

# PréCIS

ANNUAL REVIEW 2023



Centre for Independent Studies

THE CENTRE FOR  
**INDEPENDENT**  
STUDIES

**PréCIS Editor**

Sue Windybank

**PréCIS Publisher**

Tom Switzer

**PréCIS Designer**

Will Pearce

*We must make the building of a free society once more an intellectual adventure, a deed of courage... Unless we can make the philosophic foundations of a free society once more a living intellectual issue, and its implementation a task which challenges the ingenuity and imagination of our liveliest minds, the prospects of freedom are indeed dark. But if we can regain that belief in the power of ideas which was the mark of liberalism at its best, the battle is not lost.*

— Friedrich Hayek

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# Goals and Aims

## Vision

The Centre for Independent Studies is Australia's indispensable voice providing independent research and policy solutions enabling the pursuit of happiness and the opportunity to live a prosperous life with less government interference.

## Mission

- Promote evidence-based policy
- Advance free choice
- Progress individual liberty
- Defend cultural freedom
- Foster the open exchange of ideas

CIS is a not-for-profit think tank with tax-deductible status. As a politically non-partisan organisation founded in 1976, we are proud to be Australia's independent voice in public policy research.

Crucial to our independence is that CIS does not accept government funding, nor undertake commissioned research. Our funding comes solely from members, donors, business and foundations.

***CIS promotes evidence-based policy, which advances free choice, individual liberty, defends cultural freedom and the open exchange of ideas.***

# From the Executive Director

On Saturday October 14, Australians defeated a ballot initiative that would have changed the Constitution to establish an Indigenous advisory body to the federal parliament. In a referendum, the nation rejected the change pushed by the federal Labor government by a 20-point margin. As a result, a constitutional “Indigenous Voice to Parliament” was consigned to history before it was even instituted.

One of the striking features of this year’s referendum campaign was the illiberalism of some of the proponents of constitutional change. A vocal minority was swift to put its own case, but far less swift to be questioned or examined on it by others.

We at CIS published papers in favour of and against the Voice proposal. Following our successful Sydney debate in April, which attracted about 160,000 YouTube views, we decided to host more Voice events in Perth, Hobart, Adelaide and Brisbane. Invitations to debate the issues went to the leading proponents, including politicians, philanthropists, corporates, academics, lawyers and television personalities.

But none of these estimable people accepted the invitation. It was odd that many leading proponents of the Voice seemed so keen to avoid a debate about what

Noel Pearson called “the most important vote since Federation.”

John Stuart Mill, in his seminal work, *On Liberty*, published in 1859, argued: “He who knows only his own side of the case knows little of that.” This should demonstrate the essential value to all and sundry of allowing a proper public debate.

It was something the Romans valued too, and had a phrase for it, *audi alteram partem*; literally, “hear the other side”. Hearing the other side allows you to understand your opponents’ case, and to refute their points; and if you can’t refute them, then it might suggest to the undecided that your side is, in fact, rather weak intellectually.

The lesson here is that progressive ambitions can’t be imposed on people by political diktat: they need to be won by persuasion. All that is good in our liberal society boils down to a belief in freedom, merit, tolerance, respect and equality before the law. In a multi-racial and multi-ethnic society like Australia’s, it is our shared values that ultimately bind us. But identity politics just divides people and poisons public discourse.

The referendum has been a belated recognition that the top-down approach to Indigenous affairs in remote communities that





has defined Canberra policy for half a century has not worked for thousands of Aboriginal people. The problems are difficult, but not intractable.

The Australian people recognise that the Voice was not the way to achieve bottom-up solutions to these problems. Many policies rooted in ideas of liberalism, as our research has demonstrated, have provided paths for people from across the globe to develop attitudes, habits and skills that facilitate upward mobility. We at CIS will continue to work hard at achieving positive outcomes.

Our role in Indigenous affairs is just one example of the kind of influence CIS has had in Australian public discourse in 2023. From housing and monetary policy to education and intergenerational affairs, we have been front and centre in key political and policy debates. Matthew Taylor's landmark report on the voting intentions of young Australians, for instance, attracted reviews across virtually every Australian media outlet. Taken together with the expansion of our research team and increased engagement on social media, our output and outreach show that we will remain an important player in the great public policy debates of the day.

Our sincere thanks to all our supporters and members, who continue to invest in our policy research and philosophical cause.

Best wishes for the New Year.

*Tom Switzer*

 **25**  
Publications


**37**   
Events & webinars

 **4,700+**  
Email subscribers

**80,000+**  
 Online followers

**193,400**  
 YouTube hours watched

**927,200**  
 YouTube views

**2 million+**  
 Social media impressions

# Economics

*CIS had some major wins this year with housing policy and the Reserve Bank review, while continuing to make the case for greater fiscal discipline and expenditure restraint.*

## HOUSING

**H**ousing affordability was one of the leading political issues of the year. CIS has argued that a relaxation of planning restrictions is needed to increase supply and make housing more affordable.

In March, our Chief Economist **Peter Tulip** published an Analysis Paper, *Where Should We Build New Housing?: Better targets for local councils*, which attracted substantial media coverage; its arguments were amplified in May in a NSW Productivity Commission paper.

Peter and Senior Fellow **Robert Carling** made submissions to, and appeared at hearings for, the Victorian parliamentary inquiry into land taxation, a separate Victorian parliamentary inquiry into housing affordability, and the Senate inquiry into the rental market. We also gave many presentations to industry, government and academic audiences. The *Sydney Morning Herald's* "Lunch With" series featured a long profile of Peter's work on housing.

» A highlight of the year was the National Cabinet agreement in August, which endorsed many of our arguments. It called for a national target of 1.2 million homes over the next five years, backed by Commonwealth incentive payments. A priority will be seeing this translated into State government policy.

CIS was a lonely voice on housing policy a few years ago. Since then, we have helped galvanise a large coalition of journalists, newspaper editorialists, politicians and new grassroots 'YIMBY' movements all calling for planning reform.

## MONETARY POLICY

» Another major success was the Review of the RBA, released in March. This endorsed many longstanding themes of CIS research, including the need for more accountability, transparency and narrower objectives. Most of our key recommendations to the Review were accepted. Peter actively participated in public discussion of the Review, with regular appearances in the media and professional forums.

Peter was also a sought-after public commentator on monetary policy, including through his contributions to the ANU's 'Shadow RBA Board.'

## FISCAL POLICY

In late March, **Robert Carling** published *Fiscal Reform to Rescue Our Future: The 'national conversation' on budgets, spending and tax*. This argued the Federal Budget faces a structural problem due to expenditure being unusually high. Robert contributed many op-ed columns on fiscal policy to the *AFR*.

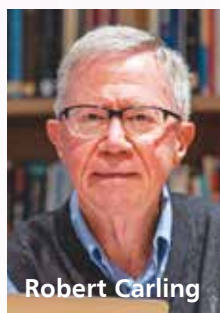
Robert also continued with his prestigious appointment to the Parliamentary Budget Office panel of expert advisors on policy costings and fiscal analysis.



Peter Tulip



In mid-July, Robert published the POLICY Paper, *Superannuation tax: Why the total balance threshold should be shelved*, which discussed the government's proposal for extra taxes on super balances in excess of \$3 million. The paper, an extension of an earlier submission to Treasury, questioned the justification and design of the proposal and suggested less harmful ways of raising revenue from super. This paper also attracted a lot of media including front-page coverage in *The Australian Business Review*.



Robert Carling



Simon Cowan

## OTHER RESEARCH

In August, we published **Dimitri Burshtein's** POLICY Paper, *A Future Without Future Funds*. This argued that the \$200 billion Future Fund has outlived its original purpose and should be liquidated. The paper sparked a series of media articles, including an op-ed in the *AFR* by ex-Treasurer **Peter Costello**, contesting its arguments. Another paper looking at the other side of this issue is currently in the works.

September saw the release of Adjunct Fellow **Gene Tunny's** Analysis Paper, *Debunking Degrowth*. Gene also wrote a submission to the Fair Work Legislation Amendment (Closing Loopholes) Bill 2023 inquiry. Gene was critical of the poor analysis underpinning the Bill and the potential negative effects of the changes.

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***"A lot of the credit for the intellectual victory should go to free-market think tanks, such as Sydney's Centre for Independent Studies, which dug deep into the behaviour of councils to show how wealthy suburbs use restrictive rules to keep out new residents."***

— Aaron Patrick,  
*Australian Financial Review (AFR)*

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## EVENTS AND COMMENTARY

Executive Director **Tom Switzer** contributed two chapters on defending and promoting the economic-reform agenda (and other issues) to two Connor Court books on Australian politics (see page 32). Both books were launched at CIS in June.

In September, leading US economist, Professor **John Cochrane**, joined **Gene Tunny** to discuss why creeping stagnation should be recognised as the central economic issue of our time. This was his only public appearance in Australia.

CIS remained strongly represented in commentary on the Federal Budget in May, with Research Director **Simon Cowan** featuring on ABC Radio National's Budget night commentary. Simon also continued his fortnightly syndicated column with the *Canberra Times*.

At our annual conference Consilium in late October, Simon participated in a bumper panel of heavy-hitters in public policy. Senior Fellow **Gary Banks** gave the keynote address and then joined former Treasury Secretary **John Fraser**, former Labor Minister **Craig Emerson** and Independent member for Wentworth **Allegra Spender** to discuss why economic reform is so politically hard.

At another stand-out Consilium session, **Peter Tulip** was joined by former Liberal politician and housing expert, **Jason Falinski**, and economist **Judith Sloan** to discuss the fraught issue of housing affordability.

## WHAT'S NEXT?

In 2024, **Peter Tulip** plans to follow up implementation of the RBA Review and the National Cabinet decision on housing. Research projects include statistical analyses of the relationship between supply and rents and an analysis of the costs and benefits of financial regulation.

**Robert Carling** plans to publish an update of the Commonwealth and State public debt situation and outlook, and to make further contributions to the 'national conversation' on fiscal issues.

# Education

*The CIS education program has been at the forefront of key debates through accessible research, insightful commentary, and engaging events.*

Under the leadership of Program Director, **Glenn Fahey**, CIS has made both headlines and headway this year in advancing evidence-based policy and practice across several priority areas.

We also welcomed Research Fellow **Trisha Jha** in August, who has rejoined CIS after working in politics and within schools. In addition, the program benefited from the services of Research Assistant **Eddie Stephen**.

## TEACHER TRAINING

Much of education policy in 2023 has been focused on reforming teacher training — a policy area that CIS has long identified as needing improvement.

» CIS welcomed the introduction of higher standards for teacher training providers by Australia's education ministers, following the advice of an independent review panel led by Professor Mark Scott. The panel's report supported many key recommendations of past CIS research, with Professor Scott joining a CIS roundtable in August to discuss its findings and opportunities for further reform.

