

CENTRE FOR INDEPENDENT STUDIES

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Goals and Aims

Vision

To be an indispensable voice providing independent research and policy solutions enabling the pursuit of freedom, 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

Independence

The Centre for Independent Studies is a not-for-profit think tank, with tax-deductible status. As a politically non-partisan organisation for almost 50 years, we are proud to be Australia's independent voice in public policy research.

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



From the Executive Director

The key lessons of the 2024 US presidential election are that the path towards progressivism and government activism leads to political doom, and that productivity and growth matter to electorates.

WHAT THE NEW Trump era means is not clear, but his decisive victory is easily explained: Middle America gave a middle finger to the ruling elite's penchant for big-spending policies as well as the often self-parodying approach to identity, better known as wokeness. Both outweighed whatever doubts voters had about Donald Trump's character.

Start with Bidenomics, which amounted to a historic spending spree in the wake of the Covid lockdowns. The result was the worst inflation in decades and reduced real wages. A clear majority of Americans believed they were worse off today than they were four years earlier.

Australians also continue to experience a fall in living standards, and our dire economic outlook has much to do with our productivity drought and unsustainable government spending projects.

The kinds of policies applied in Australia and elsewhere over the past two decades, contrary to much of the academic and media conventional wisdom, are hardly an example of what our critics call neo-liberalism. Free-market policies have not been tested for a long time, and highly interventionist government and, until recently, easy money, have been the Western policy consensus.

The result is a growing disconnect between the rising costs of defence and the care economy, and a reduced ability to fund these projects. When our terms of trade decline significantly, we will see a return to budget deficits and stagnation or decline in living standards, as CIS Senior Fellow **Robert Carling** has warned.

This is why the political class should revive productivity reforms that cut spending and reduce the tax burden on workers' income, which just dampens incentive

and enterprise. Without such an agenda, Canberra will condemn the nation to the low-aspiration and dismal slow-growth future that Treasury's Intergenerational Report highlights.

Most voters are also alienated by the left's cultural agenda of identity politics that seeks to divide people by race, ethnicity and gender. 'Diversity' has been the all-purpose justification for these divisions, and the irony is that Australia, like America, is more diverse and tolerant than ever.

But the message of the Trump triumph, following the emphatic rejection of the divisive Voice referendum in October 2023, is that the tide is turning against wokery. The creed — with its guilt-tripping about Western cultural heritage and its penchant for cancelling unfashionable (conservative or classical liberal) views — has lost its potency: even leading US liberal columnist Maureen Dowd recognises that 'woke is broke'. Merit and performance matter more than anyone's race and gender; and society should once again treat people as individuals, not lump them into identity categories.

Recent CIS polling has shown that the Australian people are increasingly unimpressed by what's called ESG (environmental, social and governance) and DEI (diversity, equity and inclusion), which have been buzzwords among so-called progressive businesses in recent times.

All this is a reminder of the important work that CIS has produced in 2024. From education, housing and energy policy to Indigenous and intergenerational affairs, we have been leading the great public-policy debates of the day.

At the same time, CIS has one of the largest online followings among the world's think tanks, with a YouTube subscription of nearly 200,000 (third behind the Washington-based Heritage Foundation and the American Enterprise Institute).

We also distinguished ourselves in mid-2024 by hosting events with leading international speakers who took different positions on the Middle East crisis: the Pulitzer-prize winning *New York Times* columnist **Bret Stephens**

and world-famous political scientist **John Mearsheimer** (whose May CIS lecture has attracted almost five million views online).

In mid-September, the internationally renowned American demographer, **Nicholas Eberstadt**, addressed the subject of global depopulation at our annual John Bonython Lecture, which has since attracted 600,000 views online.

That kind of outreach shows that CIS will remain an important player in the great intellectual debates well beyond our 50th anniversary next year.

Our sincere thanks to all our supporters and members, who continue to invest in our policy research and philosophical cause. Best wishes for 2025.





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Public Submissions



42

Events

8,300⁺



Email Subscribers



9 million⁺

Video Views

2.9 million+



Education

2024 was a strong year for the education program, with a record number of research papers, a big increase in reach, and multiple policy wins.

THE CIS EDUCATION team currently has three members: Program Director **Glenn Fahey**, Research Fellow **Trisha Jha**, and Senior Research Associate **Kelly Norris**, who joined us in late January. **Edmund Stephen** worked as a Junior Policy Analyst until June.

In 2024, we released 13 research reports and made two submissions to government. Some 90,000 educators and policy experts now access our work online and we expect this following to keep growing in 2025.

We have also been hard at work sharing our research findings through public presentations at most major educator events and forums, as well as engaging in sustained — and ultimately successful — advocacy with policymakers and departments at both federal and state levels.

Research Highlights

Research in 2024 focused on three priority areas: teacher training, science of learning, and early maths intervention.

Highlights included **Trisha Jha's** February paper, *What* is the Science of Learning?, and **Kelly Norris'** June report Screening That Counts: Why Australia needs universal early numeracy screening. These were especially important papers because they form the basis for new CIS research projects.

Trisha's paper was among our most-downloaded publications. At *The Age* Schools Summit in June, Victorian education minister **Ben Carroll** directly quoted her paper during his address, describing it as "essential reading for Australia's teachers".

Kelly's landmark report on early maths screening — the most authoritative Australian resource on this topic in the public domain — has been central to our efforts to gain support for evidence-based early numeracy screening across the education sector and among policymakers.

We also published a series of papers by external experts including **Jarrod Carter** on evidence-based instructional materials, **David Geary** on maths anxiety, **Sarah Powell** et al on maths teaching, **Siobhan Merlo** on the science of maths, **Erica Lembke** et al on maths screening, and **Leanne Ketterlin-Geller** et al on fractions.

CIS Adjunct Fellows **John Sweller** and **Fiona Mueller**, with co-author **Deidre Clary**, further contributed respective papers on artificial intelligence and the importance of debating in the school curriculum.

Impact

Teacher Training: CIS has successfully advocated for higher standards in teacher training through the inclusion of the science of learning and explicit instruction in the core content required for all university programs. In April 2024, Australian education ministers endorsed this revised content, which will be introduced in 2025 alongside a quality assurance board to monitor implementation.

We have also stressed that these reforms must be matched by changes to the professional standards that teachers meet for accreditation, as outlined in **Rebecca Birch's** May CIS report *Reimagining Teacher Professionalism*. We expect to see policy developments soon that reflect her recommendations.

Classroom Behaviour: CIS has successfully led policy and educator efforts to address classroom disruption. In April 2024, education ministers agreed to endorse a national behavioural curriculum framework. Past CIS author and UK behaviour expert, Tom Bennett, returned to CIS in May to discuss this proposal and other reforms to improve behaviour in Australian schools.

Science of Learning: CIS has been a key player in the growing 'science of learning' movement to improve student outcomes and teaching quality.

In early May, we welcomed the final report from the ACT's independent Literacy and Numeracy review panel, which cited seven CIS research papers in calling for teaching practices informed by the science of learning. The report also recommended the adoption of a Phonics Screening Check, as most states have now done, and the development of similar screening for numeracy.

We worked closely with the Victorian Legislative Council's review into its education system, with Trisha Jha presenting her evidence and reform proposals to the committee in May. The final report cited CIS research more than 50 times, with 13 findings and recommendations reflecting our priorities. These included the creation of a behaviour curriculum and the need for a 40-item Phonics Check in Year 1 in line with other states.

Early Maths Screening: Following the independent review into a Better and Fairer Education System — which endorsed CIS priorities such as explicit instruction, literacy and numeracy targets, and early maths screening — the federal government introduced a requirement that Australian states and territories must introduce early maths screening by 2028. Education ministers are negotiating new funding agreements in line with this requirement.

Our impact on education policy was acknowledged in the Australian Financial Review's annual Power issue last September:

The most influential think tanks are those with sufficient funding to play the long game. The Centre for Independent Studies (CIS), for example, has championed literacy and numeracy reforms in primary schools for decades. That work is now bearing fruit – phonics is back in fashion and the Labor government in NSW is enthusiastic about introducing numeracy screening for year one students. In late August, CIS analysts hosted federal Education Minister Jason Clare, who wants all states to adopt the explicit learning techniques CIS has helped promote. That's a measure of clout.

New Initiatives

- We plan to launch a new science of learning website in 2025 that will aggregate priority CIS content on this topic. We will also highlight successful science of learning leadership in schools and construct a teacher survey to assess current science of learning knowledge and practice across the workforce.
- Another exciting new initiative is our development of an online early numeracy screening tool that could be rolled out nationally over the next two years. Hundreds of schools have signed up for trials in 2025.
- We also plan to begin new research into early education policy and practice that better support school readiness, especially in foundational maths skills.

We know from past CIS work on early literacy and phonics that our research and advocacy can lead to better policy and practice, transforming reading outcomes. Our work in early numeracy aims to achieve the same results in maths.



Ben Carroll citing Trisha Jha's paper on the science of learning

Economics

CIS had some big wins in 2024 with Reserve Bank reform and supply-side policies in housing, while continuing to make the case for smaller government and spending restraint.

