

# THE TASMANIAN ECONOMY – OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES

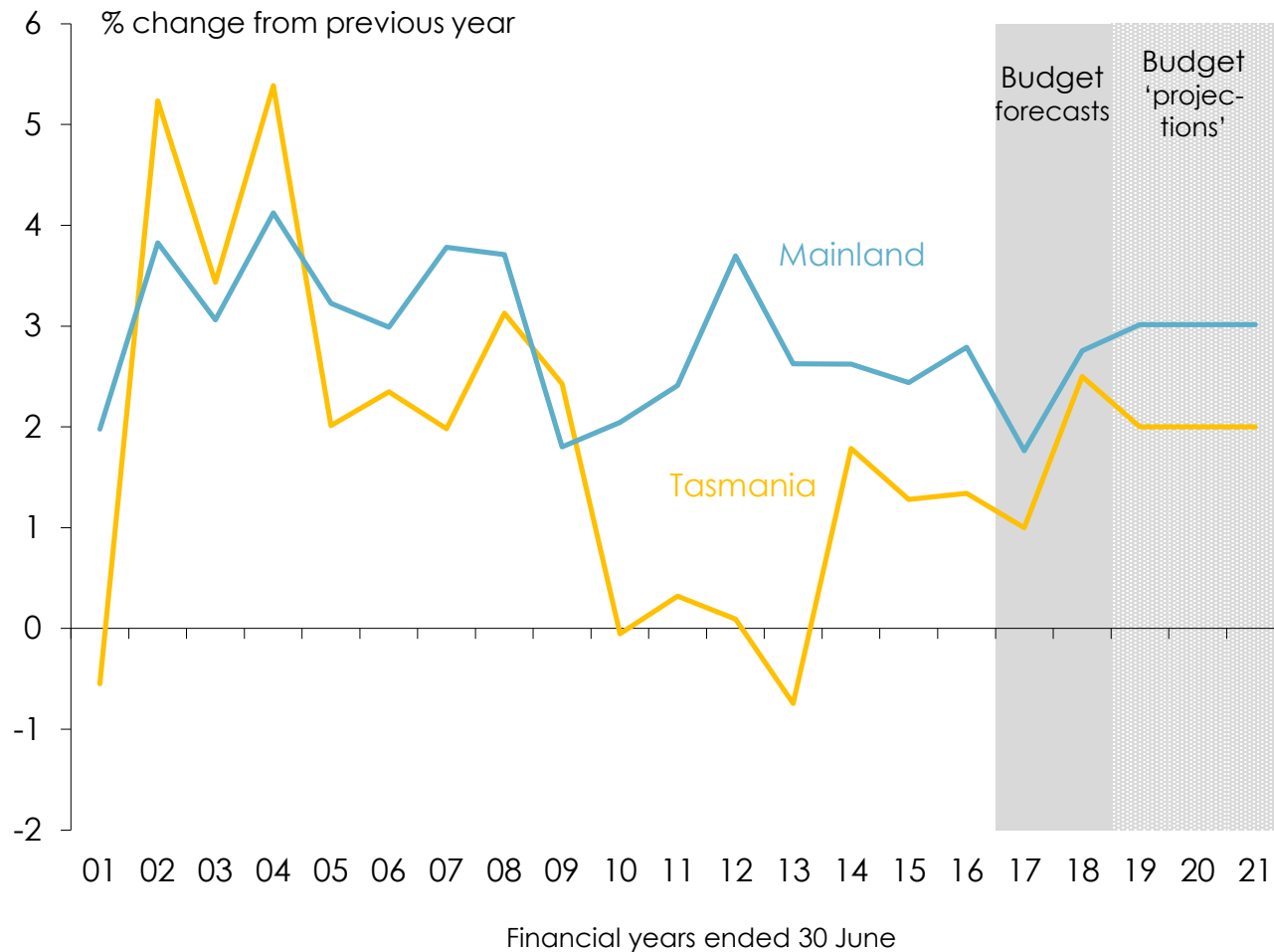
PRESENTATION TO TASMANIAN LEADERS' PROGRAM