That same month, **Glenn Fahey** and co-author **Rob Joseph** released an analysis of the latest reform agenda — and proposed ways to ensure that new measures can best be implemented — in the paper *Starting Off on the Wrong Foot: How to improve Initial Teacher Education in Australia*. Their analysis attracted a lot of media



Mark Scott, Glenn Fahey and Trisha Jha



Glenn Fahey at the Senate Education and Employment References Committee

including several front-page news stories. Glenn is currently working with co-authors **Minkang Kim** and **Derek Sankey** on a follow-up paper proposing specific content for teaching degrees.

## THE SCIENCE OF LEARNING

CIS has been among the most prominent voices in Australia supporting the science of learning, a key focus of current research by **Trisha Jha**, Glenn, and contributor **James Adams**. We have also been active in sharing evidence-based research on teaching and learning.

Supplementing events at CIS, Glenn spoke at education conferences including the *Sydney Morning Herald* Schools Summit, Sharing Best Practice in Sydney and Canberra, and researchED in Sydney. He also contributed to researchED in Ballarat, the Science of Learning Leadership Accelerator; Science of Learning and Teaching Australia; the National Science of Learning Summit in Hobart; and took part in the annual international conference of the Mathematical Cognition and Learning Society.

## CLASSROOM BEHAVIOUR

CIS has led reform efforts to improve student behaviour in schools and the capacity of educators to use evidence-based classroom management strategies. Thanks to our work,

and that of others, improvements to policy and practice have now been initiated.

Since UK educator **Katharine Birbalsingh's** influential visit to CIS last October, the issue of student behaviour has received national attention with a Senate inquiry this year into increasing disruption in Australian classrooms. In mid-September, **Glenn Fahey** gave evidence before the inquiry on how best to address this challenge.

CIS then published two research papers by leading experts on these issues. Dr **Tim McDonald's** paper, *Teaching Behaviour to Improve Student Outcomes*, outlined how explicit teaching of behaviour as a curriculum subject would achieve better learning outcomes. In a companion paper, *Conduct Becoming: The importance of the behaviour curriculum*, UK expert **Tom Bennett** discussed the role of a national behaviour survey in measuring progress.

Glenn also hosted a November panel discussion on these issues in Perth with Dr **Tim McDonald**, Senator **Matt O'Sullivan** and educator **Lorraine Hammond**.

## HIGHER EDUCATION

CIS made several contributions to the higher education debate this year. In February, **Rob Joseph's** paper, *ATAR's Rising Relevance*, defended common academic benchmarks for school-leavers. Similarly, Senior Fellow **Steven Schwartz** argued in his July paper, *In Defence of Meritocracy*, that merit-based admissions remain the best predictor of student completion. This followed Steven's scathing assessment of the university sector in his May report, *Degree Inflation*. An analysis of the Universities Accord is currently in the works.

## EVENTS AND ROUNDTABLES

CIS has also been at the forefront of wider policy debate on education. In early March, Glenn moderated a debate between then NSW education minister, **Sarah Mitchell**, and shadow minister **Prue Car** ahead of the State poll.

Additional events have ranged from a roundtable with **Daisy Christodoulou** on education technology in March to a visit to CIS in October by renowned education economist, Professor **Eric Hanushek**. Eric joined Glenn for a breakfast discussion in Sydney, and gave a keynote address at our annual conference Consilium on why education matters for the wealth of nations.



Edmund Stephen, Eric Hanushek and Glenn Fahey

Finally, we hosted several webinars featuring **Emily Hanford** on reading instruction; **Dan Willingham** on the cognitive science of learning; **Daisy Christodoulou** and **Leslie Loble** on AI in education; and **Carey Wright** and **Jennifer Buckingham** on school education success in Mississippi.

## MATHS EDUCATION

Foreshadowing our increasing emphasis on maths education in the forward program, in late October we published *The Need for Speed* by **Toni Hatten-Roberts**. She stressed the importance of regular monitoring and timed assessment in attaining both speed and accuracy in maths facts — such as multiplication tables — to increase confidence and improve student achievement.

In 2024, CIS will focus on methods to better screen the capabilities of students, promote effective maths teaching in classrooms, and better intervene to support the learning of struggling students.



# Intergenerational

*This new program focuses on research aimed at improving the economic mobility of young Australians and removing barriers to their prosperity and progress.*

Despite the massive growth in technology and decades of economic expansion, there is increasing evidence younger generations have benefited less than those who preceded them. To bridge this growing generational divide, Australia needs an evidence-driven policy agenda that breaks down the barriers holding back young people and stems the tide of rising intergenerational inequality.

## RESEARCH TO DATE

Since its inception last October, CIS's Intergenerational program has developed an agenda comprising both original and commissioned research.

### *Upward mobility and entrepreneurship*

Dr **Mikayla Novak**'s report, *Generation Next: Unleashing youth aspiration and upward mobility* (November 2022), found upward income mobility available to young people today is nowhere near equal to that experienced by previous generations.

An important driver of income mobility is entrepreneurship. Yet in a follow-up paper, *Risky Business: Why millennials are afraid of entrepreneurship* (March 2023), Dr Novak highlighted a concerning decline in entrepreneurship among younger Australians.

### *Education*

In *Degree Inflation: Undermining the value of higher education* (May 2023), a paper co-published with the Education program, Professor **Steven Schwartz** argued that as many as 20% of Australian university students would have been better off financially going directly into the workforce. In the absence of

higher education reform, degree inflation leads to unnecessary student debt, misallocation of human capital, and reduced social mobility. The paper attracted a lot of media.

### *Shadow left by Covid*

In *Covid's Cohort of Losers: The intergenerational burden of the government's coronavirus response* (June 2023), Professor **Gigi Foster** looked at the impact of Covid-era policy on the well-being of young Australians and the economic costs imposed upon them. The evidence suggests they shouldered most of the costs of Covid measures and will be paying for some time to come.

### *Voting*

Director **Matt Taylor** produced the program's first original piece of research, *Generation Left: Young voters are deserting the right*, in late June.

Matt's research found that while parties of the centre-right could in the past assume most voters who leaned left in their 20s would swing right in their middle years, those days are over. Millennials are less likely to vote centre-right as they age, and Generation Z are shifting further left as they approach their 30s.

Matt Taylor at Consilium



These findings have important implications, not just for the electoral fortunes of the Coalition but also for the extent to which future public policy will be informed by classical liberal values.

» The report made a huge splash in the media. It was covered, often multiple times, in *The Australian*, the *Australian Financial Review*, the *Sydney Morning Herald*, *The Guardian*, *The West Australian* and *Daily Telegraph* among other print media. It also featured on Network Ten's *The Project*, Credlin on SkyNews, and across national and regional radio including 2GB, ABC Radio National and JoyFM — a stunning debut.

In addition to being cited by columnists as diverse as **James Campbell** and **Waleed Aly**, the report also caught the attention of senior Coalition staffers, who requested a briefing on its findings and their implications.

Finally, the report's findings were the focus of a fascinating morning session at our annual conference, Consilium, featuring Matt, new CIS analyst **Emilie Dye**, and political scientist and survey researcher **Shaun Ratcliff**.

### WHAT'S NEXT?

Our Intergenerational program is committed to understanding the problem of intergenerational inequality and developing evidence-based solutions to promote greater economic opportunity.



Emilie Dye

■ We are developing an economic model to better understand the extent to which young Australians and future generations bear the cost of current government spending — a fact which may well convince younger voters to embrace smaller government and market-based solutions to Australia's policy challenges.

■ We will continue our work on intergenerational political attitudes by conducting a survey to better understand why small government and fiscal responsibility resonate less with younger voters than with older generations.

■ An important focus for 2024 will be increasing the program's profile with an emphasis on platforms utilised by younger audiences. The program's new Marketing and Research Analyst, **Emilie Dye**, brings experience in both traditional and social media strategies. She will play a central role in increasing the program's traction on social media as well as contributing to the program's research agenda.

■ Over the coming months, the program will publish a series of short 'policy snapshots' that explain how public policy impacts younger generations. The first of these will focus on bracket creep and housing affordability.

The economic challenges of the post-Covid era have highlighted generational wealth and housing disparities previously ignored in Australia, disparities that are at least partly responsible for a growing cultural and ideological divide between the generations.

Reform is possible. The Intergenerational program is working hard on market-based solutions to promote economic opportunity for younger generations.



# Culture, Prosperity & Civil Society

*This program aims to articulate, defend and promote the principles and institutions that underpin Australia's secular liberal democracy.*

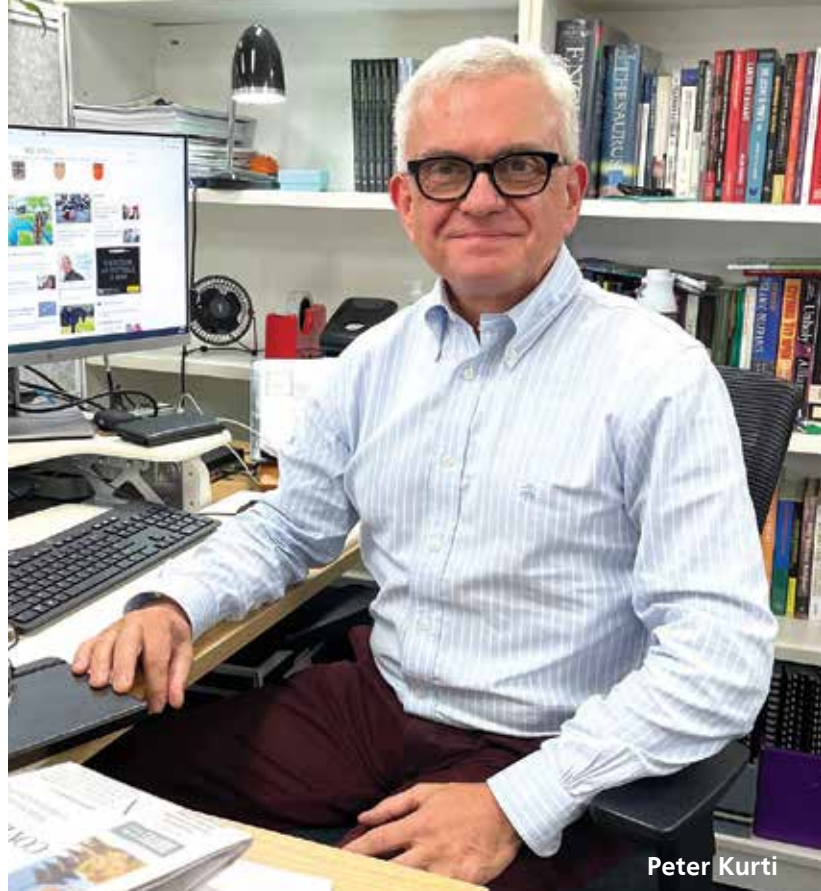
The Culture, Prosperity & Civil Society (CP&CS) team this year continued to comprise Program Director **Peter Kurti** and Senior Fellows **Robert Forsyth** and **Scott Prasser**, with Research Assistant **Maya Khurana** joining the team in July.