Housing

IN 2024, HOUSING policy remained a top public concern, where proposals for reform are at the heart of the CIS mission.

Impact: CIS has long argued for a relaxation of planning restrictions to increase supply and make housing more affordable. During the year, state governments in NSW and Victoria introduced ambitious new re-zoning policies to enable the private sector to build more housing. These policies represent major victories, but they are not secure.

Chief Economist **Peter Tulip** continued to press on these issues, publishing a useful summary of his arguments in the CIS paper *Housing Affordability and Supply Restrictions*.

He followed up with a submission and testimony to the federal government inquiry on super for housing, a submission on financial regulation and home ownership, and testimony on Help-to-Buy. He also contributed to the inquiry process of key federal Independents including Sophie Scamps' and Kylie Tink's respective 'Citizens Juries' on Housing Policy.

At the state level, he provided a submission and testimony to the NSW parliament on Transport-Oriented Development and appeared as a witness on the sale of Rosehill racecourse in Sydney.

Peter also actively engaged with key stakeholders, delivering presentations on housing to federal Treasury, political party forums, industry groups and consultancies as well as to conferences, symposiums, and Ku-ring-gai Council. Many politicians and their staff requested private meetings and briefings on planning reform. At an August CIS lunch, the NSW Treasurer Daniel Mookhey publicly re-affirmed his commitment to reform in line with our recommendations.

The broader public remains sceptical, however. So CIS advocacy has been increasingly through mass media, with Peter approached for comment on housing across print, radio or television on almost a weekly basis throughout the year.

Housing will remain a priority in 2025, with two new papers currently in the works: the first on using super for housing and the second on lessons from planning reform in New Zealand.

Monetary and Fiscal Policy

Impact: CIS scored a major policy win in late
November when legislation passed that narrows
the Reserve Bank's mandate (removing "welfare
of the Australian people") and creates a new
expert committee to manage monetary policy.
The reforms will limit the scope for bureaucratic
discretion and mission creep and will subject RBA
decisions to greater scrutiny. CIS has been arguing
for these reforms for decades, with Peter Tulip
playing a prominent role in recent debates.

We also continued to push back against big government, unchecked spending and the growing tax burden, with Senior Fellow **Robert Carling** leading the charge.

He began by updating his periodic survey of public finances in *Australia's Post-Pandemic Public Debt: Is there still a problem?*, arguing that profligate governments have only managed to avoid the worst-case debt scenario because of strong commodity prices and higher tax payments. *AFR* economics editor **John Kehoe** agreed at a CIS breakfast in March, warning that runaway government spending on programs like the NDIS — that CIS predicted in 2012 would become a "monster" — is Canberra's ticking fiscal bomb.

In March, Robert and Intergenerational Program Director **Matt Taylor** joined forces in the Research Report *Bracket Creep: Raiding our wallets.* They argued that the previous government's Stage 3 tax cuts were unfairly reconfigured because inflated estimates of their 'cost' failed to consider the effects of bracket creep, an insidious hidden tax. Their findings were reported in the *AFR* and *Sydney Morning Herald* and discussed in op-eds in the *AFR* and *Canberra Times*.

Robert's April paper on *The Truth About the Tax Burden* further revealed there are at least 125 different taxes in Australia, and the total tax burden is even heavier than commonly understood.

After the May federal budget, Robert and Adjunct Fellow **Gene Tunny** passed judgement in the paper *Budget Fails Important Policy Tests*, lamenting the willingness to borrow and spend to secure an election victory. Gene later followed up with *Gorillas in the Mist: How government obscures its spending* through less transparent off-budget outlays. The paper received substantial coverage in the *AFR*.

Robert also made a submission in May to the federal Senate inquiry into superannuation concessions, arguing that the total balance threshold for increased taxation, including on unrealised capital gains, should be shelved.

Finally, in late September, Robert published the paper *Government Spending and Inflation*. He argued high inflation persists because unchecked government spending is contributing to excessive aggregate demand, undermining the Reserve Bank's efforts to stabilise the economy. The paper coincided with a public clash between the Treasurer Jim Chalmers and Reserve Bank Governor Michele Bullock and received considerable media attention.

Other Research

CIS began 2024 with the release of *A Better Future with a Future Fund* by former Fund chairman **David Murray**, who rejected the argument in **Dimitri Burshtein's** 2023 CIS paper that the Howard-era Fund should be dissolved to pay off government debt. The paper was published on the same day Peter Costello's successor as Future Fund chairman, Greg Combet, was appointed by the Labor Party. In response, *The Australian* and *AFR* ran front-page stories and editorials on David's views.

We also ended the year with Mr Murray, hosting a lunch in early December to mark the tenth anniversary of the inquiry he led into the resilience of the financial system. This took place not long after the federal government announced changes to the Future Fund's investment mandate. David warned that political interference could distort asset allocation, resulting in lower returns.









Energy

Our new energy program scored some major wins in 2024, most notably in getting the nuclear option to the front of debate over Australia's energy transition.

LAUNCHED IN JANUARY, this new program focuses on practical solutions to address concerns about climate change, with an emphasis on nuclear power and the clean energy transition.

The team consists of Program Director Aidan Morrison and Senior Policy Analysts **Zoe Hilton** and **Michael Wu**. **Alex Bainton** worked as a Senior Policy Analyst until early December.

Together we produced four major research papers, made 20 public and private submissions to government and official consultation processes, and testified before two federal committees: the Senate Inquiry into Energy Planning and Regulation, and the House Inquiry into Nuclear Power.

Throughout the year, the team made presentations to political leaders, parties at branch and state level, community groups, and the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet. We also produced nine short explainer videos for the CIS YouTube channel and launched a CIS webpage on nuclear energy FAQs.

All this effort has succeeded in shifting the terms of debate about Australia's future energy mix by challenging and changing public and official perceptions of the relative costs of alternative systems. Our focus has been on credible costs for building nuclear and comparing them with the realistic full-system costs of a grid dominated by solar and wind.

Research Highlights

In April, Aidan Morrison released How to Build Low-Cost Nuclear: Lessons from the World. The paper focused on how policy choices shape the economics of nuclear power, before surveying the nuclear industries of eight countries to identify successful strategies for minimising costs.

In May, the team published *The Six Fundamental Flaws Underpinning the Energy Transition*, a critique

of Australia's energy transition strategy, which relies heavily on wind and solar power. The paper exposed significant oversights in the Integrated System Plan and the CSIRO's GenCost reports.

That same month, the team also published the *Impact* of a Shadow Carbon Price on Electricity Bills, which revealed how increased costs in the distribution and transmission networks required to accommodate more wind and solar power will be passed onto consumers through the regulatory system, without any public scrutiny or debate.

In June, Michael Wu released Counting the Cost: Subsidies for Renewable Energy, which estimated that over \$29 billion in government subsidies have driven the growth of renewable energy in Australia from 1% to 39% of the National Electricity Market since 2000.

Impact

Concessions: A notable achievement was our success in getting large-scale nuclear included in CSIRO's GenCost report. As well as a formal submission, we questioned the authors' claim that large-scale nuclear was not appropriate for Australia. The dubious response was highlighted in a short video that attracted 20,000 views within 24 hours and widespread political attention. The final 2024 GenCost report acknowledged there was no reason Australia could not have large-scale nuclear, which was estimated to cost only one-third of their earlier small modular reactor estimate.

Citations: CIS submissions on aspects of the energy regulatory regime have been frequently cited by the Australian Energy Regulator (AER), the Australian Energy Market Commission, and Australian Energy Market Operator.

Critiques: Our critique of the HumeLink transmission project led directly to AER calling for additional comments on an irregular procedure that we highlighted — which received over 50 public submissions (five times more than the original consultation) — and likely contributed to AER commissioning independent research that confirmed our concerns about the project's cost and timing justifications.

Submissions and testimony: The team welcomed the establishment of the Senate Inquiry into Energy Planning and Regulation in mid-September. Our contributions included three submissions, 45 minutes of testimony, an in-depth video explaining regulatory failures, and FOI documents that revealed issues with the actions of market bodies, all of which directly informed committee questioning.

Events and Outreach

We have also contributed to radio and TV stories for the ABC, Seven, Nine, and 2GB, with Aidan Morrison appearing almost weekly on Sky News. Our work has been cited or published in *The Australian, Australian Financial Review, Spectator* (Australia) and the *Energy News Bulletin*. **Zoe Hilton** has built a strong following on YouTube with nine excellent explainer videos that have attracted over 250,000 views.

In early August, we launched a new CIS webpage cis.org.au/energy-faq/ that gives succinct and evidence-based answers to frequently-asked questions on nuclear energy, including economics, the environment and safety. The aim is to provide an easy reference for media, community groups and politicians seeking authoritative information.

The program also hosted a series of well-attended events including a panel discussion on nuclear energy featuring Aidan Morrison, Helen Cook, Adi Paterson and Chris Uhlmann, as well as two events featuring Aidan in dialogue with Alan Finkel (former Chief Scientist of Australia) and John Anderson (former Deputy Prime Minister).

