or rather, limited) by the plans for high speed rail. It was also potentially being limited by the suggestion that business cases were</p>
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>		
	<p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p>		
	<p>Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</p>		
	<p>Env 1 A leading global advocate for action on climate change.</p>		
	<p>Env 2 A net zero emissions nation.</p>		
	<p>Env 3 A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.</p>		
<p>Env 4 A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.</p>			
<p>Env 6 A renewable energy superpower.</p>			

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Environment 7 – Transport

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>commuting times to and from homes outside 50 kms from a capital city to be reduced to an hour or less.</p> <p>.....</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Inter city-regional rapid public transport – federal funding Env07.01.01</p> <p>In the 2024/25 federal budget, recognising that the \$3 billion allocated by the federal government to incentivise supply of 200,000 extra homes over 5 years is very unlikely to deliver the desired “well located” homes in capital cities, divert the entirety of the \$3 billion to directly fund development of rapid transport links between the capital cities of Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane and their regional satellite cities as per Env07.01.⁴³</p>	<p>Env 12 A protector of scarce resources.</p>	<p>.....</p> <p>In 2023, the federal government announced an aspirational target (not a promise) of creating 1 million (private not publicly owned) houses over five years and later increased that target to 1.2 million via an offer of a \$15,000 bounty to state governments for every extra block of land released (house built) capped at \$3 billion. Based on housing completion figures it was apparent that the market was already completing at least 900,000 homes over 5 years without government assistance (although not in the well located areas). As such, the extra \$3 billion would offer councils a windfall for another 200,000 homes at \$15,000 each. However, councils are not stopping development, developers are. As such the extra \$15,000 makes councils nothing more than bounty hunters who will</p>	<p>necessary before investment could occur. Should business cases be required to stack up from a commercial point of view (including private sector profits) rather than from the point of view of total returns to the community in reduced housing costs and other amenity, there will be no guarantee that the necessary links will proceed. Nor does the current program for the High Speed Rail Authority prioritise radial links to satellite cities west of Sydney and north of Melbourne in response to needs for more affordable housing.</p> <p>Nevertheless short term progress was positive.</p> <p>➔</p> <p>The longer term trend is neutral.</p> <p>➔ / ➜</p> <p>In 2024, no evidence of sufficient forward funding for high speed rail was apparent.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral to negative.</p>
	<p>Env 13 A provider of accessible national & urban parkland.</p>		
	<p>Env 16 Regenerative by design in consumption & production.</p>		
	<p>Env 17 A conservator of cultural & built heritage.</p>		
	<p>Env 18 Multi-central in its cities, efficiently connecting people with jobs, health, education and recreation.</p>		
	<p>Env 19 A land of thriving self-supporting regions.</p>		
	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		
	<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>		
<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity,</p>			

⁴³ The combination of policies indicates that the integrated planning approach taken in *Australia Together* produces an entirely different strategic approach to housing than that favoured by the federal government. The federal government’s approach relies on incentivising the private sector to deliver social programs and in effect subsidising them while allowing them to keep all profits and escalate price for homes. The strategic approach in *Australia Together* is to spend public funds on in initiatives that will place downward pressure on housing prices and rents. The federal governments National Housing Accord will do the opposite.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 7 – Transport

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
		growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	 No longer term trend can be determined. 
	Econ 4	A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.	
	Econ 5	A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.	
	Econ 6	An economy with competitive & profitable public participation.	
	Gov 2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.	
	Gov 9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.	
Kilometres travelled by passenger vehicles Env07.02 The total kilometres travelled per annum by passenger vehicles decreases continuously.	Env 7	Efficiently connected with zero-emissions transport.	No data update available. The short term trend is not determined.  The longer term trend is negative.
	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.	
	Env 3	A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.	
		be incentivised to engage improperly with developers to release land or increase density. In effect the bounty is likely to be passed through to the developers, not be retained by the community, unless the council develops the housing itself. This is unlikely to result in extra homes in the middle rings of capital cities. In short, it's a waste of money. The \$3 billion should be diverted to funding radial transport links between the capital cities of Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane and their regional satellite cities as per Env07.01 . These links are essential to the supply of decent affordable housing connected to employment areas. Source: Australian Government Department of Social Services "Housing support" webpage, 24 November 2023. Source: Alan Kohler, Quarterly Essay, "The Great Divide: Australia's Housing mess and how to fix it," Issue 92, 2023.	

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Environment 7 – Transport

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	<p>Env 4 A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.</p> <p>Env 12 A protector of scarce resources.</p> <p>Env 14 A pollution free biosphere.</p> <p>Env 18 Multi-central in its cities, efficiently connecting people with jobs, health, education and recreation.</p> <p>Env 19 A land of thriving self-supporting regions.</p> <p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p> <p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p> <p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p> <p>Soc 9 A land without homelessness and with decent affordable housing for all.</p> <p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p> <p>Soc 16 A society prepared and resilient in times of disaster.</p> <p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive</p>	<p>increased by an average of 1.2% per annum. Between 2011 and 2018, the kilometres travelled by passenger cars increased by an average of 1.6% per annum.</p> <p>Source: Australian Government, State of the Environment Report 2021.</p> <p>Source: BITRE (Bureau of Infrastructure and Transport Research Economics) (2020b). Yearbook 2020: Australian infrastructure statistics, statistical report, BITRE, Canberra.</p>	<p>←</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 7 – Transport

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	consumption to sustainability.		
	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 improve continuously for all.		

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 Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Sustainability of agriculture – transition to food security in the age of climate change Env08.01</p> <p>By 2025, the federal government is to commission the CSIRO to develop a plan for securing Australia’s food supplies in the age of climate change and maximising yields sufficient to allow for export of food to help avert world famines. The plan should include programs for:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> introduction of regenerative farming to restore ecosystem functioning on that proportion of land currently used for farming and grazing which already produces or will soon be likely to produce low or zero yields due to scarcity of water, fertilisers, natural pollination, etc.; establishment of multiple food production/ cultivation facilities in urban areas that are mostly indoor and can take advantage of 	<p>Env 8 Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.</p>	<p>In the decades to 2024, scientists acknowledged that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> farming had been made possible in human civilisations by the advent of the Holocene – an unusual period of climatic stability on earth that arose after the end of the last ice age – but that this period may be coming to an end due to human-induced climate change; “The future climate will not only be hotter, it will be more variable, violent, and far less suited to agriculture – with savage droughts, fires and heatwaves followed by raging floods, crop-wrecking storms, and pest and disease outbreaks. A warmer planet means greater evaporation from the oceans, which in turn leads to heavier local dumps of rain, hail, and snow, all of which ruin farm production”; and 	<p>In 2023, the CSIRO released a roadmap called Reshaping Australian Food Systems, which offered an array of approaches to securing a more sustainable, productive, and resilient future for Australia’s food, environment, and people. The roadmap identified five areas of opportunity:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Enabling equitable access to healthy and sustainable diets, Minimising waste and improving circularity, Facilitating Australia’s transition to net zero emissions, Aligning resilience with socioeconomic and environmental sustainability, and Increasing value and productivity. <p>For each of these the roadmap listed some targets/goals for 2030 and 2050 but it was underpinned by assumptions that current Australian government targets for a 43% reduction in greenhouse gas emissions by 2030 and net zero emissions by 2050 would allow for sustainable food production in Australia, when the reality is that those emission reduction targets will destroy the possibility of sustainable food production because they will create climatic</p>
	<p>Env 3 A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.</p>		
	<p>Env 4 A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.</p>		
	<p>Env 10 A biodiversity haven.</p>		
	<p>Env 11 A replanted and reforested land.</p>		
	<p>Env 12 A protector of scarce resources.</p>		
	<p>Env 15 A marine wildlife haven.</p>		
	<p>Env 16 Regenerative by design in consumption & production.</p>		
	<p>Env 19 A land of thriving self-supporting regions.</p>		
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p>			
<p>Soc 16 A society prepared and resilient in times of disaster.</p>			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 8 – Agriculture & fisheries

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>techniques from hydroponic, agritectural, and aquaponic to cellular agriculture systems such as synthetic meat, milk, fish and eggs;</p> <p>3. expansion of marine aquaculture in deep-water ocean culture and algae (seaweed) farming or water-cropping to help replace current forms of vegetable and protein cultivation;</p> <p>4. any other programs that will protect food production yields; and</p> <p>5. proposals for financing the transition.</p>	<p>Econ 1</p> <p>A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the havoc wreaked by climate will combine with continued loss of topsoil, dire shortages of water, growing scarcity of fertilisers, and widespread chemical poisoning and over-population to create large scale food shortages and famines. <p>However, it was also acknowledged that solutions are at hand that require little or no new technology and are affordable and the Council for the Human Future proposed a “three pillar” solution. Source: Julian Cribb, <i>How to Fix a Broken Planet</i>, Cambridge University Press 2023.</p>	<p>conditions that will make current forms of agriculture unworkable. A central goal in the roadmap was that “by 2050 Australia’s food systems are safe, resilient to system-wide disturbances, and are contributing to environmental, economic and social sustainability outcomes. They have the absorptive capacity to respond to volatilities without severe setbacks.”</p> <p>This indicates that the scope of the task and the magnitude of threats to sustainable food production from “system-wide disturbances” such as climate change were fully comprehended in the roadmap but Australia’s capacity to realise the goals of the roadmap was also fundamentally undermined by its acceptance of the government’s emission reduction policies.</p> <p>The roadmap provided some guidance towards achieving sustainable food production but did not constitute a plan for the sort of shift necessary for sustainable food production in the age of climate change. Reliance on large scale agribusiness and assumptions that outdoor agriculture (at any scale on seriously depleted soils and frequently without water or with too much in floods) would be feasible</p>
	<p>Gov 11</p> <p>A just and cooperative participant on the global stage.</p>		
	<p>Gov 12</p> <p>A nation assured of enduring peace.</p>		
	<p>Gov 13</p> <p>A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 8 – Agriculture & fisheries

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>in the age of climate change were questionable features of the roadmap. Source: Reshaping Australian Food Systems, 2023.</p> <p>A simple google search reveals that Australian governments have been successful in initiatives to secure returns from agriculture but not in securing the future of food production itself.</p> <p>Short term progress is positive.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend is neutral.</p> <p></p> <p> The outlook trend is negative because the prospect of sustainable food production is set to be defeated by the government’s policies on emissions reduction. Australian food supply is highly vulnerable to climate shocks and not enough is being done to make food production safe and sustainable in the age of climate change.</p>

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
<p>No specific Targets or Strategies have yet been established for this Direction. However, some Strategies which are closely integrated with and contribute to the achievement of this Direction are incorporated into the plan under:</p> <p>Env02.01.03 Env02.01.04 Env02.05 Env02.05.01 Env04.01 Env11.01 Econ01.07 Econ01.09 Econ01.09.01 Econ04.02.03 Soc07.04 Soc16.02 Soc16.02.01</p>	<p>Env 9 Confident of safety and security of its water supplies.</p>	<p>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.</p>

Environment 10 – Biodiversity

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 10 – Biodiversity

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Fauna conservation and extinction prevention Env10.01 No fauna extinctions based on 2019 levels.</p>	<p>Env 10 A biodiversity haven.</p>	<p>In 2019, 463 species of fauna were listed as threatened under the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999. A total of 54 fauna species were listed as extinct.</p> <p>Source: Australian Government Department of Agriculture, Water & the Environment, EPBC Act List of Threatened Fauna</p> <p>In 2021, the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) reported that there were 1,049 threatened fauna species in Australia comprising:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mammals = 69 • Birds = 52 • Reptiles = 76 • Amphibia = 46 • Fishes = 213 • Molluscs = 182 • Other invertebrates = 419 <p>Source: IUCN Red List, Table 5, Threatened species in each major group by country, as at end 2021.</p>	<p>In 2024, 666 species of fauna were listed as threatened under the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999, up from 478 in 2021. A total of 68 fauna species were listed as extinct, up from 67 in 2021.</p> <p>Source: Australian Government Department of Agriculture, Water & the Environment, EPBC Act List of Threatened Fauna</p> <p>←</p> <p>In 2024, the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) reported that there were 1,113 threatened fauna species in Australia comprising:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mammals = 71 • Birds = 70 • Reptiles = 76 • Amphibia = 46 • Fishes = 220 • Molluscs = 183 • Other invertebrates = 447 <p>Source: IUCN Red List, Table 5, Threatened species in each major group by country, as at end 2024.</p> <p>←</p>
	<p>Env 8 Environmentally & economically sustainable in agriculture & fisheries.</p>		
	<p>Env 11 A replanted & reforested land.</p>		
	<p>Env 12 A protector of scarce resources.</p>		
	<p>Env 13 A provider of accessible national & urban parkland.</p>		
	<p>Env 19 A land of thriving self-supporting regions.</p>		
	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>		
<p>Flora conservation and extinction prevention Env10.01.01 No flora extinctions based on 2019 levels.</p>	<p>Env 10 A biodiversity haven.</p>	<p>In 2019, 1,336 species of flora were listed as threatened under the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999.</p>	<p>In 2024, 1,472 species of flora were listed as threatened under the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999, up from 1,362 in 2021. A total of 35 flora species were listed as</p>
	<p>Env 8 Environmentally & economically sustainable in agriculture & fisheries.</p>		
	<p>Env 11 A replanted & reforested land.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 10 – Biodiversity

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	Env 12 A protector of scarce resources.	A total of 37 flora species were listed as extinct. Source: Australian Government Department of Agriculture, Water & the Environment, EPBC Act List of Threatened Flora	extinct, down from 37 in 2021. Source: Australian Government Department of Agriculture, Water & the Environment, EPBC Act List of Threatened Flora ←
	Env 13 A provider of accessible national & urban parkland.		
	Env 19 A land of thriving self-supporting regions.		
	Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.		
	Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.		
Protection of threatened species Env10.02 The proportion of decline in Australia's threatened and near threatened species from the Threatened Species Index is zero.	Env 10 A biodiversity haven.	In 2021, the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) reported that there were 779 threatened flora species in Australia comprising: • Plants = 766 • Fungi = 13 Source: IUCN Red List, Table 5, Threatened species in each major group by country, as at end 2021.	In 2024, the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) reported that there were 812 threatened flora species in Australia comprising: • Plants = 798 • Fungi = 14 Source: IUCN Red List, Table 5, Threatened species in each major group by country, as at end 2024. ←
	Env 4 A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.		
	Env 8 Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.		
	Env 9 Confident of safety and security of its water supplies.		
	Env 11 A replanted and reforested land.		
	Env 12 A protector of scarce resources.		
	Env 13 A provider of accessible national & urban parkland.		
	Env 10 A biodiversity haven.	Between 1985 and 2019, Australia's threatened and near threatened species populations declined at an average rate of 55 per cent in relative abundance for the 278 species represented in the Threatened Species Index. Source: Australian Government Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework – biological diversity.	Between 1985 and 2020 the abundance of Australia's threatened and near-threatened species declined by approximately 60%: • plant species declined in abundance by about 70% • bird species declined in abundance by about 60% • mammal species declined in abundance by about 50%. Between 2019 and 2020, the average decline in abundance of threatened and near-threatened species was: • 5% across all species
	Env 4 A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.		
	Env 8 Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.		
	Env 9 Confident of safety and security of its water supplies.		
	Env 11 A replanted and reforested land.		
	Env 12 A protector of scarce resources.		
	Env 13 A provider of accessible national & urban parkland.		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 10 – Biodiversity

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	<p>Env 14 A pollution free biosphere.</p> <p>Env 19 A land of thriving self-supporting regions.</p> <p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p> <p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 7% for plants (across 129 species) • 3% for birds (across 70 species) • 11% for mammals (across 79 species). <p>Source: Australian Government Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework – biological diversity.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p>
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy:</p> <p>Legislation establishing a measurable baseline and target consistent with the global goal of reaching Nature Positive by 2030 Env10.03</p> <p>By 2025, recognising that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the international definition of the global goal of Nature Positive is “halt and reverse nature loss by 2030 on a 2020 baseline, and achieve full recovery by 2050”; and • essential targets for climate change under Environment 1, 2 & 3 above cannot be met unless the global 	<p>Env 10 A biodiversity haven.</p>	<p>In 2021, G7 leaders announced that “our world must not only become net zero, but also nature positive, for the benefit of both people and the planet.”</p> <p>Source: World Economic Forum, “What is 'nature positive' and why is it the key to our future?”, 23 June 2021.</p> <p>In 2023, 27 of the world’s largest nature conservation organizations, institutes, business and finance coalitions came together to launch the Nature Positive Initiative to promote the integrity and implementation of the Global Goal for Nature and drive alignment around the definition, integrity and use of the term ‘nature positive’ and supporting broader, longer-term</p>	<p>In 2024, Australia’s Nature Positive Plan did not establish a baseline against which assessments could be made of whether loss of nature was being reversed or halted. Nor was a timeframe selected by which nature should improve. No legislation establishing a baseline or timeframe was considered.</p> <p>Source: Australian Government, DCCEEW, Nature Positive Plan: better for the environment, better for business. December 2022.</p> <p>In 2024, despite the acknowledged need for urgent reforms of the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation (EPBC) Act 1999 for purposes of halting nature loss, reform of the EPBC Act was shelved by the government.</p>
	<p>Env 1 A leading global advocate for action on climate change.</p>		
	<p>Env 2 A net zero emissions nation.</p>		
	<p>Env 3 A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.</p>		
	<p>Env 4 A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.</p>		
	<p>Env 8 Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.</p>		
	<p>Env 9 Confident of safety and security of its water supplies.</p>		
	<p>Env 11 A replanted and reforested land.</p>		
	<p>Env 12 A protector of scarce resources.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 10 – Biodiversity

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>goal for Nature Positive is reached on time, establish in legislation a baseline for measurement of progress towards a binding target of halting nature loss by 2030, such baseline to be based on the state of biodiversity in 2020 or, in the event of shortages of data, no later than 2021.</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Strengthening the Nature Positive Plan to ensure biodiversity loss is halted by 2030 Env10.03.01</p> <p>By 2025, revise the targets, policies and strategies in the Nature Positive Plan 2022 to ensure Australia will meet the Nature Positive target of halting nature loss by 2030 as per Env10.03, whether or not that target has been legislated.</p>	Env 14 A pollution free biosphere.	<p>efforts to deliver nature-positive outcomes. Nature Positive is a global societal goal defined as ‘Halt and Reverse Nature Loss by 2030 on a 2020 baseline, and achieve full recovery by 2050’.</p> <p>In December 2022, the federal government released a Nature Positive Plan which stated that “nature positive is a term used to describe circumstances where nature – species and ecosystems – is being repaired and is regenerating rather than being in decline”. The plan acknowledged the need for urgent reforms of the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation (EPBC) Act 1999 and committed the government to protect 30% of Australia’s land and seas by 2030, create a nature repair market, establish an independent Environment Protection Agency (EPA), work in partnership with First Nations people, including to develop standalone cultural heritage legislation, and work towards zero</p>	<p>Source: Parliament of Australia, Nature Positive Bills (various), 2024</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral to negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are both negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>The failure to select a baseline on nature abundance for measurement purposes constitutes a serious risk to prospects for halting nature loss, especially if the government’s selected target of protecting 30% of Australia’s land and seas by 2030 turns out to allow more degradation of nature. The fact is that in 2024 sufficient information on species under threat was available (see Env10.01, Env10.01.01 and Env10.02 above) and suitable for use in measuring declines and gains in nature but the government made no progress towards establishing baselines.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral to negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are both negative.</p>
	Env 15 A marine wildlife haven.		
	Env 19 A land of thriving self-supporting regions.		
	Soc 1 A safe home.		
	Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.		
	Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.		
	Soc 16 A society prepared and resilient in times of disaster.		
	Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.		
	Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.		
	Econ 4 A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.		
Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.			
Econ 7 A collaborative intelligent nation.			
Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 10 – Biodiversity

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	governments & institutions.	new extinctions. No assessment was provided as to whether the target of protection of 30% of lands and seas by 2030 would halt nature loss in Australia. In 2024, the government introduced legislation to create an Environment Protection Australia and Environment Information Australia and defined nature positive as “an improvement in the diversity, abundance, resilience and integrity of ecosystems from a baseline”, but provided no baseline or timeframe by which nature should improve and shelved reform of the EPBC Act which was largely acknowledged to be failing. Source: Australian Government, DCCEEW, Nature Positive Plan: better for the environment, better for business. December 2022. Source: Nature Positive Initiative, naturepositive.org. Source: Parliament of Australia, Nature Positive Bills (various), 2024	
Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.		
Gov 9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.		
Gov 11	A just and cooperative participant on the global stage.		

Environment 11 – Vegetation

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 11 – Vegetation

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Forests and environmental plantings</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Legislated program to increase GDP and returns to landholders and mitigate climate change by increasing native forestry cover and restoring degraded ecosystems Env11.01</p> <p>By 2024, prohibit, by legislation, net losses of forest cover on a state by state (and territory) basis.</p> <p>By 2025, preferably in parallel with legislation to establish a Carbon in the Land and Sea Finance and Trading Corporation under Econ01.07, adopt by legislation a goal of increasing forest cover and environmental plantings sufficient to sequester a minimum of 260MtCO₂-e by 2033 (assisting Australia notionally to reach net zero emissions in that year).</p> <p>By 2026, revise and adjust forest cover and environmental plantings targets upwards to any extent necessary to achieve net zero carbon emissions by 2033.</p>	Env 11	A replanted & reforested land.	<p>In 2023, it was reported that in 2021 Australia had a total of 133.6 million hectares of forest, which is equivalent to 17% of Australia's land area. Of this total forest area, 131.5 million hectares (98%) were Native forests, 1.82 million hectares were commercial plantations and 0.24 million hectares were other forest.</p> <p>Source: Australia's State of the Forests Report, 2023 update of Indicator 1.1a Area of forest by forest type and tenure. ABARES Forests of Australia Webpage December 2024.</p> <p>In 2024, the Wilderness Society Reported that "Over 7.7 million hectares of forest and bushland was destroyed by land clearing between 2000 and 2017. That's an area the size of Ireland. Australia is the only 'developed' country on the list of global deforestation hotspots."</p> <p>Source: The Wilderness Society, The stats that expose Australia's hidden deforestation crisis, Web article, last viewed December 2024.</p> <p>No data after 2021 appear to be available. However, the State of the Environment Report 2021 stated,</p>
	Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	
	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.	
	Env 3	A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.	
	Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.	
	Env 8	Environmentally & economically sustainable in agriculture & fisheries.	
	Env 9	Confident of the safety & security of its water supplies.	
	Env 10	A biodiversity haven.	
	Env 12	A protector of scarce resources.	
	Env 14	A pollution free biosphere.	
	Env 19	A land of thriving self-supporting regions.	
	Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	
	Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	
Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth &		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 11 – Vegetation

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>By 2025, report on the feasibility of increasing forest and plantings cover beyond that necessary to achieve net zero emissions by 2033 such that surplus credits can be sold to other countries.</p>	<p>prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	<p>could sequester between 400 and 700 MtCO₂ e by 2060, with approximately half that sequestration being sold to other countries.” The need to reach net zero by 2033 requires acceleration of this suggested program to be consistent with Env02.01. Source: NAB & CSIRO, Australian National Outlook, 2019.</p>	<p>among other things, that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “native vegetation is still being cleared and invasive species are increasing, and climate change is compounding the effects of these pressures; • growing profits from agriculture, forestry and mining are driving up clearing rates; • native vegetation that has regrown after past clearing is increasingly being recleared, often without authorisation; and • there is a lack of clarity around what is being cleared, where and for what purpose.” <p>For more statistics on forest clearing see Env12.02 below. Source: State of the Environment Report 2021.</p> <p>Prior to 2021, in the State of the Environment Report 2016 it was reported that, “Approximately 44 per cent of Australian forests and woodlands have been cleared since European settlement; 39 per cent was cleared before 1972.” Between 1972 and 2014, a further 16,689,722 hectares were</p>
	<p>Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.</p>		
	<p>Econ 9 Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 11 – Vegetation

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>deforested with Queensland being the worst state by far in deforestation. Between 1972 and 2014 Queensland deforested 9,705,112 hectares.</p> <p>Sources: 2016 SoE Land Amount of deforestation by type and decade 1972-2014 excludes ACT (updated 9 August 2023); Queensland Government, Statewide Landcover and Trees Strategy (SLATS) Report 2018/19.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Inadequate data make it difficult to determine exact trends in forest cover. The short term trend is neutral to negative.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>The longer term trend is negative. The lack of legislation to reverse the trend suggests that the longer term outlook is also negative.</p> <p align="center"></p>
<p>Introduction of a Stewards of the Earth Fund and Program for rewilding farming and forestry systems to lock up carbon,</p>	<p>Env 11 A replanted & reforested land.</p>	<p>In 2017, scientists in peer reviewed research reported that a “biological annihilation” of wildlife in recent</p>	<p>In 2025, no progress was evident towards securing public funding for rewilding lands affected by unsustainable forms of</p>
	<p>Env 1 A leading global advocate for action on climate change.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 11 – Vegetation

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>conserve water, and restore biodiversity Env11.02 By 2026,</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> recognising that to avoid mass extinctions it will be necessary to rewild a significant proportion of lands that are currently used for crops, grazing, mining and forestry; and consistent with: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Strategies for security of food supplies through the introduction of regenerative farming under Env08.01, and the Target adopted for Nature Positive under Env10.03 and Env10.03.01; <p>but</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> contingent on the introduction of a universal basic income in line with principles of fairness as envisaged in Econ04.02.04, <p>introduce a consumption tax on food that is currently exempt from GST and hypothecate the revenue raised to a Stewards of the Earth Fund to pay for employment of</p>	<p>Env 2 A net zero emissions nation.</p>	<p>decades means a sixth mass extinction in Earth’s history is under way and is more severe than previously feared. The scientists analysed both common and rare species and found billions of regional or local populations have been lost. They blamed human overpopulation and overconsumption for the crisis and warned that it threatens the survival of human civilisation, with just a short window of time in which to act.</p> <p>Source: Proceedings of the National Academy of Science of the United States of America, “Biological annihilation via the ongoing sixth mass extinction signalled by vertebrate population losses and declines”, 10 July 2017.</p> <p>In 2023, it was reported that “according to scientific estimates, by designating half of the planet as a nature reserve, we can hope to save 85% of the Earth’s animal and plant species. As a bonus, doing this will draw down and lock up a huge amount of climate-destroying carbon, helping to slow down and then progressively reverse global heating.”</p>	<p>farming and grazing, or by mining and forestry. Nor was there evidence of any planning by governments for a significant shift towards sustainable forms of farming, including regenerative farming and indoor farming near urban centres as envisaged in Env08.01.</p> <p>However, the World Wide Fund for Nature was working on several rewilding projects in South Australia, Tasmania and New South Wales to restore the populations of quolls, bandicoots, potoroos, bettongs, greater gliders, platypus and frogs. Source: WWF-Australia, Rewilding Australia webpage</p> <p>No discussion of hypothecation of funds raised through taxation for rewilding or other projects had commenced.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral. </p> <p>The longer term trend is neutral due to the newness of the strategy. </p>
	<p>Env 3 A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.</p>		
	<p>Env 4 A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.</p>		
	<p>Env 8 Environmentally & economically sustainable in agriculture & fisheries.</p>		
	<p>Env 9 Confident of the safety & security of its water supplies.</p>		
	<p>Env 10 A biodiversity haven.</p>		
	<p>Env 12 A protector of scarce resources.</p>		
	<p>Env 14 A pollution free biosphere.</p>		
	<p>Env 19 A land of thriving self-supporting regions.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		
<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>			
<p>Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable public</p>			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 11 – Vegetation

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Indigenous people and former farmers in programs for rewilding farming and forestry systems to lock up carbon, conserve water, and restore biodiversity to the extent necessary to avert ecosystem collapse and extinctions and food shortages in climate change.</p>	<p>sector participation.</p> <hr/> <p>Econ 9 Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.</p>	<p>Source: Julian Cribb, <i>How to Fix a Broken Planet: Advice for Surviving the 21st Century</i>, Cambridge University Press, 2023.</p>	

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment			
Environment 12 – Land & resource conservation			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Proportion of land areas dedicated to long term conservation Env12.01 By 2030, consistent with the Australian government’s commitment to protect 30% of Australia’s land and seas for conservation purposes, ensure at least 30% of lands are permanently protected and that Nature Positive objectives are achieved as per Env10.03 and Env10.03.01.</p>	Env 12	A protector of scarce resources.	<p>No data updates were available on terrestrial protected areas. Between 2002 and 2022, the proportion of land area dedicated to the long-term conservation of nature, its ecosystem and cultural values rose from 10% to 22%. Source: Australian Government Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework – protected areas.</p> <p>In April 2024, progress against the objectives of the government’s 2022 “Nature Positive Plan: better for the environment, better for business” took a backward step when proposed reforms of the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999 (EPBC Act) were shelved by the government in favour of a staged approach of establishing new institutions of Environment Protection Australia (EPA) and Environment Information Australia (EIA), rather than a full package of reforms to fix the broken EPBC Act. Source: Australian Government, DCCEEW, Nature Positive Plan: better for the environment, better for business. December 2024</p>
	Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	
	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.	
	Env 3	A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.	
	Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.	
	Env 8	Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.	
	Env 9	Confident of safety and security of its water supplies.	
	Env 10	A biodiversity haven.	
	Env 11	A replanted and reforested land.	
	Env 13	A provider of accessible national & urban parkland.	
	Env 14	A pollution free biosphere.	
Env 17	A conservator of cultural & built heritage.		
Env 19	A land of thriving self-supporting regions.		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 12 – Land & resource conservation

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p> <p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p> <p>Soc 16 A society prepared and resilient in times of disaster.</p>		<p>for business”, December 2022</p> <p>In 2024, the Environmental Defenders Office testified that, “Without a comprehensive overhaul of the EPBC Act, the new institutions will simply be monitoring and regulating broken laws. A new EPA may mean that compliance and enforcement may be more likely to occur if habitat is illegally cleared, but that is after the fact, when the harm has already occurred. Having a State of Environment report every 2 years by the new EIA will simply document the decline and demise of our threatened species more regularly, without strong laws to actually prevent the harm occurring in the first place.”</p> <p>Source: Environmental Defenders Office, Delayed nature law reform will not save koalas from extinction, 19 April 2024.</p> <p>In November 2024, legislation to establish the EPA and the EIA also stalled, largely in response to the mining lobby. See Env04.01 above.</p> <p>Source: Lisa Cox and Karen Middleton, Albanese kills off deal with Greens to pass ‘nature positive’ legislation after intervention by WA premier, The Guardian, 27 November 2024.</p>
	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 12 – Land & resource conservation

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>In January 2025, the Australian Conservation Foundation reported that while the government did nothing to reform environmental laws the amount of threatened species habitat approved to be razed under federal law more than doubled in 2024 (25,769 hectares) compared to 2023 (10,426 hectares).</p> <p>Source: Australian Conservation Foundation, Extinction Wrapped 2024. Source: Dan Jervis-Bardy, "Almost 26,000 hectares of threatened species habitat approved for clearing under Labor in 2024, new report finds," The Guardian, 21 January 2025.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend in growth of conservation areas has been positive.</p> <p></p> <p> The outlook trend is negative due to the government's shelving of reforms of the EPBC Act and refusal to pass legislation to protect native forests (see Env12.02 below).</p>
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Cessation of native</p>	<p>Env 12 A protector of scarce resources.</p>	<p>In 2021, the five-year State of the</p>	<p>In 2023, the Greens introduced the Ending Native Forest Logging</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 12 – Land & resource conservation

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>forest logging – urgent legislation Env12.02</p> <p>By 2025, recognising that native forest logging:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> increases the intensity of bushfires; degrades and depletes freshwater resources; severely impacts tourism industries and jobs; provides very few jobs in Australia (less than 0.5%, compared to tourism which provides almost twelve times more jobs); generates very little material that is used in housing construction (the vast majority of production from logging old growth native forests is woodchips and paper pulp); loses vast amounts of money for taxpayers; adds significantly to carbon emissions; and makes it impossible to reach carbon emissions targets (even the easy ones), 	<p>Env 2 A net zero emissions nation.</p>	<p>Environment Report showed that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> almost half the country is now used for grazing; more than 6.1m hectares of primary native forest (an area more than six times the size of suburban Melbourne) had been cleared since 1990; and over the five years to 2019 nearly 290,000 hectares of primary forest and 343,000 hectares of regrown forest was cleared. <p>Source: State of the Environment Report 2021. Source: Adam Morton and Graham Readfearn, "State of the environment: shocking report shows how Australia's land and wildlife are being destroyed," The Guardian, 19 July 2022.</p> <p>In 2024, research assembled by one of the world's leading experts in forest and woodland ecology established that native forest logging offered absolutely no benefits to Australia's environment, biodiversity, economy, employment, tourism industries, freshwater security, or carbon emissions reduction</p>	<p>Bill 2023 to the Australian Senate. The bill was defeated by the major parties. No other legislation was put forward to end native forest logging although in 2024 the Greens made several attempts to amend other legislation with a view to inserting protections for native forests. All amendments were resisted by the government.</p> <p>Source: Parliament of Australia, Hansard, Bills of the Current Parliament, Ending Native Forest Logging Bill 2023.</p> <p>The combination of rejection of the Ending Native Forest Logging Bill 2023 and the shelving of reforms to the Environmental Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999 (EPBC Act) (see Env04.01 and Env12.01 above) spells a miserable future for Australia's forests.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are negative.</p> <p>←</p>
	<p>Env 3 A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.</p>		
	<p>Env 4 A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.</p>		
	<p>Env 8 Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.</p>		
	<p>Env 9 Confident of safety and security of its water supplies.</p>		
	<p>Env 10 A biodiversity haven.</p>		
	<p>Env 11 A replanted and reforested land.</p>		
	<p>Env 13 A provider of accessible national & urban parkland.</p>		
	<p>Env 14 A pollution free biosphere.</p>		
	<p>Env 15 A marine wildlife haven.</p>		
	<p>Env 16 Regenerative by design in consumption & production.</p>		
	<p>Env 19 A land of thriving self-supporting regions.</p>		
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 12 – Land & resource conservation

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
legislate to end all native forest logging (and other forms of native forest harvesting and tree removal) in Australia by 2026.	Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.	aims. Formal economic evaluation indicated that the economic value of native forest logging in Australia (which is mainly for woodchips and paper pulp) is low or nil. Compared to the economic value of forests for production of woodchips and paper: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the value of forests for water is up to 25.5 times greater, the value of forests for tourism is 20 times greater, and the value of forests, especially native old growth forests, for carbon (stored) is at least 4 to 5 times greater. Source: Professor David Lindenmayer AO, <i>The Forest Wars: the ugly truth about what's happening in our tall forests</i> , Allen & Unwin 2024.	
	Soc 13 A wellspring of inspiration & creativity.		
	Soc 16 A society prepared and resilient in times of disaster.		
	Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.		
	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 improve continuously for all.		
	Econ 4 A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.		
	Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.		
Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable public participation.			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 12 – Land & resource conservation

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>		

Environment 13 – Parks & open space

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 13 – Parks & open space

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Proportion of land areas covered by green space Env13.01 The proportion of land in each local government area with green cover increases continuously and the proportion covered by hard surfaces does not increase.</p>	<p>Env 13 A provider of accessible national & urban parkland.</p>	<p>Between 2013 and 2020 the percentage of land covered by hard surfaces in 131 of Australia’s local government areas grew from 33.69% to 38.08% while the proportion covered by green space fell from 66.29% to 61.92%. Source: Australian Government, State of the Environment Report 2021.</p>	<p>No data update available.</p> <p>The short term trend is not determined.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p></p>
	<p>Env 2 A net zero emissions nation.</p>		
	<p>Env 3 A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.</p>		
	<p>Env 4 A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.</p>		
	<p>Env 8 Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.</p>		
	<p>Env 9 Confident of safety and security of its water supplies.</p>		
	<p>Env 10 A biodiversity haven.</p>		
	<p>Env 11 A replanted and reforested land.</p>		
	<p>Env 12 A protector of scarce resources.</p>		
	<p>Env 14 A pollution free biosphere.</p>		
	<p>Env 17 A conservator of cultural & built heritage.</p>		
	<p>Env 18 Multi-central in its cities, efficiently connecting people with jobs, health, education and recreation.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 13 – Parks & open space

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	<p>Env 19 A land of thriving self-supporting regions.</p>		
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>		
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 13 A wellspring of inspiration & creativity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 16 A society prepared and resilient in times of disaster.</p>		
	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		

Environment 14 – Air & water quality

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment				
Environment 14 – Air & water quality				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
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 14	A pollution free biosphere.	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	In 2021, the State of the Environment Report stated that “Although all cities have maintained a ‘very good’ assessment for PM2.5 since 2016, peak reported levels of PM2.5 in each year remain above the air quality NEPM standard in all capital cities in Australia. PM2.5 levels are stable in Darwin, Hobart and Melbourne, but increasing elsewhere. Source: Australian Government, State of the Environment Report 2021 The short term trend is negative.  The longer term trend is neutral. 
	Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.		
	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.		
	Env 3	A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.		
	Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.		
	Env 6	A renewable energy superpower.		
	Env 7	Efficiently connected through low emissions transport.		
	Env 13	A provider of accessible national & urban parkland.		
	Env 18	Multi-central in its cities, efficiently connecting people with jobs, health, education and recreation		
Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment			
Environment 14 – Air & water quality			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	
Water quality – potable supplies Env14.02 Water quality - potable supplies. TBA	Env 14	A pollution free biosphere.	No baseline data have yet been established specifically for this Indicator.
Water quality and supply – rivers and streams Env14.03	Env 14	A pollution free biosphere.	No baseline data have yet been established specifically for this Indicator. However, the

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 14 – Air & water quality

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data
<p>Water quality – rivers and streams. TBA</p>		<p>Murray-Darling Basin is experiencing significant environmental decline, with poor river health, declining fish populations, and degraded habitats primarily due to excessive water extraction for agriculture, compounded by climate change. While some progress has been made with the Murray-Darling Basin Plan, significant challenges remain in achieving environmental flow targets and addressing the complex water management issues across multiple states.</p> <p>Indigenous people remain distant from the benefits of water ownership and participation in the water market. Their engagement and role in water remain limited; some states and territories have progressed, but most lag. Data capture by states and territories remains a gap in knowledge, and prevents reporting on and assessment of Indigenous inland water.</p> <p>Source: Australian Government, State of the Environment Report 2021</p>
<p>Water quality – marine Env14.04 Water quality - marine. TBA. No specific Targets or Strategies have yet been established marine water quality. However, some Strategies which are closely integrated with and contribute to the achievement of marine water quality targets are incorporated into the plan under:</p> <p>Env01.01 Env01.02 Env02.01 Env02.01.01 Env02.01.02 Env02.01.03 Env02.01.04 Env02.05.01 Env03.01</p>	<p>Env 14 A pollution free biosphere.</p> <hr/> <p>Env 15 A marine wildlife haven.</p>	<p>No baseline data have yet been established specifically for this Indicator. However, baseline data are available relevant to this Indicator under the Targets and Strategies listed at left.</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 14 – Air & water quality

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data
Env04.01 Env08.01 Env10.03 Env10.03.01 Env12.02 Env14.04 Env15.01 Env15.01.01 Env15.02 Soc16.02 Econ01.07 Econ.01.09 Econ.01.09.01 Econ04.06 Gov03.01.03 Gov11.05 Gov11.05.01		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment			
Environment 15 – Marine protection			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	
<p>Protection of the Great Barrier Reef – implementation of plans Env15.01 As a minimum, implement the Australian Government’s “Reef 2050: Long-Term Sustainability Plan 2021–2025”.</p> <p>Protection of the Great Barrier Reef – prevention of threats from climate change Env15.01.01 Acknowledge the scientific advice on the most significant threats to the Reef and develop integrated plans to address these threats – the most significant being climate change.</p>	Env 15	A marine wildlife haven.	<p>In 2021, the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), the official advisor on nature to the UNESCO World Heritage Committee, recommended adding the Great Barrier Reef to the List of World Heritage in Danger. With fierce lobbying, Australia resisted the inclusion of the Great Barrier Reef on the UNESCO Danger List. This lobbying achieved political objectives but increased the danger for the reef. Source: IUCN News webpage, 22 June 2021.</p> <p>In 2018 the federal and Queensland governments released the “Reef 2050 Long-Term Sustainability Plan”. The plan included targets (“outcomes”) for ecosystem health, biodiversity, heritage, water quality, economic and community benefit and governance. The primary targets were:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> For ecosystem health – The status and ecological functions of ecosystems within the Great Barrier Reef World Heritage Area are in at least good
	Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	
	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.	
	Env 3	A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.	
	Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.	
	Env 8	Environmentally & economically sustainable in agriculture & fisheries.	
	Env 10	A biodiversity haven.	
	Env 14	A pollution free biosphere.	
	Env 19	A land of thriving self-supporting regions.	
	Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	
Soc 2	A land with an Indigenous heart.	<p>In 2021, the federal and Queensland governments released an updated “Reef 2050 Long-Term Sustainability Plan 2021-2025”. The new plan had 5 priority areas for action:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> limit the impacts of climate change, reduce the impacts from land-based activities, reduce impacts from water-based activities, influence the reduction of international sources of impact, protect, rehabilitate and restore. <p>Source: Commonwealth of Australia, Reef 2050: Long-Term Sustainability Plan 2021–2025</p> <p>In 2024, DCCEEW’s webpage on the Reef Plan 2050 stated that, “Since its release in 2015, the Australian and Queensland governments have made good progress in implementing the Reef 2050 Plan.” If so, it would appear that the planned activities have not yet met the objectives for habitat, species health, Indigenous heritage and human dimensions, including the overarching objective of “values and ecological processes in poor condition are</p>	

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 15 – Marine protection

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	
		<p>condition with a stable to improving trend.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For biodiversity – The Reef maintains its diversity of species and ecological habitats and these improve over each successive decade to 2050. • For heritage – Indigenous and non-Indigenous heritage values are identified, protected, conserved and managed such that the heritage values maintain their significance for current and future generations. <p>Source: Commonwealth of Australia, Reef 2050 Long-Term Sustainability Plan, 2018</p> <p>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</p>	<p>restored and values and ecological processes in good condition are maintained”. The planned activities have not led to the planned outcomes. This is not surprising, especially since the planned activities on climate change are known to be wholly inadequate to stop climate change (see Env01.01 and Env02.01 above).</p> <p>Source: DCCEEW, The Reef 2050 Plan webpage Source: Reef 2050 Plan 2022–23 Activities Report</p> <p>In February 2022, the 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.⁴⁴</p> <p>In 2024, the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority reported that the condition of the reef varied between 2019 and 2024. The reef experienced three mass bleachings between 2019 and 2024. The</p>

⁴⁴ 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 frequent and severe coral bleaching (Hughes et al., 2018b; Hughes et al., 2019c) (very high confidence). The worst coral bleaching event on record affected over 90% of reefs in 2016 (Hughes et al., 2018b). In the most northern 700-km-long section of the GBR in which the heat exposure was the most extreme, 50% of the coral cover on reef crests was lost within eight months (Hughes et al., 2018c). Throughout the entire GBR, including the southern third where heat exposure was minimal, the cover of corals declined by 30% between March and November 2016 (Hughes et al., 2018b). In 2017, the central third of the reef was the most severely affected and the back-to-back regional-scale bleaching events has led to an unprecedented shift in the composition of GBR coral assemblages, transforming the northern and middle sections of the reef system (Hughes et al., 2018c) to a highly degraded state (very high confidence). Coral recruitment to the GBR in 2018 was reduced to only 11% of the long-term average (Hughes et al., 2019b). A mass bleaching event also occurred in 2020, making it the third event in five years (BoM, 2020a) (Figure Boxes 11.2.1 and 11.2.2).

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 15 – Marine protection

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	
		<p>with coastal development, land-based run-off, and direct human use (such as illegal fishing)".</p> <p>Source: Australian Government Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority, Great Barrier Reef Outlook Report 2019</p>	<p>Authority concluded that "climate change, combined with chronic and legacy impacts, are undermining the Reef's resilience. The Region's overall long-term outlook remains one of continued deterioration due largely to climate change." See Note⁴⁵ for more details.</p> <p>Source: Australian Government, Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority, Great Barrier Reef Outlook Report 2024</p> <p>In terms of progress on implementing activities within the Reef 2050 Plan, the short and longer term trends are positive.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"></p>

⁴⁵ Notable findings and conclusions of the Great Barrier Reef Outlook 2024 include:

- Over the past 5 years, the condition of natural values of the Great Barrier Reef Region (the Region), including species, habitats and ecosystem processes has varied, with both improvements and deteriorations documented. Overall, the condition of habitats remains poor on a Region-wide scale, in large part due to the ongoing vulnerability of coral reef habitats.
- Despite widespread coral bleaching in 2020 and 2022, the absence of mass mortality from the bleaching — along with relatively little cyclone damage and effective management of crown-of-thorns starfish — allowed for recovery of fast-growing corals across much of the Region. This resulted in an improved overall condition of coral reef habitats from very poor to poor (borderline good), but this varies across the Reef.
- The condition of seagrass meadows has also improved since 2019 to good (borderline poor) condition, reflecting the recovery from past flooding impacts in some areas. Other habitats remain in good or very good condition.
- The Region relies upon the healthy functioning of a range of physical, chemical and ecological processes, and connection to functioning coastal ecosystems. The conditions of most processes are similar to those reported in 2019, with continued deterioration of several key processes influenced by climate change and land-based runoff.
- Heat stress accumulated in all 3 regions of the Reef over the 2023–24 summer. Sea surface temperatures peaked at 2.5 degrees Celsius above historical summer maximums in the southern region, leading to accumulation of the highest levels of heat stress in the satellite record for the Reef. A mass coral bleaching event was confirmed in March 2024 following aerial surveys of over 1,000 reefs. This is the third mass bleaching event since 2019 and the seventh recorded for the Reef. In 2024, extreme levels of bleaching (where greater than 90 per cent of corals on a reef are affected) were, for the first time, recorded within all 3 regions.
- Future warming already locked into the climate system means that further degradation is inevitable. This is the sobering calculus of climate change. Every increment of additional global warming will further compromise the Reef's unique biodiversity, with continuing consequences for cultural heritage, social and economic benefits, and the broader ecosystem services of the Reef."

Source: Australian Government, Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority, Great Barrier Reef Outlook Report 2024

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 15 – Marine protection

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data																			
			<p>In terms of protection of the reef itself, the short and longer term trends are negative.</p> <p></p> <p> The outlook trend is negative due to the inadequacy of the Reef 2050 Plan itself and the government’s ineffective approach to climate change.</p>																		
<p>Proportion of marine areas dedicated to long term conservation Env15.02 The proportion of marine areas dedicated to long term conservation of nature, its ecosystems and cultural values increases continuously.</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 875 624 931">Env 15</td> <td data-bbox="624 875 837 931">A marine wildlife haven.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 931 624 1066">Env 1</td> <td data-bbox="624 931 837 1066">A leading global advocate for action on climate change.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1066 624 1167">Env 2</td> <td data-bbox="624 1066 837 1167">A net zero emissions nation.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1167 624 1357">Env 4</td> <td data-bbox="624 1167 837 1357">A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1357 624 1559">Env 8</td> <td data-bbox="624 1357 837 1559">Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1559 624 1693">Env 9</td> <td data-bbox="624 1559 837 1693">Confident of safety and security of its water supplies.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1693 624 1749">Env 10</td> <td data-bbox="624 1693 837 1749">A biodiversity haven.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1749 624 1850">Env 12</td> <td data-bbox="624 1749 837 1850">A protector of scarce resources.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1850 624 1975">Env 13</td> <td data-bbox="624 1850 837 1975">A provider of accessible national & urban parkland.</td> </tr> </table>	Env 15	A marine wildlife haven.	Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.	Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.	Env 8	Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.	Env 9	Confident of safety and security of its water supplies.	Env 10	A biodiversity haven.	Env 12	A protector of scarce resources.	Env 13	A provider of accessible national & urban parkland.	<p>In 2022, the proportion of marine areas dedicated to long term conservation of nature, its ecosystems and cultural values was 45%.</p> <p>Source: Australian Government Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework – protected areas.</p> <p>Source: Australian Government, Department of Climate Change, Energy, the Environment and Water, DCCEEW, Collaborative Australian Protected Areas Database (CAPAD): protected area data.</p>	<p>No data updates were available on marine protected areas. Between 2002 and 2022, the proportion of Australia’s marine area dedicated to the long-term conservation of nature, its ecosystem and cultural values rose from 7% to 45%.</p> <p>Source: Australian Government Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework – protected areas.</p> <p>The short term trend can’t be determined.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend in growth of marine conservation areas has been positive.</p> <p></p> <p> The outlook trend is negative due to the government’s shelving of reforms of the EPBC Act and refusal to pass legislation to protect native forests (see</p>
Env 15	A marine wildlife haven.																				
Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.																				
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Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.																				
Env 8	Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.																				
Env 9	Confident of safety and security of its water supplies.																				
Env 10	A biodiversity haven.																				
Env 12	A protector of scarce resources.																				
Env 13	A provider of accessible national & urban parkland.																				

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 15 – Marine protection

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	
	<p>Env 14 A pollution free biosphere.</p>		<p>Env12.01 and Env12.02 above). Refusal to protect native forests will have detrimental effects on Australia’s marine environments, especially the already threatened Great Barrier Reef (see Env15.01 and Env15.01.01 above). Source: The Wilderness Society, The stats that expose Australia’s hidden deforestation crisis, Web article, last viewed December 2024.</p>
<p>Env 17 A conservator of cultural & built heritage.</p>			
<p>Env 19 A land of thriving self-supporting regions.</p>			
<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>			
<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>			

Environment 16 – Waste reduction & recycling

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 16 – Waste reduction & recycling

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Reduction of waste generation Env16.01 Tonnes of waste generated per capita decrease continuously.</p> <p>Increased recovery of waste for reuse Env16.01.01 The proportion of waste recovered for reuse, recycling or energy increases continuously.</p>	<p>Env 16 Regenerative by design in consumption & production.</p>	<p>In 2006/07 Australians generated 3.1 tonnes per capita of waste and recycled 50% for reuse, recycling or energy.</p> <p>In 2021/22 Australians generated 3.0 tonnes per capita of waste and recovered 63% for reuse, recycling or energy.</p> <p>Source: Australian Government Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework – resource use and waste generation.</p>	<p>No data update available.</p> <p>On per capita reduction of waste, the short term trend is neutral.</p> <p></p> <p>On per capita reduction of waste the long term trend is neutral.</p> <p></p> <p>On waste recovered, the short term trend is neutral.</p> <p></p> <p>On waste recovered, the longer term trend is positive.</p> <p></p>
	<p>Env 2 A net zero emissions nation.</p>		
	<p>Env 4 A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.</p>		
	<p>Env 6 A renewable energy superpower.</p>		
	<p>Env 8 Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.</p>		
	<p>Env 12 A protector of scarce resources.</p>		
	<p>Env 14 A pollution free biosphere.</p>		
	<p>Env 19 A land of thriving self-supporting regions.</p>		
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		

Environment 17 – Architectural & cultural site heritage

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment		
Environment 17 – Architectural & cultural site heritage		
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data
<p>No specific Targets or Strategies have yet been established for this Direction. However, some Strategies which are closely integrated with and contribute to the achievement of this Direction are incorporated into the plan under:</p> <p>Env07.01 Env07.01.01 Env12.01 Env15.02 Env18.01 Env18.01.01 Env19.01 Soc07.04 Soc09.04.03</p>	<p>Env 17 A conservator of cultural & built heritage.</p>	<p>No baseline data have yet been established specifically for this Direction.</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment			
Environment 18 – Cities planning			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Urban consolidation in the largest capital cities – Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane Env18.01</p> <p>By 2025, recognising that cities need to be well connected and affordable, require state governments to establish urban planning frameworks that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • create multicentre capital cities: denser capital cities that grow around multiple city ‘centres’, creating hubs that are well connected through comparably populated economic corridors;⁴⁶ • diversify housing and land use: in both capital and satellite cities there is a greater variety of housing types located closer to jobs, services and amenities. (This is not just about increasing 	<p>Env 18 Multi-central in its cities, efficiently connecting people with jobs, health, education and recreation.</p>	<p>In 2019, the Australian National Outlook (National Australia Bank, CSIRO et al) identified urban sprawl as a key determinant of economic decline. The more cities sprawl outwards, the more difficult it is for people in the outer suburbs to access jobs, education and services and the more housing prices rise to unsustainable levels as do fuel, energy and transport costs. Impacts on greenspace, essential vegetation and biodiversity are likewise unsustainable. Urban sprawl would result in 2 million people having to live in outer suburbs with vastly reduced access to services and employment. This would amount to a very significant decline in quality of life. To avoid this, the Australian National Outlook 2019 concluded that there</p>	<p>In 2021, authors assessing the state of the urban environment for the 2021 State of the Environment report found that “state and local governments have responded to some challenges with great initiatives that take us closer to more resilient and sustainable urban environments. However, there is still a need for national approaches and for better collaboration and co-ordination between the private and public sectors.”</p> <p>Source: State of the Environment Report 2021. Source: Gabriela Quintana Vigiola, State of the Environment report shows our growing cities are under pressure – but we’re seeing positive signs too, The Conversation, 21 July 2022</p> <p>In 2024, the federal government responded with the release of a National Urban Policy which set out a vision for the sustainable growth of our cities and suburbs. Planning ministers across the nation jointly agreed a shared vision for sustainable urban growth, including a strong focus on ensuring Australia’s cities and suburbs meet the needs of both current and</p>
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 9 A land without homelessness and with decent affordable housing for all.</p>		
	<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>		
	<p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p>		
	<p>Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 13 A wellspring of inspiration & creativity.</p>		
	<p>Env 1 A leading global advocate for action on climate change.</p>		
	<p>Env 2 A net zero emissions nation.</p>		

⁴⁶ For example: Imagine Sydney organised as five sub-cities of the central CBD, Parramatta, around Western Sydney Airport, Liverpool, Chatswood and Hurstville with each hosting its own set of accessible services for health, education and recreation, each hosting a variety of job opportunities through industrial and commercial zonings, and with public transport re-configured to run within and between each of the cities. A version of this was mooted in 2018 by the now disbanded Greater Sydney Commission in “GREATER SYDNEY REGION PLAN: A Metropolis of Three Cities – connecting people”.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 18 – Cities planning

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>the supply of housing, but also the supply of high-quality places to live.); and</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> enhance transport infrastructure: density and diversity enable conditions where less travel is required and better ways to make journeys, including mass-transit, autonomous vehicles and active transport, like walking and cycling, are available. 	<p>Env 3 A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.</p>	<p>is a need for a robust program of capital city infill concurrent with land zoning changes sufficient to result in the average density of major cities increasing by 60–88%. It assumes a greater proportion of the urban population living at higher density (not just in city centres), with multiple high-density precincts. Source: NAB & CSIRO, Australian National Outlook, 2019</p>	<p>future generations – with housing affordability as the primary goal.</p> <p>The policy included five principles:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Planning and development should produce equitable and inclusive outcomes; 2. Planning and investment choices should bolster economic growth, productivity and innovation; 3. Design and development should support sustainable and climate resilient urban environments; 4. Urban governance should be cooperative and collaborative; and 5. Decisions should be guided by evidence-based practice. <p>It also included a series of implementation principles and actions for the federal government to take forward in collaboration with partner governments.</p> <p>Among other things the Policy stated that the federal government will deliver regular State of Australian Cities reports. Source: Australian Government, National Urban Policy: A vision for the sustainable growth of our cities and suburbs, 2024.</p> <p>The National Urban Policy is a step in the right direction but progress on the ground is not evident yet. Key areas for</p>
	<p>Env 4 A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.</p>		
	<p>Env 6 A renewable energy superpower.</p>		
	<p>Env 7 Efficiently connected with zero-emissions transport.</p>		
	<p>Env 12 A protector of scarce resources.</p>		
	<p>Env 13 A provider of accessible national & urban parkland.</p>		
	<p>Env 16 Regenerative by design in consumption & production.</p>		
	<p>Env 17 A conservator of cultural & built heritage.</p>		
	<p>Env 19 A land of thriving self-supporting regions.</p>		
	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		
<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>			
<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve</p>			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 18 – Cities planning

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	continuously for all.		improvement identified in the Policy, including affordable housing and climate resilience, are undermined by other policies such as the federal government’s withdrawal from direct provision of public housing and approaches to urban design which increase hard surfaces and reduce green space. See Note ⁴⁷ for more detail.
	Econ 4 A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.		
	Gov 2 A nation knowing and affirming decency.		
	Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.		
			Short term progress in terms of policy is positive.  The longer term trend is neutral.   The outlook trend is negative mainly because federal government policies on housing and climate resilience will negatively affect progress.
Top Priority Target/Strategy: Urban consolidation – legislation to change urban planning to increase housing within	Env 18 Multi-central in its cities, efficiently connecting people with jobs, health, education and recreation.	Between 2010 and 2023 capital city housing supplies increased substantially in inner city areas and on the outer rings, but	In 2024, the NSW government changed planning laws so that from 1 July 2024, dual occupancies and semi-detached homes will be allowed in all R2 low-
	Soc 1 A safe home.		

⁴⁷ [Authors of Urban section of the State of the Environment Report 2021](#) made several observations of decline in urban amenity and resilience including: “Unfortunately, at the same time the public sector has greatly reduced its role in housing. Based on ABS data, we calculated that the government now develops only 1% of all new dwellings in Australia. Residential building and house sizes have slightly increased while lot sizes have shrunk. This means there is less open space. And these smaller backyards and setbacks between buildings are now often paved. As a result, we are seeing higher temperatures and reduced or endangered biodiversity. These changes have negative impacts on people’s and the environment’s well-being. Despite local government policies to increase green cover in public areas and protect our urban forests, the changes in private properties have led to an overall loss of green spaces in our cities. ... The overall liveability of smaller urban areas with fewer than 10,000 people has been assessed as poor. The liveability of larger cities, on the other hand, has remained good over the past five years.”

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 18 – Cities planning

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>major city ‘middle rings’ Env18.01.01 By 2027, recognising that younger generations are unable to afford purchasing a home and will be unable to live near their families and other support services, introduce planning laws requiring councils in capital city middle rings (10 to 50 kms from the CBD) to lift limits on, or eliminate, floor space and height requirements on all residential blocks in low to medium density zonings currently occupied by a single dwelling so that dual occupancies are permissible and owners can voluntarily re-develop residential land to double the capacity for separate dwelling home ownership (but not more than double).</p>	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	density residential zones across NSW. The changes won’t apply to land with a high risk from natural hazards like bushfire and floods, land located close to dangerous goods pipelines and hazardous aircraft noise, land that includes a heritage item, and the Bathurst, Hawkesbury, Blue Mountains and Wollondilly areas due to bushfire, flooding and evacuation risks. Source: NSW Department of Planning, Diverse and well-located homes: Low- and mid-rise housing, webpage, 2024. Policies in other states were not analysed. However, all states have agreed to the National Urban Policy (see Env18.01 above) which suggests there is support by state and territory governments for a principle of delivering high-quality urban places with “appropriate” density. This may or may not imply commitment to consolidation in the middle rings of capital cities but the stated intention is to achieve density that: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “enables easy access to services and transport infrastructure and promotes social cohesion;” and • prioritises urban planning, with “investment and housing that supports people’s choices to
	Soc 4	A place of optimal health and wellbeing.	
	Soc 5	A model of lifelong educational opportunity.	
	Soc 6	A society of equals.	
	Soc 9	A land without homelessness and with decent affordable housing for all.	
	Soc 10	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.	
	Soc 13	A wellspring of inspiration & creativity.	
	Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	
	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.	
	Env 3	A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.	
	Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.	
	Env 6	A renewable energy superpower.	
Env 7	Efficiently connected with zero-emissions transport.		
Env 12	A protector of scarce resources.		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 18 – Cities planning

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	<p>Env 13 A provider of accessible national & urban parkland.</p> <p>Env 16 Regenerative by design in consumption & production.</p> <p>Env 17 A conservator of cultural & built heritage.</p> <p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p> <p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p> <p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p> <p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.</p> <p>Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.</p> <p>Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable public participation.</p> <p>Gov 2 A nation knowing and affirming decency.</p> <p>Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.</p>		<p>live closer to work, services and other amenities and maximise the utility of investment in supporting infrastructure.”</p> <p>Source: Australian Government, National Urban Policy: A vision for the sustainable growth of our cities and suburbs, 2024.</p> <p>The National Urban Policy is driven by a commitment to growth and economic development that may well outweigh commitment to quality of life and real environmental sustainability. It prioritises strategies for productivity in commercial business more so than commitments to increased direct investment by governments. It is a neoliberal policy. Only time will tell whether the cooperative collaboration it aspires to between states, businesses and developers will deliver the sustainable and climate-resilient urban environments and the equitable and inclusive outcomes envisaged in the policy.</p> <p>Short term progress in terms of policy is positive.</p> <p>→</p> <p>The longer term trend is neutral.</p> <p>← / →</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 18 – Cities planning

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>		<p> The outlook trend is negative mainly because the neoliberal focus of the National Urban Policy on growth and economic development is likely to outweigh commitment to quality of life, social inclusion, and real environmental sustainability. The expected collaboration between states, businesses and developers to deliver the sustainable and climate-resilient urban environments is yet to demonstrate progress towards the equitable and inclusive outcomes envisaged in the policy.</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment			
Environment 19 – Regional planning			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	
<p>Decentralisation of housing for affordability Env19.01 In regional centres located more than 50 kms beyond a capital city, and in association with Env07.01 – Inter city-regional rapid public transport, establish planning regimes that create high quality attractive, liveable and affordable homes in dormitory centres connected to regional transport hubs providing high speed rail connections to employment centres in capital cities.</p>	Env 19	A land of thriving self-supporting regions.	<p>In 2023, housing in cities for generations born after 1980 had become basically unaffordable, but employment opportunities were not readily available in regions where housing is more affordable. It was acknowledged that “What’s needed is decentralisation of housing but not necessarily of employment” but this this would require “fast, efficient commuting trains that allow dormitory suburbs to be developed further from the CBD.” It was acknowledged that this “would dramatically increase the supply of ‘well-located’ land as the government’s housing policy describes it, without pushing against the natural barriers against medium-density housing closer to the city.”⁴⁸ Source: Alan Kohler, Quarterly Essay, “The Great Divide: Australia’s Housing mess and how to fix it,” Issue 92, 2023. Source: NAB & CSIRO, Australian National Outlook, 2019</p> <p>In 2023, the federal government released its “Regional Investment Framework: The Australian Government’s approach to supporting strong and sustainable regions.” It was intended to “coordinate across governments to make investments work better for regions and provide an integrated and coordinated framework for regional development regardless of a region’s economic circumstances.” The framework listed some high level principles for investing in “people, places, services, industries and local economies.” In line with the Albanese government’s commitment to “no one held back and no one left behind,” the framework required specific regional investment across all portfolios. Source: Australian Government, Department of Infrastructure, Transport, Regional Development, Communications and the Arts, Regional Investment Framework, 2023.</p>
	Soc 1	A safe home.	
	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	
	Soc 4	A place of optimal health and wellbeing.	
	Soc 6	A society of equals.	
	Soc 10	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.	
	Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	
	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.	
Env 3	A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.		
Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.		
Env 6	A renewable energy superpower.		

⁴⁸ It should be noted that this issue of *Australia Together* does not rule out a strategy of “pushing against the natural barriers against medium-density housing closer to the city” because it is equally important to maintain options for ensuring people can live close to their families. Hence the inclusion of **Env18.01.01 – Urban consolidation – increasing housing within major city ‘middle rings’**.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 19 – Regional planning

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	
	<p>Env 7 Efficiently connected with zero-emissions transport.</p>		<p>While the Framework doesn't, of itself, ensure that local planning authorities in regional centres located more than 50 kms beyond a capital city will establish planning regimes that create affordable homes in dormitory centres connected to capital cities by high speed rail, it is a significant step forward in organising Commonwealth agencies to "work in genuine partnerships with local and state and territory governments through refreshed, regular forums supporting joined-up outcomes." The government's commitment to high speed rail (see Env07.01 above) is also a positive sign, although it is very early days for both these commitments to regional development and the rail commitments are only for a business case on a link between Sydney and Newcastle.</p> <p>Note that in 2024, the State of Australia's Regions Report observed that, "While for most of the past two decades households in regional Australia were able to save a housing deposit faster than those in capital cities, it now takes 9.7 years in regional Australia, only slightly less than the 10</p>
	<p>Env 12 A protector of scarce resources.</p>		
	<p>Env 17 A conservator of cultural & built heritage.</p>		
	<p>Env 18 Multi-central in its cities, efficiently connecting people with jobs, health, education and recreation.</p>		
	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		
	<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.</p>		
	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing and affirming decency.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Environment

Environment 19 – Regional planning

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	
			<p>years it takes in capital cities.” Source: Australian Government, State of Australia’s Regions 2024.</p> <p>The short term trend on policy is positive (although not on regional housing affordability).</p> <p>→</p> <p>The longer term trend is neutral.</p> <p>← / →</p>

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



Economy 1 – Economic planning, growth & composition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy			
Economy 1 – Economic planning, growth & composition			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Growth measures/targets – Sustainability of growth and development Econ01.01</p> <p>By 2030, attain a score of 85/100 on the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals Index.</p>	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>	<p>In 2021, Australia ranked 35th out of 165 countries on the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals Performance Index with a score of 75.6/100. The top score was Finland with 85.9/100.</p> <p>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</p>	<p>In 2024, Australia ranked 37th out of 167 countries on the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals Performance Index with a score of 76.9/100. The top score was Finland again with 86.4/100.</p> <p>Source: Jeffrey D. Sachs, Guillaume Lafortune and Grayson Fuller, Sustainable Development Report 2024: The SDGs and the UN Summit of the Future, Includes the SDG Index and Dashboards</p> <p>Australia’s performance against the goals was worse in some cases and still poor overall. For a developed country, its performance was very poor. See Econ01.09 below for a breakdown of the scores.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral.</p> <p>← / →</p> <p>The longer term trend is neutral.</p> <p>← / →</p> <p>↘ The outlook trend is negative due to Australia’s policies on climate change, which do not accord with the Paris Agreement and Australia’s failure to develop a plan to</p>
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing & affirming decency.</p>		
	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>		
	<p>Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</p>		
	<p>Gov 13 A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.</p>		
	<p>Env 1 A leading global advocate for action on climate change.</p>		
	<p>Env 2 - 19 All remaining Directions for our Environment</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 1 – Economic planning, growth & composition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			implement the UNSDGs and a budget for delivery of the goals. With Australia’s current policies and institutional arrangements, the chance that Australia will meet the UNSDGs by 2030, as agreed, is zero.
<p>Growth measures/targets – Productivity Econ01.01.01 Percent annual increase in labour productivity (averaged over rolling 3-year periods) equals or exceeds the historical annual average of 1.6%.</p>	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>	<p>Between June 1980 and June 2014, average annual labour productivity growth was 1.6%. Between 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)</p>	<p>Between 2002 and 2004, labour productivity growth averaged 2.5% per annum.</p> <p>Between 2020 and 2022, labour productivity growth averaged 1.7% per annum.</p> <p>Between 2022 and 2024, labour productivity growth averaged -0.7% per annum.</p> <p>In only three of the 20 three-year rolling cycles between 2000 and 2024 did labour productivity growth (measured as GDP per hours worked) exceed 1.6%. Source: ABS, 5204.0 Australian System of National Accounts, Table 1. Key National Accounts Aggregates, Column M</p> <p>The short term trend is negative. </p> <p>The longer term trend is negative. </p>
	<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>		
<p>Growth measures/targets – Private investment for economic growth Econ01.02</p>	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>	<p>Between 2014 and 2019, private investment in new capital was negative, averaging -1.6% per quarter.</p>	<p>Between September 2019 to end September 2022, growth in Private Capital Investment averaged 0.2% per</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 1 – Economic planning, growth & composition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Target range for private investment in new capital is between 1.3% and 2.2% per quarter.</p>	<p>Econ 3</p> <p>A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	<p>Between 1996 and 2007, private new capital investment averaged 2.2% per quarter. During the 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</p>	<p>quarter. Investment rose to an average of 2.9% per quarter during the Covid-19 pandemic period in the four quarters from December 2020 to September 2021 before falling back again. There was also a brief spike of investment after the election of the Albanese government of 2.8% per quarter on average from December 2022 to September 2023. Investment then fell again to an average growth of zero per quarter up to September 2024. Source: ABS, Private New Capital Expenditure and Expected Expenditure, Australia, September 2024.</p> <p>Since 2012, business in Australia has not been pulling its weight or giving back to the Australian economy any decent shares of the returns it has enjoyed, courtesy of massive public subsidies since the early 2000s.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative. ←</p> <p>The longer term trend is negative. ←</p>
	<p>Econ 4</p> <p>A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>		
<p>Growth measures/targets – GDP growth Econ01.03</p> <p>Growth in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is monitored</p>	<p>Econ 1</p> <p>A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>	<p>Between 1972 and 2014, growth in GDP averaged 3.1% per annum. Between 2015 and 2019, growth in GDP averaged 2.4% per annum. Source: ABS 5206.0, Table 1</p>	<p>Successive periods of global economic growth since World War II have helped lift hundreds of millions of people out of poverty but they have also led to an</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 1 – Economic planning, growth & composition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>over rolling 3-year periods.</p> <p>Important note: No specific Target for GDP growth is required or desirable in <i>Australia Together</i> due to the fact that measures of growth do not take into account the cost of externalities – such as environmental destruction or the cost of social harms arising from inequality – and, as such, are highly misleading as to whether a positive impact for society or the environment has arisen from the growth. For more information on why there is no longer a numeric Target for GDP growth in <i>Australia Together</i> see Note⁴⁹.</p>			<p>acceleration of consumption which in turn is causing breaches of several planetary boundaries. See Env02.05.01 and Env11.02 above. These breaches are likely to cause growth in poverty and hunger world-wide. Source: Stockholm Resilience Centre, Stockholm University, Planetary Boundaries webpage and Richardson et al., <i>Science Advances</i> 9, eadh2458 (2023): “Earth beyond six of nine planetary boundaries”.</p> <p>Also, as economic anthropologist Jason Hickel has noted, “We are sleepwalking into a mass extinction event – the sixth in our planet’s history, and the first to be caused by human economic activity. The rate of extinction is now 1,000 times faster than before the Industrial Revolution.” Among other things, “If this continues, scientists warn, the Earth will be able to support only</p>

⁴⁹ **Rationale for not selecting a target selected for growth in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) or GDP per capital:** Growth in GDP is used by governments as the typical expression of their 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 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 (and does) significantly exceed the benefits of the growth. Policies that will enable Australia to achieve ecologically and socially sustainable growth are the more appropriate targets in a long term plan. There is more chance of achieving sustainable 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. Hence, *Australia Together* monitors changes in growth but no Target for growth is necessary. 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 sustainable GDP growth. In short, it’s not the amount of GDP growth but how we achieve growth and share it that matters.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 1 – Economic planning, growth & composition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>another sixty years of harvests.” Source: Jason Hickel, Less is More: How degrowth will save the world, Penguin, 2020.</p> <p>Australia’s rates of extinction are among the highest in the world. Source: State of the Environment Report 2021, Species Decline.</p> <p>At this point in world economic history, GDP growth is doing more harm than good. It is therefore time to stop reporting it as a good thing, especially as acceleration of growth will do Australia no favours over the longer term if consumption outstrips the capacity of the planet to sustain biodiversity (including humans).</p> <p>GDP growth per annum will be reported in End of Term Reports but will receive a neutral rating, as neither positive nor negative growth is a net advantage to Australia.</p> <p>Average growth in GDP per annum:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2016-18 = 2.7%. • 2019-21 = 1.4%. • 2022-24 = 3.0%. <p>Between 2022 and 2024 GDP growth per annum dropped from 4.2% to 3.4% and then to 1.4%. Source: 5204.0 Australian System of National Accounts, Table 1, Key National Accounts Aggregates.</p>

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Economy 1 – Economic planning, growth & composition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>The short term trend is not determined.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend is not determined.</p> <p></p> <p> The outlook trend is negative due to continued pursuit of GDP growth by governments unaccompanied by programs to counter its detrimental effects on Australia’s natural and human resources.</p>
<p>Growth measures/targets – GDP growth per capita Econ01.03.01</p> <p>Growth in GDP per capita is monitored over rolling 3-year periods.</p> <p>Note: No specific Target for GDP per capita is required in a long term plan for reasons outlined in Econ01.03 above.</p>	<p>Econ 1</p> <p>A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>	<p>Between 1984 and 2008 (before the GFC) growth in GDP per capita averaged 2.2% per annum.</p> <p>Between 2009 and 2013 (post-GFC) growth in GDP per capita fell to an average of 0.9% per annum.</p> <p>Between 2014 and 2019, growth in GDP per capita averaged 0.9% per annum.</p> <p>Source: ABS 5204.0, Table 1 Column C</p>	<p>Per capita GDP growth per annum will be reported in End of Term Reports but will receive a neutral rating, as neither positive nor negative growth is a net advantage to Australia. See Econ01.03 above for a rationale on this.</p> <p>Average growth in per capita GDP per annum:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2016-18 = 1.1%. • 2019-21 = 0.2%. • 2022-24 = 1.3%. <p>Between 2022 and 2024 per capita GDP per annum dropped from 3.7% to 1.3% and then to 1.0%.</p> <p>Source: 5204.0 Australian System of National Accounts, Table 1, Key National Accounts Aggregates.</p> <p>The short term trend is not determined.</p> <p></p>

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Economy 1 – Economic planning, growth & composition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>The longer term trend is not determined.</p>  <p> The outlook trend is negative due to continued pursuit of GDP growth by governments unaccompanied by programs to counter its detrimental effects on Australia's natural and human resources.</p>
<p>Growth measures/targets – Population growth Econ01.03.02 By 2050, population growth in Australia stabilises at no more than 35 million.</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Strategic planning for population Econ01.03.03 By 2024/25, recognising that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> high immigration (pre-Covid-19) levels of up to 230,000 per annum will exacerbate environmental and economic sustainability issues both in Australia and globally, and that immigration levels capped at 60,000 per annum are more likely to deliver 	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>	<p>Prior to the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020, Australia's annual immigration intakes were approximately 230,000.</p> <p>In 2022, research was released by Sustainable Population Australia providing significant evidence to support the need for and global benefit of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> an Australian immigration target of no more than 60,000 per annum; a stabilisation of the Australian population at no more than 35 million by 2050; leadership by Australia in policy on reduction of global population and global population movements; and development of policy oriented to sustaining populations in their 	<p>In June 2024, the population of Australia was 27.2 million.</p> <p>Between 2022 and 2024, after the Covid-19 pandemic, net migration added an average of 450,000 persons per annum to Australia's population. Source: ABS, National, state and territory population, June 2024.</p> <p>In May 2024, the federal government announced that the planning levels for the 2024–25 permanent Migration Program (Migration Program) would be set at 185,000 places. Source: Australian Government, Department of Home Affairs, Migration Program planning levels webpage, last viewed December 2024.</p> <p>Assuming the government maintains net permanent migration at 185,000 per annum and natural population increases</p>
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 9 Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.</p>		
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p>		
<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>			

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Economy 1 – Economic planning, growth & composition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>populations of sustainable levels, convene a task force to confirm the necessary caps on immigration and develop a plan for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> capping immigration to levels that will ensure Australia’s economy, natural environment and ecosystems can be sustainably managed for future generations; and for integrating immigration and other population policies, including climate change adaptation policies under Gov11.04 and housing policies under Soc09.04.04, so that future generations can be 	Soc 10	A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.	<p>respective countries of origin by means of such mechanisms as foreign aid and development, peace keeping, assistance in promotion of birth control, family planning and education, and collaboration on mitigation of climate change.⁵⁰</p> <p>Source: Ian Lowe, Jane O’Sullivan and Peter Cook, Population and Climate Change Discussion Paper, www.population.org.au</p> <p>remain at levels similar to those since 2020 (about 110,000 per annum), then Australia is on track to reach a population of 35 million by 2050, whereupon policies will be required to stabilise total population.</p> <p>Should net migration return to the levels reached in the post pandemic period it will lead to unsustainable population growth. In that scenario Australia would be on track to reach a population of 35 million by as early as 2038.</p> <p>Home Affairs’ commitment to limiting permanent migration to 185,000 was for one year only.</p>
	Soc 11	A land without child disadvantage.	
	Soc 12	A sure provider of lifelong dignity.	
	Soc 16	A society prepared and resilient in times of disaster.	
	Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	
	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.	
	Env 3	A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.	
	Env 4	A nation that puts the	

⁵⁰ **Rationale for the target selected for population:** Authors of the [Population and Climate Change Discussion Paper](#) have assembled detailed research which supports conclusions that:

- population growth driven by excessive immigration will severely hamper Australia’s ability to meet its climate change mitigation commitments;
- ecosystem destruction arising from over-population will severely impact Australia’s grain harvest capacity (perhaps halving it) and at times when other countries which depend on Australian harvests will also be affected by food shortages;
- population growth in Australia beyond 30 million will mean that in years of low agricultural yield caused by climate change, Australia will have no excess food production available for export at times when global prices are likely to be highest (in short, the financial viability of agricultural industries will be at risk);
- economic theory which suggests that high levels of immigration are necessary to support the aging population of Australia are “misguided or insincere” (research by ACFP on long term economic planning aligns with this assertion);
- encouragement of lower rather than higher birth rates in Australia would significantly improve the lives of women and lead to significant savings in the health care system while preserving choices for women, teenagers and families;
- “reaching a global population peak at the earliest date and lowest level achievable will greatly enhance the feasibility of limiting global warming to less than 2°C, and simultaneously reduce the vulnerability of future people to the impacts of climate change”; and
- decreasing immigration to 60,000 per annum would allow for higher level of humanitarian immigration as the need will arise due to climate change – inasmuch as slowed immigration to Australia in the 2020 decade will increase Australia’s capacity to absorb higher levels of immigration from 2030, if need be, while still stabilising the total population at 35 million.

