

# Social protection in a competitive economy: what have we learned?

Asian Think Tank Development Forum Danielle Wood, Program Director, Grattan Institute 22 August 2018

## Social protection in a competitive economy



#### The pace of economic reforms has stalled

- Low hanging fruit already been picked?
- Harder to compensate losers in current budget environment?
- Reform fatigue? Politics of reform is harder

#### Structural adjustment and economic change

- Structural adjustment packages have sometimes been poorly targeted
- Economies continue to evolve: shift towards services and cities creates ongoing adjustment challenges

#### **Broader social protections matter**

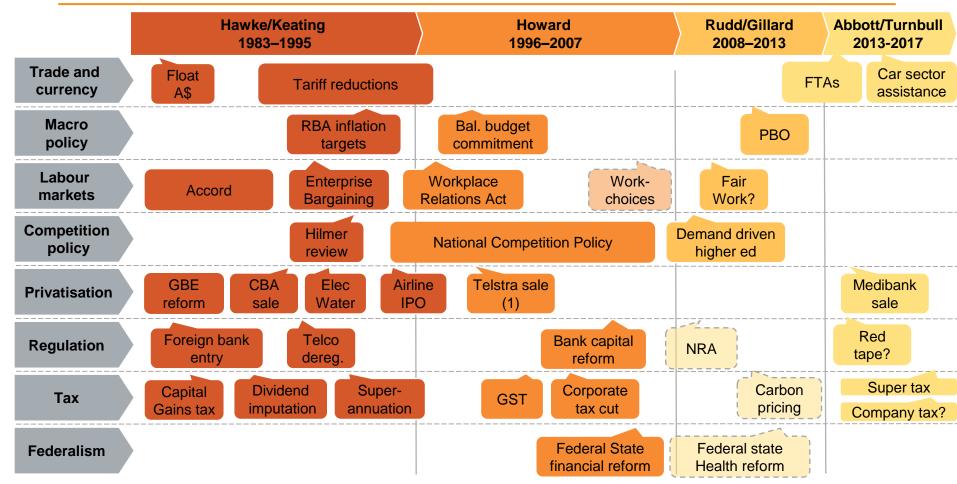
- Social safety net Australian tax and transfer system well-targeted by international standards
- Government provision of health and education

#### **Getting reform right**

Implementation matters – naïve reforms do more harm than good

## Australia has made fewer tough economic choices this past decade





Note: The NRA is a broad set of microeconomic reforms largely focused on public sector efficiencies

Source: Access Economics; The Reform Dividend;1983-2004—Calculating the Payout; The Economist, Special report Australia, 28 May 2011; Grattan analysis.

### Less money in the budget to "buy" reforms



Typical families with either one or both parents in the workforce, will be \$40 to \$50 a week better off even after the GST.

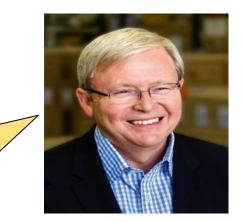
#### GST (2000)

Budget position: \$22 billion surplus

Current budget position: \$18 billion deficit

#### Carbon Pollution Reduction Scheme (2009)

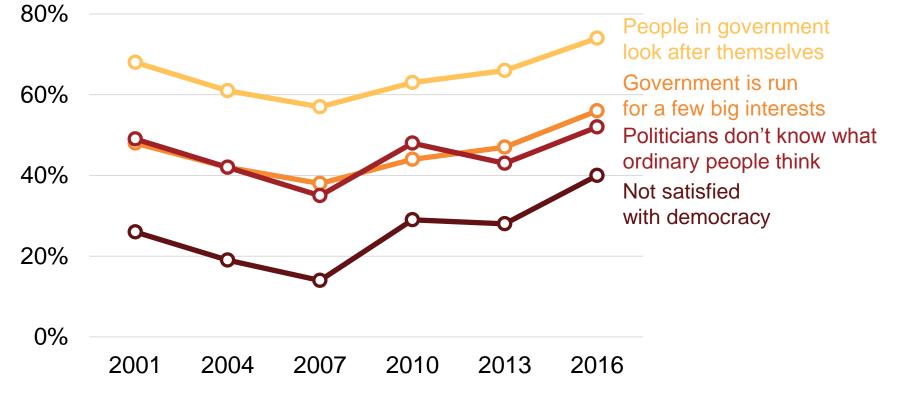
Budget position: \$28 billion surplus No low income family will be worse off and 90% of them ... will receive windfall compensation.



