

A REAL DEAL

A research action agenda
for transforming
Australia in and beyond
the pandemic



ABOUT THE SYDNEY POLICY LAB

The Sydney Policy Lab is a multidisciplinary research initiative at the University of Sydney and a nonpartisan space where people from all walks of life can meet and develop plans collectively for the future.

We exist to forge collaborative relationships between researchers, civil society, industry, politicians and policymakers that are capable of creating new knowledge and driving change that would shape an Australia which is more equal, where power is in the hands of everyday people and where more people feel a secure sense of belonging in their own society.

The Lab develops original and far-reaching research projects which unite the grounded wisdom that comes from everyday experience and the perspectives gained from rigorous scholarship. We work in partnership with community, political and market-based institutions who seek to put new ideas into practice.

Our unique way of working strengthens the ability of our researchers and partners to collaboratively generate new ideas, transform the ways they work and effect change.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF COUNTRY

We acknowledge the tradition of custodianship and law of the Country on which the University of Sydney campuses stand. We pay our respects to those who have cared and continue to care for Country.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report is a reflection of the wisdom and experience of incredible individuals and organisations across academia, civil society, politics and business, here and around the world. The report was conceived and co-designed through a collaboration of civil society and business groups and written by Dr Amanda Tattersall, Dr Gareth Bryant, Dr Rosemary Hancock, Isabelle Napier and Professor Marc Stears from the University of Sydney. The diverse coalition of partners include Australian Conservation Foundation, Climate Justice Union, GetUp!, Jesuit Social Services, Queensland Community Alliance, Sydney Alliance, Tomorrow Movement, United Workers Union and Victoria Trades Hall. This report and the research and facilitation work that enabled it to be written were generously supported by the organisations involved in the Real Deal coalition.

The process of producing the report involved a range of partners, advisors and researchers. Our work began with a co-designed meeting with our coalition partners, and those insights were taken to a conversation with community partners and academics from Australia and the US, thanks to Elizabeth Hill (University of Sydney), Maria Floro (American University), Daniel Aldana Cohen

(University of Pennsylvania), John Buchanan (University of Sydney), David Schlosberg (University of Sydney) and James Morley (University of Sydney). We also benefited greatly from a multidisciplinary workshop on the Bushfire Crisis convened by the Deputy Vice Chancellor (Research) Duncan Ivison, co-hosted by the Sydney Environment Institute and the Sydney Policy Lab, with more than 70 academic participants. We are very grateful for the advice and comments of readers including Amelia Anthony, Marian Baird, Danielle Coleman, David Collard, Rae Cooper, Steph Cunio, Frances Flanagan, Nancy Folbre, Elise Ganley, Mel Gatfield, Naomi Godden, Kurt Iveson, Ed Jegasothy, Devett Kennedy, Bronwyn Lay, Colin Long, Mim Lyons, Gavan McFadzean, Gabriel Metcalf, Godfrey Moase, Ed Miller, Sanushka Mudaliar, Cat Nadel, Dan Nahum, Karrina Nolan, Thuy Nguyen, Mark Riboldi, Matt Rose, Akaash Sachdeva, Edie Shepherd, Jim Stanford, Jaime Yallup Farrant, and Charlie Wood and colleagues from Tipping Point. We thank all of these people for their generous leadership and contributions.

CORRESPONDENCE

policy.lab@sydney.edu.au

HOW TO CITE THIS REPORT

Tattersall, A., Bryant, G., Hancock, R., Napier, I. and Stears, M. "A Real Deal: A research action agenda for transforming Australia in and beyond the pandemic," Sydney Policy Lab, University of Sydney (September 2020)



TABLE OF CONTENTS

60 SECOND SUMMARY	7	NEXT STEPS	93
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	8	REFERENCES	96
INTRODUCING A REAL DEAL	13	PHOTO CREDITS	100
FIVE ESSENTIAL BENCHMARKS FOR A REAL DEAL	21		
Major public investment is back, but policy should be attuned to the shape of the economy too	22		
The pandemic exposed pre-existing inequalities and injustices that must be addressed for good	34		
We need bold community vision for an economy that serves us all, and a plan to make it happen	47		
A Real Deal is generated by the active participation of people in decisions that affect them	58		
Collaboration is the foundation for a Real Deal that can deliver long-lasting solutions	75		

60 SECOND SUMMARY

Inspired by the global Green New Deal, and motivated by the interconnected health, economic, race and climate crises revealed by COVID-19, we urgently need to reimagine how our economy and government work.

We present a Real Deal. This report is the outcome of a long and unusual collaboration across a broad alliance of climate, union, community and business groups, supported by researchers from the University of Sydney's Policy Lab. It identifies five new benchmarks in order to build an economy and government that work for people and our planet.

Old dichotomies of free markets or big states, and jobs or the environment, are false and inadequate. Civil society, strengthened by deep collaboration with academia, business and government, has a key role in shaping a state and an economy that supports everyone to live good lives.



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report outlines a research and organising agenda for a genuine deal between the market, state, and civil society that works for people and the environment: a Real Deal.

It harnesses the strengths of university researchers, collaborating with community and business partners, to outline the five benchmarks that can guide the development of a Real Deal, building on the best of existing research on the Green New Deal and the social and economic impacts of the pandemic.

The strength of this project lies in the Real Deal coalition. Instead of creating fast policy, driven by specific issues, we are focusing on building relationships first. Our method is grounded in co-design by a set of groups that do not traditionally work together. We aim to show that it is possible to share challenges and find common ground even in a time of crisis.

The report builds on the lessons made clear by the COVID-19 pandemic: we are facing intersecting crises across health, economy, race and climate. The pandemic demanded policy responses that suspended many of the usual political and economic constraints and opened up new social possibilities. But the deal currently on offer to people in Australia has fallen short of what is needed to address the present emergency and to build a better future.



COVID-19 is exposing long-standing and deep-seated inequalities in our communities, workplaces and politics. The unequal impacts of COVID-19 have been created by the many bad deals that have been struck in the past and remain with us today. These challenges are, however, clearer now than they would normally be. What's more, the pandemic has revealed the enormous capacity of ordinary people to work together to create a healthy society.

Around the world, momentum is building for a Green New Deal that can solve the multiple crises we are facing at the same time. The biggest crisis since the Great Depression, when the original New Deal was made, has made such an approach both more urgent and within reach. The New Deal program of labour rights, welfare measures and public infrastructure showed how reimagining the relationship between the government and citizens can turn the course of a crisis.

We are at a turning point. The risk now is that rather than embracing the opportunities presented by the current moment for positive change, the post-COVID-19 world will be shaped by faux deals that are too limited in the issues they tackle, the people they involve or the scale of their ambition for change. The focus of our project is how to make sure that what emerges from the current crisis is



a Real Deal that works for people and our planet. A Real Deal goes well beyond increased public expenditure, by transforming the institutions that shape our relationships with each other and the environment that supports us all.

A Real Deal in Australia starts from an acknowledgement that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders are the First Peoples and their sovereignty must be recognised in words and in deeds. It insists that civil society collaboration must sit at the centre of a democratic society and economy and embraces the embeddedness of our economy in the environment. To make a Real Deal, attention must be devoted to including and empowering those commonly left out of policymaking and debate. A Real Deal also recognises that the challenges of 2020 exist in the midst of a climate crisis, and policy solutions need to respond to the scale of this challenge.



This report outlines five benchmarks for creating a Real Deal. Together, the benchmarks distinguish a Real Deal on the basis of whether it is genuinely transformative, addresses inequality and insecurity, makes plans for meeting social and environmental needs, and is both participatory and collaborative.

I. MAJOR PUBLIC INVESTMENT IS BACK, BUT POLICY MUST BE ATTUNED TO THE SHAPE OF THE ECONOMY TOO

When confronted by the global emergency posed by the pandemic, many governments demonstrated that they can spend big to solve urgent problems when they choose to. Now is not the time to withdraw public spending for the sake of reducing public debt. It is equally important to recognise that simply increasing government

expenditure alone is not enough. Fiscal policy that is only attuned to the size but not the shape and structure of the economy will not reach the people or places that need it the most.

2. THE PANDEMIC EXPOSED PRE-EXISTING INEQUALITIES AND INJUSTICES THAT MUST BE ADDRESSED FOR GOOD

The experience of COVID-19 has not been equally shared. Both the impacts of COVID-19 and the lockdown have been shaped by social differences and economic inequalities that have not always been recognised by otherwise innovative policy measures. We need policy that addresses the root causes of marginalisation, not only to buoy us through this crisis, but to equip us to deal better with other equally foreseeable crises, including climate change.

3. WE NEED BOLD COMMUNITY VISION FOR AN ECONOMY THAT SERVES US ALL, AND A PLAN TO MAKE IT HAPPEN

Crises invite us to think differently about what is possible; we need to keep this mindset. Rather than achieving policy reform or aggregate spending goals for their own sake, what is needed is a clear vision of who and what our economy is for. We identify six areas for thinking through this vision, across First Nations sovereignty, care, climate, work, justice and citizenship, that will be essential ingredients in democratically planning for a Real Deal that delivers multiple wins for people and the environment.

4. A REAL DEAL IS GENERATED BY THE ACTIVE PARTICIPATION OF PEOPLE IN DECISIONS THAT AFFECT THEM

Achieving long-term outcomes that strengthen and build resilience in communities requires attention to how policy is created. Positive



change is not handed down by appointed representatives and designed far away from communities by experts. Stemming from the broader crisis of democracy, the voices of those who know what their communities really need have often been missing from COVID-19 debates. A Real Deal is about generating quality connections between people that can support the development of policies informed by the full range of lived experiences.



5. **COLLABORATION IS THE FOUNDATION FOR A REAL DEAL THAT CAN DELIVER LONG-LASTING SOLUTIONS**

At the heart of the best of our reactions to the COVID-19 crisis has been a capacity to collaborate. In contrast, where policy has not involved communities as genuine partners it has been fragile and short-lived. The intersecting crises we face cannot be dealt with one at a time, nor by the state, market, or civil society alone. A Real Deal harnesses the power of collaboration to coordinate across issues, institutions and places to win long-lasting change.

This report is full of case studies that tell the stories of real solutions. Rather than coming up with yet another set of hypothetical policy proposals, our real solutions are drawn from the world of our community and business partners. From expanding renewable energy, to reimagining aged care, to organising workers, to building cooperative enterprise, to making responsible investments, to providing community housing, to planning climate and energy justice, to practising mutual aid, to collaborating across difference, our case studies represent already existing strategies upon which a Real Deal can be made.

INTRODUCING A REAL DEAL



LESSONS FROM COVID-19

A crisis like the COVID-19 pandemic does not just suddenly come to an end. An interconnected network of crises—health, economic, race and climate—has come to the fore in the year 2020 that will impact Australia and the world for at least a generation.

The enormous scale and scope of the initial COVID-19 shock required immediate policy responses that were creative and far-reaching. The Australian community pushed all our governments to act in ways that put public health first¹.

The best policy responses partially and temporarily changed the balance between conventional goals of economic growth and budget discipline, and concerns about



social need. Where Australian governments prioritised the health and wellbeing of the community, it created the foundations for a new kind of economy.

However, the deal currently on offer to people in Australia has fallen short of what is needed to address the present emergency and to build a better future. COVID-19 is exposing long-standing, deep-seated inequalities in our communities, workplaces and politics.

Not everyone has been equally vulnerable to, or protected from, the impacts of COVID-19. Both public and economic health has been undermined when policy has not addressed these gaps head-on.

COVID-19 was not the beginning of our problems in Australia; the hardship faced by too many in Australian communities throughout the pandemic is the outcome of the many bad deals that have been on the table for too long. Solutions to systemic issues including justice for First Nations people, inequality, climate change and racism have too often been faux deals based on wishful thinking, and have often made things worse.

These challenges are clearer now than they would normally be, creating an opportunity for new thinking and creative approaches at every scale of society. The challenge of dealing with a deep recession in the context of a global public health crisis requires new ways to do policy. Australia needs to take a long view and we need to put the experiences, ideas and wisdom of people first when it comes to tackling the big problems that we face. It is time to get real.

BUILDING ON THE GREEN NEW DEAL

Historically, moments of crisis have been times for citizens to strike new deals with their governments, and with each other, to do things differently. Around the world, momentum has been growing for a Green New Deal. The idea of the Green New Deal is inspired by the example of the New Deal implemented by Franklin Delano Roosevelt in the United States during the Great Depression. The original New Deal, while developed in a very different context from now, showed the capacity of concerted and collaborative public action to solve multiple crises at once.

The most complex crisis we have faced since the Great Depression will require a set of new deals that reconfigure our economy and society to meet deepening social and environmental crises in and beyond the pandemic. We desperately need new approaches that recognise Indigenous sovereignty, build democratic capacity, reduce inequality, address injustices, increase prosperity and tackle climate change at the same time. Proposals for a Green New Deal aim to do just that. COVID-19 has both reinforced the need for such an approach and made the task before us even greater.

That said, many different orientations are emerging under the banner of a Green New Deal.² Some have been faux Green New Deals because they are too limited in the issues they tackle, the people they involve or the scale of ambition for change.³ In a world that cannot, and should not, go back to exactly how it was before COVID-19, what is needed is a focus on how we can make sure that what emerges from the current crisis is a Real Deal.

WHAT IS A REAL DEAL?

A Real Deal is a new relationship between market, state and civil society that works for people and the planet.⁴ It includes but goes well beyond increased public expenditure, by transforming the institutions that shape our relationships with each other and the environment that supports us all.⁵

A Real Deal in Australia starts from an acknowledgement that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders are the First Peoples of this land. It acknowledges the ongoing sovereignty



of First Nations people over their land and waters—sovereignty that never was and never will be extinguished. White Australia has failed to repair its violent colonial relationship with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. Any Real Deal must support First Nations peoples to take their rightful place in their own country.⁶

A Real Deal insists that civil society collaboration must sit at the centre of a democratic society and economy. It creates new expectations for how government and businesses are run, prioritising community wellbeing and the social infrastructure that



supports it. This collaborative energy seeks to overcome longstanding inequalities and insecurities by reweaving relationships in a way that builds strength out of the rich differences that make up our communities—across race, class, gender, age, religion, abilities, location and sexuality.

A Real Deal embraces the embeddedness of our economy in the environment. It recognises that we need to dramatically alter how our economy is run in order to avert climate change. While the institutions and resources of states and markets are needed to make urgent investments, these investments should equally present an opportunity for communities to lead in determining the form and content of solutions.

To make a Real Deal, attention must be devoted to including and empowering those commonly left out of policymaking and debate. For example, migrant communities are too often marginalised by an exclusionary vision of Australian identity, in spite of the ethnic diversity across our society. The lopsided power structures in our workplaces, politics and communities that systematically disadvantage certain people must be addressed. State,

market and civil society institutions need to be made more fully accountable for how they work, relate and collaborate.