In 2023 the issue of freedom of religion continued to engage the program, even though public interest has waned. In an early April Analysis Paper for CIS — *Faith No More?: The inadequacy of Australia's protections for religious freedom* — historian **Elisabeth Taylor** warned that the lack of any real legislative protection for freedom of religion, and the proliferation of anti-discrimination laws, leaves current provisions open to perpetual contest.

Freedom of speech also continues to be a focus of the program. In the late April Analysis Paper *Free to Speak and Free to Believe?: What Australians think about freedom of speech*, **Peter Kurti** and **Scott Prasser** analysed YouGov polling commissioned by CIS in December 2022. The polling revealed that constraints on freedom of speech are an issue but not a crisis requiring heavy corrective action by government.

## ISSUES IN GOVERNANCE

In early June, the broader question of the resilience of liberal democracy was taken up by UK professor and author of *Postliberal Politics*



(2021), **Adrian Pabst**, in his Occasional Paper, *Bonds of Belonging: Renewing democracy in an atomised age*.

The following month, Senior Fellow **Steven Schwartz** took on recent criticism questioning the fairness of rewarding merit in his Analysis Paper *In Defence of Meritocracy*. A follow-up to a CP&CS webinar in 2022, he argued that shunning meritocracy is self-defeating and warned that the alternative is a society in which group identity is rewarded more than individual talent, character or experience.

A growing interest in good governance led to **Peter Kurti's** late July Analysis Paper *Authority, Expertise and Democracy: Should those who know best rule the rest of us?*. Peter warned that distorted relationships between politicians and experts are corrupting the norms governing autonomy and accountability, and outlined an approach that will allow experts a more appropriate degree of latitude.

This was followed in August by **Scott Prasser's** Analysis Paper *Politicisation: The attack on merit and our way of life*. The paper



Scott Prasser



Steven Schwartz



Robert Forsyth and Joel Harrison

examined the degree to which politicisation is undermining the integrity of our institutions, the functioning of democracy, and the core issue of merit.

## EVENTS AND OUTREACH

In April, **Peter Kurti** was a guest of Ron Manners and the Mannkal Foundation in Perth where he spoke, first, about the exercise of choice in the religious economy and, second, the moral principles underpinning our culture. Each address drew on Peter's earlier research.

In mid-July Peter also appeared in conversation with our 2023 John Bonython Lecturer **Jason Riley** (see page 20). That same month, **Maya Khurana** scripted and presented a short CIS YouTube video on the crisis facing Western civilisation that drew on recent research by Peter and the CIS research team more broadly.

In mid-October, Peter chaired a plenary session at Consilium on the relentless 'woke' assault on democracy, tolerance and reason. The discussion featured keynote speaker **Joanna Williams**, founder of UK think tank CIEO, alongside historian **Elisabeth Taylor**, *The Australian's* **Janine Perrett**, and the *ABC's* **Scott Stephens**.

## NEW DIRECTIONS

In 2024, **Peter Kurti** and **Maya Khurana** will continue to develop a new research project on Australia's criminal justice system. The state of this system, and the nature of its penal institutions, often serves as an index of the democratic health of a country. Their first

research paper, *What is Prison Good For?*, will investigate the purpose, value and efficacy of the corrections system in NSW, and will be followed by papers investigating issues in sentencing and the parole system.

## LIBERALISM IN QUESTION

**Robert Forsyth** continued to host the CIS podcast series, *Liberalism in Question*, which asks people who are both sympathetic to, and critical of, liberalism about the nature, value, limits and future of liberalism today.

With a new specialist technical producer on board, Season Four aired weekly as both audio and video from September to November. Guests included **Jason Riley**, **Duncan Ivison**, **Joel Harrison** (pictured), **Patrick Parkinson**, **Nicholas Sampson** and **David Hart** as well as our own **Peter Tulip** and **Andrew Blyth**.

Rob also capitalised on our stellar line-up at Consilium to record a further eight new episodes over just two days. Stay tuned for interviews with US speakers Professor **John Mearsheimer**, **Marian Tupy** and **Larry Marshall**; UK speakers **Sherelle Jacobs**, **Joanna Williams** and **Fraser Nelson**; as well as local speakers **Jacinta Nampijinpa Price** and **William Shackel**.

Past episodes can be found at [cis.org.au/commentary/podcasts](https://cis.org.au/commentary/podcasts) or on all major podcast platforms, while Season Four onwards can also be viewed on our YouTube channel.



# Indigenous Forum

*Over the past year, CIS has aired arguments for and against the Voice to Parliament while continuing to make the case for more practical solutions to the deep-seated problems facing remote Indigenous communities.*

No bigger idea for our nation has emerged in recent years than the proposed Indigenous Voice to Parliament, which was resoundingly defeated in the October 14 referendum.

In the lead-up to the vote, CIS aired both sides of the argument — in publications and at events — in the belief that robust debate helps to clarify issues, leading to sounder policy based on facts not assertions.

■ First, we published a series of papers for and against the Voice: **Greg Sheridan's** *Liberalism's Universal Vision Better Than a Race-Based Voice* and the counter-argument by **Greg Craven** and **Damien Freeman**, entitled *Guaranteeing a Grassroots Megaphone: A centre-right approach to hearing Indigenous voices*.

■ Then in April, we hosted what we hoped would be the first of a series of Oxford-style debates on the pros and cons of the Voice in Sydney, with **Anthony McAvoy** and **Shireen Morris** on the affirmative side versus past and current CIS scholars **Jacinta Nampijinpa Price** and **Nyunggai Warren Mundine** on the negative.

■ On the eve of the referendum, the video had attracted some 140,000 views on our YouTube channel. Yet despite this evident demand for a diversity of views, prominent YES campaigners declined to appear on stage with Jacinta and Warren at our subsequent interstate events on the Voice in Perth, Hobart and Adelaide.

At the same time, CIS continued to focus on the far more important problems facing remote Indigenous communities, and the practical measures needed to address them, with the release of **Warren Mundine's** report *Joining the Real Economy: Mapping the economic potential of remote Indigenous communities*.

An analysis of comparable remote Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities, the report demonstrates that it is feasible for Indigenous communities to participate in the real economy just as their non-Indigenous counterparts do. Remoteness is not necessarily a barrier to economic participation, and participation in turn will help close the gap.

This followed on from arguments in an equally data-rich paper — *World's Apart: Remote Indigenous disadvantage in the context of wider Australia* — published by Jacinta in January 2021.

A key takeaway from the referendum is that millions of Australians believe more work needs to be done to achieve better outcomes for our fellow citizens in remote Indigenous communities. The disagreement has been over means not ends.

CIS stands ready to contribute a large body of research on some of the practical evidence-based ways forward.

Nyunggai Warren Mundine and Jacinta Nampijinpa Price in Perth



# John Howard Fellowship

*Named after our second-longest serving prime minister, this new program aims to distil lessons from Howard's uniquely liberal-conservative approach to public policy in the face of new challenges.*

During his tenure as an elected parliamentarian from 1974 to 2007, John Howard witnessed and influenced pivotal moments in Australian politics. He played dual roles: a spectator to significant events and an active leader in shaping the nation's governance. These moments transformed Australia's economic trajectory, impacting policies, industries, and cycles of growth and change. Howard's commonsense leadership, in both government and opposition, was integral in guiding Australia through these intricate economic shifts, ultimately laying the groundwork for a new political credo: Howardism.

Despite challenges including the loss of his position as Liberal Party leader in 1989 and being overlooked by colleagues in 1994, Howard showed remarkable resilience, earning the signature 'Lazarus with a triple bypass'. Over time, he not only reclaimed his political footing to win office in 1996, 1998, 2001, and 2004 but also solidified his legacy by delivering a long period of political stability and economic prosperity as Australia's 25th prime minister.

Howard's era coincided with the rise of free-market economic ideologies, championed by figures like US President Ronald Reagan and UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. However, Howard championed a unique Australian approach to liberalism, blending conservatism, classical liberalism, statism, and policy entrepreneurship, catering to both international trends and local political necessities, while achieving a sense of balance in the Party room.



Andrew Blyth and John Howard at the launch of *From The Pavilion*

Our inaugural John Howard Fellow, **Andrew Blyth**, will delve into this distinctly Australian approach, exploring its influences, nuances and impacts on national policy, political leaders, and governments in subsequent years, offering insights and recommendations for future policymakers.

Andrew was manager of the UNSW Canberra John Howard Prime Ministerial Library and Exhibition located at Old Parliament House from 2016-2023. He lectures in ideas and power at the Australian Defence Force Academy, and is also editor of *John Howard from the Pavilion: Shaping the ascent to power* (Connor Court, 2023). A compelling collection of Howard's 1989 columns in *The Australian*, many of these writings foreshadowed the policies he would later adopt in office.

In mid-July, CIS hosted the Sydney launch of Andrew's book, who appeared in conversation with the Hon **John Howard** before a capacity crowd. Andrew also shared some early thoughts on his thesis about Howardism and leadership in a November episode of the CIS podcast *Liberalism in Question*.



# Max Hartwell Scholars-in-Residence

*In 2023, CIS was thrilled to host two Scholars-in-Residence, who featured in a series of engaging discussions on Sino-Australian relations.*

**N**amed after the distinguished economic historian and freedom advocate, **Ronald Max Hartwell**, CIS launched the Scholar-in-Residence program in 2014. This year was notable as we hosted two prominent China experts at the same time: US-based **James Mann** and **Alice Han**.

An award-winning journalist and Beijing bureau chief for the *Los Angeles Times* from 1984 to 1987, **James Mann** is the author of several books including the cautionary tale, *Beijing Jeep: A Case Study of Western Business in China* (1989), and the seminal *The China Fantasy: How Our Leaders Explain Away Chinese Repression* (2007).

**Alice Han** is Director of China at Greenmantle, a renowned global macroeconomic and geopolitical advisory firm headed by leading historian and past CIS speaker **Niall Ferguson**.

Throughout February, we capitalised on the presence of these two scholars by holding a series of panel discussions — *After the Thaw: How to deal with China* — across multiple capital cities. Joining our scholars were

experts in Sino-Australian relations including **Peter Varghese** in Brisbane, **Rowan Callick** in Melbourne, **Richard McGregor** in Sydney and **Peter Jennings** in Canberra.

In mid-February we also released Alice's CIS Analysis Paper, *Dealing with the Digital Yuan: The policy choices facing Australia*, in which she warned that China is seeking to dominate in financial technology just as it has sought to do with 5G and AI. Alice followed up with a concise CIS YouTube video distilling the paper's key points.

James concluded the month with a luncheon address in Sydney, where he revisited *The China Fantasy* before a capacity crowd. Published in 2007, James was among the first to warn that economic liberalisation would likely lead not to democracy but greater autocracy in China. Liberal Senator **James Paterson** joined him on stage afterwards for a lively discussion of not only America's but also Australia's 'China Fantasy'.

**Following the success of our 2023 program, CIS is planning to host two scholars again next year with events across the country.**

Tom Switzer, James Mann, Alice Han, James Laurenceson and Richard McGregor





# Liberty & Society Student Program

*This long-running program encourages the exploration of classical liberal ideas among young people, providing a platform for intellectual growth, discussion and networking.*



**T**he L&S program offers participants a crash course in classical liberal philosophy, providing a forum for them to test and challenge their beliefs.