## Lack of faith in government makes reform harder



Percentage of survey respondents who agree with selected statements

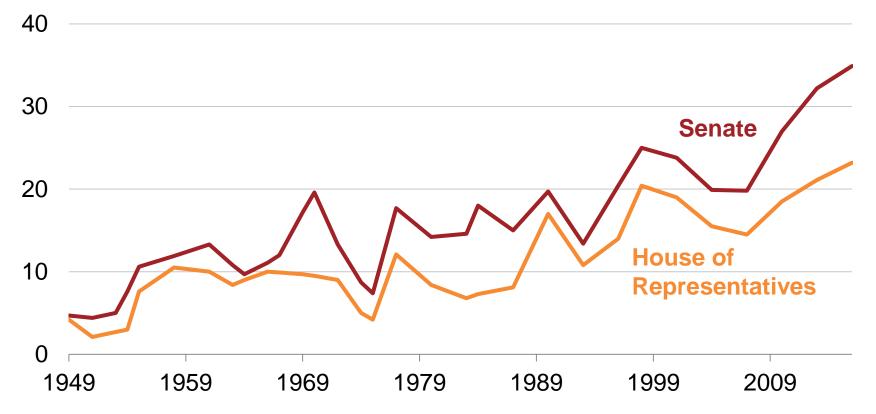


Source: Grattan analysis of AES data, 2016, see also Scanlon Foundation Social Cohesion Survey 2016; and Edelman Trust Barometer 2017

### And is changing our politics



Minor party first preference vote, per cent



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## Structural adjustment programs have sometimes been poorly targeted



#### Adjustment programs for industry (e.g. plant closures)

- Schemes to boost jobs following plant closures have a high cost per job
- Do not appear to significantly change the employment outcomes in a region
- Schemes focusing on job search and training assistance have better returns (at least for younger workers)

#### Adjustment programs for regional areas

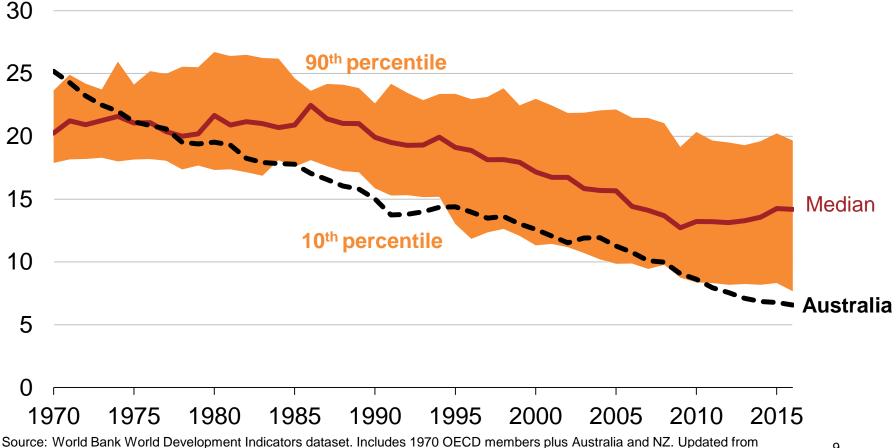
- Substantial public expenditure on regional programs by all levels of government but effectiveness of these programs is unclear
  - May be appropriate in case of severe, pervasive shock if likelihood of permanent disadvantage
  - Focus on 'people' not 'place'
- Public service decentralisation generally costly and ineffective way of promoting regional development
- Governments efforts better directed to boosting transport and services in regions to support remaining population