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
sustained locally and globally.		environment before unsustainable consumption.	The short term trend is neutral to negative. 
	Env 8	Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.	The longer term trend and outlook can't be determined. 
	Env 9	Confident of safety and security of its water supplies.	In 2024, Australia had no long term planning process for capping total population or immigration based on articulated principles for sustainability of biodiversity, agricultural yields, or the economy. Planning processes centred more on staging population increases to ensure infrastructure could be delivered in time. Departments involved at the federal level, including Home Affairs, Infrastructure, Transport, Cities and Regional Development, Social Services, and Treasury were not working towards a common objective of sustainable population. Basically the approach seemed to be to sit back and watch population grow to levels far higher than are sustainable. See Note ⁵¹ .
	Env 10	A biodiversity haven.	
	Env 11	A replanted and reforested land.	
	Env 12	A protector of scarce resources.	
	Env 19	A land of thriving self-supporting regions.	
	Gov 2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.	
	Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	
	Gov 11	A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.	
	Gov 12	A nation assured of enduring peace.	
	Gov 13	A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.	

⁵¹ The [2024 Population Statement](#) provides insights into the driving principles (such as they are) used by planners of population growth. The Statement noted that, "Australians benefit from migration through higher economic growth, more job creation, improved wages and productivity. There can also be fiscal benefits to migration. However, these need to be weighed against pressures such as those on housing, through a well-calibrated migration system." This is true but it does not constitute a decision framework for setting population levels that are socially, environmentally and economically

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>In 2024, Australia’s population was complacently predicted to be 31.3 million people by 2034–35. Source: Australian Government Centre for Population, 2024 Population Statement.</p> <p>Effectively in 2024, the Department of Home Affairs was setting the targets for the largest factor affecting sustainable population growth – immigration – without the aid of an overarching policy for population sustainability. This was exposing Australia to a high degree of risk. See Note⁵².</p> <p>The short term trend is negative. ←</p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are negative. ←</p>
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: A National Sustainable Industries Index Econ01.04</p>	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>	<p>In February 2023, Australia’s Treasurer Jim Chalmers released an essay on the economy called Capitalism After</p>	<p>In 2025, Australia still had no overall planning process for composition and re-composition of its economy over the longer</p>

sustainable. Policy in Australia on population growth lacks integration and is not preparing Australia for the pressures of climate change.

⁵² In 2024, the [Department of Home Affairs stated that](#), “From 2025–26, the Migration Program will move to a multi-year planning model, extending the Program planning horizon to four years from the current twelve month cycle. Extending the outlook of Australia’s Migration Program will enable migration planning to better align with longer-term infrastructure, housing and services planning across all levels of government. The multi-year approach will incorporate housing supply as one of the key factors to shape the broad direction of long-term migration planning. Public consultation on the size and composition of the first four-year cycle (covering 2025–26 to 2028–29) will commence later this year.” The objective of transition to a four-year planning timeframe was confined to helping governments align infrastructure and housing developments with population growth. No assessment of the environmental or economic impact of various levels of population growth was foreshadowed as an input to the proposed public consultation.

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>By 2025, recognising that history has shown that private sector markets driven by profit:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> do not willingly and efficiently regulate themselves to build economies that deliver public value and returns to the public on investment of their funds; do not accept the risk associated with investment of public or private funds in industries that impact climate, nature and biodiversity and instead leave liability with the public; and do not readily self-select investments in industries that are economically or environmentally sustainable, legislate to establish a National Sustainable Industries Index to guide government decisions on: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> public investments and expenditures, approval and removal of subsidies to the private sector, 	Econ 2	A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.	<p>term and no accepted tools for guidance in reforms to compose a sustainable economy. Decisions on public investments and incentives for economic and industry development still strongly favoured neoliberal approaches of transferring public funds to support private sector, profit-driven ventures at the expense of essential services and payments for the public. Consistent with the plainly erroneous view that “we [the Albanese government] can’t fund every good idea,”⁵³ the government favoured budget balancing and reduced direct spending on services, regardless of the economic inefficiencies, reductions in sustainable forms of growth, and increased unsustainable growth and that will arise from a continuation of neoliberal withdrawal of the public sector from participation in the economy.</p> <p>Source: Treasurer Jim Chalmers, Media Release, 18 April 2023.</p> <p>In effect, in 2025, laissez-faire economics was favoured in Australia</p>
	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.	
	Econ 6	An economy with competitive & profitable public participation.	
	Econ 9	Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.	
	Soc 1	A safe home.	
		<p>the Crises, in which he sought to find a way past the neoliberal form of capitalism, that form which promotes small government, less taxation especially for the rich and for corporations, less public ownership or operation of assets and services, and less regulation of markets and impacts on the natural environment. He diagnosed neoliberalism as the cause of Australia’s economic problems and proposed that capitalism should be remade into what he called “values-based capitalism” to “ensure our private markets create public value.” The proposal relied on assumptions that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> “markets built in partnership through the efforts of business, labour and government are still the best mechanism we have to efficiently and effectively direct resources”; “the private sector is key and central to sustainable growth”; if markets are run as partnerships between business and government 	

⁵³ Treasurer Jim Chalmers, [Release of Economic Inclusion Advisory Committee report](#), 18 April 2023: This view is erroneous because any competent government with sovereign capacity to issue currency can fund every good idea, especially if it stops funding every bad idea (or even if it doesn’t). “Anything we can actually do we can afford,” – John Maynard Keynes quoted by [Adam Tooze, Chartbook on Substack, 2 September 2021](#).

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • imposition of reparative, compensating and incentivising taxes, and • the composition and re-composition of the Australian economy necessary to achieve long term environmental and economic sustainability. <p>By 2026, require the Treasury to draft recommendations for the factors to be taken into account in establishing the Index, including factors of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the benefits in wellbeing offered by each industry; • the environmental consumption, destruction, or restoration arising from each industry and the net value added (not the gross value added); • the potential of an industry to create productive employment; • the risk exposure associated with an industry, especially exposures to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ climate change, ○ increases in international tensions and hence 	Soc 2	A land with an Indigenous heart.	<p>they will be sufficiently “inclusive” to reliably and efficiently deliver what the community actually values and needs;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “the same regulatory frameworks that ensure that for-profit capital in the private sector creates value for investors can generate public value in the for-purpose economy”; and • the Australian business sector will embrace values-based capitalism, reinstating a market economy that “works for people”. <p>The Treasurer was at pains to promote the view that government should not “pick winners” in market design and composition and that efficient market design is still best left to the market itself, regardless of the failure of laissez faire economics that Chalmers himself acknowledged had caused the crises. Nevertheless, the Treasurer gave a commitment that in 2023 “we will create a new sustainable finance architecture, including a new taxonomy to label</p>	<p>despite Treasurer Chalmers’ having identified neoliberalism as the cause of economic crises in the 21st century. Source: Jim Chalmers, Capitalism After the Crises, The Monthly, February 2023.</p> <p>In the decade to 2025, the major political parties preferred minimal government involvement in the economy, no economic planning beyond a one-year fiscal budget, and that the private sector should effectively be left in charge of economic decisions and be permitted to act autonomously, doing what it wishes in an unregulated or lightly regulated, theoretically “free market”, regardless of the cost to the nation, the environment, scarce resources, human rights, social cohesion and the equity and wellbeing of citizens.</p> <p>This attitude was typified in the words of the prime minister, Anthony Albanese: “We have a private sector economy in Australia and not a command and control economy.” Source: Anthony Albanese, Radio interview - ABC Radio Brisbane Mornings, 22 February 2024.</p> <p>In 2024, the promised new sustainable finance</p>
	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.		
	Soc 4	A place of optimal health and wellbeing.		
	Soc 5	A model of lifelong educational opportunity.		
	Soc 6	A society of equals.		
	Soc 9	A land without homelessness and with decent affordable housing for all.		
	Soc 11	A land without child disadvantage.		
	Soc 12	A sure provider of lifelong dignity.		
	Soc 13	A wellspring of inspiration & creativity.		
	Soc 16	A society prepared and resilient in times of disaster.		
	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.		
	Env 3	A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.		
	Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.		
Env 6	A renewable energy superpower.			

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
<p>exposure to war,</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ deficits in the balance of trade, ○ cultural and heritage losses (including threats to Indigenous culture and heritage); ○ human rights abuses and growth in inequality; ○ reduced returns to the public from investment of public revenues and other public finance risk; and <p>• any other factors likely to guide sound assessment of the value and net contribution of an industry to the long term sustainability of Australia’s natural resources, biodiversity, economy, social security and social capital.</p> <p>By 2026 adopt an agreed format for the Index and charge Treasury and the National Economic Transitions Commission envisaged under Econ02.05 with joint responsibility for</p>	<p>Env 7 Efficiently connected through low emissions transport.</p>	<p>the climate impact of different investments. That will help investors align their choices with climate targets, help businesses who want to support the transition get finance more easily, and ensure regulators can stamp out greenwashing. This strategy begins with climate finance, but over time I see it expanding to incorporate nature-related risks and biodiversity goals.”</p>	<p>architecture, including a new taxonomy to label the climate impact of different investments “to help mobilise private sector investments towards net zero emissions” was still in development, led by the Australian Sustainable Finance Institute (ASFI) in conjunction with Treasury. However, this was a system designed to assist decisions on investment by the private sector rather than decisions on the most sustainable composition of the overall economy. The taxonomy was not useful as a tool for building direct public investment in services and although ASFI promoted the tool as central to meeting the goals of the Paris Agreement, it was being developed after the Paris Agreement goals had already been missed (see Env01.01, Env02.01, Env02.01.01 and Env02.01.02 above) and so was not, on its own, effective for remixing the economy to achieve sustainability in climate change.</p>	
	<p>Env 8 Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.</p>	<p>Source: Jim Chalmers, <i>Capitalism After the Crises</i>, The Monthly, February 2023.</p>	<p>Source: Bronwyn Kelly, Conversations with Australia’s Treasurer about building an Australian people’s economy, ACFP, March 2023.</p>	<p>Source: Australian Sustainable Finance Institute, Taxonomy Project webpage, December 2024.</p>
	<p>Env 9 Confident of safety and security of its water supplies.</p>	<p>Source: Bronwyn Kelly, Conversations with Australia’s Treasurer about building an Australian people’s economy, ACFP, March 2023.</p>	<p>While the type of taxonomy envisaged was likely to be of assistance in steering private sector investment decisions toward sustainable industries it did not provide guidance to governments on the most sustainable mix of industries in the economy overall. The taxonomy will be more useful if it is accompanied by an additional tool providing an overall rating of industry sectors and subsectors on their relative sustainability – a National Sustainable Industries Index as recommended at left.</p>	<p>The short term trend is neutral to negative.</p>
	<p>Env 10 A biodiversity haven.</p>	<p>Source: Bronwyn Kelly, Conversations with Australia’s Treasurer about building an Australian people’s economy, ACFP, March 2023.</p>	<p>←</p>	<p>←</p>
	<p>Env 11 A replanted and reforested land.</p>	<p>Source: Bronwyn Kelly, Conversations with Australia’s Treasurer about building an Australian people’s economy, ACFP, March 2023.</p>	<p>←</p>	<p>←</p>
	<p>Env 12 A protector of scarce resources.</p>	<p>Source: Bronwyn Kelly, Conversations with Australia’s Treasurer about building an Australian people’s economy, ACFP, March 2023.</p>	<p>←</p>	<p>←</p>
	<p>Env 14 A pollution free biosphere.</p>	<p>Source: Bronwyn Kelly, Conversations with Australia’s Treasurer about building an Australian people’s economy, ACFP, March 2023.</p>	<p>←</p>	<p>←</p>
	<p>Env 15 A marine wildlife haven.</p>	<p>Source: Bronwyn Kelly, Conversations with Australia’s Treasurer about building an Australian people’s economy, ACFP, March 2023.</p>	<p>←</p>	<p>←</p>
	<p>Env 17 A conservator of cultural & built heritage.</p>	<p>Source: Bronwyn Kelly, Conversations with Australia’s Treasurer about building an Australian people’s economy, ACFP, March 2023.</p>	<p>←</p>	<p>←</p>
	<p>Gov 1 A proactive participatory democracy.</p>	<p>Source: Bronwyn Kelly, Conversations with Australia’s Treasurer about building an Australian people’s economy, ACFP, March 2023.</p>	<p>←</p>	<p>←</p>
<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>	<p>Source: Bronwyn Kelly, Conversations with Australia’s Treasurer about building an Australian people’s economy, ACFP, March 2023.</p>	<p>←</p>	<p>←</p>	
<p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p>	<p>Source: Bronwyn Kelly, Conversations with Australia’s Treasurer about building an Australian people’s economy, ACFP, March 2023.</p>	<p>←</p>	<p>←</p>	
<p>Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.</p>	<p>Source: Bronwyn Kelly, Conversations with Australia’s Treasurer about building an Australian people’s economy, ACFP, March 2023.</p>	<p>←</p>	<p>←</p>	
<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice &</p>	<p>Source: Bronwyn Kelly, Conversations with Australia’s Treasurer about building an Australian people’s economy, ACFP, March 2023.</p>	<p>←</p>	<p>←</p>	

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ongoing development of the Index and for using it to identify and recommend sustainable economic compositions and policies for Australia.	ethics serve the public good.		The longer term trend and outlook are both negative. 
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Reform of federal budget planning processes for service security and sustainable economic growth Econ01.04.01</p> <p>By 2026, recognising that declines in government sector spending per capita, especially if sustained over long periods, will lead to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> declines in essential services, unnecessarily reduced economic growth in areas where sustainable growth ought to be possible, and increases in unsustainable forms of growth, reform federal government budget planning processes to ensure that they are driven first and foremost by engagement with the Australian public in preparation of: an integrated national long term community-driven strategic plan, and 	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>	<p>Between 1992 and 2012, federal government spending per capita increased by an average of 2.6% per annum and Australia’s economy grew by an average of 3.4% per annum.</p> <p>By contrast, between 2013 and 2018 federal government spending decreased annually by an average of 0.2%, Australia experienced markedly slower economic growth of 2.5% per annum on average, slowing to 1.7% in 2018/19. This flowed through to erosion of essential services and a decline in Australia’s capacity to build a sustainable economy maximising wellbeing. Source: Parliamentary Budget Office 2019/20 Medium Term Budget Report & ABS 5206.0</p>	<p>In 2024, community-driven integrated planning and reporting was not an agenda item for the federal government. Reforms had been attempted for fiscal sustainability but these were not such as to halt declines in essential services relative to demand, particularly in housing. Also, properly effective reforms had not been attempted for overall economic long term sustainability (see Econ01.04 above).</p> <p>The Treasurer had developed a Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework which has utility for long term integrated planning purposes but commitments to increasing government expenditures in line with this framework were not yet part of any community-driven, integrated, long term national financial planning process. Decision-making on federal expenditures and budgeting was still largely <i>ad hoc</i> and it was not evident that the</p>
	<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>		
	<p>Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable public participation.</p>		
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 1 – Economic planning, growth & composition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a national long term financial plan for public revenues and expenditures capable of ensuring the community's long term plan is fully and fairly financed, as anticipated under Gov01.05 and that Australians can build a sustainable economy maximising wellbeing. See Note⁵⁴ for the rationale on this Strategy. 		educational opportunity.	government was gearing tax reform and revenue generation to reduce variability or reductions in expenditures from year to year. Source: Australian Government Measuring What Matters. Between 2022/23 and 2024/25, the changes in federal budgeted expenditure per capita compared to the previous year were: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2022/23 = up 8%, 2023/24 = up 2%, 2024/25 = up 6% (estimated). Source: Federal budgets, 2022/23, 2023.24 and 2024/25, and ABS, 3101.0 National, state and territory population, TABLE 1. Population Change, Summary - Australia ('000), 2024. The short term trend is neutral.  The longer term trend and outlook are neutral. 
	Soc 9	A land without homelessness and with decent affordable housing for all.	
	Soc 11	A land without child disadvantage.	
	Soc 12	A sure provider of lifelong dignity.	
	Soc 13	A wellspring of inspiration & creativity.	
	Soc 16	A society prepared and resilient in times of disaster.	
	Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.	
	Gov 1	A proactive participatory democracy.	
	Gov 5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.	
Gov 7	Committed to public service independence & excellence.		

⁵⁴ **Rationale for reform of the federal budget planning process:** The intention here is to replace the current budget development process (which produces only short term (effectively one-year) budgets and which in the age of neoliberalism threatens to annihilate available and equitably accessible public services) with a long term financial planning process where the Australian community builds a plan for services essential to a sustainable future and Treasury responds by building a revenue and expenditure program to fairly and efficiently finance the community's plan over the longer term (at least ten years). The objective is to maximise the Australian community's chances of managing public revenues and expenditures to ensure all essential services are securely financed over the longer term at the lowest long run cost. For more information on the advantages of National Long Term Financial Planning see ACFP, Snapshots from Australia Together, [What is National Integrated Planning & Reporting? Episode 2 Part 2, Long term national financial planning.](#)

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 1 – Economic planning, growth & composition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>		
<p>Economic composition and transformations – Services sector expansion Econ01.05 Australia’s services sector expands progressively particularly in health, welfare, and education.</p>	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>	<p>In 2020, the health & education sector produced 13% of Australia’s total output, making it the largest sector of the economy and the largest employer. Source: RBA, "Composition of the Australian Economy Snapshot March 2020"</p>	<p>In 2024, the health & education sector produced 13.4% of Australia’s total output, making it the largest sector of the economy and the largest employer. Source: RBA, Composition of the Australian Economy Snapshot March 2024.</p> <p>Note, however, over the same period – 2020 to 2024 – the total output of the mining sector increased by from 11% to 12.2%, which is more than the increase in the health and education sector. This is a backward move in terms of sustainable economic composition because too heavy a dependence on extractive industries:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • is harming Australia’s resilience in climate change, • has been negatively affecting manufacturing, and • has rendered Australia’s trade-exposed industries less competitive – or in some cases uncompetitive – in global markets through appreciation of the dollar. See
	<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>		
	<p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p>		
	<p>Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 1 – Economic planning, growth & composition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>Econ01.06.03 below.</p> <p>In terms of the employment opportunities offered to Australians, between 2019 and 2024:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the mining sector was stable at 2.1%; • education increased from 7.8% to 8.9%; and • health care and social assistance increased from 13.3% to 15.5%. <p>Health, welfare and education continue to be the employment colossus of Australia. Source: ABS, Labour Force Australia, Detailed. 23 January 2025.</p> <p>The short term trend is positive. </p> <p>The longer term trend is neutral. </p>
<p>Economic composition and transformations – Cessation of fossil fuel exports Econ01.06 By 2030, consistent with Targets and Strategies under Environment 6, establish Australia as a renewable energy superpower by ceasing all fossil fuel exports and transitioning to export of zero emissions goods as per Econ01.06.01.</p>	<p>Econ 1</p> <p>A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>	<p>In 2018/19, Australia exported:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Black coal = 11,131.3 petajoules – up 3.4% from the previous year; • Liquefied natural gas (LNG) = 4,093.9 petajoules, up 21.3% from the previous year; and • Crude oil = 545.4 petajoules, up 13.1% from the previous year. 	<p>In 2022/23, Australia exported:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Black coal = 9,606.1 petajoules – down 5.6% from the previous year; • Liquefied natural gas (LNG) = 4,540.9 petajoules, down 2.1% from the previous year but up from 2018/19; and • Crude oil = 604.4 petajoules, down 3% from the
	<p>Econ 2</p> <p>A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3</p> <p>A country where economic opportunity,</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 1 – Economic planning, growth & composition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
	<p>growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	<p>In the ten years to 2018/19, the average annual growth in exports of all fossil fuel types was 5.2%. Source: Australian Government Department of Industry, Science, Energy and Resources, Australian Energy Update 2020, page 33</p>	<p>previous year but up from 2018/19. Total fossil fuel exports in 2022/23 was 14,903.9 petajoules, down from 15,910.9 petajoules in 2018/19.</p> <p>In the ten years to 2022/23:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the average annual growth in exports of all fossil fuel types was 2.6%; LNG exports increased by an average of 13% per annum. <p>Source: Australian Government, Department of Climate Change, Energy, the Environment and Water, Australian Energy Update 2024, page 39</p> <p>The short term trend is positive. </p> <p>The longer term trend is negative. </p>	
Econ 4	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.			
Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.			
Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.			
Env 3	A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.			
Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.			
Env 6	A renewable energy superpower.			
Env 12	A protector of scarce resources.			
Env 14	A pollution free biosphere.			
Soc 1	A safe home.			
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Economic composition and transformations – Transition away from export of both fossil fuels and the raw materials used in production of steel, aluminium, fertilisers,</p>	Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	<p>In 2024, the Superpower Institute reported that, “A net zero Australian economy will reduce global emissions by just over 1%. But if Australia successfully seizes the economic advantage in exporting zero emissions goods, this can create an economic boom larger</p>	<p>In 2024, researchers at the Superpower Institute found that Australia could reduce global emissions not by just 7%, as originally claimed by the Institute, but by 9.6%, while also “generating six to eight times larger revenues than those typical from</p>
	Econ 2	A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.		

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Economy 1 – Economic planning, growth & composition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>polysilicon, etc., and towards export of zero emissions goods Econ01.06.01</p> <p>By 2025, recognising that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the introduction by Europe of a Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism (CBAM) in 2026 will not allow Australian producers to trade competitively in the EU unless they can demonstrate a zero-carbon supply chain with genuine additionality, or that all relevant parts of the economy are subject to a carbon charge similar to that in the EU; and that in a globalised economy, international transport of raw materials and energy to offshore processing sites is prohibitively costly and that energy intensive industries such as steel making will therefore migrate to countries like Australia that are generating the energy and minerals supply; and that 	<p>Econ 3</p> <p>A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	<p>and more sustained than the mining boom and reduce global emissions by around an additional 7%. Source: The Superpower Institute</p> <p>In 2024, founding members of the Superpower Institute recommended, among other things, that the government should:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ensure Australian products are compliant with tariff-free access to EU markets under Europe’s Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism (CBAM); establish proper measurement of greenhouse gas emissions; implement a Superpower Innovation Incentive Scheme (SIIS); commit that the public sector should provide the hydrogen storage and transport, and the electricity transmission needed for the Superpower; introduce a Carbon Solutions Levy (CSL) at all fossil fuel extraction sites in Australia (around 105 sites), and on all fossil fuel imports to Australia, to fund the SIIS, the transmission 	<p>Australian fossil fuel exports.” Source: Reuben Finighan, The New Energy Trade, Harnessing Australian renewables for global development, The Superpower Institute, November 2024.</p> <p>However, in 2024, Australia was still poised to miss this opportunity because it had not applied a price on carbon, a carbon solutions levy or other financial mechanism necessary to drive investment in renewable energy and forms of green manufacturing and industrial production. Australia was also running out of time to ensure Australian producers will have tariff free access to EU markets and realise a green premium for their products where CBAMs apply.</p> <p>Nor, by 2024, had the federal government shifted policies towards direct investment and/or public ownership and operation of energy storage and transmission, although in their Rewiring the Nation initiative they had committed to investing \$20 billion to modernise the electricity grid and deliver new and upgraded transmission infrastructure (see Env06.02 above). Under their Future Made in</p>
	<p>Econ 4</p> <p>A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.</p>		
	<p>Econ 5</p> <p>A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.</p>		
	<p>Econ 6</p> <p>An economy with competitive & profitable public participation.</p>		
	<p>Econ 7</p> <p>A collaborative intelligent nation.</p>		
	<p>Econ 9</p> <p>Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4</p> <p>A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 5</p> <p>A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>		
	<p>Env 1</p> <p>A leading global advocate for action on climate change.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 1 – Economic planning, growth & composition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> existing export and import arrangements and taxes/levies/duties/tariffs will facilitate neither a transition to a sustainable future for Australia’s export industries nor to a sustainable zero carbon emissions economy, the Australian government should commence and/or accelerate implementation of the following: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) introduction of a Carbon Solutions Levy as proposed by the Superpower Institute in time to allow Australian producers to realise a green premium for their products where CBAMs apply; b) expansion of publicly owned and operated electricity transmission as per Env06.02; c) development of a plan for a phase out of fossil fuel exports as per Econ01.06; and d) direct the revenue raised from a CSL, which in year 1 is likely to be around 	<p>Env 2 A net zero emissions nation.</p>	<p>investment, and other liabilities, and meet the needs of the EC’s CBAM; and</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> impose the CSL on all emissions from fossil carbon wherever they occur in the world, at the level of the EU’s carbon price. <p>The Superpower Institute also considered that the proposed Carbon Solutions Levy would provide a buffer against energy price increases.</p> <p>Source: Professor Ross Garnaut AC, “Restoring Prosperity by Building the Superpower”, Address to the National Press Club, 14 February 2024.</p> <p>In 2024, the federal Labor government introduced the Future Made in Australia Package to help ensure Australians would be the beneficiaries of transition to a zero carbon emissions economy. The \$22.7 billion package was intended to “facilitate the private sector investment required for Australia to be an indispensable part of the global economy.” The program did not include a CSL or public sector investment in electricity transmission but did allocate some small incentives to attract investments in processing of critical minerals. It did not propose cessation of</p>	<p>Australia (FMIA) plan, there was also an intention to include more value adding in production (rather than just extraction of raw resources).</p> <p>In 2024, none of these FMIA projects were sufficiently advanced either to seize the identified economic opportunities before they disappear or reduce carbon emissions before excessive global heating is locked in. It would be fair to characterise the government’s performance as “too little too late” and even in some ways as being in opposition to realisation of the superpower opportunities – for example, due to continuation of approvals of coal mines and gas exploration licences (see Env02.03 and Env02.04 above).</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral at best.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p></p> <p> The outlook trend is negative. The few positive steps that have been taken are being countered by backward steps such as:</p>
	<p>Env 4 A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.</p>		
	<p>Env 5 An environmentally educated community.</p>		
	<p>Env 6 A renewable energy superpower.</p>		
	<p>Env 7 Efficiently connected through low emissions transport.</p>		
	<p>Env 8 Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.</p>		
	<p>Env 9 Confident of safety and security of its water supplies.</p>		
	<p>Env 10 A biodiversity haven.</p>		
	<p>Env 11 A replanted and reforested land.</p>		
	<p>Env 12 A protector of scarce resources.</p>		
<p>Env 16 Regenerative by design in consumption & production.</p>			
<p>Env 19 A land of thriving self-supporting regions.</p>			
<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private</p>			

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Economy 1 – Economic planning, growth & composition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
\$100 billion, ⁵⁵ to maximise the economic and industrial benefits of the move to net zero emissions.	<p>sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p> <p>Gov 11 A just and cooperative participant on the global stage.</p>	<p>fossil fuel exports and as such was likely to slow Australia’s path to economic sustainability. Source: Federal Budget 2024/25: Investing in a Future Made in Australia.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • approvals of investments (such as in coal mines) which detract from Australia’s chance of capitalising on the identified opportunities; • the slow pace of private investment in renewable energy (renewables still only make up 9% of total energy consumption – see Env06.01 above); and • resistance by the federal government to direct investment of public funds in essential transmission, relying instead on providing concessional finance for private investors (see Env06.02). <p>Policy settings in 2024 will not transform Australia into a renewable energy superpower before global heating overwhelms the planet and destroys the economic returns that might otherwise have accrued.</p>
Economic composition and transformations –	Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive	Between 1995 and 2021 Australia dropped steadily from 55 th place	In 2022, Australia fell further to 102 nd place out of 145 countries on

⁵⁵ The Superpower Institute considered that the Carbon Solutions Levy would offer a buffer against energy price increases: “The well over \$100bn pa proceeds in year 1, which then decline slowly, should be applied first to fund the significant CIS liability, the SIIS and the required Transmission and hydrogen transport and storage. There would remain more than adequate funding to more than fully compensate for any effect on electricity or fuel prices, and to facilitate any restructure of road user charging. An amount of the CSL proceeds should be kept for budget repair or funding structural reform, such as tax reform, with long term benefits for economic growth and the revenue as Australia must maintain its key advantage of a low cost of capital.” Ross Garnaut, “Restoring Prosperity by Building the Superpower”, Address to the National Press Club, 14 February 2024.

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Comparative economic complexity Econ01.06.02 By 2030, recognising that the narrower our economy the more vulnerable Australia is to external shocks such as commodity price volatility and supply chain disruptions, Australia’s ranking in the Harvard Atlas of Economic Complexity shows continuous improvement.</p> <p>.....</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Economic composition and transformations – Expansion of manufacturing as a share of Australia’s economy Econ01.06.03 By 2025, recognising that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> “the traditional market model of comparative advantage denies Australia the more promising strategic opportunity to identify and capitalise on areas of potential competitive advantage in the high productivity, high-skill jobs and industries of the future, including advanced manufacturing”; and that 	consumption to sustainability.	<p>to 93rd place out of 133 countries on the Harvard Atlas of Economic Complexity, which measures the diversity and knowledge intensity of a country’s export mix. Source: Harvard Atlas of Economic Complexity</p> <p>.....</p> <p>In 2024, it was acknowledged that:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> the combination of low productivity gains and extended wage stagnation over the previous decade had resulted in a trend of Australian companies seeking to maximise profitability through price inflation; and that the commodity boom of the early 2000s had rendered Australia’s trade-exposed industries less competitive – or in some cases uncompetitive – in global markets through appreciation of the dollar; and that this “resources curse” that had arisen from the mining boom, along with tariff 	<p>the Harvard Atlas of Economic Complexity. It was reported that, “Australia is a high-income country, ranking as the 8th richest economy per capita out of 146 studied. Its 26.3 million inhabitants have a GDP per capita of US\$65,574 (\$61,956 PPP; 2022). GDP per capita growth has averaged 1.2% over the past five years, above regional averages. ... Compared to a decade prior, Australia’s economy has become less complex, worsening 7 positions in the ECI ranking. Australia’s worsening complexity has been driven by a lack of diversification of exports. Australia is less complex than expected for its income level. As a result, its economy is projected to grow slowly.” Source: Harvard Atlas of Economic Complexity 2024.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative. ←</p> <p>The longer term trend is negative. ←</p> <p>In 2024, the Australian government had made no progress in re-adjusting the balance between productive industries which add to Australia’s resilience and</p>
	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 improve continuously for all.		
	Econ 4 A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.		
	Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.		
	Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable public participation.		
	Econ 7 A collaborative intelligent nation.		
	Econ 9 Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.		
	Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.		

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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> with the traditional market model “Australia will be locked into low-productivity, low-wage industries, with limited scope for uplift through technological change and innovation”,⁵⁶ and that the traditional market model depletes Australia’s capacity for self-sufficiency and resilience during global crises; and that excessive investment in defence industries depletes scarce human and natural capital and exacerbates global warming and so is not likely to assist in economic complexity and self-sufficiency, the federal government is to: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> deploy an integrated strategy designed to restore non-defence related manufacturing to at least 20% of GDP by 2035, including by introduction of 	Soc 5	A model of lifelong educational opportunity.	<p>reductions in the 1980s and '90s, had reduced manufacturing to 6% of GDP, compared with around 30% in the 1960s and '70s.</p> <p>By 2024, mainly as a result of the above three factors, Australia had become the least self-sufficient economy in the developed world. Of particular concern was the fact that Australia had the lowest share of manufacturing in its economy of any OECD country.</p> <p>Source: UTS Emeritus Professor Roy Green AM, “Productivity, innovation and industrial structure”, CEDA - Committee for Economic Development of Australia, 16 July 2024.</p> <p>In 2024, the federal Labor government introduced the Future Made in Australia Package of \$22.7 billion over ten years to facilitate private sector investment in Australia’s economy, including in manufacturing to improve Australia’s self-sufficiency, but provided more than double that (\$50.3 billion over ten years) to implement the 2024 National Defence Strategy to meet Australia’s strategic needs, none of which investment would</p>
	Soc 6	A society of equals.	
	Soc 7	A success because of its diversity.	
	Soc 16	A society prepared and resilient in times of disaster.	
	Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	
	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.	
	Env 3	A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.	
	Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.	
	Env 5	An environmentally educated community.	
	Env 6	A renewable energy superpower.	
Env 8	Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.	<p>those that don’t. Unproductive defence industries that exposed Australia to more risk than resilience were being expanded and detracting from more productive opportunities for Australia’s scarce human resources.</p> <p>No progress had been made towards establishing fee free university education, although fee-free vocational education was expanding (see Soc05.01, Soc05.01.03 and Soc05.01.03 above). Defence spending was still set to expand beyond the level necessary to effectively defend Australia as per Recommendation 28 of the People’s Inquiry led by IPAN in 2022 (see Gov12.01.03 below). And between 2019 and 2023, public and private expenditure on research and development (GERD) fell from 1.8% to 1.68% of GDP and was significantly below the OECD average of 2.7%. (see Econ07.01 below).</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p>	
Env 9	Confident of safety and		

⁵⁶ Source: UTS Emeritus Professor Roy Green AM, “[Productivity, innovation and industrial structure](#)”, CEDA - Committee for Economic Development of Australia, 16 July 2024.

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>b) free tertiary education as per Soc05.01, Soc05.01.02 and Soc05.01.03; and confine expenditure on defence industries to limit expenditure to only that which is required to effectively defend Australia as per Recommendation 28 of the People’s Inquiry led by IPAN in 2022 in Gov12.01.03, and</p> <p>c) increase government expenditure and incentives for increased private sector expenditure on research and development as set out in Econ07.01.</p>	<p>security of its water supplies.</p> <p>Env 16 Regenerative by design in consumption & production.</p>	<p>increase resilience, self-sufficiency, productive industrialisation, or progress towards a net zero emissions economy because defence industries contribute significantly to carbon emissions and divert scarce human capital and natural resources away from the production of essentials. (You can’t eat a gun or a warship.)</p> <p>Source: Federal Budget 2024/25: Investing in a Future Made in Australia.</p>	<p align="center">←</p>
	<p>Multi-central in its cities, efficiently connecting people with jobs, health, education and recreation.</p> <p>Env 18</p>		
	<p>A land of thriving self-supporting regions.</p> <p>Env 19</p>		
	<p>A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p> <p>Gov 9</p>		
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Economic composition and transformations – Carbon credits market development & a Carbon in the Land and Sea Finance and Trading Corporation Econ01.07</p> <p>By 2025:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> consistent with goals to be legislated to increase GDP and returns to landholders and mitigate climate change by increasing native forestry cover and 	<p>A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p> <p>Econ 1</p>	<p>In 2014, the federal government allocated \$2.5 billion to purchase Australian Carbon Credit Units (ACCUs) and from then the Clean Energy Regulator periodically ran auctions to purchase ACCU’s from carbon farmers and other certified carbon credit producers at the lowest bid price.</p> <p>In 2020, this fund expired and was then topped up with a \$2 billion allocation over 10 years but eligibility for use of the funding was opened up to low</p>	<p>In 2024, Australia had no designated publicly owned finance trading corporation investing public funds in purchase and sale of carbon credit units, but it did have the Australian Carbon Credit Unit (ACCU) Scheme under which ACCUs could be earned by landholders (not for sea carbon farming) for every tonne of carbon abated and then sold to private sector buyers or the government, both of whom could also sell credits.</p>
	<p>A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p> <p>Econ 2</p>		
	<p>A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living</p> <p>Econ 3</p>		

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<p>restoring degraded ecosystems under Env11.01, and</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> recognising that economic benefits to be reaped significantly outweigh costs of public investment necessary to accelerate entry into carbon credits markets, establish a 100% government owned Carbon in the Land and Sea Finance and Trading Corporation to expand Australia's participation in the domestic and global market for carbon credits. The Corporation is to be authorised to: invest public funds – equating initially to \$5 billion over 5 years from 2023 – in landscape and sea carbon projects, including planting, biodiversity, biomass and alternative feedstock projects and any other projects on both public and private lands and leases which can be reliably measured and certified by the Clean Energy Regulator as having generated a genuine carbon 	standards improve continuously for all.	<p>emissions and geological CCS projects, leaving very little if anything for stimulation of the production of carbon credits through carbon farming during the 2020 decade.</p> <p>In 2021, Professor Ross Garnaut noted that carbon farming is a 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] opportunity requires participation in a global market for carbon, ... domestic carbon pricing arrangements which impose mandatory requirements on major emitters to purchase carbon offsets, ... [and initiatives to] bring forward access to the \$2 billion new budget allocation [mentioned above]”.</p> <p>Source: Professor Ross Garnaut, <i>Reset: Restoring Australia After the Pandemic Recession</i>, 2021</p>	<p>Between 2021 and 2022 the carbon credits market in Australia (and world-wide) was affected by questions about fraud in trading and about the credibility of the ACCUs themselves in terms of whether they were actually resulting in abatement of emissions. In this period, transparency about financial and environmental returns to Australia was absent.</p> <p>In 2022, an Independent Review of Australian Carbon Credit Units was conducted which concluded that: “Notwithstanding the criticisms, the Panel concludes that the scheme was fundamentally well-designed when introduced. Nevertheless, after 11 years of operation, the scheme can be improved – applying knowledge gained through implementation or practical experience is the story of continuous improvement.”</p> <p>Source: Professor Ian Chubb, et al, <i>Independent Review of Australian Carbon Credit Units, Final Report</i>, December 2022</p> <p>In its 2024/25 budget, the federal government responded to the Independent Review by allocating \$48 million for reforms to the Australian Carbon Credit Unit scheme.</p>	
	Econ 4			A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.
	Econ 5			A strong regulator of fairness in markets, creating confidence for investors.
	Econ 6			An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.
	Econ 7			A collaborative, intelligent nation.
	Econ 9			Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.
	Env 2			A net zero emissions nation.
	Env 3			A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.
	Env 4			A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.
	Env 6			A renewable energy superpower.
Env 8	Environmentally & economically sustainable in			

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>credit in tonnage terms; and</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> purchase and trade carbon credits once produced and certified by the Clean Energy Regulator. <p>Ensure that in establishing the Corporation that its decisions on purchases, sales and investments will not be limited by requirements to generate commercial rates of return and will be geared instead to incentivise carbon in the land 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.</p>			Source: Federal budget 2024/25, Budget Paper No. 1.
	<p>Env 9 Confident of the safety & security of its water supplies.</p>		<p>In 2024, at COP29 in Azerbaijan, renewed confidence in carbon trading⁵⁷ was provided when governments agreed to rules on how countries can create, trade and register emission reductions and removals as carbon credits after years of deadlock on Article 6 of the Paris agreement. Assuming that countries operate in accordance with the rules, the potential for Australian carbon credits to provide financial and environmental returns to Australians should improve.</p> <p>Source: Patrick Greenfield, Cop29’s new carbon market rules offer hope after scandal and deadlock, The Guardian, 24 November 2024.</p> <p>The short term trend is positive.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend is neutral but the outlook is positive.</p>
	<p>Env 10 A biodiversity haven.</p>		
	<p>Env 11 A replanted & reforested land.</p>		
	<p>Env 12 A protector of scarce resources.</p>		
	<p>Env 14 A pollution free biosphere.</p>		
	<p>Env 15 A marine wildlife haven.</p>		
	<p>Env 19 A land of thriving self-supporting regions.</p>		
	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>		
	<p>Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</p>		
<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>			

⁵⁷ Patrick Greenfield, [Cop29’s new carbon market rules offer hope after scandal and deadlock](#), The Guardian, 24 November 2024: “In 2022, demand [for carbon credits internationally] soared as companies made environmental commitments using offsets, with the market surpassing \$2bn (£1.6bn) while experiencing exponential growth. But the excitement did not last. Two years later, many carbon markets organisations are clinging on for survival, with several firms losing millions of dollars a year and cutting jobs. Scandals about environmentally worthless credits, an FBI charge against a leading project developer for a \$100m fraud, and a lack of clarity about where money from offsets went has caused their market value to plunge by more than half. Predictions that standing rainforests and other carbon-rich ecosystems would become multibillion-dollar assets have not yet come to pass. ... International carbon markets have crashed twice in two decades. This was due to an erosion of credibility. At Baku, the operationalisation of international carbon trading under Paris can prevent a third meltdown that could be fatal,” said Axel Michaelowa, a carbon markets expert at the University of Zurich. ‘They are a powerful tool to accelerate the diffusion of low-carbon technology around the world. The Paris carbon market is now ready to roll out in 2025. It can accelerate mitigation and thus help close the gaping emissions gap that separates us from achieving the 1.5C target,’ he said.”

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 1 – Economic planning, growth & composition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Reintroduction of a price on carbon Econ01.08</p> <p>By 2025, recognising that:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> without a carbon price, technology solutions such as Carbon Capture and Storage (CCS) will never be as cheap as venting emissions freely to the atmosphere, and without a carbon price Australia is unlikely to be able to enter international carbon credits trading markets as efficiently as it otherwise might, legislate to reintroduce a price on carbon equal to the damage it does and which gives certainty for estimates of transaction costs in calculations of returns from investment from both carbon reduction and sequestration programs. 	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>	<p>In 2021, federal government policy on carbon emissions reduction favoured technology development and opposed carbon pricing and regulatory restrictions on emission to the atmosphere. According to the Climate Council:</p> <p>“The Federal Government’s [technology] ‘roadmap’ puts the interests of the fossil fuel lobby ahead of the interests of Australians. We need a plan to remove all fossil fuels from our economy. Technology will play a role, but it is a tool, not a destination. Climate change does not stop intensifying until we stop adding greenhouse gases to the atmosphere.”</p> <p>However, without a carbon price, technology solutions are unlikely to be cost-competitive, which will negate the benefit of any public investment assistance for development, particularly for technologies such as Carbon Capture and Sequestration (CCS). In 2021, Professor Ross Garnaut noted that:</p> <p>“Economists have no doubt that putting a price on carbon</p>	<p>In 2024, Australia did not have a carbon price, which is economic and environmental madness.</p>
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		<p>In 2023, renowned economist Professor Ross Garnaut stated that Australia would be raising \$70 billion a year from the carbon price if it hadn’t been dismantled by the Abbott government in 2014.</p> <p>Source: Ross Garnaut, Keynote Address to the annual Henry George Commemorative Dinner 2023.</p>
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>		<p>Abolition of the carbon price is possibly the greatest act by a government against the interests of Australia and its people in the 21st century.</p>
	<p>Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets, creating confidence for investors.</p>		<p>In 2024, failure by the Albanese government to reintroduce a carbon price was perpetuating the breaches of human rights and ecological boundaries caused by the abolition of the price and exposing Australia to sovereign liability for the ecocide and genocide likely to be caused by the failure to take all necessary steps (however politically unpalatable) to stop carbon emissions when there was full knowledge of the need, the effectiveness of a carbon</p>
	<p>Econ 9 Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 16 A society prepared & resilient in times of disaster.</p>		
<p>Env 1 A leading global advocate for</p>			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 1 – Economic planning, growth & composition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	action on climate change.	emissions equal to the 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 economic prize for Australia if and when we remove that constraint". Source: The Climate Council website, Unpacking the Tech Road-map; and Professor Ross Garnaut, Reset: Restoring Australia After the Pandemic Recession, 2021	price compared to all other available solutions, and the massive economic and environmental consequences of inaction. The short term trend is negative. ← The longer term trend and outlook are both negative. ←
Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.		
Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.		
Env 6	A renewable energy superpower.		
Env 7	Efficiently connected with zero-emissions transport.		
Env 8	Environmentally & economically sustainable in agriculture & fisheries.		
Env 10	A biodiversity haven.		
Env 11	A replanted & reforested land.		
Env 12	A protector of scarce resources.		
Env 14	A pollution free biosphere.		
Env 19	A land of thriving self-supporting regions.		
Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.		
Gov 9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.		
Gov 11	A just & cooperative		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 1 – Economic planning, growth & composition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	participant on the global stage.		
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Integrated & Funded Program for Meeting Australia’s Commitments to the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGs) Econ01.09</p> <p>By 2024, recognising that Australia is a signatory to all 17 United Nations Sustainable Development Goals and the associated targets that must be reached by 2030:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • develop an integrated program of essential projects (to be undertaken across federal, state and local government levels) to maximise Australia’s chances of fulfilling its commitment to the UNSDGs; • incorporate the program under a specific line item in the federal budget; and • ensure that sufficient additional funding to support full implementation/ coordination of the identified essential projects is allocated and 	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>	<p>In 2015, Australia adopted all 17 of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGs) and thereby committed to achievement by 2030 of the following in Australia:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. No poverty 2. Zero hunger 3. Good health & wellbeing 4. Quality education 5. Gender equality 6. Clean water & sanitation 7. Affordable & clean energy 8. Decent work & economic growth 9. Industry, innovation & infrastructure 10. Reduced inequalities 11. Sustainable cities & communities 12. Responsible consumption & production 13. Climate action 14. Life below water 15. Life on land 16. Peace, justice & strong institutions 17. Partnerships for the goals <p>Despite these commitments, in 2021/22, the federal budget incorporated no mention of or allocations for realisation of the UNSDGs and had no established citizens’ assembly for monitoring</p>	<p>In 2024, Australia still had:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • no integrated program of agreed essential projects and • no federal budget supporting either Commonwealth projects or voluntarily offered projects by other levels of government and the private sector <p>aimed at achieving the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals by 2030, to which Australia had committed itself in 2015.</p> <p>In 2023, the Sustainable Development Solutions Network reported to the United Nations that Australia had demonstrated limited commitment to the UNSDGs. It had not submitted a voluntary review of performance towards the SDGs since 2018 and had:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • no high level statements of commitment or performance, • no SDG strategy or translation of SDGs into sectoral action plans, • no SDGs in the national budget, • no central government
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>		
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.</p>		
<p>Soc 9 A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.</p>			
<p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p>			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 1 – Economic planning, growth & composition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>maintained annually until the UNSDGs are met (preferably on time or before 2030).</p> <p>Citizens’ oversight of progress towards the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGs) Econ01.09.01</p> <p>By 2024, consistent with initiatives under Gov01.05 regarding community engagement in national long term financial planning, establish and fund a citizen’s assembly or other suitable community council charged with monitoring Australia’s progress towards the UNSDGs and advising on the adequacy and allocation of funds in federal and state budgets when shortfalls in progress towards the goals are detected.</p>	<p>Env 1 A leading global advocate for action on climate change.</p>	<p>of progress towards the adopted SDGs by 2030. 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</p>	<p>coordination of SDGs, and</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> no national indicators or targets for monitoring purposes (some countries had hundreds). <p>Australia’s reporting platform on the UNSDGs was closed on 10 March 2024, ostensibly due to “unsupported software”. In December 2024 it had still not been restored. Source: Jeffrey D. Sachs, Guillaume Lafortune and Grayson Fuller, Eamon Drumm, Sustainable Development Report 2023.</p> <p>In 2024, Australia ranked 37th out of 167 countries on the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals Performance Index with a score of 76.9/100. Australia’s performance against each of the 17 UNSDGs was ranked as follows:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> No poverty: challenges remain, performance decreasing. Zero hunger: major challenges remain, stagnating. Good health & wellbeing: significant challenges remain, moderately improving. Quality education: significant challenges remain, stagnating.
	<p>Env 2 A net zero emissions nation.</p>		
	<p>Env 3 A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.</p>		
	<p>Env 4 A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.</p>		
	<p>Env 5 An environmentally educated community.</p>		
	<p>Env 6 A renewable energy superpower.</p>		
	<p>Env 7 Efficiently connected with zero-emissions transport.</p>		
	<p>Env 8 Environmentally & economically sustainable in agriculture & fisheries.</p>		
	<p>Env 9 Confident of the safety & security of its water supplies.</p>		
	<p>Env 10 A biodiversity haven.</p>		
	<p>Env 11 A replanted & reforested land.</p>		
	<p>Env 12 A protector of scarce resources.</p>		
	<p>Env 14 A pollution free biosphere.</p>		
	<p>Env 15 A marine wildlife haven.</p>		
	<p>Env 16 Regenerative by design in</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 1 – Economic planning, growth & composition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	consumption & production.		5. Gender equality: challenges remain, on track.
	Env 19 A land of thriving self-supporting regions.		6. Clean water & sanitation: challenges remain, moderately improving.
	Gov 1 A proactive participatory democracy.		7. Affordable & clean energy: significant challenges remain, moderately improving.
	Gov 2 A nation knowing & affirming decency.		8. Decent work & economic growth: challenges remain, moderately improving.
	Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.		9. Industry, innovation & infrastructure: challenges remain, moderately improving.
	Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.		10. Reduced inequalities: significant challenges remain, stagnating.
	Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.		11. Sustainable cities & communities: challenges remain, moderately improving.
	Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.		12. Responsible consumption & production: major challenges remain, stagnating.
	Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.		13. Climate action: major challenges remain, stagnating.
	Gov 12 A nation assured of enduring peace.		14. Life below water: significant challenges remain, moderately improving.
	Gov 13 A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.		15. Life on land: major challenges remain, stagnating.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 1 – Economic planning, growth & composition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>16. Peace, justice & strong institutions: challenges remain, stagnating.</p> <p>17. Partnerships for the goals: major challenges remain, moderately improving.</p> <p>Source: Jeffrey D. Sachs, Guillaume Lafortune and Grayson Fuller, Sustainable Development Report 2024.</p> <p>Overall, Australia’s performance on the UNSDGs is poor, especially considering the lack of reporting.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">←</p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are negative.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">←</p> <p>In 2025, no progress had been made in establishing a process for citizens’ oversight of progress towards the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">←</p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">←</p>

Economy 2 – Employment planning, industrial reform & economic transition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy			
Economy 2 – Employment planning, industrial reform & economic transition			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	
<p>Employment – Participation Econ02.01</p> <p>The employment to population ratio is steady or improving.</p>	<p>Econ 2</p> <p>A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>	<p>In 2020, the employment to population ratio for Australia was 63%. Source: RBA, "Composition of the Australian Economy Snapshot March 2020"</p>	<p>In 2024, the employment to population ratio for Australia was 64.4%. Source: RBA, Composition of the Australian Economy Snapshot, 13 December 2024.</p> <p>The ratio in the shorter term is positive. </p> <p>No longer term data analysed.  / </p>
	<p>Econ 1</p> <p>A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		
<p>Employment – Participation rate Econ02.01.01</p> <p>The participation rate of people in the Australian workforce increases continuously and does not fall below 65%.</p>	<p>Econ 2</p> <p>A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>	<p>Between March 2015 and March 2020 (pre-Covid), the average annual participation rate of people in the Australian workforce was 65.2%. Source: ABS, 6202.0 Labour Force, Australia, Table 1.</p>	<p>Between May 2022 and November 2024 (post-Covid and 47th parliament), the average annual participation rate of people in the Australian workforce was 66.7%. Source: ABS, 6202.0 Labour Force, Australia, Table 1.</p> <p>The short term trend is positive. </p> <p>The longer term trend is positive. </p>
	<p>Econ 1</p> <p>A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		
<p>Employment – Participation rate of 15-64 year-olds Econ02.01.02</p> <p>The participation rate of people aged 15-64 years in the Australian workforce does not fall below 80%.</p>	<p>Econ 2</p> <p>A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>	<p>Between 2003 and 2023 the participation rate of people aged 15-64 years in the Australian workforce rose from 74.5% to 80.5%. Source: Australian Government Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework – broadening access to work. Source: ABS Labour Force Survey, May 2023.</p>	<p>Between 2021/22 and 2023/24, the average annual participation rate of people aged 15-64 years was:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2021/22 = 80.1% • 2022/23 = 80.1% • 2023/24 = 80.2% <p>Source: Australian Government Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework – broadening access to work. Source: ABS Labour Force Australia, Detailed.</p>
	<p>Econ 1</p> <p>A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 2 – Employment planning, industrial reform & economic transition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data									
			<p>The short term trend is steady.</p>  <p>The longer term trend is positive.</p> 								
<p>Underemployment Econ02.02</p> <p>The underemployment rate reduces to 3% and remains at or below that on a 12-month average, ensuring a fuller use of workforce capacity to expand the economy and sufficient labour scarcity to increase wages.⁵⁸</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="475 703 627 936">Econ 2</td> <td data-bbox="627 703 852 936">A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="475 936 627 1099">Econ 1</td> <td data-bbox="627 936 852 1099">A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="475 1099 627 1429">Econ 3</td> <td data-bbox="627 1099 852 1429">A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="475 1429 627 1525">Econ 4</td> <td data-bbox="627 1429 852 1525">A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</td> </tr> </table>	Econ 2	A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.	Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	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.	<p>The rate of underemployment has steadily increased since 1978 from 2.7% to 9% in January 2020.</p> <p>In 2019, the 12-month average for underemployment was 8.8%.</p> <p>In 2019, the 3-year rolling average for underemployment was 8.9%.</p> <p>Source: ABS, 6202.0 Labour Force Australia, Table 22</p> <p>Between April 2015 and March 2020 (pre-Covid), the underemployment rate averaged 8.5% annually.</p> <p>Source: ABS, 6202.0 Labour Force, Australia, Table 1.</p>	<p>Between April 2022 and November 2024 (post-Covid and 47th parliament), the underemployment rate averaged 6.3% annually.</p> <p>Source: ABS, 6202.0 Labour Force, Australia, Table 1.</p> <p>The short term trend is positive, although still nowhere near the Target.</p>  <p>The longer term trend is positive.</p> 
Econ 2	A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.										
Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.										
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.										
<p>Underutilisation of the labour force Econ02.02.01</p>	<p>Econ 2</p> <p>A model of employment planning & justice in industrial</p>	<p>The rate of underutilisation of Australia’s labour force⁵⁹ has trended</p>	<p>Between April 2022 and November 2024 (post-Covid and 47th parliament), the</p>								

⁵⁸ Targets for underemployment in **Econ02.02**, underutilisation in **Econ02.02.01** and duration of unemployment in **Econ02.03** 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, strongly suggests a revision is necessary. However, it is important to note that *Australia Together* does not assume that policy decisions on acceptable levels of unemployment should be driven primarily by Reserve Bank decisions on the NAIRU or other inflation-related targets. The primary policy responsibility is to ensure full employment and to manage any inflationary effects by a means of other policy levers such as changing the economic composition (eg., under **Econ01.05**, **Econ01.06**, **Econ01.07**, **Econ02.04**, **Econ02.04.01**, and **Econ02.05**) so that it controls inflation. In *Australia Together*, changes in targets for underemployment, underutilisation and duration of unemployment could therefore only be influenced by RBA decisions on the NAIRU in exceptional circumstances.

⁵⁹ 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.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 2 – Employment planning, industrial reform & economic transition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	
<p>The rate of underutilisation of labour reduces to 8% and remains at or below that on a 12-month average, ensuring a fuller use of workforce capacity to expand the economy and sufficient labour scarcity to increase wages.</p>		reform & economic transitions.	<p>underutilisation rate for labour averaged 10.1% annually. Source: ABS, 6202.0 Labour Force, Australia, Table 1.</p> <p>The short term trend is positive, although it still falls short of the Target.</p> <p>→</p> <p>The longer term trend is positive.</p> <p>→</p>
	Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	
	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 6	An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.	
	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	
	Soc 6	A society of equals.	
<p>Duration of unemployment Econ02.03</p> <p>The median duration of unemployment for Australia as a whole is below 10 weeks, reflecting the success of job creation programs by the government sector consistent with a</p>	Econ 2	A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.	<p>In the 2020 year, the median duration of unemployment for Australia was 17.3 weeks compared to the boom period of 2000 to 2013 when the median was 12.2 weeks.</p> <p>In 2019, the 12-month median duration of</p>
	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are	

⁶⁰ **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.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 2 – Employment planning, industrial reform & economic transition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	
<p>National Plan for Full Employment Supported by a Universal Basic Income (as per Econ02.04) and ensuring that wages cannot be suppressed due to artificially high rates of unemployment.</p>		<p>unemployment for Australia was 15.5 weeks.</p>	<p>In 2024, the 3-year rolling median duration of unemployment for Australia was 12.1 weeks, a significant improvement compared to the three year period ending in 2021 which was 16.6 weeks.</p> <p>Source: ABS, Labour Force Australia, Detailed, November 2024, Table 14a</p> <p>The short term trend is positive.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend is neutral to negative.</p> <p></p>
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>	<p>In 2019, the 3-year rolling median duration of unemployment for Australia was 15.9 weeks, compared to 2010 when the 3-year rolling average was 11.1 weeks.</p>	
	<p>Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.</p>	<p>Source: ABS, 6291.0.55.001 Labour Force Australia, Table 16c</p>	
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
<p>Permanence and casualisation of employment Econ02.03.01</p> <p>Average weekly hours worked by casual employees declines relative to non-casual employees and the length of time taken to transition from casual to permanent employment falls continuously.</p>	<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>	<p>Between 2015 and 2019, the average weekly hours worked by casual employees was 22.1, up from 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 casualisation of Australia’s workforce.</p>	<p>No comparable data updates have been provided in HILDA surveys.</p> <p>However, the ABS has reported that between 1984 and 2000, rates of workforce casualisation (employees without paid leave entitlements) rose steadily from 15.7% to 24.8% and then averaged about 24.5% until 2020.</p>
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>		
	<p>Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets, creating confidence for investors.</p>		
	<p>Econ 6 An economy with competitive &</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 2 – Employment planning, industrial reform & economic transition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	
	<p>profitable public sector participation.</p> <p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p> <p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p> <p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p> <p>Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.</p> <p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>	<p>2015 and 2018, this dropped to 35.9%. Source: Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) Survey 2021, Tables 4.7 and 4.10</p>	<p>Increasing rates of casualisation have a negative effect on the security of workers, regardless of the hours worked. Access to entitlements for parental leave, sick leave, etc. is essential for health, wellbeing and social cohesion (see Econ02.03.02 below), as is predictability of working arrangements. Between 2014 and 2022, the proportion of persons who had irregular working arrangements rose from 27.1% to 28.2% Source: ABS, Working Arrangements August 2024, Employees without paid leave entitlements</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral to positive. </p> <p>The longer term trend is negative. </p>
<p>Permanence and casualisation of employment – access to paid leave entitlements Econ02.03.02 The proportion of employees who do not have access to paid leave entitlements falls continuously.</p>	<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p> <p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	<p>Between 2014 and 2023, the proportion of employees who did not have access to paid leave entitlements fell from 24.2% to 22.1%. Source: Australian Government Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework – secure jobs.</p>	<p>Between 2022 and 2024, the proportion of employees who did not have access to paid leave entitlements averaged 22.7% and was steady in a range between 23.6% and 22.1%. Source: Australian Government Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework – secure jobs. Source: ABS, Working Arrangements August 2024, Employees without paid leave entitlements.</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 2 – Employment planning, industrial reform & economic transition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.</p>		<p>The short term trend is positive.</p> <p>➔</p>
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		<p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p>➔</p>
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.</p>		
	<p>Soc 9 A land without homelessness and with decent affordable housing for all.</p>		
	<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>		
	<p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p>		
<p>Employment planning</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: National plan for full employment supported by a universal basic income Econ02.04 By 2024, in association with</p>	<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>	<p>In 2020, Australians had no guarantee of decent productive employment and they were facing the ongoing removal of social safety nets and rights to a decent basic income throughout their lives. Before any further erosion of benefits and access to</p>	<p>In 2023, the federal government released “Working Future”, a white paper on jobs and opportunities. The main objective was to deliver “sustained and inclusive full employment.” The paper included a</p>
	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 2 – Employment planning, industrial reform & economic transition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	
<p>processes for development of a National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing (see Econ04.02), the federal government convenes a process of joint development of a draft plan to re-structure the competitive mix of industries and labour market policies supporting Australia’s economy to achieve full employment continuously from 2027 (where full employment is defined consistent with the targets for underemployment in Econ02.02, underutilisation in</p>	<p>Econ 3</p> <p>A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	<p>social support, and in anticipation of transitional issues associated with robotization and artificial intelligence, a plan for industry transition and labour market negotiation is required, in parallel and consistent with a National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing and in order to meet commitments made under UN Sustainable Development Goals adopted in 2015 by Australia.</p>	<p>roadmap focussed on ten policy areas.⁶¹ Source: Commonwealth of Australia, Working Future, The Australian Government’s White Paper on Jobs and Opportunities, September 2023.</p> <p>Key strengths of the roadmap included the fact that it:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • placed full employment at the centre of policy decisions; • recognised the changing composition of the economy towards care, services and net zero emissions; and • accepted the need to expand access to education from
	<p>Econ 4</p> <p>A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>		
	<p>Econ 5</p> <p>A strong regulator of fairness in markets, creating confidence for investors.</p>	<p>In 2019, 84% of Australians believed that “the minimum [social] wage should</p>	
	<p>Econ 6</p> <p>An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.</p>		

⁶¹ Commonwealth of Australia, [Working Future White Paper 2023](#). The ten focus areas were:

1. Strengthening economic foundations by placing full employment at the heart of our institutions and policy frameworks, progressing a five pillar productivity agenda and strengthening the foundations for secure, fairly paid jobs.
2. Modernising industry and regional policy so people, communities and businesses are positioned to withstand the challenges and reap the benefits as we strive to become a renewable energy superpower, realise the opportunities of technological change and broaden and deepen Australia’s industrial base.
3. Planning for our future workforce by coordinating skill priorities and policies, and meeting workforce needs in the context of a growing care and support economy, the net zero transformation and technological change.
4. Broadening access to foundation skills by charting a course towards universal access to affordable, quality early childhood education and care, improving school outcomes and expanding access to adult learning opportunities that help people find and keep a secure, fairly paid job.
5. Investing in skills, tertiary education and lifelong learning by increasing the share of Australians studying in areas of high skills need, improving collaboration between the vocational and higher education sectors, and removing barriers to learning across the course of people’s lives.
6. Reforming the migration system through better targeting skilled migration, improving the employment outcomes of international students and realising the employment potential of migrants.
7. Building capabilities through employment services by setting out clear principles for future reform and implementing changes in an evidence-based way that applies learnings from evaluations and accounts for the needs of local labour markets and individuals.
8. Reducing barriers to work by addressing disincentives to participate, improving the quality of support for people with disability, and promoting gender equality.
9. Partnering with communities to achieve genuine place-based change informed by community needs, deepening ties with social enterprise and partnering with First Nations people to support economic development.
10. Promoting inclusive, dynamic workplaces by working with employers to foster workplace diversity, collaborating with businesses through the employment services system and improving the quality and transparency of data to measure workplace performance.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 2 – Employment planning, industrial reform & economic transition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	
<p>Econ02.02.01, and duration of unemployment in Econ02.03). By 2025, nation-wide community engagement on the draft national plan is to be completed (alongside associated consultation on a universal basic income as per Econ04.02.04). By 2026, a national full employment plan, consistent with community agreements in a National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing, is adopted. By 2026, federal, state, territory, and local governments develop implementation plans consistent with the adopted national plan. From 2027, achieve and maintain ongoing full and productive work for all Australians.</p> <p>*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."</p>	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>	<p>be high enough so that no family with a full-time worker falls 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, <i>Public Opinion in the Age of Trump, The United States and Australia Compared</i>.</p> <p>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, and Gareth Hutchens, <i>A majority of Australians would welcome a universal basic income, survey finds</i>, ABC News 11 December 2020.</p>	<p>early childhood to adulthood. Potential weaknesses of the roadmap were that it did not move away from either:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> contracted employment services providers, which left welfare payment approvals in the hands of private businesses and perpetuated conflict of interest problems in employment services; or targeted welfare and mutual obligation principles, which are meant for cost control but which bake in poverty and inequality and actually increase costs. <p>A key weakness was that the roadmap was neither linked to nor acknowledged necessary reforms of the welfare system which should be designed to create a fair economy of equal opportunity in Australia based on principles selected by citizens, such as those listed for community consideration in the draft National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing released by ACFP in April 2024. Nor was there acknowledgement of the need for income</p>
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		

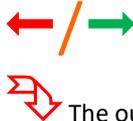
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 2 – Employment planning, industrial reform & economic transition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	
			<p>security for all Australians during economic transitions (and for purposes of workforce mobility that suits the preferences, talents and aspirations of Australians) that could be provided via introduction of a universal basic income (UBI).</p> <p>Short term benefits will arise from the roadmap but its preference for targeted welfare, as opposed to universal income security, will embed inequality and hamper progress with the roadmap itself. For more information on the benefits of income security in creating and maintaining full employment see ACFP’s resources on a universal basic income for all Australians.</p> <p>The roadmap doesn’t take Australians towards employment of choice; it takes them toward employment of an employer’s choice. In that form it does not offer net progress towards the Vision for <i>Australia Together</i> and does not offer security through transitions.</p> <p>The short term trend is positive.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>The longer term trend is neutral.</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 2 – Employment planning, industrial reform & economic transition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data																						
			 <p>The outlook trend is still negative as prospects for income security and employment of choice are adversely impacted by the federal government’s white paper roadmap and its lack of integration with programs for security and equity.</p>																					
<p>Employment planning</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Increasing government sector participation in the economy by a program of expansion of public sector employment in health, aged care, disability services, employment and welfare services, education, housing, conservation and land care, renewable energy, buildings efficiency and transport.</p> <p>Econ02.04.01 By 2024, in association with a national plan for full employment supported by a universal basic income (as per Econ02.04), and supported by initiatives under Econ04.02.01 and Econ04.02.03,</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="491 1003 547 1032">Econ</td> <td data-bbox="579 1003 600 1032">2</td> <td data-bbox="639 902 839 1128">A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="491 1279 547 1308">Econ</td> <td data-bbox="579 1279 600 1308">3</td> <td data-bbox="639 1128 839 1458">A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="491 1496 547 1525">Econ</td> <td data-bbox="579 1496 600 1525">4</td> <td data-bbox="639 1458 839 1559">A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="491 1626 547 1655">Econ</td> <td data-bbox="579 1626 600 1655">6</td> <td data-bbox="639 1559 839 1720">An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="499 1756 539 1785">Soc</td> <td data-bbox="579 1756 600 1785">3</td> <td data-bbox="639 1720 839 1821">Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="499 1856 539 1886">Soc</td> <td data-bbox="579 1856 600 1886">4</td> <td data-bbox="639 1821 839 1921">A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="499 1937 539 1966">Soc</td> <td data-bbox="579 1937 600 1966">5</td> <td data-bbox="639 1921 839 1980">A model of lifelong</td> </tr> </table>	Econ	2	A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.	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	6	An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.	Soc	3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	Soc	4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	Soc	5	A model of lifelong	<p>In 2017, 82% of Australians “wanted government to retain the skills and capability to deliver services directly”.</p> <p>Source: Centre for Policy Development Study, “What Do Australians Want? Active and Effective Government Fit for the Ages”</p> <p>By May 2021, national research by Essential indicated that when asked about the preferred approach to creating jobs and economic growth, 66% of respondents said “the <i>government</i> should <i>directly</i> invest in the economy by creating projects and jobs, and raise the standard of living for the majority of workers” and only 17% said that <i>businesses</i> should be encouraged “to grow and create more jobs” through “relaxion of regulations and lower taxes for the wealthy”.</p>	<p>Between 2022 and 2024 the federal government increased the size of the federal public service by more than 30,000. Total public sector employees across all three levels of government (federal, state and local) increased by 169,500 (7.2%). The three biggest increases were for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> education and training = up 52,300; public administration and safety = up 50,800; and health care and social assistance = 43,000. <p>Source: ABS, Public Sector Employment and Earnings, 2024.</p> <p>In 2023, the federal government funded the establishment of Public Skills Australia, a Jobs</p>
Econ	2	A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.																						
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Economy 2 – Employment planning, industrial reform & economic transition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	
<p>establish a program to expand public sector employment and participation in the Australian economy by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> developing a public sector workforce plan to significantly increase direct employment by state and federal governments in health, aged care, disability services, employment and welfare services, education, housing, conservation and land care, renewable energy, buildings efficiency and transport, recognising these as the job growth areas of the future; reversing the growth in contracting out of public services; and reversing the growth in consultancies and re-establish in-house public policy services. <p>By 2024, incorporate the new public sector workforce plan into the nation-wide community engagement on the draft national plan for full employment supported by a</p>		Source: Essential Research Report, 11 May 2021	and Skills Council (JSC) for the “public safety and government industry”, which took on responsibility for public sector workforce planning in correctional services, defence, fire and emergency services and police. The JSC produced an initial workforce plan, although it was confined to public sector employment for public safety (defence, emergency services, police) and was not designed with an objective of assisting expansion of direct investment by the government sector for the purpose of full employment or as a competitive participant in and contributor to the Australian economy.
	<p>Soc 6 educational opportunity.</p>	Nevertheless, between June 2014 and June 2019, the Australian government shed 19,364 Australian Public Service (APS) employees – almost 12% of its workforce. At the same time, annual spending by the federal 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.	
	<p>Soc 9 A society of equals.</p>	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.	
	<p>Soc 10 A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all</p>	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.	
	<p>Soc 11 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse</p>		
	<p>Soc 12 A land without child disadvantage</p>		
	<p>Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity</p>		
	<p>Env 6 A renewable energy superpower.</p>		
	<p>Env 12 A protector of scarce resources.</p>		
<p>Env 19 A land of thriving self-supporting regions.</p>			
<p>Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.</p>		<p>Workforce planning designed specifically to increase direct employment by the government in health, aged care, employment and welfare services, education, housing, conservation and land care, renewable energy, buildings efficiency and transport, was not established as a centralised priority activity. However, there was a significant</p>	

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	
<p>universal basic income (as per Econ02.04).</p>		<p>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.</p>	<p>reversal of the trend of contracting out of public service roles leading to total savings on contractors and consultants of \$4 billion over 3 years and a significant boost to the capacity of the public service.</p> <p>Source: Media release, Katy Gallagher, Minister for Finance, “Rebuilding and rebalancing public service critical for Australia’s future,” 6 May 2024.</p> <p>Between 2019 and 2024, the employment opportunities offered to Australians in the mining sector stagnated at 2.1%. But employment in:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • education increased from 7.8% to 8.9%; and • health care and social assistance increased from 13.3% to 15.5%. <p>Health, welfare and education continue to be the employment colossus of Australia.</p> <p>Source: ABS, Labour Force Australia, Detailed. 23 January 2025.</p> <p>Notwithstanding the narrow focus of workforce planning, the increase in the size of the public service represented a significant increase in the strength and resilience of the Australian economy. Increases in employment to support health, education,</p>

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data													
			<p>administration and safety, if sustained, will build a people centred economy in Australia where the public interest comes first.</p> <p>The short term trend is positive.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>The longer term trend is neutral overall but the outlook is positive.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p>												
<p>Economic transition funding to drive sector-wide transformations with safety nets</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: National Economic Transitions Commission Econ02.05</p> <p>By 2025, acknowledging that:</p> <p>a) globalisation of economies and other global forces such as climate change and war will, from time to time, deliver sector-wide shocks to or shifts in Australia’s economy;</p> <p>b) Australia’s economy is not organised to maximise environmental and economic sustainability; and</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="467 931 627 1160">Econ 2</td> <td data-bbox="627 931 852 1160">A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="467 1160 627 1323">Econ 1</td> <td data-bbox="627 1160 852 1323">A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="467 1323 627 1653">Econ 3</td> <td data-bbox="627 1323 852 1653">A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="467 1653 627 1749">Econ 4</td> <td data-bbox="627 1653 852 1749">A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="467 1749 627 1951">Econ 5</td> <td data-bbox="627 1749 852 1951">A strong regulator of fairness in markets, creating confidence for investors.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="467 1951 627 2038">Econ 6</td> <td data-bbox="627 1951 852 2038">An economy with competitive & profitable public</td> </tr> </table>	Econ 2	A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.	Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	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.	Econ 6	An economy with competitive & profitable public	<p>In 2020, Australia faced serious impacts to two key sectors of its economy arising from factors beyond their control:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Coal mining, due to the inevitable decline of demand for fossil fuels; and Tertiary education, due to loss of international student demand after Covid-19. <p>No coordinated policies were put in place to assist employees in either of these industries in a manner that would shift the economy onto a new sustainable footing. In fact:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> assistance was specifically withheld in the case of tertiary education resulting in the 	<p>In 2024, Australia still had no independent commission for management of economic transitions. Preparation for transitions was more <i>ad hoc</i> and reactive than proactive and, overall, was more likely to result in greater rather than less exposure to risks of war and climate change.</p> <p>In 2025, Australia had no recognised guidance system or principles (such as the National Sustainable Industries Index envisaged under Econ01.04 above or a National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing envisaged under Econ04.02) to aid in the selection of directions for the economy and the most appropriate composition of industries for the future.</p>
Econ 2	A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.														
Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.														
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<p>c) in association with the National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing under Econ04.02, establish a National Economic Transitions Commission with a charter of facilitating sector-wide economic shifts occasioned by global impacts (such as climate change, pandemics, trade restrictions or war) and responsibility for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> timely identification of sector-wide disruptions; recommendations for changes in the composition of the economy in line with the need to transition to sustainable growth and away from unsustainable growth as may be indicated by the National Sustainable Industries Index envisaged under Econ01.04 above; recommendations on policy for funding and management of required transitions (either out of the affected industry sector or across to a new funding platform capable 	sector participation.	loss of over 17,000 jobs; and	Between 2022 and 2024, however, some progress was made in relation to fair transition towards a lower carbon economy with the establishment of the Net Zero Economy Authority (see Econ02.05.01 below).
	<p>Econ 9 Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> in the case of coal mining, inordinate support for corporate vested interests was provided contrary to the best economic interests of the public (via appointment of fossil fuel business owners to a national Covid-19 Commission). 	The Future Made in Australia package released in 2024 also contained some initiatives to assist transitions, but its potential beneficial effects were counteracted (possibly twice over) by the fact that it proposed excessive expenditures on defence which would significantly weaken the economy in the face of climate change and expose Australia unnecessarily to a greater risk of war (see Soc16.01 above).
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>	Political and economic immaturity significantly impacted the nation's capacity to efficiently facilitate vital sector-wide economic shifts.	
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming and enabling.</p>	In 2021, no independent facilitation had been established for purposes of sector-wide economic transitions.	Australia also continued to suffer from a lack of coordination across agencies in establishment of market structures necessary to ensure the resilience of any new economic transformations. Reviews of competition policy did not prioritise a reversal of neoliberal policies and market domination by private monopolies – see Econ05.01 below. On
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Env 1 A leading global advocate for action on climate change.</p>		
	<p>Env 2 A net zero emissions nation.</p>		
	<p>Env 4 A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.</p>		
	<p>Env 6 A renewable energy superpower.</p>		
	<p>Env 8 Environmentally & economically sustainable in agriculture & fisheries.</p>		
<p>Env 12 A protector of scarce resources.</p>			
<p>Env 18 Multi-central in its cities, efficiently connecting people with jobs, health, education & recreation.</p>			
<p>Env 19 A land of thriving self-supporting regions.</p>			
<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>			

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data		
<p>of sustaining the affected industry);</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • implementation of approved funding programs supporting the transitions; and • coordination of any multi-agency involvement in establishment of market structures necessary to ensure the resilience of any new economic transformations. <p>Independence of the Commission should be secured by an act of parliament which mandates that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the Commission should be fully resourced; • commissioners should be appointed for 5-year periods (non-renewable) and must be subject to the proposed post-separation employment rules for politicians as per Gov05.05. <p>Procedures for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ensuring independence of commissioners, • prevention of corruption, 	<p>Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.</p>		<p>the contrary, the government espoused policies that downgraded the potential for public sector involvement in markets to act as an effective and essential brake on any excesses arising from anti-competitive activity by the private sector. The lack of policy favouring an expanded and strong public sector presence in direct competition with private players, particularly in human services, posed a significant threat to efficient and sustainable market structures.⁶²</p> <p>Nor was there sufficient focus on achieving the level of services security (especially in university education and housing) necessary for safe and fair economic transitions. Policy risk associated with excessive reliance on partnerships between business and government (most to the exclusion of direct investment by governments in services) remained a significant threat to Australia’s capacity to restructure its economy</p>	
	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>			
	<p>Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</p>			

⁶² For more information see Bronwyn Kelly, [Conversations with Australia’s Treasurer about building an Australian people’s economy](#), Part 3, Conversations about a competitive economy, ACFP, March 2023.