As plans for post-pandemic construction proliferate, our purpose is not to make narrow, specific demands of government. Instead, we aim to develop a framework that can be used to build the case and momentum to make change happen. We do not claim to have all the answers; what we are developing is a way of finding them. In doing so we seek to generate discussion among civil society, politics, research and business leaders, whatever their political allegiance and background.

We therefore outline five benchmarks for creating a Real Deal. Real Deals can be implemented in different places and at various scales. Our five benchmarks distinguish a Real Deal on the basis of whether it is genuinely transformative, addresses inequality and insecurity, makes plans for meeting social and environmental needs, and is both participatory and collaborative.

To make our framework more tangible, each benchmark is accompanied by real solutions—case studies—that organisations in our

coalition are developing and putting into practice to strengthen the communities they serve, right now. Some of the examples are big and others are small. The common thread is that they already exist on the ground, could be implemented in other regions or industries, and embody the values and practices that are foundational to any Real Deal. They illustrate that, in many cases, people working together in their communities already know what needs to be done, and simply need to be supported, expanded and connected as part of a Real Deal.

OUR COALITION AND METHOD

This report brings together the perspectives of university researchers and community partners to outline the benchmarks that can guide a research and organising coalition for a Real Deal. To build it—somewhat fittingly—we have needed to negotiate and make our own deals between and across the different groups in our coalition. A healthy political life is one where there is exchange, compromise, learning, debate and change. We know this is possible because we have seen it emerge between us.

Underpinning the words in this report is a deep commitment to the research method known as

co-design. The co-design approach is based on the contention that the best knowledge is produced when researchers and communities work together.⁷ We are using co-design to ask the biggest question of all: how can we reimagine our political and economic lives today? Drawing on the Sydney Policy Lab's distinctive Relational Method⁸, the ideas in this report have emerged from an iterative exploration of experience and analysis—from community partners to researchers, to other researchers, and back to partners. The analysis has been debated, contested, changed and improved through ongoing collaborative design.

The diverse and unusual coalition behind our Real Deal project is made up of more than a dozen community, business, climate and union partners, and a multidisciplinary team of researchers from the University of Sydney and other universities in Australia and around the world. In the year prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, the organisations behind this report began to connect through workshops initially built around the Green New Deal. In the forging of relationships, tensions were aired, and slowly trust was built. The advent of COVID-19 changed everything. It deepened



and strengthened the resolve of our alliance to understand, debate and learn about what was needed to strengthen our economy and democracy, and to do this together.

The way these relationships have come together has been essential to their success. Instead of a traditional issue-first approach, the network has been led by a relationship-first approach that is the foundation of the Relational Method. This allowed relationships to be built with others whose issues diverged considerably. People could understand one another's interests, slowly discovering

common ground while also identifying when they needed to agree to disagree. When lockdowns forced us to rely only on digital tools, there was already a network of relationships and working practices upon which our Real Deal project could be built.

The Sydney Policy Lab at the University of Sydney is the collaborative anchor for the Real Deal coalition. Universities themselves have been at the sharp end of the COVID-19 crisis. This has fostered important and ongoing debate about how governments and universities should shape the future of higher education. The Real Deal project aims to make a contribution to this discussion by demonstrating the socially important role universities can play in responding to multiple crises through collaborative partnerships between researchers and communities.⁹ We also centre the roles that higher education should play within a Real Deal—as large employers and collaborative workplaces, as educators of skilled workers and active citizens, as anchor public institutions for many regions, as nodes connecting Australia with the rest of the world, as creators of new knowledge and solutions to problems—that have not always been fully realised or invested in.

The coalition unites practical and academic expertise across a broad range of policy areas. Together we aim to influence policy through actively engaging policymakers, shaping intellectual work in universities and other research institutions, and strengthening advocacy, democratic participation and collaboration across civil society and beyond. This report is the first step in an ongoing program of co-designed research that spans political-economic scholarship on policy issues and solutions, mass deliberative and participatory research on transition pathways, and place-based action research in communities across Australia. We invite researchers and organisations to join us and be part of shaping the next stage.

Putting people at the centre of policy means ensuring that First Nations communities play a leading role in driving projects that transform Indigenous economic and social development. The Real Deal coalition is committed to ensuring that we hold the space required to make the strong relationships needed for this to occur, as a concrete way that can make our own collaboration accountable to what we would like to see more broadly.

FIVE ESSENTIAL BENCHMARKS FOR A REAL DEAL

- 1 Major public investment is back, but policy should be attuned to the shape of the economy too**
- 2 The pandemic exposed pre-existing inequalities and injustices that must be addressed for good**
- 3 We need bold community vision for an economy that serves us all, and a plan to make it happen**
- 4 A Real Deal is generated by the active participation of people in decisions that affect them**
- 5 Collaboration is the foundation for a Real Deal that can deliver long-lasting solutions**



**I. MAJOR PUBLIC
INVESTMENT IS BACK,
BUT POLICY SHOULD BE
ATTUNED TO THE SHAPE
OF THE ECONOMY TOO**

After decades of political campaigning that has emphasised the need to reduce spending, taxation and debt, many governments have now demonstrated that they can spend big to solve urgent problems when they choose to.¹⁰ In the face of the pandemic, governments mobilised colossal resources to stabilise many, but not all, households, businesses and financial institutions. The initial fiscal support provided by the Australian Federal Government totalled \$134 billion—increasing the previously budgeted amount of yearly Federal Government expenditure in the economy by more than a quarter.¹¹

COVID-19 emergency support came in a variety of often innovative forms. The lion's share of fiscal support came from the JobKeeper wage subsidy scheme, the doubling of payments for unemployed workers through JobSeeker, credits to small- and medium-sized businesses and not-for-profits, and direct cash payments for recipients of other income support. All of this additional spending was financed by very low-cost government borrowing, with interest





rates for ten-year government bonds falling to below one percent per annum.¹² The Government's fiscal response has been supported by its central bank, the Reserve Bank of Australia, which has purchased government debt in order to keep the cost of government borrowing low, and made other interventions in credit markets, enabling, for example, banks to assist those experiencing mortgage stress.¹³

Nonetheless, on top of already existing levels of unemployment and underemployment, about one worker in five either lost their job altogether or lost many hours of paid work as a result of the pandemic. At the height of the first Australia-wide lockdown in April to May 2020, 2.3 million people were affected by job

loss or reduced hours.¹⁴ As lockdowns have eased, jobs have been replaced at much slower rates than they were lost, and more jobs have been lost where health restrictions have been reimposed.

For many sectors and for many people, no government support was provided. For instance, temporary migrants and refugees were excluded from government-funded COVID-19 welfare support. Civil society stepped in, and by May 2020, dozens of not-for-profit local organisations across the country had mobilised community resources to provide emergency food hampers so people could eat. For example, in New South Wales (NSW) nine organisations

built new infrastructure to source, pack and deliver more than 6500 emergency food hampers to temporary migrants and refugee communities affected by the lockdown.¹⁵

However, shortly after the first wave of cases the political debate shifted to questions of when COVID-19 support measures should be withdrawn, rather than focusing on how to meet public health and social needs in the medium term and how to secure long-term economic resilience. A shift like this risks threatening incomes that keep millions of Australians out of poverty or financial distress and creating a further collapse in the economic demand that supports the incomes and jobs of others.





Now is not the time to withdraw public spending for the sake of reducing public debt. A massive collapse in economic activity in the private sector requires a massive injection of economic resources from elsewhere. Business investment plans for the foreseeable future are being abandoned.¹⁶ Only the government can fill this gap.¹⁷ With government borrowing costs at historic lows, intergenerational inequalities will come not from debt and deficit, but from failing to invest in the future of those, such as young people, who have been hit hardest by the crisis and now risk facing scarring effects for years to come.¹⁸

Before the COVID-19 crisis, the share of government spending directed towards public investment had fallen to a very low level.¹⁹ Spending that was directed towards supporting household consumption and debt repayments was essential as the lockdown was implemented. But the pathway out of recession will also require large boosts in public investment, and with it enhanced public sector capacity, to do more than replace collapsing private sector investment.

Suggestions that changes in other areas of policy can do this, such as altering labour laws, fail to grapple with this reality. To the extent such changes reduce labour standards—and especially pay—they are likely to make a bad situation worse.²⁰ More sustained public investment will be needed to avoid a more prolonged slump than is necessary. Making short-term budget savings will cost the government, and people, more in the long term.



REAL SOLUTION

700% RENEWABLES

Australia's boundless sun, wind and huge land area gives us a comparative advantage when it comes to renewable energy. We not only have enough potential capacity to power all existing domestic electricity, but also to repower other energy intensive sectors such as transport and industry and to create a major renewable export industry.

700% Renewables aims to create high-wage jobs to more than match the high-wage jobs that will be lost as fossil fuel production ends. Organisations such as WWF-Australia (formerly World Wildlife Fund), Beyond Zero Emissions and the Sunrise Project are doing significant work on renewable exports to seize the opportunity of 700 percent renewables.

Currently Australia's energy sources and exports are dependent on

carbon-intensive sources such as coal and gas. While there is an increasing level of corporate investment in renewables, the scale of change is not fast enough to mitigate climate change.

Reaching 700 percent renewables requires major investment and supportive government policy. There are a variety of investment options including: renewable hydrogen; the use of direct electricity transfer via undersea cables; renewable-powered products like green steel, aluminium and advanced manufacturing; investment in Australian expertise in renewables; and manufacturing of renewable components and technology.

To get to 700 percent renewable energy in Australia we need to pass through three stages. Firstly, 100 percent renewable energy requires transferring all existing domestic

electricity support to renewable sources. Then, getting to 300 percent requires the transfer of ancillary industries— such as transport, heating and existing industry—to renewable energy sources. Finally, 700 percent requires building an enormous excess of renewable energy capacity in Australia so that instead of being a global leader in the export of coal and gas, we become the world leading exporter of renewable energy and renewable-powered products. Moreover, by creating renewable markets in manufacturing and metals, we can create high wage jobs that are commensurate—at least in wages and often location—with employment that will be lost in the fossil fuel economy, including coal mining and power plants.

This shift requires ambitious and structural economic change towards a new renewables industry policy

and the transformation of the energy grid. Major investment in research and development in universities and beyond is required, alongside support for community energy programs.

Major renewables projects require deep collaborative practice with the Indigenous communities on whose lands these projects are built and with the workers and communities where sunset industries are closing and sunrise industries are booming. State Governments also have a critical role to play at every level, meaning that the plan requires deep inter-governmental, community and industry cooperation.

It is equally important to recognise that simply increasing government expenditure alone is not enough. Fiscal policy that is only attuned to the size, not the shape, of the economy may not reach the people or places that need it the most.

Large infrastructure projects often have long lead times and predominantly benefit male-dominated industries, such as construction. While important, an overreliance on these conventional forms of stimulus will not be the most effective way of delivering timely support for the female-dominated service sectors that have been hit hardest by the crisis.²¹ Even worse, if environmentally damaging industries such as gas benefit from stimulus, future catastrophic changes to the climate will be even further locked in. The destruction of ancient Juukan rock shelters on Pinikura Puutu Kunti Kurrama Land in Western Australia by

mining company Rio Tinto during the pandemic served to illustrate how dangerous extractive models of economic development can be for Indigenous culture and the environment.

We need public investment plans designed to reflect the contemporary structure of the Australian labour market and economy. Investment must be focused on generating the biggest employment boost for every dollar spent. Public spending, therefore, should be in labour-intensive industries that deliver lasting benefits and should meet broader social and climate goals as well. Projected employment prior to COVID-19 was in highly



labour-intensive and feminised service sectors: healthcare and social assistance; professional, technical and scientific services; and education and training, followed by construction.²² Supporting all these sectors will require us to rethink and moderate the old physical infrastructure approach to stimulus, so we can instead bring a bigger focus on social infrastructure.²³

REAL SOLUTION
EXPANDING AND
REDESIGNING
HOME CARE TO
REIMAGINE HOW WE
SUPPORT OLDER
AUSTRALIANS

A case study from our partner organisation the United Workers Union

COVID-19 revealed a crisis in aged care, long evident to those in the system. Most older Australians say that they want to be cared for at home. But a Real Deal for home care not only involves money, it requires reshaping how care is delivered, securing and supporting the workers who provide care.

Australia's aged care system offers



a cruel deal for those who rely on it now and for those who will use it in the future. According to the Royal Commission into Aged Care, the “aged care system fails to meet the needs of its older, vulnerable citizens. It does not deliver uniformly safe and quality care, is unkind and uncaring towards older people, and in too many instances, it neglects them.”²⁴

COVID-19 exacerbated the already deep challenges faced in all forms of aged care. Aged care facilities have become COVID-19 super-spreading sites in Australia,²⁵ and across the world.²⁶

Nine out of ten people say they would prefer to live out their days in their own home rather than in institutional based care.²⁷ Yet home care is poorly resourced and regulated, and the

skills, wages and conditions of care workers have not been adequately invested in to make it a sufficiently safe alternative.²⁸ In the COVID-19 pandemic, they have often neither had access to sufficient personal protective equipment (PPE) nor been trained in its proper use.

Home care is far from providing a Real Deal for those who use its services or those who work there. There is a crisis in access to home care,²⁹ with more than 120,000 people waiting for care, meaning they regularly wait 12 months or more to receive care.²⁹ The Royal Commission identified that there is a massive gap between demand and availability for home care packages.³⁰ An entirely new funding system is required.

Like other feminised industries, the home care workforce is underpaid.

A Real Deal must forge a pathway where equal work is remunerated with equal pay. This would have the benefit of not only recognising the value of labour in feminised care industries, but also attracting more male care workers.

But it is not just about money. Creating a dignified, high quality home care system that cares for people at the end of their life requires supporting the workers who do that care. Although phrases such as “people-centred care” are currently used by commercial providers, there is fear this language amounts to nothing more than spin to cover up poor quality service.

To make these changes, the United Workers Union is working with home care workers to connect them digitally and break through the




isolated nature of this work. Using modern collaborative tools, workers are able to talk about the challenges of being an essential worker under lockdown while also sharing a little about who they are as people. The technology works like a modern lunchroom: a collaborative place that can seed a vision for home care, and from which a vision for broader society can grow.

A Real Deal for care requires not only a massive expansion of the workforce, but the provision of training and recognition for home care staff. Quality care requires the regularisation of employment and provision of steady hours, the recognition of formal qualifications, training and support for workers, and the cultivation of a community of practice among staff.³¹ Care workers are the people who check in on the

mental and physical wellbeing of older Australians, but their capacity to do this work remains unrecognised and insufficiently remunerated.

There are superior models overseas, including, for example, a Dutch home care provider called Buurtzorg that runs home care integrated with other medical and community professionals to provide 360 degree care and support.³²

The privatisation of care has created the risk that providers are too often motivated by profit rather than the wellbeing of older Australians. Universal funding mechanisms,³³ supported by a massively expanded, well-trained and well-remunerated workforce can help ensure that the COVID-19 aged care crisis is something that we learn from, and something that never happens again.