NORTHERN TASMANIA INTEGRATED CARE SERVICE, LAUNCESTON – 16<sup>TH</sup> JUNE 2017

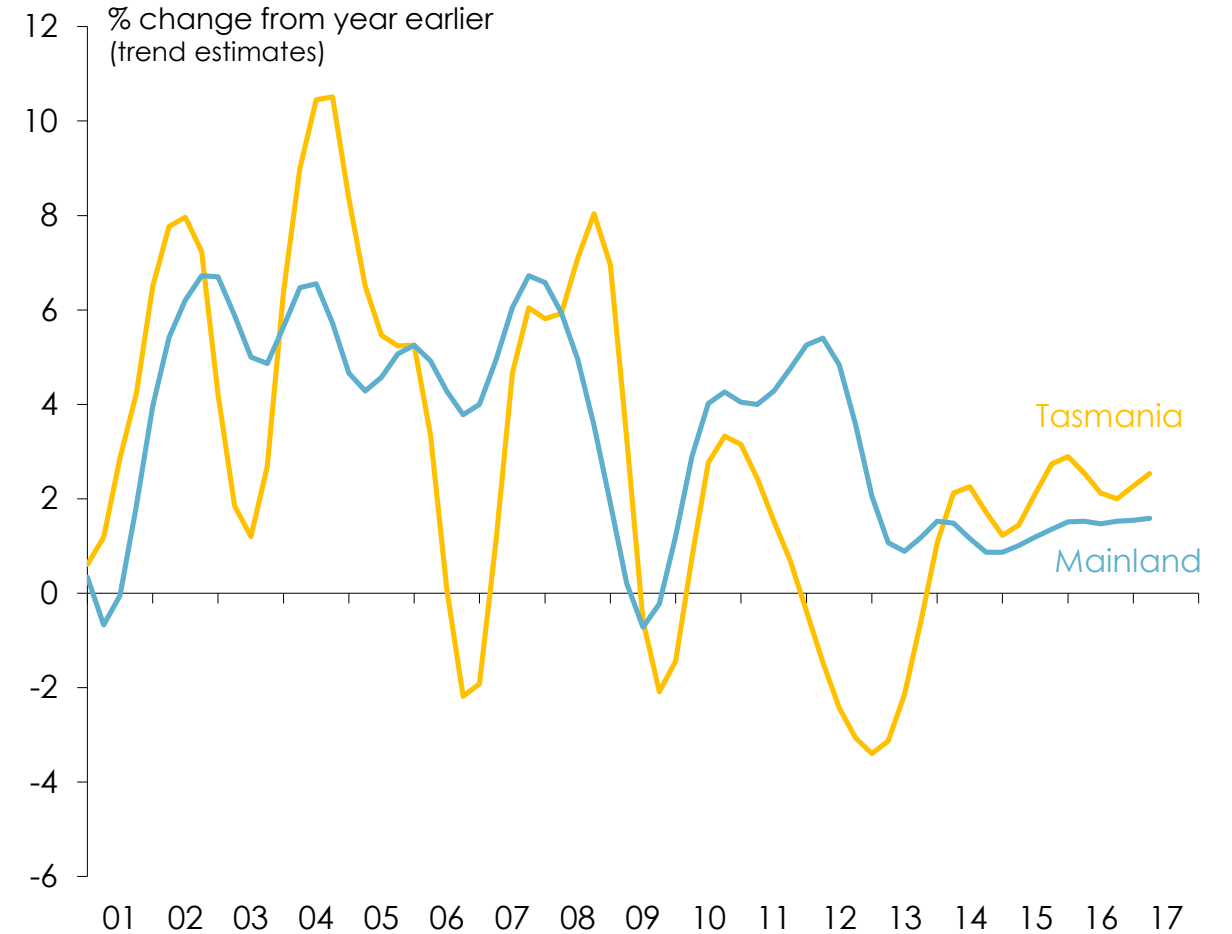
# Recent developments in the Tasmanian economy