These events led directly to collaboration with Nuclear for Australia, a leading non-partisan nuclear advocacy group, with community leaders from Lithgow seeking out our expertise to contribute to a packed-out community information night in mid-August.

In October, we welcomed founder of Canadians for Nuclear Energy, **Chris Keefer**, who appeared in conversation with Aidan in Sydney and Melbourne. Mr Keefer was also a keynote speaker at Consilium, and later moderated an online debate between Aidan and renewables advocate **Simon Holmes à Court**.

Looking Ahead

Upcoming projects in 2025 include a paper on how electricity tariff structures have overcompensated rooftop solar owners and what this means for the grid.

The team will continue to scrutinise GenCost, exposing the unfair assessment of traditional baseload coal generation and unreasonable optimism and errors in the cost of integrating renewables.

Another future paper will look at the renewables 'honeymoon period'. This will explore the inflection point at which electricity system costs start to rise dramatically as more and more wind and solar are added to the grid.





Culture, Prosperity and Civil Society

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

THE CP&CS TEAM in 2024 comprised Program Director Peter Kurti, and Senior Fellows Robert Forsyth and Scott Prasser. Maya Khurana worked as a Research Assistant until July.

From late January until early April, Peter was on sabbatical at Mathias Corvinus Collegium (MCC) in Budapest as a Senior Visiting Fellow. He was invited because MCC follows and admires his CIS research on multiculturalism, civil society, religious freedom and cancel culture. MCC works closely with the Danube Institute, a centre-right policy forum. Together they attract speakers and scholars from across the Anglosphere who have a particular interest in the importance of defending Western civilisation.

Research Highlights

Before leaving for Budapest, Peter and co-author Maya released the Analysis Paper *What is Prison Good For?*. The use of prison is an important element in the criminal justice system of any liberal society and often serves as an indicator of its democratic health. After investigating the purpose, efficiency and efficacy of prison policies in Australia (notably NSW, QLD and Victoria), the authors concluded that the *marginal* effect of prison on crime rates appears to be declining. More effective policing, together with changing economic and social factors, has played a significant part in this decline.

The program continued to engage external authors to contribute specialist knowledge and expertise. In June, we published *All Things Considered: Making Moral Sense of the Wars in Ukraine and Gaza*, in which UK ethicist and theologian, **Professor Nigel Biggar**, analysed the criteria for 'just war' and applied them to Gaza and Ukraine. The professor was also a guest speaker at our annual conference Consilium and featured in a podcast with Peter Kurti about colonialism, empire, and the morality of war.

In September, we released **Professor Peter Swan's** paper on *The Rise of Activist Corporations*, an examination of how far Australian companies have moved away from a focus on shareholder value to embrace woke political causes and agendas like DEI.

With the politics of the Middle East erupting onto the streets of Australian cities, Peter Kurti also published the timely paper, The Future of Australian Multiculturalism in November, which included critical responses from Dr Damien Freeman, Dr Jonathan Cole and Professor Bryan Turner. This enquiry into the health of multiculturalism will form the basis for further research on the nature of citizenship in 2025.

Events

CIS hosted several high-profile events in defence of Western civilisation in 2024, with British-Russian commentator and comedian **Konstantin Kisin** — and later British media pundit and former CIS Scholar-in-Residence **Brendan O'Neill** — speaking before capacity crowds in February and April respectively.

Other international speakers included UK Chief Inspector of Prisons Charlie Taylor, who delivered a keynote address at Consilium and appeared in conversation with Peter Kurti at CIS in mid-October, as well as US scholar Mary Eberstadt, who returned to CIS to discuss her latest book Adam & Eve After the Pill, Revisited.

2024 also saw the resumption of the program's Acton Lecture. Delivered by NSW Chief Justice, the **Honourable Andrew Bell**, on 'truth decay' and the administration of justice, a write-up of his address ran in *The Australian*. The full lecture is available as a CIS Occasional Paper.

Finally, **Dr Damien Freeman** and **Dr Tanveer Ahmed** joined **Peter Kurti** and **Nyunggai Warren Mundine** for a lively discussion on national identity and social cohesion in the wake of the divisive Voice referendum. The event complemented the mid-year release of a new collection of essays, *Beneath the Southern Cross: Looking for Australia in the 21st Century*, edited by Peter and published by Conor Court.

Liberalism in Question

Robert Forsyth continued to host our flagship philosophical podcast, *Liberalism in Question*, which first aired in late 2020.

The series remains an important way for the CP&CS program to engage with those interested in the work of CIS but who may be unable to attend events in person. It also upholds our role as custodian of the classical liberal tradition.

The podcast had a bumper year in 2024: 22 episodes were broadcast in both audio and video formats, with the latter attracting over 260,000 YouTube views.

A broad range of issues was covered — from the philosophical, such as **Jonathan Cole** on the influence of Ludwig von Mises in his conversion to classical liberalism and **Robert Carling** on market efficiency versus government action — to the more topical such as **Matt Ridley** on being a rational optimist in a woke world and **Aidan Morrison** on nuclear energy.

Most-watched episodes included John Mearsheimer on liberalism versus nationalism, Jacinta Nampijinpa Price on victimhood, David Linley on the tensions between freedom and responsibility, Nicholas Eberstadt on illiberalism in North Korea, and Behnam Ben Taleblu on prospects for liberalism in Iran.

Stay tuned in 2025 for more fascinating conversations and a stellar line-up of guests.

Liberalism in Question is produced by Emilie Dye and Randall Evans. Past episodes can be found at cis.org.au/commentary/podcasts or on all major podcast platforms, with episodes from 2023 onwards also available on our YouTube channel.









Intergenerational

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

THE INTERGENERATIONAL PROGRAM had a busy and productive year in 2024, releasing new research on how the tax system impacts young people as well as their attitudes to corporate activism. This research was then distilled into short explainer videos for YouTube and social media in an effort to reach and engage younger audiences through the digital platforms they favour.

We also released a short explainer paper and two videos on housing affordability, and weighed in on the online misinformation debate as social media is where young people get information and engage in political discourse.

Research Highlights

Tax Policy

In March, Program Director Matt Taylor released a major research report with Senior Fellow Robert Carling entitled *Bracket Creep: Raiding our wallets*. The authors argued that the failure of the federal government to index personal income tax thresholds to nominal income growth has a disproportionate impact on younger taxpayers. For those earlier in their careers making less money, even a small increase in nominal income leads to a larger increase in their overall tax rate.

Their findings made news in the AFR and Sydney Morning Herald and were discussed in op-eds in the AFR and Canberra Times.

The report followed on from Matt's and Research Analyst **Emilie Dye's** earlier work in the Issue Analysis *Bracket Creep Hits Young Australians Hardest*, with Emilie presenting a short explainer video based on the paper.

Housing Policy

Housing affordability is one of the clearest and most frequently-cited examples of intergenerational inequality. In a February Issue Analysis, *Housing is*

Becoming a Pipe Dream for Young Australians, Emilie laid out the dire situation facing Gen Z and Millennials in particular before outlining how to fix it. She followed up with two short videos for YouTube.

Corporate Activisim

In July, Emilie released her first major research report with Research Director **Simon Cowan** entitled *Business Means Business: Why corporates should avoid social activism.* The report analysed polling of 2,500 Australians on attitudes to corporate involvement in social and political activism.

The authors found younger consumers are particularly suspicious of the motivations of companies that engage in activism. Almost two-thirds of Gen Z believe business should stay out of public debate and focus on service to customers and returns to shareholders.

The same polling was also utilised in Emilie's Issue Analysis *Much Ado About Gen Z: Are young workers really driving corporate activism?* released in August. This revealed more than half of Gen Z workers are worried that employers judge them on their ability to toe a politically-correct corporate line, rather than solely on their merits.

The paper was complemented by two short videos presented by Emilie: a vox-pop on young people's attitudes to corporate advocacy, and a second summarising the poll findings.

This body of work was the subject of Joe Hildebrand's *Daily Telegraph* column, and was discussed in op-eds in *The Australian* and the *Canberra Times*. Emilie was also interviewed on Sky TV and 2GB radio.

Misinformation

Also in the program's sights was the federal government's 'misinformation' bill. CIS released a short video featuring **Tom Switzer** and **Emilie Dye**, who set out their opposition to this Orwellian attempt to let the state decide what opinions are acceptable.

Fortunately, in a major victory for free speech, the legislation didn't make it through the Senate. However, the battle isn't over, as Emilie and **Simon Cowan** warned in the *Canberra Times*. The legislative ban

on under-16s using social media — a world first — threatens anonymity online and further extends the state's reach into our personal lives.

Events

Matt gave two presentations to seminars at the ANU's Tax and Transfer Policy Institute in June; one on generational voting and another on bracket creep. He also delivered an overview of the program's research at an exclusive CIS members' briefing in late June.

Emilie's and Simon's research on attitudes to corporate activism was promoted at two well-attended events on virtue-signalling versus shareholder values in Sydney and Hobart that same month.