Geared towards undergraduates and recent graduates, this unique initiative invites young individuals to question conventional perspectives on social, political and economic matters. We promote genuine discussion on issues such as individual freedom, private property, limited government and free trade.

The program's weekend conference format presents an excellent opportunity for university students to meet, engage in debates, and connect with like-minded peers. Many of these participants continue to stay involved in the L&S alumni network.

We're excited to announce our 2024 program, featuring two conferences that will shape the next chapter of L&S. Our first conference in March (8-10) will be held in Perth, and we're particularly thrilled to share news that **Konstantin Kisin** from TRIGGERnometry will be joining us on the opening night to kickstart the weekend. Our second conference later in the year will take place in Sydney.

Student participation in the conference is through application, and thanks to the generous contributions of our supporters,

attendance is entirely free, covering all conference-related expenses.

Applicants from any academic background are welcome to apply; there is no prerequisite for in-depth knowledge of classical liberalism. We're seeking individuals with a curiosity about society, how it functions, and those who may be questioning consensus views on economic, social and political issues.

If you're interested in getting involved, whether as a participant or a supporter, don't hesitate to contact our events team at [events@cis.org.au](mailto:events@cis.org.au).

**Mark your calendars for our upcoming L&S Perth conference in March 2024. Apply online now at [cis.org.au/events](https://cis.org.au/events) and be part of this experience.**

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***"The most important thing I gained from the conference was witnessing respectful, reasoned and rational debates. Without structured and fact-based debate, it is much harder to understand others' views."***

— 2022 L&S delegate

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# Consilium

*Our flagship conference, Consilium, has grown from humble beginnings in 2000 to become one of the most high-profile and influential gatherings in the country.*

**D**erived from a Latin word meaning a council or group of advisors, Consilium returned for its 22nd edition at the Langham Hotel on the Gold Coast this year.

Over three days, we drew together leaders from politics, business, academia and the media for intensive deliberation on the great public policy issues facing Australia and the world. We were also joined by a dozen young 'Next Gen' delegates, with many attending thanks to the support of sponsors.

Since our last conference, high inflation and soaring debt, together with a housing affordability crisis and fraught energy transition, have introduced new uncertainty and anxiety in societies and economies.

At Consilium this year, we welcomed a distinguished cohort of local and international speakers to lead us through these issues and more, with discussion sessions on topics including housing, productivity and intergenerational inequity to Artificial Intelligence, declining education standards, the 'woke' assault on tolerance and reason, and intensifying US-China security tensions.

These high-level discussions were complemented by some memorable evening addresses. At our opening dinner, UK *Daily Telegraph* columnist **Sherelle Jacobs** and US globalisation expert **Marian Tupy** delivered a rousing defence

of capitalism and the role of free markets in advancing human progress.

The following night, Sky News host **Peta Credlin** joined UK *Spectator* editor **Fraser Nelson** to dissect the crisis of the political centre right in conversation with **Paul Kelly**.

At our closing dinner, Consilium delegates had the pleasure of hearing former foreign minister, the Hon **Alexander Downer**, accept our annual Alan McGregor Fellowship with a typically witty and wide-ranging speech.

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***"I could not have enjoyed the time more. The expertise of the presenters and ample time for discussion made for an ideal event. So many threats to the future of liberal democracy make it ever more important for more people to experience Consilium."***

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— Richard Beattie, 2023 Delegate

Leading US political scientist, **John Mearsheimer**, then delivered the annual Neville Kennard address, issuing a powerful and provocative warning that the Ukraine and Israel wars threaten to derail the US pivot to Asia to counter China. Judging by the number of hands in the air at question time, he gave delegates plenty to think about.

**For more information about Consilium, please visit [consilium.org.au](https://consilium.org.au)**

John Mearsheimer, Tom Switzer, Alexander Downer







Mark Pesce, Larry Marshall, Helen Frazer, John Green and Toby Walsh



Maxine McKew and John Mearsheimer



Judith Sloan



Peta Credlin



Jacinta Price



Georgina Downer, Warren Mundine and William Shackel



Tony Berg, Yuki Cheng and Joanne Tran



Sherelle Jacobs



Nicholas Moore and Alexander Downer



Sarah Henderson



# John Bonython Lecture and Gala Dinner

*Our keynote speaker in 2023 was Jason Riley, one of the leaders of America's black conservatism movement, who challenged orthodoxies on social and economic equality.*

Since 1984, CIS has invited a world-acclaimed scholar, journalist, business figure or political leader to deliver our annual keynote address named in honour of **John Bonython AO**, the first chairman of CIS's Board of Trustees.

This year's keynote speaker was **Jason Riley**. A Senior Fellow at the Manhattan Institute in New York and longstanding columnist for the *Wall Street Journal*, Jason is author of several books including *Please Stop Helping Us: How Liberals Make It Harder for Blacks to Succeed* (2014) and, most recently, the first-ever biography of legendary free thinker, **Thomas Sowell**, appropriately titled *Maverick* (2021). He later adapted the book into a powerful documentary — *Thomas Sowell: Common Sense in a Senseless World* — for the Free to Choose network.

Incidentally, Dr Sowell delivered our 5th Annual John Bonython Lecture in 1988 on *Endangered Freedom*, with longtime CIS contributor, the late Professor **Wolfgang Kasper**, giving the Vote of Thanks.

Thirty-five years later, at Crown Sydney's Pearl Ballroom in late July, Jason delivered an outstanding lecture that challenged the conventional wisdom on racial and cultural matters. He argued that

social justice advocates bring an almost utopian mindset to issues of social and economic equality. Yet instead of trying to apportion blame and discriminate against others in the name of equality, the goal should be to understand why inequality persists.

Jason's address was followed by a highly-engaging conversation with the director of CIS's Culture, Prosperity & Civil Society program, **Peter Kurti**. An edited extract of his lecture was also published in *The Weekend Australian*.

During their stay in Sydney, Jason and his wife **Naomi Schaefer Riley**, a Senior Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute and Independent Women's Forum, also found time to join **Tom Switzer** for a very lively discussion on the state of American politics and discourse.

**Jason Riley's lecture and panel event can be viewed on our YouTube channel. An edited version of his lecture is also available as a CIS Occasional Paper, *Questioning Orthodoxies*.**

Jason Riley



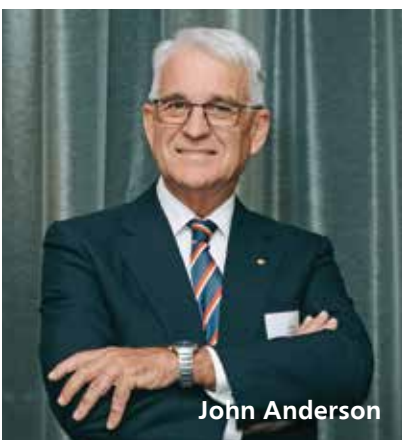




The Pearl Ballroom at Crown Sydney



Jason Riley



John Anderson



Robert and Elizabeth Carling



Sam Kennard



Peter Kurti, Jason Riley and Tom Switzer



Ian Lansdown and Tricia Bell



Claire Lehmann, Emilie Dye and Zoe Booth



# Event Highlights

*In 2023, CIS hosted a stellar-line up of international and domestic speakers to explore, discuss and debate the big policy issues of our time.*

Events this year encompassed topics ranging from economics, education and Indigenous affairs to political commentary and foreign policy.

We began with past CIS guest **Lord Daniel Hannan** on the tumultuous political landscape the UK faced in early 2023. *Spectator* publisher **Andrew Neil**, followed by John Bonython Lecturer, **Jason Riley**, and wife **Naomi Schaefer Riley**, then spoke on UK and US politics respectively.

We also hit the road for discussions in Melbourne and Brisbane on Australian politics with the Hon **John Howard**, before welcoming the Hon **Tony Abbott** for the launch of *Dignity & Prosperity: The Future of Liberal Australia* at CIS in June.

March saw a spotlight on education, with former and current NSW Education Ministers **Sarah Mitchell** and **Prue Car** debating their policy differences ahead of the State poll. The education reform agenda also featured in several policy roundtables and webinars throughout the year (see pages 8-9).

In early April, we held a sold-out Oxford-style debate on the Indigenous Voice to Parliament, with **Anthony McAvoy** and **Shireen Morris** on the affirmative side and **Jacinta Nampijinpa Price** and **Nyunggai Warren Mundine** on the negative. Jacinta and Warren also took to the stage in August at CIS events on the Voice in Perth, Hobart and Adelaide (see page 14).

Jacinta Nampijinpa Price, Nyunggai Warren Mundine Tom Switzer, Shireen Morris and Anthony McAvoy

Economics came into strong focus this year, with a panel discussion on *Net Zero by 2050* in late June featuring **Felicity Wade**, **Stephen Galilee** and **Stephen Wilson**. In September, we hosted “Grumpy Economist”, US Professor **John Cochrane**, on economic stagnation, followed by the Cato Institute’s **Marian Tupy** and UK *Spectator* editor **Fraser Nelson** on free markets and human progress. We also welcomed US education economist, **Eric Hanushek**, on why education matters for the wealth of nations.

Foreign policy featured in a series of interstate events in February with CIS Scholars-in-Residence, **James Mann** and **Alice Han**, and local China experts. In late October, we welcomed back Professor **John Mearsheimer** for a Brisbane address on how the Israel and Ukraine wars threaten the US pivot to Asia. The YouTube video had attracted over 800,000 views at time of writing.

Finally, we returned to Perth in November with renowned UK writer **Matt Ridley** for a discussion with **Peter Kurti** on the fallibility of both science and governments. This replicated an earlier Sydney event.