# Broadest measures of economic activity suggest that the pick-up in Tasmania's economy is continuing

## Real gross State product



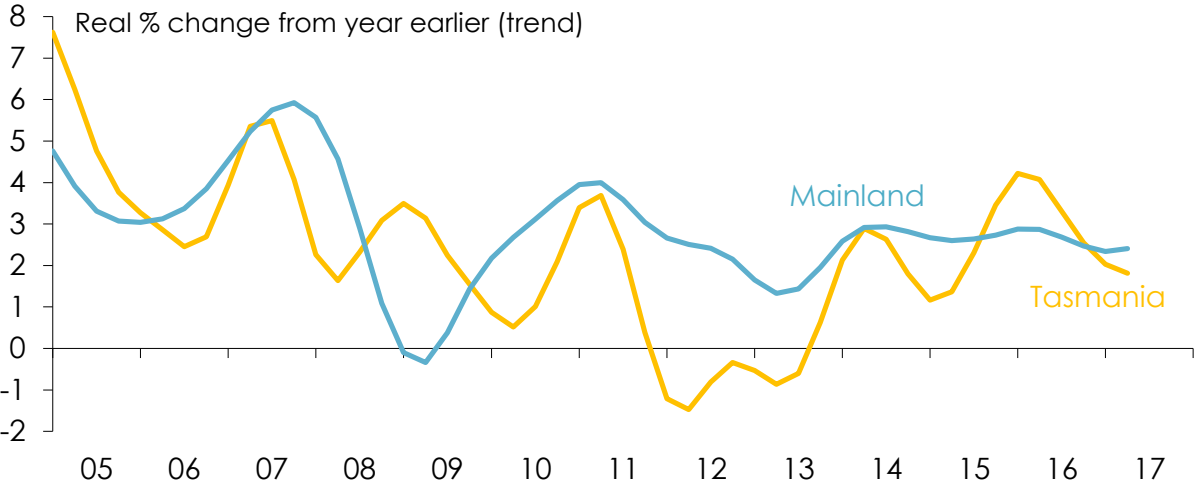
## Real State final demand



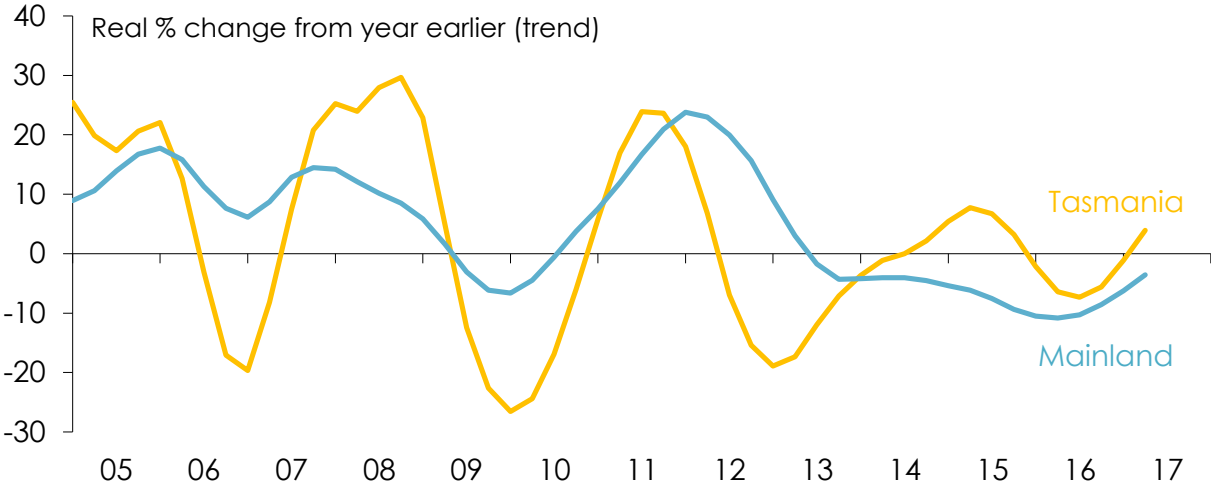
Note: 'State final demand' is the sum of spending by households, business and governments. It differs from gross State product by the sum of net interstate and international trade, and change in inventories. 'Trend' estimates are produced by 'smoothing noise from the seasonally adjusted estimates'; the ABS describes them as "the best source of information for forecasting or making decisions about what to do in the future". Sources: ABS 5220.0 and 5206.0; Tasmanian and Commonwealth 2017-18 Budget Papers.