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Economy 2 – Employment planning, industrial reform & economic transition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> management of conflicts of interest, codes of conduct and meeting practice, and full transparency in advice and decisions <p>must be specified in the enabling legislation.</p> <p>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.</p>			<p>to deliver wellbeing and security.</p> <p>Generally, federal government policy also left subsidies and tax arrangements in place that were set to detract from achievements that might be expected from the Net Zero Economy Authority (see Econ01.06, Econ01.06.01 and Econ01.08 above).</p> <p>In short, Australia’s economy was still set to suffer from a lack of integrated planning and a series of contradictory and therefore self-defeating policy choices.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral at best.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend is also neutral.</p> <p></p> <p> The outlook trend is negative because positive steps such as a Net Zero Economy Authority are undermined by other policy settings.</p>
<p>Economic transition funding to drive sector-wide transformations with safety nets – Coal industry closure Econ02.05.01</p>	<p>Econ 2</p> <p>A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>	<p>In 2015, the International Monetary Fund estimated that the size of subsidy provided by Australian taxpayers to the fossil fuel industry</p>	<p>In its 2024/25 budget, the federal government allocated \$399.1 million over four years to establish the Net Zero Economy Authority. The Authority</p>

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<p>By 2024, regardless of whether the National Economic Transitions Commission is established under Econ02.05 and utilising a small portion of the savings to taxpayers that can be anticipated from the elimination of fossil fuel subsidies under Env02.03, establish a one-off \$1 billion redundancy and redeployment fund for employees of thermal coal mining and coal-fired power companies who are facing displacement, accessible until 2026 (and no later). Payments from the fund should reflect years of service, plus transition costs associated with re-training and relocation, and be in addition to all other termination entitlements under agreements with private employers. Note: Payment from the fund would not be applicable to workers who take up employment in thermal coal mining or coal fired power stations after creation of the fund and no worker receiving payments for redundancy and redeployment could</p>	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>	<p>was AU\$42 billion approximately or 2.3% of GDP (US\$29 billion) and AU\$1,700 per capita approximately per annum. This equates to setting aside the equivalent of \$730,000 of taxpayer funded subsidy each year for each person employed in coal mining and oil and gas exploration and production in Australia. The Australian taxpayer receives no share of the profits in return for its subsidisation of the fossil fuel industry. Profits are largely offshored and royalties do not sufficiently offset subsidies to provide decent returns. Nor does the fossil fuel industry contribute to clean-up costs or climate change adaptation costs. Creation of a fund to make coal workers redundant and transfer them to sustainable industries (including other types of mining) would equate to a massive saving for Australia. If implemented in addition to a carbon price it would make transition to net zero and a new economy</p>	<p>commenced operations on 11 December 2024. Its role was to “support the economy-wide net zero transformation that is underway by acting as a catalyst for private and public investment, major project development, employment transition, skills and community development.” Source: Federal Budget 2024/25, Budget Paper No. 1.</p> <p>The Authority’s website stated that, “The Authority promotes a just net zero economic transformation for Australia, its regions, industries, workers and communities. It is doing this by coordinating effort, brokering investments that create jobs in regions, and supporting workers through change.” Source: Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, Net Zero Economy Authority webpage, January 2025.</p> <p>With a budget of only \$399.1 million over four years, most of which would probably be spent on “catalysing investment in new industries and jobs”, it would not be anticipated that a redundancy fund will be the form of transition support provided to coal workers. The bill</p>
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>		
	<p>Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets, creating confidence for investors.</p>		
	<p>Econ 9 Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.</p>		
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming and enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Env 1 A leading global advocate for action on climate change.</p>		
	<p>Env 2 A net zero emissions nation.</p>		
<p>Env 4 A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.</p>			

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	
<p>be permitted to work in the coal sector in the future, recognising that the taxpayer funded transition program is to support transition to a sustainable economy, not a revolving door and additional subsidy to the coal industry.</p> <p>Note: This proposal for a \$1 billion fund may be subject to movement up or down, depending on need.</p>	<p>Env 6 A renewable energy superpower.</p>	<p>affordable for Australia.</p>	<p>establishing the Authority required an Energy Industry Jobs Plan designed to support employees in eligible closing coal-fired and gas-fired power stations and dependent businesses to transition directly to new employment. It did not contribute to closure of coal mining.</p>
	<p>Env 8 Environmentally & economically sustainable in agriculture & fisheries.</p>	<p>Source: International Monetary Fund "IMF Working Paper: Global Fossil Fuel Subsidies Remain Large: An Update Based on Country-Level Estimates, WP/19/89", 2019</p>	<p></p>
	<p>Env 12 A protector of scarce resources.</p>	<p>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.</p>	<p></p>
	<p>Env 19 A land of thriving self-supporting regions.</p>	<p>Schemes which incentivise early closure of the thermal coal industry will provide significantly higher returns to Australia than continued subsidies for coal.</p>	<p></p>
	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>	<p>Source: ABS Stat.beta Labour account Australia</p>	<p></p>
	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>	<p>In 2020, research by the Australia Institute found that: "A phase-out of thermal coal mining over ten years would imply a loss of between 500 and 1,000 specialist mining jobs each year. Taking account of early retirement, natural attrition, and redeployment within the mining industry, the number requiring special assistance for</p>	<p>The small scale of expenditure and the focus on transferring to a post carbon economy by 2050 rather than the 2030s indicates a "too little too late" plan. Nevertheless, creation of the Authority demonstrated that efforts were being organised to facilitate a just transition to a post carbon economy.</p>
	<p>Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</p>	<p></p>	<p>The short term trend is positive.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend is neutral.</p> <p></p> <p> The outlook trend is negative because of the slowness and underfunding of the Net Zero Economy Authority's work.</p>

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Economy 2 – Employment planning, industrial reform & economic transition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data													
		transition, or a top up to offset the loss of premium wages, would probably be no more than 250 per year. An assistance package of \$100,000 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													
<p>Economic transition funding to drive sector-wide transformations with safety nets – Higher education (university) sector recovery and expansion Econ02.05.02 By no later than the 2024/25 federal budget:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> recognising the need to reverse planned funding reductions for tertiary education and the need to meet increased demand for university education consistent with the fee-free program under Soc05.01, and utilising anticipated savings from the elimination of fossil fuel subsidies under Env02.03, establish a \$5 billion restoration fund over two years to restore 	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="467 840 630 1070">Econ 2</td> <td data-bbox="630 840 853 1070">A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="467 1070 630 1234">Econ 1</td> <td data-bbox="630 1070 853 1234">A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="467 1234 630 1559">Econ 3</td> <td data-bbox="630 1234 853 1559">A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="467 1559 630 1659">Econ 4</td> <td data-bbox="630 1559 853 1659">A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="467 1659 630 1854">Econ 5</td> <td data-bbox="630 1659 853 1854">A strong regulator of fairness in markets, creating confidence for investors.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="467 1854 630 2009">Econ 6</td> <td data-bbox="630 1854 853 2009">An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.</td> </tr> </table>	Econ 2	A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.	Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	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.	Econ 6	An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.	<p>In 2021, Universities Australia reported that over 17,300 university jobs were lost in 2020 due to Covid-19 and forecast further losses in 2021. They also reported a loss of \$1.8 billion in revenue 2020/21, an expected further loss of \$2 billion in 2021/22 and extended losses for subsequent years due to loss of international student enrolments. While the federal government increased funding for 2020/21 to support ongoing research in universities during Covid-19, it also reversed that injection in the following years, leaving the sector net worse off by more than \$4.2 billion compared to pre-Covid-19 funding arrangements. By 2023/24, the university sector budget will be 6.1% lower than it was in 2019/20.</p>	<p>In 2023/24, it was apparent that the federal government had no plans to provide funding to restore university teaching staff levels to pre-Covid numbers. While the government accepted the recommendation of the Universities Australia Accord (see Soc05.01.04 above) that if Australia is “to meet Australia’s skills needs” it will need to “more than double the number of Commonwealth supported students in universities from 860,000 currently to 1.8 million by 2050,” there were no plans to increase public funding for this purpose.</p> <p>On the contrary, the 2023 Intergenerational Report disclosed that “spending [on all education – primary, secondary, tertiary] is projected to decrease as a share of GDP from 1.7 per cent of GDP in</p>
Econ 2	A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.														
Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.														
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Economy 2 – Employment planning, industrial reform & economic transition

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	
			<p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are both negative.</p> <p>←</p>

Economy 3 – Equitable improvement in living standards

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy			
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
<p>Income inequality Econ03.01</p> <p>The Gini coefficient for equivalised disposable household income moves on progressively from the baseline towards zero.</p>	<p>Econ 3</p> <p>A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	<p>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 worsened.</p> <p>Source: ABS 6523.0 - Household Income & Wealth</p>	<p>In 2019/20, the Gini coefficient for equivalised disposable income was 0.324, relatively steady from 2017-18 (0.328), and slightly higher than 2003-04 (0.306). No later data have been supplied by the ABS.</p> <p>Source: ABS, Measuring What Matters, Income and Wealth Inequality, 2024</p>
	<p>Soc 3</p> <p>Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		<p>More recent data from the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) survey shows increasing levels of income inequality in the years since 2019-20, with the Gini coefficient for equivalised disposable household income increasing from 0.289 in 2019-20 to 0.322 in 2021-22, well above the average for the previous 20 years.</p> <p>Source: ABS, Measuring What Matters, Income and Wealth Inequality, 2024.</p> <p>Source: Productivity Commission, A snapshot of inequality in Australia, 2024.</p>
	<p>Soc 6</p> <p>A society of equals.</p>		<p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p>
<p>Wealth inequality Econ03.01.01</p> <p>The Gini coefficient for household net worth (wealth) moves on progressively from</p>	<p>Econ 3</p> <p>A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living</p>	<p>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</p>	<p>In 2019-20, the Gini coefficient for household net worth was 0.611, relatively steady from 2017-18 (0.621) and slightly higher than 2003-04 (0.573).</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

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
<p>the baseline towards zero.</p>	<p>standards improve continuously for all.</p>	<p>inequality has worsened. Source: ABS 6523.0 - Household Income & Wealth</p>	<p>More recent data from the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) survey shows decreasing levels of wealth inequality in the years since 2019-20, with the Gini coefficient for equivalised household net worth decreasing from 0.609 in 2018-19 to 0.584 in 2022-23. Source: ABS, Measuring What Matters, Income and Wealth Inequality, 2024.</p> <p>The short term trend is positive.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>The ABS and HILDA appear to collect Gini coefficient data in different years and possibly using different methodologies. Taken together though, the longer term trend is negative.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p>
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
<p>Distribution of national wealth – corporations versus wage earners Econ03.01.02 The share of annual national income (GDP) returned as wages rises continuously and the share devoted to corporate profits declines continuously until such time as the Gini coefficient for equivalised disposable household income in</p>	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	<p>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 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 corporate profits as</p>	<p>In 2022, 50% of national income went to Australians in wages and the share that went to corporate profits was 31%.</p> <p>In 2024, 52.5% of national income went to Australians in wages and the share that went to corporate profits was 29.4%. Source: ABS, 5206.0 Australian National Accounts: National Income, Expenditure and Product, Table 34.</p>
	<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>		

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Australia improves to its best recorded score, which was in 1996/97 – 0.292, whereupon this target should be reviewed to match the Gini coefficient of the best OECD performer for income and wealth inequality.</p> <p>Note: In 2015, Norway had the best Gini coefficient for developed countries (0.275), while Australia’s score in 2017/18 was 0.328 as per Econ03.01.</p>	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>	<p>proportions of national income (GDP). This significantly aggravated growth in inequality. Source: ABS 5206.0 Table 1</p>	<p>The short term trend is positive. </p> <p>The longer term trend is negative. </p>
	<p>Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets, creating confidence for investors.</p>		
	<p>Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.</p>		
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing & affirming decency.</p>		
	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>		
<p>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</p>	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	<p>In the 3 years to September 2019, total corporate profits in Australia rose by 49.7% 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</p>	<p>In the 5 years to March 2024, total corporate profits in Australia rose by 49.2% or an average of 8.6% annually while total paid in wages rose by only 33.0% or an average of 5.9% annually. Over the five years, profits rose at 1.49 times the rate of wages paid. ABS 5676.0, Tables 11 & 17</p> <p>The rate at which corporate profit growth is outstripping wages growth</p>
	<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform</p>		

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
3-year rolling average).	& economic transitions.		is lower than it was in the three years to September 2019 but is still nowhere near parity.
	Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.		
	Soc 6 A society of equals.		<p>The short term trend is neutral to positive (although the target has not been met).</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>The longer term trend is neutral to negative because parity has not been achieved and nor have the shares of wages lost to corporate profits over decades been made up.</p> <p align="center"></p>
<p>Distribution of growth in income & wealth – growth in wages (hourly rates of pay) relative to growth in GDP</p> <p>Econ03.02.01</p> <p>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.</p>	Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	<p>Between 1999 and 2007 (pre-GFC), average annual growth was:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> wages = 3.5%, and GDP = 3.5%. <p>Between 2008 and 2014, average annual growth was:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> wages = 3.5%, and GDP = 2.8%. 	<p>Between 2020 and 2022 (during Covid), average annual growth was:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> wages = 2.0%, and GDP = 2.1%. <p>Between 2015 and 2022 (during Covid), average annual growth was:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> wages = 2.1%, and GDP = 2.3%. <p>Source: ABS 6345.0, Table 2a and ABS 5204.0, Table 1</p>
	Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	<p>Between 2015 and 2019, average annual growth was:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> wages = 2.2%, and GDP = 2.4%. 	<p>Between 2022 and 2024 (over three years), average annual growth was:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> wages = 3.4%, and GDP = 3.0%. <p>Source: ABS 6345.0, Table 2a and ABS 5204.0, Table 1 and ABS Measuring What Matters, Wages.</p>
	Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.	<p>Between 2015 and 2019, growth in hourly rates of pay was slower than average annual growth in GDP; Australians were not</p>	<p>During Covid-19 growth in hourly rates of pay roughly equalled GDP growth on</p>

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>	<p>getting a fair share of the economic growth they generated.</p> <p>In the three years to 2019, the average annual growth was:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> wages = 2.1%, and GDP = 2.5%. <p>Source: ABS 6345.0, Table 2a and ABS 5204.0, Table 1</p>	<p>average annually. After Covid, wages growth exceeded GDP growth on average between 2022 and 2024. This reflects somewhat more on the poor strength of the economy than it does on distributions of growth to wage earners. Between 2022 and 2024, while wages grew on average at 3.5% per annum, the CPI grew on average by 5.7%, resulting in falls in real wages. Wages earners gathered more shares of GDP but had less spending power. In the year to June 2024 real wage growth turned from negative to positive 0.3%. ABS Measuring What Matters, Wages (Wage Price Index).</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral to positive.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend is probably neutral.</p> <p></p>
<p>Distribution of growth in income & wealth – household disposable income Econ03.02.02 Growth in gross household disposable income per capita rises consistent with the strongest historical trends – measured as a 3-year rolling average.</p>	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p> <p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>	<p>Historical trends in average annual growth of gross household disposable income per capita:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1997-2008 = 5.3%; 2009-2013 = 4.2%; 2014-2019 = 2.2%. <p>Source: ABS 5204.0, Table 36 & ABS 3101, Table 1</p>	<p>The 3-year rolling average annual growth of gross household disposable income per capita for 2019 to 2021 was 3.9%.</p> <p>The 3-year rolling average annual growth of gross household disposable income per capita for 2022 to 2024 was 3.9%.</p> <p>The short term trend is positive.</p>

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>		<p> The longer term trend is positive.</p> <p> Note: the 3-year rolling average for Real Net National Disposable Income (RNNDI) per capita for the period from 2020/21 to 2022/23 was also positive at 3.3%. Source: ABS Measuring What Matters, National income per capita.</p>
<p>Distribution of growth in income & wealth – net worth of households Econ03.02.03</p> <p>The net worth of the lowest income households (the bottom 20%) rises continuously and at least in proportion to any rise for the top 20% of households.</p>	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	<p>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</p>	<p>Between 2013/14 and 2019/20 the net worth of the lowest 20% of households dropped by 10.5% while the net worth of the top 20% of households rose by 17.9%.</p> <p>Between 2009/10 and 2019/20 the net worth of the lowest 20% of households dropped by 9.6% while the net worth of the top 20% of households rose by 20.4%. Shares of aggregate net wealth fell substantially for the lowest 20%. A very significant widening of inequality that began around 2003 has never been repaired. Source: ABS 6523.0 – Household Income and Wealth</p> <p>No later data are available from the ABS.</p> <p>The short term trend can't be determined.</p> <p> The longer term trend is negative.</p>
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p>		

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Distribution of growth in income & wealth – earnings for welfare workers Econ03.02.04</p> <p>By 2030, average weekly earnings for welfare workers (includes residential care services, pre-school education and childcare and other social assistance services) grow at annual rates that are at least twice the rate of growth in the average weekly earnings for all Australians.</p> <p>*Consistent with UNSDG, Goal 5: “Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls” & Goal 10: “Reduce inequality within and among countries”, especially Target 10.1: “By 2030, progressively achieve and sustain income growth of the bottom 40 per cent of the population at a rate higher than the national average.”</p>	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	<p>In 2018, the average weekly earnings of welfare workers were \$838.90, compared with \$1,106.40 for workers in similar occupations in other industries. Source: AIHW, “Australia’s Welfare 2019, in brief”</p> <p>In November 2018, the average weekly earnings for Australians were:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Full time adult ordinary time earnings = \$1,605.50; • Earnings, persons, total = \$1,225.30. <p>Source: ABS 6302.0, Average Weekly Earnings Australia, November 2019, Table 1</p>	<p>←</p> <p>In August 2024, the average weekly earnings of welfare workers were:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health and welfare support workers = \$1,414.90; • Community and personal service workers = \$1,067.20; • Carers and aides = \$993.50. <p>Source: ABS, 6337.0, Employee Earnings August 2024, Table 4b</p> <p>In August 2024, the average weekly earnings for Australians were:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Full time adult ordinary time earnings = \$1,924.60; • Earnings, persons, total = \$1,479.10. <p>Source: ABS 6302.0, Average Weekly Earnings Australia, May 2024.</p> <p>Data comparable with the baseline have not been located. In 2024, welfare workers still earned less than the average for Australians. However, between 2014 and 2024 the gap between average wages of some welfare workers and average earnings of all workers narrowed. As a proportion of average weekly full time adult earnings, average weekly earnings for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health and welfare support workers rose from 67% in 2014 to 73% in 2022 and then 74% in 2024; • Community and personal service workers rose from
	<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>		
	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.</p>		
	<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>		
	<p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p>		
	<p>Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</p>		

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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
			<p>50% in 2014 to 53% in 2022 and then 55% in 2024; and</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Carers and aides rose from 44% in 2014 to 48% in 2022 and then 52% in 2024 <p>The gap is closing but it's still big.</p> <p>In August 2024, the Australian Government announced a 15% wage increase for early childhood education and care (ECEC) workers to be phased in over two years. Aged care workers also received wage rises of between 2.3% and 13.5% from January 2025. Source: Australian Government, Department of Education. Source: Australian Government, Department of Health and Aged Care.</p> <p>The short term trend for all welfare workers can't be determined but it is positive for some types of workers.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>The longer term trend is neutral to positive.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p>
<p>Elimination of poverty Econ03.03 The proportion of Australians living in poverty declines continuously and is at least halved by 2030 compared to the baseline year (2018).</p>	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	<p>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 income) after taking into account housing costs.</p>	<p>In 2022, it was reported by ACOSS and UNSW that "more than one in eight people in Australia (13.4%) lived below the poverty line in 2019-20, the first year of the pandemic. That amounts to 3,319,000 people. One in six children (16.6%) live</p>

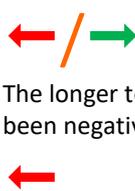
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

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
<p>Elimination of poverty – children Econ03.03.01 The proportion of children under the age of 15 living in poverty declines continuously and reaches zero by 2030.</p> <p>Elimination of poverty – young people Econ03.03.02 The proportion of young people between the ages of 15 and 24 living in poverty declines continuously and reaches zero by 2030.</p> <p><small>*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.”</small></p>	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>	<p>In 2018, 17.3% of children aged under 15 (more than one in six or 739,000) and 13.9% (410,000) of young people aged 15 to 24 years were living below the poverty line. Source: ACOSS & UNSW Sydney, Poverty in Australia 2018</p>	<p>in poverty. That amounts to 761,000 children.” Source: ACOSS & UNSW, Poverty in Australia 2022, A snapshot, October 2022.</p>
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		<p>In 2023, ACOSS and UNSW reported that “the average rate of poverty in 2019-20 was 17% among children, 14% among young people 15-24 years of age, 12% among people aged 25-64 years, and 14% among older people.” Source: ACOSS & UNSW, Poverty in Australia 2023, Who is affected, March 2023.</p>
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		<p>In 2023, the HILDA Survey reported that the proportion of the population below the relative poverty line has fluctuated over time, ranging between 9.9% and 12.9% for total income, 11.3% and 14.3% for after-housing income. “All measures trended downwards between 2007 and 2014, but then trended upward up until 2019. Poverty fell sharply in 2020, reflecting the early effects of the income supports introduced in March and April of 2020 but rebounded in 2021, albeit still below its 2019 levels.” Source: Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) 2013.</p>
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		<p>No later data appeared to be available.</p>
	<p>Soc 9 A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.</p>		<p>The short term trend is neutral in percentage terms but negative in</p>
	<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>		
	<p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p>		
<p>Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</p>			

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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
			<p>numbers. It equates to an extra 269,000 people in poverty, including 22,000 children in 2020 compared to 2018. The Australian government does not measure poverty. It's about time it did.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend has been negative since 2013.</p>
<p>Elimination of hunger Econ03.04</p> <p>The incidence of food insecurity and hunger declines continuously, ends by 2030, and does not re-emerge.</p> <p><small>*Consistent with UNSDG⁶³, Goal 2: "End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture", Target 2.1: "By 2030, end hunger and ensure access by all people, in particular the poor and people in vulnerable situations, including infants, to safe, nutritious and sufficient food all year round."</small></p>	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p> <p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p> <p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p> <p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p> <p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p> <p>Soc 8 A land without homelessness & with decent</p>	<p>In 2018/19, the number of people seeking food relief increased by 22%.</p> <p>In 2018/19, 21% of Australians experienced food insecurity.</p> <p>In 2018/19, at least once a week 30% of food insecure Australians went without eating for a whole day.</p> <p>Only 37% of charities reported meeting the full needs of people they assisted.</p> <p><small>Source: McCrindle Foodbank Hunger Report 2019</small></p>	<p>In 2020, 28% of Australians experienced food insecurity, up from 21% in 2018/19. <small>Source: McCrindle Foodbank Hunger Report 2020</small></p> <p>In 2024, Foodbank, this time using a different survey, reported food insecurity as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • in 2022 = 33% • in 2023 = 36% • in 2024 = 32%. <p><small>Source: Foodbank Hunger Report 2024, Ipsos.</small></p> <p>In 2024, Foodbank also reported that the proportion of severely food insecure households where adults had not eaten for a whole day because there wasn't enough money for</p>

⁶³ *Consistent with UNSDG – Indicates where targets/indicators 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 indicator 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", Australian governments have not selected indicators which will enable them to report on poverty growth in total and as at 2024 have not chosen to select a definition of poverty. Instead the government has chosen indicators such as duration of poverty. The Australian government's Measuring What Matters wellbeing framework does not measure poverty. For information on the Australian Government's process of data collection for UNSDGs, visit <https://www.dfat.gov.au/aid/topics/development-issues/2030-agenda/australias-report-implementation-sustainable-development-goals>

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	<p>affordable housing for all.</p> <p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p> <p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p> <p>Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</p>		<p>food was:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> in 2022 = 60% in 2023 = 52% in 2024 = 50%. <p>Source: Foodbank Hunger Report 2024, Ipsos.</p> <p>In 2020, 43% of all food insecure Australians went a whole day without eating at least once a week, compared to 30% in 2019.</p> <p>Source: McCrindle Foodbank Hunger Report 2020</p> <p>In 2024, Foodbank reported that the proportion of adults in severely food insecure households who had gone without eating for a whole day almost every month was:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> in 2022 = 53% in 2023 = 41% in 2024 = 35%. <p>Source: Foodbank Hunger Report 2024, Ipsos.</p> <p>In 2024, Foodbank reported that in those households experiencing food insecurity, 75% experienced it for the first time in 2024.</p> <p>Source: Foodbank Hunger Report 2024, Ipsos.</p> <p>The short term trend is probably neutral.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p></p>
<p>Indebtedness – households Econ03.05</p>	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth &</p>	<p>In 2015/16, 27.2% of households were classified as over-indebted (households</p>	<p>In 2017/18, 28.4% of households were classified as over-indebted, an increase of 1.2 percentage</p>

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>The percentage of households experiencing over-indebtedness is continuously decreasing.</p>	<p>prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	<p>with debt 3 or more times income). Compared to 2005/06 when 23.4% of households were over-indebted the measure has substantially worsened. Source: ABS 6523.0, Household Income and Wealth, Australia 2015-16</p>	<p>points compared to 2015/16. Source: ABS 6523.0, Household Income and Wealth, Australia 2017-8.</p> <p>In 2019/20, 30.3% of households were classified as over-indebted, an increase of 1.9 percentage points compared to 2017/18. Source: ABS 6523.0, Household Income and Wealth, Australia, 2019-20, 28 April 2022.</p> <p>The short term trend can't be determined.</p> <p></p> <p>No more recent data updates are available but the longer term trend is negative. Household over-indebtedness has been rising.</p> <p></p>
<p>Perceptions of economic opportunity Econ03.06 By 2030, the proportion of Australians agreeing that Australia is a land of economic opportunity where hard work is rewarded is above 80%.</p>	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p> <p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p> <p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>	<p>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.</p> <p>In 2017, 21% of Australians disagreed that “Australia is a land of economic opportunity where in the long run, hard work brings a better life”, up from 16% in 2007. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2020</p>	<p>In 2024, 61% 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 74% in 2021, 69% in 2022, and 63% in 2023. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2021</p> <p>Satisfaction with Australia as the land of opportunity has been dropping steadily. The short term trend is negative.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p>

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p> <p>Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.</p>		<p>←</p>
<p>Perceptions of economic (class) mobility Econ03.06.01 The proportion of Australians perceiving themselves to be “middle class” does not fall below 50%.</p>	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p> <p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>	<p>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 Australian Political Opinion, 1987 to 2019</p>	<p>In 2022, 53% of Australians perceived themselves to be “middle class”, up from 50% in 2019, but down from 57% in 2010 and 2013. In 2022, 45% of Australians perceived themselves to be “working class”, up from 42% in 2010. Between 1987 and 2001, the majority of Australians saw themselves as “working class”. Since 2004, the proportion of Australians who see themselves as middle class has exceeded the proportion who see themselves as working class, implying that the majority have viewed themselves as upwardly mobile, although oddly enough, between 2013 and 2019, under the conservative Abbott-Turnbull-Morrison governments, the proportion of Australians who perceived themselves to be “middle class” fell by 7%. Still the proportion who see themselves as middle class is above 50%. Source: ANU Trends in Australian Political Opinion, 1987 to 2019</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral to positive.</p> <p>→</p> <p>The longer term trend is neutral.</p>

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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
			 <p>Note: In 2024, perceptions of class mobility are not aligned with actual economic mobility – see Econ04.02 below. Source: Productivity Commission, “Fairly Equal? Economic mobility in Australia”, research paper 2024.</p>
<p>Perceptions of quality of life – prospects for improvement Econ03.07 The proportion of Australians who agree their lives will improve does not decline.</p> <p>Perceptions of quality of life – prospects for decline Econ03.07.01 The proportion of Australians who expect life quality to be worse does not rise.</p> <p>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.</p>	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p> <hr/> <p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>	<p>In 2017, 18% of Australians thought their lives would be much improved in 3 or 4 years, down from 24% in 2007.</p> <p>And in 2017, 19% of Australians expected that their lives would be worse in 3 or 4 years, up from 11% in 2007.</p> <p>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</p>	<p>Between 2021 and 2024, the proportion of Australians who felt their lives would be much improved in 3 or 4 years fell steadily from 11% to 7%, down significantly from 24% in 2007.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p>  <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p>  <p>Between 2021 and 2024, the proportion expecting their lives will be worse rose from 16% to 27%, up significantly from 11% in 2007.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p>  <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p>  <p>In 2024, 59% of Australians were satisfied or very satisfied with their financial situation, down from 74% in 2007 and down from a brief period during Covid-19 when as</p>

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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
			<p>much as 73% reported being satisfied or very satisfied with their financial situation, no doubt due to government stimulus and support. When the support was withdrawn, satisfaction fell.</p> <p>Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion, all reports 2007 to 2024</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p>
<p>Perceptions of long term economic/financial prospects – Intergenerational financial security Econ03.08</p> <p>The proportion of Australians who say their children will be worse off financially falls continuously to 53% and lower over time.</p>	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	<p>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.</p> <p>Source: Pew Research, Global Attitudes and Trends Database</p>	<p>In 2022, 72% of Australians surveyed said that when children today in Australia grow up, they will be worse off financially than their parents, an increase from 65% in 2019 and 53% in 2013.</p> <p>Source: Pew Research Survey 2022.</p> <p>In 2024, Monash University reported that, among young Australians aged 18-24:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Only 53% think it’s likely that they’ll achieve financial security in the future. • 62% think they’ll be financially worse off than their parents. • Only 40% report they’re often or very often able to save part of their income. • Only half (52%) of young people think it’s likely they’ll have
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>children in the future. Such decision-making is in part shaped by their precarious living conditions.”</p> <p>Source: Monash Centre for Youth Policy and Education Practice, 2024 Australian Youth Barometer, 1 August 2024.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p>
<p>Perceptions of long term economic/financial prospects – Australia’s global economic performance Econ03.08.01</p> <p>The proportion of Australians who are optimistic about Australia’s economic performance in the world does not decline from the baseline.</p>	<p>Econ 3</p> <p>A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	<p>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 economic optimism was 86% in 2009 and 2010.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Source: Lowy Institute Poll 2021</p>	<p>In 2024, 58% of Australians reported that they were optimistic or very optimistic about Australia’s economic performance in the world over the next five years. This was the lowest score since the start of the survey in 2007, except for the score in 2020 at the start of the Covid-19 pandemic.</p> <p>Between 2009 and 2019, (before Covid) an average of 74% of Australians felt optimistic or very optimistic about future economic prospects, although there was a steady trend of decline from 86% in 2009 to 65% in 2019, just before Covid. In the post Covid period between 2022 to 2024, an average of 61% of Australians felt optimistic or very optimistic about Australia’s future economic prospects.</p> <p>Source: Lowy Institute Poll 2024.</p>
	<p>Soc 4</p> <p>A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

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
			<p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p>
<p>Perceptions of economic inequality (gap between rich and poor) – rejection of growth in poverty and inequality Econ03.09</p> <p>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 Econ03.01 and Econ03.01.01 (the Gini coefficient). Australians continue to reject growth in inequality.</p> <p>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.</p>	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p> <hr/> <p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>	<p>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</p> <p>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</p>	<p>In 2024, it was reported that “More than eight-in-ten (84 per cent) people believe that ‘in Australia today, the gap between those with high incomes and those with low incomes is too large’ with 44 per cent of people agreeing with this statement, 41 per cent strongly agreeing and 15 per cent disagreeing. This has always been a common view among survey respondents, with an average of just 18 per cent of adults disagreeing that the gap is too large across the 2010s. Nevertheless, the proportion in 2024 who disagree is the lowest it has been since the first Mapping Social Cohesion survey in 2007.” Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion, 2024.</p> <p>In 2024, it was reported that “Most people (61 per cent) do not think that ‘people living on low incomes in Australia receive enough financial support’ with 44 per cent disagreeing with this statement and 17 per cent strongly disagreeing. ... Belief that low income earners receive enough</p>

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>support has declined over the last ten years.” Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion, 2024.</p> <p>In 2023, a survey of 2000 adults in Australia showed that “most people (62 per cent) think government policies have contributed to poverty, while 75 per cent think it can be solved with the right systems and policies.” Source: ACOSS & UNSW Poverty and Inequality Partnership, Community Attitudes Towards Poverty and Inequality, 2023.</p> <p>Australians continue to reject growth in inequality. The high proportion that think “poverty can be solved with the right systems and policies” has encouraging implications for policy choices that may be made in relation to universal income security under Econ04.02.04 below and Econ02.04 above. In 2024, Australians may be highly receptive to consideration of a universal basic income if it has potential to eliminate poverty.</p> <p>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 2024, Australians both perceived and rejected growth in poverty and inequality. As a measure of attitudes towards the</p>

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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
			<p>need for equality and fairness, this result is positive reflection of a desire for an equitable and cohesive society.</p> <p>The short term trend is positive. </p> <p>The longer term trend is positive. </p>

Economy 4 – National wealth generation & sharing

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy			
Economy 4 – National wealth generation & sharing			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Provisions for welfare – Federal budget Econ04.01</p> <p>In any federal budget, projected expenditure on welfare is not set to decline, either as a proportion of tax revenue or of GDP, at any time during the ensuing decade (unless the existing level of welfare funding is replaced in full by a universal basic income as per Econ04.02.04 and is consistent with the principles of a pre-agreed National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing under Econ04.02).</p> <p><small>*Consistent with UNSDG, Goal 1: “End poverty in all its forms everywhere”.</small></p>	Econ 4	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.	<p>In the federal budget of 2024/25, expenditure on social security and welfare was projected to increase between 2023/24 and 2027/28 by an average of 4.8% per annum. However, the proportion of the total social security and welfare budget allocated for assistance to Indigenous Australians was only 1.3%, declining to 1% by 2027/28. This compares poorly to the allocations for veterans which were three times the value of those for Indigenous Australians. Both these groups need increased welfare funding but Indigenous groups need significantly more if we are to close the gap in Indigenous disadvantage.</p> <p>Source: Federal budget 2024/25, Paper No. 1, page 209.</p> <p>In 2023, AIHW reported that in 2021/22 the ratio of welfare expenditure to GDP for federal, state and territory governments combined was 9.2%. In the 20 years between 2001/02 and 2021/22, total government welfare expenditure almost doubled from \$112.5 billion to \$212.5 billion in real terms and the average spent per person rose from \$5,804 to \$8,245.</p>
	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	
	Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	
	Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.	
	Soc 6	A society of equals.	
	Soc 9	A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.	
	Soc 10	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.	<p>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%).</p> <p>Source: Parliamentary Budget Office, “2019-20 Medium Term Fiscal Projections”</p> <p>Source: AIHW, Welfare Snapshots 2019</p> <p>Between 2014/16 and 2017/18, while Australia’s economy was deteriorating, welfare expenditure as a proportion of GDP dropped from 9.4% to 8.7%.</p> <p>Source: AIHW, Welfare Snapshots 2019</p>	

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 4 – National wealth generation & sharing

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>Over the 20 years to 2021/22, as a percent of GDP, welfare expenditures by governments remained fairly steady on average per annum at 9.1%. Source: AIHW, Welfare Expenditure webpage, 7 September 2023.</p> <p>Figures for the ratio of welfare expenditure to tax revenue could not be sourced.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral to positive. </p> <p>The longer term trend is neutral. </p>
<p>Provisions for welfare – Jobseeker payment Econ04.01.01</p> <p>By 2024, restore the JobSeeker payment to the level applied during Covid-19 – effectively double the payments as at April 2021 – and restore indexation of the payment under legislation.</p> <p>*Consistent with UNSDG, Goal 1: “End poverty in all its forms everywhere”.</p>	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p> <p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p> <p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p> <p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>	<p>In April 2021, the fortnightly JobSeeker payment was reduced to near pre-Covid-19 levels which saw recipients once again confined to income of almost 40% below the poverty line:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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 carer granted an exemption from mutual obligation 	<p>In 2025, the JobSeeker payment was between 18% and 25% higher than in 2021, depending on eligibility and family circumstances, but still between 28% and 33% below the payment that applied during Covid-19.</p> <p>In October 2024, ACOSS released analysis which showed that the JobSeeker payment in 2024 was just 20% of the average wage. “While the average wage in Australia is \$1,923 per week, JobSeeker is just \$393. The payment is only 43% of the \$916-per-week minimum wage, and has dropped to just 69% of the \$572-per-week pension.”</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 4 – National wealth generation & sharing

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>	<p>requirements for any of the following: foster caring, non-parent relative caring under a court order, home schooling, distance education, large family = \$850.20.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Source: Australian Government, Services Australia web page viewed, March 2021 	<p>ACOSS also stated that, “Australia’s totally inadequate income support payments are a primary cause of poverty in one of the wealthiest nations on Earth. Our unemployment payment is among the lowest in the OECD. It is a political choice and driving persistent poverty.”</p> <p>Source: ACOSS, Poverty in Australia: Facts and Solutions Briefing note 14 October 2024 and media release.</p> <p>JobSeeker is now indexed to CPI but this has not been backdated and so does not make up for lost indexation since 1998.</p> <p>JobSeeker is impossible to live on especially when housing costs are taken into account. The welfare budget is structured to discriminate heavily against Indigenous Australians and the unemployed. Australia can easily afford to stop that sort of cruelty.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral to negative.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are negative.</p> <p></p>
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 9 A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.</p>		
	<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>		
	<p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p>		
<p>National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing</p>	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>	<p>In 2020, Australians had no guarantee of mutual obligations to each other and they were</p>	<p>By 2025, no progress had been made by the federal government on development of an</p>

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Economy 4 – National wealth generation & sharing

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Establishment of a National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing Econ04.02 By 2024, the federal government convenes a process of joint development with community delegates of a draft policy of commitment to the welfare of all Australians that is designed to protect and promote the economic and social wellbeing of all citizens by adherence to principles of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • equality of opportunity, • fair sharing of the burden of raising national wealth, • fair and more equitable distribution of national wealth, • public responsibility by Australia as a community for those unable to avail themselves of the minimum provisions for a dignified life, and • any other principles deemed essential by the Australian community in accordance with the public interest. 	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	<p>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 principles in place to guide fair sharing of national wealth for the wellbeing of all Australians.</p> <p>Before any further erosion of benefits and access to social support, and in anticipation of transitional issues associated with robotization and artificial intelligence, a joint statement of mutual commitment within a social safety net is advisable for purposes of social cohesion, inclusion, fuller development of our human capital and ongoing national economic prosperity.</p>	<p>Accord between Australians and their parliaments on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing.</p> <p>Although some progress had been made to reduce the risks to security and wellbeing that had grown during the decade to 2022, there were still:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • no guarantees for Australians that policies and legislation – including on taxation and expenditures of public monies – would be designed first and foremost with the public interest in mind, • no commitment from the government in that regard, and • no terms of agreement between Australians and governments as to the principles that should govern any decisions, policies and laws that may be made for the purpose of securing wellbeing, equality and a future of safety for all citizens. <p>In the absence of an Accord on Wealth Welfare and Wellbeing, longer term negative trends are apparent in terms of rising inequality and unfair distribution of the burden of taxation</p>
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 9 A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.</p>		
	<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>		
	<p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p>		
<p>Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</p>			

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>See Note⁶⁴ for more detail on the proposed Accord.</p> <p>By 2025, nation-wide community engagement on the commitment is to be completed.</p> <p>By 2025, a legislative and policy review is to be undertaken to give effect and security to any expressed mutual obligations.</p>			<p>and the benefits of public monies. For examples of the growth of unfairness in Australia see especially the sections on Housing and Education above. See also the Productivity Commission’s 2024 research paper, “Fairly equal? Economic mobility in Australia.”⁶⁵</p> <p>The extent to which corporate welfare – eg., subsidies for fossil fuels (see Econ04.06 and Env02.02) and private health insurers (see Soc04.07.01) – outstrips payments for the wellbeing of everyday Australians is appalling. Australians will not be able to build fairness back into their social and economic systems without a National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p>

⁶⁴ Design of a possible structure for and content of a National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing is a work in progress by Australian Community Futures Planning. For more information visit <https://austcfp.com.au/supporting-activities#national-accord> . See also [Snapshots from Australia Together, Episode 2, Part 1: A plan for a new economy.](#)

⁶⁵ Australian Government, Productivity Commission, [Fairly equal? Economic mobility in Australia, 2024](#): “Most Australians are keen to ensure that everyone gets a ‘fair go’. ... While much of the data on mobility in Australia suggests a positive story, and Australia compares very well internationally, there are some worrying signs. Australians living in poverty (incomes below 50% of the median) face some of the highest barriers to economic mobility. One in 10 Australians experience persistent poverty, and where people live matters a great deal to their ability to escape poverty.” ... “While there is substantial mobility across the income distribution, there is some persistence at both the top and bottom. Children with parents in the bottom or top income deciles are relatively more likely to remain in the bottom or top deciles themselves. Almost 15% of people with parents in the bottom income decile remained in the bottom decile, while just 6% of them ended up in the top decile. In contrast, just 7% of people with parents in the top decile ended up in the bottom decile, with 20% remaining in the top decile.” ... “Wealth tends to be ‘stickier’ than income, with people experiencing far lower levels of wealth mobility over their lifetimes. When income is adjusted to account for wealth, over 40% of people in the top or bottom two deciles in 2001 remained there in 2022.” Clearly Australia’s welfare and wealth distribution systems and especially its housing market arrangements are embedding economic immobility. As one property market commentator said in 2024, “As housing becomes less accessible, the fair go turns to a mirage. The fair go ideal is dissipating and people are becoming less mobile economically speaking. A large proportion of people are stuck in a poverty and have few ways to escape.” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q0RjxQgd8l4>

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p align="center">←</p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are negative.</p> <p align="center">←</p>
<p>National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Revocation of policies restricting government sector and taxpayer participation in Australia’s economy Econ04.02.01</p> <p>By 2024/25, consistent with establishment of a National 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 support of Econ02.04.01, this should include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • revocation of policies imposing a tax-to-GDP cap; • abolition of the public sector efficiency dividend (annual funding cuts for the public service); • reform of federal government budget planning processes to ensure that they are driven first and foremost by 	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>	<p>In 2020, the Australian government operated on a policy of capping the total tax raised to 23.9% of GDP and set budget arbitrarily to restrain growth in taxation revenues which had the effect of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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 that may be returned to Australians, • reducing total size of Australia’s economy, and • reducing GDP growth. <p>Source: Parliamentary Budget Office, 2019-20 Medium Term Fiscal Projections</p> <p>Despite the policy capping tax-to-GDP at 23.9%, Australia raises more than that in actual revenues from taxation. In 2019, Australia had an actual</p>	<p>In 2024, the Australia government had no tax-to-GDP cap.</p> <p>In 2022/23, Australia had an actual tax-to-GDP ratio of 29.5% compared with the OECD average of 33.9% in 2023.</p> <p>Among OECD countries, Australia ranked as a low taxing country. Australia’s 2023 tax-to-GDP ratio ranked it 29th out of 38 OECD countries. The country with the highest tax-to-GDP ratio was France with 43.8%.</p> <p>Source: ABS, Taxation Revenue, Australia, 23 April 2024. Source: OECD, Revenue Statistics Australia – 2024.</p> <p>Between 2022 and 2024, expenditure on the public service increased. See Econ02.04.01 above.</p> <p>In 2024, no progress had been made in reform of federal government budget planning processes to ensure the Australian community could become more involved in national financial planning as envisaged under Econ01.04.01.</p>
	<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 9 A land without homelessness & with decent</p>		

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>engagement with the Australian public in preparation of a national long term financial plan for public revenues and expenditures as per Econ01.04.01; and</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> reversal of the tax cuts legislated in 2018 and 2019, consistent with Econ04.03, 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. 	<p>affordable housing for all.</p> <p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p> <p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p> <p>Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</p> <p>Soc 16 A society prepared & resilient in times of disaster.</p>	<p>tax-to-GDP ratio of 27.7% compared with the OECD average of 33.5% in 2020 and 33.4% in 2019.</p> <p>Among OECD countries, Australia ranks as a low taxing country. Australia's 2019 tax-to-GDP ratio ranked it 30th 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%.</p> <p>Source: OECD, Revenue Statistics 2021 - Australia</p>	<p>In 2023, the federal government adjusted the tax cuts legislated in 2018 and 2019 to make them fairer. However, this did not repair the overall budget in terms of its capacity to sustain services to Australians. Revenues of more than \$300 billion that had been removed from the federal budget for the 2020 decade by the Stage 1, 2, and 3 tax cuts had not been replaced. Australians could not be confident that essential services would be affordable and accessible.</p> <p>Overall, the trends of reform for public sector budgeting, revenue collection, expenditure and distribution are stagnant, notwithstanding the release of caps on tax-to-GDP and increases in public sector employment.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are both negative.</p> <p></p>
<p>National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing</p>	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>	<p>In its 2019/20 budget, the federal government – without community engagement and</p>	<p>In 2024, no progress had been made in reform of federal government budget planning</p>

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Community engagement on and justification of national budget priorities – participatory budgeting Econ04.02.02</p> <p>By 2025, consistent with establishment of a National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing under Econ04.02 and ideally in tandem with the strategy for public engagement in long term national financial planning under Econ01.04.01 and the strategy for skills development in National Integrated Planning & Reporting and community engagement in national long term financial planning under Gov01.05:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. establish a structure for determination of priority federal budget expenditure allocations capable of ensuring that national wealth is spent by Australians on services which are the highest priority for them; 2. legislate to make open community engagement obligatory for determination of 	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	<p>without any justification based on taxpayer preferences – structured the following changes in budgeted expenditures (as a percent of GDP) by 2030:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NDIS – increase by 0.4%, • Defence – increase by 0.3%, • Aged care – increase by 0.2%, • Medicare & childcare – increase by 0.1%, • Public hospitals, government superannuation, carer income support, fuel tax credit scheme, schools, aged pension, private health insurance rebate, parenting payments – no increase (0.0%), • Official development assistance, Jobseeker, road and rail infrastructure, commonwealth grants – reduction of 0.1%, • Disability support pension, veterans support, family tax benefit, pharmaceutical benefits – reduction of 0.2%. <p>Source: Parliamentary Budget Office, 2019-20 Medium Term Fiscal Projections</p>	<p>processes to ensure the Australian community could become more involved in national financial planning as envisaged under Econ01.04.01 and Gov01.05.</p> <p>The Australian government was no more responsive to community preferences and no more accountable to the public for its decisions on revenue collection and expenditure than it had ever been. Nor was there any expressed intention to increase transparency and systems for justification of budget decisions according to agreed principles for fairness or agreed targets for the longer term security and wellbeing of Australians (such as those suggested in <i>Australia Together</i>).</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center">←</p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are both negative.</p> <p align="center">←</p>
	<p>Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 9 A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.</p>		
	<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>		
	<p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p>		
	<p>Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 16 A society prepared & resilient in times of disaster.</p>		

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>national spending priorities; and</p> <p>3. legislate to make it mandatory that government justify priorities for spending on the basis of the results of community engagement in 2 above.</p> <p>Note: This Strategy is derived from research by ACFP. For more information on proposals for Community Engagement on National Budget Priorities, view the ACFP video series on <i>What is National Integrated Planning & Reporting?, Episode 2, Part 2: Long term financial planning</i>⁶⁶.</p>	<p>Gov 1 A proactive participatory democracy.</p>		
	<p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p>		
	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>		
	<p>Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.</p>		
	<p>Gov 8 Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.</p>		
	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>		
<p>National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Community Australia Bank Econ04.02.03</p> <p>By 2026:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> recognising that sustainable economic growth will be dependent on expansion of the services base within the economy; and in association with the creation of the publicly owned, 	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>	<p>Between 1991 and 1996 the Australian government fully privatised the Commonwealth Bank. Between 1994 and 2000 the Bank of New South Wales was also privatised. Sale of these assets has not resulted in cheaper or more reliable services for Australians.</p> <p>Withdrawal by the government sector from operation of profitable enterprises has resulted in Australia's economy being smaller and less</p>	<p>No progress has been made with this strategy. The federal government has not revised competition policy to support increased public participation in and ownership of financial institutions. Superannuation continues to be the vehicle by which most Australians can invest in and derive returns from their national economy, although this does not offer the same opportunities for women and the unemployed to share in national wealth. See Soc06.02.01 above.</p>
	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		
	<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity,</p>		

⁶⁶ ACFP, [What is National Integrated Planning & Reporting?, Episode 2, Part 2: Long term financial planning.](#)

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>government administered financial corporation/bank under Econ06.01, (which is for investment in ownership of new government commercial trading enterprises), establish a 100% publicly owned (government administered) Community Australia Bank to support delivery of the workforce plan in Econ02.04.01 for expansion of government-owned services in health, welfare, education, housing, conservation and land care, renewable energy, buildings efficiency and transport – and any associated infrastructure which will generate sustainable economic growth.</p> <p>Note that the Postbank proposal by Per Capita may serve as a forerunner to establishment of a publicly owned Community Australia Bank.</p>	<p>growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	<p>competitive than it would otherwise be and smaller shares of return on investment for taxpayers. Nor is the banking system in 2021 structured to finance direct investment in publicly owned services and infrastructure that will provide returns to working Australians without profits being syphoned off to shareholders and private owners.</p> <p>In 2021, industry super funds provided an avenue for returns to Australians from investment in commercial sector and public sector projects and infrastructure. However, a publicly owned bank established for the purpose of taking deposits and issuing bonds will complement the supply of funds for services owned and operated by Australians and significantly increase returns direct to all Australians both individual and in the wider economy. It would also increase competition in the banking sector to help reverse the market concentration that has had so many adverse impacts on finance in Australia.</p> <p>Source: Australian Community Futures Planning, The State of Australia in 2020, Episode 5.</p>	<p>The short term trend is stagnant.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are both negative.</p> <p></p>
	<p>Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.</p>		
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 9 A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all</p>		
	<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse</p>		
	<p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage</p>		
	<p>Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity</p>		
	<p>Env 2 A net zero emissions nation.</p>		
	<p>Env 6 A renewable energy superpower.</p>		
<p>Env 7 Efficiently connected with</p>			

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	zero-emissions transport.	In 2020, Per Capita released a discussion paper making a case for the creation of a new public bank in Australia by providing Australia Post with an Authorised Deposit-taking Institution (ADI) licence, and moving in time to establishing “PostBank” as a full national savings and loan bank. The intention was to make up for the fact that due to privatisation of the Commonwealth Bank many Australians no longer had adequate access to basic financial services, and that even those who did were often ill-served by our existing financial institutions (as proved by the 2019 Hayne Royal Commission into Misconduct in the Banking, Superannuation and Financial Services Industry). Source: Per Capita, “PostBank: Filling a Void, Securing Essential Services,” August 2020.	
	Environmentally & economically sustainable in agriculture & fisheries.		
	Confident of the safety & security of its water supplies.		
	A biodiversity haven.		
	A replanted & reforested land.		
	A protector of scarce resources.		
	A provider of accessible national & urban parkland.		
	Multi-central in its cities, efficiently connecting people with jobs, health, education & recreation.		
	A land of thriving self-supporting regions.		
National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing – Top Priority Target/Strategy: Community engagement on introduction of a universal basic income Econ04.02.04 By 2024, in association with: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the nation-wide community 	Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.	In 1948, Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (to which Australia is a signatory) stated among other things that: <i>Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself [sic] and of his [sic] family, including food,</i>	In 2024, despite approaches to the federal government seeking to explain the feasibility of a universal basic income, the government remained committed to Australia’s long standing system of targeted welfare, a system which far from alleviating poverty actually creates it and is then incapable of removing it. The
	Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.		

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<p>engagement on establishment of a National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing as per Econ04.02;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> community engagement on the national plan for full employment supported by a universal basic income as per Econ02.04; pilot programs for community engagement on development of long term financial plans for federal revenues and spending as per Gov01.05; and the pilot scheme for a universal basic income – a UBI for artists – under Soc13.01, <p>require the federal government to:</p> <p>a) develop a draft set of options for introduction of a universal basic income (UBI) for all Australians using models of options for introduction of UBIs at various scales:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Option A: An option for a smaller scale UBI could be modelled based 	<p>Econ 3</p> <p>A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	<p><i>clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his [sic] control.</i></p>	<p>targeted welfare system embeds social and economic inequality into the foundations of society itself. It constitutes a rejection of the “fair go” and equal opportunity. As such, targeted welfare is highly unlikely to take Australia towards the Vision for <i>Australia Together</i>.</p>
	<p>Econ 6</p> <p>An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.</p>	<p>Prior to and since the Declaration, proponents of a means of protecting this right have supported the introduction of a social wage, otherwise variously called a “universal basic income”, a minimum income guarantee” or a “negative income tax”.⁶⁷</p>	<p>By contrast, a universal basic income for all Australians is entirely beneficial for Australia’s society and economy. It can also be designed in a way that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> is far fairer than a targeted welfare payments system can ever be; makes everyone financially better off; and can be financed without the need for federal budget deficits or debt.⁶⁹
	<p>Soc 6</p> <p>A society of equals.</p>	<p>In 2021, Professor Ross Garnaut provided substantial arguments in favour of the introduction of an “Australian Income Security (AIS)” – in effect, a social wage or limited form of a universal basic income in which all adult Australians (except those earning above \$250,000 or with net assets above \$2 million) would receive, unconditionally, \$15,000 per annum</p>	<p>For more information on the disadvantages of targeted welfare systems, see the answers to questions 20 and 21 in ACFP’s question and answer paper, What is the Strategy in Australia Together for a Universal Basic Income? June 2024.</p>
	<p>Gov 2</p> <p>A nation knowing & affirming decency.</p>		

⁶⁷ Proponents of a universal basic income 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, Martin Luther King, Friedrich Hayek, and Milton and Rose Friedman.

⁶⁹ Bronwyn Kelly, [Australia could be the first nation in the world to eliminate poverty](#), John Menadue’s Pearls and Irritations, 8 July 2024.

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<p>on the “Australian Income Security (AIS)” suggested by Professor Ross Garnaut.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Option B: The option of a full scale UBI for all Australians could be modelled on a basis similar to that suggested by Brian Donaghy and/or ACFP; and <p>b) establish a citizens’ jury process tasking participants with:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. comparing the costs and benefits of the various models, ii. consideration of options for fair taxation reforms accompanying each model, particularly with regard to ensuring they are designed to securely 	<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>	<p>(non-taxable). This would be accompanied by a flatter taxation system (\$0.325 for all other income up to \$180,000).⁶⁸ Source: For full details see Ross Garnaut, <i>Reset: Restoring Australia After the Pandemic</i>, Chapter 8.</p>	<p>In the decade to 2024, no signals of a predisposition toward universal income security were forthcoming from any government.</p>
	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>	<p>In 2021, Brian Donaghy provided substantial arguments in favour of the introduction of a Universal Basic Income (UBI) for all Australians (including a proportion for children). In this model the intention was to commence the UBI at a level in the vicinity of the aged pension (including supplements), meaning it would commence at \$24,544 for adults (in 2021 \$). Donaghy calculated the cost of that at almost \$544 billion for the year and modelled cost-offsets for the entire amount, indicating this form of UBI is affordable. Source: Brian Donaghy, <i>A Basic Income for Australia: A</i></p>	<p>The disadvantages and outright failure of targeted welfare as a means of ensuring financial security equitably for all Australians was evident in the growth and persistence of poverty in Australia in the 21st century. As national wealth grew to a point where in 2022 Australia had the 11th highest GDP per capita in the world (US\$65,966 or AU\$106,000 per person), the proportion of Australians living in poverty rose sharply from 11.5% in 2003 during the boom years to 14.4% in 2007 and then hovered stubbornly between 13% and 14.5% from 2009 onwards until it was briefly reduced somewhat (to about</p>

⁶⁸ 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. He argued that “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 Australia’s economy after the Covid-19 pandemic. This potentially disregards the value of expanded government services in health, education and welfare to GDP growth and to the extent that an AIS modelled at the smaller scale envisaged by Professor Garnaut (which was well below the poverty line) may remove funds for essential services for a number of years, it may be self-defeating and significantly less beneficial than a full scale universal basic income set at the poverty level. Community engagement on a National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing as per **Econ04.02** is thus an essential prerequisite for introduction of a universal basic income. For more information on the advantages of setting a UBI at or above the poverty level see ACFP, [What is the strategy in Australia Together for a universal basic income?](#) June 2024.

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<p>fund services vital to the wellbeing of all Australians as per Econ04.03.01, and</p> <p>iii. recommending a preferred option for a UBI plus the preferred forms of funding for it and the preferred taxation reforms consistent.</p> <p>By 2026, incorporate the preferred design of a UBI resulting from the citizens’ jury recommendation into the consultation for establishment of a National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing, to ensure that a UBI is:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • consistent with the principles of fairness and justice preferred by the Australian community; and is • not introduced at the expense of recovery initiatives for participation of the public sector and taxpayers in economic restructuring and growth under Econ02.04.01. 		<p><i>fair go for all</i>, Adelaide Independent Reporter, 2021.</p> <p>In 2024, Australian Community Futures Planning provided further arguments in favour of the introduction of a Universal Basic Income (UBI) for all Australians (including a proportion for children). In the ACFP model the intention was to commence the UBI at the poverty line estimated by ACOSS and the ABS in 2019/20 to be \$25,428. ACFP calculated the cost of that at almost \$592 billion for the year. ACFP also modelled cost-offsets for the entire amount, indicating that with equitable restructuring of Australia’s tax system this form of UBI is affordable.</p> <p>Source: ACFP, What is the Strategy in Australia Together for a Universal Basic Income? June 2024.</p>	<p>12.5%) by fiscal policies which temporarily increased the JobSeeker payment for some people during the Covid-19 pandemic.</p> <p>Source: Wikipedia, List of Countries by GDP (nominal) per capita, 2022.</p> <p>In 2025, for all its wealth, Australia had not achieved security of either income or services for its people. Refusals by governments to engage with the Australian public regarding the feasibility of a universal basic income effectively denied them the opportunity to establish both universal income and universal services security. For more information on the benefits of a UBI, see ACFP’s question and answer paper, What is the Strategy in Australia Together for a Universal Basic Income? June 2024.</p> <p>The short term trend in negative.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are both negative.</p> <p align="center"></p>

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Fair & progressive taxation</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Restoration of a fair and progressive taxation system Econ04.03</p> <p>Australia’s taxation system is increasingly progressive and regressive income tax measures legislated since 2018 are reversed or suspended until:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • an accord is agreed on wealth, welfare and wellbeing consistent with the principles indicated in Econ04.02; and • as per Econ04.02.01, there is sufficient potential to ensure maintenance of floor expenditures on any section of the federal budget for which floor expenditures are recommended in this plan. 	<p>Econ 4</p> <p>A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>	<p>In 2018 and 2019, the Australian government legislated tax cuts which increased regression in the tax system via tax 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 \$90,000 will actually see a <i>drop</i> in their average 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 equivalent of deleting the entirety of what 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</p>	<p>In 2024, Australia did not have a fair tax system and the system itself had been made less progressive by implementation of the Stage 1, 2 and 3 tax cuts legislated in 2018 and 2019, albeit that some of the unfairness of those cuts had been moderated by adjustments which gave more to the lowest 90% of income earners by approximately halving the originally legislated benefit for the top 10%.⁷⁰</p> <p>Amendments to the originally legislated tax cuts by the Labor government in early 2025 did not, however, reduce tax for low paid workers. See Note⁷¹ for more data.</p> <p>Source: Greg Jericho, Greg Jericho, “The old stage-three cuts are dead. Long live Labor’s new policy, which 90% of Australians will cheer,” The Guardian, 25 January 2024.</p> <p>Source: Brian Lawrence, “Labor’s tax plan fails low paid workers,” John Menadue’s Pearls and Irritations, 30 January 2024.</p> <p>The combination of this flatter tax system with an increasing reliance on targeted welfare is</p>
	<p>Econ 3</p> <p>A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6</p> <p>A society of equals.</p>		

⁷⁰ For data on the comparative progressivity of the Stage 3 tax cuts see Greg Jericho, [The old stage-three cuts are dead. Long live Labor’s new policy, which 90% of Australians will cheer](#), The Guardian, 25 January 2024.

⁷¹ See Brian Lawrence, [Labor’s tax plan fails low paid workers](#), John Menadue’s Pearls and Irritations, 30 January 2024. “We should be clear about the intention and effect of this three-stage tax package. The Coalition’s tax package was intended to change the distribution of income tax burdens on Australian taxpayers, with tax hikes for low income taxpayers, especially low paid workers, and tax cuts for high income taxpayers. It has had that effect. ... Too often it is assumed that Stages 1 and 2 of the tax package have already delivered tax cuts to the low paid. [But] this is a serious error because those tax cuts were temporary and did not protect workers against bracket creep. The Labor Government’s recent response proposes a re-balancing of the income tax burdens across the community, but it still leaves substantial tax hikes for the low paid and locks in a system that accepts the basic orientation of the Coalition’s tax package.”

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		<p>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</p>	<p>robbing the poorest Australians of the chance to escape poverty and define their own preferred path in life for achieving wellbeing and a decent standard of living.</p> <p>In terms of the fairness and progressivity of taxation, the short term trend is neutral at best.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p></p> <p> The outlook trend is negative because, while the 2025 changes to the Stage 3 tax cuts have reduced the negative effect on middle income earners, they have baked in increases in taxation for low income earners that will arise from bracket creep. “The tax bite on low incomes will continue to grow.”⁷²</p>
Fair & progressive taxation	Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.	In 2024, Australian Community Futures Planning (ACFP) developed a detailed	In 2025, Australia did not have a fair taxation system and there were no obvious signals of a

⁷² Brian Lawrence, [Labor’s tax plan fails low paid workers](#), John Menadue’s Pearls and Irritations, 30 January 2024. “Changes in income tax rates over the decade 2014-15 to 2024-25 have negated the very substantial tax legacy of the Rudd and Gillard Governments. It is clear, however, that the Labor Government is not fully addressing the impact that bracket creep has had on low paid workers. On 26 January 2024, the Treasurer claimed [in a press conference](#) “We are returning bracket creep where it matters most and where it hurts the most, which is in middle Australia.” But this middle Australia is not low income Australia, where bracket creep has reduced living standards, where the Government’s response is lacking, and where the tax bite on low incomes will continue to grow. The tax bite on [a] cleaner’s income in 2024-25 is estimated to be 12.9%. If that income increases by 10% over the following three years, for example, we know, using the ATO’s tax calculator, that the tax bite will increase to 14.0%. The inequity of the past decade will become baked in unless the situation is exposed and some action is taken.”

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<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Transformation of Australia’s taxation system consistent with transition to universal income security and universal services security under a National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing Econ04.03.01 By 2025, recognising that:</p> <p>a) creation of a National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing under Econ04.02 is likely to affirm that security of vital services is a fundamental objective of Australia’s economy; and that in any case</p> <p>b) sustainability and equity of access to vital services for health, disability, aged care, childcare, lifelong education, housing and food could not be effectively and efficiently secured without integrated reform of Australia’s welfare and taxation system, ensure that community engagement on the introduction of a universal basic income under Econ04.02.04 incorporates consideration of options for fair reforms</p>	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	<p>proposal for a National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing which laid the basis for two major transitions towards sustainability and equity in Australia’s welfare and taxation system:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> transition from Australia’s expensive and ineffective targeted welfare system to a system of universal income security for all Australians, including by introduction of a universal basic income (UBI); and transition from a system of insecure human services to a system of secure public funding for vital human services via transformation of Australia’s taxation system. <p>ACFP identified that the opportunity to achieve the transition to vital human services security without adversely impacting the incomes of Australians (eg., through increased regressive taxation) would arise from the introduction of a universal basic income if the UBI were to be introduced in accordance with pre-agreed principles for fairness in national wealth raising and sharing under the</p>	<p>predisposition by the federal government to discuss fair taxation reform with Australians. The government remained committed to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> taxation settings which were incapable of securing essential services for Australians and affordable access to those services for all; some level of fiscal rectitude and distinct preparedness to sacrifice services (particularly in housing) and/or limit service provision in pursuit of budget surpluses, no matter the cost to the most vulnerable Australians; and tax and subsidy policies which heavily incentivise industries causing climate change and thus are bound to negatively impact the wellbeing of Australians. <p>The concept of universal services security was not on the federal government’s agenda. Nor was systemic tax reform.</p> <p>In November 2024, in the absence of major party support for taxation reform, the independent Member for Wentworth, Allegra</p>
	<p>Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable public participation.</p>		
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>		
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.</p>		
<p>Soc 9 A land without homelessness and with decent affordable housing for all.</p>			
<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>			

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<p>of Australia’s taxation policies, particularly with regard to ensuring they are designed to securely fund services vital to the wellbeing of all Australians.</p>	<p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p>	<p>National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing envisaged in Econ04.02, or similar. Source: ACFP, What is the proposal in Australia Together for a National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing? April 2024. Source: ACFP, What is the Strategy in Australia Together for a Universal Basic Income? June 2024. Source: Bronwyn Kelly, Australia could be the first nation in the world to eliminate poverty, John Menadue’s Pearls and Irritations, 8 July 2024.</p>	<p>Spender, released a green paper on tax. The paper proposed some new principles for taxation reform which supported fair and progressive taxation but did not prioritise wellbeing and the need to fund services necessary for wellbeing. The paper proposed a focus on providing “a stable tax base over time” in preference to support for the traditional taxation principle of adequacy, where the tax system “should raise sufficient and sustainable revenues to fund government now and in the future.” Overall, Ms Spender’s preferred principles suggested that the main function of taxation was to drive “economic productivity and growth”, not the wellbeing of individuals within society and not to fund the reliable delivery of accessible services for that purpose (unless business can be incentivised to provide that). Source: Allegra Spender, MP, Federal member for Wentworth, Tax Green Paper, November 2024.</p> <p>Ms Spender’s principles reflect a neoliberal value system that is likely to result in more Australians being left behind. While Ms Spender’s paper is consistent with some aspects of the Vision for</p>
	<p>Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</p>		
	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>		

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			<p><i>Australia Together</i> (eg., in its focus on fairness and progressivity in taxation) and is admirable in the fact that she undertook an open consultation to develop it, the principles developed in the paper are on balance not likely to lead to realisation of the Vision. The green paper does not contemplate a system that prioritises the use of public monies for services that are in the public interest (principally, services for security and wellbeing) and has more potential to divert tax revenues away from wellbeing projects and toward maximisation of corporate benefit and private profit.</p> <p>Short term progress is negative, notwithstanding Ms Spender’s outreach program.</p> <p align="center">←</p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are both negative.</p> <p align="center">←</p>
<p>Corporate taxation – maintenance of corporate tax contributions Econ04.04 Between 2021 and 2035, ensure that the corporate tax rate for businesses with a turnover of more than \$50 million does not</p>	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>	<p>In 2019, the Business Council of Australia called for a lowering of the rate of company tax (in stages) from 30 per cent to 25 per cent for all companies while saying that “robust integrity measures are a key complement to more competitive</p>	<p>In 2024, tax rates for companies in Australia were:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> with turnover up to \$50 million = 25%, above \$50 million = 30%. <p>Source: ATO, Changes to company tax rates web page, 20 June 2024.</p>
	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		
	<p>Econ 2 A model of employment</p>		

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<p>drop below 30% unless and until:</p> <p>a) corporate income taxation is replaced by a new corporate tax system such as a corporate cash flow tax as per Econ04.04.01 – such alternative tax system to be modelled and validated to maximise the possibility of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> maintaining corporate taxation over 15 years to at least the same proportion of federal revenue that it supplied in 2021, and establishing full employment in Australia (where full employment is defined consistent with Econ02.02); and <p>b) a corporate super profits tax is re-introduced as per Econ04.04.02.</p>	<p>planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>	<p>company tax arrangements.” Source: Business Council of Australia, A Plan for a Stronger Australia, 2019</p>	<p>However, most large multinational companies didn't pay any tax.</p> <p>In 2024, the Business Council of Australia continued to lobby for a lower corporate tax rate arguing that “lowering the rate of company tax (in stages) from 30 per cent to 25 per cent for all companies” was necessary to “fire up investment”. This ignored the fact that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a drop in company tax rates for businesses under \$50 million turnover in 2021/22 had not “fired up” new private capital investment (see Econ01.02 above); and a drop in company tax rates for companies which pay no tax anyway would not encourage them to pay more than they do now or increase investment. <p>Source: Business Council of Australia, A Plan for a Stronger Australia website, last viewed 9 January 2025.</p> <p>In 2024, no progress had been made with introduction of a corporate cash flow tax or a corporate super profits tax. Tax avoidance by major corporates continued to increase with several big companies paying no tax. Source: Michael West, Biggest Tax Dodgers Scam of the</p>
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets, creating confidence for investors.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>			

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			Week, The West Report, 2 November 2024. The short term trend is neutral.  The longer term trend is neutral. 
<p>Corporate taxation – Introduction of a corporate cash flow tax, replacing corporate income tax Econ04.04.01</p> <p>By 2024/25, legislate to replace Australia’s current corporate income taxation system with a corporate cash flow tax, such tax to be structured to compensate businesses for negative cash flows at the same rate as positive cash flows, thus reducing the corporate tax rate effectively to zero but increasing the capacity to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> reverse falls in private sector capital investment in the Australian economy; tax economic rents at sustainable rates without adversely affecting employment growth and private investment; generate new investment and employment sufficient to increase the total (but not the 	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>	<p>In 2020 Australia’s economy entered a recession due to the Covid-19 pandemic. However, the economy had been in decline since the Global Financial Crisis of 2008 – a decline exhibited not just by a significant slowing of growth in GDP but also by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a rise in unemployment and underemployment, falls in productivity and private capital investment, a drop in competitiveness of exports, stagnation of wages, and a rise in income and wealth inequality. <p>In the decade to 2020, Australia also experienced a significant rise in tax evasion by large corporations, many of which made enormous profits but paid no tax by offshoring their company registration locations and by attributing (without proving) expenses incurred in earning</p>	<p>In 2024, no progress had been made with introduction of a corporate cash flow tax. Professor Garnaut was still arguing for a tax on economic rents to be imposed as a cash flow tax. He stated that with a cash flow tax, “Companies that are innovating and investing at high rates would pay less tax than under current arrangements. Companies that are receiving high rents and not investing much would pay more. The tax is less vulnerable to international tax avoidance than the corporate income tax in its current form.” Professor Garnaut’s assessment shows that if Australia introduced taxes on economic rents via his suggested cash flow tax mechanism, the Business Council of Australia would realise their aim of “firing up investment” (see Econ04.04 above) but not at the expense of national taxation</p>
	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		
	<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets, creating confidence for investors.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing</p>			

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<p>average) of income tax from individuals and repair the federal budget over ten to fifteen years;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> reverse recent falls in corporate tax receipts from 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. <p>See Note⁷³ for more information.</p>	<p>corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>	<p>income in Australia to their foreign owned parent companies. In 2021, Professor Ross Garnaut proposed a new system to replace corporate income tax with a tax on economic rents – a corporate cash flow tax – as part of a wider program of initiatives to stimulate the Australian economy back to full employment by 2025.</p> <p>Source: Ross Garnaut, Reset: Restoring Australia After the Pandemic Recession.</p>	<p>revenues. See Note⁷⁴ for more information.</p> <p>Source: Ross Garnaut, Keynote Address to the annual Henry George Commemorative Dinner 2023.</p> <p>The short term trend was neutral.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>The longer term trend was neutral.</p> <p align="center"></p>
<p>Corporate taxation – Re-introduction of a corporate super profits tax</p> <p>Econ04.04.02</p> <p>By 2024/25, legislate to reintroduce a corporate super profits tax of 40% applicable not just to</p>	<p>Econ 4</p> <p>A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>	<p>In 2010, the Henry Tax Review recommended introduction of a resource rent of 40% on non-renewable oil, gas and mineral resources, applying to net income minus an allocation for capital.</p>	<p>In 2024, the only elected members of parliament proposing legislation for a corporate super profits tax were members of the Greens party. This was despite the fact that Labor and the Business Council of Australia had</p>
	<p>Econ 1</p> <p>A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		

⁷³ 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.