Sources: Productivity Commission (2017), *Transitioning Regional Economies;* Daley, J. and Lancy, A. (2011), *Investing in regions: Making a difference*, 8 Grattan Institute; Daley, J., Wood, D., and Chivers, C. (2017). *Regional patterns of Australia's economy and population*, Grattan Institute

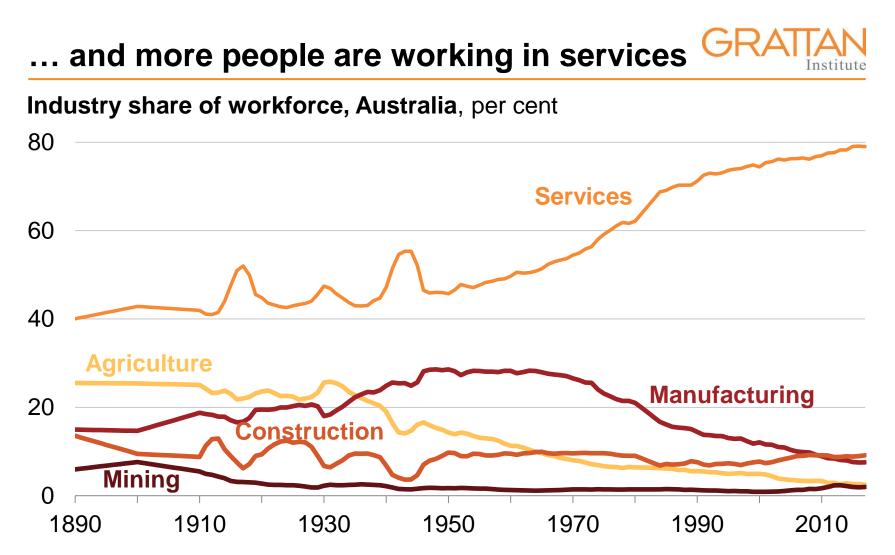
## And economies continue to evolve: manufacturing sector shrinking



Manufacturing output of OECD economies, per cent of GDP



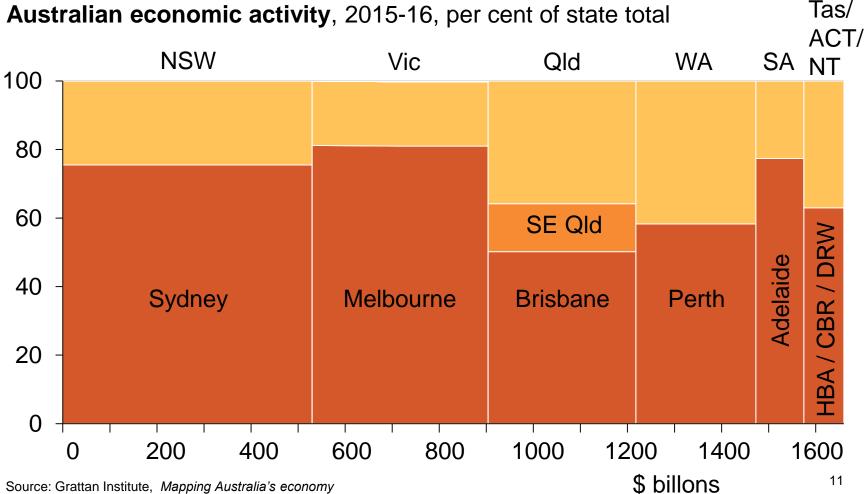
Grattan Institute, The mining boom



Note: 1981-1983 interpolated using 1980 and 1984 data Source: Grattan Institute, *Regional patterns in Australia's economy and population* 