# Business investment is picking up in Tasmania while public spending is still growing strongly, but household spending has slowed

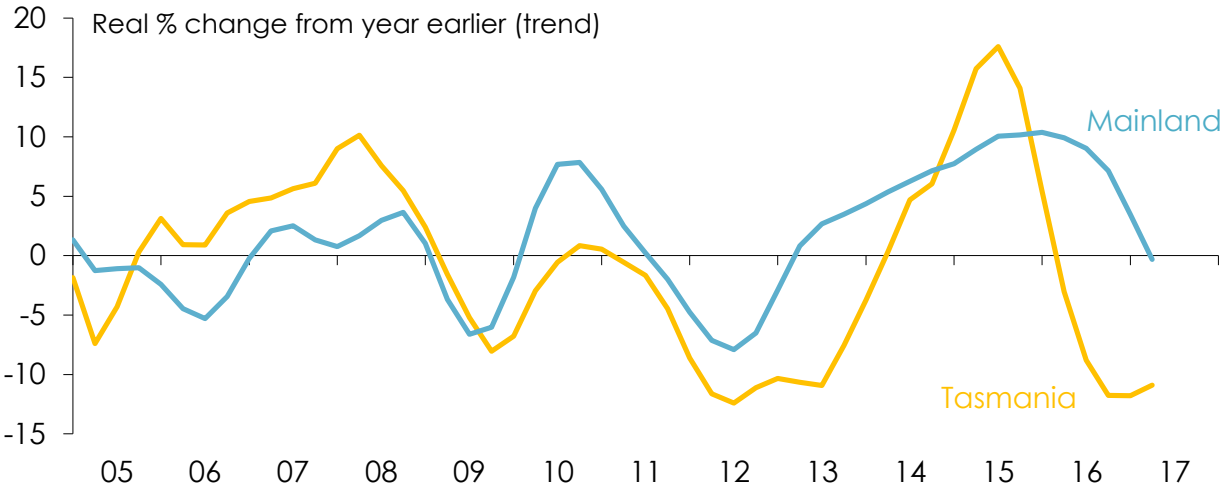
## Household consumption