Intergenerational inequality was also the subject of a heavy-hitting plenary session at Consilium in late October, with Productivity Commission chair **Danielle Wood** giving the keynote address.

Other News

In mid-November, we reluctantly farewelled Program Director Matt Taylor. However, the research agenda he developed will continue in 2025, with a major research report on using super for housing currently in the works. The report — a collaboration with Chief Economist Peter Tulip — will also emphasise the importance of the supply-side policies that would need to accompany this to avoid further house price inflation.



Emilie Dye & Tom Switzer present a video on the misinformation bill







Indigenous Forum

In 2024, CIS continued to advocate for practical solutions to address Indigenous disadvantage instead of symbolic gestures like the defeated Voice.

INDIGENOUS FORUM DIRECTOR **Nyunggai Warren Mundine** began the year by tackling the perennial debate over Australia Day. Writing in the *Australian Financial Review* (AFR), he noted that the narrative seems to be shifting from calls to 'change the date' to opposition to the day whatever date it's celebrated on.

When a foreign-owned hotel chain announced in early December it would ban Australia Day celebrations at its 200 venues, Warren led the resulting public outcry with interviews on Sky News and stories quoting him across the News Corp press. The company backflipped and apologised.

It seems progressive elites and woke corporates have learnt nothing from the emphatic defeat of the Voice referendum in October 2023.

This defeat continued to reverberate throughout 2024. In April, Warren was interviewed on the ABC's 7.30 program after new data revealed that the Yes campaign outspent the No side, which raised less than half the funds. And yet the No campaign prevailed by a margin of 61 to 39.

Some Yes advocates blamed the result on 'misinformation' and racism, however Warren effectively refuted these claims. Writing again in the *AFR*, he pointed out that the Yes campaign took an elitist approach. Big corporates, law societies, bar associations, universities, sporting codes, private schools, union bosses, and celebrities all publicly supported Yes. But 60 per cent of their shareholders, members, workers and customers voted No.

Similarly, the Yes campaign appealed to leaders of peak migrant bodies and religious associations, but failed to engage directly with migrants themselves and people of faith. The No campaign did. He concluded:

Australia is not a racist country. Australians rejected the Voice in 2023 for the same reasons they supported an end to segregation in 1967. Because Australians oppose racial division and racial separation and support all Australians being equal, with the same rights regardless of race.

Research Director **Simon Cowan** interviewed Warren on these and other issues almost 12 months on from the failed referendum, with the video attracting almost 40,000 views on our YouTube channel.

Research Highlights

As the Yes campaign's post-mortem continued, we resumed our own campaign at CIS to promote real and lasting practical solutions to Indigenous disadvantage.

A first step towards change is to acknowledge past policy failures. Billions of dollars have been spent on initiatives like Closing the Gap, for instance, yet progress remains elusive. As Warren argued in his May paper From Measuring to Merely Meeting: Productivity Commission misses mark on Closing the Gap, there is likely to be little improvement with the Commission's shift away from evaluation of programs to a new emphasis on "shared decision-making" and more meetings.

Warren followed up in the August paper, *Where to Now?: The road ahead for Indigenous policy*. With the latest data showing that the real gap — between Indigenous people living in urban areas and those in remote communities — continues to widen, he outlined a comprehensive roadmap to closing this gap based on four pillars: economic participation, education, safe communities, and accountability.

Media coverage included a long piece in *The Weekend Australian* by veteran journalist Paul Kelly.

Events and Outreach

In mid July, Culture program director **Peter Kurti** joined Warren and guest panellists **Damien Freeman** and **Tanveer Ahmed** to discuss whether the recriminations that characterised the Voice referendum debate are symptomatic of the fraying of Australia's previously tolerant social fabric.

In late August, we welcomed back former CIS colleague, **Senator Jacinta Nampijinpa Price**, who set out a bold agenda for change. Among other things, she wants to reform native title, create smaller land councils based on language groups, and conduct an audit of the \$33 billion spent in the Indigenous Affairs portfolio. Her address, and the lively Q&A session on post-Voice Indigenous affairs, can be viewed on our YouTube channel.

Warren followed up with two op-eds in *The Australian*: the first on how heritage laws are blocking Indigenous progress in remote areas, and the second on the glaring lack of private property in these communities. To begin to close the gap, communal land tenure must allow for individual home ownership, a foundational building block for real economic progress that has succeeded around the world.

Finally, in late October, Warren appeared alongside Senator Kerrynne Liddle to discuss the future of Indigenous policy post-Voice at our annual conference Consilium. They observed that there is still a lot of goodwill towards Indigenous Australians, and strong support for practical measures that will improve outcomes for our most disadvantaged citizens. But the current system, with its paternalistic and bureaucratic policies, disempowers and infantilises them.

CIS will continue to press on these issues in the year ahead.









John Howard Fellowship

Named after our second-longest serving prime minister, this project aims to distil lessons from John Howard's uniquely liberal-conservative approach to public policy.

SOME 17 YEARS since the end of the Howard era, Australia faces troubling times: from rising debt, intergenerational inequality, and a productivity slump to the rise of cancel culture and identity politics that all too often divide the nation.

Although the challenges are different, there are still many lessons to be learned from John Howard's consequential government. As our John Howard Fellow **Andrew Blyth** has written, Mr Howard was a leader who combined strong policy convictions with pragmatism and perseverance.

In mid-February, we welcomed back the former PM for an exclusive roundtable at CIS, where he spoke on the relative lack of political leadership today. Mr Howard also joined us in mid-May to launch a new book on *The Art of Opposition* (edited by **Scott Prasser** and **David Clune**).

Throughout the year, Andrew published a series of op-eds in *The Spectator* that drew on lessons from Howard's leadership, applying them to issues ranging from the re-emergence of industrial strife on the waterfront to the renewed diplomatic push for strategic partnership with Indonesia.

In the CIS paper, From ANZUS to AUKUS: John Howard's Legacy in Shaping Australia's Defence Policy, Andrew also outlined the pivotal role that Mr Howard played in adapting the nation's defence to confront new security challenges post 9/11, including by deepening and broadening the US alliance. A controversial move at the time, Andrew argued that it ultimately helped lay the foundations for the advent of AUKUS in 2021.

In mid-November, we farewelled Andrew as he wrapped up the second stage of our three-year project. **Tom Switzer** will complete the project by producing a series of short video interviews with Mr Howard on the key policy challenges of his long tenure and how he tackled them.



Max Hartwell Scholar-in-Residence

CIS was thrilled to host veteran American journalist John B. Judis for a series of insightful events on the US presidential election in November.

NAMED AFTER DISTINGUISHED economic historian and freedom advocate **Ronald Max Hartwell**, the Scholar-in-Residence program was launched in 2014 to ensure we factor the best in international thinking into our discussions and debates.

Our 2024 scholar was **John B. Judis**, a veteran American political journalist and author of several widely-acclaimed books — from a 1988 biography of William F. Buckley (founder of modern American conservatism) to a more recent trilogy on nationalism, populism and socialism.

John has also been one of the most sober and sound observers of the Trump phenomenon since he burst onto the political scene in 2015. We were therefore fortunate to host him in Australia in the lead-up to, and aftermath of, the US presidential election on November 5.

John was a guest speaker at several CIS events in late October including — most memorably — the opening night discussion at our annual conference Consilium on the Gold Coast, where he sparred with UK historian **Sir Niall Ferguson**. He also gave the keynote address at a session on the rise of populism.

Further interstate events included an election preview in Brisbane with UQ political scientist **Sarah Percy** and UQ law professor **James Allan**, before returning to Sydney one day ahead of the presidential poll to debate *Harris versus Trump* with American Chamber of Commerce chief executive **April Palmerlee**, constitutional lawyer **David Flint** and Sky News *Outsiders* host **Rowan Dean**.

In the aftermath of Trump's victory, John made it clear in various ABC television and radio interviews that it was in large part because Democrats have lost their working-class base through support for globalisation, identity politics, and lax immigration controls. Before departing our shores, John also published a post-election essay in the *New York Times*. He noted that Trump called his election win a "historic realignment" of US politics. However, as he argued, there are plenty of issues — such as tariffs — that could fracture the impressive coalition he has assembled. His dream of a historic Republican realignment may therefore not survive his second term.

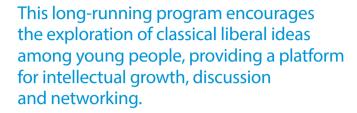
Our 2025 Scholar-in-Residence is Simon Heffer, a distinguished British historian and veteran UK *Telegraph* columnist. A past CIS guest, he has also written three CIS papers on 'moral terrorism' (aka cancel culture), identity politics, and the shortlived 'Trussonomics'.







Liberty & Society Student Program



NOW IN ITS 28th year, Liberty & Society is a unique weekend conference for students interested in exploring important economic, political and philosophical issues from a classical liberal and libertarian perspective.

It is also an opportunity for CIS to introduce liberal principles to the next generation, for if young people don't learn about these principles they will be at risk.

The program's weekend format allows students to connect with like-minded peers and engage in debates. Many participants continue to stay in touch with both each other and CIS through our extensive L&S alumni network. Some even return to L&S as lecturers.