⁷⁴ Ross Garnaut, [Keynote Address to the annual Henry George Commemorative Dinner 2023](#): “We calculated, based on public information, that at a 30% tax rate the cash flow would be roughly revenue neutral [to national budgets] over time, even if the expected positive effect on investment, innovation and output did not materialise. The suggested transitional arrangements may make it revenue negative in the early years and revenue positive in later years. Any decision on application would require analysis of revenue impacts based on information available only to the tax office.”

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<p>mining but to all businesses (including multinationals operating in Australia) with an 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%).</p> <p>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 Super Profits Tax 3 September 2021.⁷⁵</p> <p>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 centre their operations in countries with lower tax rates. It also acknowledges the legitimacy of complaints from wage earners that corporations are</p>	<p>Econ 2</p> <p>A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>	<p>In 2012, the federal government introduced a (“super profits”) Minerals Resources Rent Tax (MRRT) of 30% for mining of iron ore and 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 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 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</p>	<p>supported the proposal themselves in 2011 and 2009 respectively. Source: Peter Martin, “The Greens want a super-profits tax. Labor and business used to like the idea too,” ABC News, 4 September 2024.</p>
	<p>Econ 3</p> <p>A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		<p>In 2022, the profit share of national income for corporates was 31% while the share left for wages was still at the historic low of 50% (see Econ03.01.02 above), indicating a continuation of the long standing trend of increasing shares of national income for corporate profits and decreasing shares for wages. This in turn implies a need for tax reforms which restore wealth to Australians lost through profit offshoring.</p>
	<p>Econ 5</p> <p>A strong regulator of fairness in markets, creating confidence for investors.</p>		<p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center">←</p>
	<p>Soc 6</p> <p>A society of equals.</p>		<p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center">←</p>
	<p>Gov 9</p> <p>A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>		

⁷⁵ Parliamentary Budget Office: https://www.apf.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Budget_Office/Publications/Costings

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<p>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.</p>		<p>Henry 2010); Wikipedia, Mineral Resources Rent Tax webpage; and ABS, 5206.0 Australian National Accounts: National Income, Expenditure and Product, June 2021, Table 34</p>	
<p>Corporate taxation – planning for and reporting on closure of corporate tax loopholes Econ04.04.03</p> <p>By 2024/25, legislate to mandate the development by the Australian Taxation Office of biennial rolling plans for and performance reports on closure of all corporate tax loopholes as they arise particularly from offshoring and other means of accounting that artificially reduce taxable income or permit reduction of tax on income earned in Australia.</p>	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>	<p>In 2017, 81% of Australians supported “closing corporate tax loopholes” and 66% supported “raising the corporate tax rate [which in 2017 was 30% and for small businesses 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.</p>	<p>In 2024 the Australian government belatedly joined 135 other countries that have agreed to a global minimum tax of 15 per cent so that a company with more than \$1.2 billion in global revenue must pay at least 15% tax across its global operations.</p> <p>Legislation and rules to implement the global and domestic minimum taxes were passed in December 2024. The rules establish both a global and domestic minimum tax of 15% for large multinationals. Source: Assistant Treasurer, Andrew Leigh, Media release, Implementing a minimum tax for multinationals, 23 December 2024.</p> <p>The 15% rate was too low, but it was a positive change. Source: Ross Gittins and Millie Muroi, “How Albanese is tightening up on tax-dodging multi-national companies,” Sydney Morning Herald, 1 December 2024.</p> <p>The change is positive in that it should mean multinationals will be unable to pay no tax (unless they can find another loophole) but</p>
	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		
	<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets, creating confidence for investors.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private</p>		

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	sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.		<p>15% effectively embeds a tax cut of 50% for these companies. They should be paying 30%. In the absence of progress on tax reforms under Econ04.04, Econ04.04.01 and Econ04.04.02, a 15% tax rate for large multinationals achieves very little.</p> <p>The short term trend is positive.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend is neutral in that multinational companies have been given a tax cut.</p> <p></p> <p> The outlook trend is negative because low tax rates for multinationals have now been legitimated and embedded and will be unlikely to shift. They make the necessary tax reforms under Econ04.04.01 and Econ04.04.02 harder to achieve politically and therefore don't assist smaller corporates.</p>
<p>Royalties – Mining exports Econ04.05 By 2024/25, legislate to mandate uniform royalties for all states and territories on mining exports across Australia and stipulate a minimum of 20% in any year.</p>	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p> <p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p> <p>Econ 3 A country where</p>	<p>In 2018/19, the mining industry makes up 1% of exporters but 61% of the total value of Australia's exports (\$227 billion). Gross operating profits for the mining sector in 2018/19 were \$151.7 billion.</p>	<p>In 2021/22, the mining sector in Australia made \$184.7 billion in operating profits before tax and paid \$23.9 billion in mining royalties or 12.9%.</p> <p>In 2022/23, the mining sector in Australia made \$241.9 billion in</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 4 – National wealth generation & sharing

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Note: Had this rate been applied in 2018/19, Australians would have earned a total of \$45.4 billion, almost \$31 billion more than they did and the mining sector would still have retained over \$100 billion in gross operating profits for the year.</p> <p>Further note: The above royalties may or may not be reviewed for possible repeal in the event that both a corporate tax flow cash as per Econ04.04.01 and a super profits tax as per Econ04.04.02 are implemented and in the event that arrangements for fair sharing of new corporate taxes between the states and federal government can be reached.</p>	<p>economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	<p>In 2018/19, Deloitte Access Economics estimated that the Australian minerals sector paid \$14.6 billion in royalties which equals 6% of the value of exports. However some states earned much more in royalties as a proportion of their exports than others. In 2019/20 Queensland’s royalties rose to 15% of export value. Source: ABS 5368.0.55.006, Characteristics of Australian Exporters 2020 and ABS 5676.0; Deloitte Access Economics, Estimates of Royalties and Company Tax Paid by the Minerals Sector, 2021; and Callum Foote, MW Media, 2 June 2021</p>	<p>operating profits before tax and paid \$31.5 billion in mining royalties or 13%. Source: ABS, Australian Industry, 2022/23, 81550D0001_202223, Table 1. Source: Ernst and Young, Minerals Council of Australia, “Royalty and Company Tax Payments,” 21 May 2024.</p> <p>Compared to 2021/22, profits increased in 2022/23 by 31% but the percentage returned to Australians remained the same (12.9% to 13%). Had the royalties increased at the same rate as profits – in other words, had Australians shared in the growth of profits from their mineral assets at the same rate as the mining companies – they would have earned \$7.4 billion more than they did from mining royalties in 2022/23.</p> <p>In 2022/23, the mining sector was paying more in royalties as a percentage of profits than it paid in 2018/19 when it paid approximately 9.6% of gross operating profits in royalties. But Australians were still being short-changed in shares of returns on exploitation of their assets and were not receiving the target minimum of 20% of operating profits.</p>
	<p>Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets, creating confidence for investors.</p>		
	<p>Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.</p>		
	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>		
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 9 A land without homelessness & with decent affordable housing for all.</p>		
<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections &</p>			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 4 – National wealth generation & sharing

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	without domestic abuse.		The short term trend is positive.
	Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.		
	Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.		The longer term trend is neutral.
	Soc 16 A society prepared & resilient in times of disaster.		
	Env 12 A protector of scarce resources.		
	Env 19 A land of thriving self-supporting regions.		
<p>Fossil fuel taxes – gas exports Econ04.06 By 2024/25, legislate to apply a royalty on all gas exports at least comparable to that charged on North West Shelf production to all projects in Commonwealth waters.</p>	Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.	In 2022/23, Australians paid four times more in HECS/HELP repayments than gas companies paid in PRRT – Petroleum Resources Rent Tax. Australian governments charged no royalties on 56% of the gas that was exported from Australia.	In August 2024, the federal government introduced reforms to the petroleum resources rent tax (PRRT) that were expected “increase tax receipts by \$2.4 billion over the forward estimates from 2023–24.” Source: Treasurer Jim Chalmers, Media release, “Implementing reforms to the Petroleum Resource Rent Tax”, 6 August 2024.
	Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	Between 2020 and 2024, “multinational companies made \$149 billion exporting gas they got for free. If royalties had been charged on this gas, at least \$13.3 billion in revenue could have been raised.”	In 2024, the Australia Institute reported that,
	Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	The Australia Institute recommended the imposition of a royalty on all gas exports at least comparable to that charged on NWS (North West Shelf)	“The monetary value of this gas [the gas given away for free] is enormous. The total value of LNG exports over the last four years is estimated at \$265 billion. Exports of LNG based on royalty-free gas were valued at a total of \$149 billion. To put this another way: in the last four years alone,
	Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.		
	Econ 6 An economy with competitive &		

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Economy 4 – National wealth generation & sharing

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	profitable public participation.	production to all projects in Commonwealth waters. Source: The Australia Institute, <i>Australia's great gas giveaway</i> <i>How Australia gives gas to multinational corporations for free</i> , April 2024.	Australians have given away the gas that made \$149 billion worth of LNG, for free. \$111 billion worth of this royalty-free LNG was produced in Western Australia.” Source: The Australia Institute, “Australia’s great gas giveaway,” webpage, 30 May 2024.
Soc 1	A safe home.		
Soc 2	A land with an Indigenous heart.		
Soc 4	A place of optimal health and wellbeing.		
Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.		
Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.		
Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.		
Env 6	A renewable energy superpower.		
Env 7	Efficiently connected through low emissions transport.		
Env 12	A protector of scarce resources.		
Env 14	A pollution free biosphere.		
Env 15	A marine wildlife haven.		
Env 16	Regenerative by design in consumption & production.		
Gov 9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.		
		The short term trend looks positive but is actually net negative.	

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 4 – National wealth generation & sharing

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>←</p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p>
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Electronic financial transactions tax Econ04.07</p> <p>By 2024/25, legislate to establish a tax on all financial transactions in the electronic banking system at the rate of a minimum of 0.5 cents in the dollar (half a cent per dollar transacted).</p> <p>Note: Assuming conservatively that a minimum of \$50 trillion of electronic transactions will occur in 2024, a levy of half a cent per dollar of transaction will yield approximately \$250 billion for public purposes including for coverage of the cost of a Universal Basic Income proposed under Econ02.04 and Econ04.02.04.</p>	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p> <p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p> <p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p> <p>Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.</p> <p>Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable public participation.</p> <p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p> <p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p> <p>Soc 9 A land without homelessness and with decent</p>	<p>In 2024, Australia did not have a system for taxing financial transactions within the banking system and therefore did not have an efficient means of ensuring that a share of private/corporate profits arising from electronic exchanges of money via the banking system (eg., ATM withdrawals, debit and credit card transactions, direct debits and credits, EFTPOS transactions, foreign exchange, inter-bank loans, borrowing and settlements) could be returned to the public rather than being syphoned offshore for purposes of corporate tax avoidance or distributed only to wealthy shareholders in banks.</p> <p>In 2024, the scale of corporate tax avoidance and the consequent income loss to Australia enabled by the failure to impose a tax on electronic financial transactions was extraordinary, considering that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> in 2018/19 the value of ATM withdrawals, debit and credit card 	<p>In 2024, no progress had been made to introduce an electronic financial transactions tax. Nor was the item registered on any tax reform agenda, although the Greens Party platform included support for “working towards the implementation of a global financial transaction tax.”</p> <p>Source: Greens Party policy platform for economic justice. Last viewed, 12 January 2025.</p> <p>In the absence of the tax, the income and wealth of Australians was not being circulated through Australia as much as it could be and was being increasingly transferred offshore.</p> <p>Were the tax to be applied in conjunction with a universal basic income (UBI) as per Econ02.04 and Econ04.02.04, the after-tax income of individuals would be increased. Were the tax to be applied with no compensation (either by a UBI or some other arrangement), the net income of Australians would be reduced by a maximum of around \$8 per week for the bottom 75% of earners but the</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 4 – National wealth generation & sharing

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	affordable housing for all.	transactions, direct debits and credits and EFTPOS transactions through the banks was estimated at \$10.9 trillion (excluding credit unions); <ul style="list-style-type: none"> in 2016/17 foreign exchange turnover totalled \$37 trillion; and in 2016/17 turnover in the interbank cash market totalled just over \$1 trillion. These three categories of transactions alone totalled almost \$50 trillion per annum in 2018. Source: Brian Donaghy, <i>A Basic Income for Australia: A fair go for all</i> , Adelaide Independent Reporter, 2021.	funds raised would make all government services cheaper and more sustainable, leaving Australians substantially better off overall. For more information on impacts and benefits of an electronic financial transactions tax see ACFP’s Question and Answer Sheet, “ What is the Strategy in Australia Together for a Universal Basic Income? ” August 2024. For updates, visit the ACFP website here . The short term trend is neutral.  The longer term trend is neutral. 
Soc 10	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.		
Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.		
Env 6	A renewable energy superpower.		
Env 11	A replanted and reforested land.		
Env 12	A protector of scarce resources.		
Gov 9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.		

Economy 5 – Market regulation & competition policy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy			
Economy 5 – Market regulation & competition policy			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: National Competition Policy review Econ05.01</p> <p>By 2024, establish an independent review of the benefits and failures of 30 years of National Competition Policy with terms of reference which place equitable and affordable access by consumers to services at the top of the list of objective measures of performance of the Policy (recognising that the Policy gives priority to businesses over consumers).</p> <p>By 2025, subject to the findings of the above review, revise National Competition Policy to any extent necessary to fairly adjust the negative</p>	Econ 5	A strong regulator of fairness in markets, creating confidence for investors.	<p>In August 2023 the federal government announced a Competition Policy Review. It was meant “to last two years and will involve rolling projects rather than the production of a single report.” It was stated that, “The Review will look at competition laws, policies and institutions to ensure they remain fit-for-purpose for the modern economy, with a focus on reforms that would increase productivity, reduce the cost of living and/or lift wages.” The focus was on merger reform, as well as “other [unspecified] competition law issues; options for coordinated reform with states and territories; non-compete and related clauses that restrict workers from</p>
	Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	
	Econ 2	A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.	
	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	

⁷⁶ 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/archive/ncpebrief

⁷⁷ 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.

⁷⁸ 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

⁷⁹ Ibid., page 31.

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Economy 5 – Market regulation & competition policy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>impact of both the Hilmer and Harper recommendations, (recognising that the focus of both is on artificially advantaging the private sector to help it compete rather than on maximising returns to taxpayers on their investments in services and minimising the price they then pay for those services when they use them).</p>	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>	<p>including not-for-profit human services. The government adopted the majority of Harper Report recommendations, paving the way for easier access by private companies to provide core services in education, health and social services, regardless of whether this would lead to cheaper or better services for Australians. Source: Parliament of Australia, Australia's National Competition Policy webpage, Competition Policy Review Final Report March 2015 (the Harper Report)</p>	<p>shifting to a better-paying job; and providing advice on competition issues raised by new technologies, the net zero transformation and growth in the care economy."</p>
	<p>Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.</p>		
	<p>Econ 9 Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.</p>		
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming and enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>		
	<p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p>		
	<p>Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</p>		
	<p>Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.</p>		
	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 5 – Market regulation & competition policy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline												
	<p>practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>		<p>competition from the public sector. See Econ01.04 above.</p> <p>For more information on the failure of Australia’s competition policy and the need for significant reforms to restore the public sector’s capacity to compete on a level playing field see ACFP, the Australia Together Podcast, Series 1 Part 3, Conversations with Australia’s Treasurer about building an Australian people’s economy, March 2023.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative. ←</p> <p>The longer term trend is negative. ←</p>												
<p>Ethical regulation of carbon credits markets Econ05.02 By 2024, recognising that in order to facilitate Australia’s entry into international carbon credits trading and markets (in line with initiatives under Env11.01 and Econ01.07) Australia will need to establish a reputation as a producer of genuine carbon credits, ensure that the Australian Clean Energy Regulator:</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="464 1424 536 1458">Econ</td> <td data-bbox="568 1424 592 1458">5</td> <td data-bbox="616 1323 812 1547">A strong regulator of fairness in markets, creating confidence for investors.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="464 1648 536 1682">Econ</td> <td data-bbox="568 1648 592 1682">9</td> <td data-bbox="616 1547 812 1771">Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="464 1827 520 1861">Env</td> <td data-bbox="568 1827 592 1861">1</td> <td data-bbox="616 1771 812 1906">A leading global advocate for action on climate change.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="464 1939 520 1973">Env</td> <td data-bbox="568 1939 592 1973">2</td> <td data-bbox="616 1906 812 2004">A net zero emissions nation.</td> </tr> </table>	Econ	5	A strong regulator of fairness in markets, creating confidence for investors.	Econ	9	Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.	Env	1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	Env	2	A net zero emissions nation.	<p>During the period of carbon pricing in Australia (2012 to 2014), a Clean Energy Regulator was established which among other things developed an international reputation for defining acceptable approaches to carbon sequestration which could be used to produce genuine, accredited carbon credit units (Australian Carbon Credit Units – ACCUs). The Australian Clean Energy Regulator survived the demise of</p>	<p>In 2021, questions arose about fraud in trading and about the credibility of Australian Carbon Credit Units (ACCUs). In 2022, in response to the concerns, an Independent Review of Australian Carbon Credit Units was conducted. The review panel stated that, “In recent times, the integrity of the [ACCU] scheme has been called into question – it has been argued that the level of abatement has been overstated, that ACCUs are therefore not what they are meant to be, so that the policy is</p>
Econ	5	A strong regulator of fairness in markets, creating confidence for investors.													
Econ	9	Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.													
Env	1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.													
Env	2	A net zero emissions nation.													

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 5 – Market regulation & competition policy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> maintains its reputation as a credible agency for certifying carbon credits, is sufficiently funded to maintain its capacity for development of credible, low cost methodologies for certification of credits (including low cost methods for measuring carbon in the landscape), and is enabled to exercise its leadership role in international trade negotiations and market structure adjustments. 	<p>Env 4 A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.</p>	<p>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. Source: Professor Ross Garnaut, Reset: Restoring Australia After the Pandemic Recession, 2021</p>	<p>not effective. The Panel does not share this view. While the Panel was provided with some evidence supporting that position, it was also provided with evidence to the contrary.”</p> <p>The Panel concluded that, “Notwithstanding the criticisms, the Panel concludes that the scheme was fundamentally well-designed when introduced. Nevertheless, after 11 years of operation, the scheme can be improved – applying knowledge gained through implementation or practical experience is the story of continuous improvement.” (See Econ01.07 above.) Source: Professor Ian Chubb, et al, Independent Review of Australian Carbon Credit Units, Final Report, December 2022</p> <p>In its 2024/25 budget, the federal government responded to the Independent Review by allocating \$48 million for reforms to the Australian Carbon Credit Unit scheme. Source: Federal budget 2024/25, Budget Paper No. 1.</p> <p>In 2024, there was a clear understanding by government of the importance of maintaining integrity in ACCUs, especially since Australia may face new intense scrutiny when the Europe of a Carbon</p>
	<p>Env 6 A renewable energy superpower.</p>		
	<p>Env 11 A replanted & reforested land.</p>		
	<p>Env 14 A pollution free biosphere.</p>		
	<p>Env 19 A land of thriving self-supporting regions.</p>		
	<p>Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.</p>		
	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>		
<p>Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</p>			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 5 – Market regulation & competition policy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>Border Adjustment Mechanism (CBAM) commences in 2026. Export incomes for Australia will be badly affected if ACCUs come under question. A failure in this area will only add to Australia’s trade problems arising from the fact that it does not have a price on carbon and has struggled to establish proper measurement of greenhouse gas emissions.</p> <p>The short term trend is positive. </p> <p>The longer term trend is neutral. </p>
<p>Ethical certification and regulatory enforcement of plans by businesses for achievement of net zero carbon emissions by 2033 Econ05.03 By 2025, synchronising with initiatives under Gov09.04, which prohibit government contracts for businesses that do not have certified plans to achieve net zero emissions by 2033, ensure that the Australian Clean Energy Regulator is vested with full capacity (in staff,</p>	<p>Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets, creating confidence for investors.</p> <p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p> <p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	<p>In 2021, schemes to incentivise companies to reach carbon neutrality (eg., the Emissions Reduction Fund) were limited in scope, number, structure and actual effectiveness (in terms of achieving carbon neutrality rather than just reducing emissions by small amounts). The incentives framework also:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> relied on voluntary investments with very little financial assistance from government; imposed no obligation as to actual emissions 	<p>In 2024, the Australian government’s proposals for achievement of net zero emissions were all based broadly on attempts to incentivise businesses to eliminate emissions rather than on regulating them to do it.</p> <p>It was obvious that this approach – attempted to varying degrees during the years of neoliberalism from the early 2000s – had not resulted in a trajectory of emissions reductions consistent with the emissions tonnage requirements necessary for achievement of the temperature obligations of the Paris Agreement</p>

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Economy 5 – Market regulation & competition policy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>expertise and funding) to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> certify that the plans for achievement of net zero emissions by 2033 submitted by businesses seeking government contracts are authentic, feasible and fully financed; monitor compliance with plans of those businesses whose approved government contracts are conditional on their compliance; and advise the agency administering contracts of any non-compliance or unsuitability for renewal. 	Econ 4	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.	<p>(less than 2 degrees of heating and as close as possible to 1.5 degrees). Time had already run out and a much tighter system of regulation would be required to prevent whatever heating could still be stopped. The weight of policy, however, was such as to entrench emissions growth rather than deter it. While domestic emissions were falling in this period and dropped from 622 MtCO₂-e in 2005 to 465 MtCO₂-e in 2023, emissions from exports (which are much larger than domestic emissions) almost doubled from 0.7 GtCO₂-e in 2005 to 1.2 GtCO₂-e in 2023.⁸⁰</p> <p>Source: Climate Analytics, Australia's global fossil fuel carbon footprint, August 2024.</p> <p>There has been a potentially catastrophic failure of all governments since 2000 in their refusals to establish regulations requiring Australian companies to phase out use and export of fossil fuels and utter naivete and state of delusion in the Albanese</p>
	Econ 6	An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.	
	Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	
	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.	
	Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.	
	Env 6	A renewable energy superpower.	
	Env 11	A replanted & reforested land.	
	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		

Source: Australian Government Department of Industry, Science, Energy and Resources webpage for the Emissions Reduction Fund

⁸⁰ Climate Analytics, [Australia's global fossil fuel carbon footprint](#), August 2024, page 16: "Australia's combined fossil fuel exports in 2023 amounted to a total of 1.15 Gt exported CO₂ emissions: 430 MtCO₂ from metallurgical coal, 443 MtCO₂ from thermal coal, 231 MtCO₂ from LNG and 48 MtCO₂ from oil.5,37 A further 46 MtCO₂ was emitted domestically to extract, process and distribute those fossil fuels purely for export, taking the total to 1.20 GtCO₂/yr. Australia's cumulative fossil fuel exports from 1961 to 2023 are responsible for 30 GtCO₂ being released to the atmosphere, including both exported emissions and domestic production emissions for exported fossil fuels (584 MtCO₂). That's equivalent to 78 times Australia's total 2023 domestic CO₂ emissions, excluding LULUCF. When considering all GHG emissions, i.e. not just CO₂, Australia's fossil fuel exports were responsible for 1.24 GtCO₂e in 2023, and 31 GtCO₂e cumulatively from 1961."

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Economy 5 – Market regulation & competition policy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	independence & excellence.		
	<p>Gov 9</p> <p>A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>		<p>government in supposing that corporations, business and capital would put the values of Australians “at the forefront of how our economies work” (see Econ01.04 above) and of their own free will would choose to act responsibly on climate change, especially when there is no carbon price.</p> <p>Source: Jim Chalmers, Capitalism After the Crises, The Monthly, February 2023.</p>
	<p>Gov 11</p> <p>A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</p>		<p>The failure is even more offensive and injurious to the security of Australians in that vast amounts of profits are not returned to Australia and fossil fuel industries employ only 0.3% of tax paying Australians.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>The longer trend and outlook are negative.</p> <p>←</p>

Economy 6 – Government competitive business participation

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy			
Economy 6 – Government competitive business participation			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Government sector workforce plan and economic participation</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Program for recovery of ownership and operation of government trading enterprises Econ06.01 By 2024/25, develop a timeline for recovery wherever possible of divested assets and operations and a policy of non-renewal of contracts for private operation of government assets as those contracts expire.</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Program for recovery of ownership and operation of government trading enterprises – direct investment of public funds Econ06.01.01 By 2025 establish a publicly owned, government administered financial</p>	Econ 6	An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.	<p>In 2024, it was clear from:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the tenor of Treasurer Chalmers' essay/manifesto, "Capitalism After the Crises" (see Econ01.04 and Econ05.03); and from the Labor government's failure to pursue a competition policy which would reverse the deleterious effects of neoliberalism and re-establish a competitive government sector (see Economy 5 above), <p>that no commitment to recovery from excessive privatisation of public services and assets would be forthcoming. The government displayed no appetite for direct investment in new government trading enterprises capable of providing positive returns to taxpayers on their invested funds. The preference for boosting private profit at public expense remained dominant.</p> <p>The short term trend was negative.</p> <p>←</p>
	Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	
	Econ 2	A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.	
	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 7	A collaborative, intelligent nation.	
	Econ 8	Enabled in meeting the communication & information demands of the future.	
	Soc 6	A society of equals.	
		Between 1990 and 2020 Australian federal and state governments divested ownership and/or operations of a vast array of taxpayer-owned assets including ports, airports, QANTAS, the Commonwealth Bank, toll roads, buses, electricity generation and transmission infrastructure, water treatment, a commercial health insurer, commercial laboratories, and vital data bases 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 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	

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 6 – Government competitive business participation

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>corporation/bank (aligned with the proposed Community Australia Bank under Econ04.02.03) to invest immediately and directly in ownership of new government trading enterprises, particularly in lucrative services or industries such as renewable 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).</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Program for recovery of ownership and operation of government trading enterprises – publication of plans Econ06.01.02</p> <p>By 2025, publish a plan for expansion of government trading enterprises as a profitable sector of Australia’s economy wholly owned by taxpayers and align this plan with:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the national plan for full employment supported by a 	<p>Env 6 A renewable energy superpower.</p> <hr/> <p>Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.</p>	<p>on investment for taxpayers. Source: Australian Community Futures Planning, The State of Australia in 2020, Episode 5.</p>	<p>The longer term trend and outlook were both negative.</p> <p></p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 6 – Government competitive business participation

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
universal basic income under Econ02.04 , <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the program of expansion of public sector direct employment under Econ02.04.01; and • the National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing under Econ04.02. 			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy					
Economy 7 – Science, research, innovation & collaboration					
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...		Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Research and Development Expenditure – Increasing public and private investment in R&D</p> <p>Econ07.01</p> <p>By 2024/25, recognising:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the urgent need to catapult Australia from its 2024 economic composition of low-productivity, low-wage industries to the high productivity, high-skill jobs and industries of the future as per Econ01.06.03; and that R&D is essential to productivity and skills development; and that underinvestment in R&D, relative to other countries, will mean loss of Australia’s competitiveness in trade, <p>establish policies to increase R&D as a proportion of GDP to at least 2.4% by 2028 and ensure further growth thereafter as necessary to achieve the objectives of Econ01.06.02 and Econ01.06.03.</p>	Econ	7	A collaborative intelligent nation.	<p>In 2019, the World Bank and the OECD reported that Australia’s expenditure on Research and Development (R&D) as a proportion of GDP was 1.83% and 1.8% respectively, having dropped steadily from 2.4% in 2008. Australia’s R&D expenditure was significantly below the OECD average of 2.95% in 2021.</p> <p>Source: Wikipedia, List of sovereign states by research and development spending. Source: Our World in Data, Research & development spending as a share of GDP. Source: World Bank, Research and development expenditure (% of GCP) – OECD countries, 2021.</p>	Between 2009 and 2022, business expenditure on R&D (BERD) dropped from 1.37% of GDP to 0.88% of GDP. No later data were available on BERD.
	Econ	1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.		Between 2007 and 2023, government expenditure on R&D (GOVERD) varied, averaging \$3.521 billion per annum. During the period of Coalition government from 2015 to 2019, GOVERD fell below the average by an average of 5.9% per annum. In 2023, GOVERD rose to a 15-year high of \$4.344 billion. GOVERD as a proportion of GDP remained unchanged between 2021 and 2023 at 0.17%.
	Econ	2	A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.		In 2023, gross expenditure on R&D (government and non-government combined – GERD) was reported as 1.68% of GDP, a fall from 1.8% reported in 2019 and significantly below the OECD average of 2.7%.
	Econ	3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.		Source: Australian Government, Department of Industry, Science and Resources, Science and research data webpage, last accessed 11 January 2025. Source: ABS, Research and Experimental Development, Government and Private Non-Profit Organisations, Australia, 12 June 2024.
	Econ	4	A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.		
	Econ	5	A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.		
	Econ	6	An economy with competitive & profitable public participation.		
	Econ	9	Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements,		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy

Economy 7 – Science, research, innovation & collaboration

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	labour hire & procurement.		The short term trend is negative (thanks to poor performance by the private sector).  The longer term trend is negative. 
Soc	5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.		
Soc	7 A success because of its diversity.		
Env	2 A net zero emissions nation.		
Env	5 An environmentally educated community.		
Env	6 A renewable energy superpower.		
Env	7 Efficiently connected through low emissions transport.		
Env	8 Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.		
Env	16 Regenerative by design in consumption & production.		
Env	19 A land of thriving self-supporting regions.		
Gov	9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.		

Economy 8 – Technology development & digitisation

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy		
Economy 8 – Technology development & digitisation		
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data
<p>No specific Targets or Strategies have yet been established for this Direction. However, some Strategies which are closely integrated with and contribute to the achievement of this Direction are incorporated into the plan under:</p> <p>Soc05.01 Soc05.01.04 Soc05.01.05 Soc05.01.06 Sco05.04 Econ02.05.02 Econ06.01 Econ06.01.01 Econ06.01.02 Gov05.02.03 Gov05.04 Gov05.04.01 Gov08.02 Gov08.02.01 Gov08.02.02 Gov08.02.03 Gov10.02 Gov12.01.04</p>	<p>Econ 8</p> <p>Enabled in meeting the communication & information demands of the future.</p>	<p>No baseline data have yet been established specifically for this Direction. However, baseline data are available relevant to this Direction under the Targets and Strategies listed at left.</p>

Economy 9 – International economic engagement & trade

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Economy		
Economy 9 – International economic engagement & trade		
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data
<p>No specific Targets or Strategies have yet been established for this Direction. However, some Strategies which are closely integrated with and contribute to the achievement of this Direction are incorporated into the plan under:</p> <p>Soc05.01.04 Soc07.04 Soc16.01 Env01.01 Env01.02 Env02.05.01 Env06.03 Env11.01 Env11.02 Econ01.03.02 Econ01.03.03 Econ01.06.01 Econ01.06.02 Econ01.06.03 Econ01.07 Econ01.08 Econ02.05 Econ02.05.01 Econ05.01 Econ05.02 Econ07.01 Gov03.01 Gov03.01.01 Gov09.05 Gov12.01.05 Gov12.04 Gov12.04.02 Gov12.05</p>	<p>Econ 9</p> <p>Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.</p>	<p>No baseline data have yet been established specifically for this Direction. However, baseline data are available relevant to this Direction under the Targets and Strategies listed at left.</p>

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



Governance 1 – Strength of democracy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance			
Governance 1 – Strength of democracy			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Consistency of legislative programs with the Vision for Australia Together Gov01.01</p> <p>The proportion of legislation enacted during the term of a federal parliament that is consistent with, or has no effect either way on, the Vision and Directions of <i>Australia Together</i> equals 100%.</p> <p>The proportion that is antithetical to the Vision and Directions of <i>Australia Together</i> equals zero.</p>	<p>Gov 1 A proactive participatory democracy.</p>	<p>Between 2002 and 2019 legislation was passed in the Parliament of Australia which had the effect of diminishing human rights and equality for all Australians, including by reducing:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • free speech and rights of protest, • freedom of assembly and organisation, • freedom of the press, • transparency in government, • access to government information, • equity and transparency in lobbying and electoral funding, • rights to privacy, • rights to fair trials in public, • rights in unlawful detention and search without warrants. <p>All such legislation and some other legislation weakens the strength of a democracy. As such, it is antithetical to the Vision and Directions of <i>Australia Together</i>.</p> <p>Source: Kelly, <i>By 2050</i></p>	<p>Between 2022 and 2024, the Australian government enacted a number of pieces of legislation that will not take Australia towards the Vision for <i>Australia Together</i>. In fact they have potential to fully defeat Australia’s chances of achieving the Vision. This is most noticeable in relation to legislation on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • climate change, which negatively affects Vision elements 1, 4, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14 and 17; • housing, which negatively affects Vision elements 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9 and 12; • taxation, which negatively affects Vision elements 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14 and 17; • national security and defence which negatively affects Vision elements 1, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17; • corruption prevention, which negatively affects Vision elements 1, 15, 16 and 17.
	<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>		
	<p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p>		
	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 1 Confident of Soc 5 justice for all.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 1 – Strength of democracy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline																		
			<p>For details of the problems with legislation in these areas see Environment 1 and 2, Society 9 – Housing, Economy 4, Governance 6, and Governance 12.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative. ←</p> <p>The longer term trend is negative. ←</p>																		
<p>Strength of democracy Gov01.01.01 Australia rises to rank No. 1 on the world Democracy Index.</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 965 598 1066">Gov 1</td> <td data-bbox="598 965 837 1066">A proactive participatory democracy.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1066 598 1167">Gov 2</td> <td data-bbox="598 1066 837 1167">A nation knowing and affirming decency.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1167 598 1267">Gov 3</td> <td data-bbox="598 1167 837 1267">A nation with avowed rights for all.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1267 598 1368">Gov 4</td> <td data-bbox="598 1267 837 1368">A free, self-governing, modern nation.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1368 598 1491">Gov 5</td> <td data-bbox="598 1368 837 1491">Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1491 598 1615">Gov 6</td> <td data-bbox="598 1491 837 1615">A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1615 598 1738">Gov 7</td> <td data-bbox="598 1615 837 1738">Committed to public service independence & excellence.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1738 598 1861">Gov 8</td> <td data-bbox="598 1738 837 1861">Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1861 598 2018">Gov 10</td> <td data-bbox="598 1861 837 2018">A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the</td> </tr> </table>	Gov 1	A proactive participatory democracy.	Gov 2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.	Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.	Gov 4	A free, self-governing, modern nation.	Gov 5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.	Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	Gov 7	Committed to public service independence & excellence.	Gov 8	Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.	Gov 10	A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the	<p>Between 2020 and 2023, Australia's ranking on the world Democracy Index declined:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> In 2020 and 2021, Australia ranked in equal 9th place. In 2022, Australia's rank dropped to 15th place. In 2023, Australia ranked in equal 14th place. <p>Australia's scores were adversely affected by relatively poor performance in functioning of government, political participation and political culture. Source: Economist Intelligence – EIU, Democracy Index.</p>	<p>No updates are available. In 2023, Australia moved up one place in the World Democracy Index ranking but its score fell from 8.71 to 8.66 due to poorer performance in political participation and political culture. Source: Economist Intelligence – EIU, Democracy Index 2023.</p> <p>In 2019, Australia's rating on the CIVICUS International Monitor of Global freedoms was downgraded from an open society and democracy to a narrowed one. It has not recovered. Source: CIVICUS Global Monitor, 2024.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral to negative. ←</p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p>
Gov 1	A proactive participatory democracy.																				
Gov 2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.																				
Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.																				
Gov 4	A free, self-governing, modern nation.																				
Gov 5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.																				
Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.																				
Gov 7	Committed to public service independence & excellence.																				
Gov 8	Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.																				
Gov 10	A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the																				

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 1 – Strength of democracy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	<p>wider information market.</p> <p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p> <p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p> <p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p> <p>Soc 1 Confident of justice for all.</p>		←
<p>Satisfaction with democracy Gov01.02 85% of Australians are satisfied with the way democracy works by 2035.</p>	<p>Gov 1 A proactive participatory democracy.</p>	<p>In 2018, 41% of Australians were satisfied with the way democracy works. Source: MOAD, Museum of Australian Democracy, Democracy 2025, "Trust and Democracy in Australia: Democratic decline and renewal", Report No. 1</p> <p>In 2019, after the federal election, 59% of Australians on survey said they were satisfied with democracy, down from 86% in 2007. Source: ANU Trends in Australian Political Opinion, 1987 to 2019</p> <p>In 2019, 48% of Australians said they trusted institutions of democracy (government, business, NGOs, media). Source: Edelman Trust Barometer 2019.</p>	<p>In 2023, ANU reported that satisfaction with democracy in Australia declined over the long term from in 81.4% in 2008 to 77% in January 2023 and then fell again to 65.9% in October 2023 during the Voice referendum process. Satisfaction with democracy was at its lowest ebb in Australia during the Coalition governments elected in 2016 (60%) and 2019 (59%). Satisfaction with democracy has tended to be higher (almost 10% higher on average) when Labor governments are in power than it does with Coalition governments. Source: ANU Centre for Research and Social Methods, "Australian views towards democracy: Comparisons through time and with the rest of the region," 31 October 2023, and "Detailed analysis of the 2023 Voice to Parliament Referendum and related social and political attitudes," 28 November 2023.</p>
	<p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p>		
	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>		
	<p>Gov 8 Protected from undue sectional influence in elections</p>		
	<p>Gov 4 A free, self-governing modern nation.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 1 – Strength of democracy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>In 2024, 52% of Australians said they trusted institutions of democracy (government, business, NGOs media), up from 48% in 2023, but trust remained low. In 2024, Edelman reported that “In Australia, no single institution has succeeded in reaching trusted territory for another consecutive year.” Government and media were seen as the least competent and ethical institutions, with government being seen as 39 points less competent than business and media being by far the most unethical and incompetent institution. See Note⁸¹. Source: Edelman Trust Barometer 2024</p> <p>The short term trend is negative. </p> <p>The longer term trend is negative. </p>
Satisfaction with Australia’s system of government	Gov 1 A proactive participatory democracy.	In 2014, satisfaction with Australia’s “system of	In 2024, it was reported that:

⁸¹ The Edelman Trust Barometer records that there has only been one year since 2012 when the institutions of government, business and NGOs succeeded in reaching trusting territory. That year was 2021, when fiscal stimulus was in place to deal with the Covid-19 pandemic. (The media never reached trust territory for Australians.) Australians have been consistently signalling their dissatisfaction with government, business, NGOs and media as institutions supporting the public interest. See [Gov05.01](#), [Gov05.01.01](#), [Gov05.01.03](#) and [Gov 06.02.01](#). It is worth noting that the country where satisfaction with institutions of government, business, NGOs and media has been the highest is China, the country with the outstanding record of pulling its population out of poverty. Between 2019 and 2024 the Edelman Trust Barometer recorded scores averaging 80% support for institutions of government, business, NGOs and media in China.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 1 – Strength of democracy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Gov01.02.01 70% of Australians are satisfied with Australia’s system of government by 2030.</p>	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing & affirming decency.</p>	<p>government”⁸² was reported as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 48% said it works fine as is, • 15% said it needs minor change, • 34% said it needs major change or should be replaced. <p>More than twice as many Australians thought major change or replacement was needed compared to those who said only minor change was needed.</p> <p>Between 2014 and 2019, an average of 54% of Australians thought the system of government needed change, compared to 44% who said the system works fine as is. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2020.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “45 per cent of adults believe ‘the system of government we have in Australia’ needs major changes or should be replaced, an increase from 31 per cent in 2020”; and • “the proportion who believe the system works fine or needs minor change was 62 per cent in 2019, 69 per cent in 2020 and 55 per cent in 2024.” <p>Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2024.</p> <p>The proportion of Australians who do not think the system of government is working well is growing.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center"></p>
	<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>		
	<p>Gov 4 A free, self-governing, modern nation.</p>		
	<p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p>		
	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>		
	<p>Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
<p>Participation in democracy – participation and social justice Gov01.03 The index of political participation in the Scanlon Index of Social Cohesion does not fall</p>	<p>Gov 1 A proactive participatory democracy.</p>	<p>In 2019, the index of political participation in the Scanlon Index of Social Cohesion was 102.9 (2.9 points above the baseline of 100 in 2007), up from 90.8 in 2013 but down from its</p>	<p>In 2024, the index of political participation in the Scanlon Index of Social Cohesion was 100 – level with the baseline in 2007.</p> <p>Between 2020 and 2024, the index of</p>
<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing & affirming decency.</p>			
<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>			

⁸² Scanlon Foundation, Mapping Social Cohesion, 2020 and 2021. The Scanlon Foundation does not define what they mean by “the system of government”.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 1 – Strength of democracy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>below 100 unless Australians simultaneously perceive an improvement in the index of social justice and equity within the Scanlon Index of Social Cohesion.</p> <p>Note that 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”⁸³.</p>	<p>Gov 4 A free, self-governing, modern nation.</p>	<p>highest of 106.6 in 2012.</p>	<p>political participation rose from 93.8 to 100 as the index of social justice an equity fell from 110.5 to 74, indicating a healthy inverse relationship between the two. Australians were responding to perceived significant declines in social justice and equity by increasing their political participation. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2024.</p> <p>The short term trend is positive. </p> <p>The longer term trend is positive in that healthy political participation has persisted through periods of increasing social injustice and inequity. </p>
	<p>Gov 1 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</p>	<p>Between 2013 and 2019, the average score for political participation was 98.7. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2020.</p>	
	<p>Gov 1 A nation assured of enduring peace.</p>	<p>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.</p> <p>In 2019, the index of social justice and equity in the Scanlon Index of Social Cohesion was 93.1 (6.9 points below the baseline of 100 in 2007) and 19.3 points down from its highest score of 112.4 in 2009.</p>	
	<p>Gov 3 A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.</p>		
	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>		
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.</p>		
<p>Soc 1 Confident of justice for all.</p>			
<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	<p>Between 2013 and 2019, the average score for social justice and equity was 92.4. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2020.</p>		
<p>Participation in democracy – voter turnout</p>	<p>Gov 1 A proactive participatory democracy.</p>	<p>Between 2001 and 2016, voter turnout in federal elections for</p>	<p>In 2019, voter turnout in federal elections for the House of</p>

⁸³ 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 the success of Our Governance

Governance 1 – Strength of democracy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Gov01.03.01 Voter turnout at federal elections for the House of Representatives is steadily maintained above 94%.</p>	<p>Gov 4 A free, self-governing, modern nation.</p>	<p>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</p>	<p>Representatives increased to 91.89%.</p>
	<p>Gov 8 Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.</p>		<p>In 2022, voter turnout in federal elections for the House of Representatives fell to 89.82%. Source: Australian Electoral Commission</p>
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		<p>The short term trend is negative. </p> <p>The longer term trend is negative. </p>
<p>Participation in democracy – ability to have a say Gov01.03.02 The proportion of Australians who feel able to have a say within the community on important issues rises continuously.</p>	<p>Gov 1 A proactive participatory democracy.</p>	<p>In 2019, 58.2% of Australians on survey felt they were “able to have a say within community on important issues”, some, most or all of the time – up from 53.4% in 2014. Source: ABS General Social Survey 2020, Table 17.1</p>	<p>In 2020, 58.5% of Australians on survey felt they were “able to have a say within community on important issues”, some, most or all of the time – up from 53.4% in 2014. Source: ABS General Social Survey 2020, Table 17.1</p> <p>No further updates are available.</p> <p>The short term trend is positive. </p> <p>The longer term trend is positive. </p>
	<p>Gov 4 A free, self-governing, modern nation.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Participation in democracy – Legislation to lower</p>	<p>Gov 1 A proactive participatory democracy.</p>	<p>In 2024, the voting age in Australia was 18 years. Those under 18 could work and pay tax but could not vote.</p>	<p>In 2024, no legislation had been passed by the federal parliament or any other legislature to lower the voting age to 16. Governments</p>
	<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 1 – Strength of democracy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
<p>the voting age to 16 years Gov01.03.03 By 2024, pass legislation in the Commonwealth parliament to lower the voting age in Australia to 16 years.</p>	<p>Gov 4 A free, self-governing, modern nation.</p>	<p>In 2024, the voting age was already 16 in Argentina, Austria, Bosnia, Brazil, Cuba, East Timor, Ecuador, Estonia, Germany, Greece, Indonesia, Israel, Malta, Nicaragua, Scotland and Wales.</p>	<p>appeared to prefer to exclude young people from a say in their governance.</p> <p>Other signs of suppression of the influence of the young appeared in increasing crackdowns on peaceful public protest by several state governments, including legislation introducing very heavy penalties for protests (including peaceful protest) in New South Wales, Tasmania and South Australia. Some universities were prohibiting protests and the Northern Territory passed laws to impose curfews. These and other restrictions are contrary to human rights. Source: Australian Democracy Network, The Protest Rights Wrap webpage, last viewed January 2025.</p> <p>The short term trend was negative. </p> <p>The longer term trend was negative. </p>	
	<p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p>			<p>In 2023, Senator Jordon Steele-John tabled a bill to amend the Commonwealth Electoral Act 1918 and Referendum (Machinery Provisions) Act 1984 to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • lower the minimum voting age in Australian federal elections and referenda from 18 to 16 years; and • provide for 16 and 17 year olds to be included in the certified list of voters (but not to be given a penalty notice if they do not vote). <p>Source: Parliament of Australia, Electoral Legislation Amendment (Lowering the Voting Age) Bill 2023 [No. 2].</p>
	<p>Gov 8 Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.</p>			
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>	<p>Soc 1 Confident of justice for all. Soc 5</p>		
	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>			
	<p>Cohesion and stability of democracy Gov01.03.04 The income based trust inequality gap does not rise above 10 points on</p>	<p>Gov 1 A proactive participatory democracy.</p>		<p>In 2018, Australians on both high and low incomes were distrusting of institutions within our</p>
<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing & affirming decency.</p>				

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 1 – Strength of democracy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
a rolling three year average.	Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.	democracy. Trust scores were: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High income = 46. • Low income = 35. • Income based trust inequality gap = 11 points. Between 2012 and 2018, the average income based trust inequality gap was 10.6 points. Source: Edelman Trust Barometer Australian Results 2021 and 2022 Note: This indicator and target have been selected as a reasonable means of monitoring changes in societal cohesion which may foreshadow a decline in the cohesion and stability of democracy itself, for example in the way that growing income inequality has split communities of the USA 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 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	were treated by governments during Covid-19. Trust declined for both high and low income earners after the pandemic. Despite the rise in trust during the pandemic, the income-based trust inequality gap doubled in 2021 compared to the average in the years before the pandemic, indicating a perception among low income earners that even though they were being treated better the government was not treating them as well as high income earners. In 2012, trust scores were: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High income = 45. • Low income = 38. • Income based trust inequality gap = 7 points. In 2021, trust scores rose to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High income = 72. • Low income = 50. • Income based trust inequality gap = 22 points. In 2023, trust scores fell back to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High income = 54 • Low income = 43. • Income based trust inequality gap = 11 points
	Gov 4 A free, self-governing, modern nation.		
	Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.		
	Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.		
	Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.		
	Gov 8 Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.		
	Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.		
	Gov 10 A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.		
	Soc 1 A safe home.		
	Soc 6 A society of equals.		
Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.			
Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 1 – Strength of democracy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>	<p>the stability of democracy.</p>	<p>In 2023, the trust gap was smaller than in 2021 and 2022 but still higher than the pre-pandemic period, although this was not because those on low incomes had become more trusting (they had not), it was because those on high incomes had become less trusting. Source: Edelman Trust Barometer Australian Results 2021, 2022 and 2023.</p> <p>Increases in the trust inequality gap provide early warning of dangerous trends for cohesion and stability in Australia’s democracy. Strategies to reduce income inequality and gaps in access to education and information will be vital in heading off democratic decline. The variations in the income-based trust inequality gap since 2012 suggest Australia’s social cohesion and equality is not yet so broken that conditions are being set for the sort of democratic upheavals being experienced in America, but it could be headed that way if policies for equitable and affordable access to services and universal income security are not invoked.</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 1 – Strength of democracy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline															
			<p>The short term trend is neutral to negative.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>The longer term trend is probably neutral.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p> The outlook trend is negative given the predisposition of the two major political parties of government that is still in favour of neoliberalism with all that it implies about services and income insecurity.</p>															
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Constitutional reform – Establishment of The National People’s Voice – Legislation in lieu of the more preferable constitutional enshrinement Gov01.04 By 2026, in association with:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the Constitutional Convention under Gov04.01; and/or the National Collaborative Process for Development of The Australian People’s Constitution under Gov04.01.01; but regardless of progress with 	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1115 539 1144">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="571 1115 592 1144">1</td> <td data-bbox="608 1077 826 1173">A proactive participatory democracy.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1279 539 1308">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="571 1279 592 1308">2</td> <td data-bbox="608 1240 826 1337">A nation knowing & affirming decency.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1442 539 1471">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="571 1442 592 1471">3</td> <td data-bbox="608 1404 826 1500">A nation with avowed rights for all.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1621 539 1650">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="571 1621 592 1650">4</td> <td data-bbox="608 1583 826 1680">A free, self-governing, modern nation.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1794 539 1823">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="571 1794 592 1823">5</td> <td data-bbox="608 1756 826 1852">Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</td> </tr> </table>	Gov	1	A proactive participatory democracy.	Gov	2	A nation knowing & affirming decency.	Gov	3	A nation with avowed rights for all.	Gov	4	A free, self-governing, modern nation.	Gov	5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.	<p>In 2021, Australians had:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> no right and no organised means to express their values and preferences for their wellbeing and security in the future; no long term plan for the nation as a whole; 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; 	<p>In 2024, Australians still had no right of their own to speak for themselves in the formulation of their preferred future and selection or the safe paths towards it. They still had a system where governments spoke for them (replacing or eclipsing their voice) and did so with no reciprocal obligation to them, inasmuch as most human rights and obligations of governments under the international covenants on political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights were not awarded to Australians in domestic law. If anything,</p>
Gov	1	A proactive participatory democracy.																
Gov	2	A nation knowing & affirming decency.																
Gov	3	A nation with avowed rights for all.																
Gov	4	A free, self-governing, modern nation.																
Gov	5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.																

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 1 – Strength of democracy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>decisions arising from the Constitutional Convention and the Collaborative Process, federal parliament is to legislate to establish the unconstrained and inalienable right of the people of Australia to a National People’s Voice wherein they (as opposed to their parliaments or governments) can freely exercise their right to express their sovereign will as equals for the future of the society, environment, economy and democracy, and can do so in the form of their own collaboratively assembled and regularly monitored and reviewed, integrated plan for the wellbeing and security of all Australians over the longer term (up to 30 years).</p> <p>Note: Establishment of a National People’s Voice should be secured in the Constitution. But in the event of delays in constitutional reform there is no reason why a National People’s Voice should not be legislated.</p>	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders’ conduct.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> no means of transparently measuring the commitment and performance of governments in delivery of improved quality of life; no permitted role in providing guidance on preferences for how national wealth should be raised and fairly shared; no means of developing terms of trust with those they elect; and no transparent means of holding governments to account for conduct contrary to the public interest or for failures in delivery of longer term safety, security and wellbeing. <p>Source: Bronwyn Kelly, By 2050: planning a better future for our children in 21st century democratic Australia.</p> <p>In 2023, ACFP’s Founder Bronwyn Kelly therefore proposed that an Australian People’s Constitution should accord to all Australians their sovereign right as equals to express their will for the future of their society, environment, economy and democracy, and</p>	<p>Australians were losing rights to free speech and protest – see Gov01.03.03 above.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center">←</p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are negative.</p> <p align="center">←</p> <p>Note, however, that in contrast to the situation in 2019, Australia does now have:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> assembled, easily accessible data about the nation’s health and wellbeing in the Australia Together National Wellbeing Index; 85% of a starting draft of Australia’s first national community futures plan, Australia Together, with over 360 Targets and Strategies for society, the environment, the national economy and democracy, and a clearly prescribed, open and inclusive National IP&R process, including community engagement and long term financial planning.
	<p>Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>All A I I All other Directions</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 1 – Strength of democracy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline									
		<p>that to facilitate this a National People’s Voice should be established as a right of all Australians under Australia’s Constitution. The National People’s Voice was envisaged as a right to engage in the process of determining the preferred direction of the nation and development of targets and strategies for the wellbeing and security of current and future generations – that is, the National People’s Voice was envisaged as a human right, not as an institution of the state.</p> <p>Source: Bronwyn Kelly, <i>The People’s Constitution: the path to empowerment of Australians in a 21st century democracy</i>, ACFP Publishing, January 2023, https://www.austcfp.com.au/publications</p> <p>For full details on the proposed form and function of the National People’s Voice, see Chapter 7 of The People’s Constitution.</p>	<p>This End of Term Report is the second report on Australia’s performance against the <i>Australia Together National Wellbeing Index</i>. 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.</p> 									
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Constitutional reform – Independent Commission for National Engagement and Integrated Planning Gov01.04.01</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="486 1713 534 1742">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="566 1713 598 1742">1</td> <td data-bbox="614 1680 829 1780">A proactive participatory democracy.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="486 1803 534 1832">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="566 1803 598 1832">2</td> <td data-bbox="614 1780 829 1881">A nation knowing & affirming decency.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="486 1904 534 1933">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="566 1904 598 1933">3</td> <td data-bbox="614 1881 829 1973">A nation with avowed rights for all.</td> </tr> </table>	Gov	1	A proactive participatory democracy.	Gov	2	A nation knowing & affirming decency.	Gov	3	A nation with avowed rights for all.	<p>In 2023, ACFP’s Founder Bronwyn Kelly proposed that for purposes of assisting the people in orderly composition of their National People’s Voice (as described in Gov01.04), there is a</p>	<p>In 2024, the representative system of government in Australia was still designed to shut down the diverse voices of the Australian community, not to give them an orderly means</p>
Gov	1	A proactive participatory democracy.										
Gov	2	A nation knowing & affirming decency.										
Gov	3	A nation with avowed rights for all.										

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 1 – Strength of democracy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
By 2026, to ensure effective support for and facilitation of the National People’s Voice envisaged under Gov01.04 , federal parliament is to legislate to establish an Independent Commission for National Engagement and Integrated Planning as per Note ⁸⁴ .	Gov 4 A free, self-governing, modern nation.	need to establish an Independent Commission for National Engagement and Integrated Planning with a charter of independence from the parliament and executive government. Source: Bronwyn Kelly, The Peoples’ Constitution: the path to empowerment of Australians in a 21st century democracy , ACFP 2023, Chapter 7.	of expressing their will for the future – the sovereign will of the people. See Gov01.04 above. Creation of a National People’s Voice and an Independent Commission for National Engagement and Integrated Planning would give Australians an independent and transparent means of assessing the performance of governments in relation to what matters most to Australians, not politicians and corporations.
	Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.		
	Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders’ conduct.		
	Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.		
	Soc 6 A society of equals.		
All A All other Directions			

⁸⁴ In [The People’s Constitution](#), Chapter 7, the **design of the Independent Commission for National Engagement** was that:

“The Commission shall be accountable by annual reports to the People of Australia, and shall be charged as a minimum with responsibility to the People of Australia for development and maintenance of fully open forums and accessible processes by which all Australians may be enabled to:

- accurately assess the state of their health, wellbeing and security as a nation;
- participate at will in planning processes to articulate a vision for their preferred future and their preferred safe paths to that future; and
- receive independent reports on the progress of the nation towards or away from that future.

The Commission shall be established and maintained with sufficient funding and resources to support Australians in the orderly composition, review and revision of their National Voice, including as a minimum:

- all research resources necessary to ensure that The National People’s Voice can be formulated and monitored on the basis of credible and comprehensive data and information on all aspects of the performance of the Australian society, environment, economy and democracy; and
- all communications and facilitation resources necessary to enable best practice in inclusive community engagement and active citizen participation in building a cohesive nation.

The Commission shall also be entitled to access and rely on the financial and economic planning capacities of the Treasury and the Parliamentary Budget Office for any information necessary to conduct dialogues with Australians on options for sustainably financing their preferred future.”

It was also envisaged that:

“Statements and plans arising from the operation of the National People’s Voice shall be understood to be non-binding on the Executive Government and shall not constrain the Parliament in its power to make laws in accordance with this Constitution but shall constitute guidance to the Parliament as to the People’s Sovereign Will for the future and shall therefore be accorded the status of a primary consideration in all parliamentary deliberations. In making laws (including laws pertaining to budgets and appropriations) and in reviewing the appropriateness of administrative decisions on and adherence to policy, Executive Governments shall accordingly be obligated to prepare and Parliaments shall be required to consider comprehensive Statements of Compatibility with the National People’s Voice and to provide reasons for any incompatibility with its expression of the People’s Sovereign Will.”

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 1 – Strength of democracy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			The short term trend is neutral.  The longer term trend and outlook are negative. 
<p>Skills development in National Integrated Planning & Reporting and community engagement in national long term financial planning – participatory budgeting Gov01.05</p> <p>By 2026, regardless of whether Australians have succeeded in establishing:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • their own National People’s Voice as per Gov01.04 and/or • an Independent Commission for National Engagement and Integrated Planning as per Gov01.04.01, <p>establish a federally funded Institute for National Long Term Financial Planning within a major Australian University in association with the Parliamentary Budget Office with a charter to:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. develop expertise in community engagement for National Integrated 	<p>Gov 1 A proactive participatory democracy.</p>	<p>In 2021, Australians had:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • no say in the composition of federal budgets; • no say in tax levels or distribution of burdens for taxation; • no say in how their taxes should be spent; • no forums in which they could set out their spending priorities for the long term based on properly foreshadowed demand and need; • no forum in which to negotiate with governments about their preparedness to increase taxes or other forms of national income in return for services and infrastructure that will ultimately expand national wealth and fair sharing of that wealth; • no ability to assess annual federal budgets and estimates in accordance with 	<p>In 2024, no progress had been made towards establishment of a federally funded Institute for National Long Term Financial Planning.</p> <p>Skills development in the federal public service and in universities in long term national community strategic or financial planning had not been set up. The Australian community had limited or, more often, no involvement in the permission system for taxation and expenditure.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral.  The longer term trend and outlook are negative. </p>
	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing & affirming decency.</p>		
	<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>		
	<p>Gov 4 A free, self-governing, modern nation.</p>		
	<p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p>		
	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders’ conduct.</p>		
	<p>Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.</p>		
	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		
	<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industrial reform & economic transitions.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared &</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 1 – Strength of democracy

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
Planning & Reporting with a particular focus on national government sector long term financial and asset planning; 2. teach techniques of Integrated Planning & Reporting and long term financial and asset planning to federal public servants (preparing them for the introduction of National Integrated Planning & Reporting under Gov01.04.01); and 3. establish pilot programs for community engagement on development of long term financial plans for federal revenues and spending on the nation within the context of a community-owned national long term plan for Australia's society, environment, economy and democracy.	living standards improve continuously for all.	whether they reflect their projected long term demands and needs for and equitable access to services; and • no way of holding governments to account for departing, without explanation, from known community preferences for living standards, fair sharing of national wealth and intergenerational equity.	
	Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.		
	Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.		
	Econ 7 A collaborative, intelligent nation.		
	Soc 6 A society of equals.		
<p align="center"> All A I I All other Directions </p>			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance			
Governance 2 – National values & identity			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Pride in Australian culture Gov02.01 The proportion of Australians reporting that they have great pride in their culture and way of life improves continuously.</p>	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing & affirming decency.</p>	<p>In 2018, 43% of Australians reported that they took pride in the Australian way of life and culture “to a great extent”, while the proportion reporting that they took pride “only slightly or not at all” was 13%. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2022</p>	<p>Between 2018 and 2024, the proportion of Australians reporting that they took pride in the Australian way of life and culture “to a great extent”, declined from 43% to 34% while the proportion reporting that they took pride “only slightly or not at all” increased from 13% to 19%. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2024</p> <p>This result suggests a significant increase in dissatisfaction with the Australian way of life, a decrease in agreement or identification with the perceived dominant culture in Australia and an increase in social and economic exclusion.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative. </p> <p>The longer term trend is negative. </p>
	<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>		
	<p>Gov 4 A free, self-governing, modern nation.</p>		
	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart</p>		
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling</p>		
	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 13 A wellspring of inspiration & creativity.</p>		
<p>Satisfaction with national direction Gov02.02 The proportion of Australians reporting that they are dissatisfied with the direction of the country or that the country is headed in the wrong direction continuously declines.</p>	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing & affirming decency.</p>	<p>In 2019, 57% of Australians were dissatisfied with the direction of the country. Source: ABC Australia Talks National Survey 2019</p> <p>In 2021, 61% of Australians “did not believe that the country was any better</p>	<p>In monthly polls between February and early May 2022, an average of 42% of Australians said that the country was headed in the right direction and an average of 40% said it was headed in the wrong direction.</p> <p>In May 2022, the Albanese government was elected.</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 2 – National values & identity

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
		<p>than it was 5-10 years ago". Source: Next25 Navigator, Social Research report 2021</p>	<p>In June 2022, the proportion of Australians who said that the country was headed in the right direction rose to 48% and those who said it was headed in the wrong direction fell to 27%.</p> <p>From June 2022 onwards, the proportion who said Australia was headed in the right direction trended downwards from 48% to 31% in December 2024. The proportion who felt Australia was on the wrong track trended upward from 27% in June 2022 to 51% in December 2024. A later survey in January 2025, improved but did not reverse the long term downward trend of dissatisfaction with the direction of the country. Source: Essential Report, December 2024 and January 2025.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative. </p> <p>The longer term trend is negative. </p>
<p>Support for the Vision and Directions of Australia Together – support for the Vision elements Gov02.03</p>	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing & affirming decency.</p>	<p>In 2020, there were no established data for approval of the Vision for <i>Australia Together</i>. Provision of a baseline is subject to availability of resources for</p>	<p>No update available. </p> <p>No funds are yet available for statistically valid surveys of the opinion of Australians about the Vision and</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 2 – National values & identity

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>The proportion of Australians who support the Vision for <i>Australia Together</i> as a whole reaches 80%. Each element of the Vision for <i>Australia Together</i> is rated at or above 3.1 out of 5 as important.</p>		<p>statistically valid surveys of Australians.</p>	<p>Directions of <i>Australia Together</i>.</p>  <p>Note, however, that during the period of the 47th parliament, ACFP ensured that surveys of support for the Vision for <i>Australia Together</i> remained open at all times for voluntary completion. Despite repeated advertising about the surveys, only 16 responses were received, too few for conclusions.⁸⁵ The surveys will remain open during the 48th parliament.</p> <p>Awareness of the Vision for <i>Australia Together</i> grew throughout the period of the 47th parliament due to ACFP’s expansion of communications via The State of Australia on Substack and the Australia Together Podcast as well as media articles and radio interviews. Growth in familiarity with and understanding of the Vision did not result in adverse comment. ACFP is yet to receive any comments suggesting</p>

⁸⁵ Out of the 16 responses received on the survey of support for the Vision for *Australia Together*, 94% responded that “in relation to the Vision as a whole if Australians were to make that Vision a reality,” they would be “happy to be a citizen of that country.” As to how happy the respondents would be if the Vision were made a reality, on a scale of 1 to 10 where 10 = the highest level of happiness: 50% gave a score of 10, 19% gave a score of 9, 25% gave a score of 8, and 6% (1 person) gave a score of 6. Only 9 responses were received in surveys about the Directions for *Australia Together*. In response to the question: “Thinking of the Directions for *Australia Together* as a whole, if Australia was become all those things, how happy would you be to be a citizen of that country?”, 100% gave a score of 10. Obviously, these scores have no statistical validity but they have been posted here for the sake of transparency and to prompt some awareness of the existence of the surveys.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 2 – National values & identity

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			that the Vision for <i>Australia Together</i> does not align with the aspirations of Australians for the future.
<p>Support for the Vision and Directions of Australia Together – support for the Directions Gov02.03.01</p> <p>Each Direction for <i>Australia Together</i> is rated at or above 3.1 out of 5 as important.</p>	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing & affirming decency.</p>	<p>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.</p>	<p>No update available.</p> <p></p> <p>No funds are yet available for statistically valid surveys of the opinion of Australians about the Vision and Directions of <i>Australia Together</i>.</p> <p></p> <p>For more information on support for the Vision and Directions see Gov02.03 above.</p>

Governance 3 – Human & other rights

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance						
Governance 3 – Human & other rights						
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...		Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline		
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Constitutional reform – A National Agreement on Human Rights and Obligations in the Australian Constitution Gov03.01</p> <p>By 2030, as an essential and defining part of nation-wide community engagement for a new Constitution under Gov04.01 and Gov04.01.01, ensure that:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Australia’s Constitution recognises explicitly all the human rights of Australians consistent with a modern open democracy enabling political equality, dignity and freedom for all citizens; and 2. the process of inclusion of human rights and obligations in the Constitution is consistent with Gov03.01.01 for comprehensive and fully open nationwide engagement on enshrinement of a National Agreement on 	Gov	3	A nation with avowed rights for all.	<p>In 2021, Australians did not have explicitly conferred rights to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • freedom of speech, • peaceful assembly and protest, • freedom of the press, • trial in open court, • justice itself and without delay, or • freedom from unlawful detention. <p>Some human rights were being provided in state legislation but these could and were being actively extinguished because there was nothing in Australia’s Constitution which ensured that those rights could not be extinguished. Source: <i>By 2050</i>, Chapter 8 and <i>The State of Australia in 2020</i>, Episode 3.</p> <p>In 2023, Australian Community Futures Planning’s Founder asserted in testimony to the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Human Rights’ Inquiry into Australia’s Human Rights Framework that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • human rights cannot be secured for Australians through legislation – they can only be secured in law if 	<p>In May 2024, the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Human Rights (PJCHR) recommended that the government introduce legislation to establish a Human Rights Act in a limited form that “is consistent with international human rights law except with respect to the principle of progressive realisation in relation to economic, social and cultural rights.” Several other limitations of human rights were suggested for inclusion in the Act. Source: Parliamentary Joint Committee on Human Rights, <i>Inquiry into Australia’s Human Rights Framework</i>, Final Report May 2024.</p> <p>On 30 May 2024, a spokesperson for the federal attorney-general Mark Dreyfus said the Government has “no plans to introduce a federal Human Rights Act”. Source: Daniel Lo Surdo, <i>Human Rights Act proposed by Committee, rejected by Government</i>, <i>The Daily Aus</i>, 3 June 2024.</p> <p>No explanation was provided as to why, without even examining the PJCHR report, the attorney-general dismissed it and was at pains to signal that the</p>	
		Gov	1			A proactive participatory democracy.
		Gov	2			A nation knowing & affirming decency.
		Gov	4			A free, self-governing, modern nation.
		Gov	5			Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.
		Gov	6			A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.
		Gov	10			A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.
		Gov	11			A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.
		Gov	12			A nation assured of enduring peace.
		Soc	1			A safe home.
		Soc	2			A land with an Indigenous heart.
		Soc	3			Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.
		Soc	6			A society of equals.
	Soc	7	A success because of its diversity.			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 3 – Human & other rights

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
<p>Human Rights and Obligations in the Constitution.</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Constitutional reform – Nation-wide community engagement for enshrinement of a National Agreement on Human Rights and Obligations in the Constitution Gov03.01.01</p> <p>By 2025, as an essential and defining part of nation-wide community engagement for a new Constitution under Gov04.01 and Gov04.01.01, ensure that any charter issued to independent facilitators of the National Collaborative Process for Development of The Australian People’s Constitution envisaged under Gov04.01.01 includes a requirement for nation-wide engagement on development and adoption in the Constitution of a National Agreement on Human Rights and Obligations, such engagement as a</p>	<p>Soc 8</p>	<p>A success because of gender equality.</p>	<p>they are enshrined in the Constitution;</p>	<p>government did not support human rights legislation.</p>
	<p>Soc 15</p>	<p>Confident of justice for all.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> failure by successive governments since World War II to provide in domestic law human rights that Australians are entitled to in international law has resulted in Australian governments having a dreadful track record of abuse of the rights of Australians and others: and that it is fundamental that if human rights are inalienable (as they are acknowledged to be in official government policy) and if we are to be protected from the potential for injustice by an arbitrary sovereign (parliamentary or monarchical) then we need a system of law and law-making which will prevent parliaments and governments from 	<p>In 2025, despite advice from eminent constitutional lawyers in both Australia and New Zealand that without a charter of human rights “parliament is less likely to fulfil its promise,”⁸⁶ the major parties of government in Australia were not in favour of human rights in either legislation or the Constitution. In the absence of legislation establishing human rights for Australians governments remain free to disregard the public interest and human rights. This is a very high risk for Australians. This risk is the greater due to the absence of any mention of the need to consider human rights in the Code of Conduct for Ministers – see Gov06.03 below.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are both negative.</p>
	<p>Econ 3</p>	<p>A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 4</p>	<p>A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.</p>		
	<p>Econ 9</p>	<p>Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.</p>		

⁸⁶ Professor George Williams, “[The role of parliament under an Australian charter of human rights](#)”, Australia-New Zealand Scrutiny of Legislation Conference, Scrutiny and Accountability in the 21st Century, 6 - 8 July 2009 | Parliament House, Canberra, Australia: “I support reform in Australia to about [sic.] a national Charter of Rights. I support this because human rights need better protection in Australia, especially the rights of the marginalised and disadvantaged for whom the existing political process can fail to work. I also support the change for reasons of institutional design. I believe that a Charter, like that enacted in the UK and Victoria, can provide an important, but limited new role for the judiciary while also improving the performance of Parliament. Indeed, without such a Charter, Parliament is less likely to fulfil its promise.”