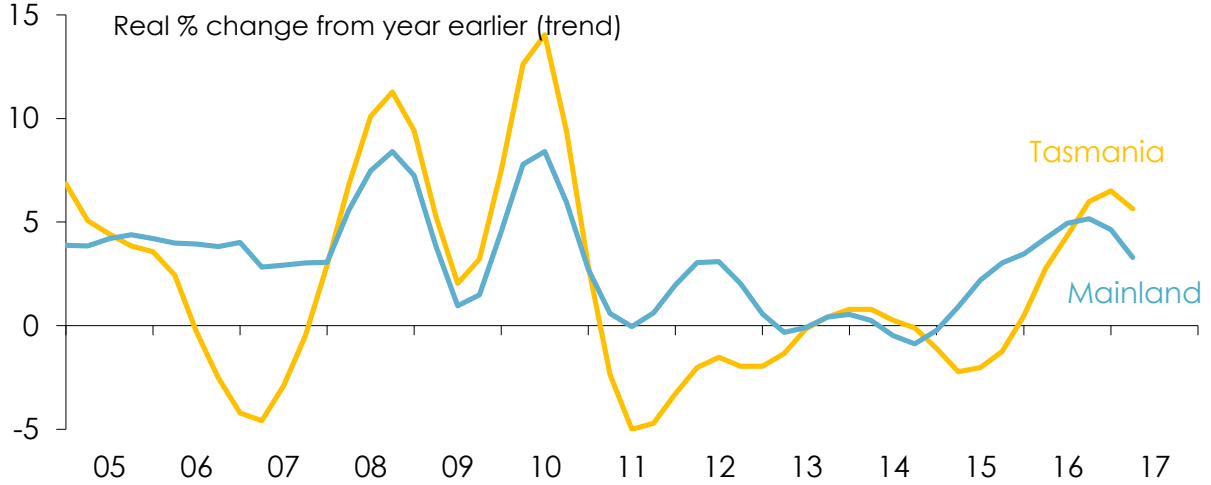
## Business investment



## Dwelling investment



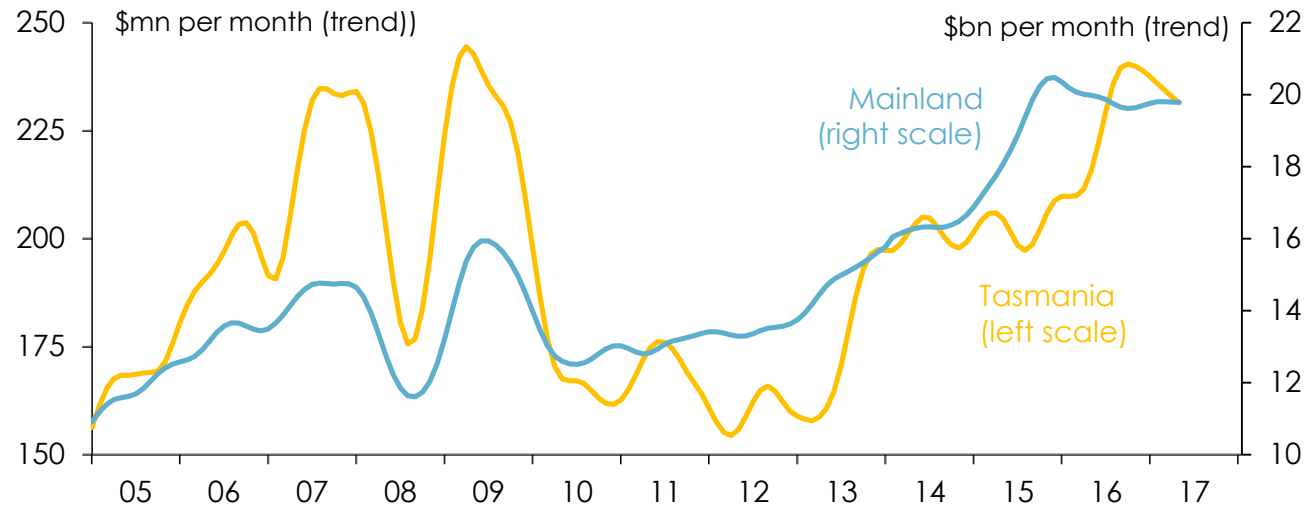
## Public sector spending



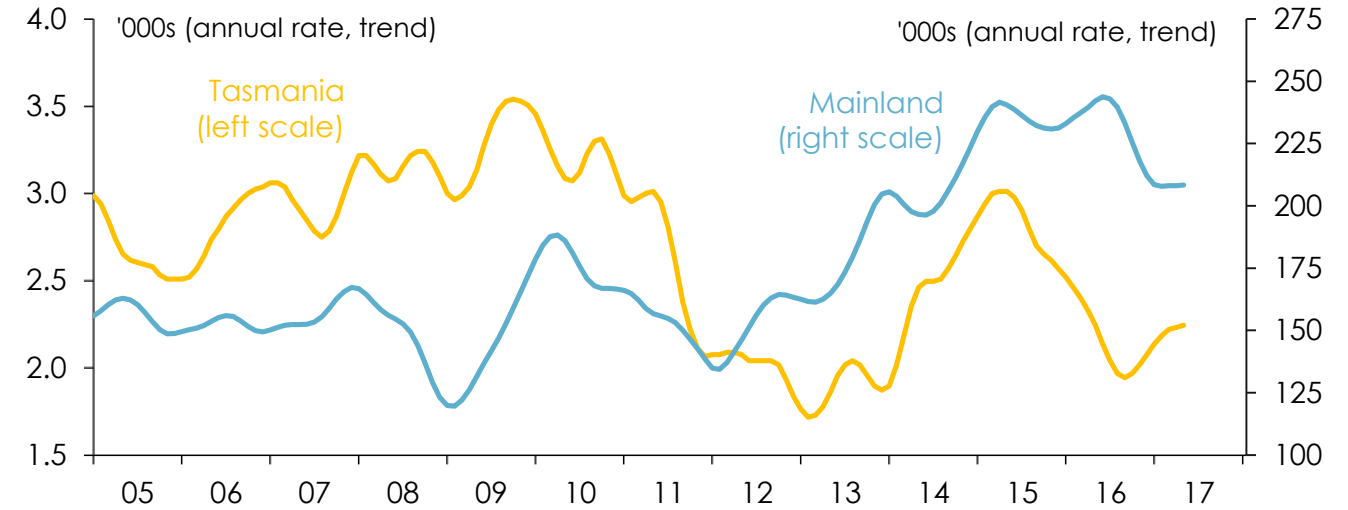
Source: ABS.