## Australia's economy is now dominated by its big cities





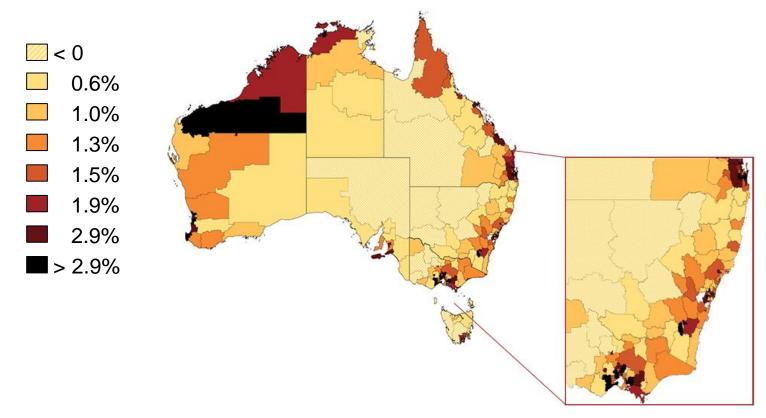
Source: Grattan Institute, Mapping Australia's economy

<sup>11</sup> 

## Population growth is very focused on capital cities, the coast, and WA mining



Population growth by SA3, CAGR 2006-2016



Note: Sample is grouped into shrinking areas, and the remainder into seven subsets of equal population. Source: ABS Census 2016; Grattan Institute, *Regional patterns of Australia's economy and population* 

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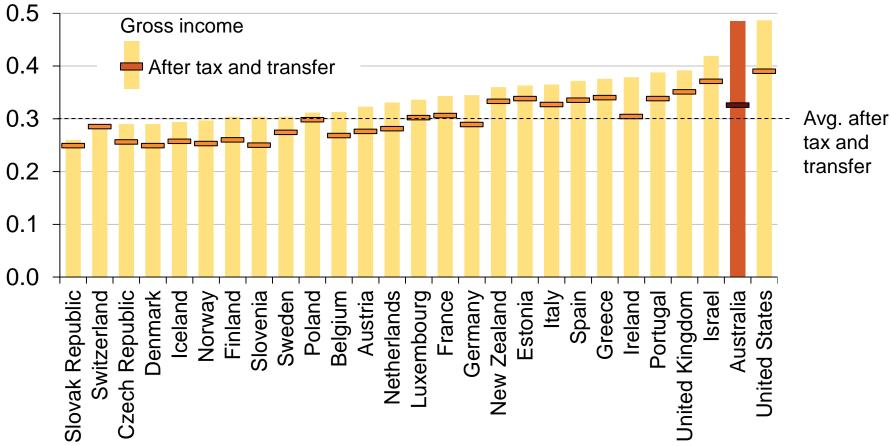
#### **Getting reform right**

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## Gross income is unequal in Australia but taxes and transfers make it more equal



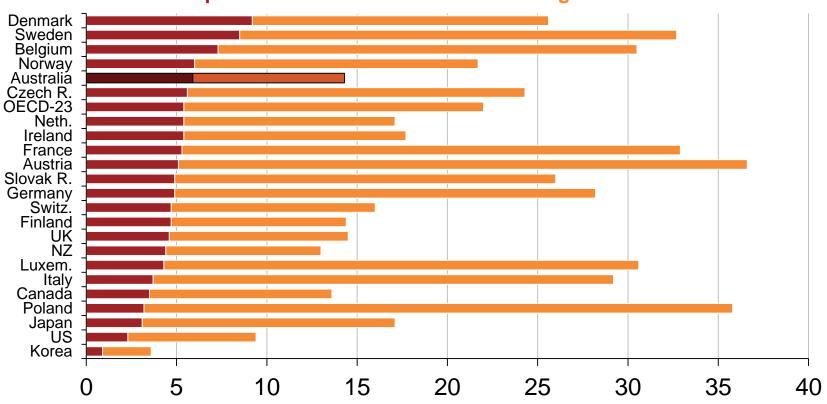
Gini coefficient (higher more unequal), OECD countries, 2012



Note: Countries with no Gini estimate for gross income or disposable income in 2012 are excluded from the comparison. Source: http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=IDD