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 3 – Human & other rights

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>minimum to secure for the people of Australia the prospect of conferring on themselves and each other in their Constitution ALL human rights and obligations already conferred in any treaty in international law or instruments signed by Australia.</p>		<p>overriding the rights that Australian governments have otherwise declared to be universal and inalienable.</p> <p>In accordance with this it was further submitted that “the government should consider working towards a human rights framework in which it is a key principle that the people of Australia (not the parliaments or the executive governments or the judicature) are to be accorded sovereignty in this particular area of law and that this sovereignty can only be protected by constitutional enshrinement of all rights and obligations in the human rights treaties and declarations to which Australia is already a State Party.”</p> <p>For this purpose, ACFP submitted that “the valid and safe way is to create a process by which Australians may freely grant all rights to themselves and each other as equals and impose all necessary obligations on themselves and their governments. This may be done efficiently and fairly through a</p>	<p>←</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 3 – Human & other rights

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline																		
		referendum to enshrine in the Constitution a National Agreement on Human Rights and Obligations.” A starting draft of a possible National Agreement on Human Rights and Obligations was made available to the PJCHR. Source: ACFP, Bronwyn Kelly, Supplementary Submission to the PJCHR Inquiry into Australia’s Human Rights Framework , September 2023.																			
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Constitutional reform – A National Agreement on Human Rights and Obligations in the Constitution – Rights conferred under international treaties, conventions and covenants Gov03.01.02 By 2030, regardless of whether a nation-wide community engagement for a new Constitution under Gov04.01 and Gov04.01.01 has occurred and regardless of whether the federal parliament has passed legislation for human rights, ensure that 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</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 943 555 1039">Gov 3</td> <td data-bbox="555 943 850 1039">A nation with avowed rights for all.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1039 555 1135">Gov 1</td> <td data-bbox="555 1039 850 1135">A proactive participatory democracy.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1135 555 1232">Gov 2</td> <td data-bbox="555 1135 850 1232">A nation knowing & affirming decency.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1232 555 1328">Gov 4</td> <td data-bbox="555 1232 850 1328">A free, self-governing, modern nation.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1328 555 1424">Gov 6</td> <td data-bbox="555 1328 850 1424">A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1424 555 1697">Gov 10</td> <td data-bbox="555 1424 850 1697">A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1697 555 1794">Gov 11</td> <td data-bbox="555 1697 850 1794">A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1794 555 1890">Gov 12</td> <td data-bbox="555 1794 850 1890">A nation assured of enduring peace.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1890 555 2020">Gov 13</td> <td data-bbox="555 1890 850 2020">A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.</td> </tr> </table>	Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.	Gov 1	A proactive participatory democracy.	Gov 2	A nation knowing & affirming decency.	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 discourse, news media & the wider information market.	Gov 11	A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.	Gov 12	A nation assured of enduring peace.	Gov 13	A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.	In 2021, Australia was a party to the seven core international human rights treaties: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) • International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) • International Convention 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 Rights of the Child (CRC) 	In 2025, Australia was still in breach of its obligations under international law. It had not complied with the requirement of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (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 and showed every intention of refusing to comply – see Gov03.01 and Gov03.01.01 above. In 2025, 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). The Australian government remained free to breach civil and
Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.																				
Gov 1	A proactive participatory democracy.																				
Gov 2	A nation knowing & affirming decency.																				
Gov 4	A free, self-governing, modern nation.																				
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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 3 – Human & other rights

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
convention signed by Australia – <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • whether or not Australia has ratified the treaty, covenant or convention, and • whether or not such rights are legislated by states or federally. 	Soc 1 A safe home.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) but only some rights under these treaties had been conferred by law on Australians and, at the Federal level, Australia remained the only democracy in the world not to have passed a law directly implementing the ICCPR. In 2021, Australia 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. This leaves Australia in breach of its obligations under international law. Source: Australian Government Attorney-General's Department webpage on International human rights system; State Library of NSW, Find Legal Answers webpage on human rights. 	political rights, unrestrained by law. The short term trend is negative. ← The longer term trend and outlook are both negative. ←
	Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart		
	Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.		
	Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.		
	Soc 6 A society of equals.		
	Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.		
	Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.		
	Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.		
	Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.		
	Soc 15 Confident of justice for all.		
	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.		
Top Priority Target/Strategy: Legislated obligation for parliamentarians and members of the executive to swear a Statement of Commitment to the Rights of Future Generations of Australians	Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.	In 2022, the Australian government succeeded in arguing in law that governments can deny the right of the young and future generations to a sustainable future in the face of climate change, when the federal minister for the environment, Sussan	In 2025, there was no legislated obligation for parliamentarians and members of the executive to swear a statement of any sort of commitment to future generations. In 2023, independent senator David Pocock
	Gov 2 A nation knowing and affirming decency.		
	Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 3 – Human & other rights

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Gov03.01.03 By 2030, unless governments have adopted a statutory obligation to consider the rights of future generations in accordance with the introduction of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a National Agreement on Human Rights and Obligations under Gov03.01, Gov03.01.01 and/or Gov03.01.02; or • an Australian People’s Constitution as per Gov04.01 and Gov04.01.01; or • legislation imposing sovereign and personal liability for ecocide and genocide through climate change as per Env02.05.01, legislate to ensure that parliamentarians and members of the executive in government are obliged to swear a legally binding Statement of Commitment to the Rights of Future Generations of Australians with a minimum requirement: <p>a) to fully and transparently consider the right of future generations to a safe and sustainable future</p>	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>	<p>Ley, successfully appealed against a high-profile court decision that had found she had a duty of care to protect young people from the climate crisis when assessing fossil fuel developments. Source: Adam Morton and Tamsin Rose, “Sussan Ley does not have duty of care to protect young from climate crisis, appeal court rules”, The Guardian, 15 March 2022.</p> <p>From 2022, federal governments under the Liberal/National Coalition and Labor, proceeded to approve new fossil fuel developments despite their impact on environmental and economic sustainability for future generations.</p>	<p>submitted the Climate Change Amendment (Duty of Care and Intergenerational Climate Equity) Bill 2023. The bill proposed to amend the Climate Change Act 2022 to require decision-makers to consider the health and wellbeing of children in Australia when making significant decisions and to require decision-makers not to make significant decisions in relation to the exploration or extraction of coal, oil or natural gas if the decision poses a material risk of harm to the health and wellbeing of children in Australia. Source: Parliament of Australia, Bills.</p> <p>In June 2024, the Senate Environment and communications Legislation Committee recommended that the bill not be passed. Source: Australian Senate, Environment and Communications Legislation Committee, Climate Change Amendment (Duty of Care and Intergenerational Climate Equity) Bill 2023, Final Report, June 2024.</p> <p>In 2025, there was little if anything in Australia law that may prevent governments and parliaments from making significant decisions that pose a material risk of harm to future generations or the</p>
	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>		
	<p>Gov 10 A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.</p>		
	<p>Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</p>		
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 15 Confident of justice for all.</p>		
	<p>Soc 16 A society prepared and resilient in times of disaster.</p>		
	<p>Env 1 A leading global advocate for action on climate change.</p>		
	<p>Env 2 A net zero emissions nation.</p>		
	<p>Env 3 A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 3 – Human & other rights

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>b) in all law-making and administrative decisions; and to ensure that the rights of future generations shall not be reduced or threatened by economic or environmental policies and laws which pass or have the potential to pass unsustainable liability onto future generations or which have the potential to cause significant intergenerational inequality.</p>	<p>Env 4 A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.</p>		<p>natural environment and biodiversity. Rejection of the Pocock bill by the senate committee, meant that destructive disregard of future generations was confirmed as a deliberate choice, rather than a piece of tacit neglect. It was one of the 47th parliament’s worst moments.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are both negative.</p> <p>←</p>
	<p>Env 6 A renewable energy superpower.</p>		
	<p>Env 7 Efficiently connected with zero-emissions transport.</p>		
	<p>Env 8 Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.</p>		
	<p>Env 9 Confident of safety and security of its water supplies.</p>		
	<p>Env 10 A biodiversity haven.</p>		
	<p>Env 11 A replanted and reforested land.</p>		
	<p>Env 12 A protector of scarce resources.</p>		
	<p>Env 14 A pollution free biosphere.</p>		
	<p>Env 15 A marine wildlife haven.</p>		
	<p>Env 16 Regenerative by design in consumption & production.</p>		
	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 3 – Human & other rights

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	<p>continuously for all.</p> <p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.</p> <p>Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.</p>		
<p>Voluntary assisted dying - legislation Gov03.02 By 2024, all states and territories have legislated rights for voluntary euthanasia and voluntary assisted dying/suicide.</p> <p>Constitutional reform – 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.</p>	<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p> <p>Gov 2 A nation knowing & affirming decency.</p> <p>Gov 4 A free, self-governing, modern nation.</p> <p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p> <p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p> <p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p> <p>Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</p>	<p>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</p>	<p>By June 2024 all states and the Australian Capital Territory had passed legislation creating an assisted suicide and euthanasia scheme for eligible individuals. These laws typically referred to the practices as "voluntary assisted dying". Voluntary euthanasia and assisted dying continued to be unlawful in the Northern Territory. Source: Wikipedia, Euthanasia in Australia, October 2021</p> <p>The short term trend is positive. </p> <p>The longer term trend is positive. </p> <p>By 2025, no progress had been made to amend the Constitution to confer explicit rights on Australians to determine the circumstances and timing of their own death.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral.</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 3 – Human & other rights

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline																					
			 The longer term trend is neutral. 																					
<p>Maintenance of political rights and civil liberties Gov03.03 By 2025, attain a score of 100/100 in the Freedom House international survey of access to political rights and civil liberties and maintain that score thereafter.</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="486 638 550 683">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="566 638 598 683">3</td> <td data-bbox="630 616 845 705">A nation with avowed rights for all.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="486 728 550 772">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="566 728 598 772">1</td> <td data-bbox="630 705 845 806">A proactive participatory democracy.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="486 828 550 873">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="566 828 598 873">2</td> <td data-bbox="630 806 845 907">A nation knowing and affirming decency.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="486 929 550 974">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="566 929 598 974">4</td> <td data-bbox="630 907 845 1008">A free, self-governing, modern nation.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="486 1030 550 1075">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="566 1030 598 1075">5</td> <td data-bbox="630 1008 845 1176">Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="486 1198 550 1243">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="566 1198 598 1243">6</td> <td data-bbox="630 1176 845 1276">A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="486 1299 550 1344">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="566 1299 598 1344">8</td> <td data-bbox="630 1276 845 1400">Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.</td> </tr> </table>	Gov	3	A nation with avowed rights for all.	Gov	1	A proactive participatory democracy.	Gov	2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.	Gov	4	A free, self-governing, modern nation.	Gov	5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.	Gov	6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	Gov	8	Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.	<p>In 2017, Australia achieved a score of 98/100 in the Freedom House international survey of access to political rights and civil liberties.</p> <p>Between 2017 and 2022 this score dropped steadily to 95/100.</p> <p>Countries in 2022 with a score of 100/100 included Finland, Norway and Sweden. New Zealand scored 99/100, United Kingdom 93/100, and the United States 83/100. Source: Freedom House, Freedom in the World, 2022.</p>	<p>In 2023 and 2024, Australia achieved a scores of 95/100 in the Freedom House international survey of access to political rights and civil liberties.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral.  The longer term trend is negative. </p>
Gov	3	A nation with avowed rights for all.																						
Gov	1	A proactive participatory democracy.																						
Gov	2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.																						
Gov	4	A free, self-governing, modern nation.																						
Gov	5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.																						
Gov	6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.																						
Gov	8	Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.																						
<p>Australia's performance on observing and maintaining human rights – civil, political, economic and social Gov03.03.01 All scores in the Human Rights Measurement Initiative (HRMI) Rights Tracker are recorded as "Good".</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="486 1433 550 1478">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="566 1433 598 1478">9</td> <td data-bbox="630 1411 845 1668">A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="486 1691 550 1736">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="566 1691 598 1736">10</td> <td data-bbox="630 1668 845 1926">A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="486 1948 550 1993">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="566 1948 598 1993">11</td> <td data-bbox="630 1926 845 2002">A just & cooperative</td> </tr> </table>	Gov	9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.	Gov	10	A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.	Gov	11	A just & cooperative	<p>In 2023, the latest scores on Australia's performance on human rights were recorded by the Human Rights Measurement Initiative (HRMI) Rights Tracker as follows: In economic and social rights (as at 2020):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education: 78.7% = Bad • Food: 84.3% = Bad • Health: 92.4% = Fair 	<p>In 2024, the latest scores on Australia's performance on human rights were recorded by the Human Rights Measurement Initiative (HRMI) Rights Tracker as follows: In economic and social rights (as at 2020):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education: 81.3% = Bad • Food: 84.9% = Bad • Health: 93.1% = Fair 												
Gov	9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.																						
Gov	10	A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.																						
Gov	11	A just & cooperative																						

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 3 – Human & other rights

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	participant on the global stage.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Work: 62.2% = Very bad 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Work: 62.1% = Very bad
Soc 1	A safe home.	In civil and political rights – safety from the state (as at 2022)	In civil and political rights – safety from the state (as at 2022)
Soc 2	A land with an Indigenous heart.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Arbitrary arrest: 6.4/10 = Fair 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Arbitrary arrest: 6.3/10 = Fair
Soc 3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Forced disappearance: 7.7/10 = Fair 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Forced disappearance: 8.8/10 = Good
Soc 4	A place of optimal health and wellbeing.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Death penalty: 10/10 = Good 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Death penalty: 10/10 = Good
Soc 5	A model of lifelong educational opportunity.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extrajudicial execution: 6.8/10 = Fair 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extrajudicial execution: 8/10 = Fair
Soc 6	A society of equals.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Torture and ill-treatment: 5.4/10 = Bad 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Torture and ill-treatment: 6.5/10 = Fair
Soc 7	A success because of its diversity.	In civil and political rights – empowerment (as at 2022)	In civil and political rights – empowerment (as at 2022)
Soc 8	A success because of gender equality.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Assembly and association: 7.0/10 = Fair 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Assembly and association: 6.4/10 = Fair
Soc 9	A land without homelessness and with decent affordable housing for all.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Opinion and expression: 7.3/10 = Fair 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Opinion and expression: 6.5/10 = Fair
Soc 10	A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participate in government: 7.6/10 = Fair 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participate in government: 7.1/10 = Fair
		Source: HRMI 2023 rightstracker.org	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Freedom of religion: 7.5/10 = Fair.
			Source: HRMI 2024 rightstracker.org
			Overall scores were:
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Safety from the state = 7.7 Empowerment = 6.4.⁸⁷
Soc 11	A land without child disadvantage.		
Soc 12	A sure provider of lifelong dignity.		

⁸⁷ The Human Rights Measurement Initiative stated that:

- Australia's Safety from the State score of 7.7 out of 10 suggests that a significant number of people are not safe from one or more of the following: arbitrary arrest, torture and ill-treatment, forced disappearance, execution, or extrajudicial killing; and
- Australia's Empowerment score of 6.4 out of 10 suggests that a significant number of people are not enjoying their civil liberties and political freedoms (freedom of speech, assembly and association, democratic rights, and religion and belief).

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 3 – Human & other rights

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	<p>Soc 14 A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in policing.</p>		<p>In 2024, the Lowy Poll reported that Australians marked the Labor government’s report card very hard on “promoting and defending human rights internationally”, giving it a score of only 4.9 out of 10. Source: Lowy Poll 2024.</p> <p>In summary, in 2024, Australia’s performance:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • in economic social and cultural rights improved slightly but was still quite bad compared to what is possible for its level of income; • in safety from the state improved somewhat; and • in civil and political rights deteriorated. <p>The short term trend is neutral to negative. Concern about civil and political rights is increasing.</p> <p>←</p> <p>The long term trend is neutral.</p> <p>← / →</p>
<p>Soc 15 Confident of justice for all.</p>	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.</p>			

Governance 4 – Constitutional reform

Important Note: Strategies and Targets in **Governance 4 – Constitutional reform** are formulated recognising that Australia’s Constitution excludes Australians from any share of power in their own democracy and in particular makes it impossible to hold executive governments to account.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance				
Governance 4 – Constitutional reform				
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...		Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Constitutional reform – Constitutional Convention Gov04.01</p> <p>By 2025, and in full coordination and accord with:</p> <p>a) any process for constitutional recognition of First Nations in Soc02.01 and Soc02.01.01;</p> <p>b) any process for development of a National Agreement on Human Rights and Obligations under Gov03.01 and Gov03.01.01;</p> <p>c) any national collaborative process for development of an Australian People’s Constitution, including a justiciable constitutional Statement of Australian Values, under Gov04.01.01;</p> <p>d) any process to establish a National People’s Voice as per Gov01.04;</p>	Gov	4	A free, self-governing, modern nation.	<p>The last Constitutional Convention was held in 1998. A National Constitutional Convention attended by 250 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander delegates was also held in 2017. No Constitutional Convention has yet considered a bill, charter or agreement on human rights for Australians, although the Constitutional Convention of 1998 did result in a Communique calling for a preamble which may have articulated some national values (the Howard preamble). This was drafted without community engagement and was rejected by over 60% of voters.</p> <p>Source: Parliament of Australia, Research Paper 16, 1999/2000</p> <p>In 2023, ACFP’s Founder Bronwyn Kelly published <i>The People’s Constitution: the path to empowerment of Australians in a 21st century democracy</i>. This book invited all Australians to take up positions of rightful power within their democracy, calling on them to choose to</p>
	Gov	1	A proactive participatory democracy.	
	Gov	2	A nation knowing & affirming decency.	
	Gov	3	A nation with avowed rights for all.	
	Gov	6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	
	Gov	12	A nation assured of enduring peace.	
	Soc	1	A safe home.	
	Soc	2	A land with an Indigenous heart.	
	Soc	3	Inclusive, welcoming and enabling.	
	Soc	6	A society of equals.	
Soc	7	A success because of its diversity.		
Soc	15	Confident of justice for all.	<p>In 2025, no progress had been made by governments in reform of Australia’s Constitution and there was no prospect of a government sponsored constitutional convention of any sort. If anything, progress on constitutional reform went backwards during the 47th parliament due to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the failure of the Voice referendum and the Labor government’s subsequent retreat from its commitment to support a Makarrata Commission (see Soc02.01 and Soc02.01.02 above); and the government’s rejection of Senate committee recommendations for human rights law reform (see Gov03.01, Gov03.01.01 and Gov03.01.02 above). <p>In 2025, on a society-wide basis, there was also very little recognition of the need for constitutional reform or the threats posed by the 125-year-old Australian Constitution to political freedoms and participation, social inclusion, equality, and</p>	

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>e) any process for establishing an Independent Commission for National Engagement and Integrated Planning as per Gov01.04.01;</p> <p>f) any referendum to establish Australia as a Republic under Gov.04.02;</p> <p>g) any process of constitutional (or legislative) reform to establish parliamentary supremacy in decisions on entry into war as per Gov12.06;</p> <p>h) any process under Gov11.03 to ensure constitutional enshrinement of the rights of refugees under international law;</p> <p>i) any process of constitutional or legislative reform to achieve electoral funding reform capable of enhancing political equality for Australians as per Gov08.02;</p> <p>and:</p> <p>j) regardless of whether the federal parliament resolves to hold or endorse a constitutional convention,</p>		<p>exercise much greater influence in their own governance and control over their own future than they have been able to exercise to date. It also offered them a way to exercise that greater level of control, both as individuals and collectively as a nation, by establishing a place for themselves in the central, defining statement of the nation – the Australian Constitution. The book identified:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • existential risks for Australia arising from the design of their democracy which is fundamentally disempowering; and • the urgent need for a people’s constitution. <p>It also offered an orderly, practical and efficient means by which Australians could collaborate to build the world’s first truly democratic constitution where the people are sovereign and can build the nation and future they prefer.</p> <p>Source: Bronwyn Kelly, The People’s Constitution: the path to empowerment of Australians in a 21st century democracy, ACFP Publishing, January 2023, https://www.austcfc.com.au/publications</p>	<p>independence in sovereignty. Australians continued to be without protection from abuse of many of their rights by the state (the Crown). They did not have a democratic constitution.</p> <p>In 2025, Australia’s Constitution was also fully inconsistent with the Vision for Australia Together and it could not be expected that the Vision could be made a reality unless major reforms for a new people’s constitution could be initiated.</p> <p>In November 2023, Australian Community Futures Planning published a proposal for the conduct of a National Collaborative Process for Development of a New Australian Constitution – The Australian People’s Constitution. It was proposed that the process be community-driven and independent of government and political interference. In 2025, this proposal for a community-led collaborative process for constitutional reform was still in its infancy. If commenced, it was expected to take five years and. A seven-step program for the convention was proposed and updates are available at https://www.austcfc.com.au/collaborative-constitutional-convention</p>

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Governance 4 – Constitutional reform

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Australia convenes a constitutional convention for purposes of developing a new Constitution fit for a 21st century democratic Australia where everyone has political equality and which as a minimum:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • affirms the values of the nation – what we stand for and what holds us together; • secures all the human rights of all citizens as equals; • establishes the obligations of parliaments and governments to observe and realise those rights, particularly the right to self-determination; • affirms Australian citizens as the <i>source</i> of sovereignty; and • establishes Australia as an independent sovereign nation capable of securing the future of all its citizens in terms acceptable to them. <p>As per Gov04.01.01, a constitutional convention of this nature and depth is expected to take 5 years to ensure genuine open</p>			<p>For more detailed information on how Australia’s Constitution needs to be reformed and why, see ACFP, the Australia Together Podcast, Saving Australian democracy and sovereignty by building a new Constitution, November 2023.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative, save for proposals for community-led constitutional reform.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are both negative.</p> <p align="center"></p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 4 – Constitutional reform

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
engagement by Australians and is expected to be led independently by the people , not the parliament or government.			
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Constitutional reform – National Collaborative Process for Development of The Australian People’s Constitution Gov04.01.01</p> <p>By 2025, in preparation for constitutional renewal pursuant to the Constitutional Convention established under Gov04.01, require the federal parliament to:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. establish a Joint Parliamentary or Senate Committee (with representation from the government, the opposition, independents and all other parties on the cross-bench) to commission development of a National Collaborative Process for Development of a New Australian Constitution – The Australian People’s Constitution, noting that this 	<p>Gov 4 A free, self-governing, modern nation.</p>	<p>In 2022, Australians occupied no place in their own Constitution other than as people whose vote was necessary to establish who shall govern them. Constructing the nation as a constitutional monarchy, the Constitution offered them no voice in their democracy beyond voting in elections. The vote itself was not guaranteed for all Australians in the Constitution and the system offered no mechanism for input to or determination of policy beyond what elected parliaments may see fit to permit. Nor did the Constitution confer human rights on Australians that are standard in Western liberal democracies.</p> <p>The Constitution offered Australians no means of playing an influential role in a participatory democracy and no means of establishing a sustainable future for themselves, their children or the natural environment.</p>	<p>Between 2022 and 2025, no progress was made (aside from the community based proposal from ACFP to the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Human Rights – see Gov04.01 above) to establish a national collaborative constitutional convention for development of a people’s constitution or any other form of democratic constitution.</p> <p>Australians still occupied no place in their own Constitution, had not secured the right to vote, and were accorded no voice in their governance beyond voting. Aside from the means of orderly political participation offered by ACFP’s introduction of National Integrated Planning & Reporting, they had no means of playing a more influential role as political equals in a participatory democracy. They also had been given no opportunity by the government to collaborate on development of a statement of Australian values and as such remained silent on what Australia stands for as a nation. If anything, the</p>
	<p>Gov 1 A proactive participatory democracy.</p>		
	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing & affirming decency.</p>		
	<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>		
	<p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p>		
	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>		
	<p>Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.</p>		
	<p>Gov 8 Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.</p>		
	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve</p>		

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Governance 4 – Constitutional reform

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
<p>Collaborative Process is to be led by the people of Australia, not by anyone already empowered under the current undemocratic Constitution which accords sovereignty to a foreign monarch and unaccountable executive rather than to the people of Australia;</p> <p>2. preferably adopt the principles for conduct of the Collaborative Process outlined in the draft program for the collaboration suggested by ACFP in Making a new Australian Constitution – by collaboration, the purpose of which is to achieve the maximum inclusion of (and therefore the confidence of) the Australian people recognising that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the Constitution is for their nation and is therefore theirs to design collaboratively; and that 	the public good.	<p>In 2020, ACFP’s Founder Bronwyn Kelly stated that, “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. A Constitution which lifts ‘we the people’ from a passive player on the sidelines to an active and respected partner in our own governance is a vital prerequisite for our future as a nation.”</p> <p>Source: Australian Community Futures Planning, The State of Australia in 2020, Episode 3 YouTube.</p> <p>In 2023, ACFP’s Founder Bronwyn Kelly submitted a proposal to the federal Parliamentary Joint Committee on Human Rights outlining a seven-step process for collaboration by Australians to build a new Constitution fit for a 21st century democracy with equal rights for all its members.</p> <p>Source: ACFP, Making a new Australian Constitution – by collaboration and ACFP: National Collaborative</p>	potential for collaboration and inclusive involvement of Australians in constitutional reform had been closed off, with the only political party that had showed readiness for reform (Labor) shelving its commitments to a referendum on a republic (see Gov04.02 below) and treaty processes with First Nations (see Soc02.01.02 above).	
	Gov 10		A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.	<p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are negative.</p> <p>←</p>
	Gov 11		A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.	
	Gov 12		A nation assured of enduring peace.	
	Gov 13		A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.	
	Soc 1		A safe home.	
	Soc 2		A land with an Indigenous heart.	
	Soc 3		Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	
	Soc 6		A society of equals.	
	Soc 7		A success because of its diversity.	
	Soc 8		A success because of gender equality.	
Soc 15	Confident of justice for all.			
Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.			

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Governance 4 – Constitutional reform

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Australians value fairness and equality and must be given sufficient agency to collaborate on the writing of a Constitution that will ensure fairness for all, based on their own explicit Statement of Australian Values; <p>3. issue a charter to a group of suitably independent facilitators of the National Collaborative Process and appoint an independent person responsible for chairing the Process and providing reports on the progress of deliberations to parliament;</p> <p>4. ensure that the charter protects the complete independence of the facilitators to prevent the politicisation and corporate or interest group capture of the Collaborative Process;</p>	<p>Env 2 A net zero emissions nation.</p>	<p>Constitutional Convention webpage.</p>	
	<p>Env 4 A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.</p>		

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Governance 4 – Constitutional reform

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>5. ensure fully adequate funding, based on an expectation that this Process of nation-wide engagement and collaborative design may take up to five years; and</p> <p>follow all other steps proposed for the National Collaboration – as designed and amended by appointed facilitators of the Collaboration from time to time, acting in accordance with the accepted principles of the Collaboration, so as to ensure that by 2030 Australians can establish their own new people’s constitution capable of ensuring political equality in democracy and stable sovereignty arrangements that are in the public interest.</p>			
<p>Constitutional reform – Referendum to establish Australia as a Republic Gov04.02</p> <p>By 2030, assuming it is deemed consistent with and/or does not prevent the introduction of The Australian People’s Constitution under Gov04.01.01, conduct a referendum seeking the support of the</p>	<p>Gov 4</p> <p>A free, self-governing, modern nation.</p>	<p>In January 2022, the Australian Republican Movement, after significant consultation with Australians and constitutional experts, released “The Australian Choice Model” for establishment of Australia as a republic. The model described “what changes need to be made to our Constitution so we can vote for our own Aussie</p>	<p>In 2022, the new Labor government appointed an Assistant Minister for a Republic, Matt Thistlethwaite, the MHR for Kingsford Smith. In 2024, after the defeat of the Voice referendum, this role in the ministry was deleted.</p> <p>No progress has been made in this area of constitutional reform.</p>

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
<p>Australian people to establish Australia as a republic consistent with the “Australian Choice Model” proposed by the Australian Republican Movement.</p>		<p>Head of State”. The model was developed based on nation-wide research suggesting that 73% of Australians in a referendum would support the proposed method for election of an Australian “Head of State” to replace the Governor General. The ARM proposed specific constitutional amendments consistent with that model on the advice of constitutional experts. Source: Australian Republican Movement, The Australian Choice Model webpage</p>	<p>The short term trend is negative. ← The longer term trend and outlook are negative. ←</p>	
<p>Constitutional reform – A permanent, independent constitutional review commission Gov04.03 By 2030, establish a National Independent Constitutional Review Commission as a permanent institution of the Commonwealth and charge it with the functions of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ensuring fully open and unhindered community engagement in review of the Constitution; generating proposals for constitutional reform based on the results of engagement; and ultimately recommending reforms to 	<p>Gov 4</p>	<p>A free, self-governing, modern nation.</p>	<p>Australia’s Constitution was adopted as an Act of the British parliament in 1900. Since then 44 amendment proposals have been put to Australians in referendums but only eight have succeeded. In 2022 the Constitution had not been amended for 45 years (the last successful referendum was in 1977). As a result, Australia has a Constitution which, through its review mechanisms is unable to move with the times and adjust to changes in the values of Australians.</p> <p>Australians have the power (in fact they are the only ones with the power) not just to amend the Constitution but to <i>alter</i> it even to the point of conducting fundamental rewrites.</p>	
	<p>Gov 1</p>	<p>A proactive participatory democracy.</p>		<p>In 2025, Australia had neither a temporary nor permanent constitutional review commission and no independent mechanism had been established to help Australians alter their constitution.</p> <p>The Australian community continued to pay a heavy price for “having a second best system of government” – a monarchical system with a foreign monarch rather than a democracy. The price paid was obvious in the:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> loss of human rights (see Gov03.03.01 above); decline of the strength of democracy (see Gov01.01.01, Gov01.02, and Gov01.03.04 above); dwindling confidence in the system of
	<p>Gov 2</p>	<p>A nation knowing & affirming decency.</p>		
	<p>Gov 3</p>	<p>A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>		
	<p>Gov 5</p>	<p>Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p>		
	<p>Gov 6</p>	<p>A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>		
	<p>Soc 2</p>	<p>A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>		
<p>Soc 3</p>	<p>Inclusive, welcoming and enabling.</p>			

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Governance 4 – Constitutional reform

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>parliament that may be put to the people in referendums.</p> <p>The National Independent Constitutional Review Commission is to function as a conduit between:</p> <p>a) the people of Australia, and</p> <p>b) the other entities empowered under their Constitution (including the parliaments, executive governments, the judicature, the states and territories)</p> <p>for all matters arising from community engagement processes deliberating on the Constitution and must convey to the parliament the demonstrated preferences of Australians for the arrangements of their state consistent with their nation-wide constitutional deliberations, plebiscites, surveys and referendums.</p>	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>	<p>However, the machinery to facilitate the community engagement necessary for amendments and alterations has not been established. As such constitutional reform is the prisoner of parliaments and politics. The consequence of a failure to engage Australians in revision of the Constitution is that “the community must pay the high price of having a second-best system of government” and a succession of governments that do not support the values of the nation.</p> <p>Source: George Williams and David Hume, <i>People Power: The history and future of the referendum in Australia</i>, UNSW Press, 2010, page 5.</p>	<p>government (see Gov01.02.01 above);</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • loss of sovereignty in defence and foreign policy (see Gov12.01.02, Gov12.04.02 and Gov12.06 below), and the myriad of other poor results on social cohesion, economic security and environmental degradation shown elsewhere in this report on The State of Australia 2025. <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center">←</p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are negative.</p> <p align="center">←</p>
	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 15 Confident of justice for all.</p>		

Governance 5 – Transparency, openness & accountability

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance			
<i>Governance 5 – Transparency, openness & accountability</i>			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Trust in federal parliaments Gov05.01 Trust in the federal parliament to reach 55% and stabilise or increase.</p>	<p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p>	<p>In 2019, 35% of Australians (net) said they trusted the federal parliament. Source: Essential Research, Trust in Institutions 2019</p> <p>Between 2016 and 2019, 30% of Australians trusted federal parliament on average per annum. Essential Research Report, Trust in Institutions. 21 April 2020</p>	<p>In March 2021, 54% of Australians said they trusted the federal parliament. However, between October 2021 and December 2023, trust in the federal parliament declined from 48% to 34%. Source: Essential, Trust in Institutions, 11 December 2023.</p> <p>The brief increase in trust in the federal parliament during the Covid-19 pandemic is looking like an aberration caused by significant fiscal stimulus. Despite this, parliaments and governments could benefit from realising that when they spend public funds on the public, trust in them goes up.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative. </p> <p>The longer term trend is positive, although probably short-lived. </p>
	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>		
<p>Trust in state and territory parliaments Gov05.01.01 Trust in state and territory parliaments to reach 55% and stabilise or increase.</p>	<p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p>	<p>In 2019, 36% of Australians (net) said they trusted the state parliaments. Source: Essential Research, Trust in Institutions 2019</p> <p>Between 2016 and 2019, 31% of Australians trusted state</p>	<p>In August 2020, 60% of Australians said they trusted the state and territory parliaments. However, between March 2021 and December 2023, trust in state and territory parliaments declined from 66% to 36%.</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 5 – Transparency, openness & accountability

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
		parliaments on average per annum. Essential Research Report, Trust in Institutions. 21 April 2020	Source: Essential, Trust in Institutions, 11 December 2023. Again, the brief increase in trust in state and territory parliaments during the Covid-19 pandemic is looking like an aberration, although in 2023 it is still higher than trust for the federal parliament. The short term trend is negative.  The longer term trend is neutral. 
<p>Trust in elected local governments (councils) Gov05.01.02 Trust in local governments to reach 55% and stabilise or increase.</p>	<p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p>	<p>In 2019, 43% of Australians (net) said they trusted their local council. Source: Essential Research, Trust in Institutions 2019</p> <p>Between 2016 and 2019, 40% of Australians trusted their local council on average per annum. Essential Research Report, Trust in Institutions. 21 April 2020</p>	<p>In 2020, 53% of Australians (net) said they trusted their local council. Source: Essential, Trust in Institutions 2020.</p> <p>No updates with comparable data have been found.</p> <p>The short term trend can't be determined. </p> <p>The longer term can't be determined. </p>
<p>Trust in federal governments Gov05.01.03 The proportion of Australians who trust the federal government almost always or most of the time rises continuously and</p>	<p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p> <p>Gov 1 A proactive participatory democracy.</p>	<p>Between 2007 and 2019, an average of 32% of Australians thought the government in Canberra could be trusted almost always or most of the time, compared to an average of 66% who said it could be trusted only</p>	<p>In July 2020, at the start of Covid-19, the proportion of Australians who thought the government in Canberra could be trusted almost always or most of the time rose to 54%.</p>

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Governance 5 – Transparency, openness & accountability

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>reaches at least 70% by 2030.</p>	<p>Gov 4 A free, self-governing, modern nation.</p>	<p>some of the time or almost never. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2020</p>	<p>Between November 2020 and 2024, the proportion of Australians who thought the government in Canberra could be trusted almost always or most of the time fell from 56% to 33%.</p> <p>In 2024, 66% of Australians thought the government in Canberra could be trusted only some of the time or almost never. The brief increase in trust in the federal government during the Covid-19 pandemic is looking like an aberration. Despite this, governments could benefit from realising that when they spend public funds on the public, trust in them goes up. Source: Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion 2024</p> <p>The short term trend is negative. </p> <p>The longer term trend is positive, but probably short-lived. </p>
	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>		
	<p>Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
<p>Trust in state and territory governments Gov05.01.04 Trust in state and territory governments to reach 70% and stabilise.</p>	<p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p> <p>Gov 1 A proactive participatory democracy.</p> <p>Gov 4 A free, self-governing,</p>	<p>In August 2020, 60% of Australians said they trusted state and territory governments. Source: Essential Research, Trust in Institutions 2021</p>	<p>The Essential Report does not seem to distinguish between state and territory governments and state and territory parliaments. If we take it that the terms are interchangeable for those being surveyed, then results for trust in</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 5 – Transparency, openness & accountability

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	<p>modern nation.</p> <p>Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.</p>		<p>state and territory governments are the same as those for parliaments. See Gov05.01.01 above.</p> <p>Source: Essential, Trust in Institutions, 11 December 2023.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend is neutral.</p> <p></p>
<p>Openness and accountability of governments</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: 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 Gov05.02</p> <p>By 2024, 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</p>	<p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p> <p>Gov 1 A proactive participatory democracy.</p> <p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p> <p>Gov 4 A free, self-governing, modern nation.</p> <p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p> <p>Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.</p> <p>Gov 10 A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse,</p>	<p>Between 2002 and 2019 the Australian government enacted more than 82 pieces of legislation which have cited “national security” as a basis for heavily limiting:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • freedom of expression, • 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 elected and government officials. 	<p>Since 2019 there has been no progress with establishing a Royal Commission into national security legislation and its impact on key safeguards for Australia’s democracy.</p> <p>In 2010, the Rudd government established the Independent National Security Legislation Monitor (INSLM).⁸⁹ This did not result in a reduction of new laws attacking the rights of Australians.</p> <p>In 2014, the Abbott government introduced legislation to abolish the INSLM, which did not proceed.</p> <p>Between 2016 and 2024 the INSLM conducted reviews of 12 aspects of national security laws,</p>

⁸⁹ The [Independent National Security Legislation Monitor website](#) states that “The INSLM independently reviews the operation, effectiveness and implications of national security and counter-terrorism laws; and considers whether the laws contain appropriate protections for individual rights, remain proportionate to terrorism or national security threats, and remain necessary.”

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Governance 5 – Transparency, openness & accountability

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
democracy by a reasonable balance between genuine national security concerns and the public’s right to know when the government is and is not acting in the public interest.	news media & the wider information market.	Source: By 2050, Chapter 8 and The State of Australia in 2020, Episodes 3 and 4 Part 1. Source: The Conversation, 30 September 2019 ⁸⁸	the most recent of which concentrated on secrecy provisions in legislation. The government was not obliged to and did not accept all of the recommendations. The reviews assist in maintaining transparency about inappropriate laws but to do not necessarily result in law reform for protection of human rights. Source: Independent National Security Legislation Monitor website. Source: Government response to the INSLM Report: Secrecy Offences: Review of Part 5.6 of the Criminal Code Act 1995. In 2023, the Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade (JSCFADT) released the final report from its Inquiry into international armed conflict decision making, the recommendations of which the government accepted (indeed, dictated ⁹⁰). This report had the effect of obliterating transparency in national security matters and information, insofar as transparency may be necessary to safeguard
	Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.		
	Gov 12 A nation assured of enduring peace.		
	Soc 6 A society of equals.		
	Soc 15 Confident of justice for all.		

⁸⁸ Nicola McGarrity and Jessie Blackburn, “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>

⁹⁰ In letters on the considerations of the JSCFADT, Deputy Prime Minister Richard Marles did not even give the committee a chance to consider the issue before he instructed that the existing arrangements whereby governments can commit Australia to war without parliamentary authorisation should “not be disturbed”. As The Guardian reported: “Marles told the committee conducting the review that under the existing system, decisions about the deployment of the Australian defence force into international armed conflicts were ‘within the prerogative powers of the executive’. ... ‘I am firmly of the view that these arrangements are appropriate and should not be disturbed,’ he wrote.” Daniel Hurst, “[Australia’s defence minister advises against giving parliament veto over military deployments](#)”, The Guardian, 10 October 2022.

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Governance 5 – Transparency, openness & accountability

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>democracy and human rights. In particular, the recommendations on establishing new committees bound to secrecy made it impossible to know when the executive government is or is not acting in the public interest in committing Australian armed forces to war. See Gov12.06 for more information.</p> <p>Source: Parliament of Australia, Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade, <i>Inquiry into international armed conflict decision making</i>, March 2023.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are negative.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p>
<p>Openness and accountability of governments</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Protection of whistleblowers making genuine public interest disclosures Gov05.02.01 By 2024, regardless of the progress of any commissions of inquiry under Gov05.02, overhaul the Public Interest Disclosure Act 2013 (Cth) to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> recognise professional 	<p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p> <p>Gov 1 A proactive participatory democracy.</p> <p>Gov 2 A nation knowing and affirming decency.</p> <p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p> <p>Gov 4 A free, self-governing, modern nation.</p>	<p>In 2020, the University of Queensland Law Faculty identified that:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> “Whistleblowing is an important, legitimate and protected mechanism for ensuring integrity and accountability in the public and private sectors;” and “There are significant gaps and weaknesses in [whistleblower] protections, particularly in the intelligence sector.” 	<p>Between 2019 and 2025, federal governments persisted with a range of prosecutions and potential prosecutions of whistleblowers who had made public interest disclosures, including proceedings against various citizens:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> David Mc Bride for disclosures alleging war crimes in Afghanistan by the Australian Defence Force; and Richard Boyle for disclosures alleging abuse of powers by the ATO.

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
<p>journalists as legitimate recipients of protected Emergency or External Disclosures;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> identify the public interest as a ground of defence in prosecutions of whistleblowers; identify public and democratic accountability as relevant public interest considerations; introduce a limited framework for external disclosures of intelligence information; limit the scope of “intelligence information” insofar as it includes information relating to law enforcement; and impose a statutory obligation on any federal agency proposing legal action against a whistleblower to first prove that the action is justified and in the public interest, such proof to be adjudged satisfactory by a formal report of the Commissioner of the National Independent Whistleblower Protection Authority (to the Attorney-General) under Gov05.02.02 before proceedings can be lawfully commenced 	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>	<p>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).</p>	<p>Proceedings against Bernard Colleary for disclosure of alleged breaches by the Australian government of international law and the rights of foreign nations (Timor-Leste) were dropped by the Labor government in late 2022.</p>	
	<p>Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.</p>			<p>In each case, it was the whistleblower that was on trial for disclosing the potential breaches of law by the Australian government and its representatives, rather than the government itself. The breaches themselves were not denied by the governments. Whistleblowers were largely acknowledged in civil society and the media as being on trial for disclosing the truth.</p>
	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>			
	<p>Gov 10 A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.</p>	<p>By 2021, multiple sources reported this was having a chilling effect on efforts to expose corruption in Australia. Source: University of Queensland Dr Rebecca Ananian-Welsh, Whistleblowing to the Media, 2020</p>	<p>In 2023, the Labor government successfully argued in the ACT Supreme Court that the public interest could not be used as a defence in prosecutions of certain whistleblowers, which resulted in a prison sentence of almost six years for David McBride. Injustice became embedded in Australia’s legal system for people making public interest disclosures. Source: Bronwyn Kelly, “The prosecution of David McBride and the Australian Constitution”, John Menadue’s Pearls and Irritations, 27 December 2023.</p>	
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>	<p>In 2023, the Commonwealth government succeeded in obtaining a ruling in the ACT Supreme Court in favour of their argument that the public interest could not be used as a defence in prosecutions of whistleblowers who had taken the oath of enlistment and had disclosed classified, confidential, or other national security information. The ruling effectively established a precedent binding Australian armed forces personnel to give their</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p>			
	<p>Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</p>			
	<p>Soc 14 A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in policing.</p>			
<p>Soc 15 Confident of justice for all.</p>				

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>against a whistleblower by a Commonwealth agency.</p>		<p>sole loyalty to a foreign monarch and to lawfully act contrary to the interests of Australians and the Australian state. In effect, the ruling made it lawful (or not unlawful) for army personnel to turn their weapons on Australians if so ordered by the Crown.</p> <p>Source: John Jiggins, Crown successfully overturns Nuremberg war crimes principles in Australian court, John Menadue’s Pearls and Irritations, 22 November 2023.</p>	<p>In 2025, no legislation had been introduced to strengthen protections for whistleblowers making genuine public interest disclosures or for those receiving the disclosures. Civil society and media groups were unanimous in complaints about the chilling effect on transparency and government accountability. Instead of identifying the public interest as a ground of defence in prosecutions of whistleblowers, the government had created a precedent preventing its use by defendants.</p> <p>Nor had the government done anything to introduce a limited framework for external disclosures of intelligence information or limit the scope of “intelligence information” insofar as it includes information relating to law enforcement. In its rejection of some of the recommendations of the INSLM’s review of secrecy provisions in the criminal code (see Gov05.02 above), it determined to maintain or toughen penalties for public interest disclosures of national security information (including breaches) by public servants, regardless of the public interest.</p> <p>Source: Australian Government response to the Independent</p>

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline												
			<p>National Security Legislation Monitor report Secrecy Offences: Review of Part 5.6 of the Criminal Code Act 1995, November 2024. Source: Bronwyn Kelly, "Unmasked: The Crown is the enemy of the People", John Menadue's Pearls and Irritations, 30 November 2023.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative. This result amounts to one of extreme danger for democracy, transparency, government accountability, and prevention of abuse by the state in Australia.</p> <p align="center">←</p> <p>The longer term trend has been negative.</p> <p align="center">←</p>												
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Establishment of a National Independent Whistleblower Protection Authority Gov05.02.02</p> <p>By 2024, recognising the need to make whistleblower laws work properly to protect whistleblowers and to encourage them to come forward, legislate federally to establish a National Independent Whistleblower Protection Authority for protection of people making disclosures of both public and private sector wrongdoing. As a minimum, the Authority must have:</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="504 1189 592 1384">Gov 5</td> <td data-bbox="592 1189 837 1384">Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="504 1384 592 1485">Gov 1</td> <td data-bbox="592 1384 837 1485">A proactive participatory democracy.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="504 1485 592 1619">Gov 2</td> <td data-bbox="592 1485 837 1619">A nation knowing and affirming decency.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="504 1619 592 1720">Gov 3</td> <td data-bbox="592 1619 837 1720">A nation with avowed rights for all.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="504 1720 592 1854">Gov 4</td> <td data-bbox="592 1720 837 1854">A free, self-governing, modern nation.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="504 1854 592 1975">Gov 6</td> <td data-bbox="592 1854 837 1975">A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</td> </tr> </table>	Gov 5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.	Gov 1	A proactive participatory democracy.	Gov 2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.	Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.	Gov 4	A free, self-governing, modern nation.	Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	<p>In 2024, Transparency International, the Human Rights Law Centre and Griffith University released draft design principles for a whistleblower protection authority based on the premise that whistleblowers should be protected, not punished. The principles reflected:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a rejection of legal actions taken by the Commonwealth against whistleblowers acting in the public interest (eg., David McBride and Richard Boyle), and other punishments 	<p>In November 2024, independent members of parliament Andrew Wilkie, Helen Haines, David Pocock and Jacqui Lambie foreshadowed introduction of a Whistleblower Protection Authority Bill to establish a dedicated, independent agency to safeguard those who speak up from inside government or business about corruption and wrongdoing. In January 2025 the bill had not appeared on the bills list for federal parliament and would be unlikely to be debated if introduced. In 2025, no progress had been made by the</p>
Gov 5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.														
Gov 1	A proactive participatory democracy.														
Gov 2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.														
Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.														
Gov 4	A free, self-governing, modern nation.														
Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.														

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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> authority to function as an independent doorway where whistleblowers can go confidentially for guidance and support; an independent statutory commissioner supported by adequate resources and staff who cannot be diverted onto other jobs; and the authority to act impartially to conciliate disputes between whistleblowers and organisations, investigate when whistleblowers allege detriment for raising their concerns, and act as a powerful circuit breaker against reprisals. 	<p>Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.</p>	<p>suffered by whistleblowers, and</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> their need for lawful protection while making disclosures. <p>Source: Transparency International, the Human Rights Law Centre and Griffith University, <i>Making Australian Whistleblowing Laws Work: Draft Design Principles for a Whistleblower Protection Authority</i>, February 2024</p>	<p>government to establish a whistleblower protection authority. If anything, the government had repeated threats to public servants making public interest disclosures (see Gov05.02 and Gov05.02.01 above.)</p> <p>Source: Government response to the INSLM Report: Secrecy Offences: Review of Part 5.6 of the Criminal Code Act 1995.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>The longer term trend has been negative.</p> <p align="center"></p>
	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>		
	<p>Gov 10 A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.</p>		
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 14 A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in policing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 15 Confident of justice for all.</p>		
<p>Openness and accountability of governments</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy:</p>	<p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p>	<p>In 2022, Australia’s prime minister Anthony Albanese commissioned a review by the Office of National Intelligence (ONI) of the security</p>	<p>In 2025, Australian governments still had no legislative obligation to disclose findings of risk assessments and inquiries identifying</p>

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Legislation prohibiting failure to disclose findings of risk assessments and inquiries identifying security and safety threats to Australia and its people Gov05.02.03 By 2025, introduce legislation making it illegal to withhold reports and information from the Australian people vital to their security and safety in relation to threats arising from climate change and any other potentially existential threat to the nation such as war, genocide, ecocide, pandemics, state failure (inside or outside Australia), loss or ceding of sovereignty, and vital resource loss (including threats to food production and water supply).</p>	Gov 1	A proactive participatory democracy.	<p>security and safety threats to Australia and its people. The government had not released the suppressed ONI report on security threats posed by the climate crisis. The preference of the government for secrecy and exclusion in relation to the existential threats of climate change and war constituted a major risk for Australia. The government displayed no intention of releasing the ONI report. See Soc16.01, Soc16.02 and Soc16.02.01 above and Gov11.04 below.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p>
	Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.	
	Gov 4	A free, self-governing, modern nation.	
	Gov 5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.	
	Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	
	Gov 7	Committed to public service independence & excellence.	
	Gov 8	Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.	
	Gov 9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.	
	Gov 10	A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.	
	Gov 11	A just & cooperative	
		<p>threats posed by the climate crisis. In 2023, the government refused to release the report:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • leaving Australians bereft of information essential to their ability to develop effective plans to mitigate risks arising from climate change required under Soc16.01, Soc16.02, Soc16.02.01, Env03.01, Env02.05, Env02.05.01 and Gov12.04; and • significantly reducing their ability to hold the government accountable for exacerbating or failing to mitigate such risks. <p>The government's refusal to release the ONI report stood in contrast to its decision to release a de-classified version of the Defence Strategic Review 2023 and in direct disregard of the Australian people's vital need to know of risks faced by the nation. Failure to release the ONI report exposed Australia to being inadequately prepared for known threats to its security and even its existence as a stable state.</p> <p>Source: David Spratt, "What does Australia's first climate and security risk assessment say?", Breakthrough National Centre for Climate Restoration, August 2023.</p>	

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	participant on the global stage.		
	Gov 12 A nation assured of enduring peace.		
	Gov 13 A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.		
	Soc 1 A safe home.		
	Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.		
	Soc 15 Confident of justice for all.		
	Soc 16 A society prepared and resilient in times of disaster.		
	Env 1 A leading global advocate for action on climate change.		
	Env 2 A net zero emissions nation.		
	Env 3 A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.		
	Env 4 A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.		
	Env 5 An environmentally educated community.		
	Env 8 Environmentally and		

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.		
	Env 9 Confident of safety and security of its water supplies.		
	Env 12 A protector of scarce resources.		
	Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.		
	Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.		
	Econ 4 A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.		
	Econ 7 A collaborative intelligent nation.		
	Econ 8 Enabled in meeting the communication & information demands of the future.		
Top Priority Target/Strategy: Security of funding for	Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its	Between 2014 and 2020 the federal government reduced the budget of the Australian	In 2025, funding for agencies essential to open and accountable governance was still

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<p>open and accountable governance Gov05.03</p> <p>By 2024, ensure that major components of transparency in Australia’s democracy are securely funded by legislating to establish a floor increase in annual federal funding allocations for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the Australian Broadcasting Commission, the Australian Bureau of Statistics, the Australian National Audit Office, and the Office of the Australian Information Commissioner, <p>with the base for such funding increases from 2022/23 onwards to be established first by applying annual increases of CPI+5% year-on-year to whatever the budgets of these organisations were in 2013/14 and thereafter by applying statutory increases to the new 2022/23 base budgets of CPI+3% until 2030.</p> <p>Make provision in this legislation to protect the independence of these organisations from political interference by permanently outlawing real budget cuts and mandating annual increases which meet agreed floor increase requirements set by</p>	governments & institutions.	<p>Broadcasting Commission by \$783 million, resulting in the loss of over 1,000 jobs at the ABC. Budget cuts were also applied to the ABS, the ANAO and the OAIC by virtue of the imposition of the public sector efficiency dividend. Australian taxpayers have provided no indication of support for these cuts, despite the vital importance of these agencies to democracy. In the case of the ABC, surveys have suggested that 70% of Australians think the ABC should not have funding cuts and should have the same or more funding each year.</p> <p>Source: Per Capita, <i>It’s Our ABC</i>, 2020 and <i>The State of Australia</i> in 2020, Episode 4, Part3.</p>	<p>precarious and therefore vulnerable to political interference.</p> <p>Expenses budgets as annual averages over 5 years:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> for the ABC rose from \$1.503 billion in 2020/21 to \$1.770 billion in 2024/25; for the ABS rose from \$491 million in 2021/22 to \$579 million in 2024/25, although it was projected to fall back to \$462 million in 2027/28; for the ANAO rose from \$89 million in 2021/22 to \$105 million in 2024/25; and for the OAIC rose from \$19 million in 2021/22 to \$32 million in 2024/25, although it was projected to fall back to \$25 million from 2025/26 onwards. <p>Source: Federal Budget papers 2024/25 and Portfolio Budget Statements for Departments of Prime Minister and Cabinet, Attorney-General, and Treasury 2021/22.</p> <p>No legislated floor or floor increase had been established for these essential components of democracy. Real budget cuts were still being foreshadowed in the case of the ABS and the OAIC.</p>
	<p>Gov 1 A proactive participatory democracy.</p>		
	<p>Gov 4 A free, self-governing, modern nation.</p>		
	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>		
	<p>Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.</p>		
	<p>Gov 10 A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.</p>		
<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>			

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<p>review every ten years from 2030 onwards.</p>			<p>In December 2024, the Labor government foreshadowed that it would lift funding for the ABC by more than \$40 million a year from 2026-27 and that funding for the ABC and SBS would be decided for five years at a time, rather than three, to help prevent 'political interference' within the broadcasters. Source: Tom Lowrey, "Labor increases ABC funding and moves to legislate five-year financing terms", ABC News, 16 December 2024.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral. These essential agencies are still highly vulnerable to political pressure. Their independence is essential to democracy and it is not yet assured.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>The longer term trend is neutral.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p>								
<p>Transparency in lobbying, gifts and donations – Real-time disclosure Gov05.04</p> <p>By 2024, as an interim measure preparatory to a community engagement process under Gov08.02 to determine informed community support for reforms of electoral funding laws, legislate to establish:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a fully funded, centralised, real- 	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="496 1429 598 1630">Gov 5</td> <td data-bbox="598 1429 837 1630">Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="496 1630 598 1765">Gov 1</td> <td data-bbox="598 1630 837 1765">A proactive participatory democracy.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="496 1765 598 1877">Gov 3</td> <td data-bbox="598 1765 837 1877">A nation with avowed rights for all.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="496 1877 598 1998">Gov 4</td> <td data-bbox="598 1877 837 1998">A free, self-governing, modern nation.</td> </tr> </table>	Gov 5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.	Gov 1	A proactive participatory democracy.	Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.	Gov 4	A free, self-governing, modern nation.	<p>In 2021, the Australian Government's Lobbying 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. Real-time disclosure is essential for transparency and</p>	<p>In 2025, no progress had been made in federal parliament to improve transparency on lobbying, gifts or real time donations.</p> <p>In 2024 the independent MP Kate Chaney's Electoral Legislation Amendment (Restoring Trust) Bill 2023 was removed from the notice paper in accordance with standing orders.</p>
Gov 5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.										
Gov 1	A proactive participatory democracy.										
Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.										
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<p>time register of all 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 compulsory requirements for 100% compliance and statutory penalties for non-compliance; and</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 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. <p>Note: This strategy is an interim measure only. Requirements for real time disclosure of donations assist with transparency but strategies which</p>	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>	<p>assurance of ethical conduct. Source: Australian Government, Attorney-General's Department Lobbying Code of Conduct 2019</p> <p>In 2020 and 2023, two private members' bills were submitted to federal parliament which proposed measures to regulate lobbying and achieve greater transparency in political donations. Source: Parliament of Australia, Commonwealth Electoral Amendment (Banning Dirty Donations) Bill 2020 (lapsed in 2022) and Electoral Legislation Amendment (Restoring Trust) Bill 2023 (removed from the notice paper in 2024).</p>	<p>In November 2024, another independent MP Monique Ryan introduced the Lobbying (Improving Government Honesty and Trust) Bill 2024, stating that "The publication of Ministerial diaries is a vital transparency — and accountability — measure. Voters should know who their Ministers and senior Ministerial advisers are meeting with and why those meetings are occurring. However, unlike New South Wales, Queensland, and the Australian Capital Territory, there is currently no Commonwealth legislative requirement to publish Ministerial diaries. The publication of lobbyists' meetings with government is also an important transparency measure which will militate against secrecy in government decision-making. The public deserves to be able to see who is lobbying, to whom, when, and about what. At present, that is not possible."⁹¹</p>
	<p>Gov 8 Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.</p>		
	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>		
	<p>Gov 10 A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.</p>		
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming and enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.</p>		

⁹¹ The explanatory memorandum also stated: "Advocacy in and of itself is a legitimate contribution to the democratic process, bringing diverse perspectives to government representatives to inform policy development and decision making. However, the practice of lobbying and its role in decision-making must be made more transparent to ensure that Government decisions are taken in the public interest and not unduly influenced by private interests or by external direction unknown to the public. The current Federal Code of Conduct for lobbyists is severely limited. It applies to registered professional lobbyists acting on behalf of third-party clients, but it does not apply to most lobbying activity; for instance, that undertaken by businesses and industry bodies. It does not apply to in-house lobbyists. Furthermore, while the identities of registered lobbyists and their clients are published on a register, there is a lack of transparency regarding their lobbying activity and access to government. There are no meaningful consequences for breaching the Federal Code of

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<p>prohibit certain forms of donations under Gov08.02.01 and cap spending in elections under Gov08.02.02 will be more effective for protection of representative democracy where voters have political equality.</p> <p>.....</p> <p>Transparency in lobbying, gifts and donations – Prohibition of gifts to politicians and public officials Gov05.04.01</p> <p>By 2024, in association with Gov05.04, legislate to prohibit acceptance of gifts by politicians and 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.</p>	<p>Soc 15 Confident of justice for all.</p>	<p>.....</p> <p>In 2021, the Australian Government’s Statement of Ministerial Standards required that ministers “must not seek or encourage any form of gift in their personal capacity” but did not prohibit the acceptance of gifts that could then be retained “in their personal capacity”. Nor did the Standard place a \$ limit on the value of gifts that could be accepted and concessional arrangements were in 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 Guidelines Relating to Official Gifts Received</p>	<p>Source: Parliament of Australia, Lobbying (Improving Government Honesty and Trust) Bill 2024, Explanatory Memorandum.</p> <p>In May 2024, a Senate Standing Committee recommended that the government commission an independent review of the Lobbying Code of Conduct to consider:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • an expanded definition of a lobbyist; and • introducing legislation to require all lobbyists to adhere to the Lobbying Code of Conduct and maintain registration on the Register of Lobbyists. <p>No information has been found as to whether even these meagre proposals were pursued. Source: Senate Standing Committee on Finance and Public Administration, Inquiry into Access to Australian Parliament House by lobbyists, Final report, May 2024.</p> <p>On 18 November 2024, the federal government introduced the Electoral Legislation Amendment (Electoral Reform) Bill 2024 and attempted to push the 200-page bill through without community engagement, resulting in complaints</p>
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.</p>		
	<p>Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable public participation.</p>		
	<p>Econ 7 A collaborative intelligent nation.</p>		
<p>Econ 8 Enabled in meeting the communication & information demands of the future.</p>			

Conduct. The responsibility for making the impact of lobbying transparent, and decision-makers accountable for their actions, must be borne by both Government and lobbyists themselves. There is presently no consistent or visible way of knowing which corporate or stakeholder groups are meeting with Ministers. The risk of conflicts of interest, and bias in decision-making, are further heightened when former politicians, senior political staff or high-ranking government officials take on roles in the private sector and then engage in Government lobbying on behalf of a private entity.” Source: Parliament of Australia, [Lobbying \(Improving Government Honesty and Trust\) Bill 2024, Explanatory Memorandum](#).

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 5 – Transparency, openness & accountability

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>that the government was “trying to entrench its incumbency and reduce competition in our democracy,” and that “The changes would significantly benefit Labor and the Coalition, giving them a huge financial advantage over independents and minor party candidates seeking a seat in the Australian Parliament.”</p> <p>Source: Hansard, Allegra Spender MP, November 2024. Source: The Australia Institute, “Electoral reform impasse provides opportunity for real scrutiny – which voters demand,” 29 November 2024.</p> <p>In 2023 and 2024, the Labor government used parliamentary procedure to prevent debate of alternative and fairer bills put forward by independents and the Greens on the crossbenches.⁹² The manipulation of the process of parliamentary debate militated against fair reform of donations and transparency for voters in selection of the best system of democratic election funding and corruption prevention. See Gov08.01 and Gov08.02 below.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p>

⁹² See bills by Zali Steggall, [Commonwealth Electoral Amendment \(Voter Protections in Political Advertising\) Bill 2023](#); Kate Chaney, [Electoral Legislation Amendment \(Fair and Transparent Elections\) Bill 2024](#); and senators Pocock, Lambie, Thorpe and Waters, [Electoral Legislation Amendment \(Fair and Transparent Elections\) Bill 2024 \(No. 2\)](#).

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 5 – Transparency, openness & accountability

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline												
			<p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are both negative.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p>												
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Post-separation employment of politicians – stopping the revolving door Gov05.05</p> <p>By 2024 legislate to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> prohibit, for a period of five years after leaving office, post-separation employment of state/territory and federal elected members of parliament to any position within a private corporation (including a lobbying firm) with which they have had any dealings in ministerial roles in their last five years in office; and to permanently prohibit any elected member from employment in, or other forms of remunerative association with, private corporations in any of the following industries: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> fossil fuels, 	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="504 607 655 801">Gov 5</td> <td data-bbox="655 607 831 801">Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="504 801 655 936">Gov 6</td> <td data-bbox="655 801 831 936">A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="504 936 655 1070">Gov 7</td> <td data-bbox="655 936 831 1070">Committed to public service independence & excellence.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="504 1070 655 1227">Gov 8</td> <td data-bbox="655 1070 831 1227">Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="504 1227 655 1592">Gov 9</td> <td data-bbox="655 1227 831 1592">A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="504 1592 655 1818">Gov 10</td> <td data-bbox="655 1592 831 1818">A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider</td> </tr> </table>	Gov 5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.	Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	Gov 7	Committed to public service independence & excellence.	Gov 8	Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.	Gov 9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.	Gov 10	A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider	<p>In 2021, federal ministers were “required to undertake that, for an eighteen month period after ceasing to be a Minister, they will not lobby, advocate or have business meetings with members of the government, parliament, public service or defence force on any matters on which they have had 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 information to which they have had access as a Minister, where that information is not generally available to the public.”</p> <p>The above standards have been proved to be unenforceable and do not serve the public interest.</p> <p>Source: Australian Government, Statement of Ministerial Standards, August 2018</p>	<p>In 2025, no progress had been made to tighten standards preventing former federal ministers from employment in lobbying in areas where they have had a ministerial responsibility. The standards remained weak and unenforceable.⁹³</p> <p>In November 2024, the independent MP Monique Ryan introduced the Lobbying (Improving Government Honesty and Trust) Bill 2024, stating that “When former politicians, senior political staff and high-ranking government officials take on roles in the private sector upon leaving Government, and then engage in lobbying on behalf of a private entity, this heightens the perception of possible conflicts of interests and bias. At present, the Federal Code of Conduct provides that Ministers must not — for 18 months after leaving office — engage in lobbying activities</p>
Gov 5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.														
Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.														
Gov 7	Committed to public service independence & excellence.														
Gov 8	Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.														
Gov 9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.														
Gov 10	A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider														

⁹³ See 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. In relation to the example of former federal government ministers, Christopher Pyne and Julie Bishop, who were cleared of breaching the ministerial standards with their post-politics jobs, Parkinson reported that “While there are certain actions 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 relation to former Ministers once they have left the Parliament”.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 5 – Transparency, openness & accountability

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ arms and military, ○ private health insurance, ○ gaming and racing, ○ tobacco and alcohol, and ○ pharmaceuticals, on the grounds that the public interest is unlikely to be served by free flow of employment between government and these industries. 			<p>relating to any matter in which they had official dealings. For Ministerial adviser level and above, members of the Australian Defence Force at Colonel level or above, an agency head, or person employed under the <i>Public Service Act 1999</i> in the Senior Executive Service, that period is 12 months. At present, lobbyists can work in senior campaign advisory positions during an election period, then — immediately after the election — return to the private sector to lobby the Government. At a minimum, this practice creates an unavoidable perception of bias in the mind of the public, and more broadly contributes to the diminution of our democracy by corroding community confidence in Government.”</p> <p>Source: Parliament of Australia, Lobbying (Improving Government Honesty and Trust) Bill 2024, Explanatory Memorandum.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral to negative.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are negative.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p>
	<p>Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</p>		
	<p>Gov 12 A nation assured of enduring peace.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Env 1 A leading global advocate for action on climate change.</p>		
	<p>Env 2 A net zero emissions nation.</p>		
	<p>Env 4 A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.</p>		
	<p>Env 6 A renewable energy superpower.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising &</p>			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 5 – Transparency, openness & accountability

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	sharing its wealth.		
	<p>Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets, creating confidence for investors.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance			
Governance 6 – Government ethics			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Perceptions of corruption Gov06.01 Australia’s score in Transparency International’s annual Corruption Perceptions Index is continuously improving and reaches the top rank (no. 1) by 2026.</p>	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>	<p>In 2019, Australia was ranked no. 12 in the world in Transparency International’s annual Corruption Perceptions Index with a score of 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 International, Corruption Perceptions Index 2019</p>	<p>In 2022, 2023, and 2024 Australia was ranked no. 13, no. 14, and no. 10 in the world respectively in Transparency International’s annual Corruption Perceptions Index with a score of 75/100 in 2022 and 2023 and then 77/100 in 2024. Australia has displayed an extended pattern of decline in perceptions of corruption from 2012 when it achieved a score of 85/100. Scores during the 47th parliament picked up a little from a low point of 73/100 in 2021 but are still well below the score in 2012. Source: Transparency International, Corruption Perceptions Index 2023.</p> <p>In 2024, Transparency International stated that “Australia’s corruption fight remains at a crossroads. ... Australia has maintained its score from last year but still lags woefully behind where we were (85/100) just a decade ago. If we are to continue to climb back up the ladder, anti-corruption reform must be a priority for the Albanese Government in 2024.”</p> <p>In 2024, the Albanese government did not achieve corruption and transparency reforms. Instead it enabled more secrecy than transparency, for</p>
	<p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p>		
	<p>Gov 8 Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.</p>		
	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>		
	<p>Gov 10 A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 6 – Government ethics

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>example, by establishing a National Anti-Corruption Commission that was not required to hold public hearings (see Gov06.04 below); by rejecting the findings of a Senate Inquiry into FOI⁹⁴ and then appealing against a court ruling that would have improved transparency⁹⁵; and by programming what are effectively real budget cuts in future for the Office of the Australian Information Commissioners (OAIC) – see Gov05.03 above.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral to positive but there is no possibility of reaching the target by 2026, based on the government’s current policies.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center"></p>
<p>Trust in leaders' conduct - parliamentarians Gov06.02</p>	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>	<p>In 2018, 48% of Australians distrusted members of parliament and only</p>	<p>Between 1969 and 2001, the proportion of Australians who said “people in government can be trusted” trended</p>

⁹⁴ The Senate Legal and Constitutional Affairs References Committee Inquiry into the operation of Commonwealth Freedom of Information (FOI) laws reported in December 2023 that: “Evidence received during the course of this inquiry has clearly demonstrated that the current FOI regime is not functioning as intended. It is costly and cumbersome, and has resulted in years of delays before many FOI applications are finalised. These delays have undermined public trust in government and must urgently be reversed.” Labor members on the committee rejected the report.

⁹⁵ In 2024, the Albanese government sought to overturn a federal court ruling that official documents of government cannot be withheld under an FOI application just because a new minister has taken over the relevant portfolio. The government lodged an appeal arguing that documents stop being official and are put beyond public reach whenever a minister changes. Karen Middleton, “[Labor urges court to bin obligations so it can keep documents secret in event of ministry changes](#)”, The Guardian, 14 August 2024.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 6 – Government ethics

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Trust in elected members of parliament to reach and be maintained at a minimum of 55%.</p>		<p>21% trusted them a little or very much. Source: MOAD, Democracy 2025, "Trust and Democracy in Australia: Democratic decline and renewal", Report No. 1.</p> <p>In 1969, 49% of Australians said that "people in government look after themselves" and 51% said "people in government can be trusted." Source: ANU Trends in Australian Political Opinion, 1987 to 2022.</p>	<p>downward from 51% to 32% and from then on averaged 33% up to 2022. Trust tended to rise with changes of government and then fall again until the next change of government. Familiarity with Australian politicians has tended to breed disappointment in the 21st century.</p> <p>Between the 2019 and 2022 federal elections, the proportion of Australians who said "people in government can be trusted" rose from an historic low of 25% to 30% but was still below the average for the two decades to 2022. Source: ANU Trends in Australian Political Opinion, 1987 to 2022.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center"></p>
<p>Trust in leaders' conduct – executive governments Gov06.02.01 Australia is ranked as a truster of government.</p>	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>	<p>In 2019, 42% of the general population said they trusted government. Source: 2019 Edelman Trust Barometer Australian Results</p>	<p>In 2021, trust in government rose to a high of 59% before falling back in 2022 to 53%.</p> <p>In 2023, trust in government fell further to 45% before rising in 2024 to 50%. Source Edelman Trust Barometer Australian Results 2022, 2023 and 2024.</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 6 – Government ethics

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>The longer term trend is positive but is unlikely to be sustained. The brief increase in trust in government during the Covid-19 pandemic is looking like an aberration, probably caused by the temporary fiscal stimulus provided between 2020 and 2021 (see Gov01.02, Gov05.01, Gov05.01.01 and Gov05.01.03 above).</p> <p align="center"></p>
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Binding code of ethics and conduct for federal parliamentarians Gov06.03</p> <p>By 2024, ensure the passage of the National Integrity (Parliamentary Standards) Bill 2019 or similar with a binding Code of Conduct that meets modern standards of ethics in democratic governance.</p>	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>	<p>In 2017, 79% of Australians supported "strengthening the code of conduct for parliamentary behaviour".</p>	<p>In 2025, federal parliamentarians were obliged to act in accordance with a "code of behaviour". The code stated that "Bullying and harassment, sexual harassment and assault, discrimination in all its forms including on the grounds of race, age, sex, sexuality, gender identity, disability, or religion is unacceptable. Such behaviour will not be tolerated, condoned or ignored."</p>
	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing & affirming decency.</p>	<p>Source: Centre for Policy Development Study, "What Do Australians Want? Active and Effective Government Fit for the Ages", December 2017.</p>	<p>Source: Parliament of Australia, Behaviour Code for Australian Parliamentarians, 9 October 2024.</p>
	<p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p>	<p>In 2020, a Senate Committee with Liberal, Labor and One Nation senators unanimously rejected the introduction of a Code of Conduct for parliamentarians.</p>	<p>Source: Parliament of Australia, Behaviour Code for Australian Parliamentarians, 9 October 2024.</p>
	<p>Gov 8 Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.</p>	<p>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.</p>	<p>The code was an attempt to lift the standard of behaviour, especially in relation to women and to aid occupational safety in the parliament (necessary because of the findings of an inquiry by the Sex Discrimination</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 6 – Government ethics

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>Commissioner in 2021⁹⁶). The code was merely a workplace behaviour code. It was not binding and it did not require conformance to specified standards of ethics. A separate code of conduct for ministers was general in its application, requiring ministers (not other members) to act with integrity and fairness, accept accountability and responsibility, and act in what <i>they regard</i> as the public interest.⁹⁷ [emphasis added] Source: Australian Government, Code of Conduct for Ministers, June 2022.</p> <p>In 2024, the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association published a document containing standards for codes of conduct. These were meant to “serve as the basis for developing a separate assessment tool,” like a model code. In 2024, the Australian parliament had not adopted a code of ethics based on these standards. It retained the Lobbying Code of Conduct and a ministerial code first published in 2007, both of which were worded so</p>

⁹⁶ Australian Human Rights Commission, [Set the Standard: Report on the Independent Review into Commonwealth Parliamentary Workplaces](#) (2021).

⁹⁷ Australian Government, [Code of Conduct for Ministers, June 2022](#): “When taking decisions in, or in connection with, their official capacity, Ministers must act in the public interest – that is, based on *their* best judgment of what will advance the common good of the people of Australia.” [Emphasis added]. Ministers are free to decide the public interest without reference to the public or to any statement setting out details of the public interest or human rights – see **Gov03.01** above.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 6 – Government ethics

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>broadly in relation to ethics that “breaches are barely possible” and none have been found (at least by the prime ministers in charge of the codes). Moreover, “What would happen if a genuine breach was discovered? The answer is probably nothing. No part of the code[s] sets out penalties.”⁹⁸</p> <p>Source: George Rennie, “Australia’s political lobbying regime is broken and needs urgent reform”, The Conversation, 11 September 2019.</p> <p>Effectively under the current codes a minister has to commit and be known to have committed a serious criminal offence before any action might be taken.</p> <p>The lack of a code of ethics for government and parliamentary members is likely to be linked to and causal of falls in trust in governments and political systems. Cases of state capture by corporates that skew decision making in directions contrary to the public interest are abundantly evident, for example in the case of support for mining and</p>

⁹⁸ Indeed, nothing happened when [Scott Morrison](#) clearly breached the code by secretly and dishonestly swearing himself into several ministerial positions. Morrison was censured by 86 votes to 50 but there was no punitive action. Nothing happened to any minister associated with [the Robodebt scandal](#). And nothing happened to Attorney-General [Christian Porter](#) when the Coalition government in October 2021 blocked a bid from the Australian Labor Party opposition to have Porter investigated by the House privileges committee over whether he had breached parliamentary rules over his financial disclosures, despite Speaker Tony Smith having ruled that there was a prima facie case for further scrutiny.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 6 – Government ethics

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline									
			fossil fuels and most recently in the case of the Labor government’s refusal to ban gambling advertising because it will affect media companies’ advertising revenues. The short term trend is neutral.  The longer term trend is negative. 									
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Compulsory and satisfactory completion of training in ethics and proof of competency in permissible voting practice for parliamentarians Gov06.03.01 By 2024, introduce legislation requiring all elected federal parliamentarians (on election to each new parliament) to complete training and pass examinations to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • prove comprehensive knowledge of the Code of 	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="475 1093 528 1120">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="560 1093 579 1120">6</td> <td data-bbox="619 1059 810 1151">A world benchmark in leaders’ conduct.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="475 1361 528 1388">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="560 1361 579 1388">5</td> <td data-bbox="619 1312 823 1435">Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="475 1630 528 1657">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="560 1630 579 1657">7</td> <td data-bbox="619 1581 802 1704">Committed to public service independence & excellence.</td> </tr> </table>	Gov	6	A world benchmark in leaders’ conduct.	Gov	5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.	Gov	7	Committed to public service independence & excellence.	In 2016, no compulsory training or tests were in place for federal parliamentarians to prove competency in relation to basic behaviours, norms, procedures, rules of voting, declaration of conflicts, policy and legislation analysis, and general understanding of ethical standards and parliamentary procedures. Source: Colleen Lewis, Ken Coghill, Editors, Parliamentarians’ Professional Development: The need for reform, 2016.	In 2025, there was no legislation requiring all elected federal parliamentarians (on election to each new parliament) to complete training and pass examinations proving knowledge of or ability to comply with even the basic codes of conduct referred to in Gov06.03 above. Training was available but not compulsory and accreditation was not required. The short term trend is neutral.  The long term trend is neutral.
Gov	6	A world benchmark in leaders’ conduct.										
Gov	5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.										
Gov	7	Committed to public service independence & excellence.										