2. THE PANDEMIC EXPOSED PRE-EXISTING INEQUALITIES AND INJUSTICES THAT MUST BE ADDRESSED FOR GOOD

The experience of COVID-19 has not been equally shared. Some people have experienced much more severe hardship than others. Pre-existing issues such as health disparities, insecure labour markets, unaffordable housing, racial discrimination, gender gaps, discrimination on the basis of migration status, and under-resourced services have compounded the impacts of COVID-19 for many people and communities. COVID-19 made transparent our always existing but not often visible differences. The mental health epidemic³⁵ and our uneven needs for care—whether the needs of autistic children,³⁶ the elderly, or dependent children who need care if their parents or other caregivers have to work—became far more acute in isolation. Government responses have not always addressed the inequalities exposed by COVID-19 and often ignored the distinctive needs that arise from these differences.



The health impacts of COVID-19 have been shaped by social and economic inequalities. Evidence from the United Kingdom, where the caseload has to date been much greater than in Australia, suggests that locational disadvantage increases health risks from COVID-19. When adjusted for age, people who live in the most socially-deprived areas, according to income, employment, education and health indicators, have been much more likely to die with COVID-19.³⁷ These inequalities have strongly intersected with race, manifesting in disproportionately high COVID-19 deaths in Black and Asian communities in the UK.³⁸

The inequalities of COVID-19 infection were initially limited in Australia by the early successes of virus containment measures.



However, as rates of infection increased in Melbourne in July, there were signs that the virus was disproportionately affecting disadvantaged communities and low-income workers. COVID-19 infections were concentrated in the most socio-economically disadvantaged suburbs and in highly casualised workforces.³⁹ These inequalities were reproduced in some health responses too. The most vivid example was the forceful role given to police when Melbourne's major public housing towers were placed in severe lockdown⁴⁰—a pattern that was replicated in other instances of over-policing of public health orders.⁴¹

The economic impacts of lockdown have also been unequally experienced by

different groups in the community and different regions of

Australia. Women and young people under the age of 25 have disproportionately suffered from loss of jobs and working hours.⁴² These workers are both more likely to work in sectors that were hardest hit by the lockdown and more likely to be employed on a precarious basis.⁴³ Job losses have been concentrated in areas that rely on employment in heavily impacted industries such as retail, hospitality and the arts. These areas span our big cities and regional centres, but also tourism-dependent regional areas, many of which are recovering from the impacts of bushfires and drought.⁴⁴

Tore ex ea ditatur
aut latquiate
illestr uptatem et
autatur ad utem-
pore sant de enis
doluptium ium

The gendered impact of the pandemic has stretched from work to the home. Women are more likely to be in frontline worker roles like aged care, nursing and other healthcare roles, placing them at most risk. Women's disproportionate loss of hours threatens to exacerbate inequalities in women's pay and retirement savings well into the future.⁴⁵ Women also took on an increased load for homework and childcare, meaning they were overworked and undervalued in the home and in paid work.⁴⁶

Otherwise innovative policy measures have often failed to protect those most at risk from the impacts of the lockdown.

If policy remains indifferent to existing hardship and difference, it is likely to worsen inequality and injustice, while undermining the health response. Shortcomings were partly a product of the necessary speed and scale of the crisis response. But they were also due to partisan decisions about where to draw lines between those deserving and undeserving of support. The JobKeeper wage subsidy excluded the 41 percent of casual workers, or just over one million people, who had been working for their employer for fewer than 12 months. This failed to curb disproportionate job



losses among women and young people.⁴⁷ Nearly 900,000 migrant workers on temporary visas in Australia, including international students, were similarly denied access to the scheme.⁴⁸ When COVID-19 infection re-emerged in significant numbers in Victoria, up to 80 percent of transmissions occurred in workplaces, many of which had high proportions of migrant workers in insecure jobs without access to appropriate leave.⁴⁹

The lack of support given to migrant workers is symptomatic of the trend in Australian immigration policy towards reducing access to the rights and entitlements associated with citizenship. Temporary visa holders with work rights are excluded from our welfare system. Temporary working visas provide work entitlements that are restricted in various ways, by limiting the hours of work a visa holder can legally do or tying visa status to a particular employer, region or industry. There is ample evidence that these restrictions alter employment relationships between migrant workers and employers, producing vulnerable and exploitative working conditions that threaten to undermine labour standards across the entire workforce.⁵⁰ The exclusion of temporary migrant workers from basic social safety nets has forced many people to make an impossible choice between staying at home when ill or having enough money to keep a roof over their heads and food in the pantry.

REAL SOLUTION COLES DISTRIBUTION WAREHOUSE HEALTH AND SAFETY CAMPAIGN

A case study from our partner organisation the United Workers Union

Essential workers understand the inherent risk of their work and how best to limit it. Valuing that knowledge can help to limit transmission and prevent uncontrolled outbreaks.

During the COVID-19 pandemic supermarket workers suddenly became recognised as essential workers—vital to the security of the food supply chain. Panic buying put immense pressure on supermarket supply chains, and while the public-facing stores were quickly outfitted to protect shoppers and workers, the





invisible workers in the warehouses did not experience the same level of attention to health and safety.

Workers in a Coles distribution warehouse in Victoria discovered multiple health and safety problems as the pandemic unfolded: social distancing measures were not enforced within the warehouse; they did not have the capacity to

adequately disinfect machinery with multiple touchpoints; and they had insufficient disinfecting equipment.

Through their membership of the United Workers Union, workers forced Coles to implement appropriate health and safety measures. They wrote a list of claims and, after two weeks of inaction from Coles management, used their

powers under the Occupational Health and Safety Act to call a cease work action. More than 200 workers stopped work for over six hours at the distribution warehouse. Their claims included thermal scanning of workers prior to entering the warehouse, the provision of hand sanitiser and alcohol wipes throughout the warehouse, health and safety representatives to supervise and enforce physical distancing measures for each shift, deep cleaning of machinery, and pandemic leave for workers.

Despite the best efforts of the workers to implement stringent health and safety measures at the worksite, the warehouse was the site of an outbreak of COVID-19 in June. However, unlike the outbreak at the Cedar Meats warehouse earlier in the pandemic, where

80 workers were diagnosed with COVID-19 within seven days, only 20 workers at the site were diagnosed with COVID-19 by late August—and many through community rather than worksite transmission—nearly three months after the initial case. The best efforts to create workplace health and safety still cannot prevent workers catching COVID-19 in the community and bringing it to work, but the workers at this warehouse understood, better than Coles management, how best to limit the transmission risk in their workplace. Yet while these workers have won concessions from Coles, workers at other warehouses around Australia have not benefited from these gains.

This case study gives a glimpse of the forms of civic agency that are needed to correct injustice and inequality. Collaborative knowledge

where all players—workers and employers—co-design policy shaped by their experience generates superior outcomes.

The COVID-19 crisis has revealed the dangers of long-term underinvestment and poor regulation in care provision. This has been most acutely borne out in aged care, where residents of nursing homes have been exposed to the highest risk of COVID-19 infection clusters. Early in the pandemic, places such as the United States showed the health risks facing aged care residents—a pattern borne out in the high proportion of Australia’s COVID-19 deaths that have been in nursing homes.⁵¹ There have been repeated Royal Commissions related to issues of care. While some are ongoing, they are yet to lead to a substantial change in the quality or form of care. This is an opportunity to not only think about how the state can fund care needs, but how that support can be provided in a way that honours those who are cared for and those who care. The advocacy of organised care communities will be vital.⁵²



The COVID-19 crisis has put care work on the public agenda in a way that has not happened before. It has revealed the importance of quality, accessible and affordable childcare as a condition for a healthy economy. This was acknowledged by the Federal Government when childcare was temporarily made free for parents as part of a package aimed at supporting workforce participation of women and keeping childcare centres open. The package, however, fell short of the public investment necessary to create a universal high quality childcare system and as a result created problems for the sector. Rather than committing to a sustainable funding package to make this happen, the policy has been wound back further, risking further gender inequalities at a time of acute economic stress and uncertainty.⁵³

Rather than moving to revoke COVID-19 response policies, our focus should instead be on how they can become part of a Real Deal that addresses the root causes of marginalisation in the long term. The onset of COVID-19 exposed underlying problems in Australian society to the point that governments were forced to act. The doubling of unemployment payments through JobSeeker in response to the sharp rise in unemployment recognised that the old Newstart rate was inadequate, lifting thousands out of poverty overnight. However, increased payments were not extended to those receiving disability support payments.⁵⁴ In cities and regions across Australia, governments found temporary accommodation for many, but not all, people experiencing homelessness. Both of these issues, and many others, have been highlighted by civil society organisations and community members over many years, but it took catastrophic health and economic projections to force

government action.⁵⁵ Not only will withdrawing these and other measures too early create a deeper and longer economic crisis; the measures have also met pre-existing social needs that were inadequately addressed before COVID-19.

To properly address the insecurities and inequalities that have been exposed and deepened by the pandemic, a Real Deal would infuse market and state practices with the experience, knowledge and interests of civil society. We can see the makings of Real Deals happening all over the place during the pandemic, most vividly at the neighbourhood and household scale. Throughout the pandemic, people have been sustained by non-market care and community work, from elder and childcare in the home to networks of mutual aid. These practices have filled gaps left by a contracting market economy and incomplete policy responses. They show how wellbeing can be promoted, but only if the inequalities in the provisioning of both paid and unpaid care are addressed. We know that care responsibilities fall unequally on women,⁵⁶ and that this was exacerbated during isolation.⁵⁷ Genuine collaboration with civil society could help the government identify policies that remedy the unequal experience of work and care, allowing public investment to become strategies for reducing gender inequality.⁵⁸

The timing of COVID-19 has also revealed new connections between different forms of inequality. The Black Lives Matter protests a few months into the pandemic shone a light on the most pressing form of marginalisation in Australia. As the world's attention shifted to police violence in the United States, First



Nations peoples again highlighted the systemic injustices faced by Indigenous communities in Australia, including the 432 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people who have died in custody since the 1991 Royal Commission on the issue. These numbers are indicative of systemic injustices that reach well beyond the criminal justice system and across the entire lives of First Nations peoples.⁵⁹ Many of the drivers of over-incarceration—punitive and meagre income support, insecure and overcrowded housing, underinvestment in community-led services—were exposed on a larger scale as public health issues in the context of COVID-19. First Nations justice on all issues from sovereignty and country to health and incarceration is central to a Real Deal.

Finally, the COVID-19 lockdown, following Australia’s devastating summer bushfire season and prolonged drought conditions, further exposed the risks and policy challenges of the climate crisis. Like movements for racial justice, protest action, such as those led by youth climate strikers, has been critical in reigniting national and international conversations about climate change. There are some important differences between COVID-19 and climate change. COVID-19 was experienced as an immediate shock, while climate change is more cumulative. Yet there are also important points of connection. Both stem from damaging relationships between economy and environment and show the economic and social risks that result.⁶⁰ The economic impact of the climate change-induced bushfires almost pushed the Australian economy into recession. The much wider impacts of the lockdown, however, illustrated the systemic risks of environmental shocks that undermine the

conditions for a healthy workforce, community and economy, risks that will multiply as climate change intensifies.

Across intersecting inequalities of race, justice, care, gender, work, climate, and citizenship, we need policy settings that address the root causes of the social and economic problems exposed by COVID-19, not only to buoy us through this crisis, but to equip us to deal better with other equally foreseeable crises, such as the climate crisis. While we need to put in place policy frameworks that are more sensitive to inequality when a crisis hits, a more democratic and transformative response would strive to reverse their structural causes in the first place.



**3. WE NEED BOLD COMMUNITY
VISION FOR AN ECONOMY
THAT SERVES US ALL, AND A
PLAN TO MAKE IT HAPPEN**

Immediate responses to the pandemic taught us that crises can invite us to think differently about what is possible and how those new futures can be achieved. We need to keep this mindset.

The starting point for post-pandemic planning should be a far-reaching assessment of what is needed to build a people- and planet-centred economy and government, rather than policy reform or aggregate spending goals for their own sake.

We need to know where we are headed before we design the industries and institutions to get us there. Once a vision is clear, communities can build a plan to make it happen. Planning is critical because it allows communities to assert some control over an otherwise uncertain future.

There are six essential areas that a Real Deal must address:

1. First Nations sovereignty: Since invasion, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people have fought for recognition as the First Peoples of this land. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people have lived in and cared for their lands for more than 65,000 years. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities know how to nurture this place and understand its cultural and spiritual significance. White Australia has failed to recognise First Nations sovereignty. More than this, it continues to repeat much of the original violence of colonialism, taking land for farming and mining, removing children, perpetuating disadvantage in health, housing and with continued deaths in

custody, and denying First Nations their own political voice. A treaty—or treaties—that transforms the relationship between Australian governments and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, based on First Nations sovereignty is a precondition of any Real Deal.

2. Care: The COVID-19 pandemic has elevated the fundamental importance of care. High quality and dignified healthcare, childcare, disability care and aged care are foundations for a healthy economy and society. The experiences of those cared for must inform how care works. The care economy goes beyond these care sectors and extends through our systems of provision, also known as our foundational economy: food, education, housing, essential services and infrastructure, arts and culture.⁶¹ It includes care for the environment and care for each other in our communities, workplaces and homes. Indeed, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander notions of Caring for Country, based on connection to and stewardship of land, have enriched what is now called Australia for millennia.

3. Climate: COVID-19 has been a wake-up call for the risks of climate change. Australia urgently needs to decarbonise to tackle climate change and the multiple and cascading shocks it will deliver to ecological systems. This includes the water systems that support economies and societies around the world and the protection of the natural environment to prevent biodiversity collapse. This will require a multi-pronged plan to transform energy, manufacturing, transport and agriculture, the creation of employment-rich zero carbon industries,⁶²

strategies to ensure Aboriginal community economic control of development for projects on Indigenous Land, and transformative forms of adaptation and biodiversity protection.⁶³

4. Work: COVID-19 has re-centred work as an essential feature not only of economic development, but for providing for people's needs. Work takes place everywhere; paid work occurs alongside many examples of unpaid work that take place in households and communities. To build a better economy we need to guarantee well-paid, secure jobs that nourish the social and environmental foundations of life. This means tackling the scourge of precarious work, supporting living wages and workplace rights, including for migrant workers, and making space in the economy for small businesses and cooperative enterprises to thrive. We need liveable incomes for people whether or not they are in paid work.⁶⁴ We also need new ways of recognising the contribution of unpaid work by supporting incomes and resourcing communities. This should generate a wider discussion that can reimagine what our labour is for and who gets to decide.