**A full list of events appears on pages 24-25. Further details can be found at [cis.org.au/events](https://cis.org.au/events) or on our social media and YouTube channels.**







Sarah Mitchell, Glenn Fahey and Prue Car



John Cochrane and Gene Tunny



Anthony Dillon and Jason Riley



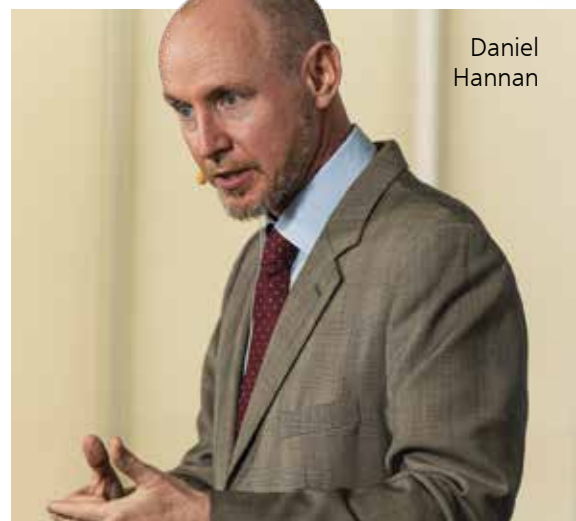
John Mearsheimer



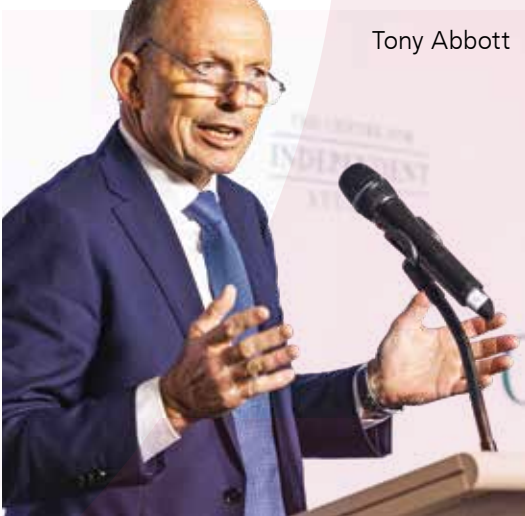
Felicity Wade,  
Stephen Galilee  
and Stephen  
Wilson



James Mann, Peter Varghese, Alice Han and Sarah Teitt



Daniel  
Hannan



Tony Abbott



Marian Tupy



Fraser Nelson

# Events at a Glance

## JANUARY

### **Emily Hanford: Sold a story**

**Emily Hanford, Glenn Fahey**

Online - Webinar • January 24

### **Is Britain Broken?**

**Daniel Hannan, Tom Switzer**

Sydney - Lunch • January 30

## FEBRUARY

### **After the Thaw: How to deal with China**

**James Mann, Alice Han, Peter Varghese, Sarah Teitt, Tom Switzer**

Brisbane - Panel • February 8

### **After the Thaw: How to deal with China**

**James Mann, Alice Han, James Laurenceson, Richard McGregor, Tom Switzer**

Sydney - Panel • February 15

### **After the Thaw: How to deal with China**

**James Mann, Alice Han, Rowan Callick, Tom Switzer**

Melbourne - Panel • February 16

### **After the Thaw: How to deal with China**

**James Mann, Alice Han, Peter Jennings, Darius Degutis, Tom Switzer**

Canberra - Panel • February 23

### **America's China Fantasy**

**James Mann, James Paterson, Tom Switzer**

Sydney - Lunch • February 28

## MARCH

### **Education Reform Roundtable**

**Daisy Christodoulou, Glenn Fahey**

Melbourne - Roundtable • March 2

### **2023 NSW Election: Education debate**

**Sarah Mitchell, Prue Car, Glenn Fahey**

Sydney - Panel • March 14

### **John Howard: A Sense of Balance**

**John Howard, Tom Switzer**

Melbourne - Discussion • March 15

### **John Howard: A Sense of Balance**

**John Howard, Tom Switzer**

Brisbane - Discussion • March 30

## APRIL

### **Does Australia Need an Indigenous Voice to Parliament?**

**Jacinta Nampijinpa Price, Nyunggai Warren Mundine, Anthony McAvoy, Shireen Morris, Tom Switzer**

Sydney - Debate • April 4

### **Andrew Neil at CIS**

**Andrew Neil, Tom Switzer**

Sydney - Discussion • April 12

### **Outsmart Your Brain**

**Dan Willingham, Glenn Fahey**

Online - Webinar • April 14

## JUNE

### **Roundtable with Center for Free Enterprise (CFE)**

**Delegation from CFE Korea, Tom Switzer**

Sydney - Roundtable • June 7

### **Dignity & Prosperity**

**David Stevens, Tony Abbott, Tom Switzer**

Sydney - Book Launch • June 14

### **Markets & Prosperity**

**Harry Stutchbury, Tom Switzer**

Sydney - Book Launch • June 15

### **Net Zero by 2050: Reality or fantasy?**

**Stephen Galilee, Stephen Wilson, Felicity Wade, Tom Switzer**

Sydney - Lunch • June 22

## JULY

### **John Howard: From the Pavilion**

**John Howard, Andrew Blyth**

Sydney - Book Launch • July 18

### **Annual John Bonython Lecture and Gala Dinner**

**Jason Riley, Peter Kurti**

Sydney - Gala Dinner • July 27



### **The State Of American Politics and Discourse**

**Jason Riley, Naomi Schaefer Riley, Tom Switzer**

Sydney - Conversation • July 31

### **AUGUST**

#### **Education Roundtable with Mark Scott**

**Mark Scott, Glenn Fahey**

Sydney - Roundtable • August 14

#### **Does Australia Need an Indigenous Voice to Parliament?**

**Jacinta Nampijinpa Price, Nyunggai Warren Mundine, Tom Switzer**

Perth - Discussion • August 20

#### **Does Australia Need an Indigenous Voice to Parliament?**

**Jacinta Nampijinpa Price, Nyunggai Warren Mundine, Tom Switzer**

Hobart - Discussion • August 30

#### **Does Australia Need an Indigenous Voice to Parliament?**

**Jacinta Nampijinpa Price, Nyunggai Warren Mundine, Tom Switzer**

Adelaide - Discussion • August 31

### **SEPTEMBER**

#### **Will AI Make Our Education System Smarter?**

**Daisy Christodoulou, Leslie Loble, Glenn Fahey**

Online - Webinar • September 5

#### **Free to Grow: Unlocking economic prosperity**

**John Cochrane, Gene Tunny**

Sydney - Conversation • September 26

### **OCTOBER**

#### **Transforming Education: Mississippi's lessons for Australia**

**Jennifer Buckingham, Carey Wright, Glenn Fahey**

Online - Webinar • October 3

### **Smart Nation: Richer Future: Charting the path to prosperity**

**Eric Hanushek, Glenn Fahey**

Sydney - Breakfast • October 16

### **Roundtable on US Charter Schools: Lessons for Australia**

**Eric Hanushek, Margaret Raymond, Glenn Fahey**

Sydney - Roundtable • October 16

### **Unlocking Human Progress Through Capitalism**

**Marian Tupy, Fraser Nelson, Tom Switzer**

Sydney - Discussion • October 17

### **Consilium**

Gold Coast - Conference • October 19-21

### **Losing Focus: Will Ukraine and now Israel derail the US pivot to contain China?**

**John Mearsheimer, Tom Switzer**

Brisbane - Conversation • October 23

### **NOVEMBER**

#### **Cures vs Consequences: Government and science**

**Matt Ridley, Peter Kurti**

Sydney - Conversation • November 9

#### **Classroom Disorder: Strategies for success**

**Matt O'Sullivan, Lorraine Hammond, Tim McDonald, Glenn Fahey**

Perth - Panel • November 20

#### **Cures vs Consequences: Government and science**

**Matt Ridley, Peter Kurti**

Perth - Conversation • November 21

### **DECEMBER**

#### **Members Christmas Soirée**

**Tom Switzer**

Sydney - Cocktail Party • December 5

# Media and Communications

*The Centre for Independent Studies has a longstanding reputation for developing rigorously researched and insightful policy ideas, and promoting them to the public through events and the media.*

In 2023, CIS published more than 65 op-eds, and (with syndication) was cited in more than 10,000 news stories, radio and TV broadcasts across networks.

Research is developed on the foundation of CIS's principles and message, and is the main focus for the media and communications work in broadcasting policy proposals and helping raise the CIS profile.

Research promotion this year was focused on a total of 25 publications as well as 7 public submissions to government.



# 10,000+

Media mentions



# 65+

Op-eds

## FINANCIAL REVIEW

### Australia must do better on classroom behaviour

Opinion

Glenn Fahey



objectively good and bad behaviour in school contexts. These common expectations help provide children with predictability and confidence in how they conduct themselves, what's acceptable and what isn't.

## THE AUSTRALIAN

### COMMENTARY

MATT TAYLOR

### Coalition's return to power can't bypass demographic slide

time—quite rightly. As of the last election, the eldest among them were 25.3 percentage points less likely to vote Coalition than the average voter.

As the older generations leave the electorate and are replaced by new ones, there will be fewer boosters and Gen X voters for the Coalition to chase. At the next election, boomers and Gen X will make up 46 per cent of the electorate. Adding the Silent Generation

## THE AUSTRALIAN<sup>®</sup> BUSINESS REVIEW

### Super tax plan 'flawed' and should be ditched says Centre for Independent Studies



**Warren Mundine**

DIRECTOR OF THE INDIGENOUS FORUM AT THE CENTRE FOR INDEPENDENT STUDIES



## Why it's a myth that Australia is a low-taxing country

Despite brimming coffers there are calls for tax increases, or tax cuts to be scrapped. There is no case for that.

Robert Carling *Economist*



THE AUSTRALIAN

## Why centre-right parties are failing Gen Z, millennial litmus test

TOM SWITZER and ANDREW BLYTH

## A great court victory for meritocracy

The US Supreme Court's decision on affirmative action has important lessons for the Voice debate in Australia.

Steven Schwartz  
Professor



## Champion of higher urban density



LUNCH WITH PETER TULIP

Putting people closely together is a recipe for prosperity, the economist tells Tawar Razaghi.

Free-market think tank leader Peter Tulip reveals he and Prime Minister Anthony Albanese were Young Labor members in the early 1980s and made their bones in the same economic battles at the University of Sydney. "I have always been really interested in politics," he says. "I'd always wanted to make a contribution and economic analysis as the most powerful way of doing that."

Since his university days, Tulip has worked as an economist at such organisations as the OECD, the US Federal Reserve and the Reserve Bank of Australia.

Having spent much of his 37-year career making decisions with the upper crust of central banking, his current role is chief economist of the Centre for Independent Studies, which describes itself as committed to classic liberalism. Yet he has become a somewhat colorful champion for working-class families.

"We need to care more about children and young people," he says. "We need to care more about the future."

He is a man with a passion for people with limited wealth. In his view, it might be surprising, the underlying social arrangements are unattractive. He does not see heritage protection policy as saving Sydney from being a boring city, with the price of admission for houses in areas that have more of the heritage protection, such as the inner west or eastern suburbs, hitting \$1.5 million.

The wealthy business mogul who first thought that that's a good deal. But then he's pulling up the ladder behind him and saying "come on in" to the newcomers. It's a fast ride, and it's incredibly inefficient.

Did he ever live in an apartment and enjoy it? Plenty, he says, and then he says, "It could live on a farm, a transitory commute from work, that would be glorious. But clearly that's unrealistic. If you want a modern, progressive economy, you need urban density. Putting people closely together is how things develop, and how



Clockwise from main: Peter Tulip says economics makes a powerful contribution to politics, pub

## The Daily Telegraph

## Majority keeping the faith in religious schools



Peter Kurti and Scott Prasser

Parents are taking regularly of religious schools whenever their beliefs come into conflict with the prevailing secular norms. Now, new polling from the Centre for Independent Studies, which describes itself as committed to classic liberalism. Yet he has become a somewhat colorful champion for working-class families.

"We need to care more about children and young people," he says. "We need to care more about the future."