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 6 – Government ethics

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Conduct arising from the passage of a National Integrity (Parliamentary Standards) Bill as per Gov06.03;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> demonstrate competency in the rules of behaviour under Codes of Meeting Practice and disclosure of conflicts of interest; maintain accreditation in the above through updated training; and <p>comply with programs of professional development suited to their role as elected members, ministers, committee chairs, etc.</p>	<p>Gov 8 Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.</p>		
<p>Federal independent commission against corruption</p> <p>Federal independent commission against corruption Gov06.04</p> <p>By 2024, a national independent and transparent body for investigation of corruption by federal parliamentarians and public servants commences operation.</p>	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders’ conduct.</p>	<p>In 2017, 77% of Australians supported “introducing an independent federal corruption Commission”.</p> <p>Source: Centre for Policy Development Study, “What Do Australians Want? Active and Effective Government Fit for the Ages”, December 2017.</p>	<p>In its 2022 election platform the Labor Party committed to establishing a federal independent anti-corruption commission. The commitment was to create a “watchdog with teeth” and transparency in investigation of corruption. In 2022, the legislation establishing the National Anti-Corruption Commission (NACC) met neither of these purposes. Instead what was entrenched was another secret agency which could be easily corrupted, as</p>
	<p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p>		
	<p>Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.</p>	<p>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</p>	
	<p>Gov 8 Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 6 – Government ethics

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
		<p>the federal government.</p> <p>Updated baseline data – Issue No. 7 of Australia Together: In 2022, the federal parliament passed legislation to establish the National Anti-Corruption Commission (the NACC) with powers to investigate Commonwealth ministers, public servants, statutory office holders, government agencies, parliamentarians, and personal staff of politicians. The NACC is independent of government, with the power to initiate its own investigations as well as in response to tip-offs from referrals, including whistleblowers and the public. The NACC is overseen by a statutory bipartisan Joint Standing Committee of the Parliament. The NACC has the power to investigate retrospectively and to hold public hearings when it is in the public interest but can only hold public hearings in “exceptional circumstances”. The NACC legislation also created an Inspector of the NACC, an independent officer of the parliament that</p>	<p>demonstrated in one of the earliest referrals to the NACC – six persons from the Royal Commission into the Robodebt scheme. The NACC took a decision not to investigate these referrals and its lead Commissioner was subsequently found to have engaged in officer misconduct as defined in section 184(3) of the NACC Act – basically for having declared a conflict of interest but in continuing to participate in the investigation. Source: Inspector of the National Anti-Corruption Commission, Investigation into the NACC’s decision not to investigate referrals from the Royal Commission into the Robodebt scheme, October 2024.</p> <p>Trust in the NACC’s ability to prevent corruption fell and the victims of Robodebt were left without justice. The NACC legislation simply established another institution capable of protecting governments from oversight.</p> <p>In its first 18 months, the NACC spent \$140 million, completed three investigations in which it found no corruption, and refused to disclose who had been investigated and cleared. The NACC reportedly spent \$91 million in its first year of operation for no gain in transparency. Compare</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 6 – Government ethics

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
		investigates corruption in the NACC itself.	<p>that to the budget for Office of the Australian Information Commissioner – see Gov05.03 above. The federal government now spends three times as much per annum on an institution designed to cover up corruption as it does on the institution designed to ensure access to information. The NACC is an expensive disaster for transparency and corruption prevention. Source: Anthony Klan, “NACC finds “no corruption” – spends \$140m to date”, The Klaxon, 12 January 2025.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p></p> <p> The outlook trend is negative. What should have been a positive for transparency, corruption prevention and trust has embedded a more secretive institution in democracy in which corruption is likely to be free to fester and accountability will be lost.</p>

Governance 7 – Public service independence & excellence

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance			
<i>Governance 7 – Public service independence & excellence</i>			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Trust in the public service Gov07.01 Trust in the Commonwealth public service improves continuously.</p>	<p>Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.</p>	<p>In 2019, 42% of Australians (net) said they trusted the Commonwealth public service. Source: Essential Research, Trust in Institutions 2019</p>	<p>In March 2021, during the height of the Covid-19 pandemic, 57% of Australians said they trusted the Commonwealth public service but this dropped 5 points in October 2021 to 52%.</p> <p>Between September 2022 and December 2023, trust in the Commonwealth public service fell from 53 % to 39%. Source: Essential, Trust in Institutions 2023</p> <p>The short term trend is negative. </p> <p>The longer term trend is neutral. </p>
<p>Satisfaction with the public service – federal and state Gov07.02 Satisfaction with the public service improves continuously.</p>	<p>Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.</p>	<p>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</p>	<p>In 2024, the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet reported that surveys showed 58% of Australians have confidence in government services across the country:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nearly three in four people (71 percent) trust the specific services they have personally used. • More than two-thirds of people (68 percent) report satisfaction with the service they receive. • 77 per cent of Australians are

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 7 – Public service independence & excellence

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>satisfied with the outcome of their interactions with public services, reflecting the APS’s success in service delivery.</p> <p>“This marks the third consecutive year of stable trust levels.”</p> <p>Source: Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, Media Release, “2023-24 survey results highlight strong trust in Australian Government public services”, 18 November 2024.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>The longer term trend has not been assessed.</p> <p align="center"></p>
<p>Satisfaction with the public service – Commonwealth Gov07.02.01</p> <p>Satisfaction with the Commonwealth public service improves continuously.</p>	<p>Gov 7</p> <p>Committed to public service independence & excellence.</p>	<p>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.”</p> <p>Source: 2019 Independent Review of the Australian Public Service, “Our Public Service Our Future”, known as the “Thodey Review”</p>	<p>In October 2022, the Labor government announced a reform agenda for the Australian public service (APS). It included four priority areas for an APS that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “embodies integrity in everything it does; • puts people and business at the centre of policy and services; • is a model employer; and • has the capability to do its job well.” <p>The reform was meant to rely in part on the recommendations of the Thodey Review.</p> <p>Source: APS Reform webpage. Source: 2019 Independent Review of the Australian Public</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 7 – Public service independence & excellence

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>Service, “Our Public Service Our Future”, known as the “Thodey Review”</p> <p>In 2024, the government released a report on progress. Of the program’s 59 initiatives, around one-third were substantively complete and the remaining were progressing through design, planning and delivery stages. There were 51 metrics underpinning 16 overarching performance measures.</p> <p>The report stated that, “Australians’ trust in the Federal Government increased significantly from 38% in 2021 to 46% in 2023, exceeding the OECD average of 39%. Australia performed above the OECD average on a range of indicators, including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “68% are satisfied with the administrative services they used, an important driver of trust in the civil service, compared to a 66% OECD average; • 64% of people in Australia find it likely that their application for government benefits would be treated fairly, compared to the OECD average of 52%.”

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 7 – Public service independence & excellence

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>Source: Australian Public Service Reform: Annual progress report 2024</p> <p>The short term trend is positive.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend has not been assessed.</p> <p></p>

Governance 8 – Electoral system & funding reform

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 becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Truth in advertising – legislative program Gov08.01</p> <p>By 2023, introduce legislation federally and in all states requiring truth in political advertising, including stipulated penalties such as loss of public funding and fines.</p>	<p>Gov 8</p> <p>Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.</p>	<p>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.</p> <p>Source: Australia Institute</p>	<p>In 2023 and 2024, independent members and Greens party members (Zali Steggall, Kate Chaney, David Pocock, Jacqui Lambie, Lidia Thorpe and Larissa Waters) all put forward bills to legislate truth in political advertising. By January 2025, their bills had not been permitted to proceed. For more information see Note⁹⁹.</p> <p>In November 2024, the Labor government submitted the Electoral Legislation Amendment (Electoral Communications) Bill 2024, to establish new civil penalty provisions to prohibit authorising certain electoral and referendum matter that is inaccurate and misleading to a material extent, including material that has been modified using technology such as ‘deepfakes’. Penalties proposed in the bill ranged from \$66,000 to \$330,000 per offence, higher than other bills. In January 2025, the bill had not been passed.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral (unless the bill is passed unamended in</p>
	<p>Gov 1</p> <p>A proactive participatory democracy.</p>		
	<p>Gov 5</p> <p>Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p>		
	<p>Gov 6</p> <p>A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>		

⁹⁹ For more information see Bronwyn Kelly, Looking in *Australia Together* – part 7: [Strategies for electoral reform in Australia](#), Substack 15 June 2024 and Bronwyn and David Kelly, Episode 50: Conversations about *Australia Together* – Part 7: [On progress with Australia Together and strategies for electoral reform in Australia](#), The Australia Together Podcast, 21 June 2024.

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 becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline																
			which case it would be positive).  The longer term trend is negative. 																
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Constitutional reform – community engagement on electoral funding reform Gov08.02</p> <p>By 2024, in association with the establishment of a Constitutional Convention under Gov04.01, commence a community engagement process to determine 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 (one vote = one value).</p> <p>Minimum terms of reference for this section of the Constitutional Convention must provide for engagement on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the need to ensure that no laws shall be permitted which do not promote, or which militate against, equal suffrage; 	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 678 582 817">Gov 8</td> <td data-bbox="582 678 837 817">Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 817 582 913">Gov 1</td> <td data-bbox="582 817 837 913">A proactive participatory democracy.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 913 582 1010">Gov 3</td> <td data-bbox="582 913 837 1010">A nation with avowed rights for all.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1010 582 1106">Gov 4</td> <td data-bbox="582 1010 837 1106">A free, self-governing, modern nation.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1106 582 1274">Gov 5</td> <td data-bbox="582 1106 837 1274">Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1274 582 1408">Gov 6</td> <td data-bbox="582 1274 837 1408">A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1408 582 1671">Gov 9</td> <td data-bbox="582 1408 837 1671">A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1671 582 1957">Gov 10</td> <td data-bbox="582 1671 837 1957">A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.</td> </tr> </table>	Gov 8	Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.	Gov 1	A proactive participatory democracy.	Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.	Gov 4	A free, self-governing, modern nation.	Gov 5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.	Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	Gov 9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.	Gov 10	A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.	<p>Between 2015 and 2020, amendments by the federal parliament to legislation on electoral funding and disclosure:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> focussed on attempted capping or other constraints on the small donations of the many to non-party organisations engaged in political policy development (such as GetUp and charities like the Climate Council), rather than capping the large donations of the few to registered political parties; and did nothing to strengthen disclosure requirements such as requiring real-time disclosure. <p>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</p>	<p>In 2022, the Labor government stated it would introduce laws imposing spending caps in federal elections before the 2025 election and laws to reduce the disclosure thresholds for donations to political parties and candidates. Source: Paul Karp, “Labor aims to legislate spending caps and truth in advertising, says Don Farrell,” The Guardian, 10 July 2022.</p> <p>On 18 November 2024, the federal government introduced the Electoral Legislation Amendment (Electoral Reform) Bill 2024 and attempted to push the 200-page bill through without community engagement, resulting in complaints that the government was “trying to entrench its incumbency and reduce competition in our democracy,” and that “The changes would significantly benefit Labor and the Coalition, giving them a huge financial advantage over independents and minor party candidates seeking a seat in the Australian Parliament.” See</p>
Gov 8	Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.																		
Gov 1	A proactive participatory democracy.																		
Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.																		
Gov 4	A free, self-governing, modern nation.																		
Gov 5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.																		
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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 becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the issue of transparent taxpayer funding of election campaigns vs private funding and the appropriate proportions of each in election campaigns; options for any reforms that will eliminate the influence of corporate money and wealthy donors in democratic elections; and options for arranging and distributing funding for candidates seeking election to any level of government (federal, state, or local) which will not undermine political equality for electors. 	<p>Soc 3</p>	<p>Inclusive, welcoming and enabling.</p>	<p>Gov05.04 and Gov05.04.01 above. Source: Hansard, Allegra Spender MP, November 2024. Source: The Australia Institute, "Electoral reform impasse provides opportunity for real scrutiny – which voters demand," 29 November 2024.</p> <p>The hurried passage of the legislation was stalled when a breakdown occurred in talks between the government and the Coalition opposition parties with neither happy about the amount they might get in donations. Source: Katrina Curtis, "Electoral funding talks collapse over late move to lock in union campaign power, The Nightly, 29 November 2024."¹⁰⁰</p> <p>In 2023 and 2024, the Labor government used parliamentary procedure to prevent debate of alternative and fairer bills put forward by independents and the Greens on the crossbenches.¹⁰¹</p> <p>In 2024, the Labor government's proposed legislation did not promote fairness in elections or "one vote = one value". The bill was:</p>
	<p>Soc 6</p>	<p>A society of equals.</p>	
	<p>Soc 7</p>	<p>A success because of its diversity.</p>	
	<p>Soc 8</p>	<p>A success because of gender equality.</p>	
	<p>Soc 15</p>	<p>Confident of justice for all.</p>	
	<p>Econ 3</p>	<p>A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	
	<p>Econ 5</p>	<p>A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.</p>	
	<p>Econ 6</p>	<p>An economy with competitive & profitable public participation.</p>	
<p>Econ 7</p>	<p>A collaborative intelligent nation.</p>		

¹⁰⁰ Katrina Curtis, "[Electoral funding talks collapse over late move to lock in union campaign power](#)," The Nightly, 29 November 2024: An eleventh-hour change from the Government to its own electoral laws torpedoed a tentative deal between Labor and the Coalition. Talks with the Coalition fell over after the Government sought changes on Sunday to ensure union fees that fund campaigns weren't caught up in the \$20,000 donation cap. Special Minister of State Don Farrell has vowed to keep talking with all parties over the summer on the overhaul of electoral funding.

¹⁰¹ See bills by Zali Steggall, [Commonwealth Electoral Amendment \(Voter Protections in Political Advertising\) Bill 2023](#); Kate Chaney, [Electoral Legislation Amendment \(Fair and Transparent Elections\) Bill 2024](#); and senators Pocock, Lambie, Thorpe and Waters, [Electoral Legislation Amendment \(Fair and Transparent Elections\) Bill 2024 \(No. 2\)](#).

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 becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	<p>Econ 8</p> <p>Enabled in meeting the communication & information demands of the future.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ government advertising; ○ postal vote applications; ○ independent campaign entities; and ○ nomination of candidates; ○ removal of exemptions relating to data protection that apply to political parties and members of Parliament; ○ removal of exemptions relating to unsolicited electronic messages that apply to political parties. <p>Source: Parliament of Australia, Commonwealth Electoral Amendment (Banning Dirty Donations) Bill 2020 and Electoral Legislation Amendment (Restoring Trust) Bill 2023.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● more likely to militate against, equal suffrage and political equality for electors; and ● failed to eliminate the influence of corporate money and wealthy donors in elections. <p>In particular the bill would reduce the capacity of new independent candidates to enter electoral competitions.</p> <p>Between late November 2024 and mid January 2025, just under 31,000 people signed a petition calling on the government to immediately establish a parliamentary inquiry, with public hearings, to assess the proposed changes to Australia’s electoral laws before major changes to Australian electoral law are put to Parliament for a vote.</p> <p>Source: The Australia Institute, Protect our elections webpage, January 2025.</p> <p>For more information see Note¹⁰².</p> <p>The short term trend is negative. The lack of community engagement is a critical failure.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p>

¹⁰² For more information see Bronwyn Kelly, Looking in *Australia Together* – part 7: [Strategies for electoral reform in Australia](#), Substack 15 June 2024 and Bronwyn and David Kelly, Episode 50: Conversations about Australia Together – Part 7: [On progress with Australia Together and strategies for electoral reform in Australia](#), The Australia Together Podcast, 21 June 2024.

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 becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			The longer term trend is negative. 
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Electoral funding and expenditure reform – prohibition and/or regulation of permissible donations to political parties and candidates Gov08.02.01 Preparatory to Gov08.02 (and subject to review after completion of that community engagement process), but in any case by 2024/25, legislate at the federal level (but for application to elections and political parties at all three levels of government) to:</p> <p>a) prohibit donations to any registered political party by corporations, non-profits, unions and any other incorporated body or commercial/industrial/for-profit entity – such ban to include a ban on individuals self-funding their own campaign or that of their party other than by the party membership fees for individuals</p>	<p>Gov 8 Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.</p>	<p>Between 2012 and 2020, cumulative donations by corporations to Australia’s two major political parties were:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> to Labor = \$80.3 million to Liberal/National = \$129.9 million <p>The largest donations were from:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> banking and finance = \$71.6 million developers and property = \$28.4 million energy and resources = \$16.6 million government contractors = \$14.4 million private health insurance and services = \$14.2 million media and communications = \$11.9 million <p>Source: Guardian Australia Transparency Project, Citizens Hub for exploration of political transparency and open governance.</p> <p>In 2018, the Grattan Institute opined that, “Political donations provide resources for political activity and advertising, and therefore restrictions on donations indirectly</p>	<p>In 2024, the federal government introduced the Electoral Legislation Amendment (Electoral Reform) Bill 2024. See Gov08.02 above. The bill did not propose to prohibit donations or prescribe political party membership fees as proposed in Gov08.02.01 and therefore did not promote equal suffrage, one vote = one value, or political equality for electors in Australia’s democracy. Donations by corporations would be largely unconstrained by the proposed legislation.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative. </p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are negative. </p>
	<p>Gov 1 A proactive participatory democracy.</p>		
	<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>		
	<p>Gov 4 A free, self-governing, modern nation.</p>		
	<p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p>		
	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>		
	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>		
	<p>Gov 10 A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.</p>		
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming and enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		

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 becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
permitted under b) below; b) prohibit donations to any political party by individuals other than by membership fees capped on an annual basis at \$1,000 per membership; c) prohibit corporations and any entity that is not an individual natural person from seeking and being granted membership of a political party and prohibit any transaction between such an entity and a political party that may amount to provision or acceptance of membership fees; d) permit donations by individuals to any and all approved independent candidates (i.e., any candidate unaffiliated with a registered party) but limited to \$6,000 per candidate over the three years prior to the election for which the candidate is	Soc 7	A success because of its diversity.	impinge on the Constitution’s implied freedom of political communication. As a result, there are limits on how political donations can be regulated. The High Court has ruled that restrictions on political donations are valid only if they are compatible with representative democracy, and if they are reasonably appropriate and adapted to their stated purpose. To determine whether a law is valid under the Constitution, the High Court considers whether it is suitable, necessary and ‘adequate in its balance’. The Court would be likely to view full public funding – equivalent to a ban on political donations – as unnecessary to protect representative democracy. But other, less extreme, measures such as donations caps have been ruled as constitutionally valid.” Source: The Grattan Institute, “Who’s in the Room? – Access and Influence in Australian Politics”, September 2018.
	Soc 8	A success because of gender equality.	
	Soc 15	Confident of justice for all.	
	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	
	Econ 5	A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.	
	Econ 6	An economy with competitive & profitable public participation.	
	Econ 7	A collaborative intelligent nation.	
Econ 8	Enabled in meeting the communication & information demands of the future.		

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 becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
seeking office ¹⁰³ ; and e) prohibit all other possible forms of donations to any candidate or party by any individual, corporation or other entity including for events, dinners, merchandise, sponsorships and other forms of fund raising. For the rationale as to the constitutional validity of the above strategy see Note¹⁰⁴.			
Top Priority Target/Strategy: Electoral funding and expenditure reform – imposition of spending caps for political parties, candidates	Gov 8 Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.	In 2023 it was revealed that in the year leading to the 2022 federal election, Australia’s political parties declared spending of \$418 million:	In 2024, the federal government introduced the Electoral Legislation Amendment (Electoral Reform) Bill 2024. See Gov08.02 above. The bill proposed spending caps
	Gov 1 A proactive participatory democracy.		

¹⁰³ Note that the suggested permissible donation by an individual to independent candidates is twice as high as the amount that might be amassed in donations from individuals for a political party in the form of membership fees in a three-year period. This recognises that independent candidates do not have access to economies of scale, cannot cross-subsidise between candidates and have capital start up costs that party candidates do not. It is intended to reduce barriers to entry by new independent candidates.

¹⁰⁴ **Rationale for proposals for prohibition and/or regulation of permissible donations to political parties and candidates:** The strategy suggested in **Gov08.02.01** limits donations to political parties and candidates to zero if the donations are coming from organised entities rather than individual natural persons. However, under **Gov08.02.01**, as long as they come from individual natural persons, donations in the form of political party membership fees are permissible up to a point, as are donations direct to any individual approved independent candidates. In this system every natural person has the same right to make “donations”, a proposal which is intended to enhance representative democracy. ACFP is of the view that the strategy in **Gov08.02.01** does not infringe on the implied right of political communication inasmuch as no person is limited more than any other in their decisions on donations and no non-human entity (such as a corporation) is inhibited in political communication that can be achieved by other means (such as direct and transparent publication of preferred policies under their own company name in such a way as to communicate those preferences to political parties, candidates and the public). The process of political communication is not adversely impacted by banning donations from non-human entities, especially if they are so large as to enable those entities to buy elections. Corporate donations are not political communication – they are simply buying elections and bribing candidates. They attempt corruption. Donations from non-human entities are highly likely to be unconstitutional wherever they result in inequalities in the system of representative government as the High Court found in the case of [McCloy vs NSW, 2015](#). In any case it should be noted that the strategy suggested in **Gov08.02** established community engagement on electoral reform within a constitutional convention. If established this will give Australians the chance to consider the principles of legitimate political communication in a representative democracy and design funding arrangements for elections that are consistent with that.

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 becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>and associated entities (“third parties”) in elections Gov08.02.02 Before the 2025 election (or before the election of a 48th federal parliament) legislate at the federal level (but for application to elections and political parties at all three levels of government) to introduce spending caps in election campaign periods (defined as six weeks prior to an election) for all advertising and campaign activities as follows:</p> <p>a) For each approved candidate:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a spending cap of \$100,000 per candidate for the house of representatives (Where candidates are affiliated with a party, only one may be fielded per party per electorate.), and a spending cap of \$75,000 per candidate for the senate (Where 	<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Coalition declared \$132 million; Clive Palmer’s United Australia Party declared \$123 million; Labor declared \$116 million; and Independents and other individual candidates declared total collective expenditure of approximately \$21 million. <p>Source: Kate Griffiths and Iris Chan, “Big money was spent on the 2022 election – but the party with the deepest pockets didn’t win”, The Conversation, 1 February 2023 and Australian Electoral Commission.</p>	<p>for elections but not in accordance with the strategy in Gov.08.02.02. Spending caps were less restrictive for parties than they were for independent candidates. The Australia Institute identified “major issues around how the spending cap is applied and the taxpayer-funded windfall for the major parties.” For more information on unfair provisions in the proposed legislation see Note¹⁰⁶. Source: The Australia Institute, “Electoral reform impasse provides opportunity for real scrutiny – which voters demand,” Media release 29 November 2024.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center">←</p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are negative.</p> <p align="center">←</p>
	<p>Gov 4 A free, self-governing, modern nation.</p>		
	<p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p>		
	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>		
	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>		
	<p>Gov 10 A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.</p>		
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming and enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.</p>		
<p>Soc 15 Confident of justice for all.</p>			

¹⁰⁶ Bill Browne, “[Eight things you need to know about the Government’s plan to change Australian elections](#),” The Australia Institute, 21 November 2024.

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 becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>candidates are affiliated with a party, permissible spending is capped at six candidates on a party ticket per state or two per territory); and</p> <p>b) For each entity associated with a political party or candidate and each unaligned entity, such as a charity, engaged in political advocacy (aka “third parties”)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a uniform spending cap of \$20,000 on political advertising and any campaign activities for the six week period prior to an election. <p>For the rationale on spending caps see Note¹⁰⁵.</p>	<p>Econ 3</p> <p>A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 5</p> <p>A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.</p>		
	<p>Econ 6</p> <p>An economy with competitive & profitable public participation.</p>		
	<p>Econ 7</p> <p>A collaborative intelligent nation.</p>		
	<p>Econ 8</p> <p>Enabled in meeting the communication & information demands of the future.</p>		
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Electoral funding and expenditure reform – protection of democracy through introduction of</p>	<p>Gov 8</p> <p>Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.</p>	<p>In 2019, electoral funding laws operated on a principle of one vote, one value, but only insofar as redistributions of electoral boundaries</p>	<p>In 2024, the federal government introduced the Electoral Legislation Amendment (Electoral Reform) Bill 2024. See Gov08.02 above. The bill proposed increased</p>
	<p>Gov 1</p> <p>A proactive participatory democracy.</p>		

¹⁰⁵ **Rationale for proposals for expenditure caps during election periods:** As noted in relation to **Gov08.02.01**, expenditure caps of the magnitude proposed for a limited period are not expected to run foul of the Constitution inasmuch as they do not inhibit political communication. Political parties, candidates and third parties can all still spend on advertising and political activities but in a pre-election period it is advisable to impose a uniform limit within each type of campaigning group. This protects freedom of political communication but also levels the electoral playing field because it reduces the potential for disproportionate influence in campaigns by the more well-heeled entities.

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 becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>equitable taxpayer funding for elections Gov08.02.03</p> <p>Recognising that, under parts a), b), c) and e) of Gov08.02.01, the ability of political parties and candidates to fund necessary research and community engagement for high quality policy development and communications will be significantly reduced, the federal parliament should acknowledge the need to transform the basis on which political parties and independent candidates may qualify for public funding and may do so in a manner that is consistent with the need in democracy to foster equity in elections and the principle of “one vote = one value”. Consistent with these principles and to enable payments to candidates who:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • have satisfied the legal requirements for nomination and are seeking 	<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>	<p>were required by law to ensure that electorates have the same number of enrolled voters within a specified percentage of variance (currently 10%). Source: Commonwealth Electoral Act (No. 2) 1973</p> <p>In 2019, the principle of one vote, one value was not applied in laws regarding funding of the campaigns of candidates and political parties seeking election.</p> <p>In 2019, in regard to fair and adequate funding for ethical campaigns by quality, competent political candidates, Australia’s electoral system was not positioned to protect its democracy from capture by wealthy donors motivated to act in their own sectional or vested interests against the wider public interest.</p> <p>In 2018, it was reported that between 2007/08 and 2015/16</p>	<p>public funding for elections and for administrative costs but not on an equitable basis for all candidates. New candidates would get nothing in public funding under the Labor government’s legislation. Only incumbents would benefit and the two major parties (Labor and the Liberal/National Coalition) would benefit far more than others.¹⁰⁸ Source: Bill Browne, “Eight things you need to know about the Government’s plan to change Australian elections,” The Australia Institute, 21 November 2024.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are negative.</p> <p>←</p>
	<p>Gov 4 A free, self-governing, modern nation.</p>		
	<p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p>		
	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>		
	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>		
	<p>Gov 10 A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.</p>		
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming and enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>			

¹⁰⁸ Source: Bill Browne, “[Eight things you need to know about the Government’s plan to change Australian elections](#),” The Australia Institute, 21 November 2024: “In Australia, parties and candidates receive about \$3 per vote they receive. Everyone casts two votes – one for the House of Representatives and one for the Senate – so every election you decide how about \$6 of taxpayer money is distributed. Because parties and candidates get this money *after* the votes are counted, it only benefits those who are contesting the next election. A new party or candidate doesn’t get any money for their first campaign. This bill would increase per-vote public funding to \$5 per vote. This will cost another \$41 million per three-year election cycle, with about three-quarters (75%, or \$32 million) going to major parties. How could this be improved? By redirecting the taxpayer money we already spend on public funding to a system that new entrants can participate in too – like the democracy vouchers in use in the City of Seattle.

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 becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>election to the lower or upper house of the federal parliament; and who</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> meet all other criteria for eligibility for access to public funds for election campaigns, the federal parliament should legislate to create the following sovereign funds: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the Parliamentary Candidate Research and Policy Development Fund – \$50 million per annum (thereafter indexed to CPI); and the Parliamentary Candidate Community Engagement and Communications Fund – \$50 million per annum (thereafter indexed to CPI). <p>Parliament may stipulate a formula for use in assessing applications for these funds as long as the formula may be deemed consistent with the need in democracy to foster equity in elections and the principle of “one vote = one value”. The proposed legislation is not intended to replace or reduce</p>	<p>Soc 8</p>	<p>A success because of gender equality.</p>	<p>“public funding makes up 30 per cent of election campaign funding”, leaving the door wide open for private entities to buy elections. Dominance of corporate and large donors within the system left it open to corruption. Source: The Grattan Institute, “Who’s in the Room? – Access and Influence in Australian Politics”, September 2018.</p>
	<p>Soc 15</p>	<p>Confident of justice for all.</p>	
	<p>Econ 3</p>	<p>A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>	
	<p>Econ 5</p>	<p>A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.</p>	
	<p>Econ 6</p>	<p>An economy with competitive & profitable public participation.</p>	
	<p>Econ 7</p>	<p>A collaborative intelligent nation.</p>	
<p>Econ 8</p>	<p>Enabled in meeting the communication & information demands of the future.</p>		

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 becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>existing funding for political candidates under Part XX of the Commonwealth Electoral Act 1918 (in 2021 = \$2.871 per eligible vote – estimated at approximately \$48 million.) Creation of the two new funds should be in addition to funds available under Part XX.</p> <p>For the policy rationale behind proposals for rearrangement of electoral funding and expenditure under Gov08.02, Gov08.02.01, Gov08.02.02 and Gov08.02.03, see Note¹⁰⁷</p>			

¹⁰⁷ **Rationale for proposals to transform arrangements for electoral funding and expenditure:** Operating on the principles that:

- in a democracy, no individual, corporate body or other entity should be able to buy an election; and that
- if democracy is worth having it is entirely in the public interest for the state to provide sufficient funds for quality candidates and ethical political campaigns,

the intention under the combined strategies of **Gov08.02, Gov08.02.01, Gov08.02.02 and Gov08.02.03** is:

- to transform Australia’s system of funding democratic elections from the current essentially undemocratic system heavily dominated by corporate funding and funding by the rich (70%), to a system with much greater taxpayer funding, accepting that this is more likely to enhance representative democracy and support political equality (one vote = one value);
- to cap spending for election purposes in the six weeks prior to any federal election but also to reduce or remove the distortions that can arise from the disproportionate influence of corporate or other large donors in periods prior to the announcement of an election;
- to transform election funding in such a way as to:
 - ensure security of adequate funding for all authorised candidacies in elections,
 - eliminate as far as possible undue or disproportionate influence and the potential for bribery and corruption, and
 - give taxpayers greater capacity to restrict unfair distribution of funds for candidates.

The proposals are designed to give Australians greater control of their elections, ensuring fairness according to principles of representative democracy. This will transfer more of the financial burden for elections to the public purse but is likely to result in substantial benefits in the quality of democracy per dollar spent by Australians.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance			
Governance 9 – Corporate & NGO responsibility			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Trust in NGOs Gov09.01 Australia is ranked as a truster of NGOs.</p>	<p>Gov 9</p> <p>A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>	<p>In 2019, 56% of the general population said they trusted NGOs. Source: 2019 Edelman Trust Barometer Australian Results</p>	<p>In 2024, 58% of the general population said they trusted NGOs, down from a height of 62% in 2021 but above the average of 54% since 2012. Source: Edelman Trust Barometer Australian Results 2012 to 2024</p>
			<p>In 2024, Edelman reported that “In Australia, no single institution has succeeded in reaching trusted territory for another consecutive year.” See Gov01.02, Gov05.01, Gov05.01.01, Gov05.01.03 and Gov06.02.01 above. Source: Edelman Trust Barometer 2024</p>
			<p>The short term trend is negative. </p> <p>The longer term trend is positive. </p>
<p>Trust in private institutions and public institutions Gov09.01.01 Trust in both public and private sector institutions rises continuously.</p>	<p>Gov 9</p> <p>A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>	<p>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</p>	<p>In 2020, the average trust recorded by Essential across public/government institutions was 58%, up 10 points from the average recorded between 2016 and 2019.</p>
	<p>Gov 2</p> <p>A nation knowing & affirming decency.</p>		<p>In 2020, the average trust recorded by Essential across private institutions was 42%, up 11 points from the</p>
	<p>Gov 4</p> <p>A free, self-governing, modern nation.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 9 – Corporate & NGO responsibility

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.	Commonwealth public service.	average recorded between 2016 and 2019. Source: Essential Report, Trust in Institutions, 21 April 2020
	Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	Among private institutions, average trust between 2016 and 2019 was:	Essential did not report comparable data after 2020. However, other surveys by Essential suggest that although trust is low in local, state and federal government it was still higher in 2024 than it was for international corporations.
	Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Charitable organisations = 47%. Environmental groups = 42%. Business groups = 29%. 	Source: Essential Report, Trust in governments, corporations and family, 21 October 2024.
	Gov 8 Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Trade unions = 27%. Religious organisations = 27%. Political parties = 17%. 	
	Gov 10 A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.	Among public/government institutions, average trust between 2016 and 2019 was:	Between October 2021 and December 2023, Essential reported declines in trust in:
	Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Federal police = 68%. State police = 66%. High Court = 59%. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> scientific bodies – 68% down to 58%; universities – 59% down to 51%; state and federal health authorities – 64% down to 47%; police, courts and the justice system – 61% down to 47%;
	Gov 12 A nation assured of enduring peace.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The ABC = 53%. Reserve Bank = 49%. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Commonwealth public service – 52% down to 39%; State or territory parliaments – 55% down to 36%; and federal parliament – 48% down to 34%.
	Soc 1 A safe home.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Your local council = 40%. 	Source: Essential Report, 11 December 2023.
	Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Commonwealth public service = 39%. 	
	Soc 14 A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in policing.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> State parliament = 31%. Federal parliament = 30%. 	As noted in Gov01.02 , Gov05.01 , Gov05.01.01 , Gov05.01.03 , Gov06.02.01 and Gov09.01 above, no institution of democracy has been trusted in Australia since
	Soc 15 Confident of justice for all.	Source: Essential Research Report, Trust in Institutions, 21 April 2020	
	Soc 16 A society prepared & resilient in		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 9 – Corporate & NGO responsibility

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	times of disaster.		2012, except for the 2021 pandemic year when fiscal stimulus relieved financial insecurity for many Australians. The short term trend is negative.  The longer term trend is neutral to negative. 
<p>Trust in corporates Gov09.02 Australia is ranked as a truster of business.</p>	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>	<p>In 2019, 52% of the general population said they trusted business. Source: 2019 Edelman Trust Barometer Australian Results</p>	<p>In 2024, Edelman reported that 58% of the general population said they trusted business, down from 63% in 2021 but above the average of 50% between 2012 and 2023.</p> <p>In 2024, Essential reported that 76% of Australians trusted international corporations “not that much or none at all” while only 24% trusted them “a lot or quite a bit”. Source: Essential Report, Trust in governments, corporations and family, 21 October 2024.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.  The longer term trend is positive. </p>
<p>Trust in corporates – perceptions of corporate versus worker power balance Gov09.02.01</p>	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business</p>	<p>In 2019, 76% of Australians said, “big business has too much power”, up from 51% in 1987.</p>	<p>In 2022, 74% of Australians said, “big business has too much power,” down from 76%</p>

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 9 – Corporate & NGO responsibility

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
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.	practice & ethics serve the public good.	In 2019, 42% of Australians said, “unions have too much power, down from 71% in 1987. Source: ANU Trends in Australian Political Opinion, 1987 to 2019	in 2019 but still up from 51% in 1987. In 2020, 40% of Australians said, “unions have too much power,” down from 42% in 1987 and down from 71% in 1987. Source: ANU Trends in Australian Political Opinion, 1987 to 2022 A large majority of Australians think business has too much power and unions do not have too much. The power imbalance is perceived to be heavily in favour of corporates. The short term trend is neutral.  The longer term trend is negative. 
	Gov 1 A proactive participatory democracy.		
	Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.		
	Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.		
	Gov 8 Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.		
	Soc 6 A society of equals.		
	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.		
Top Priority Target/Strategy: Prohibition of rent-seeking by for-profit companies in certain community services	Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice &	In 2021, the Royal Commission into Aged Care Quality and Safety reported that, “private providers [in aged care] have much worse	In 2025, no legislation had been proposed by the government to exclude for-profit companies from qualifying for forms of

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 9 – Corporate & NGO responsibility

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline	
<p>Gov09.03 By 2025, enact federal legislation to exclude for-profit companies from qualifying for any form of taxpayer assistance – including but not limited to direct funding, subsidies and tax breaks – for provision of services in:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> aged care, childcare, vocational education (including Technical and Further Education), placement services for the unemployed, and administration of welfare payments for the unemployed, the disabled, single parents, youth allowances and pensions. 		ethics serve the public good.	<p>taxpayer assistance in core community services. The government was still heavily predisposed to direct funding, subsidies and tax breaks to private businesses and through that means continued “trying to make the market work for the various social ends that it [was] seeking”. This had not resulted in noticeably improved satisfaction with aged care (see Soc12.02, Soc12.02.02, Soc12.04.01 and Soc12.04.02).</p> <p>Source: Frank Bongiorno, Democracy Sausage, “Hungry for hope in the new year”, 13 December 2024.</p> <p>See also Econ01.04, Econ05.03, Econ06.01, Econ06.01.01 for more information on the failure of neoliberal approaches to economic management (governments attempting to rely on business to deliver social outcomes consistent with the public interest rather than the interest of profit-driven corporations). Neoliberalism is structurally incapable of delivering security of essential services for the Australian community. As such, it is incapable of making the Vision for <i>Australia Together</i> a reality.</p>	
	Gov 2	A nation knowing & affirming decency.		<p>quality outcomes than government and not-for-profit providers. In effect, the increasingly private composition of the market has placed further pressure on quality and safety in aged care.”</p> <p>The finding has implications for the sustainability of taxpayer support and value-for-money returns for taxpayers when core community services are provided by for-profit companies. For-profit involvement in certain community services is not sustainable for taxpayers.</p> <p>Source: Royal Commission into Aged Care Quality and Safety, Final Report Volume 1, page 50.</p> <p>Note: Soc12.04.02 for accountability of service providers in return for public funding is a proposal to implement this strategy specifically in relation to aged care services.</p>
	Gov 3	A nation with avowed rights for all.		
	Soc 1	A safe home.		
	Soc 4	A place of optimal health & wellbeing.		
	Soc 5	A model of lifelong educational opportunity.		
	Soc 6	A society of equals.		
	Soc 10	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.		
Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.			
Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.			
Econ 4	A nation fairly raising &			

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 9 – Corporate & NGO responsibility

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
	sharing its wealth.		The short term trend is negative.
	Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets, creating confidence for investors.		← The longer term trend and outlook are negative.
	Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.		←
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Prohibition of government contracts to private sector companies that do not have certified plans to achieve net zero carbon emissions by 2033 Gov09.04</p> <p>By 2024, legislate that by 2025, businesses seeking government contracts (federal, state and local) must:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> submit to the Australian Clean Energy Regulator clear, credible and financed plans to achieve net zero carbon emissions by 2033 and achieve certification by that Regulator of such plans before they can bid for government contracts; and demonstrate (by submission of annual compliance 	Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.	<p>In June 2021, the UK government announced measures requiring businesses to commit to net zero carbon emissions by 2050 and publish clear and credible carbon reduction plans before they can bid for major government contracts. In 2021, Australia had no similar requirements.</p> <p>Source: UK government, Cabinet Office Press Release 7 June 2021</p>	<p>By 2025, no progress had been made in either legislation or policy to require businesses seeking government contracts to submit plans to reach net zero carbon emissions. The Australian government’s proposals for achievement of net zero emissions were all still based broadly on illusory attempts to incentivise businesses to eliminate emissions rather than on regulating them to do it. See Econ05.03 above.</p> <p>During the 47th parliament the government trumpeted its new Treasury Laws Amendment (Financial Market Infrastructure and Other Measures) Act 2024, for new climate-related financial reporting requirements for certain business and financial entities. These “reforms” may provide the market with more information about risky investments, but beyond</p>
	Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.		
	Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.		
	Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.		
	Gov 13 A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.		
	Soc 1 A safe home.		
	Env 1 A leading global advocate for action on climate change.		
	Env 2 A net zero emissions nation.		
	Env 4 A nation that puts the		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 9 – Corporate & NGO responsibility

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>statements) compliance with approved plans for purposes of renewing any contract and/or bidding for any future contract, unless and until each business is accredited by the Australian Clean Energy Regulator as having fully reached net zero emissions.</p> <p>Important Note: No private certification or self-certification is to be permitted in this legislation, due to the increased potential for conflict of interest and corruption.</p>	environment before unsustainable consumption.		<p>that they would appear to do nothing more than make some businesses and financial institutions more transparent about the investments they have made in destruction of a sustainable environment and give governments warning about whether a financial bail-out may be required.</p> <p>Source: Parliament of Australia, Treasury Laws Amendment (Financial Market Infrastructure and Other Measures) Bill 2024.</p> <p>From around the year 2000 onward, there was a potentially catastrophic failure of successive governments to protect Australians from climate change. Their refusals to establish regulations requiring Australian companies to phase out use and export of fossil fuels constituted the highest irresponsibility. It would have been so easy to implement regulatory strategies to transition Australia safely to a carbon free economy, and yet they did not.</p> <p>The failure is even more offensive and injurious to the security of Australians in that vast amounts of profits are not returned to Australia and fossil fuel industries employ only 0.3% of tax paying Australians.</p>
	Env 6 A renewable energy superpower.		
	Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.		
	Econ 4 A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.		
	Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets, creating confidence for investors.		
	Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 9 – Corporate & NGO responsibility

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline																		
			The short term trend is negative.  The longer trend and outlook are negative. 																		
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Regulation of corporate misconduct – Reform of the Australian Securities and Investments Commission (ASIC) Gov09.05 By 2024, the federal government is to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> legislate to separate the functions of the Australian Securities and Investments Commission (ASIC) to create two new bodies for regulation and enforcement of corporate misconduct and crime: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a companies regulator, and a separate financial conduct authority; and take action to implement all other recommendations of the Hayne Royal Commission (2019) and the Senate Economic 	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 674 603 936">Gov 9</td> <td data-bbox="603 674 820 936">A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 936 603 1099">Gov 5</td> <td data-bbox="603 936 820 1099">Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1099 603 1227">Gov 6</td> <td data-bbox="603 1099 820 1227">A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1227 603 1355">Gov 7</td> <td data-bbox="603 1227 820 1355">Committed to public service independence & excellence.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1355 603 1393">Soc 1</td> <td data-bbox="603 1355 820 1393">A safe home.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1393 603 1624">Soc 14</td> <td data-bbox="603 1393 820 1624">A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in policing.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1624 603 1688">Soc 15</td> <td data-bbox="603 1624 820 1688">Confident of justice for all.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1688 603 1854">Econ 1</td> <td data-bbox="603 1688 820 1854">A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1854 603 2009">Econ 3</td> <td data-bbox="603 1854 820 2009">A country where economic opportunity, growth &</td> </tr> </table>	Gov 9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.	Gov 5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.	Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	Gov 7	Committed to public service independence & excellence.	Soc 1	A safe home.	Soc 14	A model of community service & responsible exercise of authority in policing.	Soc 15	Confident of justice for all.	Econ 1	A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.	Econ 3	A country where economic opportunity, growth &	<p>In 2019, the Hayne Royal Commission into Misconduct in the Banking, Superannuation and Financial Services Industry reported that the Australian Securities and Investments Commission (ASIC) had consistently failed to take action against large financial institutions. It also found the commission was too reliant on low level sanctions and agreed enforcement outcomes and it simply did not bring enough court cases to address serious misconduct.</p> <p>In 2024, the Senate Economic References Committee recommended that the Australian Government should “recognise that the Australian Securities and Investments Commission (ASIC) has comprehensively failed to fulfil its regulatory remit” and that “ASIC’s capacity to respond to corporate misconduct is now compromised by significant</p>	<p>In 2024, ASIC had a Code of Conduct but breaches of the code did not appear to be enforceable in law.</p> <p>In 2024, no legislation had been introduced to split ASIC along the lines recommended by the senate committee in 2024. Source: Senate Economic References Committee, <i>Australian Securities and Investments Commission investigation and enforcement</i>, July 2024.</p> <p>No trends have been determined. </p>
Gov 9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.																				
Gov 5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.																				
Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.																				
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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 9 – Corporate & NGO responsibility

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
References Committee of inquiry into ASIC (2024), but as a minimum Recommendations 6 regarding whistleblower protection and 9 regarding an enforceable code of conduct for ASIC.	prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.	structural, resourcing and cultural issues.” The Committee Chair stated that “ASIC has made Australia a haven for white-collar crime. ASIC has given up on their sole obligation to enforce corporate law.” The Committee recommended that ASIC’s “remit is too broad for it to be an effective and efficient agency, and the government should strongly consider separating its functions between a companies regulator and a separate financial conduct authority.” Source: Senate Economic References Committee, <i>Australian Securities and Investments Commission investigation and enforcement</i> , July 2024.	
	Econ 4 A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.		
	Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.		
	Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable public participation.		
	Econ 9 Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.		

Governance 10 – Free communications policy & regulation

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance			
Governance 10 – Free communications policy & regulation			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	
<p>Trust in the media Gov10.01 Australia is ranked as a truster of the media.</p>	<p>Gov 10</p> <p>A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.</p>	<p>In 2019, 40% of the general population said they trusted the media. Source: 2019 Edelman Trust Barometer Australian Results</p>	<p>In 2021, 51% of the general population said they trusted the media. In 2022, trust in the media fell back to 43%, then to 38% in 2023 and 40% in 2024. Source: Edelman Trust Barometer Australian Results 2021 to 2024.</p> <p>Between 2012 and 2020, prior to the Covid-19 pandemic, 35% of Australians trusted the media on average per year. Trust in the media after the pandemic to 2024 averaged 40% per annum. At no time since 2012 has the media been rated as a “trusted”¹⁰⁹ institution by Australians. Source: Edelman Trust Barometer Australian Results 2021 to 2024.</p> <p>In 2024, survey data published by Essential suggests Australians trusted traditional media more than social media. 24% of Australians said they had no trust at all in traditional media. 52% said they had no trust at all in social media. Source: Essential Report, Trust of Information Sources, 29 January 2024.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"></p>

¹⁰⁹ In the Edelman Trust Barometer, “trust” ratings are only awarded when scores reach 61% or above.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 10 – Free communications policy & regulation

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	
			The longer term trend is neutral to mildly positive but consistently poor. 
<p>Trust in news media and journalism – effectiveness of self-regulation Gov10.01.01 By 2024, 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 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.</p>	<p>Gov 10 A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.</p> <p>Gov 1 A proactive participatory democracy.</p> <p>Gov 8 Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.</p> <p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>	<p>In 2014, the Australian Press Council updated its Statement of General Principles¹¹⁰:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 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 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, “balance” is required, strangely, in relation to facts. Whereas before 2014, a fact was a fact; after 2014 balance was required in relation to 	<p>In 2025, no change had been made to the Australian Press Council Statement of General Principles, compared to 2014. Source: Australian Press Council, Statement of General Principles.</p> <p>No national surveys had been established on trust in news media and journalism.</p> <p>Self-regulation systems for news media had no more capacity to regulate journalists and journalism than they had in 2014.</p> <p>In 2024, the Labor government introduced the Communications Legislation Amendment (Combatting Misinformation and Disinformation) Bill 2024 to “combat seriously harmful content on digital platforms, while maintaining strong</p>

¹¹⁰ The [Australian Press Council’s General Statement of Principles](#) 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.

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 10 – Free communications policy & regulation

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	
		<p>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 requirement for balance in overall reporting.</p>	<p>protections for freedom of speech.” The bill was withdrawn when the Coalition and the Greens (for different reasons), as well as the senate crossbench members refused to support it. Source: Michelle Rowland, Minister for Communications Media Release, 24 November 2024.</p> <p>The Greens complained that “this bill doesn’t actually do what it needs to do when it comes to stopping the deliberate mass distribution of false and harmful information. It gives media moguls like Murdoch an exemption and hands over responsibility to tech companies and billionaires like Elon Musk to determine what is true or false under ambiguous definitions. It does little to stop non-human actors like bots flooding social media and boosting dangerous algorithms.” Source: Greens party media release, “Greens call for government to withdraw Mis- and Disinformation Bill,” 22 November 2024.</p> <p>The bill was also strongly opposed by a wide range of bodies including human rights organisations, church groups and libertarian groups, as well as many of the non-government members of parliament.</p>

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	
			<p>Objectors to the bill, including the Australian Human Rights Commission, all agreed that the bill did not sufficiently protect freedom of expression. Source: Josh Butler. Labor dumps misinformation bill after Senate unites against it,” The Guardian, 24 November 2024.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend has been negative.</p>
<p>Trust in social media – effectiveness of self-regulation Gov10.01.02 By 2024, unless and until the self-regulation system for Australian social media is replaced by a properly resourced independent standard-setter and compliance auditor as per Gov10.03 and Gov10.03.01, ensure a national survey is established which</p>	<p>Gov 10 A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.</p> <p>Gov 1 A proactive participatory democracy.</p> <p>Gov 8 Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.</p>	<p>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 Misinformation and Disinformation” was adopted by Twitter, Google, Facebook, Microsoft, Redbubble and TikTok. Source: DIGI Australian Code of Practice on Disinformation</p>	<p>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 ownership] include consideration of mechanisms for regulatory oversight, including the establishment of a <i>platform-neutral</i> single news regulator.” By 2025, neither a judicial</p>

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	
<p>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.</p>	<p align="center"> Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good. </p>	<p>and Misinformation, February 2021</p> <p>In 2019, Australians on survey said that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “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%. <p>Source: Essential Research Report, 6 August 2019</p>	<p>inquiry nor the proposed <i>platform-neutral</i> single news regulator had been established. Source: Final Report, Senate Environment and Communications References Committee on Media Diversity in Australia, December 2021.</p> <p>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 and online news in ethical information dissemination.</p> <p>In 2024, the Labor government attempted to introduce legislation to “combat seriously harmful content on digital platforms, while maintaining strong protections for freedom of speech.” The bill was withdrawn when the Coalition and the Greens (for different reasons) refused to support it – see Gov10.01.02 above. Source: Communications Legislation Amendment (Combatting Misinformation and Disinformation) Bill 2024. Source: Michelle Rowland, Minister for Communications Media Release, 24 November 2024.</p>

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data													
			<p>The Coalition complained that Labor's legislation "sought to make government and unelected bureaucrats the arbiters of truth." The Greens complained that the bill left media moguls in charge of determinations of truth. Source, Jake Evans, "Laws to regulate misinformation online abandoned," ABC News, 24 November 2024. Source: Greens party media release, "Greens call for government to withdraw Mis- and Disinformation Bill," 22 November 2024.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend has been negative.</p> <p></p>												
<p>Regulation of an ethical, democratic information market</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Development of a national regulatory framework for an ethical, democratic information market Gov10.02</p> <p>By 2024, establish a national community engagement process for collaborative planning of a democratic information market fit to handle the challenges to truth, ethics, community safety and fairly</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="481 1402 545 1438">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="571 1402 609 1438">10</td> <td data-bbox="635 1267 821 1563">A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="481 1603 545 1639">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="571 1603 593 1639">1</td> <td data-bbox="635 1563 821 1662">A proactive participatory democracy.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="481 1783 545 1818">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="571 1783 593 1818">9</td> <td data-bbox="635 1662 821 1921">A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="481 1962 545 1998">Soc</td> <td data-bbox="571 1962 593 1998">3</td> <td data-bbox="635 1921 821 2016">Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</td> </tr> </table>	Gov	10	A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.	Gov	1	A proactive participatory democracy.	Gov	9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.	Soc	3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	<p>In 2020, no steps had been taken by the Australian government to develop an integrated regulatory framework for either:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the operations of the digital-age information market (governing such things as ownership, competition rules and monopoly regulation), or the conduct of users/operators of digital platforms. <p>In 2020, legislative reforms were instead being developed in a piecemeal fashion, often with the effect of</p>	<p>In 2025, no substantive progress had been made in establishing a regulatory framework for an ethical, democratic information market. Nor had there been a commitment to collaborative community engagement on options for the design of a democratic information market fit to handle the challenges to truth, ethics, community safety and fairly competitive markets, arising from the digital age.</p> <p>In 2024, the Labor government had attempted to address</p>
Gov	10	A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.													
Gov	1	A proactive participatory democracy.													
Gov	9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.													
Soc	3	Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.													

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	
<p>competitive markets, arising from the digital age.</p> <p>By 2025, consider the feedback from the community and design a draft framework for ethical regulation of the information market in Australia that is consistent with that feedback.</p> <p>By 2026, introduce legislation consistent with the recommended regulatory framework.</p>	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health & wellbeing.</p>	<p>increasing the possibility of unethical conduct in and concentration of markets and lessening accountability for responsible publishing. Source: ACFP, Bronwyn Kelly, Prospects for journalism, the free information market and democracy in Australia under the ACCC's News Media Bargaining Code¹¹¹</p>	<p>some of the problems arising from information and news media market concentration by introducing its Communications Legislation Amendment (Combatting Misinformation and Disinformation) Bill 2024. This bill proposed to establish a scheme by which the Australian Communications and Media Authority may require digital communications platform providers to regulate misinformation and disinformation on their platforms. The bill failed to gain support and was withdrawn (see Gov10.01.01 and Gov10.01.02 above).</p> <p>A significant reason for the bill's failure was that it was a misguided attempt to treat one of the symptoms of information market failure (rising mis- and disinformation) rather than its cause. Information markets in Australia are not properly regulated for the purpose of promotion of truth. Nor will they be with legislation that allows social media platform operators to decide what is false and harmful.</p>
	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.</p>		
	<p>Env 5 An environmentally educated community.</p>		
	<p>Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets, creating confidence for investors.</p>		
	<p>Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable public sector participation.</p>		
	<p>Econ 7 A collaborative, intelligent nation.</p>		
<p>Econ 8 Enabled in meeting the communication & information demands of the future.</p>			

¹¹¹ Bronwyn Kelly, [Prospects for journalism, the free information market and democracy in Australia under the ACCC's News Media Bargaining Code](#), September 2020 and <https://austcfp.com.au/supporting-activities#mediadiversity>

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	
			<p>In 2025, news media market concentration remained unchallenged as did the power of digital platform operators to distribute mis- and disinformation on their platforms. In its rejection of the proposed misinformation legislation the Greens stated that “Instead, the Government needs to focus on comprehensive reforms that tackle the business models and dangerous algorithms that fuel division and damage democracy, and legislate a duty of care so these platforms prevent harm in the first place.”</p> <p>Source: Greens party media release, “Greens call for government to withdraw Mis- and Disinformation Bill,” 22 November 2024.</p> <p>In 2025, no specific acknowledgement had been forthcoming from the federal government of the need to design an <i>integrated</i> regulatory framework suitable for an information market in the digital age, despite the fact that a Senate Committee Inquiry into Media Diversity in Australia had concluded in 2021 that the regulatory framework for news media is not fit for purpose, especially in prevention of the spread of misinformation. The</p>

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	
			<p>Senate Committee noted that in the last decade “no progress has been made on updating Australia’s out of date media regulation system”.</p> <p>Source: Final report of the Senate Environment Communications References Committee Inquiry into Media Diversity in Australia, December 2021.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are both negative.</p> <p></p>
<p>Regulation and codes of ethical conduct for news media and social media</p> <p>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</p> <p>By 2024, recognising that codes regulating:</p> <p>a) ethics and quality in journalism, and</p> <p>b) distribution of misinformation and disinformation in journalism and social media</p>	<p>Gov 10 A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.</p> <p>Gov 1 A proactive participatory democracy.</p> <p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p> <p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p>	<p>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.</p> <p>In 2021, “big tech” businesses – Google, Facebook, Twitter, Microsoft, TikTok and Redbubble established an Australian Code of Practice on Disinformation and Misinformation (the DIGI Code). Source: Digital Industry Group Inc. (DIGI).</p> <p>In 2014, the Australian Press Council changed its Statement of General Principles (its code of</p>	<p>In 2024, the Labor government introduced and then eventually withdrew its Communications Legislation Amendment (Combatting Misinformation and Disinformation) Bill 2024 (see Gov10.01.01 above). The bill allowed the digital platform operators to select their own approach to managing (and assessing the risk of harm arising from) misinformation and disinformation on their platforms, rather than stipulating the processes by which they must prevent the spread of mis- and disinformation in order to retain a licence to</p>

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	
<p>are inadequate for prevention of harm in digital-age open democracies, introduce legislation requiring the Australian Communications and Media Authority (ACMA) to develop a platform-neutral model Code of Conduct with binding standards for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> news media on ethics in production and publication of journalistic content, and social media on practice in management of misinformation and disinformation on their platforms. <p>Independent regulation of compliance with a code of ethical conduct by publishers and social media – ensuring compliance with Codes Gov10.03.01</p> <p>By 2024/25, establish a well-funded, transparent and independent audit and complaints handling authority responsible for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ensuring compliance with, and examining breaches of, the model Code of Conduct; 	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>	<p>ethics for journalists) so that “fairness and balance” were no longer required in relation to news reporting but balance was henceforth required in relation to facts. The change ushered in a regime of support for the generation of “alternative facts” and discarded the traditional role of journalism in seeking truth and distinguishing fact from opinion. The new Statement also laid the basis for several other types of unethical conduct by journalists, including permission to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> cause a substantial risk to health or safety, gather material by deceptive or unfair means, and be offensive (including via racism) <p>if doing so is, in the view of the publisher, “sufficiently in the public interest”.</p> <p>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</p>	<p>operate and avoid civil and criminal penalties for any harm caused. The legislation did not offer a platform-neutral model Code of Conduct with binding standards for news media on ethics in production and publication of journalistic content, and for social media on practice in management of misinformation and disinformation on their platforms. Source: Communications Legislation Amendment (Combatting Misinformation and Disinformation) Bill 2024, Explanatory Memorandum.</p> <p>The Australian Human Rights Commission recommended that the bill not be passed, in the main because of its potential to increase the power of digital platform operators to opportunistically label any information as “misinformation” or “disinformation” and thereby to “delegitimise alternative opinions, and limit open discussion about issues of public importance.” The risks to democracy would be heightened, not lessened. Source: Australian Human Rights Commission, Submission to Environment and Communications Legislation Committee 07 October 2024.</p> <p>The legislation at least attempted to widen ACMA’s powers and</p>
	<p>Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.</p>		
	<p>Gov 8 Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.</p>		
	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>		
	<p>Gov 12 A nation assured of enduring peace.</p>		
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		

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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • implementing statutory penalties which increase per proven offence and are scaled to reflect the size of the corporation committing any proven breaches; • 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. 			<p>increase penalties for certain breaches, but it did so without applying sufficient safeguards for freedom of expression. Notwithstanding that the legislation proposed civil penalties that may exceed \$8 million, it would have no real effect on the autonomous operation of social media giants and did not apply to platform users such as Murdoch or Nine. It only applied to “platform providers”.</p> <p>In 2025, the regulatory environment for news and social media was no stronger than it was when a Senate Inquiry held in 2021 found that “the current regulatory environment for news media is weak, fragmented, and inconsistent. As a result, large media organisations have become so powerful and unchecked that they have developed corporate cultures that consider themselves beyond the existing accountability framework.”</p> <p>The Senate Committee:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • recommended a judicial inquiry with the powers of a royal commission, as had been called for by former prime Minister, Kevin Rudd and over

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	
			<p>500,000 petitioners;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • stated that “evidence ... testified to the inability of existing regulators to ensure that standards of fairness and accuracy are maintained, and to prevent the spread of misinformation”; • stated that “it is the committee’s strong view ... that focusing on the internet platforms alone will not resolve the grave problems in Australia’s media sector”; and • recommended the “establishment of a platform-neutral single news regulator”. <p>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.</p> <p>Source: Final report of the Senate Environment Communications References Committee Inquiry into Media Diversity in Australia</p> <p>In 2025, none of the Senate Committee’s recommendations had been implemented. Those of the dissenting report by the Liberal</p>

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	
			<p>Party had been applied – meaning the status quo in 2021 had prevailed.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are both negative.</p> <p></p>

Governance 11 – International participation & global justice

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance			
Governance 11 – International participation & global justice			
Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from the baseline
<p>Participation in international cooperative forums Gov11.01 Australia is ranked as a truster of the United Nations.</p>	<p>Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</p>	<p>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:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Australia = 56, neutral trust • US = 54, neutral trust • Russia = 32, distrust • China = 83, trust <p>Source: Edelman Trust Barometer Global Report 2019</p>	<p>In 2025, Australia was one of 14 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 2022 were:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Australia = 55, neutral trust • US = 48, distrust • Russia = 35, distrust • China = 85, trust <p>Source: Edelman Trust Barometer Global Reports 2019 to 2024.</p> <p>Since 2018 Australia’s trust in the United Nations has fluctuated between 60% and 52% but has never entered trusting territory – strange for a nation that was a key player in establishing the UN. Developing countries and countries with low inequality (the Nordic countries) tend to trust the UN more than developed countries.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>The longer term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p>
	<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>		
	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>		
	<p>Gov 12 A nation assured of enduring peace.</p>		
	<p>Gov 13 A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.</p>		
<p>International cooperation for global sustainability Gov11.02</p>	<p>Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</p>	<p>In 2021, Australia scored 63.9/100 on the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals</p>	<p>In 2024, Australia scored 66.8/100 on the United Nations Sustainable</p>

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from the baseline
<p>By 2030, attain a minimum score of 90/100 on the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals International Spillover Index.</p>	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing & affirming decency.</p>	<p>International Spillover Index, below the average for OECD members. The Spillover Index records the extent to which rich countries generate negative international spillovers that undermine other countries' ability to 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</p>	<p>Development Goals International Spillover Index, below the average for OECD members. Source: Jeffrey D. Sachs, Guillaume Lafortune and Grayson Fuller, Sustainable Development Report 2024.</p> <p>Australia continues to undermine other countries' ability to achieve the UNSDGs. Australia remains one of 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.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral. </p> <p>The longer term trend is negative. </p>
	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>		
	<p>Gov 13 A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.</p>		
	<p>Env 1 A leading global advocate for action on climate change.</p>		
	<p>Env 2 - 19 All remaining Directions for our Environment</p>		
	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Constitutional reform – Protection of refugees seeking asylum Gov11.03 By 2025, as part of the process of a Constitutional Convention established under Gov04.01, and establishment of a Charter of Rights under Gov03.01 and Gov03.01.01, ensure provision is made in Australia's Constitution that automatically grants</p>	<p>Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</p>	<p>In October 2001, Prime Minister John Howard proclaimed that, "we will decide who comes to this country and the circumstances in which they come", 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</p>	<p>In 2025, no constitutional convention had been held to consider the need to grant 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.</p>
<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing & affirming decency.</p>			
<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>			

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from the baseline
<p>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.</p>	<p>Gov 4 A free, self-governing, modern nation.</p>	<p>under international law and our commitments to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), and the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. <p>In 2013, the Australian government under Prime Minister Rudd legislated to make offshore detention mandatory for all asylum seekers who arrive by boat, resulting in more than 3,000 refugees being sent to offshore detention, where 12 died and the remainder endured cruel, inhumane treatment equating to torture.</p> <p>In 2021, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees urged Australia (not for the first time) to end offshore asylum processing which, “undermined the rights of those seeking safety and protection and significantly harmed their physical and mental health”. But in 2021 approximately 230</p>	<p>In January 2025, Human Rights Watch released its World Report 2025. The report was particularly critical of Australia’s human rights record for refugees. Source: Human Rights Watch, World Report 2025, Australia, Events of 2024 webpage.</p> <p>National Justice Project CEO Adjunct Professor George Newhouse called the report “a damning indictment of the way refugees and First Nations people, particularly children, have been used as a political football over too many years. The Human Rights Watch noted our country ‘continues to evade its international obligations to asylum seekers’ by transferring people who arrive by boat to Nauru. ... It is a sad fact that Australia continues to ignore international standards of basic human rights for the most vulnerable in our community. When do we stop using people’s lives and suffering as nothing more than election issues for media headlines and political soundbites? ... The Human Rights Watch also highlighted that Australia remains</p>
	<p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p>		
	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>		
	<p>Gov 12 A nation assured of enduring peace.</p>		
	<p>Gov 13 A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.</p>		
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming and enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from the baseline
	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>	<p>refugees who legally sought asylum in Australia were still being held illegally by Australia in offshore detention, because they arrived by boat.</p>	<p>the only Western democracy without a national human rights act or charter.” Source: Adjunct Professor George Newhouse, “Global watchdog slams Australia’s human rights record as ‘diabolical’”, National Justice Project, 17 January 2025.</p>
	<p>Soc 15 Confident of justice for all.</p>	<p>In 2021, the Australian 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</p> <p>In 2023, the High Court ruled that it is unlawful and unconstitutional for the Australian Government to detain people indefinitely in immigration detention. Sources: Human Rights Law Centre, “High Court rules indefinite immigration detention unlawful”, November 2023.</p>	<p>“In November, the government passed new laws that grant it the authority to pay third-party countries to accept non-citizens, including recognized refugees, seek jail time for those who resist deportation, and ban phones from detention centres.” Source: Human Rights Watch, World Report 2025, Australia, Events of 2024 webpage.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative. ←</p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are both negative. ←</p>
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Strategic planning for humanitarian aid and global adaptation in response to climate change Gov11.04 By 2024/25, acknowledging:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> conclusions on sustainable 	<p>Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</p>	<p>In 2022/23, Australia’s foreign aid budget – Official Development Assistance (ODA) was set at \$4.55 billion or a mere 0.7% of the federal budget and was budgeted to decline in real terms to \$4.091 billion by 2024/25. No coordinated plan existed for effective</p>	<p>In 2024/25, Australia’s foreign aid budget – Official Development Assistance (ODA) was set at \$4.961 billion (0.19% of gross national income – GNI) and was projected to increase by approximately 2.5% per annum until 2036/37. The</p>
	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing and affirming decency.</p>		
	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in</p>		

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from the baseline			
<p>population levels in Australia arising from the strategic plan for population devised under Econ01.03.02 and Econ01.03.03; and acknowledging that sustainable population levels are unlikely to be achieved and maintained in Australia in the absence of effective programs sponsored by developed countries to enable developing countries that are most at risk from climate change to both control population and adapt to climate change (thereby avoiding the need for mass migrations),</p> <p>develop a draft plan for expenditure of Commonwealth Development (Official Development Assistance – ODA) funds and other foreign aid funds such as those under Gov13.01, and design priority areas of expenditure to maximise the chances of nations that are threatened by climate change (such as by sea inundation and famine) to adapt in situ and successfully retain economic independence.</p> <p>Ensure that the draft plan includes, as a minimum, prioritisation</p>	leaders' conduct.	<p>expenditures within that allocation, meaning that not only was the allocation insufficient in terms of assisting developing nations to sustain their populations in situ, it is likely that the allocation will also be ineffectively spent.</p> <p>Source: Australian Aid Tracker</p>	<p>projected increases meant that ODA was expected to decline in real terms. In 2025, Australian Aid Tracker stated that, “Australia's aid generosity is now on a prolonged downward trajectory, and is projected to fall to 0.14% by 2036-37.”</p> <p>Source: Australian Aid Tracker, trends webpage, last accessed January 2025.</p>			
	<p>Gov 12 A nation assured of enduring peace.</p>			<p>Gov 13 A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.</p>	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>	<p>No community engagement has been identified as having been programmed for collaborative development of plans for expenditure of ODA funds in accordance with Gov11.04. The Australian community has not been invited by the government to become involved in development of plans for Australia’s strategic interests in territorial sovereign defence (see Gov12.04 and Gov12.04.01 below) and they have been excluded from access to reports on the risks of climate change in relation to global population displacement (see Soc16.01, Soc16.02 and Gov05.02.03 above). As noted in 2025, the government has never explained to Australians the nature of the threat to be mitigated and how their policies will contain that threat. In</p>
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>			<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p>	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>	
	<p>Env 1 A leading global advocate for action on climate change.</p>			<p>Env 2 A net zero emissions nation.</p>	<p>Env 3 A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.</p>	
	<p>Env 4 A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.</p>			<p>Env 5 An environmentally educated community.</p>	<p>Env 8 Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.</p>	
	<p>Env 9 Confident of safety and security of its water supplies.</p>			<p>Env 10 A biodiversity haven.</p>		

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance

Governance 11 – International participation & global justice

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from the baseline
<p>of funding for programs in developing countries in:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • family planning and contraception services, • agricultural innovation and support, • education particularly for women and girls, • economic opportunity, • disease control, including vaccinations, • environmental and housing infrastructure (such as sea walls and insulated housing) to enhance disaster preparedness, • women’s participation in the economy, and • women’s rights advocacy. <p>By 2025, conduct community engagement on the draft plan in line with the Green Paper and community engagement to define Australia’s Strategic Interests in Territorial Sovereign Defence under Gov12.04.01. Ensure that the results of this engagement are linked back into strategies developed for national resilience and security in the face of climate change, including the Integrated Strategy for Defence, Diplomacy and Security under Gov12.04 and the Sovereign</p>	<p>Env 12 A protector of scarce resources.</p>		<p>2025, meaningful dialogue between the government and the Australian community on long term planning to ensure security during climate change was therefore impossible. It should be noted, though, that despite the government’s refusal to engage with Australians on matters of risk and security, Australians have organised their own processes of deliberation on these matters and are shaping an agenda to deal with it. See Gov12.01.03 below on IPAN’s national Independent People’s Inquiry, “Exploring the Case for an Independent and Peaceful Australia”. Source: IPAN, “Charting Our Own Course: Questioning Australia’s involvement in US-led wars and the Australia-United States Alliance – A People’s Inquiry”, tabled in the Australian Senate, 22 November 2022. Source: David Spratt, “Climate and security risks? Shhh, says the Albanese Government,” John Menadue’s Pearls and Irritations, 15 January 2025.</p> <p>A reduction of ODA in real terms can only increase the likelihood that Australia will suffer unsustainable influxes of population and/or natural resource depletion.</p>
	<p>Env 19 A land of thriving self-supporting regions.</p>		
	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		

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Governance 11 – International participation & global justice

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from the baseline
<p>Capability Strategy for National Resilience in Global Crises under Soc16.01.</p>			<p>The short term trend is positive.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are negative.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p>
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Earth System Treaty – Proposal for establishment in international law Gov11.05</p> <p>By 2025, in recognition of the existential threat to humanity and the planet posed by 10 megathreats and:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> that these threats must be addressed together if humanity is to survive and thrive; and that this will demand the cooperation and commitment of the whole human family, acting together as one people on one planet, <p>ensure that:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> the Commonwealth of Australia proposes an Earth System Treaty at the United Nations, promoting it as an essential, legally binding treaty in international law alongside the seven core treaties on human rights and the United Nations Declaration on the 	<p>Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</p>	<p>In 2023, the Council for the Human Future reported that the Earth system is breaking down due to ten massive threats that are the direct result of human activity, our excessive numbers, over-consumption and over-pollution. The ten threats are:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Eco-breakdown and [biodiversity] extinction, Resource scarcity, Hothouse earth, Nuclear threat, Food risks, Global poisoning, Pandemic disease, Overpopulation, Uncontrollable technologies, and Mass delusion. <p>It was noted that “There is no universal plan to prevent and reverse such a catastrophic event – or even talks on a world agreement to do so,” but also that “unless all ten megathreats are addressed, together, the survival of human civilisation remains in doubt.”</p> <p>In response, the Council for the Human Future</p>	<p>In 2025, the Australian government had developed no proposal to submit an Earth System Treaty to the United Nations. Nor had it recognised the rights of future generations of humans and all species to a safe existence on the planet – see Env02.01.01 and Gov03.01.03 above.</p> <p>In 2024, community-led initiatives at the global level included a Roundtable on the Human Future, which covered a proposal to strengthen global governance by creating a People’s Assembly within the United Nations and an Earth System Treaty at the United Nations.</p> <p>Source: Report of the Roundtable for the Human Future 2024: A World Call to Action.</p> <p>The United Nations also convened a Summit of the Future which resulted in development of a Pact for the Future. The Pact was affirmed by all 193 member nations as a</p>
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 8 A success because of gender equality.</p>		
	<p>Soc 9 A land without homelessness and with decent affordable housing for all.</p>		
	<p>Soc 10 A place of supportive familial & other connections & without domestic abuse.</p>		
	<p>Soc 11 A land without child disadvantage.</p>		
	<p>Soc 12 A sure provider of lifelong dignity.</p>		
<p>Soc 15 Confident of justice for all.</p>			
<p>Soc 16 A society prepared and</p>			

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Governance 11 – International participation & global justice

Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from the baseline
Rights of Indigenous Peoples; and 2. the treaty contains: a. a universal ban on all nuclear weapons; b. an international plan to combat climate change; c. an international plan to restore forests, soils, fresh waters, oceans, atmosphere, and biodiversity to stable, sustainable levels and to end extinction; d. an international agreement to operate a circular economy and end waste; e. a plan for a renewable world food supply sufficient for all; f. a plan to end universal chemical pollution in all forms; g. a plan to reduce human population voluntarily to sustainable levels; h. a plan to anticipate and prevent future pandemic diseases; i. a global technology		resilient in times of disaster.	proposed we adopt an Earth System Treaty. This is a global legal accord, to be negotiated, signed and ratified by all the nations of the Earth, under the UN umbrella. It recognises that in 2024 there is no legal instrument which commits us to saving our children and grandchildren, and the world they will inhabit. The Council proposed a format for the Treaty, the overarching purpose of which would be to create a framework for international law capable of protecting and restoring the Earth System, so that humans can inhabit it indefinitely. It is a global instrument for achieving human survival and wellbeing and for caring for the planet and its systems that sustain life. Source: Council for the Human Future and Julian Cribb, <i>How to Fix a Broken Planet: Advice for Surviving the 21st Century</i> , Cambridge University Press, 2023; and the Earth Charter. In 2025, the Council for the Human Future launched a petition calling upon the governments and United Nations of the world to adopt an Earth Systems Treaty committing humanity to a safer future on a habitable Earth. The petition was available for signature .
	Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	
	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.	
	Env 3	A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.	
	Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.	
	Env 5	An environmentally educated community.	
	Env 6	A renewable energy superpower.	
	Env 7	Efficiently connected with zero-emissions transport.	
	Env 8	Environmentally and economically sustainable in agriculture and fisheries.	
	Env 9	Confident of safety and security of its water supplies.	
	Env 10	A biodiversity haven.	
	Env 11	A replanted and reforested land.	
	Env 12	A protector of scarce resources.	
	Env 14	A pollution free biosphere.	