5. Justice: The success of a Real Deal hinges on fostering of solidarity across difference. Genuine solidarity depends on justice. There can never be a unified Australia without Indigenous justice, economic justice, racial justice and climate justice.⁶⁵ COVID-19 has revealed that the pursuit of justice across these dimensions can also be deeply interconnected, ranging from anything from rights to assembly to access to the



social goods, such as housing, education and healthcare, that allow people to live with dignity. The achievement of justice depends too on fair decision-making processes, affirming the importance of participation and collaboration.⁶⁶ A justice lens invites us to draw linkages across interests, identities and places as we conceive of long-term policy solutions.

6. Citizenship: Democracy works when those who encounter challenges are treated as partners in developing solutions—when people are considered citizens rather than clients or consumers. Social institutions work best when they build relationships with people rather than seeing them as vulnerable people in need of protection. The active participation of citizens is based on the principle of “nothing about us without us.” It should include everyone who calls Australia home and not operate on an exclusionary basis according to race or country of origin. A fuller vision for citizenship goes well beyond voting in elections and includes democratic participation in the direction of public policy, not-for-profits, workplaces, and cities and regions. A global vision of citizenship in a multicultural country like Australia must also balance, on a non-discriminatory basis, health-related border controls with rights to international mobility.



These six areas bring into focus the shape as well as the size of our economy. Through the deep democratic involvement of people in the process of economic transformation, people's needs can be met, and more importantly, people can have a greater say in the future.

Bold plans for what we need from our economy, state and society help break down siloed and segmented approaches to big problems. For instance, we do not need separate jobs, climate and citizenship plans. Instead we can set goals that integrate these different areas across policymaking, business and community action. Planning across questions of work, care and climate, for example, can ensure that public investment comes with social, cultural and environmental co-benefits⁶⁷ such as improving the quality and accessibility of childcare, Aboriginal-owned renewable energy or retrofitting buildings to make them more climate resilient.

The wins here are potentially multiple. We can win more than one thing at once. For example, investment in the skills and wages of care workers will lift wellbeing across society, by closing gender pay gaps and promoting female labour force participation in other industries. Similarly, multifaceted policy can build better quality housing while moving us towards a zero carbon economy. Public investment needs to be guided by economic and wellbeing considerations, not partisan calculations. Here, we need improved measures of what a good economy looks like in order to make plans and monitor progress.

Big investment needs to be accompanied by a bold vision for the role of government in our economy and society—a vision that boosts democracy and citizen capacity and makes structural reforms that reshape markets in socially and environmentally beneficial ways. Big investment should support big social change, both by drawing on the substantial taxation and monetary powers of governments to finance what we need more of, such as renewable energy, quality care services and social housing, but also redirecting resources away from what we need less of, such as coal and gas, prisons and concentrated wealth. Governments will not do this automatically; they need to be led by communities.





REAL SOLUTION

COOPERATIVE POWER

A case study from our partner organisations the United Workers Union and Victoria Trades Hall

Cooperative Power reimagines the principles underlying energy investment in Australia from commercial goals to social justice, democracy and cooperative ownership.

Electricity provision in Australia is currently structured through market principles and private ownership. This has locked in fossil fuel-intensive infrastructure, led to significant increases in power bills, and eroded working conditions for those employed in the sector. People currently have limited power over the shape of the energy system. While some have invested in household solar or set up community wind farms, these actions are currently out of reach for most people, especially for those on low incomes and for renters.



Cooperative Power is an energy retailer currently operating in Victoria, South-East Queensland, NSW, Australian Capital Territory, and South Australia that is cooperatively owned by unions, community and environmental groups, and other cooperatives. It aims to build energy democracy in Australia, using the collective power of its members to source and support clean energy at affordable prices. Rather than profits

being distributed to shareholders, the cooperative invests in initiatives with social and environmental benefits. For example, during COVID-19, Cooperative Power enabled its members to provide solidarity credits that reduced the power bills of members experiencing hardship.

Cooperative Power mixes together Real Deal areas of work, citizenship, climate and justice

into an overarching plan for energy transformation. Cooperative Power prefigures what a Real Deal could be, demonstrating that cooperative relationships between workers and communities can generate a sustainable economy. It shows that when built from the grassroots and energised by the resources of civil society organisations, radically new ways of powering our economy are possible.

REAL SOLUTION

THE HESTA CLIMATE CHANGE TRANSITION PLAN

A case study from HESTA

HESTA, the health industry superfund, is developing a Climate Change Transition Plan that will shift its investment strategy to secure the returns of its members in the face of the financial risks of climate change, seeking as a non-state actor to shape the climate transition in the process. It has vision and a plan to make it happen.

The climate transition is happening. The only question is how, and how quickly, it will occur. This is what the UN Principles for Responsible Investment call “the inevitable policy response” to climate change. Accordingly, climate change is a financial risk not only because of the physical impacts of phenomena such



as sea level rise, but also because of a poorly managed transition.

Industry superannuation funds invest the retirement savings of millions of Australian workers. As large institutional investors, they act as universal owners that have stakes across the different sectors of the economy, some of which, such as coal, are facing structural decline as a result of the climate transition. As such, the portfolios of industry super funds are potentially highly exposed to the risks of climate change but can also play an important role in actively shaping climate transition.

Fossil fuels are located throughout supply chains across the economy that HESTA and other investors remain exposed to. To date, investor action on climate change has tended to be either not substantive enough,


such as disclosure regimes, or limited in scope, such as individual responsible portfolios. The challenge is for institutional investors to coordinate with each other, their members and climate-affected communities, to change the financial system to be fit for the purpose in an era of climate change.

HESTA, the health industry superannuation fund, is developing a Climate Change Transition Plan that will shift its investment strategy. The strategy has various components including divestment or avoidance—initially of soon to be ‘stranded’ thermal coal assets—active ownership strategies to decarbonise supply chains, and investment in emerging low carbon sectors.

HESTA seeks to contribute to the real-world economic transformations

that are needed to meet the climate goals of the Paris Agreement. In doing so, HESTA aims to secure the returns of its members in the face of the financial risks of climate change. At the same time, it is also responding to the engagement of members who have highlighted the health risks of climate change in their working and everyday lives.





**4. A REAL DEAL IS
GENERATED BY THE ACTIVE
PARTICIPATION OF PEOPLE
IN DECISIONS THAT AFFECT
THEM**

It is not enough to identify what we need from policy. It is just as important how the policy is created. Positive change isn't handed down by appointed representatives and designed in isolation by experts. A Real Deal is generated by the active participation of people in decisions that affect them. It requires creating the space for people with lived experience to tell policymakers, researchers, politicians and businesses what changes they need to be able to live well. Most particularly, people who have been actively marginalised or overlooked in traditional policymaking processes need to play a central role in the creation of a Real Deal.

A Real Deal represents a different kind of policymaking process. The best economic and public health responses to COVID-19 were delivered when governments listened to those with policy expertise and connection to community. But the urgency of the situation was not conducive to participation on a broad scale, leading to the marginalisation of many voices.

During the pandemic's isolation periods a popular phrase was "we are all in this together." It was a simple narrative that resonated with our common experience of isolation, but it failed to account for the deep differences among us. Some people, often women, were balancing work and young children, some were managing older relatives. Some experienced an escalation in domestic violence. Some remained in immigration detention. Some faced racism in the streets and online. In particular, Asian Australians have reported experiencing racial abuse linked to the pandemic.⁷⁰ Many experienced a decline in mental health, some for the first time.⁷¹ Poverty was a cruel master, denying those who fell through

income support cracks access to basic needs. To many more it denied the technology that they needed to socially participate during isolation. Existing socio-economic divides between regions and families translated into differing levels of resources for learning from home, compounding educational disadvantage.⁷² Isolation also created new challenges for people with disabilities. People with disabilities reported difficulties in affording or accessing essential items such as groceries and fewer or inadequate disability support services, such as the experience of the autistic community under Telehealth.⁷³

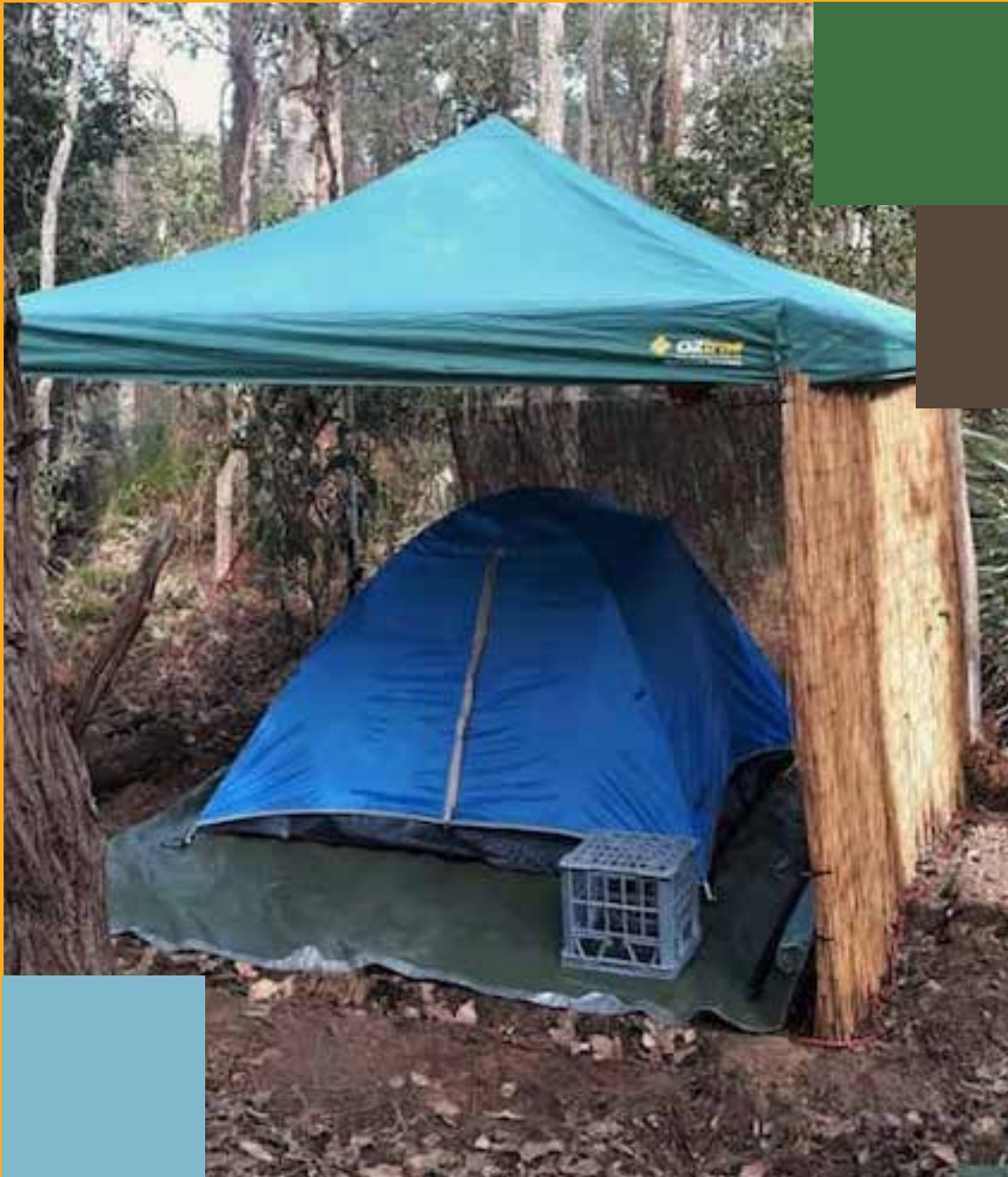
Public debate during the COVID-19 period frequently lacked the voices of those constituencies who could articulate their experience and what they needed to make life better. Isolation intensified the divide between who was visible and who was not in public policy debate. During isolation, the number of spokespeople in public debate narrowed. Those with an already existing representative status, mainly politicians and some business leaders, had their role amplified. Conversely, we infrequently heard from those with lived experience in public discussion. This needs to change.

Nonetheless, there were examples of powerful people-centred advocacy during isolation. The National Aboriginal Community Controlled Health Organisation (NACCHO) coordinated a response to the unique needs of Indigenous communities by successfully advocating for and implementing controls on access to remote communities, guidelines for testing, isolation and treatment, health workforce planning and communication resources. The

success of this approach in limiting infection spread demonstrated the power of self-determining priorities, resourcing and solutions in Indigenous health to address community needs that could guide wider systemic change.⁷⁴ Among unions, there was the visible representation by education unions around the opening and closing of schools, the Australian Nurses and Midwifery Federation advocating for PPE, the United Workers Union advocating for COVID-safe workplaces and Victoria Trades Hall supporting migrant workers alongside a new civil society coalition called the National Coordination Group on COVID-19 and Vulnerable Migrants. Movement-building organisations like Tipping Point



helped national social movements stay connected online and adapted traditional offline movement practices, such as training and protest, to create online versions.⁷⁵ GetUp! created a platform called Viral Kindness that enabled people to connect with each other across 250 mutual aid groups. Civil society demonstrated extensive capacity for deeper democracy.



JUST HOME MARGARET RIVER'S COVID-19 HOUSING CRISIS CAMPAIGN

A case study from Just Home Margaret River and partner-researcher Dr Naomi Godden

Just Home Margaret River is a local, grassroots housing justice organisation run by people with lived experience of housing stress, homelessness, family and domestic violence and their allies. In partnership with the local council they organised and delivered a rapid and successful response to COVID-19 related housing crisis in Margaret River, demonstrating the power of community-state partnership and the efficacy of policy and service intervention designed by people with lived experience.

The Margaret River region of Western Australia is a popular holiday and sea-change location, with a highly unaffordable rental market and limited social housing capacity. Just Home Margaret River Inc. is a local grassroots housing justice organisation run by people with lived experience of housing stress, homelessness, family and domestic violence and their allies. As the COVID-19 pandemic accelerated in March 2020, Just Home recognised that the lockdown and associated economic shock would create housing vulnerability for low-income people, compound the danger to people experiencing family and domestic violence, and make people experiencing homelessness more vulnerable to the virus.

After meeting with other community organisations in March, Just Home

wrote to the local council requesting that local community groups be involved in the development of local government response. They suggested a variety of interventions including funding for emergency accommodation for people experiencing homelessness or family and domestic violence, additional emergency relief funding, the provision of hygiene packs and free transport to COVID-19 testing clinics, and additional subsidies for people on mental health plans.

The local council subsequently established a \$2 million COVID-19 relief fund with funding for community groups to provide services to the local community. Just Home partnered with a local community organisation to provide increased subsidies for people on mental health plans, additional

emergency relief vouchers, increased funding for the local soup kitchen, and provision of emergency accommodation. Using their pre-existing relationships in the community, Just Home negotiated favourable rates with local hotels and short-stay accommodation providers—who had empty rooms because of travel restrictions—and were able to arrange immediate housing for 18 local people experiencing homelessness, unemployment, and family and domestic violence.