In 2024, we held two successful conferences. The first was in Perth in March, with special guest British-Russian comedian and commentator **Konstantin Kisin** giving the opening address. Our second conference was held in Sydney in mid-September, with political cartoonist **Johannes Leak** opening proceedings.

We are especially grateful to our lecturers, who gave up their weekend to engage with our student cohort. In Perth, they were former L&S graduate Lorraine Finlay (Human Rights Commissioner), Sinclair Davidson (RMIT Professor of Institutional Economics), Ben O'Neill (former ANU statistician) and Alan Davison (UTS Professor).

In Sydney, **Gigi Foster** (UNSW School of Economics), and **Joshua Forrester** (UWA Law School) joined former L&S graduates **Chris Berg** (RMIT Blockchain Innovation Hub) and **Michael Brennan** (e61 Institute). CIS education program director, **Glenn Fahey**, was moderator at both conferences.

Student participation in the conference is by application only, and thanks to the generosity of the program's supporters attendance is entirely free.

Applicants from any academic background are welcome to apply. It is not a pre-requisite to have indepth knowledge of classical liberalism. We're seeking individuals who are curious about society and how it functions, and who may be questioning consensus views on economic, social and political issues.

If you're interested in getting involved, whether as a participant or as a supporter, please contact our events team at **events@cis.org.au**.





Our next conference will be held in Sydney on 11-13 April. For more information, please visit our conference page cis.org.au/events/liberty-society-student-conferences.

Consilium

Our flagship annual conference has become one of the most significant gatherings in the country, and a major element in the DNA of CIS.

DERIVED FROM A Latin word meaning a council or group of advisors, Consilium returned for its 23rd edition at the Langham Hotel on the Gold Coast in late October with a record number of delegates in attendance.

Over three days, we drew together leaders from politics, business, academia and the media for intensive deliberation on the great public-policy challenges facing Australia and the world. Also joining us for a second year were 13 'Next Gen' delegates and ten Regional delegates in a new initiative aimed at giving regional voices a seat at the policy table.

Consilium provides a forum for factoring the best thinking into our decision-making — and encouraging the open exchange of ideas — which is critical for successful policy development.

In 2024 we welcomed an outstanding cohort of local and international speakers including British historians Sir Niall Ferguson and Nigel Biggar, former UK Schools Minister Nick Gibb, UK prison reformer Charlie Taylor, American journalist John B. Judis, and New Zealand Initiative head Oliver Hartwich. Joining them were Productivity Commission head Danielle Wood, Senator Kerrynne Liddle and Marsden Road Public School principal Manisha Gazula, among many others.

Together they brought different perspectives to bear on topics ranging from the fall of empires and the rise of populism to the role of prison, the generational divide, and lessons from education and housing reform in the UK and NZ respectively.

Highlights included our session on nuclear energy, featuring Canadian advocate Chris Keefer alongside Simon Holmes à Court, Ted O'Brien MP and Aidan Morrison. Discussion was robust and frank. Our opening dinner panel featured a similarly robust exchange between Niall Ferguson and John B. Judis on the then-looming US presidential election.

At the following night's Neville Kennard Address, Sir Niall returned to the stage to deliver a rebuttal of Professor **John Mearsheimer's** 2023 address on the Ukraine war. His remarks were clearly in the greater public interest, so CIS made an exception to the Chatham House Rule that governs all proceedings at Consilium and later released the video on our YouTube channel, attracting over 180,000 views.

Consilium is unique because it provides genuinely differing views and debate rather than confirmation bias.

— Duncan Bremner, Regional Delegate





Our next conference will return to the Langham Hotel on 23-25 October. For more information, please visit consilium.org.au.





































John Bonython Lecture and Gala Dinner



Our keynote speaker in 2024 was worldacclaimed expert in demography, Nicholas Eberstadt.

NAMED IN HONOUR of **John Bonython AO**, the first chair of the CIS Board of Trustees, our annual lecture has featured some of the world's leading thinkers since 1984 on issues of fundamental importance to free and open societies.

Our 2024 speaker and past CIS guest, demographer **Nicholas Eberstadt**, has been based at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington for nearly four decades.

Nicholas delivered an outstanding address on "the era of depopulation", a new period in human history that is arriving so quietly it is catching most by surprise. Before a spellbound audience at the Amora Hotel Jamison in Sydney, he warned that with birth rates plummeting around the globe, more and more countries are moving into indefinite population decline.

The consequences will be profound. In a world of shrinking and aging societies, an excess of deaths over births will be the new norm. The result will be that family structures and living arrangements previously imagined only in science fiction will become common features of everyday life.

The lecture was followed by an engaging Q&A session with Executive Director **Tom Switzer** on the economic, social and geopolitical implications of his thesis. The video of both the lecture and Q&A has since attracted over 600,000 views online (and counting) — our fifth highest on YouTube.

Following his lecture, Nicholas accompanied Tom to Canberra to meet leading public officials including Treasury secretary Steven Kennedy and head of the Australian Bureau of Statistics David Gruen, as well as academics, population experts, and many long-time CIS friends and supporters.

Before returning to the US, Nicholas — who is also an expert on North Korea — recorded a fascinating, if sobering, episode of *Liberalism in Question* with Senior Fellow **Rob Forsyth** on the origins of, and prospects for, the Hermit Kingdom's unique family dictatorship.





Nicholas Eberstadt's lecture and the Q&A session can be viewed on our YouTube channel. An edited version is also available as a CIS Occasional Paper, *The Coming Global Depopulation*.



Event Highlights



CIS held 42 events during the year on topics ranging from the housing crisis, rising debt, financial system stability and education reform to Indigenous policy post-Voice, the fraught energy transition, the state of British politics, and war in the Middle East.

We began by tackling the big picture with several high-profile events in defence of Western civilisation. In February, education program director **Glenn Fahey** hosted a series of sold-out events in Perth, Melbourne and Sydney with British-Russian commentator and comedian **Konstantin Kisin**. When Elon Musk shared a clip of their Sydney Q&A exchange on X (formerly Twitter), it attracted more than 20 million social media impressions within a few hours.

In April, we also welcomed back former CIS Scholar-in-Residence **Brendan O'Neill** for an equally rousing defence of Western values before a capacity crowd in Sydney.

Another return guest was **Professor John Mearsheimer**, who delivered an eloquent — if controversial — critique in May of the Israeli war in Gaza. The event video attracted nearly five million views on YouTube. A month later, we hosted *New York Times* columnist **Bret Stephens**, who defended Israel with equally eloquent addresses in Sydney and Melbourne.

With the launch of our new *Global Speakers Month* in October, hundreds of people also attended events in Sydney and Melbourne to hear from former UK schools minister **Nick Gibb**, UK prison reformer **Charlie Taylor**, and Canadian nuclear energy advocate **Chris Keefer**. Other international guests included urban warfare expert **John Spencer** on the Gaza conflict and the Adam Smith Institute's **Eamon Butler** on Britain's leftward lurch.

Finally, 2024 saw a renewed emphasis on events in support of our research priorities at CIS. Our education program, for instance, held roundtables and discussions

featuring educator **Lisa O'Brien**, federal education minister **Jason Clare**, external CIS authors **Sarah Powell** and **Toni Hatten-Roberts**, former UK Chief Inspector of Schools **Amanda Spielman**, and UK behaviour expert **Tom Bennett**.

Our other research programs also featured a distinguished cohort of speakers. For an account of these events, please see the program reports in the preceding pages.

A full list of events appears on page 26. Further details can be found at cis.org.au/events, while event videos can be viewed on our YouTube channel.







6,500,000+

Event YouTube views





Events at a Glance



Education roundtable Lisa O'Brien Feb 16 | SYD



Australia's nuclear future Chris Uhlmann, Helen Cook, Adi Peterson, Aidan Morrison Apr 30 | SYD



Education program dinner: Maths Kelly Norris Jul 12 | SYD



UK education reform lessons Amanda Spielman Feb 19 | SYD



An evening with Tom Bennett May 13 | SYD



Australia after the Referendum Damien Freeman, Tanveer Ahmed, Peter Kurti, Nyunggai Warren Mundine Jul 16 I SYD



An evening with Konstantin Kisin Feb 27 | PER Feb 28 | MEL Mar 6 | SYD



The Greater Middle East Part 1 John Mearsheimer May 15 | SYD



Virtue signalling vs shareholder values Emilie Dye, Simon Cowan Jul 23 | SYD Jul 24 | HOB



Liberty & Society student conference Mar 8-10 | PER



The Art of Opposition book launch John Howard, Scott Prasser, Andrew Blyth May 16 | SYD



The Impatient Libertarian book launch
Ron Manners
Aug 6 | SYD



Canberra's fiscal ticking bomb John Kehoe Mar 13 | SYD



Redouble or rethink the energy transition? Alan Finkel, Aidan Morrison Jun 13 | MEL