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from the baseline
<p>convention to prevent harm from wrongful use of powerful new technologies;</p> <p>j. all 16 of the principles enunciated in the Earth Charter; and</p> <p>k. all of the Safe Global Boundaries described by the Stockholm Resilience Centre.</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Earth System Treaty – Promotion in Australia Gov11.05.01 By 2025, regardless of whether the United Nations has adopted an Earth System Treaty, the federal government must:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • promote a draft treaty faithfully incorporating all elements described in Gov11.05; • invite all individuals, corporations, non-government bodies and other groups and organisations to consider and voluntarily sign the draft; • establish a target for 65% of Australians above the age of five to sign the draft (or any version adopted by the UN) by 2030; and 	<p>Env 15 A marine wildlife haven.</p>		<p>The short term trend is neutral.</p>
	<p>Env 16 Regenerative by design in consumption & production.</p>		<p></p>
	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		<p>The longer term trend and outlook are negative.</p> <p></p>
	<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve continuously for all.</p>		
	<p>Econ 7 A collaborative intelligent nation.</p>		
	<p>Gov 1 A proactive participatory democracy.</p>		
	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing and affirming decency.</p>		
	<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>		
	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>		
	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>		
<p>Gov 10 A guardian of freedom & accountability in</p>			

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from the baseline
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> if necessary, hold a plebiscite for this purpose by 2027. 	political discourse, news media & the wider information market.		
	Gov 12 A nation assured of enduring peace.		
	Gov 13 A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.		

Important Note: In 2022, the Independent and Peaceful Network Australia (IPAN) conducted a national Independent People’s Inquiry, “Exploring the Case for an Independent and Peaceful Australia”. 283 groups and individuals made submissions and a panel of experts provided the analysis and results, outlining the views of Australians who hold concerns about the US Alliance and making recommendations on steps to be taken to ensure a genuinely independent and peaceful foreign policy for Australia. The Independent People’s Inquiry was a groundbreaking community engagement and collaborative policy development process which dared to place citizens alongside the parliament and at the centre of Australia’s foreign policy and defence decisions. Strategies and Targets throughout *Australia Together* are consistent with the findings and recommendations of the Inquiry in its final report, “[Charting Our Own Course: Questioning Australia’s involvement in US-led wars and the Australia-United States Alliance – A People’s Inquiry](#)”, November 2022.

<i>Indicators, Targets & Strategies for the success of Our Governance</i>			
<i>Governance 12 – Peace & security</i>			
<i>Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance</i>	<i>In the Directions of becoming ...</i>	<i>Baseline data</i>	<i>Direction of movement from baseline</i>
<p>Australian involvement in 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.</p>	<p>Gov 12 A nation assured of enduring peace.</p>	<p>Between 1945 and 2021, Australian military forces participated in no less than 10 military operations overseas, 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 (Timor Leste). Source: Wikipedia, List of Wars Involving Australia</p>	<p>Since Australia’s withdrawal from war in Afghanistan in 2021, Australian armed forces appear not to have participated <i>directly</i> as active combatants in military operations. However, Australia did deploy military personnel to US-led headquarters in the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain to “support Operation Poseidon Archer – the US and UK strikes targeting Houthi capabilities”. The same deployment also supported military operations in Ukraine.</p> <p>In May 2024, the Defence Department stated that, “Our location in the United Arab Emirates enables us to provide forward support and global mobility through the airbase we sustain.” Australia was aiding and</p>
	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing & affirming decency.</p>		
	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>		
	<p>Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</p>		
	<p>Gov 13 A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.</p>		
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>therefore was involved in armed conflict. Source: Australian Government, Department of Defence, “Ready for support far and wide”, Media release, 15 May 2024.</p> <p>Australia had not been attacked by any of the countries involved in these conflicts. Australia retained its aggressive stance in defence, including by continuing its involvement in aggressive operations aimed at containment of China.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend of Australia’s participation in wars where it has no strategic interest has been poor, eg., Iraq and Afghanistan (for 25 years). By 2025, the Australian government had shown no sign of replacing belligerent postures with postures for promotion of peace in foreign relations. Belligerent postures were intensifying in relation to Australia’s largest trading partner, China, most notably via participation in joint training exercises and war games, surveillance activities in the South China Sea and arms escalation in the AUKUS agreement.</p> <p></p>

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline		
<p>Australian preference for peace versus war Gov12.01.01 The proportion of Australians preferring neutral postures in military conflicts, especially between major powers, does not diminish.</p>	<p>Gov 12 A nation assured of enduring peace.</p>	<p>In 2021, the Lowy Institute stated that “Australians have become increasingly wary of military engagement in some parts of the world, and support for deploying military forces has been consistently low for hypothetical scenarios involving China”.</p>	<p>In the 2023 Lowy Poll, in relation to a military conflict between China and the US, Australians preferred a passive, neutral response:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 56% said “Australia should remain neutral”; • 42% said “Australia should support the United States”; and • 1% said “Australia should support China”. 		
	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing & affirming decency.</p>			<p>In the 2021 Lowy Poll, in relation to a military conflict between China and the US, Australians preferred a passive, neutral response:</p>	<p>Lowy did not poll on this question in 2024. However, Lowy did ask a question about how Australia should manage its relationship with China:</p>
	<p>Gov 4 A free, self-governing, modern nation.</p>				
	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>	<p>Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</p>	<p>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</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 45% said Australia should “place more importance on working with allies to deter China’s use of military force, even if it means harming Australia’s relationship with China.” 	
	<p>Gov 13 A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.</p>	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>			<p>In the same poll, 75% of those polled said “Australia’s alliance with the United States makes it more likely Australia will be drawn into a war in Asia that would not be in Australia’s interests.”</p>

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>Source: Lowy Polls 2023 and 2024.</p> <p>These responses when combined 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. Australians recognise that a war with China would not be in their interests.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>While the longer term trend of relationships with China is negative, Australians continue to support neutral postures.</p> <p align="center"></p>
<p>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 detract from their capacity to develop independent defence capability and does not lead Australia into instigation of</p>	<p>Gov 12 A nation assured of enduring peace.</p> <hr/> <p>Gov 2 A nation knowing & affirming decency.</p>	<p>Between 2005 and 2019, an average of 77% of Australians on survey reported support for Australia’s alliance with the US.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The lowest support was in 2007 – 63%. • The highest support was in 2010 – 86%. <p>Source: Lowy Institute Poll 2021</p>	<p>Between 2020 and 2025, an average of 82% of Australians on survey reported support for Australia’s alliance with the US. Between 2021 and 2022, support for the US alliance rose 9 percentage points from 78% to 87%, then fell again to 82% in 2023 and 83% in 2024. War mongering by Canberra hawks was very effective in 2022, despite the fact</p>

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<p>military conflict or other involvement in military conflict that may be inconsistent with:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 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; or the recommendations of the People’s Inquiry coordinated by IPAN in 2022 to explore the case for an independent and peaceful Australia, as per Gov12.01.03; or any strategies which may increase Australia’s safe passage through to independence in sovereignty in decisions on war, such as Gov12.06 and Gov12.04; or strategies which arc towards neutrality in confrontations between major powers, such as Gov12.04.02; or strategies which arc towards safe disarmament such as Gov12.04.03; or 	<p>Gov 4 A free, self-governing, modern nation.</p>	<p>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 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</p>	<p>that 77% of those polled in 2022 also said “Australia’s alliance with the United States makes it more likely Australia will be drawn into a war in Asia that would not be in Australia’s interests.” Source: Lowy Institute Polls 2021 to 2024.</p> <p>While support for the US alliance remained high from 2020 onwards, Australia’s capacity to develop an independent defence capability and independence in sovereignty declined significantly with:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the government’s preference for interoperability and interchangeability with US armed forces and weaponry (including nuclear powered weaponry under AUKUS); and the release of the Defence Strategic Review in 2023. <p>Source: Australian Government, National Defence, Defence Strategic Review, 2023.</p> <p>Between 2020 and 2024, Australia’s defence planning and its handling of the US alliance detracted significantly from:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the preferences expressed by Australians for peace and security during the IPAN People’s Inquiry (see Gov12.01.03);
	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>		
	<p>Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</p>		
	<p>Gov 13 A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.</p>		
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		

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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> strategies that aim to establish: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a cultural discourse affirming peace as an Australian value, a national commitment to peaceful resolution of conflict with other nations, and participation in programs of multilateral action for peace sponsored by the United Nations <p>as per Gov12.01.04.</p>		<p>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.”</p> <p>Source: Hugh White, How to Defend Australia, La Trobe University Press, 2019, page 316, Scribd edition.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the ability of the parliament to consider defence strategies and decisions on war (see Gov12.06); and Australia’s capacity to develop strategies arcing towards neutrality, disarmament and peace (see Gov12.04.02, Gov12.04.03 and Gov12.01.04). <p>The short term trend is dangerously negative.</p> <p align="center">←</p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are negative.</p> <p align="center">←</p>
<p>Government readiness for an independent defence capability versus dependence on the US alliance Gov12.01.03</p> <p>From 2024/25, recognising that the national People’s Inquiry led by IPAN in 2022 on Australia’s involvement in the US Alliance revealed that Australians strongly prefer foreign and defence policies:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> to be developed independent of foreign powers; and to “better serve the interests of the Australian 	Gov 12	A nation assured of enduring peace.	<p>In 2022, in the final report of the Independent and Peaceful Network Australia’s national Independent People’s Inquiry, “Exploring the Case for an Independent and Peaceful Australia”, it was reported that: “Australia’s involvement in world affairs at the behest and under the diktats of the US is not consistent with popular Australian views on the role of a peaceful participant cooperating in the consensual solution of world problems. For</p>
	Gov 1	A proactive participatory democracy.	
	Gov 2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.	
	Gov 5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.	
	Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders’ conduct.	
	Gov 7	Committed to public service independence & excellence.	
			<p>Between 2022 and 2025, reforms by the Australian government in defence and foreign policy did not project the country towards an independent defence capability. Nor did it project Australia towards fulfilment of the needs of Australians as expressed in the IPAN-led People’s Inquiry. Defence and foreign policy did not accord with:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Recommendation 8 – uphold the fundamental objective of protecting territorial Australia and its air and maritime

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<p>nation and its people”, ensure that the direction of any reforms by the government in defence and foreign policy is towards fulfilment of the needs of Australians as expressed in the IPAN-led People’s Inquiry, particularly in relation to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recommendation 8 – for a defence policy that upholds the fundamental objective of protecting territorial Australia and its air and maritime approaches without foreign assistance; • Recommendation 10 – for review of the ANZUS treaty in line with what is most appropriate for Australia’s national security (consistent with Gov12.04.03); • Recommendation 11 – for elimination of all overseas military presence from military bases in Australia; • Recommendation 13 – requiring the government to strive to achieve diplomatic, not military, resolution of conflict and 	<p>Gov 9 A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>	<p>too long this country has facilitated US hegemony – absolute power over the rest of the world – and engaged in an alliance ‘deeply rooted in US self-interest.’ We have thus forsaken our independence. Australia is fighting in and invariably losing wars in which we have no direct interest, and for which there is little popular support and even less moral justification. This has been at huge personal and financial costs that are detrimental to the interests of the Australian people. ... The common themes that were emphasised by contributors to the report were:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • that Australians want to be involved in defence and foreign policy decision-making, • that Australia’s national sovereignty is paramount, • that war is a choice rather than an inevitability, • that diplomacy must be bolstered and prioritised over militarism, and • that decision-making must be transparent, accountable and independent.” 	<p>approaches without foreign assistance – it increased dependence on foreign assistance at significant risk to Australia;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recommendation 10 – for review of the ANZUS treaty in line with what is most appropriate for Australia’s national security (consistent with Gov12.04.03) – no review of ANZUS was accepted; • Recommendation 11 – for elimination of all overseas military presence from military bases in Australia – it substantially increased foreign military presence in Australia; • Recommendation 13 – requiring the government to strive to achieve diplomatic, not military, resolution of conflict and differences at the international level, and invest additional resources to improve relations with Australia’s neighbours – Australia has improved relations with China but has preferred military engagement over diplomacy in the Middle East and Ukraine;
	<p>Gov 10 A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.</p>		
	<p>Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</p>		
	<p>Gov 12 A nation assured of enduring peace.</p>		
	<p>Gov 13 A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.</p>		
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>		
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 5 A model of lifelong educational opportunity.</p>		
<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>			
<p>Soc 15 Confident of justice for all.</p>			
<p>Soc 16 A society prepared and</p>			

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<p>differences at the international level, and invest additional resources to improve relations with Australia’s neighbours;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recommendation 28 – requiring the Government to recast the defence budget to limit expenditure to only that which is required to effectively defend Australia; • Recommendation 30 – requiring an apology to veterans sent to Iraq and Afghanistan and their families for putting their lives and their physical and mental health at risk for wars joined to support Australia’s alliance with the US; • Recommendation 31 – regarding child protection, prohibition of military sponsorship of activities involving people under the age of 18 and access by military personnel to 	resilient in times of disaster.	<p>Source: IPAN, “Charting Our Own Course: Questioning Australia’s involvement in US-led wars and the Australia-United States Alliance – A People’s Inquiry”, tabled in the Australian Senate, 22 November 2022.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recommendation 28 – requiring the Government to recast the defence budget to limit expenditure to only that which is required to effectively defend Australia – the defence budget was projected to increase to a historic high, well beyond 2% of GDP¹¹² (see Env02.04.01, Econ01.06.03 and Econ02.05 above), along with projected spending of at least \$368 billion on nuclear powered submarines under AUKUS that Professor Hugh White famously stated “we don’t need and we won’t get”; • Recommendation 30 – requiring an apology to veterans sent to Iraq and Afghanistan and their families for putting their lives and their physical and mental health at risk for wars joined to support Australia’s alliance with the US – no apology had been forthcoming and
	Env 1 A leading global advocate for action on climate change.		
	Env 2 A net zero emissions nation.		
	Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.		
	Econ 6 An economy with competitive & profitable public participation.		
Econ 7 A collaborative intelligent nation.			

¹¹² Australian Government, Defence media release, 14 May 2024: The 2024/25 budget includes “an additional \$5.7 billion over the forward estimates – the largest increase to Defence spending over a forward estimates period in decades. An additional \$50.3 billion over the next decade. As a result of these significant investments, the annual Defence budget will grow to an estimated \$100 billion by 2033-34 compared to \$53 billion this financial year. This will see Defence funding as a proportion of Gross Domestic Product reach over 2.3% by 2033-34 – more than 0.2% higher than the spending trajectory set by the former Coalition government.

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<p>schools and school programs; and</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> all other Strategies in <i>Australia Together</i> that relate to or seek to implement the recommendations of the People’s Inquiry. 			<p>veteran suicides were significantly above the average of the Australian population¹¹³;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Recommendation 31 – regarding child protection, prohibition of military sponsorship of activities involving people under the age of 18 and access by military personnel to schools and school programs – schools and curriculums have been affected by increasing pressure from defence advocates, school visits to the Australian War memorial continue, and fun days are organised to attract children to visit military bases and barracks. <p>Between 2020 and 2025, government readiness for an independent defence capability declined substantially and dependence on the US alliance increased substantially leaving Australia in a high risk position for defence and exposed to be drawn into wars which are not in Australia’s interests.</p>

¹¹³ Australian Institute for Health and Welfare (AIHW), Suicide and self-harm monitoring: In 2022, suicide rates were 26% higher for ex-serving ADF males and 100% (or 2 times) higher for ex-serving ADF females.

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
			<p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are both negative.</p> <p align="center"></p>
<p>Promotion of peace in a multipolar world</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Championship of peace at home and abroad Gov12.01.04</p> <p>By 2024, recognising that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Australia does not have a common discourse promoting peace that is prominent relative to the dominant discourse promoting war; and that Australian governments in the 21st century have in policy, governance, alliances and diplomacy tended more towards promotion of war and a cultural disposition towards it in preference to a focus towards peace and have neither restrained nor rebuffed the propagation of misinformation 	Gov 12	A nation assured of enduring peace.	<p>In 2023, recognising that an inflexion point had been reached between:</p> <p>a) the post-cold war unipolar world (of US hegemony); and</p> <p>b) a multipolar world of potential peaceful cooperation between nations acting in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice, UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres called for a Summit of the Future (SOTF) to be held in 2024, a call that was endorsed by the 193 UN Member states including Australia. The core idea of the Summit of the Future was that humanity is facing a set of unprecedented challenges that can only be solved through global cooperation. The core goals of the summit were identified as:</p> <p>Between 2009 and 2018, an average of 43% of Australians thought it very likely or somewhat likely that “China will become a military threat to Australia in the next 20 years.” 82% viewed China as more of an economic partner than a military threat. Source: Lowy Polls 2009 to 2018.</p> <p>During the Morrison government period from 2019 onwards, a discourse which promoted China as a military threat to Australia and international terrorism as a significant threat, resulted in a substantial change in the attitudes of Australians to China and the need to prepare for war with it. In 2021, the Lowy Poll reported that, “For the first time, the majority of Australians (52%) say a military conflict between the United States and China over Taiwan poses a critical threat to Australia’s vital interests, an increase of 17 points from 2020. Half (51%) say international terrorism is a critical</p>
	Gov 2	A nation knowing and affirming decency.	
	Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	
	Gov 9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.	
	Gov 10	A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.	
	Gov 11	A just and cooperative participant on the global stage.	
	Gov 13	A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.	
	Soc 1	A safe home.	
Soc 2	A land with an Indigenous heart.		

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and disinformation intended to draw Australians into support for and/or actual war, the Australian parliament and government must undertake to: a) withdraw, in full and permanently, Australia’s reservation with respect to Article 20 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) which prohibits any propaganda for war; b) formally express commitment to the 12 actions to achieve more effective multilateral action for peace specified in the United Nations New Agenda for Peace 2023; ¹¹⁴ and	Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.	1. sustainable development, 2. peace, 3. control of new technologies such as artificial intelligence, 4. empowerment of young people and future generations, and 5. reform of the UN architecture. On the goal of peace, it was recognised that the core challenge in the 2020s is great-power competition and that: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • there is an urgent need for a stronger UN-led system in which great-power competition is governed and restrained by the UN Charter rather than by militarism and power politics; • humanity is past the era when any single country can 	threat, up 5 points since 2020, but 17 points below the level of concern in 2017.” Source: Lowy Poll 2021. Between 2022 to 2024, in Lowy Polls, an average of 74% of Australians thought it very likely or somewhat likely that “China will become a military threat to Australia in the next 20 years,” 31 percentage points higher than the average between 2009 and 2018. The prominence of the discourse for war since 2019 (reaching a frenzied height in the “Red Alert” series by the Sydney Morning Herald ¹¹⁵ in 2023) had successfully bitten into the consciousness of Australians, to the detriment of its prospects for peace. Research in 2022 which showed that Australians were more frightened of China than were the Taiwanese,
	Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.		
	Soc 6 A society of equals.		
	Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.		
	Econ 8 Enabled in meeting the communication & information demands of the future.		

¹¹⁴ In the United Nations, “[Our Common Agenda, Policy Brief 9, A New Agenda for Peace](#)” the 12 multilateral action items for peace were:

- for prevention at the global level: addressing strategic risks and geopolitical divisions – Action 1: Eliminate nuclear weapons, Action 2: Boost preventive diplomacy in an era of divisions
- for preventing conflict and violence and sustaining peace – Action 3: Shift the prevention and sustaining peace paradigm within countries, Action 4: Accelerate implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development to address the underlying drivers of violence and insecurity, Action 5: Transform gendered power dynamics in peace and security, Action 6: Address the interlinkages between climate, peace and security, Action 7: Reduce the human cost of weapons
- for strengthening peace operations and addressing peace enforcement – Action 8: Strengthen peace operations and partnerships, Action 9: Address peace enforcement, Action 10: Support to African Union and subregional peace support operations,
- for novel approaches to peace and potential domains of conflict – Action 11: Prevent the weaponization of emerging domains and promote responsible innovation
- for strengthening international governance – Action 12: Build a stronger collective security machinery.

¹¹⁵ Sydney Morning Herald, [Red Alert series](#), March 2023.

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>c) develop and implement a national plan for the promotion of peace as an Australian value and for establishing a national commitment to peaceful resolution of conflict with other nations in preference to discourse which may be provocative of war or civil and international violence.</p>		<p>or should aspire to primacy or hegemony; and</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the major powers should live in peace and mutual respect under the UN Charter, without threatening each other's security. <p>In 2024, tensions between some “global north” (Western colonial) powers and the United Nations led to open conflict between the UN-led order of international law and an alternative US-led so-called “rules based order”, laying the foundations for escalation of a new world war, possibly to a level that will be catastrophic for the whole of humanity itself, and making it urgent to seek a new agenda for global multipolar peace, such as that suggested by the UN in 2023 in its report, “Our Common Agenda, Policy Brief 9, A New Agenda for Peace”.</p> <p>Source: United Nations, Our Common Agenda, Policy</p>	<p>demonstrated that the warmongering discourse had been extraordinarily successful.</p> <p>Source: Allan Behm, The Australia Institute, “Research Shows Impact of Fearmongering: Australians more Frightened of China than Taiwanese,” 22 August 2022.</p> <p>By 2025, despite admissions by members and advisors of the newly elected US (Trump) government that China did not want war or see war as being in its interests¹¹⁶ (see Gov12.01.05 below), Australian defence and foreign policy was still based on convincing Australians that China would attack Australia and that it could hope to deter and/or win a military conflict with US support. No progress had been made in establishing a more prominent discourse for securing international peace, relative to the discourse for war. The Australian parliament and government had:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> not undertaken to withdraw Australia’s reservation with respect to Article 20

¹¹⁶ Patrick Wintour, “[The world braces for Trump, hoping for the best, unprepared for the worst.](#)” The Guardian, 20 January 2025, referring to the testimony of Marco Rubio to the US senate foreign relations committee: “Rubio, famed as a China hawk, said he did not believe Beijing wanted military conflict, saying: ‘The Chinese have basically concluded that America is sort of a tired, great power in decline. That they are on a path over the next 20 or 30 years to naturally supplant us, irrespective of what happens. And I think their preference is to not have any trade and/or armed conflict in the interim, because I think they might interrupt what they believe is a natural progression.’ In seeking alliances against China in the Indo-Pacific, for instance, he said: ‘It would be a mistake to go in with a cold war mentality of pick a side and pick a side now.’ Overall he framed the conflict with China in terms of making the US economy and those of its allies less dependent on China.”

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
		Brief 9, A New Agenda for Peace. Source: United Nations Summit of the Future (SOTF) website. Source: Jeffrey Sachs, “The Summit of the Future”, John Menadue’s Pearls and Irritations, 9 July 2024. Source: Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice.	of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR); <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • shown no commitment to the 12 actions to achieve more effective multilateral action for peace specified in the United Nations New Agenda for Peace 2023 (see Note¹¹⁷ for more information on failure to progress this Agenda); or • developed a national plan for the promotion of peace as an Australian value.

¹¹⁷ In relation to the 12 multilateral action items under the United Nations Agenda for Peace, “[Our Common Agenda, Policy Brief 9, A New Agenda for Peace](#)” Australia’s progress may be summarised as:

- Action 1: Eliminate nuclear weapons – no progress. Australia has not signed the TPNW, see [Gov12.02.01](#).
- Action 2: Boost preventive diplomacy in an era of divisions – on balance, no progress due to increasingly offensive defence policies including support for AUKUS and the Defence Posture Agreement, see [Gov12.04](#) and [Gov12.05](#).
- Action 3: Shift the prevention and sustaining peace paradigm within countries – no progress as shown in [Gov12.01.04](#) and [Gov12.01.05](#).
- Action 4: Accelerate implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development to address the underlying drivers of violence and insecurity – on balance, no progress as shown in [Econ01.09](#), [Econ01.09.01](#) and [Gov11.02](#).
- Action 5: Transform gendered power dynamics in peace and security – no actions have been identified.
- Action 6: Address the interlinkages between climate, peace and security – negative progress, shown in [Soc16.01](#), [Soc16.02](#), [Soc16.02.01](#), [Env03.01](#), [Env02.05](#), [Env02.05.01](#), [Gov05.02.03](#), [Gov11.04](#) and [Gov12.04](#).
- Action 7: Reduce the human cost of weapons for strengthening peace operations and addressing peace enforcement – no action taken. Australia’s export of military weapons componentry and shift towards nuclear powered submarines under AUKUS has increased the human cost in both peacekeeping and war operations, see [Gov12.02](#) and [Gov12.02.01](#).
- Action 8: Strengthen peace operations and partnerships – no progress, Australia has not recently participated in on-the-ground peace partnerships although it continues to participate in UN deliberations and has provided telehealth services to foreign peacekeeping personnel in Syria and Lebanon.
- Action 9: Address peace enforcement – no action identified.
- Action 10: Support to African Union and subregional peace support operations – no action identified.
- Action 11: Prevent the weaponization of emerging domains and promote responsible innovation – negative progress. Weapons exports by Australia continue to be inappropriately regulated – see [Gov12.02](#).
- Action 12: Build a stronger collective security machinery – no progress. Australia has taken little or no action in relation to supporting reform of the United Nations.

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline																					
			<p>In 2025, a discourse for war remained dominant in defence and foreign policy and continued to trouble and instil fear in Australians. However, community-led programs for peace, such as those by the Independent and Peaceful Australia Network (IPAN), continued to champion a discourse for peace.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative. ←</p> <p>The longer term trend is negative. ←</p>																					
<p>Promotion of peace and economic cooperation in a multipolar world</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Planning for transition to peaceful cooperation for economic prosperity in a multipolar world Gov12.01.05</p> <p>By 2030, recognising that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a unipolar world of US hegemony and the broader dominance of colonialist, imperial Western powers are both likely to continue to decline relative 	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="499 1193 555 1227">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="579 1193 619 1227">12</td> <td data-bbox="643 1171 826 1261">A nation assured of enduring peace.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="499 1294 555 1328">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="579 1294 619 1328">1</td> <td data-bbox="643 1261 826 1350">A proactive participatory democracy.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="499 1429 555 1462">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="579 1429 619 1462">5</td> <td data-bbox="643 1361 826 1518">Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="499 1574 555 1608">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="579 1574 619 1608">6</td> <td data-bbox="643 1529 826 1653">A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="499 1709 555 1742">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="579 1709 619 1742">11</td> <td data-bbox="643 1664 826 1787">A just and cooperative participant on the global stage.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="499 1821 555 1854">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="579 1821 619 1854">13</td> <td data-bbox="643 1787 826 1888">A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="499 1910 555 1944">Soc</td> <td data-bbox="579 1910 619 1944">1</td> <td data-bbox="643 1910 826 1944">A safe home.</td> </tr> </table>	Gov	12	A nation assured of enduring peace.	Gov	1	A proactive participatory democracy.	Gov	5	Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.	Gov	6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	Gov	11	A just and cooperative participant on the global stage.	Gov	13	A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.	Soc	1	A safe home.	<p>In 2024, the US Congressional Commission on the National Defense [sic] Strategy found that the U.S. military “lacks both the capabilities and the capacity required to be confident it can deter and prevail in combat,” effectively confirming that it is not in Australia’s interest to allow itself to be drawn into wars (particularly wars between major powers) in support of the US and that military alliances have little if any utility in securing prosperity.</p>	<p>In 2025, the Australian government displayed no apparent recognition of the need to develop a response to the rise of multipolar economic blocs in the global south, much less a need to seek a new and realistic basis for its choices in international relations in a multipolar world.</p> <p>Foreign policy did not openly contemplate scenarios of continued military failure by the United States or the possible consequences for Australia of further involvement in US-led wars and further deterioration of democracy in America.</p>
Gov	12	A nation assured of enduring peace.																						
Gov	1	A proactive participatory democracy.																						
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<p>to the growth of countries that are organising as groups working for peaceful economic cooperation rather than for purposes of military dominance; and that</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> in this transition, countries like Australia will derive more benefit and security by forming partnerships for peaceful economic cooperation than by participation in strategic military blocs, <p>ensure that an ongoing, transparent planning process and plan has been developed enabling Australia to facilitate the formation of all necessary strategic partnerships for economic cooperation and peace with any country or group of countries and particularly to prevent any growth in strategic isolation and economic weakness for Australia in its region of the world – the Asia Pacific.</p> <p>Consideration should be given in this planning process (openly) as to why and whether Australia should seek to join</p>	<p>Soc 16 A society prepared and resilient in times of disaster.</p>	<p>Source: US Congress, Commission on the National Defense Strategy, July 2024.</p>	<p>The US Congress had acknowledged that with its current capability it can't win in global conflicts and yet Australian foreign policy and defence was still shackled to dependence on a hegemonic power that had admitted incapability in military conflicts. The risk exposure for Australia was very high, especially since Australia had not developed a capacity to independently defend itself. Nor was it evident that an ongoing, transparent planning process and plan had been developed that would enable Australia to facilitate the formation of all necessary strategic partnerships for economic cooperation and peace with any country or group of countries. No plans were accessible which set out how Australia would seek to prevent any growth in its strategic and economic isolation and/or vulnerability. The Albanese government had taken some steps to create better relationships with countries in Asia and the Pacific. It had successfully re-stabilised the relationship with China but not restored it to the level shown in 2014 when Chinese president Xi Jinping addressed the Australian</p>
	<p>Env 1 A leading global advocate for action on climate change.</p>	<p>In 2024, it was also apparent that non-Western, “global south” nations were organising themselves into groups for purposes of achieving peace and prosperity through economic cooperation rather than through the pursuit of strategic military dominance. This trend was manifest in the formation and expansion of economic blocs such as BRICS and the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO), which stated in 2024 that, “Tectonic shifts are underway in global politics, economy, and other spheres of international relations. A fairer multipolar world order is being born.”</p> <p>Source: Opening words of the SCO 2024 declaration, Astana, Kazakhstan.</p>	
	<p>Env 2 A net zero emissions nation.</p>		
	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		
	<p>Econ 2 A model of employment planning & justice in industry transition.</p>		
	<p>Econ 5 A strong regulator of fairness in markets creating confidence for investors.</p>		
	<p>Econ 9 Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.</p>	<p>In 2024, BRICS nations accounted for half the world’s population and two-fifths of world trade and more than 30 other nations were seeking BRICS membership, including several in the Asian region in which Australia is located. Member countries in the SCO were home to</p>	

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>BRICS and any other economic grouping that may be consistent with Australia’s interests in peace and prosperity.</p> <p>Linkage of this planning process with development of the draft integrated defence, diplomacy and security strategy under Gov12.04 should be achieved under the auspices of the strategy for development of a Green Paper and community engagement to define Australia’s Strategic Interests in Territorial Sovereign Defence as per Gov12.04.01.</p>		<p>40% of the world’s population and produced 25% of the world’s GDP. They also held natural gas and proven oil reserves that may rival Australia’s.</p> <p>The rise of multipolar economic blocs in the global south implied the need for Australia to seek a new basis for its choices in international relations if economic isolation is to be avoided, including by consideration of the utility of a possible shift away from strategic military partnerships where the priority is to seek military advantage and towards strategic economic partnerships where the focus is economic cooperation in peace.</p>	<p>parliament and signed a free trade agreement removing tariffs on dairy, beef, wine, minerals and horticultural products, as well as education, health and financial services. Source: Emma Griffiths, Xi Jinping in Australia: Chinese president tells MPs his nation is committed to peace, but ready to protect its interests, ABC News, 17 November 2014.</p> <p>In 2025, with the inauguration of Donald Trump for a second presidential term, Trump’s pick for a US secretary of state, Marco Rubio, framed the US conflict with China in terms of “making the US economy and those of its allies less dependent on China,” thereby signalling a US preference for the narrowing of Australia’s trade and economic base and a probable continued rejection of multipolarity in trade, if it offends the US. (See Gov12.01.04 above for more.) Source: Patrick Wintour, “The world braces for Trump, hoping for the best, unprepared for the worst,” The Guardian, 20 January 2025.</p> <p>In 2025, the outlook for Australia on balance was for an Australia with its head in the sand or at least lacking an awareness of the need to keep all its options for strategic and economic partnerships, especially</p>

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			with Asia, as open as possible. The short term trend is negative.  The longer term trend and outlook are negative. 																
<p>Arms control</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Prohibition of weapons exports Gov12.02</p> <p>By 2024, legislate to totally prohibit exports of any and all weapons and any military specific goods and technology (eg., ammunition, missiles, armoured vehicles, military vessels and enabling software, hardware and targeting systems) from Australia to any other country.</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 801 635 902">Gov 12</td> <td data-bbox="635 801 837 902">A nation assured of enduring peace.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 902 635 1048">Gov 2</td> <td data-bbox="635 902 837 1048">A nation knowing & affirming decency.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1048 635 1182">Gov 6</td> <td data-bbox="635 1048 837 1182">A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1182 635 1585">Gov 9</td> <td data-bbox="635 1182 837 1585">A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1585 635 1731">Gov 11</td> <td data-bbox="635 1585 837 1731">A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1731 635 1832">Gov 13</td> <td data-bbox="635 1731 837 1832">A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1832 635 1910">Soc 1</td> <td data-bbox="635 1832 837 1910">A safe home.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="483 1910 635 2031">Soc 15</td> <td data-bbox="635 1910 837 2031">Confident of justice for all.</td> </tr> </table>	Gov 12	A nation assured of enduring peace.	Gov 2	A nation knowing & affirming decency.	Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	Gov 9	A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.	Gov 11	A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.	Gov 13	A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.	Soc 1	A safe home.	Soc 15	Confident of justice for all.	<p>In 2014, Australia led in the United Nations Security Council with the development of the Arms Trade Treaty and ratified this legally binding instrument. But in 2018, Australia earmarked the Middle East as a “priority market” in its Defence Export Strategy, publicly pursuing weapons sales to Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (the UAE and Saudi Arabia were then making war and humanitarian crises in Yemen which resulted in the deaths of at least 300,000 people and breached multiple international laws) in direct contravention of the 2014 Arms Trade Treaty 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.”</p> <p>Between 2018 and 2021 Defence</p>	<p>In 2023/24, Australia’s Defence Export Office finalised more than 4,000 export defence permits, with the value of permits issued exceeding an estimated A\$100 billion. This amounts to an approximate 100-fold increase on the \$1.5 billion worth of weapons exports approved in 2016.</p> <p>Source: “Defence Web Stats - FY2023-24” Date range for report between 1/07/2023 and 30/06/2024. Report ran on 16/08/2024 12:27:16 PM. Source: Professor Lauren Sanders, “What we know about Australia’s arms exports: we’ve analysed the data,” The Conversation, 12 September 2024.</p> <p>Between 2019 and 2023, according to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Australia was one of the top 20 arms exporters in the world, though its share of total global arms exports was just 0.6%, similar to Canada. This share was up from 0.3% in 2014–18. The top three recipients were Canada</p>
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		<p>Department approvals for export of weapons rose from \$1.5 billion to \$5 billion. Source: United Nations Arms Trade Treaty, Source: Commonwealth Government Defence Export Strategy 2018 Source: Michelle Fahy, "Australia defies UN pleas over atrocities in Yemen, escalates weapons exports to Saudis", Michael West Media, 17 May 2021.</p>	<p>(32% of Australia's total exports), Chile (28%) and the United States (11%). From 2014–18 to 2019–23, the volume of Australia's arms exports increased by 88%. Source: SIPRI Fact Sheet, "Trends in International Arms Transfers, 2023", March 2024.</p> <p>In June 2024, the Australian government said it had granted eight permits for export defence-related equipment to Israel since the Gaza war began but said that most of the items were being sent to Israel for repair and then returned to Australian defence and law enforcement for their use. It did not draw attention to exports of weapons sub-components that are manufactured in Australia and sent to a central repository overseas to be used in a larger platform, like an F-35 jet, which can then be sent to Israel from the US or Europe. Source: Professor Lauren Sanders, "What we know about Australia's arms exports: we've analysed the data," The Conversation, 12 September 2024.</p> <p>Since 2018 there has been a staggering increase in weapons exports from Australia, none of which Australia has any real control over once they have left this country.</p>

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline																								
			The short term trend is negative.  The longer term trend is negative. 																								
<p>Arms control</p> <p><u>Top Priority Target/Strategy:</u> Ratification of and conformance with the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) Gov12.02.01</p> <p>By 2024, preparatory to the Green Paper and community engagement to define Australia’s Strategic Interests in Territorial Sovereign Defence under Gov12.04.01 and recognising the overwhelming concern of Australians about:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the existential threats posed by nuclear armaments; and the failure of major powers to limit their stockpiling (including possibly in Australia) or to reduce threats of their deployment, ensure that: <p>a) Australia signs and its parliament ratifies the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear</p>	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 674 635 770">Gov 12</td> <td data-bbox="635 674 837 770">A nation assured of enduring peace.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 770 635 902">Gov 6</td> <td data-bbox="635 770 837 902">A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 902 635 1034">Gov 11</td> <td data-bbox="635 902 837 1034">A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1034 635 1131">Gov 13</td> <td data-bbox="635 1034 837 1131">A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1131 635 1169">Soc 1</td> <td data-bbox="635 1131 837 1169">A safe home.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1169 635 1265">Soc 2</td> <td data-bbox="635 1169 837 1265">A land with an Indigenous heart.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1265 635 1361">Soc 3</td> <td data-bbox="635 1265 837 1361">Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1361 635 1458">Soc 4</td> <td data-bbox="635 1361 837 1458">A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1458 635 1628">Soc 16</td> <td data-bbox="635 1458 837 1628">A society prepared and resilient in times of disaster.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1628 635 1760">Env 1</td> <td data-bbox="635 1628 837 1760">A leading global advocate for action on climate change.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1760 635 1856">Env 2</td> <td data-bbox="635 1760 837 1856">A net zero emissions nation.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="485 1856 635 1982">Env 9</td> <td data-bbox="635 1856 837 1982">Confident of safety and security of its water supplies.</td> </tr> </table>	Gov 12	A nation assured of enduring peace.	Gov 6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	Gov 11	A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.	Gov 13	A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.	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 and wellbeing.	Soc 16	A society prepared and resilient in times of disaster.	Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.	Env 9	Confident of safety and security of its water supplies.	<p>In 2017:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 72.7% of Australians on survey supported a “ban on nuclear weapons, as a step towards the elimination of all nuclear weapons”. Only 11.3% opposed a ban, and 65.7% of Australians agreed that Australia should sign the UN Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons. Only 13% disagreed. <p>Source: Greenpeace Poll on Australians’ attitudes towards nuclear weapons, 19 September 2017</p> <p>In 2018, 78.9% of Australians on survey said they supported Australia joining the UN Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons.</p> <p>Source: Harvard Law School, International Human Rights Clinic, “Australia and the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons” December 2018.</p> <p>In 2021, Australia was not a signatory to the</p>	<p>In 2025, Australia had not signed the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW).</p> <p>In 2025, the Minister for Foreign Affairs Penny Wong had not acted in accordance with her commitment “to identify realistic pathways for nuclear disarmament and to reduce the risks posed by nuclear weapons.” The Labor government’s approval of AUKUS had instead locked Minister Wong’s government into nuclear forms of weaponry including nuclear powered submarines which, despite statements that they would not carry nuclear warheads, would still expose Australia and other countries to proliferation of nuclear contamination via nuclear waste disposal or as a result of destruction of the nuclear reactors in battle or in port. The Australian government’s actions in support of AUKUS did not “reduce the risks posed by nuclear</p>
Gov 12	A nation assured of enduring peace.																										
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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Weapons (TPNW); and that</p> <p>b) on a permanent basis, Australia takes no steps (whether as a signatory or non-signatory) that may be deemed to be in contravention of the TPNW, including by aiding other countries to contravene its provisions.</p>	<p>Env 10 A biodiversity haven.</p>	<p>United Nations Treaty to Prohibit Nuclear Weapons, although it was a signatory to the Treaty on Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.</p> <p>In 2023, the Minister for Foreign Affairs Penny Wong stated that, “Although Australia is not a State Party to the TPNW, we share this goal with parties to the Treaty and are engaging constructively to identify realistic pathways for nuclear disarmament and to reduce the risks posed by nuclear weapons.” Source: Minister for Foreign Affairs Media Release, Second Meeting of States Parties to the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, 26 November 2023.</p>	<p>weapons”, they increased those risks.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are negative.</p> <p>←</p>
	<p>Env 14 A pollution free biosphere.</p>		
	<p>Env 19 A land of thriving self-supporting regions.</p>		
	<p>Econ 1 A model of transition from excessive consumption to sustainability.</p>		
	<p>Econ 4 A nation fairly raising and sharing its wealth.</p>		
<p>Foreign influence</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy:</p> <p>Prohibition of funding of public institutions and officials by foreign owned or domestically owned/operated arms dealers or manufacturers</p> <p>Gov12.03</p> <p>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</p>	<p>Gov 12 A nation assured of enduring peace.</p>	<p>In 2021, nothing in Australian statutes sufficiently prevented arms dealers, manufacturers and their agents from attempting to influence Australian officials in national security and related policy/contractual decisions through pecuniary and non-pecuniary donations, gifts and in-kind favours.</p>	<p>In 2024, an independent review of Commonwealth funding for strategic policy work was completed. The reviewer, Peter Varghese AO, did not recommend cessation of government funding to private think tanks that derived funding from foreign governments or foreign/domestic arms manufacturers and dealers. Varghese put the view that “the ecosystem of think tanks and commissioned research simply cannot survive without</p>
<p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p>			
<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>			
<p>Gov 7 Committed to public service independence & excellence.</p>			
<p>Gov 8 Protected from undue sectional influence in elections.</p>			

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<p>government officials and public sector agents that are contrary to Australia’s sovereign interests and national security, legislate to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> totally prohibit direct and indirect funding of all public institutions and government instrumentalities (including universities, government run cultural facilities, museums, memorials, and policy development/administrative/operational entities) by foreign owned or domestically owned/operated arms dealers or manufacturers and their agents or associates; prohibit any private entity (foreign or domestic) from qualifying for state or federal government contracts if they have received funding – either financial or in-kind, directly or indirectly – from foreign or domestically based arms dealers, manufacturers or their 	<p>Gov 9</p>	<p>A nation outlawing corporate greed & where private sector business practice & ethics serve the public good.</p>	<p>substantial government funding.” However, instead of recommending prohibition of funding of strategic policy think tanks by foreign governments and arms businesses – and thereby seeking to strengthen confidence that any advice from the strategic policy sector paid for by the public would be independent, free of conflict of interest and foreign/commercial interference (in other words it would be fully in the national and public interest) – Varghese preferred to recommend a funding model which continued to permit foreign and commercial interference. This was recommended despite a conclusion that the sector’s “research outputs are variable, often lacking diverse views and at times straying from fact-based analysis into opinion-based commentary” and that “maintaining independence and apolitical perspectives is critical to the sector’s work.”</p> <p>Source: Peter N Varghese AO, independent review of Commonwealth funding for strategic policy work, 31 July 2024.</p> <p>Varghese stated that good governance would require “faithful adherence to the principle that a funder</p>
	<p>Gov 11</p>	<p>A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</p>	
	<p>Gov 13</p>	<p>A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.</p>	
	<p>Soc 1</p>	<p>A safe home.</p>	

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<p>agents/associates at any time from the date of assent to the legislation onwards;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> prohibit donations to political parties and candidates/elected representatives in federal, state and local government by foreign or domestically owned/based arms dealers, manufacturers or their agents; and prohibit permanently any 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. 			<p>can have no influence on research conclusions.” However, he maintained a view that foreign influence in strategic policy was appropriate, stating that, “It is understandable that the predominance of effort in terms of strategic policy work in the sector has a US alliance focus.” Varghese’s solution to this obvious problem was not to prohibit foreign pecuniary interference but to suggest that “strategic policy focus should be extended to our strategic relationships with the major powers of the Indo-Pacific such as China, India, Japan, Indonesia and Korea which get far less attention than they warrant.” The simpler solution would have been to prohibit foreign and arms dealer funding and increase government funding. A rejection of that approach will continue to expose Australia to risk of foreign and corporate interference in strategic policy.</p> <p>Varghese’s recommendations were also designed to increase the capacity of these obviously conflicted strategic think tanks to compete against the capacity of social policy think tanks in building a social licence for social</p>

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			<p>programs rather than defence programs. In general the Varghese report appeared naïve in relation to the trustworthiness of private funders and the ability of departments to provide “good governance”. The principles recommended by Varghese did not inspire confidence that sufficient protection of the public interest would be provided when private think tanks influence strategic policy.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center">←</p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are negative.</p> <p align="center">←</p>															
<p>Defence, diplomacy and security policy</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Integrated Strategy for Defence, Diplomacy and Security Gov12.04</p> <p>By 2025, recognising that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a strategy of over-reliance on expansion of defence for maintenance of an aggressive footing in international 	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="496 1368 544 1420">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="580 1368 612 1420">12</td> <td data-bbox="635 1352 826 1451">A nation assured of enduring peace.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="496 1458 544 1509">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="580 1458 596 1509">2</td> <td data-bbox="635 1451 826 1585">A nation knowing & affirming decency.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="496 1592 544 1644">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="580 1592 596 1644">6</td> <td data-bbox="635 1585 826 1720">A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="496 1727 544 1778">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="580 1727 612 1778">11</td> <td data-bbox="635 1720 826 1854">A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="496 1861 544 1912">Gov</td> <td data-bbox="580 1861 612 1912">13</td> <td data-bbox="635 1854 826 1939">A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.</td> </tr> </table>	Gov	12	A nation assured of enduring peace.	Gov	2	A nation knowing & affirming decency.	Gov	6	A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.	Gov	11	A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.	Gov	13	A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.	<p>In 2019, the Australian National Outlook 2019 identified a direct connection between the incidence of fractious international relations and slow economic decline for Australia. They identified that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> in the case of fractious global relations: “National and protectionist rhetoric stalls global trade, economic growth 	<p>In 2024, the Australian government released its National Defence Strategy and committed to double the Defence budget over 10 years from \$53 billion to \$100 billion. The 2024/25 budget proposed a mere 1.8% average annual increase in the budget for diplomacy until 2027/28.</p> <p>Source: Australian Government, Defence media release, 14 May 2024. Source: Federal Budget 2024/25.</p>
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<p>relations (rather than a genuinely defensive footing) is both insupportably expensive and ultimately futile for Australia, and that</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 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 which in turn is dependent on a positive relationship particularly with China and countries in the Indo-Pacific region, and that because Australia’s defence policy is set towards aggression in the Indo-Pacific region 	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>	<p>slows, population increases and there is no firm action on climate change, resulting in a global average temperature rise of 4°C by 2100.”; but on the other hand</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> in the case of cooperative global relations: “Global trade and geopolitical tensions are more positive than they are today [2019], populations increase, but at the low end of projections, and there is effective global action on climate change to limit global average temperature rises to 2°C by 2100.” <p>In effect, the Australian National Outlook 2019 identified that up to the year 2060, the prospects for positive economic outcomes for Australia (GDP growth per capita) are halved in the event of</p>	<p>The 2024 National Defence Strategy was an extremely – even impossibly – expensive proposal which unnecessarily:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> placed Australia’s defence service on an aggressive footing in foreign territories including for invasions of the countries of economic partners¹¹⁹; detracted in significant measure from Australia’s capacity to achieve resilience, self-reliance and meet the needs of its people for social services; detracted severely from Australia’s capacity to assist other nations to develop sustainably; and was bound to defeat efforts to improve cooperation with other nations via diplomacy. <p>The 2024 National Defence strategy</p>
	<p>Econ 9 Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.</p>		

¹¹⁹ The [2024 National Defence Strategy](#) proposed “a larger more lethal navy” and an army “optimised for littoral operations” (i.e., invasions), increased long-range missile and naval strike capabilities as well as an enhanced Guided Weapons and Explosive Ordnance enterprise and was coupled with what was called a “strategy of denial” designed to “deter” a “potential adversary” [emphasis added] from taking actions that would be inimical to Australia’s interests and regional stability by attacking the potential adversary first in its region of origin or convincing the potential adversary that it could not achieve its ambitions with military force at an acceptable cost. “The Strategy of Denial involves working with the US and key partners to ensure no country attempts to achieve its regional objectives through military action. By signalling a credible ability to hold potential adversary forces at risk, the strategy also seeks to deter attempts to coerce Australia through force.” The National Defence Strategy was aimed at China but ignored the fact that China does not have a history of coercing Australia through force. The 2024 National Defence Strategy was more an attempt by Australia to coerce China through force and at a cost that would be unacceptable to Australia. It would be laughable if it were not so expensive and risky.

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<p>as well as multiple other regions, and our diplomatic stance and policies are likewise set towards hawkishness and containment rather than peace and global collaboration, they are undermining, not improving, national security and the risk of war in our region,</p> <p>develop a draft integrated defence, diplomacy and security strategy to ensure peace in our region based on acknowledgement of the following geopolitical realities for the 21st century:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • that Australia’s traditional allies (the USA and the UK) cannot and should not be relied on to come to Australia’s aid in the event of a military, economic or cyber threat from an external source; • that Australia cannot reliably expect that in the event of a global clash between superpowers (China, the USA, Russia) that Asian countries (eg., Japan, India or Indonesia) will side with Australia 		<p>fractious international relations. Source: NAB & CSIRO, Australian National Outlook, 2019</p> <p>In 2020, Australia’s relationship with its biggest trading partner, China, deteriorated significantly, resulting in the loss of between \$19 billion and \$40 billion in annual exports to China. But in 2021, Australia:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • had no strategy in place either for restoring relations with China or restoring our reputation as a mature, respected collaborative, trading and research partner with other countries; • in foreign policy, was stoking fractiousness with China, rather than developing policies to ensure that China’s inevitable global ascendancy will work in Australia’s favour; • was not sufficiently consulting other Asian or South Pacific neighbours about their responses to China; • was over-reliant on expansion of defence and “hard 	<p>effectively undid any good work the Labor government was doing in diplomacy, including that of the foreign minister Penny Wong in stabilising relations with China and improving relations with Pacific countries. It contributed significantly to increases in greenhouse gas emissions which would severely affect Australia and the Pacific countries in particular.</p> <p>The lack of integration and balance between the National Defence Strategy, other programs for national resilience in climate change and economic disruption, and foreign policy meant that Australia’s foreign and defence policies were still undermining, not improving, national security and increasing the risk of war in our region. They were still set towards hawkishness and containment rather than peace and global collaboration. In 2025, there was still an exclusive and potentially fatal reliance on the US alliance and the ANZUS Treaty which would continue to work against Australian security objectives.</p> <p>In 2025, strategies for defence and diplomacy were set to disable strategies for security, independence,</p>

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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> against China and/or Russia; that continuation of the post-WWII exclusive reliance on the US alliance and the ANZUS Treaty now works against Australian security objectives wherever and whenever pursuit of the USA’s objectives and interests undermines stability in the Indo-Pacific region; that the only feasible strategy for Australia in armed conflict is to avoid it entirely and that soft power resources – built steadily on the basis of ethical and cooperative behaviour by Australia in trade, climate change, 		<p>power” hawkish stances that are provocative of war, and</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> was under-reliant on diplomatic strategy and accumulation of “soft power” for prevention of war. <p>Source: Australian Community Futures Planning, The State of Australia in 2020, Episode 4 Part 2.</p> <p>See Note¹¹⁸ for further baseline analysis and reference materials.</p>	<p>sovereignty, growth in national resilience, and peace.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center">←</p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are negative.</p> <p align="center">←</p>

¹¹⁸ 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 population (57%) said ‘Australia should remain neutral’” and the [Institute commented further that](#) “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 Asia Pacific region, due to the rise of China. Recommended policy shifts included those of:

- experienced diplomat [Geoff Raby](#) 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 [Allan Behm](#) 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.”

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<p>human rights, humanitarian aid, observance of international law, and just participation in global forums (particularly the United Nations and international courts of law) – are therefore the most reliable means (economically and strategically) by which Australia may secure its people and borders;</p> <p>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.</p> <p>By 2026, 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.</p>			

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<p>Defence, diplomacy and security policy</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Green Paper and community engagement to define Australia’s Strategic Interests in Territorial Sovereign Defence Gov12.04.01</p> <p>By 2024/25, preparatory to process for development of the Integrated Strategy for Defence, Diplomacy and Security in Gov12.04, federal parliament will legislate to develop a Green Paper and a process of engagement with Australians to develop a Statement of Australia’s Strategic Interests in Territorial Sovereign Defence.</p> <p>Ensure the Green Paper and community engagement process are overseen by DFAT or, if necessary, by another duly appointed independent commission of public engagement with powers to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> conduct genuine, fully open and well informed public engagement; report transparently to parliament on the preferences of Australians for 	<p>Gov 12 A nation assured of enduring peace.</p>	<p>In 2021, the Australian Government, without consultation with the Australian people or federal and state parliaments, entered into an economic and trilateral security pact with the United States and United Kingdom (AUKUS) under which the US and the UK will help Australia to acquire nuclear-powered submarines. The agreement was made regardless of any consideration as to whether nuclear capability and the form of alliance espoused under AUKUS (including interoperability of Australian and US armed forces) would be in Australia’s domestic or wider strategic interests and regardless of whether Australia would, by virtue of AUKUS, be effectively surrendering its independent sovereignty in decisions on future military engagements.</p> <p>In 2021, Australia had no agreements with the Australian people on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> any statement specifying the nation’s strategic interests (as they relate to defence); any statement specifying the 	<p>In 2022, the IPAN People’s Inquiry, “Exploring the Case for an Independent and Peaceful Australia,” recommended that “The Australian government should engage in extensive community consultations to develop a new defence policy for Australia that upholds the fundamental objective of protecting territorial Australia and its air and maritime approaches without foreign assistance.”</p> <p>Source: IPAN, “Charting Our Own Course: Questioning Australia’s involvement in US-led wars and the Australia-United States Alliance – A People’s Inquiry, November 2022”.</p> <p>Successive Australian governments have consistently refused to engage with Australians in development of defence and foreign policies. In 2025, no agreed statement exists that will provide sufficient guidance to parliaments and ensure that any decisions made on territorial defence and entry into wars in or against other countries will in fact be in the acknowledged best interests of Australians and will thereby safeguard our independence, sovereignty, security and peace.</p> <p>The Labor government’s decision in 2023 to</p>
	<p>Gov 1 A proactive participatory democracy.</p>		
	<p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p>		
	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>		
	<p>Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</p>		
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
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<p>such a Statement; and ultimately</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> design a Statement that will provide sufficient guidance to parliaments and ensure that any decisions made on territorial defence will in fact be in the acknowledged best interests of Australians and will thereby safeguard our independence, sovereignty, security and peace. <p>As a minimum, the Green Paper must include options for:</p> <p>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</p> <p>b) draft principles for possible inclusion in the Statement governing decisions on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> entry into and exit from participation in wars and any other form of military deployment or incursion, 		<p>geographical limits of our strategic interest and why – (i.e., should our armed forces be geared to defend Australia in:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the near waters and airspace of Australia, or further afield in the islands and waters within a few hundred kilometres of the continent, or as far away as maritime Southeast Asia (the South China Sea, or further away still? <p>and what is the nature of the interest served in each case?);</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 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; any statement which may provide guidance on when or whether alliances may be formed or 	<p>maintain its sole right to commit Australia to war (including wars of choice when Australia has not been attacked and illegal wars which have not been approved by the United Nations Security Council) whenever it might deem war to be in the “national interest”, stands as one of the lowest points of decency and respect by a government towards people and citizens, overshadowed only by the same government’s decisions not to protect Australians from climate change (see Envv01.01, Envv02.01, Envv02.01.01 and Govv03.01.03 above).</p> <p>Source: Australian Government, Defence, Government’s response to the inquiry into international armed conflict decision making”, media release, 8 August 2023.</p> <p>In 2025, Australia is no closer to a sensible, respectful and transparent decision making process for defence and foreign policy or entry into and participation in war. The IPAN People’s Inquiry proves that Australians are more than capable of participating positively in decision processes for defence, strategic and international relations and national security. Executive government high-handedness and a persistence with undemocratic processes on vital decisions has not</p>

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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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, 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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 and nuclear waste disposal in Australia. <p>In 2023, the Australian government maintained its sole right to commit Australia to war (including wars of choice when Australia has not been attacked and illegal wars which have not been approved by the United Nations Security Council) whenever it might deem war to be in the “national interest”. However, on no occasion had the national interest been specified. Nor had the people of Australia been offered any chance to consider whether any of the</p>	<p>delivered security to Australia.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are negative.</p> <p align="center"></p>

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landing equipment, drones, tanks, bombs and other large scale incendiary devices, and detection and surveillance technology, <ul style="list-style-type: none"> international cooperation to reduce and/or eliminate nuclear weapons, and plans to restructure and equip Australia’s military to concentrate on territorial sovereign defence. 		wars entered into by Australia since 1945 were or ever will be in the national interest. Source: Parliament of Australia, Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade, “Inquiry into international armed conflict decision making,” March 2023.	
<p>Defence, diplomacy and security policy</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Adoption of a legally binding commitment to neutrality for Australia in international confrontations between major powers (such as the USA, China and Russia) Gov12.04.02</p> By 2024, recognising that: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> there is an abiding majority preference among Australians for 	<p>Gov 12 A nation assured of enduring peace.</p>	Between 2021 and 2023, surveys of Australians by the Lowy Institute showed that in the event of a military conflict between China and the United States, Australians preferred that Australia: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> should remain neutral = 56% on average; should support the United States = 43% on average; and should support China = 1% on average. 	In 2025, Australia had passed no legislation obliging the Commonwealth, along with the members of its parliaments and executive, to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> declare permanent neutrality for Australia in international confrontations between major powers (such as the USA, China and Russia); do all things necessary to prevent confrontations
	<p>Gov 1 A proactive participatory democracy.</p>		
	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing and affirming decency.</p>		
	<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>		
	<p>Gov 4 A free, self-governing, modern nation.</p>		
<p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p>			

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<p>Australia to remain neutral in any confrontation between the USA and China;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> realistic analyses by experts have asserted that any confrontation between the USA and China is a contest the USA (and therefore Australia) cannot expect to win; Australia cannot expect that in the event of a military confrontation between the USA and either China or Russia, America will subordinate its interests to Australia's and risk its own security or people to defend Australia, nor do the terms of our alliance with America under the ANZUS treaty oblige it to; wars between major powers in the nuclear age are not and never will be in Australia's interest; aiding one side (expected to be the USA) in a war between nuclear armed major powers is highly likely to result in nuclear and conventional attacks on 	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>	<p>Despite significant efforts in the same period by governments to drum up support for war with China and for Australia's participation in such a war, agreement that Australia should support the USA in a military conflict with China never rose above 46%. Source: Lowy Institute Polls 2021, 2022 and 2023.</p> <p>In November 2023, a survey by Essential Research reported that "in terms of the current tensions between the US and China", Australians preferred that Australia:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> should remain neutral = 67% on average; should support the United States = 27% on average; and should support China = 6% on average. <p>Despite significant efforts in the same period by governments to drum up support for war with China and for Australia's participation in such a war, the evidence is that in 2023 Australians' support for participation in a war between major powers was in decline. Source: Essential Research – Australia's involvement in</p>	<p>between major powers; and</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ensure Australia can maintain (i.e., has no need to abandon or is not dragged to abandon) a neutral position in any war or warlike operation involving one or more major powers. <p>Australia's government had also rejected all proposals for parliamentary involvement in decisions on war (and therefore consideration of adoption of a policy of neutrality in relation to any war) despite the fact that in a nation-wide statistically valid survey in April 2023 over 90% of Australians answered Yes to the question: "Do you think the Prime Minister should be required to get approval from parliament before making a decision to go to war?" Source: Independent and Peaceful Australia Network, "Australians vote overwhelmingly for Parliamentary oversight of a declaration of war – April 2023". Source: Australian Government, Defence, Government's response to the inquiry into international armed conflict decision making", media release, 8 August 2023.</p> <p>Instead, the Australian government had webbed Australia more tightly</p>
	<p>Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</p>		
	<p>Gov 13 A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.</p>		
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>		
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>		
	<p>Soc 15 Confident of justice for all.</p>		
<p>Soc 16 A society prepared and resilient in times of disaster.</p>			
<p>Env 1 A leading global advocate for action on climate change.</p>			
<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve</p>			

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<p>between major powers (such as the USA, China and Russia);</p> <p>2. do all things necessary to prevent confrontations between major powers which would have the effect of exposing Australia to military attack and/or to breaches of international law; and to</p> <p>3. do all things necessary to ensure Australia can maintain (i.e., has no need to abandon or is not dragged to abandon) a neutral position in any war or warlike operation involving one or more major powers.</p> <p>.....</p> <p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: National plan for safe withdrawal from activities, agreements and alliances inhibiting sovereign independence and peace Gov12.04.03 By 2024/25, recognising that compliance with Gov12.04.02 for neutrality in confrontations</p>		<p>to war and its loss of independence in defence and foreign policy, culminating in campaigns against:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • AUKUS, • the acquisition of nuclear-powered attack submarines, • the Force Posture Agreement and • US military bases within Australia. <p>Source: Independent and Peaceful Australia Network (IPAN).</p> <p>In 2024, proposals for adoption of a policy of neutrality emerged noting that in the United Nations, “It is understood that a neutral country will defend its neutrality and independence if attacked but will not support belligerents engaged in wars elsewhere. A neutral country will not allow foreign military bases or foreign military activities on its soil.” Source: Bevan Ramsden, “Most Australians in favour of neutrality”, Independent Australia, 31 January 2024.</p> <p>In 2024, the Independent and Peaceful Australia Network (IPAN) deliberated on development of a policy based on the principle of “non-nuclear armed neutrality”. Source: Independent and Peaceful Australia Network (IPAN), Alternative Self-Defence Working Group,</p>	<p>The longer term trend and outlook are negative.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>.....</p> <p>In 2025, the Australian government had given no consideration to processes for disarmament (gradual or otherwise) or withdrawal from any activities or alliances which inhibit Australia’s independence, sovereignty, potential for neutrality in global conflicts, and chances of peace. All steps in defence policy (including weapons exports</p>

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<p>between major powers and conformance with other strategies under:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gov12.02 – Prohibition of weapons exports; • Gov12.02.01 – Ratification of and conformance with the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW); • 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; and • Gov12.04.01 – Green Paper and community engagement to define Australia’s Strategic Interests in Territorial Sovereign Defence, and • Env02.04.01 – Elimination of military greenhouse gas emissions (including by capping defence budgets to 2% of GDP), <p>will oblige Australian governments to give full and serious</p>		<p>draft Alternative Self-Defence Policy for an Independent Australia, 1 August 2024.</p>	<p>policies, funding of think tanks with conflicts of interest, and refusal to ratify the TPNW – see Gov12.02, Gov12.03 and Gov12.02.01 above) were dragging Australia the other way, towards increasing nuclear proliferation, war, and the perilous climatic, economic, and human rights abuse consequences of armaments (see Gov12.04 above).</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center"></p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are negative.</p> <p align="center"></p>

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<p>consideration to methods for beginning processes of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • disarmament; and/or • disengagement from arms build-up, wars, warlike operations and other military operations and intelligence, <p>ensure that the federal government develops a plan for safe withdrawal from any activities, agreements (including AUKUS) and alliances (including ANZUS) which inhibit Australia’s capacity for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • independence in defence and sovereignty; • neutrality in military confrontations involving one or more major powers; and • promotion of peace. <p>By 2024/25, this draft plan must be shared in the fully open consultation with Australians envisaged in Gov12.04.01 for collaborative development of the Statement of Australia’s Strategic Interests in Territorial Sovereign Defence.</p>			

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Indicators, Targets & Strategies for successful performance	In the Directions of becoming ...	Baseline data	Direction of movement from baseline
<p>Development of the capacity of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) and abolition of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI) Gov12.05</p> <p>By 2024:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> dissolve the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI); and legislate to prohibit the involvement of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> foreign military personnel and ex-personnel, any foreign arms industry representatives, anyone associated with or who has been associated with strategic policy development or intelligence agencies in or for foreign nations, from association with centres of defence, intelligence and 	<p>Gov 12 A nation assured of enduring peace.</p>	<p>From around 2017 the Australian government’s foreign policy capability 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 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”.</p> <p>By 2021, institutional arrangements for the development of Australian foreign policy focussed squarely on maintaining peace,</p>	<p>In 2024, the Australian government released its National Defence Strategy and committed to double the Defence budget over 10 years from \$53 billion to \$100 billion. The 2024/25 budget proposed a mere 1.8% average annual increase in the budget for diplomacy until 2027/28. This represented budget cuts in real terms for diplomacy services.</p> <p>The massive imbalance between projected funding for aggression and for diplomacy was such as to substantially reduce Australia’s capacity to prevent international conflict. This was aggravated by the fact that the government had no integrated strategy for defence, diplomacy and security (see Gov12.04 and Gov12.04.01 above) and vital policies on international relations and defence strategy were being set by engagement with heavily conflicted, foreign-influenced think tanks instead of independent unconflicted institutes and experts (see Gov12.03 above).</p>
	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing & affirming decency.</p>		
	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>		
	<p>Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</p>		
	<p>Gov 13 A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.</p>		
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		

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<p>foreign policy development and/or activities in Australia, either as a contractor, sub-contractor, advisor or collaborator.</p> <p>By 2025, after establishing an Integrated Strategy for Defence, Diplomacy and 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 international military relationships to ensure they are aligned with the overarching objectives of the Integrated Strategy for purposes of security, national resilience, economic prosperity and peace in our region.</p> <p>By 2026, develop a new workforce plan for DFAT to ensure it retains the capacity for foreign policy development and leadership in</p>	<p align="center">Econ 9</p> <p align="center">Productive & prosperous through fair & ethical trade agreements, labour hire & procurement.</p>	<p>cooperation and stability in the Asia-Pacific region had failed completely due to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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. <p>See Note¹²⁰ for baseline reference materials.</p>	<p>Source: Australian Government, Defence media release, 14 May 2024. Source: Federal Budget 2024/25.</p> <p>In 2025:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI) remained in receipt of government funds despite being funded by foreign governments and arms manufacturers/dealers; • foreign military personnel and ex-personnel were directly involved in foreign and defence policy formulation; and • the capacity of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade to deliver diplomacy and sound foreign policy had been severely depleted by budget reductions relative to that of defence staff. <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p align="center"></p>

¹²⁰ 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.

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<p>implementation of the Integrated Strategy for Defence, Diplomacy and Security.</p> <p>By 2026 ensure the new workforce plan is fully costed and funded.</p>			<p>The longer term trend and outlook are negative.</p> <p align="center"></p>
<p>Top Priority Target/Strategy: Constitutional reform – Parliamentary supremacy in decisions on entry into war Gov12.06</p> <p>By 2030, in association with the Constitutional Convention under Gov04.01 and the National Collaborative Process for Development of the Australian People’s Constitution under Gov04.01.01, ensure that the Australian Constitution:</p> <p>a) explicitly accords to the parliament, and only the parliament, the power to decide whether Australia shall be involved in wars or warlike operations in foreign countries;</p> <p>b) prohibits the exercise of power by both the parliament and the executive for the purpose of entering into any war or warlike operation in another sovereign country that may be unauthorised</p>	<p>Gov 12 A nation assured of enduring peace.</p>	<p>In 1946, Australia signed the Charter of the United Nations and ratified the treaty as an instrument of international law to which Australia had bound itself. The treaty, among other things, prohibits the use of force in international relations and requires that all members shall:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered”; and • “refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.” <p>Source: United Nations Charter</p>	<p>In 2023, Australians for War Powers Reform submitted a Response to the Parliamentary Inquiry into War Powers, stating that “the problem remains of decisions for war being in the hands of a tiny number of people, and it is an increasingly urgent problem to resolve.” AWPR also noted “the very significant warnings against change that were given by Defence Minister Marles and Foreign Minister Wong very early in the inquiry process (see Gov05.02 above). These were not good faith interventions but were anti-democratic and clearly intended to squash any aspirations for change on the scale that’s needed.”</p> <p>In particular, and in response to the committee’s finding that “decisions regarding armed conflict including war or warlike operations are fundamentally a prerogative of the Executive”, AWPR stated that “The Constitution doesn’t specify an</p>
	<p>Gov 1 A proactive participatory democracy.</p>		
	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing and affirming decency.</p>		
	<p>Gov 3 A nation with avowed rights for all.</p>		
	<p>Gov 4 A free, self-governing, modern nation.</p>		
	<p>Gov 5 Open, transparent & accountable in its governments & institutions.</p>		
	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders’ conduct.</p>		
	<p>Gov 10 A guardian of freedom & accountability in political discourse, news media & the wider information market.</p>		
	<p>Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</p>		
<p>Gov 13 A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.</p>			

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<p>c) by the UN Security Council or has been deemed illegal under the United Nations Charter or any other international law to which Australia is a signatory; and prohibits parliamentary and executive approval of entry into wars in other countries without an explicit demonstration of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • how it is in the national interest, and • how participation by Australia in any war or warlike operation is consistent with and seeks to uphold the values and rights of Australians as expressed by them in their Constitution. 	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>	<p>In 1985, 1988, 2003, 2008 and 2020 private members’ and senators’ bills were submitted for consideration by the federal parliament, the objective of which was to “ensure that, as far as is constitutionally and practically possible, Australian Defence Force personnel are not sent overseas to engage in warlike actions without the approval of both Houses of the Parliament.” Source: Defence Amendment (Parliamentary Approval of Overseas Service) Bill 2020.</p> <p>In 2020, a nation-wide poll revealed that “83.3% of Australians want parliament to decide whether our troops are sent into armed conflict abroad ... and only 16.7% said they favour the current system whereby the Prime Minister and the executive alone decide if Australia goes to war.” Source: Australians for War Powers Reform Media Release, “Huge majority of Australians support war powers reform”, 2020.</p> <p>In 2023, the federal Parliamentary Joint standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade in an Inquiry into international armed conflict decision</p>	<p>Executive prerogative to make decisions about going to war. The Australian people have never agreed to this, and in fact opinion polls show that the Australian people overwhelmingly do not want this.” Source: Australians for War Powers Reform, AWPR Response to the Parliamentary Inquiry into War Powers, April 2023. Source: Parliament of Australia, Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade, <i>Inquiry into international armed conflict decision making</i>, March 2023.</p> <p>Other recommendations in the report, particularly to establish a new Joint Statutory Committee on Defence to “supersede and enhance the Defence related functions currently undertaken by the Joint Standing Committee of Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade,” were plainly insidious and downright dangerous. In 2025, this committee had yet not been established but if it was it would bind any members to secrecy rather than aid transparency. If implemented in concert with other recommendations which allowed the government to withhold any information it wished from the committee and avoid the need to explain to parliament how a decision to commit armed forces</p>
	<p>Soc 2 A land with an Indigenous heart.</p>		
	<p>Soc 3 Inclusive, welcoming & enabling.</p>		
	<p>Soc 4 A place of optimal health and wellbeing.</p>		
	<p>Soc 6 A society of equals.</p>		
	<p>Soc 15 Confident of justice for all.</p>		
	<p>Soc 16 A society prepared and resilient in times of disaster.</p>		
	<p>Env 1 A leading global advocate for action on climate change.</p>		
	<p>Env 2 A net zero emissions nation.</p>		
	<p>Env 3 A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.</p>		
<p>Env 4 A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.</p>			
<p>Econ 3 A country where economic opportunity, growth & prosperity are equitably shared & living standards improve</p>			

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	continuously for all.	<p>making recommended that “the Government reaffirm that decisions regarding armed conflict including war or warlike operations are fundamentally a prerogative of the Executive, while acknowledging the key role of parliament in considering [notably not making] such decisions, and the value of improving the transparency and accountability of such [executive] decision-making and the conduct of operations.” The final report of the 2023 Inquiry therefore:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> subordinated the parliament to the executive, notwithstanding that the Senate FADT Committee in 2021 had observed that “ultimately the government is accountable to the parliament and the Australian people” and notwithstanding the principle of responsible government under the Constitution which gives the parliament supremacy in the arrangement of power; and at the same time instituted full disregard of the 	<p>was in the public interest, Australians would have even less transparency about whether the government was acting in the public interest than they do now and be even more defenceless against illegal conduct by the state. As it is, Australians still have no way of compelling the government to be accountable to them for decisions on entry into armed conflict. Australian governments can visit war upon the people regardless of the public and national interest and the risk to the lives and livelihoods of all Australians.</p> <p>The short term trend is negative.</p> <p>←</p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are both negative.</p> <p>←</p>

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		<p>parliament and the Australian people by affirming that illegal wars may be entered into without the approval of parliament, notwithstanding parliament’s long standing ratification of international law prohibiting such.</p> <p>Source: Parliament of Australia, Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade, <i>Inquiry into international armed conflict decision making</i>, March 2023.</p> <p>Source: Australian Senate, Senate Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Legislation Committee, Defence Amendment (Parliamentary Approval of Overseas Service) Bill 2020, November 2021.</p> <p>Between 2002 and 2024 Australia participated in a range of wars which are illegal under the United Nations Charter and thereby exposed Australians to forfeit of the rights and benefits of membership of the UN, including the prospect of achieving a peaceful world.</p>	

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Governance 13 – Humanitarian effort

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<p>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 thereafter by at least \$0.5 billion per annum until 2030, in recognition of the need to fund significant increases in Official Development Assistance (ODA) consistent with planning under Gov11.04 to enhance adaptation capacity for nations threatened by climate change.</p>	<p>Gov 13 A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.</p>	<p>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</p> <p>In 2019/20, federal budgeted expenditure for foreign aid was \$4.044 billion, down 20% from actual expenditure in 2014/15 of \$5.04 billion. Source: Australian Aid Tracker</p>	<p>In 2024/25, Australia’s foreign aid budget – Official Development Assistance (ODA) was set at \$4.961 billion (0.19% of gross national income – GNI) and was projected to increase by approximately 2.5% per annum until 2036/37. The projected increases meant that ODA was expected to decline in real terms. In 2025, Australian Aid Tracker stated that, “Australia’s aid generosity is now on a prolonged downward trajectory, and is projected to fall to 0.14% by 2036-37.” Source: Australian Aid Tracker, trends webpage, last accessed January 2025.</p> <p>The short term trend is neutral.</p> <p></p> <p>The longer term trend and outlook are negative.</p> <p></p>
	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing & affirming decency.</p>		
	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>		
	<p>Gov 11 A just & cooperative participant on the global stage.</p>		
	<p>Gov 12 A nation assured of enduring peace.</p>		
	<p>Soc 1 A safe home.</p>		
	<p>Soc 7 A success because of its diversity.</p>		
<p>Env 1 A leading global advocate for action on climate change.</p>			
<p>Contribution to the Green Climate Fund under the Paris Agreement Gov 13.02 By 2024, in accordance with initiatives under Env01.01, renew Australia’s commitment under the Paris Agreement to the United Nations Green Climate Fund</p>	<p>Gov 13 A nation leading in empathy & global cohesion.</p>	<p>In 2015, under the Paris Agreement, developed countries, including Australia, committed to mobilise US\$100 billion a year in climate finance by 2020. Of this, US\$20 billion has been formally pledged to the United Nations Green Climate Fund.</p> <p>From 2014 Australia committed more than \$1 billion to the fund but in 2018, Prime Minister Scott</p>	<p>In December 2023, at COP28, Australia announced it would rejoin and contribute \$50 million contribution to the Green Climate Fund. It also announced a \$100 million foundational contribution to the Pacific Resilience Facility (PRF).</p> <p>Obviously, this is far lower than contributions pledged and made between 2014 and 2018</p>
	<p>Gov 2 A nation knowing & affirming decency.</p>		
	<p>Gov 6 A world benchmark in leaders' conduct.</p>		
	<p>Gov 11 A just & cooperative</p>		

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
with a minimum pledge of \$4 billion – \$1 billion per annum from 2024 to 2027 – in addition to all other commitments to humanitarian aid and for developing nations.		participant on the global stage.	and far less than is needed from a wealthy country. Small donations of \$50 million and \$100 million are insufficient to offset costs that will be imposed on Australia as Pacific countries suffer sea level rises. They are basically a waste of money. The short term trend is neutral at best.  The longer term trend is negative. 
	Gov 12	A nation assured of enduring peace.	
	Soc 1	A safe home.	
	Econ 4	A nation fairly raising & sharing its wealth.	
	Env 1	A leading global advocate for action on climate change.	
	Env 2	A net zero emissions nation.	
	Env 3	A proactive planner of climate change adaptation.	
Env 4	A nation that puts the environment before unsustainable consumption.		
		<p>Morrison announced over talkback radio that Australia would no longer “tip money into that big climate fund”.</p> <p>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</p> <p>In 2021, the USA doubled its commitment to the Green Climate Fund and the Climate Council in 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.</p>	

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 two decades 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.