# There are signs of an improvement in Tasmania's housing market, at a time when mainland capitals markets are close to or past their peaks

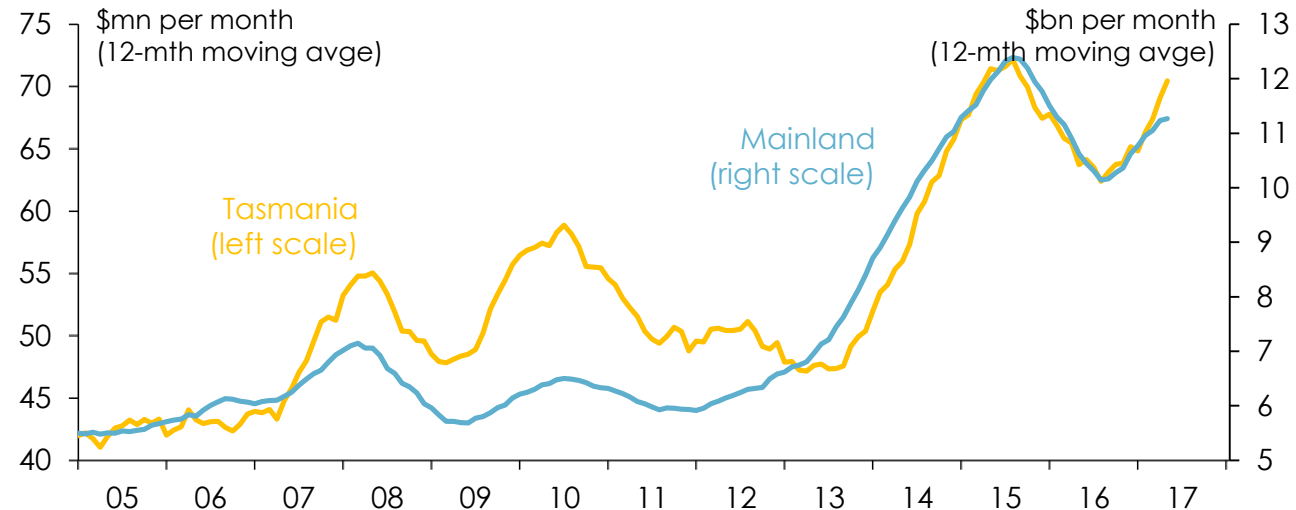
## Housing finance commitments – home-buyers