Home ownership and NSW Labor Daniel Mookhey Aug 21 | SYD



Making maths teaching count Sarah Powell, Toni Hatten–Roberts Mar 27 | SYD



The Greater Middle East Part 2 Bret Stephens Jun 18 | SYD Jun 20 | MEL



Native title reform Jacinta Nampijinpa Price Aug 23 | SYD



The Menzies Watershed book launch Georgina Downer, Zachary Gorman, Greg Craven Apr 9 | SYD



Members-only research briefing
Jun 26 | SYD



Education roundtable Jason Clare Aug 28 | SYD



An evening with Brendan O'Neill Apr 23 | SYD



Redouble or rethink the energy transition? John Anderson, Aidan Morrison Jun 26 | SYD



Adam and Eve After The Pill Revisited Mary Eberstadt Sep 3 | SYD





John Bonython lecture & gala dinner Nicholas Eberstadt Sep 4 | SYD





Britain moves left but how far? Eamonn Butler Sep 19 | SYD



Acton Lecture: Truth decay Andrew Bell Sep 26 | SYD



Canada's nuclear energy lessons Chris Keefer Oct 17 | MEL Oct 18 | SYD



How to fix a school system? Nick Gibb Oct 18 | MEL (Roundtable) Oct 22 | SYD



Do we need to rethink our prison system? Charlie Taylor Oct 21 | SYD



Trump vs Harris
John B Judis, Sarah Percy,
James Allan
Oct 28 | BRIS



Trump vs Harris
John B Judis, April Palmerlee,
Rowan Dean, David Flint
Nov 4 | SYD



The Middle East in the Trump era John Spencer Nov 20 | SYD



Australia's financial system David Murray Dec 3 | SYD



Members' Christmas soirée Dec 10 | SYD

Digital Reach

CIS is reaching more people than ever with classical liberal ideas, thanks to the power of social media.

Led by Marketing Analyst **Emilie Dye**, with the support of Content Creator **Nic Peschler** and Video Producer **Randall Evans**, our social media team has elevated our digital reach to new heights in 2024.



We now boast the third-largest YouTube following among the world's think tanks, with nearly 200,000 subscribers.

Our YouTube channel allows us to present complex research topics — such as bracket creep, inflation,

and the housing crisis — in a way that is both simple and engaging, reaching a broad and diverse audience.

As social media increasingly replaces traditional media as a primary source of news and information, particularly among young people, we have seized the opportunity to connect with new audiences.

This year, we've effectively leveraged social media to showcase our research, invite the public to events, and meaningfully engage in Australian policy discourse.

Since 2023:

- ↑ Video Views are **up 143**% to 9 million
- ↑ Social Media Impressions are **up 15**% to 2.9 million
- ↑ Engagements are up 55% to 570,000
- ↑ Link Clicks are **up 36.7**% to 24,700

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.

Despite media landscape shrinkage, in 2024 CIS still managed to publish more than 65 op-eds, and (with syndication) was cited in more than 10,000 news stories, radio and TV broadcasts across networks, which was on par with the previous year.

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 in 2024 focused on a total of 37 publications as well as 22 public submissions to government and official consultation processes.











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ROBERT CARLING

Housing tax shift Greens' fault or always Labor plan?

As a rule, if you tax something more you will end up with less of it. This is a well-worn epithet of tax policy debate, but generally true. In today's context, the "something" is housing – and specifically housing health in invector.

held by investors.

The prospect of ending up with
less of it should focus the minds of
the Prime Minister and Treasurer
as they reportedly contemplate tax
increases (in the form of changes to
negative gearing and capital gains
ax rules) to satisfy the Greens'
price for backing the Help to Buy
shared housing neutit techness.

Just what they are contempla ing and how serious they are abo it are unknown, but the now fan iliar word games being played i Canberra are an ominous sign.

The Prime Minister says changing negative gearing rules have no plans to do it. It is not or policy." But Treasury just happet to be examining options fichange that may or may not have been requested by the government. If you think you've hear

first and foremost tax policies, as they apply across the board to all investments, not just housing.

ciple that the costs of generating income are a legitimate deduction. As such, it has always been part of federal income tax, except for a two-year interlude in the 1980s. The same principle applies to other investments without the objections we see in the area of housing.

Negative gearing means the investor has borrowed so much to buy a property on which the mortgage interest expense is large enough, along with other running costs such as rates, to generate an annual loss

This can then be deducted from any other taxable income, including wage income, at the taxpayer marginal rate. In 2020-21, abo half of all individual property in vestors were in this situation, with higher interest rates, it is probab a larger proportion now.

cess losses forward to deduct them

The real objection to negative gearing often seems to be that it is allegedly directing a tax "concession" disproportionately to better off taxpayers. In 2020-21, more than half the tax benefit went to the top 20 per cent. However, those taxpayers pay a disproportionately large share of tax in the first place.

From a housing policy perspective, there is a view that housing affordability for owner-occupiers can be improved by discouraging

unestific unroughtax measures. While removing or reducing negative gearing and/or CCT concessions would reduce investor demand for housing, this overlooks the design of the control of th

While tilting the composition of the existing housing stock from rental to owner-occupied might make some people feel better, because home ownership is highly valued, it would also exacerbate

There are several studies of the impact of negative gearing (and the CGT discount) on dwelling prices and they all find it is very small in the order of 1-4 per cent not



FINANCIAL REVIEW



- Opinion

Stage three tax cuts haven't blunted the impact of bracket creep

The top brackets will continue to inexorably sweep up a rising number of taxpayers with collateral damage to incentive and ambition.

Matthew Taylor and Robert Carling

Mar 24, 2024 - 12.51pm









The Canberra Times =

ACT's inquiry into teaching foundations must focus on solutions

By Triab Jha











It is a testament to the energy and dedication of teachers that hundreds of them from the ACT and surrounds gave up

0

Daily Telegraph



News > Opinion

Labor's rush to bring in Gazans strains credibility and harmony

Given our vibrant multi-ethnic society, questions about the adequacy of visa security checks are hardly motivated by racism or fears about foreigners coming to our country.



Peter Kurti





The Canberra Times

The unfortunate rise of 'stakeholder capitalism'



By Simon Cowan July 27 2024 - 5:30am











The bitterness that has infected the US presidential race has not declined since the Democratic party swapped Joe Biden for

SPECIATOR AUSTRALIA

NAPLAN: doom, gloom, and blame

Does anyone have the courage to save our education system?

Kelly Norris



19 August 2024 e 2016

Weekend Australian 🐣

Energy Minister's arguments against nuclear riddled with errors

By ALEY RAINTON AND ZOE HILTON



Mark Twain famously quipped that facts "are stubborn things, but statistics are pliable". Energy Minister Chris Bowen is certainly entitled to his facts, but he should be more careful with his statistics.

His opinion on this page on Tuesday argued that nuclear will mean more expensive electricity for consumers and that's why a number of other G20 countries has already

Bowen claims CSIRO's GenCost has found nuclear to be the most expensive form of

In fact, it was only in 2024 - and just a few weeks ago - that GenCost finally included large-scale nuclear in its estimates. This cut costs by a factor of three over previo estimates for small modular reactors. Once realistic plant lifetime and capacity factors are included, the CSIRO's numbers clearly show nuclear is competitive with

Bowen touts the CSIRO's claim that nuclear plants will operate at as little as 53 per cent canacity. In reality, this will be closer to 90 per cent as the canacity factor of nuclear is driven by low marginal operating costs. For comparison, the average capacity factor for the US fleet is 93 per cent.

SPECIATOR AUSTRALIA

Déjà voodoo economics

Economic laws are like gravity: they don't care about good intentions Steven Schwartz



23 August 2024 serror



THE AUSTRALIAN* A

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AIDAN MORRISON

Anti-gas state faces economic reality with ban backflip

Despite its mission to wean the state off "fossil" gas, Victorian Labor has exposed deep conflicts in its energy transition plan after backing away from its intention to phase out household gas cooktops. The site for the Victorian Gas

the end and exposes the plan's

the end and exposes the plan's contradictions.

The first is pure politics: the Victorian government's love-hate relationship with gas is not mirrored at the household level. Plenty of neonle love cooking with gas

spite it being Australia's car cooking a mer per cent, or 0.1 From the sade against t been politicall; small, tactical energy transit moil. Victoria strongest en targets in the energy still re

ring. While all st While all st that rely on ga one where re tion is larger th ly due to the load.

Victoria re guard of renes



Centre for Independent Studies energy expert Michael Wu outlines just how much renewable energy subsidies are costing Australia's taxpayers.

SPECEATOR AUSTRALIA

Albanese could learn from Howard when it comes to Indonesia

Andrew Blyth





Publications

Our rigorous research papers form a crucial part of CIS's public profile and efforts to promote policy reform.

From 1 November 2023 — the end of our last reporting season — to 12 December 2024, CIS released a total of 42 publications including 3 Research Reports, 21 Analysis Papers, 7 Policy Papers, 4 Issue Analysis papers and 7 Occasional Papers.

At an average of almost one paper a fortnight, this represents a huge increase in our output and reflects

recent investments made in growing the capacity of the organisation and expanding the research team.

We also made 22 public submissions to government inquiries and official consultation processes throughout 2024.