## Australia has a well-targeted welfare system GRATIAN

**Public payments to households** as a proportion of population disposable income, mid-2000s



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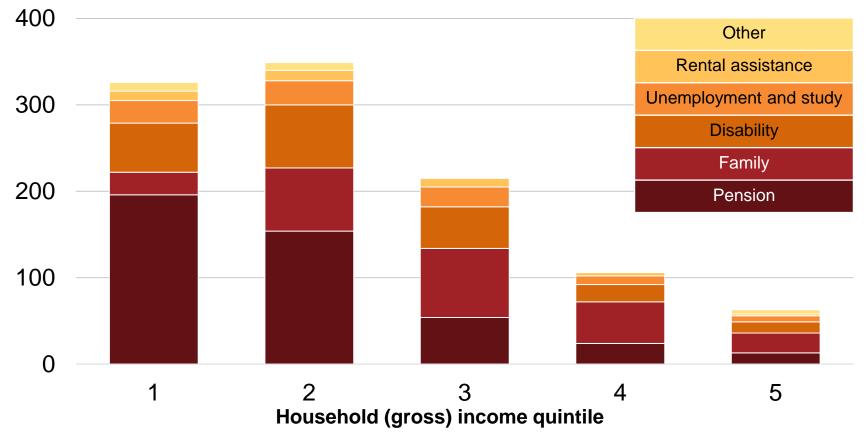
Transfers to poorest 20% Transfers to remaining 80%

Note: incomes are equivalised. Source: Grattan analysis of Whiteford (2010)

## Households in bottom 40% receive much higher average government payments

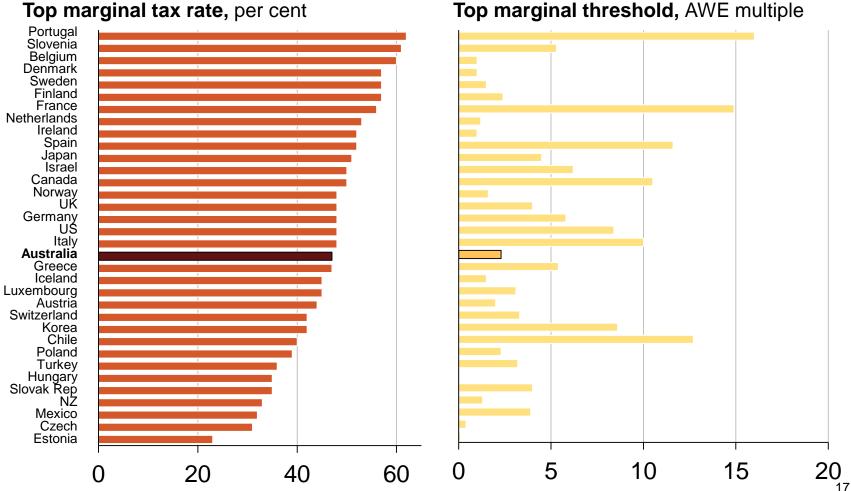


Average welfare payments per week by household gross income quintile, \$ 2013-14



Notes: Pension includes Age and Veteran's Affairs Pension. Family payments include Family Tax Benefits and Parenting Payments. Source: ABS (2015); Grattan analysis.

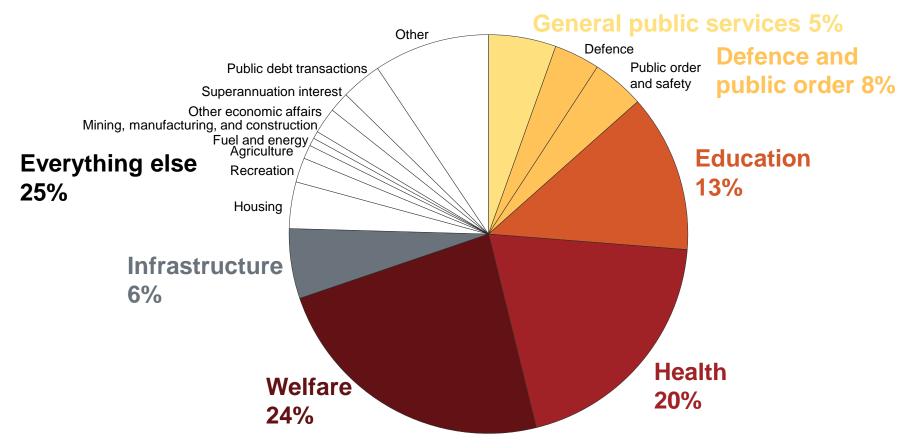
### Australia's top marginal tax rate is unremarkable, although the threshold is relatively low