And this is bound to have a broader impact on the very character of such schools. After all, if a religious school is to retain its distinctive ethos, it makes sense that the staff it employs should be sympathetic to that ethos. Lured in the living line is the Presbyterian Church of Australia (PCA), which made a commitment to the Australian Law Reform Commission (ALRC) about religious

freedom but the church's very codes of Christian morality most definitely excludes student leadership. Predictably, all hell broke loose. Critics were especially fierce in Queensland where one minister described the church's position as "something less than a merger of 'faith and reason'".

The CIS research indicates the tide might be turning against faith-based organisations, which could find themselves swept away in a broader wave of public opinion. However, attempts to combine the religious ethos of faith-based schools could provide a boost. A variable ethnicity — 37 per cent — believe religious schools should be

letting staff shape that school's ethos. After all, parents who send their kids to religious schools know what they are signing up for — and usually paying for too.

We should not forget that 90 per cent of non-government schools are religious schools and that a substantial 34 per cent of Aussie kids are enrolled in them.

Parents seem to like what's on offer in the non-government sector, where enrolment is out-pacing the government sector — and which is dominated by faith-based schools.

Anti-religion activists invariably point to the most recent census figures which show a steady rise in those reporting 'no religion' since 2017, when the question was first

asked. But while overall religious affiliation in Australia is declining, God is far from dead. New migrants are bringing their religious traditions with them to this country. This explains the steady rise in non-Christian religions such as Hinduism, Islam and Sikhism. Whereas Christianity has declined, Australia's religious diversity is actually increasing.

In early 2021, the ALRC wanted to remove the right of religious schools to preserve their ethos and teaching. This position may well enjoy popular support. But not among those who want the state to protect — rather than undermine — the ethos of non-religious schools.

sky news .COM.AU

GLENN FAHEY | DIRECTOR, EDUCATION PROGRAM CIS

Credlin

### AUSTRALIA'S EDUCATION STANDARDS FALLING

Canberra

The Canberra Times

Opinion

### Simon Cowan | Jim Chalmers' purpose for super is to unite it to Labor's vision and worldview

By Simon Cowan  
February 24, 2023 - 5:30pm

3 Comments

THE AUSTRALIAN

## Nation won't be a global pariah for voting No

Predictions the world will heap opprobrium upon us if the referendum fails are wrong

TOM SWITZER

proud place vacated by pre-Mandela South Africa". The ABC broadcaster was hardly alone. Labor speechwriter Bob Ellis complained: "Soon, too late, we will all be reviled and ashamed, an international pariah like South Africa, with no way back." The electorate was hardly disturbed, and Howard won the next three

emissions had been falling faster than that of most nations, and that our high-quality coal, gas and iron ore are remained overwhelmingly popular on the global market.

To the extent international media outlets are intrigued by our energy debate, they are genuinely astonished about bizarre government policy. Witness this Wall Street Journal headline: "Australia, a Top Natural-Gas Exporter, Considers Imports to Stop Black-outs".

In 1953, after communists crushed a worker's revolt in East

sky news .COM.AU CANBERRA

MATTHEW TAYLOR | RESEARCH FELLOW, CENTRE FOR INDEPENDENT STUDIES

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### COALITION STRUGGLES WITH YOUNGER VOTERS

Daily Mail AUSTRALIA

Home | U.K. | Royals | U.S. News | World News | Sport | TV & Showbiz | Femail AU | Health

Top economist issues interest rates warning under new Reserve Bank boss - as Treasurer can't rule out future hikes

- Economist predicts more rate rises
- Says new RBA boss won't change that
- Treasurer also warns rate relief unlikely

By DAVID SOUTHGATE FOR DAILY MAIL AUSTRALIA  
PUBLISHED: 20:03 AEST, 16 JULY 2023 | UPDATED: 20:07 AEST, 16 JULY 2023

47 comments

A former colleague of new Reserve Bank governor Michele Bullock has warned the central bank is set to continue on the same course as it did under her predecessor Philip Lowe.

Centre for Independent Studies think tank economist Peter Tulip, who worked at the RBA from 2011 to 2020, predicts that more cash rate hikes could be on the horizon despite the change of leadership.

SPECTATOR AUSTRALIA

### Eliminating the F-word

No more failures?

Steven Schwartz

Opinion

The Canberra Times

### Degrowth proponents wrong to claim capitalism causes climate change

By Simon Cowan, Greta Turek  
September 9, 2023 - 6:30am

3 Comments

SPECTATOR AUSTRALIA

FLAT WHITE

## Australia is ruled by 'experts'

Politicians can't seem to live without experts. Faced with technical complexity all around them — whether in public health, climate science,

Peter Kurti  
28 August 2023

# Publications

*Our rigorous research papers form a crucial part of CIS's public profile and efforts to promote policy reform. As of 1 November 2023, CIS published a total of 25 publications including 2 Research Reports, 16 Analysis Papers, 4 POLICY Papers and 3 Occasional Papers as well as 7 Public Submissions to Government and 2 chapters in external books.*

*A full list appears below.*

## Occasional Papers 2023

### **Guaranteeing a Grassroots Megaphone: A centre-right approach to hearing Indigenous voices**

**Greg Craven, Damien Freeman**  
January 18 · OP195

The proposal that the Constitution should recognise the need for Indigenous people to be consulted on laws and policies with respect to Indigenous affairs can rightly be understood as both a conservative and a liberal project, according to authors Greg Craven and Damien Freeman.



### **Questioning Orthodoxies: The 2023 John Bonython Lecture**

**Jason Riley**  
August 30 · OP197

Social justice advocates bring an almost utopian mindset to issues of social and economic equality, according to Jason Riley. Instead of trying to apportion blame and discriminate against others in the name of equality, the goal should be to understand why inequality persists, he says.



### **Bonds of Belonging: Renewing democracy in an atomised age**

**Adrian Pabst**  
June 1 · OP196

Liberal democracy is under threat from tech platforms, identity politics, and hostile foreign powers such as China or Russia, as well as repeated global shocks. An oft overlooked factor is the unravelling of the social fabric, which has led to a fall in levels of popular trust in democratic government. Into the void has crept a level of authoritarianism, further endangering democratic processes.





### **State Capture: Behind Sogavare's marriage of convenience with China**

**R.A. Herr**

February 9 · AP42

In this paper, Dr Herr focuses on how the insecurity of Solomons domestic politics shaped Prime Minister Manasseh Sogavare's ambition to secure his personal power by linking it to a supportive external power and what it means for the region.



### **Dealing with the Digital Yuan: Policy choices facing Australia**

**Alice Han**

February 15 · AP43

If China dominates the future infrastructure of international payments, it will use this as a geopolitical tool with significant implications for the Indo-Pacific region. Such an outcome would insulate China from the risk of US sanctions and would give China's government a powerful lever for imposing its own sanctions or coercing smaller countries in the region.



### **ATAR's Rising Relevance: Admission standards and completion rates**

**Rob Joseph**

February 27 · AP44

While the number of non-ATAR students is rising, ATAR remains the dominant pathway to university for school leavers. Recent estimates show almost three-in-four school leavers use ATAR to gain university entry; 60% use solely ATAR, and 14% use ATAR in conjunction with other criteria.



### **Where Should We Build New Housing?: Better targets for local councils**

**Peter Tulip**

March 9 · AP45

We are not building enough apartments and we are building them in the wrong place. For instance, in Sydney new construction is concentrated in outer suburbs – but that isn't where people prefer to live. We need to build more apartments in the inner and eastern suburbs, where the shortage of housing is most severe.



### **Joining the Real Economy: Mapping the economic potential of remote Indigenous communities**

**Nyunggai Warren Mundine**

March 16 · RR45

While remote locations will never have thriving economies, an analysis of non-Indigenous communities with similar levels of remoteness and access to infrastructure and services demonstrates that there is potential for genuine economic activity in remote Indigenous towns.



### **Fiscal Reform to Rescue Our Future: The 'national conversation' on budgets, spending and tax**

**Robert Carling**

March 23 · PP49

Government expenditure is growing faster than the economy, and is heading for a record high. At the same time, revenue is running at historically strong levels and is also projected to exceed pre-pandemic norms. If there is a structural budget problem, the first place to look for a remedy is expenditure reform, not tax increases.



## **Risky Business: Why millennials are afraid of entrepreneurship**

**Mikayla Novak**

March 30 · PP50

Entrepreneurial activity among younger cohorts is on the wane in Australia, even pre-Covid, and below the average levels of other advanced economies — a situation not helped by poor government regulation and a lack of incentives. This paper outlines the barriers to millennial entrepreneurship and proposes solutions.



## **Faith No More? The inadequacy of Australia's protections for religious freedom**

**Elisabeth Taylor**

April 6 · AP46

The absence of any real legislative protection for religious freedom leaves this space open to perpetual contest by competing rights. Current trends see the erosion of this freedom, as governments and public guardians of human rights give way to cultural hostility against religion.

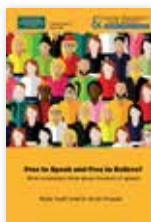


## **Free to Speak and Free to Believe?: What Australians think about freedom of speech**

**Peter Kurti, Scott Prasser**

April 20 · AP47

Based on polling conducted for CIS, the authors argue Australians are fundamentally ambivalent about freedom of speech: we support freedom of speech when we agree with the opinions voiced but are inclined to withdraw that support when we do not.



## **Degree Inflation: Undermining the value of higher education**

**Steven Schwartz**

May 18 · AP48

'Degree inflation', says Steven Schwartz, has reduced the value of university qualifications, kept people out of jobs they would otherwise be qualified for, and lumbered taxpayers with paying the student debt of those who drop out or never find a job after getting their degree.



## **Cohort of Losers: Generational burden of government Covid response**

**Gigi Foster**

June 13 · AP49

Many Covid-era policies were defended on the basis that they would help those vulnerable to Covid, mainly the elderly. In this paper, Professor Foster attempts to put a price tag on these policies from the perspective of Australia's youth, who will carry the consequences until they die.



## **Generation Left: Young voters are deserting the right**

**Matthew Taylor**

June 29 · RR46

Younger Australians are not showing the same propensity to vote centre-right as they age as earlier generations, according to CIS research drawing on AES data. It shows that a demographic structural tide is starting to turn against the Coalition and suggests that if the lower level of support among Generation Z continues, it could push its primary vote below 30% between now and 2040.





## In Defence of Meritocracy

**Steven Schwartz**

July 6 · AP50

The author argues that rewarding merit is the best way to inspire those with extraordinary abilities. While it is impossible to ensure every person is exceptional, we can provide everyone with a fair opportunity to exploit whatever abilities they have. Instead of abandoning merit-based rewards, we should perfect them by making our measures of merit more transparent, efficient and fair



## Politicisation: The attack on merit and our way of life

**Scott Prasser**

August 3 · AP52

This paper examines the issue of 'politicisation' of our public services and other public institutions. The meanings and permutations of politicisation are identified, its causes and both positive and negative impacts considered. It asks whether politicisation is undermining the integrity of our institutions, the functioning of our democracy, and the core principle of merit.