Just Home's grassroots relationships and local knowledge were backed by the local council, and this case shows what community-state partnerships can achieve when local people are resourced to design and

manage their own interventions. However, Just Home faces a number of challenges going forward. Housing stress is rising in the region as tourists return to hotels and rooms are no longer available, and more people than ever are expressing interest in relocating to the region, putting further stress on an already unaffordable housing market. As the additional support of JobKeeper and JobSeeker are wound back, Just Home expects to see more people experiencing housing stress and homelessness. Just Home's current funding is insufficient to meet increasing local demands. Additional resourcing and urgent investment in social housing are needed for Just Home to continue its work when community need is at a peak.

The crisis of voice is a product of a broader and systemic crisis in democracy and association.

Decades of shrinking formal civil society organisations such as religious organisations and unions, combined with pressure on not-for-profits and charities to undertake service delivery rather than advocacy, has taken its toll.⁷⁶ Without spaces to gather, interpret and intermediate political life, it is harder for people to participate in democracy.

The democratic crisis manifests as a crisis in political trust. The statistics are galling. Just one in four Australians have confidence in their political leaders, representing the lowest figure since the constitutional crisis of 1975.⁷⁷ Only 59 percent are satisfied with how democracy works, a collapse of 27 points since 2007. Only one in ten Australians think the government is run for all the people. The failure to engage and listen to people has slowly eroded people's faith in the political process and public institutions.⁷⁸

Despite the pessimistic turn, there is evidence that people have an appetite for engagement on the issues that affect them, when they are given control over the process.⁷⁹ When people are listened to, when the process is focused on their lived experiences, when it fosters connection as well as outcome and where the goal is a meaningful improvement in their lives, people actively participate in democratic life.

Even during COVID-19, communities sought creatively to deploy digital tools to enable and facilitate collaboration. This is not new. Since the early 2000s, most civil society organisations have used a combination of email, peer to peer applications and social media

to supplement or replace face to face connection. Yet what was different after the first lockdown was that digital engagement massively expanded, most particularly to video conferencing. Three important insights emerged. First, digital engagement helped to cultivate stronger national relationships, especially between the east coast, regional towns, and the Northern Territory and Western Australia. Second, digital tools allowed for the affordable inclusion of mass members in meetings and organisational activity. Third, if provided in an inclusive way, these tools could have significant benefits for diversity and representation, such as for people with a disability.

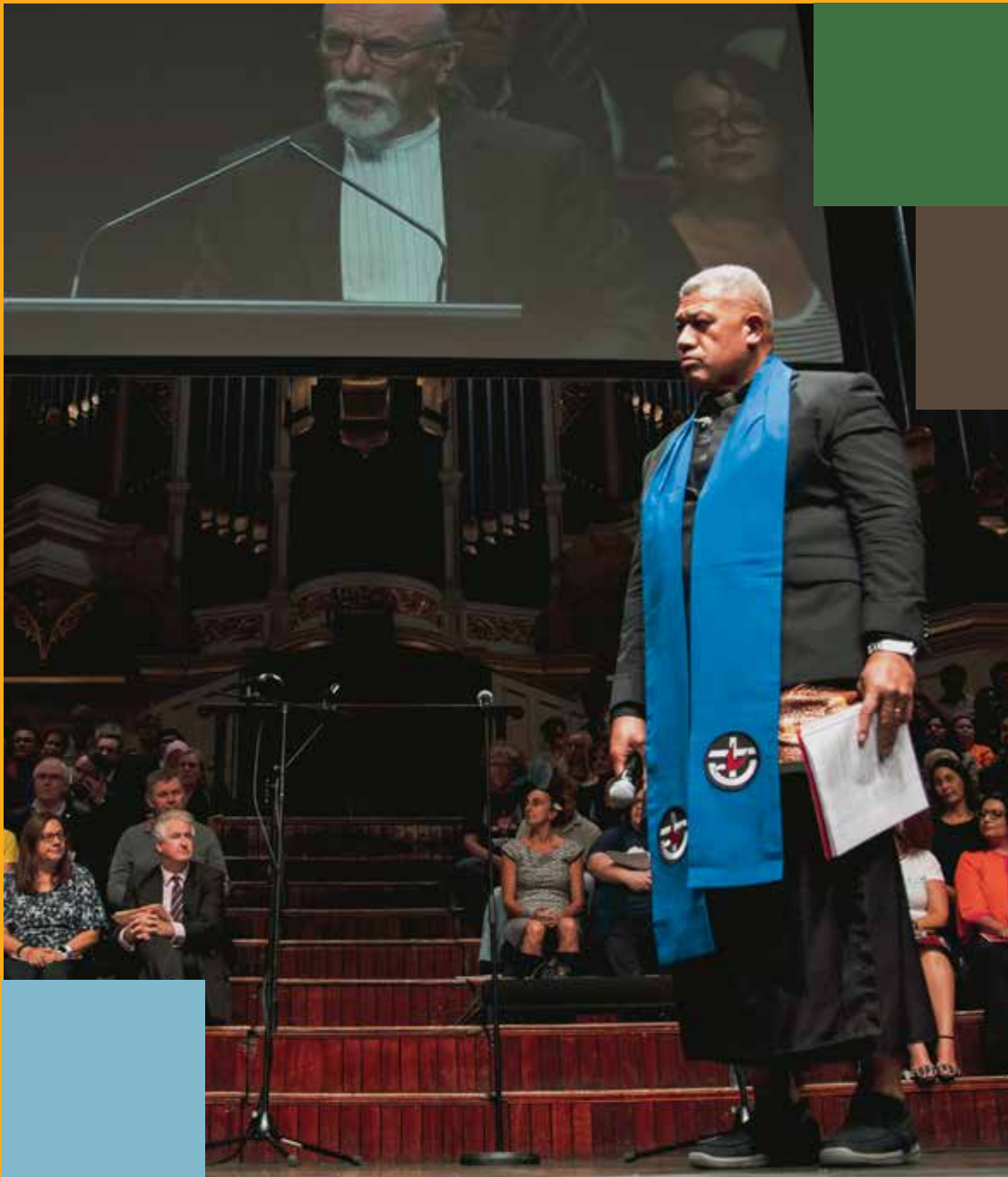
Critically, a Real Deal is about generating quality connections between people that can support the development of policies informed by a broad sample of lived experiences. A Real Deal is not simply about the opportunity to listen to someone else's broadcast, it is about deliberation on democratic life. Those at the frontlines of our interconnected crises—health, economy, climate, race—are best positioned to identify the problems that need to be overcome, and to work with others to lead the creation of solutions. This means actively involving First Nations communities; people with a disability and people experiencing homelessness; migrants, women and young people; employed and unemployed workers; contractors, freelancers and small businesses; carers and those who are cared for; those with experiences of poverty; and those from the regions and the suburbs.

Ideas and processes that enable people to participate in budgeting and other government decisions are essential. Deliberative

democracy allows people from diverse communities and places to negotiate and make decisions about specific policies and priorities that are needed. Rather than leaving decisions to the market and state, communities can play an active role in complex decision-making.

Listening is the first step towards communities taking control of their own pathways out of crisis. We need to create platforms that facilitate and resource community listening and action, and build governance structures that translate advocacy into accountability for the decisions of governments, businesses, not-for-profits and researchers.





REAL SOLUTION

VOICES FOR POWER

A case study from our partner organisation the Sydney Alliance

Voices for Power is a campaign that brings together leaders in Western Sydney from the Pacific, South Asian, Vietnamese, Philippine, Muslim, Middle Eastern Christian, and Jewish communities to determine solutions to energy stress for diverse, low socio-economic groups residing in the hottest part of Sydney.

Western Sydney is the most culturally diverse place in Australia. It also has many communities with low socio-economic status, a high density of social housing, and a high proportion of renters in some of the key cultural communities. Western Sydney is the hottest part of Sydney, with temperatures often reaching five degrees hotter than in other parts of Sydney.

Communities in Western Sydney are on the frontline of climate change

in urban Australia, yet energy policy and renewable energy initiatives pay no heed to the specific experiences of these communities. The high proportion renting or in social housing have limited ability to access renewable energy, and many struggle to pay their power bills. Consumer advocacy for culturally and linguistically diverse people in the energy sector is limited, with scarce information available in-language or delivered in culturally appropriate and inclusive ways.

and conduct listening in their own communities. They aimed to shift the political landscape on climate action in NSW by organising the voices of unlikely supporters. Voices for Power sees Western Sydney communities as the agents solving energy stress. Extended listening processes in language and in community revealed two areas for change: developing community energy hubs where communities are involved in education and outreach; and funding for a pilot social access solar garden in Western Sydney. These solutions break with the traditional siloed framing of policy—people-centred work identified that energy isn't a discrete issue, rather interlinked with concerns like housing, language and belonging. The Voices for Power approach breaks with standard policy models where decision makers use shallow



The Sydney Alliance, a social justice coalition of civil society organisations in Sydney, organised a coalition of seven communities in Western Sydney including community and religious leaders from the Pacific, South Asian, Vietnamese, Philippine, Muslim, Middle Eastern Christian, and Jewish communities to organise

yet endless rounds of consultative engagement. Voices for Power's community-led model that enables residents to create their own solutions to energy stress. Our Real

Deal coalition argues that this kind of collaborative policy development is what needs to occur at scale across Australia.



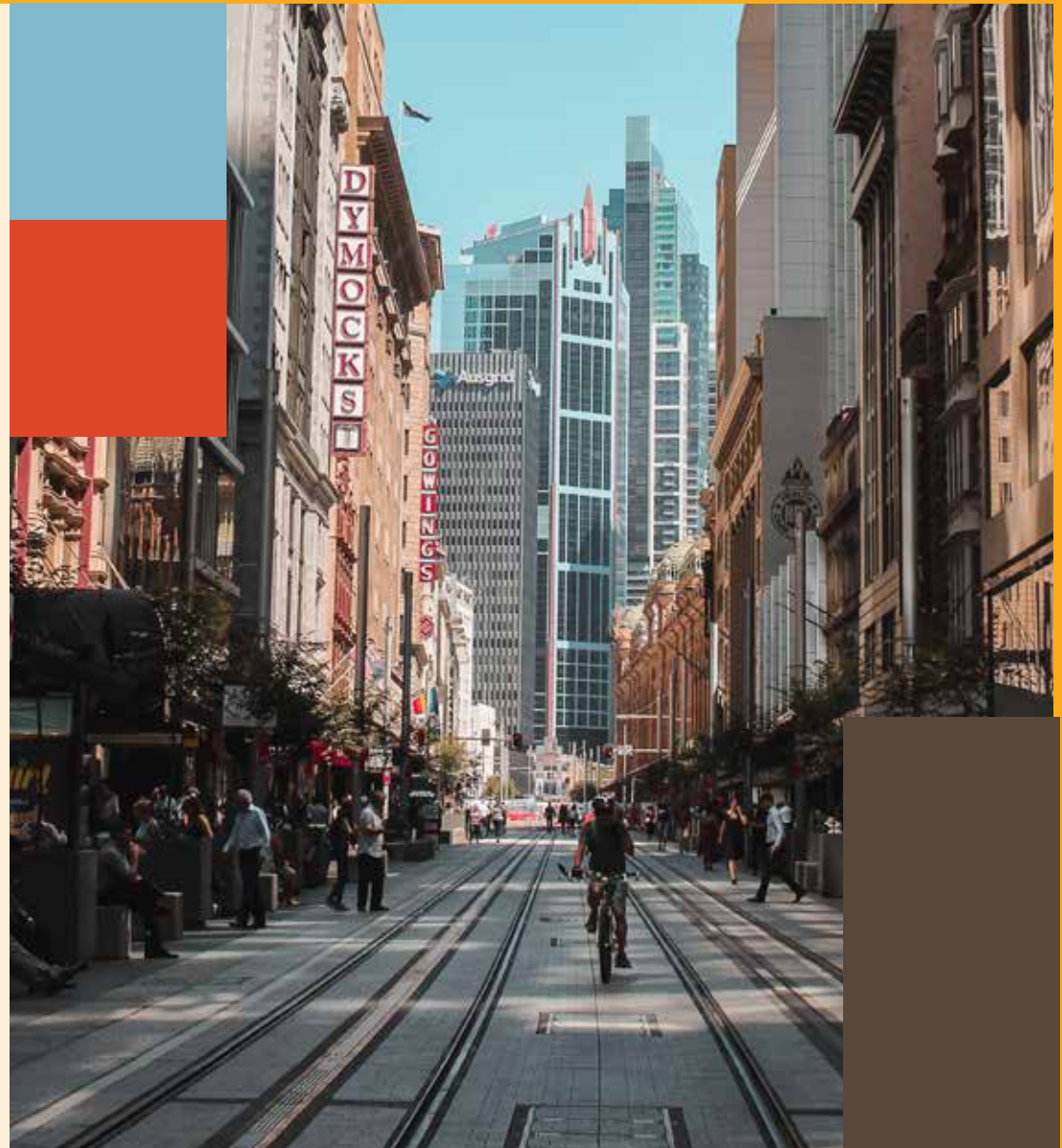
REAL SOLUTION

THE CITY OF SYDNEY'S CLIMATE ADAPTATION PLANNING

A case study from our partner organisation the Sydney Environment Institute, prepared by Schlosberg, Collins and Niemeyer (2016)

The City of Sydney engaged the Sydney Environment Institute to develop a deliberative process led by residents, resulting in a climate adaptation plan backed by the community and bolstered by deep relationships and shared responsibility for change.

Climate change is actively contested in the press even though the science is clear. Social, cultural, and ideological challenges still make sensible policy responses incredibly difficult. Climate change is already



causing unprecedented devastation through drought and extreme bushfires. While it can be challenging to develop national political action on climate change, there is still plenty that can be done at the local scale.

To confront this policy dilemma, the City of Sydney undertook a deliberative, resident-led process to see if deep engagement, information and discussion could produce useful

results. Partnering with academics, they added a deliberative engagement process to the development of the council's climate adaptation plan. A diverse group of randomly selected residents took part in deliberations across two and a half days, including briefings from the council about climate change, as well as planning work in small groups and plenary.


The process had powerful policy



and citizenship outcomes. The participants evaluated and significantly improved both the risks identified and policies proposed in the draft adaptation plan originally developed by traditional consultants. Deliberative discussions saw a series of new topics and concerns added, building off residents' own lived experience.

Equally powerfully, the process had citizenship outcomes. Residents took their role seriously, not only seeing their work as critical for policy formation but also believed that other residents should have an opportunity to participate in a similar experience. The process also favourably changed participants' approaches to other residents, even those for whom they had previously indicated that they held little regard prior to the deliberation.