All our publications are available for download on our website. A full list appears below.

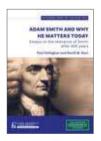
OCCASIONAL PAPERS



Bungles, Blowouts and Boondoggles: Why Australia's infrastructure projects cost more than they should Grahame Campbell 23 Nov 2023 | OP198



The Rise of Activist Corporations: How activism agendas subsumed shareholder primacy Peter Swan 26 Sep 2024 | OP202



Adam Smith and Why He Matters: Essays on the relevance of Smith after 300 years Paul Oslington and David M. Hart 7 Dec 2023 | OP199



Truth Decay: Acton Lecture 2024 Andrew Bell 3 Oct 2024 | OP203

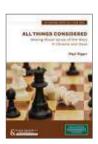


Mind Over Matter: The philosophical arguments around AI, natural intelligence and memory

John Sweller 7 Mar 2024 | OP200



The Coming Global
Depopulation: John Bonython
Lecture 2024
Nicholas Eberstadt
16 Oct 2024 | OP204



All Things Considered:
Making moral sense of the wars
in Ukraine and Gaza
Nigel Biggar
27 Jun 2024 | OP201

RESEARCH PAPERS



Bracket Creep Hits Young Australians Hardest

Matthew Taylor and Emilie Dye 9 Nov 2023 | IA148



Job-ready Graduates 2.0:

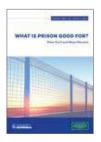
The Universities Accord and centralised control of universities and courses

Andrew Norton 16 Nov 2023 | AP58



Closing Opportunities, Not Loopholes

Gene Tunny 30 Nov 2023 | AP59



What is Prison Good For?

Peter Kurti and Maya Khurana 18 Jan 2024 | AP60



Facing Up To Maths Anxiety:

How it affects achievement and what can be done about it

David C Geary 23 Jan 2024 | AP61



A Better Future with a Future Fund

David Murray 30 Jan 2024 | PP53



Maths Practices You Can Count On: Five research-validated practices in mathematics

Sarah Powell, Sarah King and Sarah Benz 1 Feb 2024 | AP62



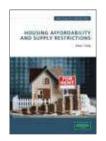
Australia's Post-Pandemic Public Debt: Is there still a problem?

Robert Carling 5 Feb 2024 | PP54



Housing is Becoming a Pipe Dream for Young Australians

Emilie Dye 6 Feb 2024 | IA149



Housing Affordability and Supply Restrictions

Peter Tulip 8 Feb 2024 | PP55



What is the Science of Learning?

Trisha Jha 15 Feb 2024 | AP63



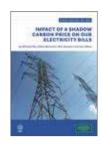
Implementing the Science of Learning: Teacher experiences

Trisha Jha 22 Feb 2024 | RR47

Publications continued



Reimagining Teacher Professionalism: Why standards must be part of ITE reform Rebecca Birch 21 Mar 2024 | AP64



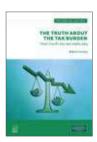
Impact of a Shadow Carbon Price on Our Electricity Bills Michael Wu, Aidan Morrison, Alex Bainton and Zoe Hilton 9 May 2024 | AP68



Bracket Creep: Raiding our wallets Matthew Taylor and Robert Carling 25 Mar 2024 | RR48



From Measuring to Merely Meeting: Productivity Commission misses mark on Closing the Gap Nyunggai Warren Mundine 16 May 2024 | PP57



The Truth About the Tax Burden Robert Carling 4 Apr 2024 | PP56



Sharpening Teacher Tools: Creating an evidence-based standard for quality instructional materials Jarrod Carter 23 May 2024 | AP69



How to Build Low-Cost Nuclear: Lessons from the world Aidan Morrison 11 Apr 2024 | AP65



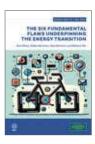
Budget Fails Important
Policy Tests
Robert Carling and Gene Tunny
28 May 2024 | IA150



From ANZUS to AUKUS: Howard's legacy in shaping Australia's defence strategy Andrew Blyth 18 Apr 2024 | AP66



Counting the Cost: Subsidies for renewable energy Michael Wu 6 Jun 2024 | AP70



Underpinning the Energy Transition Zoe Hilton, Aidan Morrison, Alex Bainton and Michael Wu 2 May 2024 | AP67

The Six Fundamental Flaws



Screening that Counts: Why Australia needs universal early numeracy screening Kelly Norris 20 Jun 2024 | RR49



The Science of Maths and How to Apply It

Siobhan Merlo 11 Jul 2024 | AP71



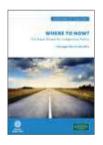
Business Means Business: Why corporates should avoid social activism

Simon Cowan and Emilie Dye 18 Jul 2024 | AP72



Learning Lessons: The future of small-group tutoring Trisha Jha

25 Jul 2024 | AP73



Where to Now? The road ahead for Indigenous policy

Nyunggai Warren Mundine 1 Aug 2024 | AP74



Using Curriculum-Based Measurement for Primary School Maths Screening

Erica S Lembke, Emily L Singell, Gabriella Lyth Donofrio, and Megyn Martin 15 Aug 2024 | AP75



young workers really driving



Government Spending and Inflation

Robert Carling 4 Sep 2024 | PP58



The Future of Australian Multiculturalism

Peter Kurti, Damien Freeman, Jonathan Cole & Bryan Turner 24 Oct 2024 | AP76



Gorillas in the Mist:

How government obscures its spending

Gene Tunny 21 Nov 2024 | PP59



The Argument For Debate:

How school debating can improve academic outcomes and foster a stronger democracy

Deidre Clary and Fiona Mueller 5 Dec 2024 | AP77



Fractions Minus the Friction: A guide to four teaching practices

Leanne R. Ketterlin-Geller, Allison McClure and Cassandra Hatfield 12 Dec 2024 | AP78





Membership and Development

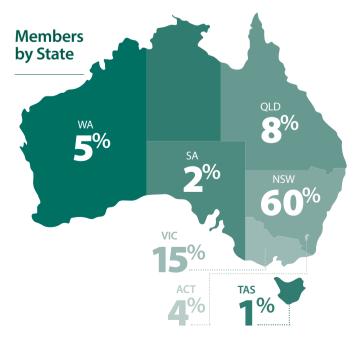
Throughout 2024, we have been fortunate to connect with our members and donors at many of our events. Hosting these gatherings is always a highlight, and we deeply value the ongoing support and keen interest members show in our research outcomes.

CIS OPERATES SOLELY through the generosity of our members and donors, without any government funding. Member contributions play a crucial role in strengthening the reach and influence of our evidence-based research.

We are deeply grateful to all our members and many donors, whose unwavering dedication to our mission enables us to improve policy decision-making for the benefit of all Australians.

Our support community covers the entire country. Although our largest number of members are in NSW and Victoria, we also take pride in having members in almost every State and Territory. We even have one international member.

Your generosity and dedication allow CIS to remain a steadfast, independent advocate for better policy and meaningful change.



To our members and donors: THANK YOU FOR YOUR SUPPORT THIS YEAR!



What I truly appreciate is that CIS encourages divergent views, healthy debate and constructive dialogue. The diversity and calibre of speakers consistently impresses.

— Paul Curby, new CIS member

Our dedicated membership and fundraising team may be small, but they are deeply committed to fostering meaningful connections with our members and donors. The team consists of Dearne Cameron, who also serves as Chief Operating Officer; Trish Murray, our Major Donor Executive; and Olivia Wilson, our Membership Executive.







If you are not a member or donor, please consider how you can support CIS by getting involved in these ways. Additionally, leaving a gift in your Will is a powerful way to create a lasting legacy for generations.

Your support is more critical than ever as we continue our essential research on policies that shape Australia's cost of living, energy security, education, culture, and affordable housing.

To find out more please contact Dearne, Trish or Olivia on (02) 9438 4377 or email: cis@cis.org.au We'd love to hear from you!

All donations over \$2 are tax deductible. Please join us today!



Leave a Legacy of Leadership – Join the Lindsay Society

The Lindsay Society, named in honour of our founder Greg Lindsay, represents

It allows you to make a lasting contribution that reflects your values and ensures the ideas you believe in will continue to shape Australia's future.

of our founder Greg Lindsay, represents a community of visionary supporters who, like Greg, believe in shaping Australia's future through rigorous, evidence-based research supporting policy decision-making.

FOR NEARLY 50 years, this shared commitment has driven the Centre for Independent Studies to challenge conventional thinking and promote better policy for a stronger and freer Australia.

Thanks to the forward-looking generosity of these people and our supporters, CIS has been able to achieve meaningful and lasting impact over the past five decades. From groundbreaking research to influential policy change, every achievement is a testament to those who have shared our vision for a better future.

Now, as we approach our 50th anniversary in 2026, we must ensure CIS continues to thrive for generations to come. By leaving a gift in your Will, you can play a vital role in protecting Australia's future. Your legacy will enable CIS to continue its critical work.

empowering policymakers, fostering informed debate, and driving positive change for the next 50

years and beyond.

Why Leave a Gift in Your Will? A legacy gift is one of the most powerful ways to support CIS.