Source: Treasury, Re:think; Grattan analysis

### Governments also invest a lot in health and GRATTAN education

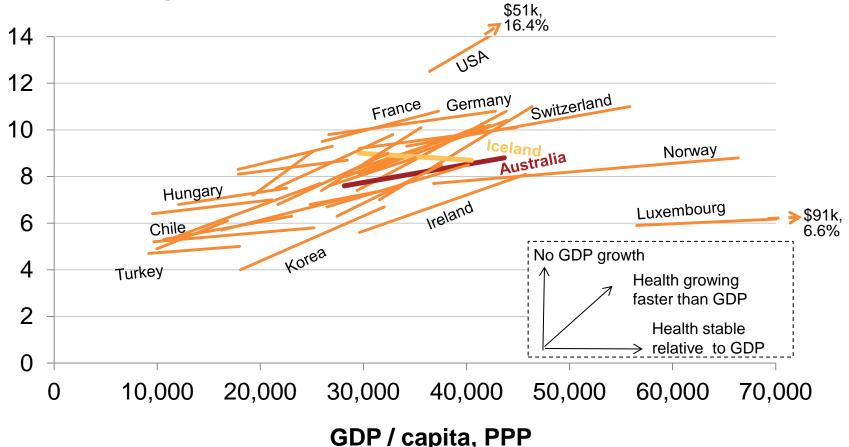
Per cent of total for 2017 FY (Commonwealth and state government spending)



Source: Grattan analysis of ABS Finance Statistics, 2016-17

### As all OECD countries got richer, they spent more on health (except Iceland)

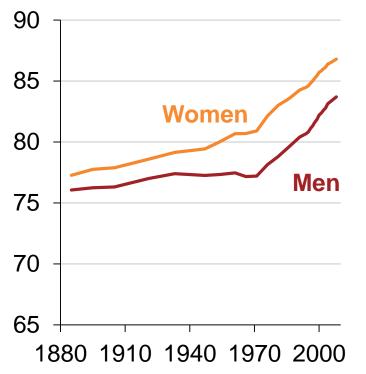
Health spending as a proportion of GDP, 2000 to 2012, per cent



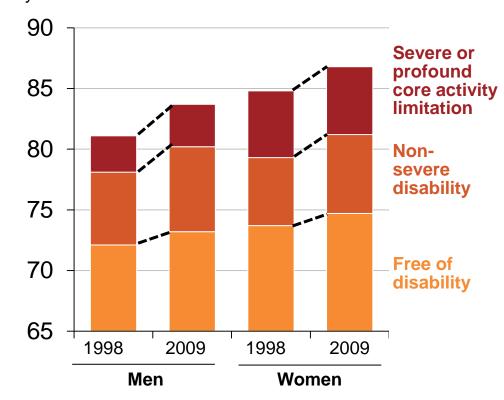
## People value the outcomes of health spending: longer and healthier lives