## Superannuation tax: Why the total balance threshold should be shelved

**Robert Carling**

July 13 · PP51

This paper questions the fundamental justification for a new tax measure aimed at increasing superannuation tax revenue and targeting those with balances of \$3 million or more. It suggests different ways to raise additional revenue from superannuation should the government remain determined to do so.



## A Future Without Future Funds

**Dimitri Burshtein**

August 10 · PP52

In Australia's current economic straits, the author believes the most economically responsible action is to liquidate, in an orderly manner, the holdings of the Future Funds and pay down debt. With every additional dollar of Commonwealth debt accumulated and every interest rate increase, the case for doing so becomes ever more compelling, he argues.



## Authority, Expertise and Democracy: Should those who know best rule the rest of us?

**Peter Kurti**

July 27 · AP51

In a complex society increasingly conditioned by technology, it can seem very reasonable that elected politicians defer to what is assumed to be the superior skills, experience and intelligence of experts. However, the problem of the rule of experts arises when elected representatives abdicate, rather than simply delegate, responsibility for settling decisions about policy.



## Starting Off on the Wrong Foot: How to improve Initial Teacher Education in Australia

**Glenn Fahey and Rob Joseph**

14 August · AP53

In this paper, the authors put reform efforts in international context, assess the drivers of both the commencements to, and completions from, teacher training qualifications, discuss the suitability of the current training market, the suitability of current content in training degrees, and options for improving the accountability of Australia's ITE providers.



## Debunking Degrowth

**Gene Tunny**

7 September · AP54

The main proposition behind the degrowth movement is that economic growth is causing irreversible and irreparable harm to the planet, to the detriment of future generations and potentially risking human civilisation. The only problem is that the economic theory upon which it is based is, at best, unfounded, and would require acceptance of a lower standard of living.



## Teaching Behaviour: How classroom conduct can unlock better learning

**Dr Tim McDonald**

September 27 · AP55

Classroom behaviour affects teacher efficacy and well-being, and the achievement of all students. When students are engaged, they learn more. This paper discusses the importance of teaching a 'behaviour curriculum', much like other subjects are taught to students.



## Conduct Becoming: The importance of the behaviour curriculum

**Tom Bennett**

October 3 · AP56

This companion paper to Dr McDonald's analysis above discusses what is needed to make a 'behaviour curriculum' work in light of lessons from a recent national behaviour survey in the UK.



## The Need For Speed: Why fluency counts for maths learning

**Toni Hatten-Roberts**

October 19 · AP57

Informed by the science of learning, this paper argues that to reverse the fall in Year 11 and 12 students enrolling in high-level maths in Australia, regular monitoring and timed assessment are needed in Years 2-4 to ensure accuracy and speed in maths facts, like multiplication tables, are attained by Term 3 of Year 4.



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## External Publications

### A New Pathway to Prosperity

**Tom Switzer**

In Harry Stutchbury (ed), *Markets & Prosperity* (Connor Court, 2023), pp. 215-225.

This chapter argues that policymakers need to defend and prosecute the economic reform-agenda; vigorously oppose socialism; proceed cautiously on decarbonising the economy; normalise monetary policy; and repair the budget.

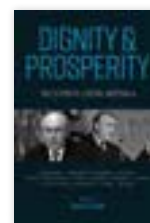


### Lessons for the Liberals from the Anglosphere

**Tom Switzer**

In David Stevens (ed), *Dignity and Prosperity: The Future of Liberal Australia* (Connor Court, 2023), pp. 105-125.

In a book aimed at re-igniting a renaissance of the Liberal cause, this chapter discusses why a purist free-market agenda will not excite the electorate; we need a new language to promote and sell market economics.



# Digital Reach



*Social media and digital content play an increasingly important role in raising our public profile, especially among younger audiences, while keeping CIS visible and accessible online.*

This year, we farewelled **Emily Holmes**, our social media strategist for the past four years, and welcomed social media marketing analysts **Emilie Dye** and **Nic Peschler**, who joined our digital producer **Randall Evans**. Together they have been working closely with the events and research team to increase our online engagement.

In 2023, our **digital follower base grew from 68,000 to over 80,000**. YouTube remains the main driver of this growth, with the posting of 'shorts' on our YouTube channel this year engaging new audiences.

Across platforms, our **followers on LinkedIn grew by almost 30%** this year, with Facebook and YouTube up over 10%. A focus in 2024 will be increasing our followers on X (formerly known as Twitter).

CIS has only engaged through TikTok and Instagram since September but the early trend lines are positive, with TikTok views already over 220,000.

## OVERALL, SINCE LAST YEAR:

- ▲ Social Media Impressions are **up 54%** at over **2 million**
- ▲ Engagements are **up 102%** at over **215,000**
- ▲ Post Clicks are **up 38%** at over **16,200**

In 2024, the team will work on continuing to boost social media engagements across platforms while increasing website traffic. Supplementing our flagship philosophical podcast series *Liberalism in Question* (see page 13), we also plan to launch a new podcast featuring CIS research as well as a series of 'snapshots' that explain how public policy choices impact younger generations. Stay tuned!

## PLATFORM

LinkedIn



## FOLLOWERS

**6,029**

**UP**   
**27.4%**

YouTube



**56,740**

**UP**   
**12.9%**

Facebook



**8,615**

**UP**   
**10.2%**

X (formerly known as Twitter)



**8,299**

**UP**   
**4.6%**

**224,000**



**TikTok views**



# Membership and Development

*This year, we have enjoyed catching up with many of our longtime supporters — and welcoming new friends — at events in capital cities across the country. We are also grateful to our members and donors who have continued to give generously throughout the year, enabling CIS to remain at the forefront of evidence-based policy that promotes a free and more prosperous future.*

In early 2023, we welcomed new Membership Co-ordinator, **Tim Black**, who joined our fundraising team comprising General Manager, **Jane Black**, and our dedicated Development Executive, **Trish Murray**. In August we also welcomed **Olivia Wilson**, who provides data analytics and CRM support to the team.

Together we are working diligently to strengthen our membership offering and revamp our membership program. Our goal is to ensure that members enjoy even greater engagement and exclusive benefits as we move forward.

This year we introduced a new \$40 annual digital membership alongside our range of membership offerings.

The aim is to help members stay engaged — wherever they are — with the incredible work being achieved by our growing research team.

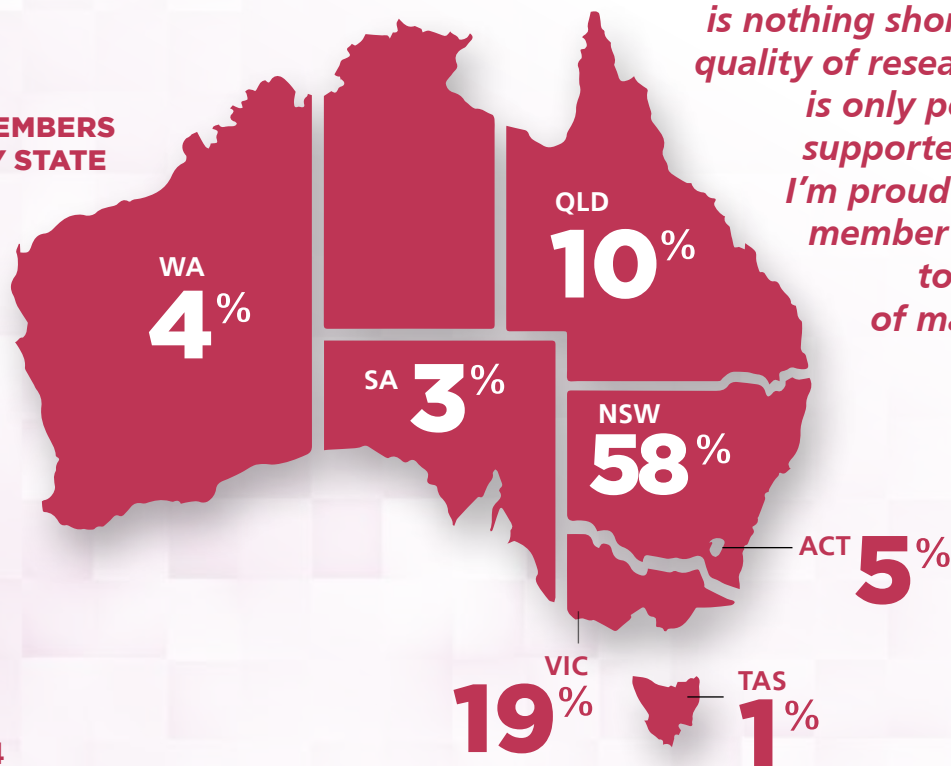
For further information, please contact Membership Co-ordinator, **Tim Black**, at **[tblack@cis.org.au](mailto:tblack@cis.org.au)** or phone **(02) 9438 4377** or scan the QR code.



**Tim Black**



## MEMBERS BY STATE



*"What I have seen over the years is nothing short of amazing. The quality of research and reporting is only possible because of supporters and leadership. I'm proud to be a long-term member and look forward to many more years of making a difference through CIS."*

— Ken, an early CIS supporter

## Lindsay Society: Leave a Gift in Your Will

**T**his year saw the launch of our partnership with Gathered Here, who provide a will-writing service online.

With 70% of Australians not having a legally binding Will, this is a wonderful opportunity for CIS to offer our supporters something that gives them comfort in the knowledge that they have provided for loved ones through a Will – for free.

Gathered Here supports not-for-profits by asking people who are writing their Will online to consider making a donation to

their preferred charity, however there is no obligation. Plus, for the more complicated Wills, there is an in-house legal team available for a fraction of the cost of an estate planner.

**If you don't have a Will, or life has changed and you would like to update your Will, please go online at [cis.org.au/support/gift-in-will/](https://cis.org.au/support/gift-in-will/) or scan the QR code and give Gathered Here a go!**



In 2023, we were delighted to welcome new members to our **Independence Society**, who joined us at private post-event dinners with renowned local and international speakers as well as exclusive roundtables showcasing the latest CIS research. We look forward to seeing new and existing members in 2024 with many exciting things planned!



Jane Black  
[jblack@cis.org.au](mailto:jblack@cis.org.au)



Trish Murray  
[tmurray@cis.org.au](mailto:tmurray@cis.org.au)

**We are incredibly grateful to all our individual and foundation donors for their ongoing generosity. Your commitment to CIS is an investment that is vital for our long-term sustainability and impact as we work to secure a free and prosperous future.**

**Donations, memberships and other forms of support are the lifeblood of our work, and we thank all our contributors for their continued generosity. All donations over \$2 are tax-deductible and all support makes a difference! For more information, please call us on (02) 9438 4377 and ask for Jane Black or Trish Murray, or go to [cis.org.au/support/donate](https://cis.org.au/support/donate) or scan the QR code.**



# Research Scholars

## **Simon Cowan** **Research Director**

Simon heads the research team and manages the report-writing process. He is also a leading commentator on policy and politics, with a regular column for the *Canberra Times*. His expertise is in welfare, retirement incomes, government budgets and regulation.