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.

The Vision for *Australia Together* is closely aligned with what Australians have said they value about their life and the future. For more information see the ACFP Fact Sheet, [Does the Vision for Australia Together reflect what Australians have said they value and want?](#), March 2024. **The answer is yes.**

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 <i>Australia Together</i> How do Directions contribute to the Vision?	
Vision element	Directions Contributing
We are all 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 have achieved a lasting reconciliation between First Nations peoples and non-Indigenous Australians, based on our shared values of justice and self-determination	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

Checking the Aim of <i>Australia Together</i> 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 Australian 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 though 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 for all	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 raised and 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, wellbeing and security 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
Democracy is assured by a well informed and engaged community of political equals	Soc 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 15 Env 1, 5 Econ 7, 8 Gov 1 through to Gov 10
We can confidently trust our parliaments, governments, and courts to act fairly and justly in accordance with the rights and interests of the public and future generations	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 <i>Australia Together</i> 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 safe, 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*. **The answer in 2025 is on balance, no.**

Vision element 1 – We are all safe

Options for a Vision By 2050 ...	Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?
<p>The current draft Vision for <i>Australia Together</i> We are all safe.</p> <p>A Reverse Vision: We are unsafe, either from threat of war or military invasion, invasion of privacy, increased crime rates, risk of domestic abuse, traffic accidents, bushfire and flood, poverty, financial ruin, infectious disease, debilitating air quality, toxic water quality, workplace injury – etc.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>There are significant indications are that we are moving away from the Vision and closer to the reverse vision.</p> <p>Getting better</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some crime rates affecting personal safety are stabilising, others are not. • Safety in public places is improving. • Safety in the workplace for women is improving. <p>Getting worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fears of being a victim of crime or external attack are increasing. • Feelings of safety in the context of world events are in decline and are seriously impacting mental health. • We are actually more at risk of involvement in war. • Fears of exclusion and violence due to ethnic origin (including indigeneity) are on the rise. • Domestic abuse, sexual assault, poverty, and extreme weather events are all on the rise. • Fear of climate or nuclear catastrophe is evident. • Australia is not prepared for or resilient enough to withstand disasters. The National Climate Risk Assessment and National Adaptation Plan have not been developed to a useful extent. Progress is too slow for cost effective climate mitigation or adaptation purposes, which means Australians cannot be confident that they are safe.

Vision element 2 – We have achieved a lasting reconciliation between First Nations peoples and non-Indigenous Australians, based on our shared values of justice and self-determination

<i>Options for a Vision By 2050 ...</i>	<i>Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?</i>
<p>The current draft Vision for Australia Together We have achieved a lasting reconciliation between First Nations peoples and non-Indigenous Australians, based on our shared values of justice and self-determination.</p> <p>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. There is no reconciliation between First Nations peoples and non-Indigenous Australians and no settlement of matters of sovereignty.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>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.</p> <p>Getting better somewhat</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some elements of the Closing the Gap program have improved during the 47th parliament. • Some states have begun to assemble treaty processes, although one state has since shut theirs down. <p>Getting worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Despite some improvements, the majority of indicators in Closing the Gap still trended away from rather than towards their respective targets, especially in relation to incarceration, removal of children from their families, and suicide. • A Voice for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders on matters that affect them has been rejected by referendum. • Our reputation as a supporter of human rights has declined because of our treatment of Indigenous and continued denial of many of their rights under the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. • There is still no acknowledgement in the founding document of the nation – the Australian Constitution – of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders as the First Nations of Australia. • The Australian government has walked back from its commitment to establish a Makarrata Commission for agreement making, truth and justice, in favour of an unspecified process of “coming together”.

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

<i>Options for a Vision By 2050 ...</i>	<i>Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?</i>
<p>The current draft Vision for Australia Together Everyone is welcome to participate positively in community life.</p> <p>A Reverse Vision: We exclude people from participation. There is little or no sense of community or belonging. Volunteering is reduced. Transport and</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>On balance, we are moving away from the Vision. But we now have the means of reversing this.</p> <p>Getting better</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • While social cohesion in Australia has continued to decline, we have the means and opportunities to reverse this. <i>Australia Together</i> offers Australians a framework to specify their preferred national direction and overcome what is a core weakness in our

Options for a Vision By 2050 ...	Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?
<p>communications systems are inadequate for connecting communities.</p>	<p>society that is life threatening for the whole nation – our susceptibility to divisive politics and lies.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 2025, increasing mis- and disinformation as well as AI and quantum computing pose an extraordinary threat to the capacity of Australians to determine what is true and what they want for their future. However, <i>Australia Together</i> and National IP&R give them a means to freely and collectively determine their preferred future rather than have it decreed by politicians and their corporate backers. All is not lost while Australians can organise themselves to use this process. National IP&R may be our only defence against loss of freedoms and control over our future. <p>Getting worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As measured in the Scanlon Index, social cohesion and particularly our sense of belonging and sense of being accepted have declined significantly since 2007. In 2024, social cohesion reached its lowest point ever since the start of the index in 2007. • The fall in social cohesion is coincident with a period where more politicians have politicised issues such as immigration, multiculturalism, and Indigenous peoples’ rights and where withdrawal of financial support provided during Covid-19 has highlighted injustice and growing inequality. • Australian’s have not reduced their vulnerability to divisive politics yet by coherently articulating what they value and stand for as a nation. This presents a significant risk. Our silence increases our vulnerability to divisive political and media campaigns and makes us more likely to enter wars which are not in Australia’s interests, if only because we, as a collective, have not said what those interests are. Further deterioration is likely in the absence of stated and agreed national values. • Volunteering has also declined significantly since 2010. • This overall picture is of a society coming apart, albeit slowly. It’s a warning of potential turmoil. We are not moving quickly enough to fix this.

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

Options for a Vision By 2050 ...	Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?
<p>The current draft Vision for Australia Together We are inspired and able to renew our physical and spiritual wellbeing.</p> <p>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.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>On balance, we are moving away from the Vision in several of the aspects of our lives that make it worth living.</p> <p>Getting better in small measure</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The health and wellbeing of Australians improved in relation to teenage birth rates but nothing else. Even life expectancy declined in this period, probably reflecting the impact of Covid-19. <p>Getting worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Almost every aspect of the physical and mental health of Australians deteriorated during the 47th parliament. • The proportion of the population living with one or more chronic conditions has continued to increase, rising from 11.4 million people (47%) in 2017/18 to 12.7 million people or 50% in 2022. This equates to an 11% increase in the number of people or 1.3 million more with chronic disease in only four years. This is challenging Australia’s health system. • In the ten years to 2022, the number of Australians with a mental or behavioural condition more than doubled from 2.996 million (13.6%) in 2011/12 to 6.632 million (26.1%) in 2022. • 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. • The increase in mental health problems for millions of Australians is coincident with growing awareness of and worry about climate change, obvious environmental degradation, pollution and extreme weather events, and a lack of hope among the young for a safe and secure future in a peaceful land. • Necessary reforms of Australia’s health care system to make it truly universal and accessible by all have not occurred. Subsidies for private health care are negatively impacting accessibility. • Large inequities in health within this country have persisted during the 47th parliament. It is evident that we will not close the gap 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 ill-health. Current funding, the structure of the health care system itself and a failure to address the causes of ill-health – particularly poverty, social exclusion, intergenerational inequity, and climate change – are aggravating the decline in the health of Australians. • The overall picture of happiness and wellbeing is continuing to move backwards. Optimism is in short supply.

Vision element 5 – We act together as a compassionate society

Options for a Vision By 2050 ...	Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?
<p>The current draft Vision for Australia Together We act together as a compassionate society.</p> <p>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.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>On balance, we are moving in the opposite direction to the Vision.</p> <p>Getting better</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Many Australians continue to reach out to help each other, particularly in food relief and civil society groups for support of the disadvantaged. <p>Getting worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The federal government has persisted with neoliberalism and policies of targeted welfare which deny support to disadvantaged Australians sufficient to ensure they can lead a life of dignity. The message promoted by the federal government is that no-one will be left behind, but the practice is to leave millions behind in poverty, hunger and homelessness. • Welfare continues to be treated not as a human right but as a privilege available only for those deemed “worthy” by the state. Poverty does not necessarily qualify a person for welfare. Compassion from the state is contingent on individuals’ satisfying “mutual obligations”, even if they are physically incapable of meeting those tests. • Corporations, by contrast, qualify as “worthy”. They qualify for billions more in welfare than the unemployed. 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. • Governments over the decade have persisted in cruelty to refugees and to those affected by war in the Middle East. • Millions of Australians displayed compassion for First Nations people in the Voice referendum, but millions did not. • Australian governments have shown no compassion whatsoever for future generations and act in a manner that is consigning them to the peril of climate change.

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

Options for a Vision By 2050 ...	Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?
<p>The current draft Vision for Australia Together Equality is valued as enriching human community, cultural harmony and social progress.</p> <p>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 and human capital are depleted. Business plays a socially irresponsible role instead of cooperating with workers as partners.</p>	<div style="text-align: center;">  </div> <p>On balance, Australia appears to be travelling toward the Vision in some ways but away from it in others.</p> <p>Getting better</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Australians have continued to reject growth in the gap between rich and poor. • The income and wealth gap between men and women can be seen to be decreasing but only very slowly. At the current rates of improvement, the gender pay gap will not be closed before 2050. • Representation of women in positions of power and senior leadership roles has been increasing. <p>Getting worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Income and wealth inequality are growing continually, albeit at a slightly slowed pace. • The “gap” for Indigenous is on balance not closing – especially in relation to incarceration, suicide and removal of children from their families. • The proportion of Australians who perceive themselves to be “middle class” has grown slightly but is still down compared to a decade prior. • Intergenerational equity is in decline. A growing number of Australians believe future generations will be less well off than their parents. • Relative to other countries, Australia’s performance in achieving gender equality in areas including educational attainment, economic opportunity and participation, and health and survival has fallen dramatically over the last two decades. • Business does not share wealth and profits fairly with Australians. Corporate profits have risen significantly as a share of GDP while wages have fallen significantly as a share of GDP.

Vision element 7 – Diversity is positively appreciated as a basis for a successful Australian society

Options for a Vision By 2050 ...	Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?
<p>The current draft Vision for Australia Together Diversity is positively appreciated as a basis for a successful Australian society.</p> <p>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 both the financial and creative economies suffer.</p>	<div style="text-align: center;">  </div> <p>On balance, Australia appears to be travelling neither toward nor away from a Vision in which diversity is viewed as a strength.</p> <p>Getting no better or worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Australians continue to strongly support multiculturalism, although they would prefer it to be less diverse than it is. • Australian law still enables some types of discrimination on religious grounds. No progress has been made on this issue during the 47th parliament. <p>Getting worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experience of discrimination and rejection because of skin colour increased from 2013 and has not subsided. • Between 2021 and 2024, the proportion of people who felt racism is now a fairly big or very big problem in Australia rose steadily from 60% to 63%. • Australia’s Constitution continues to enable discrimination on the grounds of race (sections 25 and 51(xxvi)). This especially and adversely affects Indigenous Australians. Their chances of suffering discrimination are now worse than before the referendum, especially since the federal and Queensland governments moved to shut down Makarrata processes. • There has been an obvious regression in bipartisan national commitment to multiculturalism with the Liberal/National Coalition campaigning against the Indigenous Voice and calling for other exclusionist and even punitive policies for migrants and refugees.

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

<i>Options for a Vision By 2050 ...</i>	<i>Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?</i>
<p>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.</p> <p>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. The nation is unable to draw on everyone’s talents, so the economy suffers.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>Insufficient funding of the higher and public education sectors continues. On balance, Australia is moving away from this element of the Vision.</p> <p>Getting better but only temporarily</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Student debt has been reduced somewhat but fees and debt are still a major barrier to education. • Fee-free TAFE places have increased but there is no guarantee that this is permanent. • The government has released “Working Future”, a white paper on jobs and industries, the main objective of which was to deliver “sustained and inclusive full employment.” Short term benefits will arise from the roadmap but its preference for targeted welfare, as opposed to universal income security, will embed inequality and hamper progress with the roadmap itself. <p>Getting worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The educational sector continues to be underfunded in Australia and is programmed to decline. With these funding arrangements, the government is set to fail on its own targets for productivity and increases in Australians with university degrees. • Distribution of funds for school education remains highly unequal, with a disproportionate amount going to private schools compared to public schools. 98% of private schools are still being funded above the School Resourcing Standard while more than 98% of public schools are funded below it. • The failure to restore fee-free university degrees will also spell failure for productivity targets. The affordability of tertiary education has continued to fall. • An obsession within the higher education sector with getting students “job-ready” to work for profit-driven corporations (via technical studies) rather than life-ready (via humanities studies) will also reduce Australia’s capacity to address the social determinants of ill-health and to design new institutions to support the creation of a public interest economy. • The government has failed to recognise lifelong education as a fundamental human right. • Less than half of Australians feel optimistic about the country’s future. Australians’ economic optimism declined between 2021 and 2024 when it reached its lowest recorded point (58%) in twenty years (bar 2020, the first year of Covid-19). • 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.

<i>Options for a Vision By 2050 ...</i>	<i>Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?</i>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work which is enormously valuable to any society (such as welfare services in aged care or cleaning or nursing or childcare or teaching) but which is severely undervalued in terms of wages, continues to be undervalued (notwithstanding some increases in pay for childcare and aged care workers). • The federal government’s “Working Future” roadmap doesn’t take Australians towards employment of choice; it takes them toward employment of an employer’s choice. In that form, it does not offer net progress towards the Vision for <i>Australia Together</i> and does not offer security through transitions. Prospects for income security and employment of choice are adversely impacted by the federal government’s white paper roadmap and its lack of integration with programs for security and equity.

Vision element 9 – Vital services are fully accessible for all

<i>Options for a Vision By 2050 ...</i>	<i>Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?</i>
<p>The current draft Vision for <i>Australia Together</i> Vital services are fully accessible for all.</p> <p>A Reverse Vision: Human dignity is lost for the aged, in family services, justice, health and employment. Opportunity is lost for all because universality of services has been destroyed.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>On balance, we are moving away from the Vision.</p> <p>Getting better in part</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to affordable childcare is improving for some but is still not affordable for the poorest. It should be free. <p>Getting worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to health services has been reduced due to destruction of universality in Australia’s health care system since 1999 and its replacement with a system that supports the wealthy not the less wealthy, the old and not the young. • Australians do not have security of services in health, aged care, childcare, disability or housing. • Projected funding for health in the longer term is unlikely to cover the full expected costs and funding in the short term is set to decline as a proportion of GDP. • The federal budget continues to be structured to subsidise private health care insurers and providers at great and unnecessary expense to Australians. Private health insurance makes the system more expensive than it needs to be. • Governments have continued to deny Australians the most cost-efficient system for their health – a universal system of reliable and equitable public funding for an integrated public and private health care system. They are baking in inequality of access to health care. The system is resembling the American health care model more and more each year. • Refusals by the federal government to take on the role of direct provider of public housing are consigning millions of young Australians to a cycle of poverty. Home ownership rates among Australians aged under 45 are back to where they were in the late 1940s and 1950s.

<i>Options for a Vision By 2050 ...</i>	<i>Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?</i>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reform of the Aged Care Act, which was promoted as a “rights-based” law, offered only limited rights to access the aged care system itself and encoded no obligation on the government to provide access or to ensure sufficient services are available. A major flaw in the Act was its tacit but nevertheless extensive reliance on the private sector to meet consumer needs. • In the longer term, as a direct result of the new Aged Care Act, Australians cannot be sure that aged care services will be there for them when they reach old age at all. Clients will be dependent on the good graces of those private providers who were found during the Royal Commission to be by far the worst abusers of clients. • Justice was further eroded by the new Aged Care Act in that it ensured no proceedings could be taken against the government or providers for breach of rights. In effect, the Aged Care Act 2024 exonerates the government from its obligations under ICESCR and the CRPD. • The recommendation of the Aged Care Royal Commission for introduction of a Medicare-style levy for aged care was rejected by the Aged Care Taskforce, in favour of increasing user charges. This represented a step away from universal and secure aged care. Incentives for private sector profit-driven involvement in aged care have been strengthened during the 47th parliament. • Privatised employment placement services are still oriented more to keeping people in long term unemployment and in poverty. • In 2025, the Australian government remained committed to taxation settings which were incapable of securing essential services for Australians and affordable access to those services for all. It was prepared to sacrifice services (particularly in housing) and/or limit service provision in pursuit of budget surpluses, no matter the cost to the most vulnerable Australians, who now number in their millions. It also favoured tax and subsidy policies which heavily incentivise industries causing climate change and thus are bound to negatively impact the wellbeing of Australians.

Vision element 10 – Scarce resources are conserved and fairly shared

<i>Options for a Vision By 2050 ...</i>	<i>Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?</i>
<p>The current draft Vision for Australia Together Scarce resources are conserved and fairly shared.</p> <p>A Reverse Vision: Resource consumption is entirely excessive and national assets are not shared.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>On balance, we are moving away from the Vision.</p> <p>Getting better – undetermined</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Australia’s most scarce natural resource is water. No monitoring is in place in <i>Australia Together</i> yet to determine a direction of travel. However, indications are not good. <p>Getting worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Equitable and sustainable access to water resources of the Murray Darling is in decline. The Murray-Darling Basin itself is experiencing significant environmental decline, with poor river

<i>Options for a Vision By 2050 ...</i>	<i>Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?</i>
	<p>health, declining fish populations, and degraded habitats primarily due to excessive water extraction for agriculture, compounded by climate change. While some progress has been made with the Murray-Darling Basin Plan, significant challenges remain in achieving environmental flow targets and addressing the complex water management issues across multiple states.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Water rights continue to be 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. • Indigenous people remain distant from the benefits of water ownership and participation in the water market. Their engagement and role in water remain limited; some states and territories have progressed, but most lag. Data capture by states and territories remains a gap in knowledge and prevents reporting on and assessment of Indigenous inland water. • National mineral assets are being heavily exploited by private corporations with little or negative returns to Australians, principally because mining royalties are too low and there is no carbon price in Australia. • In the forward estimates of the 2024/25 federal budget, fossil fuel subsidies were projected to increase from \$57 billion to a record \$65 billion. All up, Australians were being made to increase their subsidies to the fossil fuel industry by \$8 billion over three years while clawing back only \$2.4 billion extra in PRRT. Australians aren't just giving gas away for free, they are being made to pay gas exporters to take it away. They are also being left with the bill for restoration. • Australia's attachment to mining as a key source of national income that can be enjoyed by all Australians is an illusion as most profits are offshored and not reinvested in Australia. Over-investment in mining and fossil fuel extraction is a key reason why Australia has become the least self-sufficient economy in the developed world with the lowest share of manufacturing in its economy of any OECD country. • Australia has not moved towards sustainability in agriculture. A CSIRO roadmap set targets for five identified areas of opportunity but was underpinned by assumptions that current Australian government targets for a 43% reduction in greenhouse gas emissions by 2030 and net zero emissions by 2050 would allow for sustainable food production in Australia, when the reality is that those emission reduction targets will destroy the possibility of sustainable food production because they will create climatic conditions that will make current forms of agriculture unworkable. • Australia has been successful in initiatives to secure returns from agriculture but not in securing the future of food production itself. If plans for agriculture are to work, the government must do all that is necessary to stop planetary heating as soon as possible.

Vision element 11 – National wealth is fairly raised and fairly shared

Options for a Vision By 2050 ...	Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?
<p>The current draft Vision for Australia Together National wealth is fairly raised and fairly shared.</p> <p>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 and is irreversible. 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 national income via a fair and equitable welfare system has ceased.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>On balance, we are moving away from the Vision.</p> <p>Getting better – not so much</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A royal commission into Robodebt uncovered its full horror as a fundamental breach of several human rights. However, pursuit of welfare recipients for debts is still favoured above programs to reduce corporate welfare. No consideration has been given to welfare as a universal human right or to the concept that fair and indisputable shares of national wealth can be distributed to all Australians if targeted welfare is replaced with a universal basic income (UBI). Justice has not been done for the victims of Robodebt because of the failure of the NACC to act on referrals by the Royal Commission. • In 2024, legislation to establish both a global and domestic minimum tax of 15% for large multinationals was passed. The 15% rate was too low, but it was a positive change in that it should (might) mean multinationals will be unable to pay no tax. However, 15% effectively embeds a tax cut of 50% for these companies. They should be paying 30%. <p>Getting worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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. • The taxation system is getting less progressive and no compensating fairer re-distribution system, such as a UBI, is being considered. • 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 effective regulation, is embedding corruption and theft from Australians. • Duopoly control of news media by Murdoch and Nine is ejecting both truth and balance from mainstream journalism, which in turn is turbocharging wealth inequality and unfair taxation. • Shares of the national wealth generated through the labour of Australians are not being returned to workers 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 2024, only 52.5% of national income went to Australians in wages and the share that went to corporate profits had increased to 29.4%. • No progress has been made on development of an Accord between Australians and their parliaments on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing. There are still no terms of agreement between Australians and governments as to the principles that should

Options for a Vision By 2050 ...	Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?
	<p>govern any decisions that may be made for the purpose of securing wellbeing, equality, and a future of safety for all citizens. The result of the failure to establish this Accord is rising inequality and unfair distribution of the burden of taxation and the benefits of public monies. For examples of the growth of unfairness in Australia see especially the sections on Housing and Education. In 2025, the extent to which corporate welfare (eg., subsidies for fossil fuels, private health insurers) outstrips payments for the wellbeing of everyday Australians is appalling. Australians will not be able to build fairness back into their social and economic systems without a National Accord on Wealth, Welfare and Wellbeing.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No progress has been made to ensure the Australian community can become more involved in national financial planning (participatory budgeting). • During the 47th parliament the federal government remained committed to targeted welfare in preference to universal income and services security. This commitment remained despite the fact that a targeted welfare system is more expensive than universal systems, inasmuch as it creates the conditions for increasing poverty and therefore drives up the cost of services. By contrast, universal systems prevent poverty and therefore contain the cost of services, especially in health. The targeted welfare system is embedding social and economic inequality into the foundations of Australian society. It constitutes a rejection of the “fair go” and equal opportunity. While it persists, targeted welfare is highly unlikely to take Australia towards the Vision for <i>Australia Together</i>. • Refusal by governments to engage with Australians regarding a universal basic income (UBI) also denied them the opportunity to design and establish a fair taxation system in which service security could be guaranteed. • No progress has been made in tax reforms that would establish fairness in funding for services, such as the introduction of a tax on all electronic financial transactions – a tax which is known to raise huge funds for services more efficiently and fairly than any other, especially if it were to be implemented in conjunction with a universal basic income. • Amendments to the Stage 3 tax cuts in 2024, although they looked fairer, still left substantial tax hikes in place for the low paid. They have baked in increases in taxation for low income earners that will arise from bracket creep. • No progress has been made with introduction of a corporate cash flow tax or a corporate super profits tax. Tax avoidance by major corporates has continued to increase with several big companies paying no tax. • No positive progress has been made to price or tax carbon.

Vision element 12 – Our economy is sustainable and supports rewarding opportunities and continuous improvements in living standards, wellbeing and security for everyone

Options for a Vision By 2050 ...	Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?
<p>The current draft Vision for Australia Together Our economy is sustainable and supports rewarding opportunities and continuous improvements in living standards, wellbeing and security for everyone.</p> <p>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. The Vision for <i>Australia Together</i> is defeated in full.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>On balance, we are moving away from the Vision. Relatively small gains made in the short term are baking structural weakness into the economy for the longer term.</p> <p>Getting better</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little to no evidence has been found that Australia’s current economy is sustainable. However, evidence is available that cost of living relief has been well managed by the federal government and in a fiscally responsible way. Inflation has been brought down without significantly increasing unemployment. Cost of living pressures have been well managed by the government despite a lack of assistance from the Reserve Bank in its very poor management of monetary policy. • Employment prospects for Australians have improved significantly, due to long overdue expansion of the public sector in health, education and social services. • Some progress has been made in relation to fair transition towards a lower carbon economy with the establishment of the Net Zero Economy Authority. <p>Getting better but only for a short while</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The federal government’s Future Made in Australia (FMIA) initiative may assist with improving the complexity and sustainability of Australia’s economy, although it is unlikely to transform Australia into a renewable energy superpower before global heating overwhelms the planet and destroys the economic returns that might otherwise have accrued. The excessive amount of spending on defence in the FMIA will undo twice over the gains that can be made in transition to renewable energy. Excessive expenditures on defence in the FMIA (which are more than twice as much as other planned expenditures in the program and will cause heavy increases in carbon emissions as well as diversion of scarce human capacity away from more sustainable industries) are likely to weaken the economy in the face of climate change and expose Australia unnecessarily to a greater risk of war. <p>Getting worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Despite increasing public sector employment, the federal government has continued to restrict government sector participation in the national economy. Such restrictions are unnecessary and counter-productive. In 2025, the Australian government remains over-reliant on the private sector to deliver programs and is not protecting taxpayer investments in Australia by maintaining public ownership and operation of services and infrastructure. This neoliberalism has resulted in decades of lost returns for the public, declines in the quality of services (eg., aged care) and price increases, especially for electricity, gas, health cover, and housing.

<i>Options for a Vision By 2050 ...</i>	<i>Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?</i>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neoliberalism has also resulted in an economy that lacks the complexity necessary for sustainability and maintenance of quality of life. Australia has become the least self-sufficient economy in the developed world with the lowest share of manufacturing in its economy of any OECD country. The Future Made in Australia initiative is not well designed and is unlikely to turn this around quickly enough or sufficiently. • Australia is also very poorly placed to capitalise on opportunities to diversify industries and increase exports of products embodying renewable energy because it has not applied a price on carbon, a carbon solutions levy or other financial mechanism necessary to drive investment in renewable energy and forms of green manufacturing and industrial production. Australia is also running out of time to ensure Australian producers will have tariff free access to EU markets and realise a green premium for their products where CBAMs apply. • Poverty in Australia has been rising. More than 3 million Australians, including over 700,000 children, are living in deep poverty for extended periods of time. • Australia continued to be extremely unlikely to meet its 2015 commitments to reach the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGs) by 2030. In 2025, Australia still had no integrated program of agreed essential projects and no federal budget supporting either Commonwealth projects or voluntarily offered projects by other levels of government and the private sector aimed at achieving the UNSDGs. These goals matter more to the fate of species, including humans, than any others. Australia's response is extremely disappointing. There has been next to no progress in in ten years. • Between 2022 and 2024, GDP growth per annum dropped from 4.2% to 3.4% and then to 1.4%. However, the type of GDP growth we have achieved is a bad thing anyway because it is causing breaches of several planetary boundaries which will cause growth in species extinction and therefore poverty and hunger world-wide. The rate of extinction is now 1,000 times faster than before the Industrial Revolution. If this continues, scientists warn, the Earth will be able to support only another sixty years of harvests. Australia's rates of species extinction are among the highest in the world. Obviously, this is not good for the economy. • Reliance on export markets in minerals is increasingly self-defeating since the profits are being largely offshored and relatively few jobs (only about 2%) 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 (well over 25%) – are being underfunded or privatisation is continuing, which is causing cost increases. • Living standards are falling, particularly as measured by affordability of housing. • Australia still has no overall planning process for composition and re-composition of its economy over the longer term and no accepted tools for guidance in reforms to compose a sustainable economy. Decisions on public investments and incentives for economic and industry development strongly favour neoliberal approaches of transferring public funds to support private sector,

Options for a Vision By 2050 ...	Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?
	<p>profit-driven ventures at the expense of essential services and payments for the public. The government remained wedded to trying to make the market work for the various social ends that it was seeking rather than to expansion of direct involvement by the public sector as a competitor to the private sector on a level playing field. This is doomed to fail.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is strong evidence that the Australian economy should be weaned off its dependency on mining and particularly fossil fuels. • Preparation for economic and energy supply transitions has been more <i>ad hoc</i> and reactive than proactive and, overall, was more likely to result in greater rather than less exposure to risks of war and climate change. • Reviews of competition policy did not prioritise a reversal of neoliberal policies and market domination by private monopolies. On the contrary, the government espoused policies that downgraded the potential for public sector involvement in markets to act as an effective and essential brake on any excesses arising from anti-competitive activity by the private sector. The lack of policy favouring an expanded and strong public sector presence in direct competition with private players, particularly in human services, poses a significant threat to efficient and sustainable market structures. • In 2025, positive steps such as a Net Zero Economy Authority are set to be undermined by other policy settings, especially those for tax and subsidies.

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 ...	Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?
<p>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.</p> <p>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.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>On balance, we are moving away from the Vision.</p> <p>Getting better in the short term, not in the long term</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 2022, Australia made a commitment under the UNFCCC for the first time to a carbon budget. It adopted a multi-year emissions budget from 2021-2030 of 4,381 Mt CO₂-e, based on a 43% reduction by 2030. This budget is not sufficient to contain heating to below 2° Celsius, let alone 1.5° as per Australia’s commitment under the Paris Agreement. It means Australia is unlikely to achieve net zero before 2056, by which time we will have emitted a total of 8,147 Mt (from 2022 to 2056), well over what Australia should emit to contain heating. However, it’s a start. • In 2024, the Australian government’s target for renewable electricity was to increase the share of the National Electricity Market (NEM) to 82% by 2030. But it was not planning actions in renewable energy sufficient to stop planetary heating. Nor were market settings sufficient to ensure the target will be met. • The \$20 billion Rewiring the Nation initiative to modernise the electricity grid and deliver new and upgraded transmission

Options for a Vision By 2050 ...	Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?
	<p>infrastructure was an improvement, although it was all directed to private investment which will not allow Australians to share as much in the returns. In 2023, reliance on the private sector did not lead to added capacity in electricity generation sufficient to meet the government’s target of 82% of electricity from renewable sources by 2030.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Federal government actions to address climate change are all undermined by approvals of more coal and gas extraction and expansion of fossil fuel exports. • Australia still has the capacity to become a renewable energy superpower but has not created the market conditions necessary for that purpose. <p>Getting worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 2025, Australia is no closer to setting a target for achievement of net zero emissions within a safe and fair budget of carbon emissions. No evidence is present of an intention to adopt a safe carbon budget, which in 2024 would be in the order of 3,530 Mt CO₂-e (3.5 BT). From 2020, Australia should aim to emit no more than 3.53 BT <i>ever</i>. • Australia continues to behave in Paris Agreement talks in a manner that will defeat global efforts to stop whatever planetary heating can still be stopped. The Labor government’s legislation to reduce emissions by 43% below 2005 levels by 2030, combined with its refusal to cap total emissions, its poor leadership in UNFCCC COPs (compared to what should be forthcoming from a wealthy country), and its ongoing approvals of fossil fuel extraction and export, effectively guarantees heating above 2° Celsius. • The federal government has approved 10 new coal mines or expansions and has also granted permits for new gas exploration and sea dumping off the coasts of Western Australia, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania. These projects will also increase Australia’s emissions. Overall, during the 47th parliament, the government has been adding emissions, not reducing them and has thereby been making it impossible to meet net zero within the timeframe of this plan.

Vision element 14 – Stewardship of ecology is affirmed as fundamental to planetary and human survival

Options for a Vision By 2050 ...	Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?
<p>The current draft Vision for Australia Together Stewardship of ecology is affirmed as fundamental to planetary and human survival.</p> <p>A Reverse Vision: The ecosystems on which human life depends are so depleted that human life can no longer be sustained.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"></p> <p>On balance, we are moving away from the Vision.</p> <p>Getting better – not so much</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Three “Nature Positive” bills have been introduced to parliament to begin reforms necessary to compensate for the inadequacies of the Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation (EPBC) Act but in November 2024, the bills were reportedly “killed off” (in their original form at least) by the prime minister in response to objections by the Western Australian premier and the mining lobby. • The government committed to a target of protecting 30% of Australia’s land and seas by 2030 but failed to select a baseline on nature abundance for measurement purposes. Unless a baseline is established, nature loss may not be halted at all. <p>Getting worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the period of the 47th parliament, the government walked away from its commitment to introduce a suite of laws to effectively address Australia’s extinction crisis, including new national environmental standards against which development proposals would be assessed. In its first term of office, the Labor government achieved nothing to overcome the failures of Australia’s environmental laws and administration. • The amount of threatened species habitat approved to be razed under federal law more than doubled in 2024 (25,769 hectares) compared to 2023 (10,426 hectares). • Extinction of Australia’s diverse flora and fauna has continued apace. During the 47th parliament, an extra 188 species of fauna were listed as threatened, bringing the total threatened fauna species to 666. An extra 110 species of flora were listed as threatened, bringing the total threatened flora species to 1,472. • Abundance of Australia’s threatened and near-threatened species has declined by 60% since 1985. • The State of the Environment Report 2021 stated, among other things, that native vegetation is still being cleared and invasive species are increasing. • No progress has been made on legislation prohibiting deforestation. • There has been no evident progress towards securing public funding for rewilding lands affected by unsustainable forms of farming and grazing, or by mining and forestry.

Vision element 15 – Democracy is assured by a well informed and engaged community of political equals

Options for a Vision By 2050 ...	Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?
<p>The current draft Vision for <i>Australia Together</i> Democracy is assured by a well informed and engaged community of political equals.</p> <p>A Reverse Vision: Democracy is weak or overtaken by autocracy. People are too frightened to participate, let alone protest. Human rights are extinguished.</p>	<div style="text-align: center;">  </div> <p>On balance, we have been moving a little more away from being a strong, participatory democracy. But we now have the means of reversing this. Progress is the result of initiatives by civil society groups rather than the parliament.</p> <p>Getting better, thanks to the community, not the parliament.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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. <i>Australia Together</i> contains a National Wellbeing Index that provides easily accessible data about the nation’s health and wellbeing. We also have a clearly prescribed, open and inclusive National Integrated Planning & Reporting¹²¹ process, including community engagement and long term national financial planning. These new processes have significant potential to ensure that Australians can participate in Australia’s democracy as well-informed political equals. • Political participation in Australia appeared to increase during the 47th parliament in response to perceptions of an increase in social injustice and inequity. In response, though, governments have been introducing anti-protest laws, which amounts to a fundamental denial of rights to peaceful protest and freedom of expression. • In November 2023, Australian Community Futures Planning published a proposal for the conduct of a National Collaborative Process for Development of a New Australian Constitution, one fit for a 21st century democracy of political equals. A seven-step program for the convention was proposed and updates are available at https://www.austcfp.com.au/collaborative-constitutional-convention. • Civil society groups in Australia are increasingly well organised and their influence in their democracy is increasing, for example, in the “kitchen table” community groups that have selected alternative candidates for parliament to run as independents who will work to achieve progress on issues of importance to them, such as climate change, integrity in governance, and equality. <p>Getting worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Satisfaction with democracy in Australia has declined over the longer term. • Trust in democracy has been eroded somewhat although the evidence suggests that Australia’s social cohesion and equality is not yet so broken that conditions are being set for the sort of democratic upheavals and decline being experienced in America.

¹²¹ 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](#)

Options for a Vision By 2050 ...	Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?
	<p>Still, it could be headed that way if there are further increases in inequality and policies for equitable and affordable access to services and universal income security are not invoked. The outlook for Australians on this point is not encouraging, given the predisposition of the two major political parties of government that is still in favour of neoliberalism with all that it implies about services and income insecurity and a preference to do nothing about rising poverty and inequality.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No progress has been made in government circles on evolution of a Constitution fit for 21st century Australian democracy. Australia's Constitution continues to exclude Australians from any share of power in their own democracy and in particular makes it impossible to hold executive governments to account. • Progress on constitutional reform went backwards during the 47th parliament due to the failure of the Voice referendum, the Labor government's subsequent retreat from its commitment to support a Makarrata Commission, and the government's rejection of senate committee recommendations for human rights law reform. • The federal government has refused to commit to introduction of a Human Rights Act. This leaves Australians without security of their rights, even the right to vote. • The government has also treated the parliament with contempt by squashing any possible reforms that might be suggested by parliamentary committees in relation to war powers reform. The right of parliaments to reject entry into wars that are not in Australia's interests has been dismissed by the Labor government. • In 2025, Australia remained the only "democracy" in the world not to have passed a law directly implementing the ICCPR. The Australian government remained free to breach civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, unrestrained by law. In reality, a country cannot be regarded as a democracy if its citizens have no rights. Australia remains a constitutional monarchy, not a constitutional democracy. • In 2024, the Lowy Poll reported that Australians marked the Labor government's report card very hard on "promoting and defending human rights internationally", giving it a score of only 4.9 out of 10. Concern about loss of civil and political rights is increasing. • Australia remains on the precipice of collapse of its cohesion as a democratic nation due to its out of date Constitution. For more evidence, see <i>The People's Constitution: the path to empowerment of Australians in a 21st century democracy</i>, by ACFP's founder Bronwyn Kelly.

Vision element 16 – We can confidently trust our parliaments, governments, and courts to act fairly and justly in accordance with the rights and interests of the public and future generations

Options for a Vision By 2050 ...	Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?
<p>The current draft Vision for Australia Together We can confidently trust our parliaments, governments, and courts to act fairly and justly in accordance with the rights and interests of the public and future generations.</p> <p>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.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">←</p> <p>On balance, we have been moving away from the Vision. But we now have the means of reversing this. Progress is the result of initiatives by civil society groups rather than the parliament.</p> <p>Getting better, thanks to the community, not the parliament.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The representative system of government in Australia is still designed to shut down the diverse voices of the Australian community, not to give them an orderly means of expressing their will for the future – the sovereign will of the people. However, the initiatives in <i>Australia Together</i> to create a National People’s Voice and an Independent Commission for National Engagement and Integrated Planning can give Australians an independent and transparent means of assessing the performance of governments in relation to what matters most to Australians, not politicians and corporations. These initiatives are yet to be established, but the processes by which they can be established have been developed and set out in The People’s Constitution: the path to empowerment of Australians in a 21st century democracy. 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, well informed and orderly democratic engagement about choices for the future. <p>Getting worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Parliaments and governments have given no commitment to the rights of future generations. In 2025, there was little if anything in Australia law that may prevent governments and parliaments from making significant decisions that pose a material risk of harm to future generations or the natural environment and biodiversity. Rejection of an independent senator’s bill to establish a duty of care for future generations means that destructive disregard of future generations has been confirmed as a deliberate choice, rather than a piece of tacit neglect. It was one of the 47th parliament’s worst moments, trashing the rights of children and future generations. The rights of current generations are also at risk due to the government’s refusal to enact a Human Rights Act. An increasing lack of transparency is eroding trust in government. Secrecy has increased and people who blow the whistle on state corruption are being denied justice and persecuted for telling the truth about state abuses of power and crimes committed by state agents. Truth and the public interest are being fully denied. The public’s right to know about the risks we are exposed to, especially climate risk, is being denied. Informed and productive

<i>Options for a Vision By 2050 ...</i>	<i>Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?</i>
	<p>participation in democracy will be impossible if that arrangement continues.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Excessive market concentration of large news media businesses and social media companies has become a significant threat to our social cohesion, climate security, defence security, economic security, and to our democracy. • The vast majority of Australians do not believe that governments put the public before vested interests. • Establishment of the National Anti-Corruption Commission (NACC) should have been a positive but the legislation precluded transparency in investigation of corruption and the NACC seemed more likely to be inherently susceptible to corruption itself due to its poor design. In 2024, the Commissioner was found to have engaged in officer misconduct as defined in section 184(3) of the NACC Act – basically for having declared a conflict of interest but in continuing to participate in the investigation. In effect, the NACC legislation simply established another institution capable of protecting governments from oversight. It has embedded a more secretive institution prone by its legislation towards cover-ups. • The Labor government’s proposed legislation on electoral funding reform did not promote fairness in elections or “one vote = one value”. The bill was more likely to militate against equal suffrage and political equality for electors, and failed to eliminate the influence of corporate money and wealthy donors in elections. In particular the bill would reduce the capacity of new independent candidates to enter electoral competitions. Election spending caps contemplated in the bill were less restrictive for political parties than they were for independent candidates and access to public funding was inequitable. Only incumbents would benefit, not new candidates. The proposed legislation will reduce electoral equality for candidates and provide no equality for the electors. Australia is a nation without equal suffrage.

Vision element 17 – We take pride in Australia as a responsible international citizen, active in building a safe, peaceful and united world

Options for a Vision By 2050 ...	Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?
<p>The current draft Vision for Australia Together We take pride in Australia as a responsible international citizen, active in building a safe, peaceful and united world</p> <p>A Reverse Vision: We are an international pariah. Or worse – the United Nations has collapsed and corporate 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.</p>	<div style="text-align: center;">  </div> <p>On balance, we have been moving more away from the Vision than towards it, but civil society groups are leading the way towards peace.</p> <p>Getting better, thanks to the community, not the parliament.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Australia’s scores on the international Climate Change Performance Index (CCPI) improved during the 47th parliament but were still rated poorly. • Civil society is doing the most in terms of promoting peace. The Independent and Peaceful Australia Network (IPAN) continued to champion a discourse for peace and held a People’s Inquiry on the case for an independent and peaceful Australia. It was a groundbreaking community engagement and collaborative policy development process which dared to place citizens alongside the parliament and at the centre of Australia’s foreign policy and defence decisions. Consensus that the government is on the wrong track with AUKUS and national defence policies was apparent. • Civil society groups in Australia have also developed and proposed an Earth System Treaty, although the Australian government has not yet agreed to submit an Earth System Treaty to the United Nations. • Australian civil society groups also participated at the global level in a Roundtable on the Human Future, which covered a proposal to strengthen global governance by creating a People’s Assembly within the United Nations and an Earth System Treaty at the United Nations. • Other civil society groups including Australians for War Powers Reform, the International Women’s League for Peace and Freedom, the Medical Association for Prevention of War, and the Women’s Climate Congress continued to campaign for peace, justice and cooperation on the international stage. • A majority of Australians continue to support neutral postures in confrontations between major powers. There is little appetite for confrontation and aggression with China, and a substantial appetite for sound relationship management to avert war. A significant majority of Australians recognise that a war with China would not be in their interests. • The federal government has restabilised Australia’s relationship with its biggest trading partner, China, after destruction of a positive relationship under the previous government. It has also improved relationships somewhat with Pacific countries. However, actions in relation to defence postures and AUKUS are undermining the renewed trust between Australia, China and Pacific countries. • As a member of the United Nations, Australia has pledged that in international confrontations “armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest”. Australia is also a signatory to the

Options for a Vision By 2050 ...	Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?
	<p>International Convention on Genocide. Australia’s silence on an ICJ ruling may therefore be viewed as undermining the legitimacy of the highest court and the justice system within the apparatus of the UN and as condoning genocide. However, Australia’s actions late in 2024 to support an unconditional ceasefire in Gaza and a pledge to abide by international law in relation to International Criminal Court arrest warrants indicates some support, albeit belated, for the apparatus of law under the Charter of the United Nations and the Statute of the International Court of Justice, 1945.</p> <p>Getting worse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Australia remains one of the least cooperative countries in the world in terms of attempts to mitigate the impacts of its development on other nations attempting to meet the UN Sustainable Development Goals. • Australia’s level of cooperation with other nations on the biggest threat humanity has ever faced – climate change – remains poor. • Australia continued to disregard international laws and covenants protecting refugees and continued to impose unnecessary expenses on Australians for detention of migrants and displaced persons. • Australia’s military alliances are provocative of war. They continue to draw us into wars and warlike operations against countries that have not attacked Australia and are not sanctioned by the United Nations. • Australia has refrained from expressing support for the rulings of the International Court of Justice in relation to claims of genocide in Gaza and the illegality of Israel’s occupation of Palestinian territories. The government has not taken concrete steps to fully implement the ICJ’s recommendations regarding Israel’s actions in Gaza. Silence and inaction on a court ruling on genocide may lead Australia into complicity, especially if Australia has been supplying weapons components that have been used in the war. • While support for the US alliance remained high from 2020 onwards, Australia’s capacity to develop an independent defence capability and independence in sovereignty declined significantly. The government’s continuation of support for AUKUS is leading Australia away from developing an independent defence capability. Further support of AUKUS will be likely to reduce Australia’s capacity to defend itself to zero. The US alliance cannot be relied on to protect Australia. It is more likely to expose Australia to risk of wars which are not in our interests. • Between 2020 and 2024, Australia’s defence planning and its handling of the US alliance detracted significantly from the preferences expressed by Australians for peace and security during the IPAN People’s Inquiry, the ability of the parliament to consider defence strategies and decisions on war, and Australia’s capacity to develop strategies arcing towards neutrality, disarmament and peace. Defence policy was at odds with the preferences of the majority of Australians and was putting Australians in danger. • Aggressive, hawkish defence postures have almost totally eclipsed diplomacy.

<i>Options for a Vision By 2050 ...</i>	<i>Are we moving closer to the preferred Vision or in the reverse Direction?</i>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Defence advisors are still funded by foreign arms dealers and the federal government still supports obviously conflicted foreign and defence policy advisors with public funding. • The Defence Department continues to act as a quasi broker for profitable sales for private arms dealers, who then sell arms that are used to kill women and children on a very large scale in foreign countries. Between 2016 and 2023/24 the value of weapons exports from Australia increased almost 100-fold from \$1.5 billion to more than \$100 billion. It was an obscene increase in making money from selling killing machines. • Australia has still not signed the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW). The Australian government's actions in support of AUKUS have not reduced the risks posed by nuclear weapons, they have increased those risks, including by exposing Australia to becoming a target for nuclear attacks and a dumping site for the atomic wastes of the UK and US. None of this is safe for Australians. • The government's National Defence Strategy is an extremely expensive mistake for Australia especially because of its lack of integration with other programs that should be (but have not been) developed for national resilience in climate change and economic disruption. In 2025, Australia's foreign and defence policies are still undermining, not improving, national security and increasing the risk of war in our region. • The federal government shows no willingness to engage respectfully with the Australian community or even the parliament on defence, foreign policy or decisions on entry into wars. It has retained the "executive" right to enter even illegal wars without the consent of the Australian people. It has shown a contemptuous disregard of both the parliament and the will of the people of Australia, over 90% of whom have answered Yes to the question, "Do you think the Prime Minister should be required to get approval from parliament before making a decision to go to war?" • Australia's military 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. For as long as Australians governments make no plans to withdraw from the alliance, Australia will be exposing itself and its democracy to a multiplicity of dangers which far outweigh the few advantages that may still be inherent in the alliance. Risks arising from the alliance are too great for Australia to ignore. A failure to plan an orderly withdrawal will sacrifice the nation's future.

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

In *The State of Australia 2022*, a further report was provided on performance during the 46th parliament and the previous decade which set out the evidence of continuing decline. Performance in all areas was poor but it was particularly poor in relation to:

- Issue 9 – Unethical governance;
- Issue 10 – Fractious international relations;
- Issue 16 – Climate policy failure.

The following table provides an update of where we are in 2025 in relation to each of these top twenty issues based on the data in the *Australia Together* National Wellbeing Index. It also offers a

description of what we can expect to achieve by 2030 in each case based on current policies. In several cases it is apparent that urgent changes to current policies to align them with the Vision and Directions of *Australia Together* will significantly improve Australia’s chances of avoiding continuing decline.

Are we making progress in the top 20 urgent areas for the 2020s?			
The top 20 urgent areas	Direction of travel		Progress over the decade and expectations by 2030
	During the 46 th parliament	During the 47 th parliament	
Growing inequality	←	← / →	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There has been no evident reversal of the growth in income and wealth inequality over the last two decades. The gap between rich and poor has continued to grow. Tax cuts since 2019 are regressive and likely to lock in growth in inequality. Political equality is likely to decline due to continued failures in electoral reform and human rights. Australians do not yet have one vote = one value. Equality before the law is improving somewhat but is still poor. Intergenerational inequality is increasing and policy settings for housing and education are not being set to reverse this. Gender equality has improved in terms of workplace safety and representation of women in politics and senior positions but the gender pay gap is unlikely to be closed before 2050. <p>Expectations are that most forms of inequality are more than likely to grow in the 2020s due to policy settings on tax, housing, education and electoral funding. Continuing to improve gender equality may offer the best opportunities for reversing other forms of inequality.</p>
Growing poverty, homelessness and hunger	←	←	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There has been no evidence of a trend of reduction in poverty. Homelessness has been rising. Housing policies are set to increase poverty. No federal funding has been dedicated to establish an integrated national program that will help Australia meet its commitments to the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals of ending hunger and poverty in all its forms by 2030. Welfare, housing and education are not recognised as human rights and governments have not accepted their obligations to provide them for all. <p>Expectations are that poverty, hunger and homelessness will continue to rise due to policy settings on tax, housing and education.</p>
Loss of the fair go for all	←	← / →	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Distribution of national wealth has become a little fairer during the 47th parliament. There has also been some restoration of public services, repairing the damage done to vital services by the Coalition governments.

Are we making progress in the top 20 urgent areas for the 2020s?			
The top 20 urgent areas	Direction of travel		Progress over the decade and expectations by 2030
	During the 46 th parliament	During the 47 th parliament	
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> However, neoliberalism remains dominant and the expectation is that the profit-driven private sector will continue to be looked to for provision of social services. <p>Expectations are that adequate levels of service, particularly in aged care and affordable health care, are unlikely to be realised, certainly not by 2030.</p>
Growth in racial and religious conflict	←	←	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There has been a very significant and continuous pattern of decline in Australia's social cohesion. There has also been a withdrawal by the Coalition political parties from the bipartisan commitment to multiculturalism, which has wedged divisions into Australian society along racial and cultural lines. Divisions wedged by the Liberal/National Coalition into Australian society during the referendum on the Indigenous Voice did enormous damage to Indigenous Australians and to the cohesion of Australia as a whole. Australian law continues to provide permissions for racism and for discrimination on the grounds of religion. Religious conflict has been rising and has sharply increased due to the conflict in Gaza. <p>Expectations are that racial and religious tensions will continue to increase due to continuing permissions for racism in Australian law and the heavily divisive discourse of some Australian conservative politicians. Australia's legal systems are too weak and undemocratic and its social cohesion is becoming too fragile for Australians to have a reasonable expectation that by 2030 the nation will be able to withstand the sort of rise in autocratic and undemocratic systems of government that is occurring in some other countries. Major constitutional reform is required to prevent a similar decline in Australian democracy.</p>
Indigenous exclusion	←	←	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Divisions wedged by the Liberal/National Coalition into Australian society during the referendum on the Indigenous Voice have resulted in a continuing exclusion of First Nations people from an acknowledged place in their country and from the array of rights that are due to them under the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, to which Australia is a signatory. Indigenous Australians continue to suffer discrimination in law and in all manner of social policies necessary for their health and wellbeing. <p>Expectations are that sufficient steps will not be taken to ensure that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples can at least be guaranteed a voice in decisions that affect them although this could happen by 2030 if constitutional reform programs are well organised. The gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians will not be closed by 2030, if only because the government is not aiming to close it by then, or in some cases at all.</p>

Are we making progress in the top 20 urgent areas for the 2020s?			
The top 20 urgent areas	Direction of travel		Progress over the decade and expectations by 2030
	During the 46 th parliament	During the 47 th parliament	
An outmoded and failing Constitution	←	←	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Australia’s constitution continues to accord Australians no human rights and no power beyond voting to say who shall govern them. • Australia remains a constitutional monarchy with a foreign King. It is not a constitutional democracy and it does not recognise the people of Australia as either sovereign or the source of sovereignty. It gives them no means of expressing the sovereign will of the people. • The constitution militates against the participation of the people in their governance and gives them no means of holding governments to standards and to act in accordance with Australian values. • Human rights are being eroded because of a refusal by governments to protect this by putting them in the Constitution. • Australian’s have not yet organised themselves to reduce their vulnerability to divisive politics by coherently articulating what they value and stand for as a nation. This presents a significant risk. Our silence increases our vulnerability to divisive political and media campaigns and makes us more likely to enter wars which are not in Australia’s interests, if only because we, as a collective, have not said what those interests are. <p>Expectations are that further deterioration in democracy and social cohesion is likely, unless Australians can organise themselves to state their values and rights in a new constitution fit for a 21st century democracy. Opportunities for a constitutional convention led by the people of Australia themselves should be taken whenever they arise.</p>
Loss of rights, open governance and transparency	←	← / →	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Secrecy in government has been increasing. • No real reforms to increase transparency have occurred for over a decade, particularly in relation to freedom of information, transparency in political donations, and reports on matters of vital national interest (such as the risks we are facing in climate change). • The right of parliaments to openly consider the issue of whether and when Australia should become involved in foreign wars has been denied outright. Whereas the previous government quietly ignored and by-passed the parliament in relation to defence matters (resulting in Australia being webbed up in AUKUS without consideration by anyone other than the prime minister Scott Morrison), the Labor government doubled down on the rights of the executive over the parliament in decisions on war and then added to this contempt by rejecting the parliament’s recommendations to establish a Human Rights Act. • Intimidation of whistleblowers who make public interest disclosures – including denial of their rights in justice – has

Are we making progress in the top 20 urgent areas for the 2020s?			
The top 20 urgent areas	Direction of travel		Progress over the decade and expectations by 2030
	During the 46 th parliament	During the 47 th parliament	
			<p>had a serious chilling effect on both the whistleblowers and the media.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Proposals for tougher penalties for public sector whistleblowers have built even more solid walls around the secret actions of governments so that it is impossible to know whether the government is acting unlawfully or contrary to the public and national interest. At the same time there has been a failure to regulate news media and social media to stem the proliferation of mis- and disinformation. We have reached a point where politicians and agents of the state can and do lie and obfuscate with impunity, such as occurred when the former prime minister Scott Morrison had himself secretly sworn into several ministries. The new agency – the National Anti-Corruption Commission (NACC) – that might have added some transparency on corruption and malfeasance, such as occurred in the Robodebt case, has been designed in such a way that it is more likely to cover up crimes of the state and its agents against the people. The Albanese government’s public sector reform agenda offers some potential to reinstall integrity in the public service. <p>Expectations are that, notwithstanding a renewed focus on ensuring the public service “embodies integrity in everything it does”, the prospects for openness and transparency in the Commonwealth government and by the executive are not likely to improve because sufficient grounds have not been laid in institutional reforms for the purpose.</p>
Declining participation in democracy	←	→	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Political participation declined somewhat during Covid-19 but rebounded and in 2024 showed up with a score of 100 in the Scanlon Index of Social Cohesion. It is the only element of the Scanlon Index that had not declined compared to the baseline score in the Index in 2007. Australians have responded to perceived significant declines in social justice and equity by ramping up their political participation rather than detaching from politics. Increasing numbers of Australians are of the view that the system of government in Australia needs major changes or should be replaced and they are organising in groups (such as “kitchen table” groups) to campaign for more independents in politics and more say in major issues affecting their future including climate change, nuclear proliferation, unsafe military alliances, biodiversity extinctions, inequitable access to social security, racial and gender discrimination and exclusion, and corruption in government. While the representative system of government in Australia is still designed to shut down the diverse voices

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			<p>of the Australian community, and while laws are increasing to deny them freedom of speech and the right to protest, the Australian community also now has access to a means of organising itself to design its preferred agenda for the nation's future, outside politics. National Integrated Planning & Reporting has been developed and tested so that it now offers Australians a significant increase in their capacity to engage in democracy and long term national planning in an organised and efficient fashion. With National IP&R Australia now has some significantly increased capacity to operate as a well informed and engaged community of political equals in democracy. <i>Australia Together</i> contains a National Wellbeing Index that provides easily accessible data about the nation's health and wellbeing to help in the formulation of plans for a future of wellbeing and security for all.</p> <p>Expectations are that if Australians begin to use the National IP&R process, they will be able to enhance the effectiveness of all other forms of political participation and activism. To date, few Australians have involved themselves in National IP&R. But the process is there for their benefit. Failure to increase political participation by using National IP&R will significantly reduce Australia's chances of resolving all other priority issues in the 2020 decade.</p>
Unethical governance	←	← / →	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> As stated above, the Albanese government's public sector reform agenda offers some potential to reinstall integrity in the public service. However, no progress has been made in development of standards for ethical conduct of politicians. The parliament has not adopted an enforceable code of ethics. The ministerial code of conduct is weak, barely enforceable and provides no penalties for breaches. Codes are particularly weak in preventing undue influence from lobbyists and corporations and in preventing bribery of politicians via offers of lucrative post-separation employment offers. Laws still allow for the possibility that corporations, foreign entities and wealthy individuals can buy elections and secure corporate welfare that is contrary to the public interest. <p>Expectations are that unethical governance and corporate bribery of officials will continue unless significant reforms are enacted.</p>
Fractious international relations	←	← / →	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Australia's prospects for safety and security in the coming decades have been deeply and negatively affected by actions in relation to our alliance with the US, the Force Posture Agreement, AUKUS and an extremely expensive National Defence Policy that is incapable of ensuring an independent defence capability for Australia.

Are we making progress in the top 20 urgent areas for the 2020s?			
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	During the 46 th parliament	During the 47 th parliament	
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The federal government has restabilised Australia’s relationship with its biggest trading partner, China, and with Pacific countries, but actions in defence policy are undermining the renewed trust between Australia, China and Pacific countries. Australia’s continued failure to sign the TPNW and its inclination to readily follow America into wars in foreign territories that have not attacked us, combined with a clear reticence to join calls for ceasefires, cease weapons exports and campaign for disarmament, effectively amount to a repudiation of our membership of the United Nations and withdrawal of support for its charter and institutions – even though Australia was a founding member. This pertains because Australia has not acted in accordance with its commitment as a UN member that in international confrontations “armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest.” Australia also continues to provide Commonwealth funding for advice on defence and foreign policy from private think tanks that are funded by foreign governments and arms manufacturers. <p>Expectations are that unless Australia abandons aggressive defence postures and reverts to diplomacy and economic partnerships as the principal means of managing international relations, we will see our status as a respected, democratic nation disappear and with it our economic and personal security.</p>
Corporate irresponsibility	←	←	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Corporate irresponsibility has continued to increase over the decade to 2025. The result is that more than 70% of Australians now think that big business has too much power. Governments have made no attempt to curtail excessive corporate power in the last decade. All have favoured relying on neoliberal policies to “regulate” market excesses, but these have resulted in excessive privatisation and private monopolies that are a severe threat to the public and national interest. Australia still has no overall planning process for composition and re-composition of its economy over the longer term and no accepted tools for guidance in reforms to compose a sustainable economy. Reviews of competition policy have not prioritised a reversal of neoliberal policies and market domination by private monopolies. Corporate tax evasion is rife. In 2025, positive steps such as a Net Zero Economy Authority are set to be undermined by other policy settings, especially those for tax and subsidies. Continuing increases of fossil fuel subsidies and approval of export licences for gas and minerals is aiding and

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			<p>abetting large scale corporate irresponsibility at significant risk to the health and wellbeing of Australians.</p> <p>Expectations are that unless neoliberalism and its attendant practices of corporate lobbying and state capture are abandoned, Australia's exposure to climate change and income and wealth inequality will be irreversible by 2035 if not sooner.</p>
Economic decline	←	← / →	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Management of Australia's economy improved significantly during the 47th parliament compared to the previous decade. • Cost of living relief has been well managed by the federal government and in a fiscally responsible way. Inflation has been brought down without significantly increasing unemployment. • Employment prospects for Australians have improved significantly, due to long overdue expansion of the public sector in health, education and social services. • Some progress has been made in relation to fair transition towards a lower carbon economy with the establishment of the Net Zero Economy Authority. • However, little to no evidence has been found that Australia's current economy is sustainable. • The Future Made in Australia (FMIA) initiative has been designed to increase the complexity and therefore the resilience of the national economy during external shocks and climate change. However, no projects in the FMIA initiative are sufficiently advanced either to help Australia seize economic opportunities in renewable energy before they disappear or reduce carbon emissions before excessive global heating is locked in. The policy settings of 2025 will not transform Australia into a renewable energy superpower before global heating overwhelms the planet and destroys the economic returns that might otherwise have accrued. • The economy is threatened by continuing adherence to neoliberalism; regressive taxation legislation; targeted welfare policies (in preference to universal income and services security) which embed poverty and therefore unnecessarily increase the cost of services; policy settings on education which will hamper productivity increases; competition policies which reduce competition; under-investment in R&D; a failure to price carbon; a failure to stop subsidising fossil fuels and new coal and gas extraction approvals; low private capital investment; and utterly devastating biodiversity extinctions. <p>Expectations are that advances in economic management may well be defeated due to refusals to take on the systemic reforms necessary to reverse the threats listed above. However, this is something that can be fixed if governments decide to fix it.</p>

Are we making progress in the top 20 urgent areas for the 2020s?			
The top 20 urgent areas	Direction of travel		Progress over the decade and expectations by 2030
	During the 46 th parliament	During the 47 th parliament	
Lost public ownership	←	←	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Governments have continually supported neoliberalism, which has successfully gutted public services and assets over recent decades. • Returns for operation of those assets now flow offshore to multinationals who pay little if any tax. • Mineral and energy resources, particularly gas, are given away for free. • Prices for services and energy have risen exorbitantly due to neoliberalism. • Privatisation of health insurance has created a two-tier health system which excludes the poor and the young. • Refusal by governments to build, own and operate the electricity grid cut Australians out from returns on their investment in renewable energy. <p>Expectations are that advances in economic management will be very short-lived if governments remain wedded to trying to make profit-driven private markets work for various social ends, rather than to expansion of direct involvement by the public sector as a competitor to the private sector on a level playing field. Governments need to recognise that the private sector will not act in the public interest without regulation and will not improve competition without pressure from a very big competitor. Only the public sector is sizeable enough to apply the necessary pressure.</p>
Inertia in transition to decarbonisation	←	← / →	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • During the 47th parliament, some positive progress was made on renewable energy including expansion of the Capacity Investment Scheme (CIS), a new standard for vehicle emissions on new cars sold in the Australian market, and introduction of a National Renewable Energy Storage Target. • The share of renewables in total electricity generation in 2023 was the highest on record. Overall though, while renewable energy as a proportion of total energy has been growing at an average of 5% per year for ten years, renewable energy sources still account for only 9% of Australian energy consumption. • There has been a slowdown in new financial commitments to utility scale generation capacity. • Short term action on renewable energy has been insufficient to avert the overwhelming negative impacts from climate change. • Australia has the capacity to become a renewable energy superpower but has not created the market conditions necessary for that purpose. <p>Expectations are that the government's hopes of meeting the target of 82% of electricity from renewables by 2030 will be dashed if investment does not pick up soon.</p>
Environmental decline	←	←	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Species extinctions are rampant in Australia.

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			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A succession of governments has refused to protect biodiversity by establishing sufficient laws, standards and enforcement systems. They have also refused to cease native forest logging. More land is being cleared than conserved. Failures in land conservation and rewilding pose a significant threat to the sustainability of agriculture in Australia. <p>Expectations are that efforts to conserve nature and marine treasures such as the Great Barrier Reef will be defeated by campaigns by the mining lobby. There is no evidence of a will within the two major political parties to stand up to the mining lobby.</p>
Climate policy failure	←	←	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Australia's scores on the international Climate Change Performance Index (CCPI) improved during the 47th parliament but were still rated poorly. Relative to the scale and imminence of climate disasters being faced by Australians, the government's incremental approach to emissions reduction is inefficient and ineffective against planetary heating. It is also economically disastrous. The magnitude of economic costs is known but it has resulted in no commitment to effective policy change. Government policy on emissions reduction misses the point entirely. The point is to get the heating to stop. A 43% reduction on emissions by 2030 is not sufficient to contain heating to below 2° Celsius, let alone 1.5° as per Australia's commitment under the Paris Agreement. It means Australia is unlikely to achieve net zero before 2056, by which time we will have emitted a total of 8,147 Mt (from 2022 to 2056), well over what Australia should emit to contain heating. Defence policies will also add to Australia's emissions. <p>Expectations are that global temperature increases will not be capped below 2° Celsius. Australia's policies will aid and abet extinction if there is no acceptance of a fair carbon budget (3,530 Mt CO₂-e (3.5 BT) from 2020). Australian governments will be responsible for ecocide and genocide.</p>
Declining health and safety at home	←	←	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The proportion of the population living with one or more chronic conditions has continued to increase, rising from 11.4 million people (47%) in 2017/18 to 12.7 million people or 50% in 2022. This equates to an 11% increase in the number of people or 1.3 million more with chronic disease in only four years. In the ten years to 2022, the number of Australians with a mental or behavioural condition more than doubled from 2.996 million (13.6%) in 2011/12 to 6.632 million (26.1%) in 2022. Large inequities in health within this country have persisted. The gap between Indigenous and non-

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	During the 46 th parliament	During the 47 th parliament	
			<p>Indigenous has not been closed and is actually not scheduled to be closed.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Necessary reforms of Australia’s health care system to make it truly universal and accessible by all have not occurred. Subsidies for private health care are negatively impacting accessibility. <p>Expectations are that we will not close the gap 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 ill-health. Current funding, the structure of the health care system itself and a failure to address the causes of ill-health – particularly poverty, social exclusion, intergenerational inequity, and climate change – are aggravating the decline in the health of Australians.</p>
Declining educational attainment	←	←	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Australian children’s scores in the OECD Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) have trended downward over the longer term. The whole educational sector continues to be underfunded and is set to decline over the longer term as a proportion of GDP. This will negatively impact productivity as well as the chances of achieving the Labor government’s target of doubling the number of Commonwealth supported students in universities by 2050. Inequities in funding for private and public schools continue with private schools being overfunded and public schools being underfunded. The length and severity of the inequity amounts to a serious injustice and breach of human rights. A continuing refusal by governments to recognise lifelong education as a fundamental human right bodes ill for justice in education. <p>Expectations are that it will be impossible for the government to meet its targets for increasing the number of Australians with degrees and vocational qualifications if they continue to underfund public schools. The failure to abolish fees for university will also spell failure for productivity targets.</p>
Declining quality of life and loss of social cohesion	←	←	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Australia’s social cohesion has been declining for almost 20 years. The current score for our cohesion in the Scanlon Index is the lowest in the history of the survey. Australia is a society slowly coming apart. Inequality between generations, as manifest in the housing crisis, crystallises the decline of our quality of life. Young people in the main have no expectations that they will have the same quality of life as their parents. Satisfaction with Australia as the land of opportunity has been dropping steadily. The proportion of Australians who feel their lives will be much improved in 3 or 4 years is falling.

Are we making progress in the top 20 urgent areas for the 2020s?

The top 20 urgent areas	Direction of travel		Progress over the decade and expectations by 2030
	During the 46 th parliament	During the 47 th parliament	
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The proportion of Australians who are satisfied with their financial situation has been falling since 2007, except for a brief period during Covid-19 when government stimulus and support enabled many poor Australians to live a decent life. Optimism about Australia’s economic prospects in the world is in decline. Optimism appears to be in shorter supply since the end of the Covid-19 pandemic, with less than half of Australians feeling optimistic about the country’s future. The proportion of Australians who say they are happy with the direction of the country has been declining. Australia’s scores in the Edelman Trust Inequality Gap, an indicator of perceptions about whether governments are treating all groups in society fairly, show that there is a gap between higher and lower income Australians in their levels of trust in government and in democratic institutions – and the gap is widening. The variations in the income-based trust inequality gap since 2012 suggest Australia’s social cohesion and equality is not yet so broken that conditions are being set for the sort of democratic upheavals being experienced in America, but it could be headed that way if policies for equitable and affordable access to services and universal income security are not invoked and if Australia’s constitution continues to accord almost no rights to the people of Australia. <p>Expectations are that if Australia’s social cohesion and quality of life and trust in their governments continue to decline, Australia will be more susceptible to the sort of social and democratic breakdown evident in America. Strategies to reduce income inequality and gaps in access to education and information, as well as a program of constitutional reform, will be vital in heading off democratic decline. It is not too late to invoke these strategies.</p>
Declining wellbeing and happiness	←	←	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The physical and mental health of Australians has been declining quite steeply. Overall life satisfaction has declined for all age groups of Australians since 2014, according to the Australian Bureau of Statistics, although the HILDA survey suggests there has been no change. There has been a steady decline in reported happiness by Australians. This is in line with a rise in resentment towards corporations and the shares of wealth they command and with an increase in distrust of governments that many feel do not protect them from the theft and other crimes being committed by corporations. Necessary reforms of Australia’s health care system to make it truly universal and accessible by all have not occurred. Subsidies for private health care are negatively impacting accessibility.

Are we making progress in the top 20 urgent areas for the 2020s?			
The top 20 urgent areas	Direction of travel		Progress over the decade and expectations by 2030
	During the 46 th parliament	During the 47 th parliament	
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Current funding, the structure of the health care system itself and a failure to address the causes of ill-health – particularly poverty and social exclusion – are aggravating the decline in the health of Australians. • The continuing preference of governments for targeted welfare systems instead of universal income and services security, is locking in declines in health, wellbeing and happiness. • The overall picture of happiness and wellbeing is continuing to move backwards. <p>Expectations are that health and wellbeing will continue to decline unless the social determinants of mental and physical ill health are directly addressed by providing a level playing field with equal opportunity for all, including by shifting away from targeted welfare toward systems of universal income and services security. Collaborative programs to design a universal basic income for all Australians offer the best opportunity by far to reverse the growth in inequality and poverty in the 21st century and establish fair systems of taxation capable of ensuring service security for everyone's health and education, and their sense that life is good and worth living.</p>

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 them 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.

Many of the sources of information cited below may not realise that their work has been vital to *Australia Together*. ACFP sincerely thanks them for their work.

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•	Aged Care Royal Commission
•	Audit Office of NSW
•	Australian Bureau of Meteorology
•	Australian Bureau of Statistics
•	Australian Competition & Consumer Commission
•	Australian Early Development Census
•	Australian Electoral Commission
•	Australian Government Attorney General's Department
•	Australian Government Clean Energy Regulator
•	Australian Government Department of Agriculture, Water & the Environment
•	Australian Government Department of Climate Change, Energy, the Environment & Water
•	Australian Government Department of Education, Skills & Employment
•	Australian Government Department of Health
•	Australian Government Department of Social Services
•	Australian Government Department of the Environment & Energy
•	Australian Government Productivity Commission
•	Australian Government Solicitor
•	Australian Government Treasury
•	Australian Government Workplace Gender Equality Agency
•	Australian Government, State of the Environment Reports
•	Australian Human Rights Commission
•	Australian Institute of Criminology
•	Australian Institute of Health & Welfare
•	Australian Museum
•	Australian National Audit Office
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•	Australian Public Service Commission
•	Australian Senate Committees
•	Bureau of Infrastructure, Transport & Regional Economics – BITRE
•	Closing the Gap in Partnership
•	Commonwealth Government Department of Defence
•	Council of Australian Governments
•	Council of the City of Sydney
•	Creative Australia (formerly the Australia Council for the Arts)
•	CSIRO
•	High Court of Australia

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- Waverley Council

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