With your support, CIS can remain a leading voice for freedom, individual responsibility, and evidence-based policy.

Many of our donors already have legally-binding Wills in place, but did you know that nearly 70% of Australians don't? If you are considering creating or updating your Will, now is the perfect time to include a legacy gift to CIS. It's a simple and meaningful way to protect what matters most to you, an Australia grounded in sound policy and robust debate.

Your Legacy Matters. Your decision to leave a gift to CIS ensures that the principles of liberty, prosperity, and a strong civil society will endure for future generations. Together, we can build on the legacy of Greg Lindsay and those who came before us to safeguard the freedoms and opportunities that define Australia.

If you're ready to take the next step, we're here to help. Contact us today to discuss how your gift can leave a lasting impact and secure the future of CIS.

Make your legacy one of leadership and vision and join the Lindsay Society to help shape a brighter tomorrow. Contact Dearne, Trish or Olivia on (02) 9438 4377 or at cis@cis.org.au.

Don't have a legally-binding Will? Gathered Here has partnered with CIS to provide a free Will writing service for our supporters.

For more information visit cis.org.au/support/gift-in-will



Research Scholars

RESEARCH DIRECTOR



SIMON COWAN heads the research team and manages the report-writing process. His expertise is in government spending and budgets, with a focus on welfare and superannuation. He is also a regular columnist for the *Canberra Times*.

ECONOMICS



Chief Economist
DR PETER TULIP came to CIS from the
Reserve Bank. His focus is on housing
affordability and monetary policy. He also
contributes to the ANU's 'Shadow RBA Board'
and is a frequent media commentator on
housing and Reserve Bank reform.



Senior Fellow ROBERT CARLING's expertise is in fiscal policy, taxation and federalism, and he has written extensively on federal and state budgets. Since 2017 he has served on the Parliamentary Office panel of expert advisors on policy costings and fiscal analysis.



Adjunct Fellow PROFESSOR WARREN HOGAN is founder and managing director of EQ Economics and economic advisor to Juno Bank. His recent CIS research has focused on inflation.



Adjunct Fellow GENE TUNNY is Director of Adept Economics and a former Australian Treasury official. His recent CIS research has focused on the federal budget and off-budget spending.

EDUCATION



GLENN FAHEY heads the education team, and leads policy development, engagement, and advocacy for CIS education research. He also writes regularly for *The Australian* and *AFR* on education policy.



Research Fellow
TRISHA JHA leads our new project on the science of learning. She is a former secondary teacher in regional Victoria and senior policy advisor for Victorian opposition leaders.



Senior Research Associate (from January) KELLY NORRIS leads our new project on early maths screening. She is a former classroom teacher, educational consultant, product developer, and university lecturer on students with learning challenges.



Senior Fellow PROFESSOR STEVEN SCHWARTZ AM has served as Vice-Chancellor of Macquarie University in Sydney, Brunel University in London and Murdoch University in Perth. His research focus is on higher education.



Adjunct Fellow DR FIONA MUELLER serves as a federal government nominee on the board of the Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA).



Adjunct Fellow (from March)
PROFESSOR JOHN SWELLER is an
educational psychologist and Emeritus
Professor at UNSW. He is best known for
formulating Cognitive Load Theory and
outlining its instructional consequences.



Junior Policy Analyst (until June) EDMUND STEPHEN provided research support to the education team, helping to draft two papers, as well as presenting two short explainer videos on education policy.

ENERGY



Director

AIDAN MORRISON is a data-scientist, analyst, and entrepreneur, with a physics major from ANU. He has developed data science and machine-learning applications for the commercial energy sector and futures-trading start-ups.



Senior Policy Analyst (until December)

ALEX BAINTON previously worked for federal parliament and consulted to major federal departments. His expertise spans software engineering, policy advice, and data analysis.



Senior Policy Analyst

ZOE HILTON is an advanced science graduate. She previously worked in the NSW government as a senior policy advisor for Science, Innovation & Technology and Enterprise, Investment & Trade.



Senior Policy Analyst

MICHAEL WU is a former economist at Oxford Economics Australia and holds a master's degree in economics from the University of Notre Dame.

INTERGENERATIONAL



Director (until November)

MATTHEW TAYLOR has broad experience in economic modelling and data analysis for government agencies and universities including the ANU.



Marketing and Research Analyst

EMILIE DYE is an economics graduate from George Washington University. She also specialises in social and digital media.

INDIGENOUS FORUM



Director

NYUNGGAI WARREN MUNDINE AO is a businessman and advocate for empowering the First Nations of Australia to build sustainable economies. He has advised successive Australian governments on Indigenous affairs since 2004.

CULTURE, PROSPERITY & CIVIL SOCIETY



Director

THE REV. PETER KURTI is an Adjunct Associate Professor of Law at the University of Notre Dame. His recent research has focused on penal policy and the state of multiculturalism.



Senior Fellow

THE RIGHT REV. ROBERT FORSYTH hosts our podcast series, *Liberalism in Question*. He is a former Anglican Bishop of South Sydney.



Senior Fellow

SCOTT PRASSER trained as a political scientist and served as an adviser to two federal education ministers.



Research Assistant (until July)

MAYA KHURANA provided research support to Peter Kurti, and co-authored with Peter a CIS paper on prisons.

JOHN HOWARD FELLOWSHIP



Research Fellow (until November)

ANDREW BLYTH is editor of *John Howard From the Pavillion* (2023), and a former manager of the UNSW Canberra John Howard Prime Ministerial Library and Exhibition at Old Parliament House.

Staff





Executive Director TOM SWITZER



Finance Manager TRISH WATTS



Chief Operating Officer DEARNE CAMERON



Event Director MAX HAWKE-WEAVER



General Manager/Fundraising (until July)
JANE BLACK



Event Officer SEG GOKASAN



Communications Director KARLA PINCOTT



Consilium Producer RAZWINA RAIHMAN



Editorial Manager IAN MOORE



Marketing & Research Analyst EMILIE DYE



Development Executive TRISH MURRAY



Social Media Executive NICHOLAS PESCHLER



Membership Executive & Data Analyst OLIVIA WILSON



Digital Producer RANDALL EVANS



Graphic Designer SIMONE ERICSSON





Chairman NICHOLAS MOORE AO



SIR ROD EDDINGTON AO



TIM SIMS AM (from December 2023)



Deputy Chairman MICHAEL RENNIE



SIR BILL ENGLISH KNZM



STEVEN SKALA AO



Deputy Chairman CHRIS ROBERTS



DR PETER C FARRELL AM



ROBERT SKEFFINGTON



Deputy Chairman PHILIPPA STONE



SAM KENNARD



PROFESSOR PETER SWAN AO (from April 2024)



Executive Director TOM SWITZER



PETER MASON AM



ALISON WATKINS AM (until June 2024)



Founder GREG LINDSAY AO



ROHAN MEAD



DR GARY WEISS AM



MARK BARNABA AM



PROFESSOR CAV. SIMON MORDANT AO



STEVEN WILSON AM



DR JENNIFER BUCKINGHAM OAM (until May 2024)



APRIL PALMERLEE



MELINDA CONRAD



JAMES PHILIPS

Accounts

The Centre For Independent Studies Ltd

Income & Expenditure Statement

Ending Financial Years 30/06/2024 and 30/06/2023

INCOME	To June 2024 Audited (\$)	To June 2023 Audited (\$)
General Donations	4,331,476.67	3,385,231.47
Building Fund Donations	-	_
Book Sales and Subscriptions	259,733.21	158,889.48
Consilium/Seminar/Lecture Income	553,208.83	566,336.78
Interest & Sundry Income (Includes Capital Fund Income)	80,966.19	18,398.04
TOTAL INCOME	5,225,384.90	4,128,855.77
EXPENSES		
Research, Functions, Publishing	771,768.21	620,765.22
Fundraising & Development	508,702.04	353,823.96
Salaries Incl. Research	4,522,732.52	3,223,412.03
Administration & Rent	886,969.58	765,502.53
TOTAL EXPENSES	6,690,172.35	4,963,503.74
SURPLUS (DEFICIT)	(1,464,787.45)	(834,647.97)
Capital Fund as at 30 June 2023	343,246.00	340,130.00
(Drawings) and Transfers/Income	4,292.80	3,116.00
Capital Fund as at 30 June 2024	347,538.80	343,246.00

Alan McGregor Fellows

Distinguished Fellows

Janet Albrechtsen

Professor Gary Banks AO

Professor Geoffrey Blainey AC

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 (1925-2024)

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

Michael Stutchbury

Professor Ray Ball

John Calvert-Jones AM

Michael Chaney AO

Michael Darling

David Darling (1925-2012)

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Alan Gibbs

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Professor R. M. Hartwell (1921–2009)

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Neville Kennard (1937–2012)

Barry Maley (1925-2024)

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Hugh Morgan AC

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Maurice Newman AC

Professor Ross Parish (1929–2001)

lan Roach AO (1925–2003)

Professor Peter Saunders

Dr Ben Teh (1941–1998)

Honorary Auditors

KPMG