Life expectancy at 65 years of age years



Expected life quality for 65-year-old vears



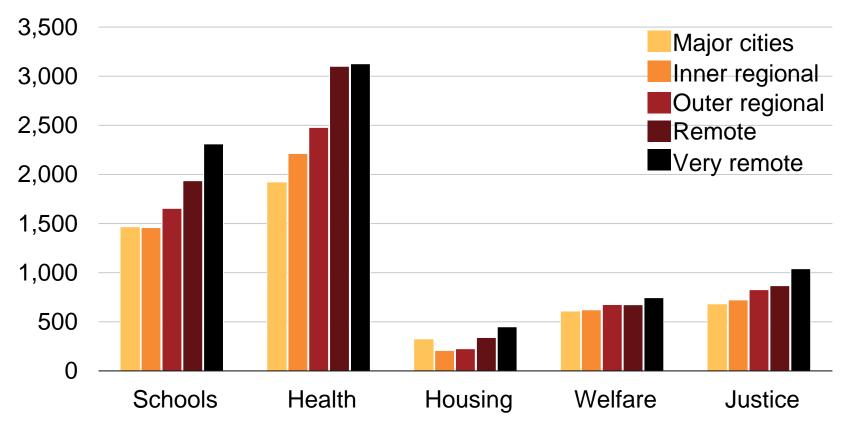
Source: Grattan Institute analysis of ABS (2008) cat no 3105.0.65.001 Table 7.6

Source: AIHW (2012), Figure 13

## Government subsidies for services are bigger in the regions



Average per capita spend by state governments, \$ 2013-14



Notes: Differences are those attributed by the CGC to remoteness rather than socio-demographic composition. For example, the impact of larger Indigenous populations in remote areas has been excluded from this impact.

Source: Commonwealth Grants Commission (2015), Report on Sharing GST Relativities 2015 Review.

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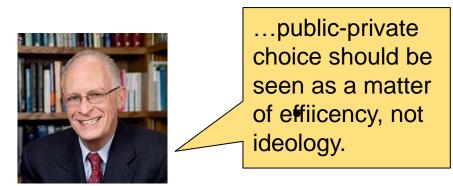
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## Blind faith in market solutions is not the answer



### The case for privatisation?

 Depends on the transaction costs associated with specifying contracts (reducing risks of 'quality shading') versus benefits of innovation



Oliver Hart: Lecture in accepting the Sveriges Riksbank Prize in Economic Sciences in Memory of Alfred Nobel 2016

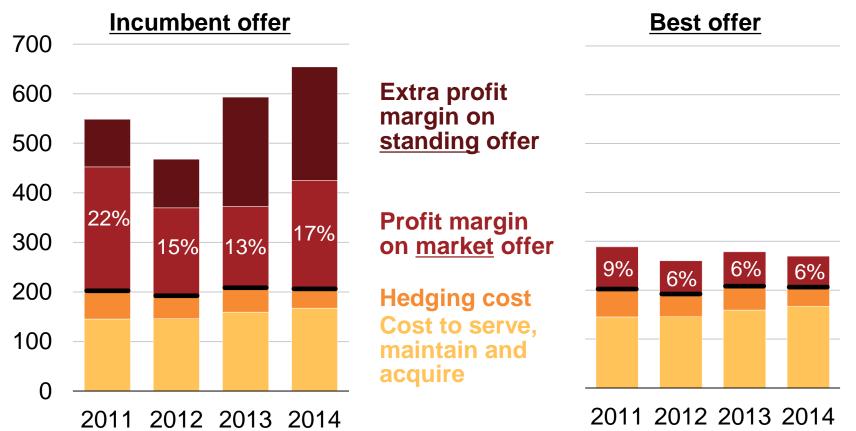
#### **Regulatory design matters**

- Considerations of incentives (including providers and consumers) needs to inform market design
- Don't lock in barriers to entry (e.g. port privatisations)
- Active regulatory oversight is important (e.g. vocational education and training market)

### **Case study: retail electricity**



#### Retail component of annual household electricity bills, Victoria, dollars



Notes: Offers in each distribution network zone have been weighted by the number of residential customers in that zone to calculate a single, Victoria-wide average. Bills are exclusive of GST.



#### Percentage of total superannuation funds under management



Note: Fees recorded for public sector and some corporate funds may not include all relevant costs as some are paid by the employer. Excludes some smaller products offering a broad range of investment options. Excludes self-managed superannuation funds. Source: Grattan analysis of SuperRatings (2014) (fee) and APRA (2014a) (FUM) data.







- Independent
- Rigorous
- Practical

Analysis of Australian domestic public policy

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