This project was a small pilot with profound possibility if undertaken in more Australian localities. To make that happen would require funding from the State and Federal Governments and political leadership from local councils. To help shift this, a series of civil society and professional associations, including Sydney Environment Institute, Future Earth and the Academy of Science have been working to support deliberative adaptation strategies in response to the bushfires. They are convening a national adaptation summit in 2021 to help prosecute this ambitious vision of collaborative people-led climate adaptation across Australia.⁸⁰



**5. COLLABORATION IS THE
FOUNDATION FOR A REAL
DEAL THAT CAN DELIVER
LONG-LASTING SOLUTIONS**

At the heart of the best of our reactions to the COVID-19 crisis has been a capacity to collaborate across difference. Neighbours took up the call to check in on each other, with massive mutual aid groups forming to support suburbs and towns. Collaboration spread across formal civil society, research and policymaking forums, of which the Real Deal coalition is an example. We have seen novel but fragile instances of collaboration between unions, government and business, and between Federal and State Governments. The multi-dimensional nature of the crises we are facing—health, economic, race and climate—has made plain the indelible connections between our economy, environment and society and the recognition that no one can solve these challenges alone.

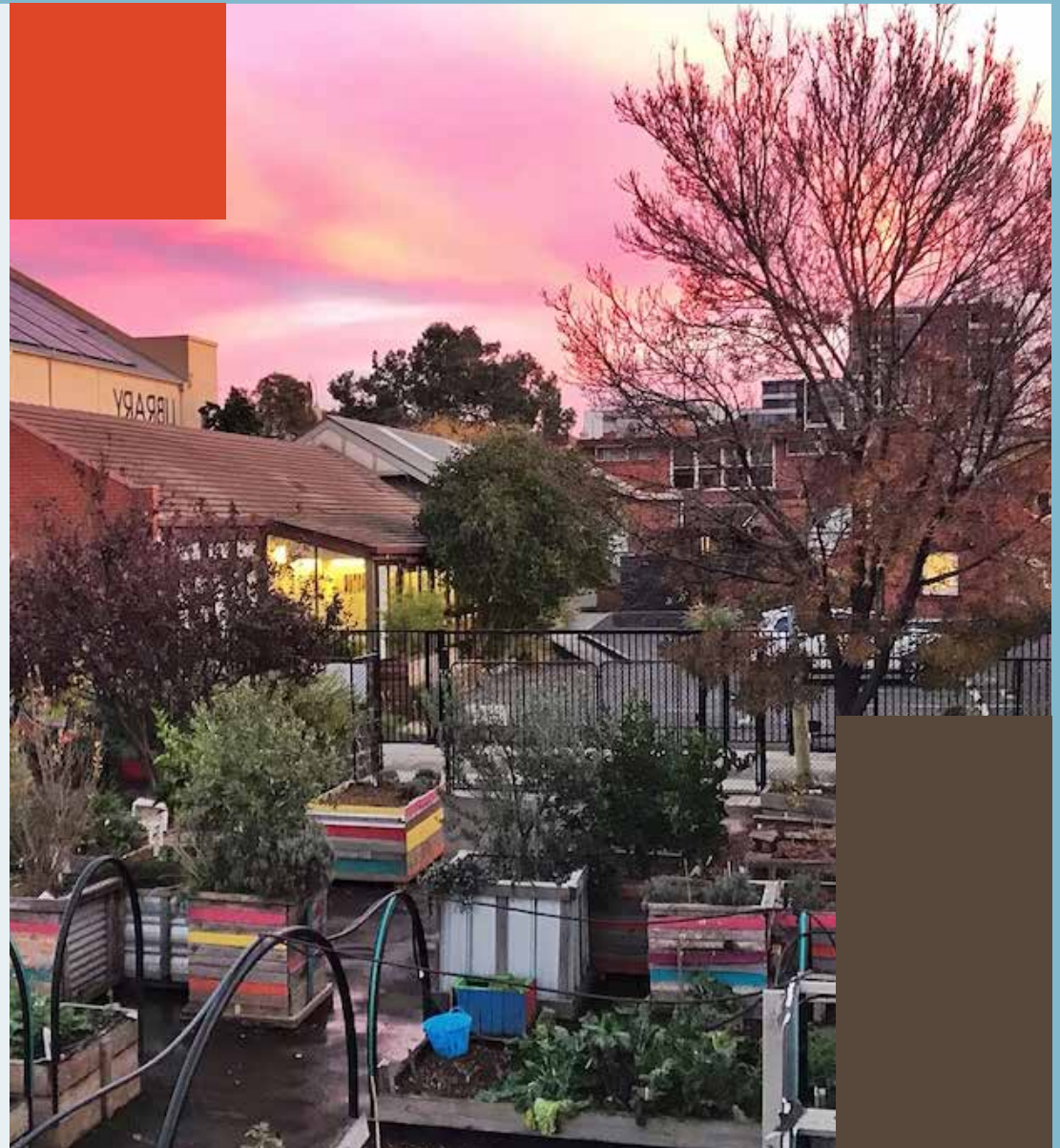


REAL SOLUTION ECOLOGICAL JUSTICE FOOD HUB

A case study from our partner organisation Jesuit Social Services

The Jesuit Social Services (JSS) Ecological Justice Hub in inner Melbourne aims to address disadvantage in the community through ecological means. To do this, the Hub grows and distributes organic produce in an urban farm, operates community-based energy and engages in training and advocacy around ecological justice.

As COVID-19 hit, the work of local homeless kitchens and food distribution services was badly disrupted. They had lost volunteers, could not assemble people in dining rooms, with stocks of non-perishables building up and a shortage of ready-made fresh food to share. This meant people facing illness, quarantine or self-isolation





in the homes, flats and rougher parts of the community were soon going to miss out on decent food. The Hub pivoted to prepare and deliver meals and food packs throughout the local area, coordinating with the local council and existing agencies. The Hub drew on the skills of its members to develop a COVID-safe strategy for harvesting, catering and distributing healthy and culturally-

appropriate meals twice per week across Kensington, Fawkner, North Carlton, Coburg, Pascoe Vale, West Brunswick and Preston.

The immediate goal of the program was to use the resources and ethos of the Ecological Justice Hub to meet a new kind of community marginalisation by supporting food security. In the longer term, the program is building skills for on-going agency with ecological-economic literacy training, supported by several positions funded by the Working for Victoria employment scheme. Ultimately, the aim is to accompany and empower communities as they chart a course beyond conventional charity models, through practices of mutual aid that restore relationships with nature and each other. The Ecological Justice Hub seeks to demonstrate how this can be done by communities working in practical projects that address social and environmental dimensions of marginalisation.

A Real Deal that connects the challenges we face requires dexterity in coordinating the resourcing and implementation of plans across sectors and society. It needs to nest local, national and international contexts to make space for community planning while guarding against the inflexible and inward gaze that can attend to economic nationalism. As with climate change, truly global crises like COVID-19 show the need for more international coordination of fiscal resources, health systems, and the movement of people, goods, services and capital.

Indeed, the inequalities that have been exacerbated by COVID-19 in Australia have been felt even more extremely in developing countries where informal labour markets are the norm—meaning lockdown displaced the livelihoods of billions—and in places, even middle income countries, that lack the fiscal and monetary levers and welfare states enjoyed by wealthier countries.⁸¹ The levers that are available to governments in countries like Australia need to be mobilised and deployed in a globally coordinated way.

We need to learn from best practice around the world, while also supporting proven solutions in Australia. Communities, academic experts and civil society organisations constantly put forward proven policy solutions that are not adequately funded by governments. These solutions are often most effective where they are coordinated through place-based and locally-led community initiatives.

The coordination challenge is significant, but not insurmountable. The capacity of public institutions to guide transformational

change has been actively diminished. We see this in many of the policy mistakes made in health and economic responses to COVID-19. The mistakes made in Victoria's hotel quarantine showed the dangers of contracting out key government roles. In a Real Deal, genuine collaboration between the state, the market and civil society is needed to avoid privatised or siloed alternatives. This will require new institutions and fair ways of paying for them, including a public sector with more capacity, and with responsive connections to the community. More cooperative and democratic forms of ownership should be considered. Most importantly, we need coalitions operating at different scales to manage and drive coordination.

Analysis of coalition building can help us successfully expand collaboration, because not all coalitions are made equal. There are teachable practices that reveal why some coalitions succeed and others fail that are often counter-intuitive, especially in the context of a crisis.

First, intentionally building strong relationships ahead of action is more likely to lead to long term successful collaboration.

Where relationships precede action it is easier for the coalition's core concerns to be negotiated and shared across the mutual interests of many parties, rather than just in the interests of the instigator or larger party.⁸² Moreover, interpersonal trust and understanding across difference is much more easily generated when a coalition walks before it runs. Yet often in a crisis institutions want to move quickly and transactionally, bypassing the relationship-building stage in order to get to action. Even

outside of a crisis, plenty of institutions don't value relationship-building work. Culturally, shifting to embrace collaboration involves mainstreaming relational practice and skills. This is not new. It is a common cultural practice among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities. Usefully over the last 15 years these kinds of practice have become more widespread and accessible through the mainstreaming of community organising in civil society,⁸³ in cutting-edge leadership training in business schools,⁸⁴ and through the Relational Method as a tool for co-designing research with community participants in universities.⁸⁵

Second, collaboration is often stronger if it is narrower, captured by the idea less is more.⁸⁶ A smaller number of collaborative partners with a deeper set of mutual interests is likely to deliver more collaborative capacity. Thus, large stakeholder roundtables are less likely to create change than a handpicked small network of interested parties. Collective impact projects frequently model this kind of work, focusing on bringing in partners deeply committed to a shared agenda and requiring a high level of commitment to work on a core problem, in contrast to creating partnerships with a broad but relatively uncommitted coalition.⁸⁷

Third, an analytical understanding of power is vital. The soft skills of relationality must be held in tension with the hard skills of power analysis for a collaborative strategy to be effective. Collaborators must have an eye to how power is to be built and to be wielded. When it comes to building power, collaborators work with organisations that have large, deep connections with priority communities. Civil society is diverse, filled with large organisations

but also with small organisations with few active people. Power analysis helps collaborators work with groups that are full of people. When it comes to wielding power, power analysis is about having a focused understanding of your purpose. This includes knowing what you want to change, the relevant decision maker, who influences that person and the kinds of activity you can do to shift them. On top of this, understanding power means cultivating a culture of accountability and learning between the partners, ensuring that partners do what they say they will do and evaluating how you work to strengthen the collaboration as you make change.

Fourth, strong coalitions are participatory. Strong collaboration doesn't just involve staff but cultivates open, active relationships with a broad constituency, including those with the lived experience of the issue being confronted. This is the hardest part



of collaboration, yet it is the most important. Collaboration needs to provide space for people to solve their own problems. When policymaking denies communities a voice and the power to shape change, the politics of reaction emerge. Resourcing participatory collaboration allows communities to negotiate their future, rather than feeling like they are in yet another disingenuous consultation.



REAL SOLUTION A DIVERSE AND RESILIENT FUTURE FOR THE HUNTER VALLEY

In the Hunter Valley—Australia's largest coal mining region and home to significant defence, manufacturing, agriculture and tourism industry—not-for-profit groups, the business community, councils and unions are collaborating to create plans for the region in anticipation of the economic and other risks posed by shifting away from carbon intensive industries too late.

The Hunter Valley is home to several important industries. It houses Australia's largest coal mining region, directly employing 14,000 people and indirectly 40,000 through related services and supply jobs

and contributing \$4 billion direct expenditure into the local economy. The coal export industry is a large part of the Hunter economy, and Australia's largest contributor to climate change. The Hunter also hosts four large power stations supplying 30 percent of NSW's power needs, a significant defence industry, manufacturing industry, and agriculture including thoroughbred horse breeding, wine and associated tourism, which contributed \$500 million to the Hunter economy prior to the restriction of movement during the pandemic.

Reliance on the thermal coal market creates a huge risk for the economy and people of the Hunter. It is well-recognised by government, business and community that the export coal market is in steady terminal decline as customer countries

switch their energy mixes to meet emissions targets. The Hunter is not prepared for the changes ahead. The shift in the global market will create significant disruption to the local economy, business owners, workers and families unless early preparations are made to diversify the economy. Experience from other regions around the world shows that once coal transitions begin, they pick up speed and leave devastated communities in their wake.

The community knows that to get through this they need to build strong relationships across diverse networks and together make long-term plans for their economic future. Planning must include all sectors and arms of the Hunter community including business, government, not-for-profit groups, residents and workers. A series of collaborations

have formed in the past five years to create a vision of a diverse and resilient future Hunter, including the Hunter Renewal project, Beyond Zero Emissions, the Hunter Jobs Alliance led by unions, the Hunter Community Alliance led by churches and not-for-profit groups, and the Hunter Joint Organisations' 2050 Foundation.

The greatest challenge for the Hunter is a lack of funding and policy support from State and Federal Governments to unlock and fast-track the opportunities for diversification of industry and jobs.

Timeframes and plans from the State Government do not match the scale and urgency of the situation. For a successful transformation of the Hunter, the process must be locally-led, independent of political cycles and inclusive. The Hunter is in a strong position to rise to the challenge of making the transition with infrastructure, skilled workers, land and research and development, but there must be government support and decisive action to clear the roadblocks to renewal.

Research can strengthen the coordination and collaboration needed for a Real Deal. This coordinative capacity can be supported substantively and relationally.

Substantively, COVID-19 has opened up new space for interdisciplinary collaborations between, for example, economists and public health experts. Interdisciplinary research teams have an important role to play in building relationships, broadening possibilities and raising expectations. It can play an important role in fostering the conditions for transformative change by equipping communities to do research as part, and in support, of taking action. Universities, themselves hit hard by the impacts of COVID-19, can be places that bring people from diverse backgrounds together to help them change the world.

Relationally, the very act of bringing together the Real Deal project has involved the slow steady work of strong relationship-based practice. Our combination of partners was drawn together slowly, a year before COVID-19, with a focus on strong relationships where participants could grow to understand one another's interests. We sought out climate, union, business and community groups with deep memberships and networks, so that even with a small number we could reach broad constituencies. That said, we are aware of our own gaps and continue to actively seek relationships with new constituencies. Participation practices are building in the project. The report features many case studies, and it launches with a webinar involving a large, diverse group of participants, ensuring that the content of the report is connected to the membership base of all the organisations and beyond. Our

intention is to engage in deep, participatory work, including long-term, place-based research collaboration to put communities at the centre of efforts to create a Real Deal.

A combination of internal and external factors is supporting this strong foundation. Everyone in our team has experience traversing civil society, policy, business and political life as well as working in the university, creating the relational and mindset flexibility to build diverse connections. But we also stand on the shoulders of the practices of community organising, and its powerful relational participatory focus, evident in the case study from the Queensland Community Alliance. Moreover, the very practice of co-design means our communities and businesses will always be central to the success of the project.