## **Dr Peter Tulip** **Chief Economist**

Peter came to CIS from the Reserve Bank of Australia (RBA). His focus is on housing affordability and monetary policy. He is also a contributor to the ANU's 'Shadow RBA Board' and a sought-after media commentator on housing and Reserve Bank reform.



## **Professor Gary Banks AO** **Senior Fellow, Economics Program**

Gary is best known for his nearly 15 years heading the Productivity Commission, following which he was appointed Chief Executive and Dean of ANZSOG. He has also served as Chairperson of the Australian Statistics Advisory Council and chair of the OECD's Regulatory Policy Committee. He is currently Professorial Fellow at the Melbourne Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research.



## **Robert Carling** **Senior Fellow, Economics Program**

Robert's expertise is in fiscal policy, taxation and federalism. Since 2017, he has served on the Parliamentary Budget Office panel of expert advisors on policy costings and fiscal analysis. He is a regular media commentator on fiscal issues including State and Federal Budgets.



## **Professor Warren Hogan** (from February) **Adjunct Fellow, Economics Program**

Professor Hogan is economic adviser to Juno Bank and founder and Managing Director of EQ Economics. From 2009 to 2016, he was Chief Economist of ANZ Banking Group and Head of ANZ Research. Warren has been a regular contributor to CIS over many years, with his most recent research focused on inflation.



## **Gene Tunny** (from February) **Adjunct Fellow, Economics Program**

A former Australian Treasury official in the Industry and Budget Policy divisions, Gene is Director of Adept Economics and a 1997 Liberty & Society alumnus. His recent research at CIS has focused on industrial relations and debunking modern monetary theory and the zero growth agenda.



## **Chae Jeong** (from March) **Research Assistant, Economics Program**

A fourth-year Commerce student at the University of Sydney, Chae provides research support to Robert Carling.



## **Glenn Fahey** **Director, Education Program**

Glenn came to CIS from the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation at the OECD. His work focuses on the science of learning, teacher training and broader education policy. He is a sought-after media commentator on initial teacher education and school discipline as well as Australia's deteriorating education standards, NAPLAN and PISA.



## **Trisha Jha** (from August) **Research Fellow, Education Program**

A former CIS Policy Analyst from 2013 to 2016, Trisha rejoined CIS after roles as a secondary teacher, including through Teach for Australia, in state and independent schools in regional Victoria. Her research focus is on the science of learning, improvement of ITE and overall school quality.



## **Professor Steven Schwartz AM** **Senior Fellow, Education program**

Professor Schwartz has served as Vice Chancellor of Macquarie University in Sydney, Brunel University in London and Murdoch University in Perth. He recently completed his term as Chair of the Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Advisory Authority (ACARA). His research focus at CIS is on higher education, meritocracy and related issues.





### **Dr Fiona Mueller**

**Adjunct Fellow,  
Education Program**

A former teacher of foreign languages and English, Fiona joined the then NSW Board of Studies before gaining her doctorate. She was Director of Curriculum at the Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA) from 2016-2017, and is currently a Commonwealth Minister for Education nominee on the ACARA board.



### **Edmund Stephen** (from April)

**Research Assistant,  
Education Program**

Edmund provides research support to Glenn Fahey. He has a Bachelor of Business/Laws (Honours) from the Queensland University of Technology and is currently studying a Diploma of Liberal Arts at Campion College, Sydney.



### **Matthew Taylor**

**Director, Intergenerational Program**

A former Research Fellow in the CIS Economics Program from 2013 to 2015, Matt rejoined CIS last year after a stint in policy research at the ANU. His research focuses on the growing problem of intergenerational inequality and evidence-based solutions to improve economic opportunities for younger generations.



### **Emilie Dye** (from March)

**Marketing and Research Analyst,  
Intergenerational Program**

Emilie is a Research Analyst with the Intergenerational program and a Marketing Analyst specialising in social and digital media. She has a Bachelor of Science in Economics from George Washington University and is a regular contributor on Sky News.



### **Nyunggai Warren Mundine AO**

**Director, Indigenous Forum**

Warren is a former deputy mayor of Dubbo, national president of the ALP, and chair of the Abbott government's Indigenous Advisory Council. Throughout 2023, Warren was one of the most prominent advocates for the No vote on an Indigenous Voice to Parliament. His focus is on improving Indigenous outcomes through economic growth and opportunities.



### **The Rev. Peter Kurti**

**Director of the Culture,  
Prosperity & Civil Society Program**

Peter's research at CIS focuses on the institutions and principles that underpin Australia's secular democracy including religious freedom, free speech and civil society. He is a frequent media commentator on these issues as well as cancel culture and identity politics.



### **The Right Rev. Robert Forsyth**

**Senior Fellow in the Culture,  
Prosperity & Civil Society Program**

A former Anglican Bishop of South Sydney, Robert is the host of CIS's flagship philosophical podcast series, *Liberalism in Question*, now in its fourth season. He has also been extensively involved in the area of religious freedom.



### **Dr Scott Prasser**

**Senior Fellow in the Culture,  
Prosperity & Civil Society Program**

Scott trained as a political scientist and served as an adviser to two federal education ministers. He has worked in federal and state governments in senior policy and research positions for a number of years.



### **Maya Khurana** (from July)

**Research Assistant in the Culture,  
Prosperity & Civil Society Program**

Maya is currently completing a BA in Politics and International Relations at the University of Sydney. She provides research support to Peter Kurti.



# Staff

**Tom Switzer**  
Executive Director



**Dearne Cameron**  
Chief Operating Officer



**Jane Black**  
General Manager/Fundraising



**Karla Pincott**  
Communications Director



**Ian Moore**  
Editorial Manager



**Trish Murray**  
Development Executive



**Tim Black** (from March)  
Membership Co-ordinator



**Annalisa Paparo**  
Executive Administration Officer



**Olivia Wilson** (from August)  
Salesforce System Administrator and Data Analyst



**Max Hawke-Weaver**  
Event Director



**Seg Gokasan** (from March)  
Event Officer



**Razwina Raihman** (from March)  
Consilium Producer



**Emilie Dye** (from July)  
Marketing and Research Analyst



**Nic Peschler** (from October)  
Social Media



**Randall Evans** (from May)  
Digital Producer



**Will Pearce** (until November)  
Graphic Designer



**Simone Ericsson** (from October)  
Graphic Designer



**Trish Watts** (from July)  
Finance Manager



**Shamsun Hamid** (from September)  
Accounts Officer





# Board of Directors

As of 1 November 2023

**Nicholas Moore AO**

Chairman



**Sir Rod Eddington AO**



**Prof Cav. Simon Mordant AM AO**



**Chris Roberts**

Deputy Chairman



**Dr Peter Farrell AM**



**April Palmerlee**



**Michael Rennie**

Deputy Chairman



**Ross Grant**



**James Philips**



**Philippa Stone**

Deputy Chairman



**John M. Green**



**Steven Skala AO**



**Tom Switzer**

Executive Director



**Sam Kennard**



**Rob Skeffington**



**Mark Barnaba AM**



**Greg Lindsay AO**

Founder



**Alison Watkins AM**



**Dr Jennifer Buckingham OAM**



**Peter Mason AM**



**Dr Gary Weiss AM**



**Melinda Conrad**



**Robert McLean AM**



**Christopher D. White**



**Sir Bill English KNZM**



**Rohan Mead**



**Steven Wilson AM**



# Accounts

## The Centre For Independent Studies Ltd

### Income & Expenditure Statement

Ending Financial Years 30/06/2023 and 30/06/2022

INCOME	To June 2023 *UNAUDITED (\$)	To June 2022 AUDITED (\$)
General Donations	3,395,231.47	3,482,488.00
Building Fund Donations	–	–
Book Sales and Subscriptions	158,889.48	148,832.00
Consilium/Seminar/Lecture Income	566,336.78	16,322.00
Interest & Sundry Income (Includes Capital Fund Income)	18,398.04	323.00
<b>TOTAL INCOME</b>	<b>4,138,855.77</b>	<b>3,647,965.00</b>

EXPENSES		
Research, Functions, Publishing	623,465.22	238,247.10
Fundraising & Development	353,823.96	92,394.62
Salaries Incl. Research	3,221,592.03	2,577,335.66
Administration & Rent	765,329.09	756,957.62
<b>TOTAL EXPENSES</b>	<b>4,964,210.30</b>	<b>3,664,935.00</b>

<b>SURPLUS (DEFICIT)</b>	<b>-825,354.53</b>	<b>16,970.00</b>
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<b>CAPITAL FUND AS AT 30 JUNE 2022</b>	<b>340,130.00</b>
<b>DRAWINGS</b>	<b>3,116.00</b>
<b>CAPITAL FUND AS AT 30 JUNE 2023</b>	<b>343,246.00</b>

\*At time of going to press, FY 2023 Financial Accounts were unaudited.

# Alan McGregor Fellows

Janet Albrechtsen  
Professor Gary Banks AO  
Andrew Buttfield  
Robert Carling  
Peter Coleman AO (1928-2019)  
Katrina Grace Kelly  
Hon Peter Costello AC  
Professor Greg Craven  
Michael Darling  
Frank Devine (1931-2009)  
Dr Anthony Dillon  
Hon Sir Roger Douglas KB  
Hon Alexander Downer AC  
Right Hon Sir Bill English KNZM  
Right Reverend Robert Forsyth  
Hon John Howard OM AC  
Professor Helen Hughes AO (1928-2013)  
John Hyde OAM  
Professor Wolfgang Kasper (1939-2023)  
Paul Kelly  
Roger Kerr CNZM (1945-2011)  
Bill Leak (1956-2017)  
Barry Maley  
Djambawa Marawili AM  
Nyunggai Warren Mundine AO  
Senator Jacinta Nampijinpa Price  
Bess Nungarrayi Price  
Professor Suri Ratnapala  
Hon Ruth Richardson  
Professor Steven Schwartz AM  
Professor Judith Sloan

# Distinguished Fellows

Professor Ray Ball  
John Calvert-Jones AM  
Michael Chaney AO  
Michael Darling  
David Darling (1925–2012)  
Dr Roderick Deane KNZM  
Alan Gibbs  
Ross Graham-Taylor (1919–2010)  
Professor R. M. Hartwell (1921–2009)  
Andrew Kaldor AM  
C. R. Bert Kelly CMG (1912–1997)  
Neville Kennard (1937–2012)  
Barry Maley  
Alan McGregor AO (1936–2005)  
Hugh Morgan AC  
Dame Elisabeth Murdoch AC DBE (1909–2012)  
Maurice Newman AC  
Professor Ross Parish (1929–2001)  
Ian Roach AO (1925–2003)  
Professor Peter Saunders  
Dr Ben Teh (1941–1998)

## **Honorary Auditors**

KPMG



THE CENTRE FOR  
**INDEPENDENT**  
STUDIES

**Centre for Independent Studies**

Level 1, 131 Macquarie St, Sydney, NSW 2000  
Tel: 02 9438 4377 | Email: [cis@cis.org.au](mailto:cis@cis.org.au) | [cis.org.au](http://cis.org.au)  
**ABN 15 001 495 012**