REAL SOLUTION

A MULTIPLICITY OF COLLABORATIONS TO COMBAT LONELINESS

A case study from our partner organisation Queensland Community Alliance

In Queensland, collaboration was the central ingredient to overcome the epidemic of loneliness. The Queensland Community Alliance collaborated to develop a real solution working across civil society, with researchers and with the State and Federal Government. They created a new role called a Link Worker to better connect patients and health providers in the health system.

In 2017, the former US Surgeon General Vivek Murthy declared an epidemic of loneliness. In a 2018 Australian survey, 50 percent of respondents said they felt lonely





(QCA) is a diverse coalition of religious organisations, unions, and community organisations that represents 36 organisations across South-East Queensland. It regularly conducts what it calls listening campaigns to understand what is happening among its member organisations and uses that listening to ground its approach to policy.

In 2017, in a QCA listening campaign in the Mount Gravatt area, participants heard a series of devastating stories about members of their churches who experienced loneliness. The group was moved to work on this issue, and they formed a team to identify solutions.

in the past week. The same study found that loneliness afflicts people of all ages, genders and cultural backgrounds.⁸⁸

The Queensland Community Alliance

To understand the problem, QCA built a collaborative relationship with University of Queensland (UQ) researchers. The researchers had evidence that loneliness had a severe consequence on the health

system, with the chronically lonely often frequently attending hospitals and General Practices at great cost to the system, but without great benefit to the patient; the visits didn't meet their need to create social connection. The evidence was that the lonely don't need further medical solutions, but rather they need social connective solutions, such as social prescribing.

Social prescribing is a way of funding workers who can link patients in primary care with sources of group support within the community. It provides medical professionals with a non-medical referral. QCA and UQ researchers developed the name Link Worker to describe the connective workers that the system needed. This collaborative solution is not nearly as expensive as a medical intervention. Implicit in the policy is

that it is not money that is limiting the provision of effective support to the lonely, but rather the current culture of disconnection between health and community institutions. As one leader explained: "If a doctor says 'get out more' to someone with complex needs, they are unlikely to break the habit. But if someone goes with you into those spaces, someone who knows you and the system, then they can help new habits form." By moving through the system, the Link Worker can change the culture of that system, softening it so that person-first outcomes can be found for the chronically lonely.

To create resources for the first Link Worker, QCA and UQ built a relationship with the government, first through the local member in Mount Gravatt and then to the State Health Minister. Using a

sophisticated analysis of power and matching the interests of the community with the interests of the government, QCA built support from the Queensland Department of Health for a three year trial. They were so successful that the Federal Government also came on board to resource a second worker for three years.

The healthcare system requires a commitment to relationality underpinned by an understanding of the social determinants of health. We imagine a future where thousands of people are link workers and bridge-builders within hospitals, general practice clinics and the community, able to address the intersections of the root causes of the isolation, collectively.

The Link Workers solution has become symbolic of the kinds of

reforms required in the culture of our modern public institutions. It reveals how a Real Deal between the market, state and civil society is truly a multifaceted and broad-based transformation. One cannot solve loneliness, or the impenetrability of health institutions, with the stroke of a pen. While resources are critical, so is a culture where a different kind of work flourishes.

The pursuit of cultural change has taken QCA to work with general practice clinics, and to explore new kinds of practice where doctors can be advocates for social isolation. Similar to other chronic, expansive and systemic problems such as mental illness, real solutions to loneliness require the disorganising and reorganising of how we work together.

NEXT STEPS

These five benchmarks are the beginning of the Real Deal story. We have written them to provide a new way of thinking about the challenges we face and the policy reforms that we need to seek out. We present them as a reference point, as an anchor, for future work.

The Real Deal is an invitation to think differently about the shape of our economy and government by insisting that without civil society they will not succeed in creating a better public life in and beyond the pandemic. Whether it is the lives of residents, workers and families in aged care or the ecological life of renewable energy, elevating the needs of people by working actively with civil society creates a better economy. Civil society also makes relevant and real an often disconnected and untrusted political life. Not only does civil society help us break down unproductive debates between the market or the state, it can also reshape how both relate to everyday life.

In identifying this new way of shaping public life in Australia we are building on the knowledge that the Australian people have risen powerfully out of crises before. From guaranteeing a fair day's work for a fair day's pay, to investment in post-war nation-building infrastructure, to creating a system of healthcare for all,

to protecting world heritage areas and urban green space, social and environmental gains have been won when crises have been met with concerted and collaborative public action. Across these changes, the one thing that limited a truly egalitarian spirit was when too few people were part of creating them. Today we know that a history of exclusion weakens us all. The Real Deal project is emboldened by the lessons of a century of transformation and knowing that bold work is required now.

The Real Deal coalition, supported by researchers at the Sydney Policy Lab, will continue. We are a collaborative anchor, undertaking short- and long-term projects that seek to transform the relationship between the economy, state and civil society. As part of this we are exploring a range of research action project possibilities, from participatory experiments in reimagining the size and shape of our future government and economy, to long-term, place-based research projects involving people working together to transform their communities. Each of these ideas is still in development.

But we don't see ourselves as the only actors in this space, by any stretch. To put this paper together we have co-designed the approach with a diverse coalition but we have also drawn extensively from work already in progress across the country, driven by a host of other groups, from community campaigns to experimental businesses. In drawing those ideas together, we are hoping to provoke discussion and debate—in small and big community groups, boardrooms and in political life. We are eager to help if we can, and we also invite you to reach out to us through

the Sydney Policy Lab. Let us know if you apply or adapt this approach in your own work.

We will expand our coalition. If your organisation is interested in these ideas, get in touch. If you are an academic or from a research institution and you would like to work on specific policies, or share policies that you are working on, please get in touch too.

We will continue to work in ways that learn from and build on the global body of work that seeks to transform the market-state-civil society dynamic, including the Political Economy and Justice Project at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics at Harvard,⁸⁹ the Democracy Collaborative,⁹⁰ the Institute for New Economic Thinking,⁹¹ the Moral Economy Project at the Centre for Advanced Study in Behavioural Sciences at Stanford University,⁹² the recent work by Bowles and Carlin,⁹³ and the rich variety of international researchers and organisations working on global Green New Deal projects.⁹⁴

Of course, this kind of work always needs financial support. We thank our existing partners for their financial contributions to this work. If you are interested in funding specific or broad-based collaboration or policy in this area, we would love to hear from you.

2020 will be remembered for many of us as our toughest year. Let it also be a moment where we can look back and say: that was when we came together and started to turn things around.

REFERENCES

1. Jackman, S., Ratcliff, S., Carnon, A., and Ruppner, L. (2020, May 10). Fear, Loathing And Covid-19: America And Australia Compared. United States Studies Centre, University of Sydney. <https://www.usssc.edu.au/analysis/fear-loathing-and-covid-19-america-and-australia-compared>
2. Heenan, N., and Sturman, A. (2020, March 30). Five Orientations to the Green New Deal. Progress in Political Economy. <https://www.ppesydney.net/5-orientations-to-the-green-new-deal/>
3. Kate, A., Battistoni, A., Cohen, D.A., and Riofranco, T. (2019). A Planet to Win: Why we need a Green New Deal. Verso: London.
4. Bowles, S. and Carlin, W. (2020, April 10). The coming battle for the COVID-19 narrative. Centre for Economic Policy Research. <https://voxeu.org/article/coming-battle-covid-19-narrative>
5. This approach builds on the work of the Political Economy and Justice project at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics at Harvard University. For more, Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, Harvard University. (2020). Political Economy and Justice. <https://ethics.harvard.edu/political-economy-and-justice>
6. Referendum Council. (2017, May 26). Uluru Statement from the Heart. The Uluru Statement. <https://ulurustatement.org/the-statement>
7. Editorial. (2018). The best research is produced when researchers and communities work together. Nature 562(7). <https://doi:10.1038/d41586-018-06855-7>
8. Sydney Policy Lab, the University of Sydney. (2020). About the Lab. Retrieved from <https://www.sydney.edu.au/sydney-policy-lab/about.html>
9. Marshall, M. (2020, August 12). Mission possible – A vision for Australia's recovery and future resilience. CSIRO Chief Executive Dr Larry Marshall to the National Press Club. [Transcript]. Retrieved from <https://www.csiro.au/en/News/News-releases/2020/Speech-to-the-National-Press-Club>
10. Spies-Butcher, B. (2020). The Temporary Welfare State: The Political Economy of Job Keeper, Job Seeker and “Snap Back”. Journal of Australian Political Economy, 85, 155-63.
11. Australian Government. (2020, May 25). Economic response to the Coronavirus, updated 25 May 2020. Retrieved from https://treasury.gov.au/sites/default/files/2020-05/Overview-Economic_Response_to_the_Coronavirus_3.pdf
Australian Government. (2019, April 25). Overview: Our plan for a stronger economy, 25 April 2019. Retrieved from <https://budget.gov.au/2019-20/content/download/overview.pdf>
12. Reserve Bank of Australia. (2020, June 3). Interest Rates: 10 Year Australian Government Bond Yield. Retrieved from <https://www.rba.gov.au/chart-pack/interest-rates.html>
13. Reserve Bank of Australia. (2020, June 25). Supporting the Economy and Financial System in Response to COVID-19. Retrieved from <https://www.rba.gov.au/covid-19/>
14. Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2020). 6202.0 - Labour Force, Australia, May 2020: People who lost a job or were stood down: flows analysis. Retrieved from <https://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/6202.0Main%20Features5May%202020?>
15. National Coordination Group on Vulnerable Migrants, Survey 21 May 2020.
16. Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2020). 5625.0 - Private New Capital Expenditure and Expected Expenditure, Australia, Mar 2020. Retrieved from <https://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Lookup/5625.0Explanatory%20Notes1Mar%202020?OpenDocument>
17. Morley, J. and Holden, R. (2020, April 29). It's just started: we'll need war bonds, and stimulus on a scale not seen in our lifetimes. The Conversation. Retrieved from <https://theconversation.com/its-just-started-well-need-war-bonds-and-stimulus-on-a-scale-not-seen-in-our-lifetimes-137155>
18. Jackson, S. (2020). Coming of Age in a Crisis: Young Workers, COVID-19, and the Youth Guarantee. Per Capita. https://percapita.org.au/our_work/coming-of-age-in-a-crisis-young-workers-covid-19-and-the-youth-guarantee/
19. Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2020). 5206.0 - Australian National Accounts: National Income, Expenditure and Product, Mar 2020: Main features expenditure chain volume measures. Retrieved from <https://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Latestproducts/5206.0Main%20Features4Mar%202020?opendocument&tabname=Summary&prodno=5206.0&issue=Mar%202020&num=&view=>
20. Henderson, T. and Stanford, J. (2020). The Same Mistake Twice: The Self-Defeating Consequences of Public Sector Pay Freezes. Centre for Future Work. https://www.futurework.org.au/pay_freezes_recession_to_depression
21. Richardson, D. and Denniss, R. (2020). Gender experiences during the COVID-19 lockdown. The Australia Institute. <https://www.tai.org.au/sites/default/files/Gender%20experience%20during%20the%20COVID-19%20lockdown.pdf>
22. Department of Employment, Skills, Small and Family Business. (2019, November 22). Industry Employment Projections 2019 Report. Australian Government. Retrieved from <https://lmip.gov.au/>

23. De Henau, J. and Himmelweit, S. (2020). The gendered employment gains of investing in social vs. physical infrastructure: evidence from simulations across seven OECD countries. The Open University. <http://www.open.ac.uk/jkd/publications/working-papers/84>
24. Royal Commission into Aged Care Quality and Safety. (2019, October 31) Aged Care in Australia: A Shocking Tale of Neglect. Retrieved from <https://agedcare.royalcommission.gov.au/news-and-media/royal-commission-aged-care-quality-and-safety-interim-report-released>
25. Ibrahim, J. (2020, August 5). Precipitous Evidence—Professor Joseph Elias Ibrahim. Royal Commission into Aged Care Quality and Safety. Retrieved from <https://agedcare.royalcommission.gov.au/system/files/2020-08/RCD.9999.0411.0001.pdf>
26. Holt, A. and Butcher, B. (2020, May 15). Coronavirus deaths: How big is the epidemic in care homes? BBC News. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/health-52284281>
The New York Times. (2020, August 13). More than 40% of U.S. coronavirus deaths are linked to nursing homes. The New York Times. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/us/coronavirus-nursing-homes.html>
Canadian Institute for Health Information. (2020, June). Pandemic experience in the long-term care sector: How does Canada compare with other countries? Canadian Institute for Health Information. Retrieved from <https://www.cihi.ca/sites/default/files/document/covid-19-rapid-response-long-term-care-snapshot-en.pdf>
27. Dusing, G. (2018). Older Australians not prepared for their future age care. McCrindle. <https://mccrindle.com.au/insights/blog/older-australians-not-prepared-for-their-future-age-care/>
28. Reddy, M., Stall, N. and Rochon, P. (2020, May 18). How coronavirus could forever change home health care, leaving vulnerable older adults without care and overburdening caregivers. The Conversation. Retrieved from <https://theconversation.com/how-coronavirus-could-forever-change-home-health-care-leaving-vulnerable-older-adults-without-care-and-overburdening-caregivers-137220>
29. Australian Government. Royal Commission into Aged Care Quality and Safety. Interim Report (2020) vol 7, 152, 156. <https://agedcare.royalcommission.gov.au/sites/default/files/2020-02/interim-report-volume-1.pdf>
30. Australian Department of Health. (2019). Assessment decision: Home Care Packages. Retrieved from <https://www.myagedcare.gov.au/assessment-decision-home-care-packages>
Australian Government. Royal Commission into Aged Care Quality and Safety. Interim Report (2020) vol 1, 162. <https://agedcare.royalcommission.gov.au/sites/default/files/2020-02/interim-report-volume-1.pdf>
31. United Workers Union. (2020, July 24). Submission to the Royal Commission into Aged Care Quality and Safety. Retrieved from <https://www.unitedworkers.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Submission-to-the-Aged-Care-Royal-Commission-about-Covid-19.pdf>
32. Buurtzorg. (2020). About us. Retrieved from <https://www.buurtzorg.com/>
33. De Henau, J., Himmelweit, S., Lapniewska, Z., and Perrons, D. (2016, March). Investing in the Care Economy: a gender analysis of employment stimulus in seven OECD countries. International Trade Union Confederation. https://www.ituc-csi.org/IMG/pdf/care_economy_en.pdf
34. Van Barneveld K., Quinlan M., Kriesler P., et al. (2020) The COVID-19 pandemic: Lessons on building more equal and sustainable societies. The Economic and Labour Relations Review, 31(2), 133-157. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1035304620927107>
35. Bartone, T., Hickie I., McGorry, P. (2020, May 7). COVID-19 impact likely to lead to increased rates of suicide and mental illness. Orygen. Retrieved from <https://www.orygen.org.au/About/News-And-Events/2020/COVID-19-impact-likely-to-lead-to-increased-rates>
36. Pellicano, E., Brett, S., den Houting, J., Heyworth, M., Magiati, I., Steward, R., Urbanowicz, A., and Stears, M. (2020). "I want to see my friends": The everyday experiences of autistic people and their families during COVID-19. Sydney Policy Lab.
37. Blundell, R., Costa Dias, M., Joyce, R. and Xu, Xiaowei. (2020) COVID-19 and Inequalities. Institute for Fiscal Studies. <https://www.ifs.org.uk/uploads/Covid-19-and-inequalities-IFS.pdf>
38. Public Health England. (2020). Beyond the data: Understanding the impact of COVID-19 on BAME groups. https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/892376/COVID_stakeholder_engagement_synthesis_beyond_the_data.pdf
39. Schneiders, B. and Millar, R. (2020, August 9). A city divided: COVID-19 finds a weakness in Melbourne's social fault lines. The Age. Retrieved from <https://www.theage.com.au/national/victoria/a-city-divided-covid-19-finds-a-weakness-in-melbourne-s-social-fault-lines-20200807-p55ji2.html>
Spiller, M. and Weston R. (2020). Casualisation and COVID-19: New analysis reveals tears in Melbourne's social fabric. SGS Economics and Planning. <https://www.sgsep.com.au/publications/insights/casualisation-and-covid-19>
Four Corners. (2020, August 17). The Second Wave. ABC News. Retrieved from <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2020-08-17/four-corners-cononavirus-australia-victoria-hotel-quarantine/12550832>
40. Carrasco, S., Faleh, M., and Dangol, N. (2020, July 24). Our lives matter – Melbourne public housing residents talk about why COVID-19 hits them hard. The Conversation. Retrieved from <https://theconversation.com/our-lives-matter-melbourne-public-housing-residents-talk-about-why-covid-19-hits-them-hard-142901>
41. McNally, J. (2020) Accountability, discretion and the rule of law: issues in pandemic policing. Australian Public Law. Retrieved from <https://auspublaw.org/2020/07/accountability-discretion-and-the-rule-of-law-issues-in-pandemic-policing/>
42. Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2020). 6202.0 - Labour Force, Australia, May 2020, Table 22: Underutilised persons by Age and Sex - Trend, Seasonally adjusted and Original. Retrieved from <https://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/6202.0May%202020?OpenDocument>

43. Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2019). 6333.0 - Characteristics of Employment, Australia, August 2019, Table 9 Form of employment by demographic characteristics. Retrieved from <https://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/6333.0August%202019?OpenDocument>
44. Atkinson, J. (2020, 27 April). Impact of the COVID-19 shutdown on vulnerable workers in Australia. SGS Economics & Planning. <https://www.sgsep.com.au/publications/insights/impact-of-the-covid-19-shutdown-on-vulnerable-workers-in-australia>
45. Cooper, R., and Mosseri, S. (2020, June 5). Pandemic has impacted on women most significantly. Sydney Morning Herald. Retrieved from <https://www.smh.com.au/business/workplace/pandemic-has-impacted-women-most-significantly-20200604-p54ziu.html>
Tuohy, W. (2020, August 16). Calls for female-focused budget as women face financial 'gender disaster'. The Age. Retrieved from <https://www.theage.com.au/national/victoria/calls-for-female-focused-budget-as-women-face-financial-gender-disaster-20200815-p55m0e.html>
46. UN Women. (2020). The COVID-19 Outbreak and Gender: Key Advocacy Points from Asia and the Pacific. <https://asiapacific.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2020/03/the-covid-19-outbreak-and-gender#view>
47. Gilfillan, G. (2020, May 8). COVID-19: Impacts on casual workers in Australia—a statistical snapshot. Parliamentary Library. https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1920/StatisticalSnapshotCasualWorkersAustralia
48. Australian Government. (2020). Report of the Migrant Workers' Taskforce. Retrieved from https://www.ag.gov.au/sites/default/files/2020-03/mwt_final_report.pdf, 13.
49. Workplace coronavirus transmission driving Victorian case numbers, including in aged care. (2020, July 19). ABC News. Retrieved from <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2020-07-19/workplace-coronavirus-transmission-in-victoria-in-aged-care/12470704>
50. Berg, L. (2016). *Migrant Rights at Work: Law's Precariousness at the Intersection of Immigration and Labour*. Routledge: London.
51. Boucher, A. (2019). Measuring migrant worker rights violations in practice: The example of temporary skilled visas in Australia. *Journal of Industrial Relations*, 61(2), 277-301. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022185618783001>
Trask, S. (2020, August 19). Doctors call for an urgent coronavirus audit of every aged care home in Australia. SBS News. Retrieved from <https://www.sbs.com.au/news/doctors-call-for-urgent-coronavirus-audit-of-every-aged-care-home-in-australia>
52. Cottam, H. (2018). *Radical Help*. Virago: London.
53. Pennington, A. (2020, June 28). Austerity Threatens Women's Access to Paid Work. Centre for Future Work. https://www.futurework.org.au/austerity_threatens_women_s_access_to_paid_work
54. Australian Federation of Disability Organisations. (2020). Increase Disability Support Pension now to deal with COVID-19. <https://www.afdo.org.au/increase-disability-support-pension-now-to-deal-with-covid-19/>
55. See Australian Unemployed Workers Union. (2020). Dignity Not Dole National Campaign. Retrieved from <https://unemployedworkersunion.com/dignitynotdole/>
56. Workplace Gender Equality Agency. (2016). Unpaid care work and the labour market. Retrieved from <https://www.wgea.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/australian-unpaid-care-work-and-the-labour-market.pdf>
57. Hill, E. (2020, 23 April). Within these walls: Covid-19 is changing our home life and that provides opportunities. Power to Persuade. <http://www.powertopersuade.org.au/blog/within-these-walls-covid-19-is-changing-our-home-life-and-that-provides-opportunities/23/4/2020>
58. Tuohy, W. (2020, August 16). Calls for female-focused budget as women face financial 'gender disaster'. The Age. Retrieved from <https://www.theage.com.au/national/victoria/calls-for-female-focused-budget-as-women-face-financial-gender-disaster-20200815-p55m0e.html>
59. McQuire, A. (2020, June 6). There cannot be 432 victims and no perpetrators... The Saturday Paper. <https://www.thesaturdaypaper.com.au/news/law-crime/2020/06/06/there-cannot-be-432-victims-and-no-perpetrators/15913656009926>
60. Malm, A. (2020). *Corona, Climate, Chronic Emergency*. Verso: London.
61. Foundational Economy Collective. (2018). *The Foundational Economy*. Manchester University Press: Manchester.
62. Beyond Zero Emissions. (2020). The Million Jobs Plan. <https://bze.org.au/the-million-jobs-plan/>
63. Nahum, D. (2020). Powering Onwards: Australia's Opportunity to Reinvigorate Manufacturing through Renewable Energy. Centre for Future Work. https://www.futurework.org.au/renewable_energy_could_power_australian_manufacturing_renaissance
64. There are a variety of strategies in this space, such as Universal Basic Income and Jobs Guarantee, as well as retaining the JobSeeker payment rate.
65. Indeed, some argue that multi-species justice is another form of justice. See Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Sydney. (2020). Multispecies Justice. <https://www.sydney.edu.au/arts/our-research/futurefix/multispecies-justice.html>
66. Schlosberg, D. (2007). *Defining environmental justice: theories, movements, and nature*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
67. Denniss, R., Grudnoff, M. and Richardson, D. (2020). Design Principles for Fiscal Policy in a Pandemic. The Australia Institute. <https://www.tai.org.au/content/design-principles-fiscal-policy-pandemic>
68. UN Principles for Responsible Investment. (2020). What is the inevitable policy response? <https://www.unpri.org/what-is-the-inevitable-policy-response/4787.article>
69. Boxall, H., Morgan, A. and Brown, R. (2020). The prevalence of domestic violence among women during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Statistical Bulletin* 28. Australian Institute of Criminology. <https://www.aic.gov.au/publications/sb/sb28>

70. Asian Australian Arts Alliance, Diversity Arts Australia, and Democracy in Colour. (2020, April 24). I Am Not a Virus: Preliminary Findings of the COVID-19 Racism Survey. <http://diversityarts.org.au/not-virus-preliminary-findings-covid-19-racism-survey/>
71. Fisher, J., Tran, T., Hammarberg, K., Sastry, J., Nguyen, H., Rowe, H., Popplestone, S., Stocker, R., Stubber, C., and Kirkman, M. (2020). Mental health of people in Australia in the first month of COVID-19 restrictions: A national survey. *Medical Journal of Australia*. [Preprint]. Retrieved from <https://www.mja.com.au/journal/2020/mental-health-people-australia-first-month-covid-19-restrictions-national-survey>
72. Lamb, S., Maire, Q., Doecke, E., Noble, K., Pilcher, S., and Macklin, S. (2020). Impact of learning from home on educational outcomes for disadvantaged children. Brief assessment to the Australian Government, Department of Education, Skills and Employment. Centre for International Research on Education Systems. <https://www.vu.edu.au/sites/default/files/impact-of-learning-from-home-federal-government-brief-mitchell-institute.pdf>
73. Pellicano, E., Brett, S., den Houting, J., Heyworth, M., Magiati, I., Steward, R., Urbanowicz, A., and Stears, M. (2020). "I want to see my friends": The everyday experiences of autistic people and their families during COVID-19. Sydney Policy Lab.
74. Crooks, K., Casey, D., and Ward, J. (2020). First Nations people leading the way in COVID-19 pandemic planning, response and management. *Medical Journal of Australia*. [Preprint]. <https://www.mja.com.au/journal/2020/first-nations-people-leading-way-covid-19-pandemic-planning-response-and-management>
75. Tattersall, A. (2020). The purpose of our training. *Changemakers Podcast*. Retrieved from <https://changemakerspodcast.org/masterclasses/the-purpose-of-our-training/>
76. Leigh, A. (2010). *Disconnected*. UNSW Press: Sydney.
77. Cameron, S., and McAllister, I. (2019). The 2019 Australian Election Study: Results from the Australian Election Study. Australian National University. <https://www.anu.edu.au/news/all-news/trust-in-government-hits-all-time-low>
78. At its most extreme, we see this kind of behaviour in the so-called sovereign citizen who refuses to follow the rules at all. See Ross, K. (2020, July 28). Living people: who are the sovereign citizens or SovCits, and why do they believe they have immunity from the law? *The Conversation*. <https://theconversation.com/living-people-who-are-the-sovereign-citizens-or-sovcits-and-why-do-they-believe-they-have-immunity-from-the-law-143438>
79. Nussbaum, M. (2011). *Creating capabilities: the human development approach*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge.
80. Future Earth Australia. (2020, July 27). Local community needs must not be overlooked as we adapt to climate change. *Future Earth Australia*. Retrieved from <https://www.futureearth.org.au/news/local-community-needs-must-not-be-overlooked-we-adapt-climate-change>
81. Schlosberg, D., Collins, L. and Niemeyer, S. (2017). Adaptation policy and community discourse: risk, vulnerability, and just transformation. *Environmental Politics*, 26(3), 413-437. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09644016.2017.1287628>
82. Hill, E., and Baird, M. (2020, June 10). COVID-19, economic crisis and gender equality in Asia. *East Asia Forum*. <https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2020/06/10/covid-19-economic-crisis-and-gender-equality-in-asia/>
83. Peng, I., and Floro, M. (2020, April 29) Covid-19 Is Testing The Norm: Gender Dynamics And Care In The Midst Of The Pandemic. *Care Work and the Economy*. Retrieved from <https://research.american.edu/careworkeconomy/covid-19-is-testing-the-norm-gender-dynamics-and-care-in-the-midst-of-the-pandemic/>
84. See the practice of the Queensland Community Alliance and the Sydney Alliance. Also see Hahrie, H. (2014). *How Organisations Develop Activists: Civic associations and leadership in the 21st Century*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
85. Community organising is taught by our partner organisations the Sydney Alliance and Queensland Community Alliance. Sydney Alliance. (2020). Training. Retrieved from <https://www.sydneyalliance.org.au/training>
86. Queensland Community Alliance. (2020). Alliance Actions and Training. Retrieved from <https://www.qldcommunityalliance.org/calendar>
87. Moldoveanu, M., and Narayandas, D. (2019). *The Future of Leadership Development*. Harvard Business Review. <https://hbr.org/2019/03/educating-the-next-generation-of-leaders>
88. The relational method is a concept developed by Tattersall, A. and Stears, M. at the Sydney Policy Lab. For more, Sydney Policy Lab, University of Sydney. (2020). Our approach. Retrieved from <https://www.sydney.edu.au/sydney-policy-lab/about/our-approach.html>
89. Tattersall, A. (2010). *Power in Coalition: Strategies for Strong Unions and Social Change*. ILR Press: Ithaca.
90. Australian Institute of Family Studies. (2017, November). Collective impact: Evidence and implications for practice. *Child Family Community Australia*, Paper 45. <https://aifs.gov.au/cfca/publications/collective-impact-evidence-and-implications-practice/what-collective-impact>

PHOTO CREDITS

88. Lim, M., and Australian Psychological Society. (2018). Australian loneliness report: a survey exploring the loneliness levels of Australians and the impact on their health and wellbeing. <https://researchbank.swinburne.edu.au/items/c1d9cd16-ddbe-417f-bbc4-3d499e95bdec/1/>
89. This approach builds on the work of the Political Economy and Justice project at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics at Harvard University. For more, Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, Harvard University. (2020). Political Economy and Justice. <https://ethics.harvard.edu/political-economy-and-justice>
90. For more, The Democracy Collaborative. (2020). The Democracy Collaborative. <https://democracycollaborative.org/>
91. For more, The Institute for New Economic Thinking. (2020). The Institute for New Economic Thinking. <https://www.ineteconomics.org/>
92. For more, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford University. (2020). Creating a New Moral Political Economy. <https://casbs.stanford.edu/programs/projects/creating-new-moral-political-economy>
93. Bowles, S. and Carlin, W. (2020, April 10). The coming battle for the COVID-19 narrative. Centre for Economic Policy Research. <https://voxeu.org/article/coming-battle-covid-19-narrative>
94. For a wide range of resources on the Green New Deal in different parts of the world, see Undisciplined Environments. (2020). Green New Deal(s): A Resource List for Political Ecologists. Retrieved from <https://undisciplinedenvironments.org/2020/07/16/green-new-deals-a-resource-list-for-political-ecologists/>
- Australian Conservation Foundation
Images on page 9, 29, 54, 76
- Get Up!
Images on page 19, 45
- Jesuit Social Services
Images on page 77, 78
- Just Home
Image on page 63
- Sydney Alliance
Images on page 16, 24, 36, 61, 68, 69, 70, 71
- Tim Fennis and Grace Sui
Images on page 7, 8, 11, 10, 12, 14, 17, 23, 26, 33, 35, 37, 45, 50, 51, 57, 73, 82, 89
- United Workers Union
Images on page 33, 39, 40, 45