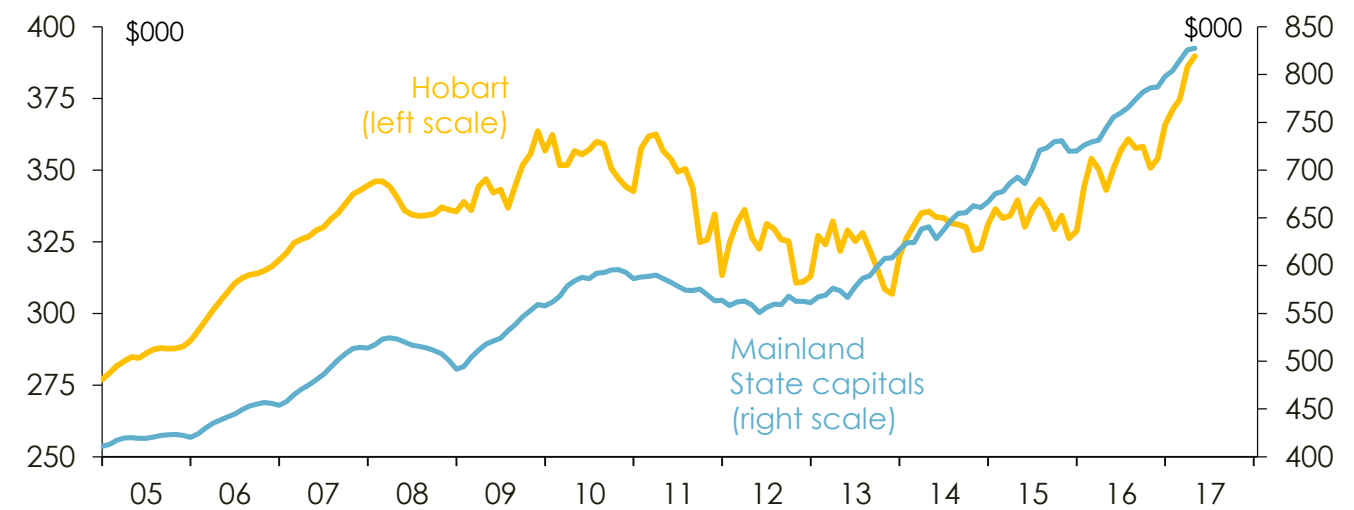
## Residential building approvals



## Housing finance commitments - investors

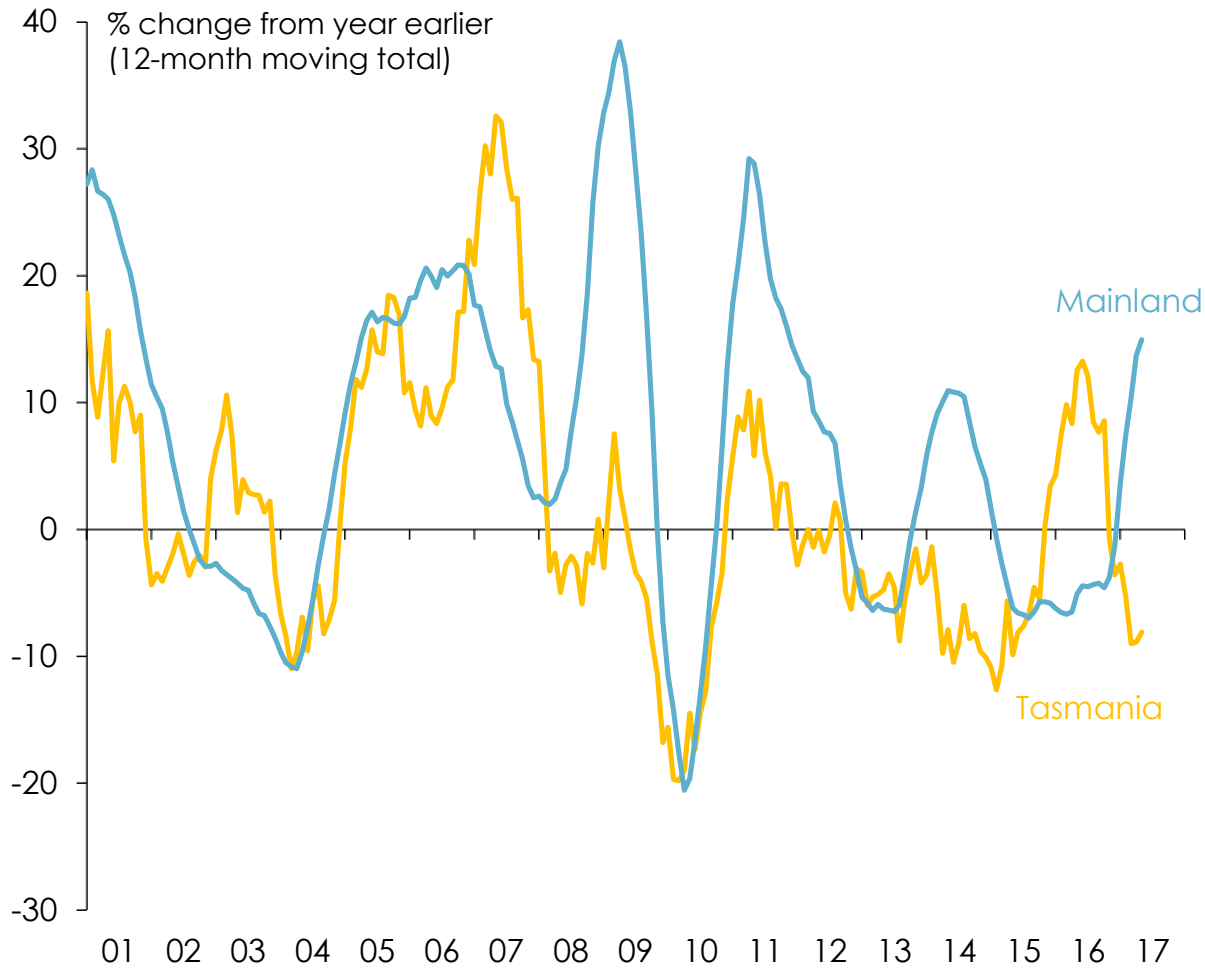


## Capital city house prices

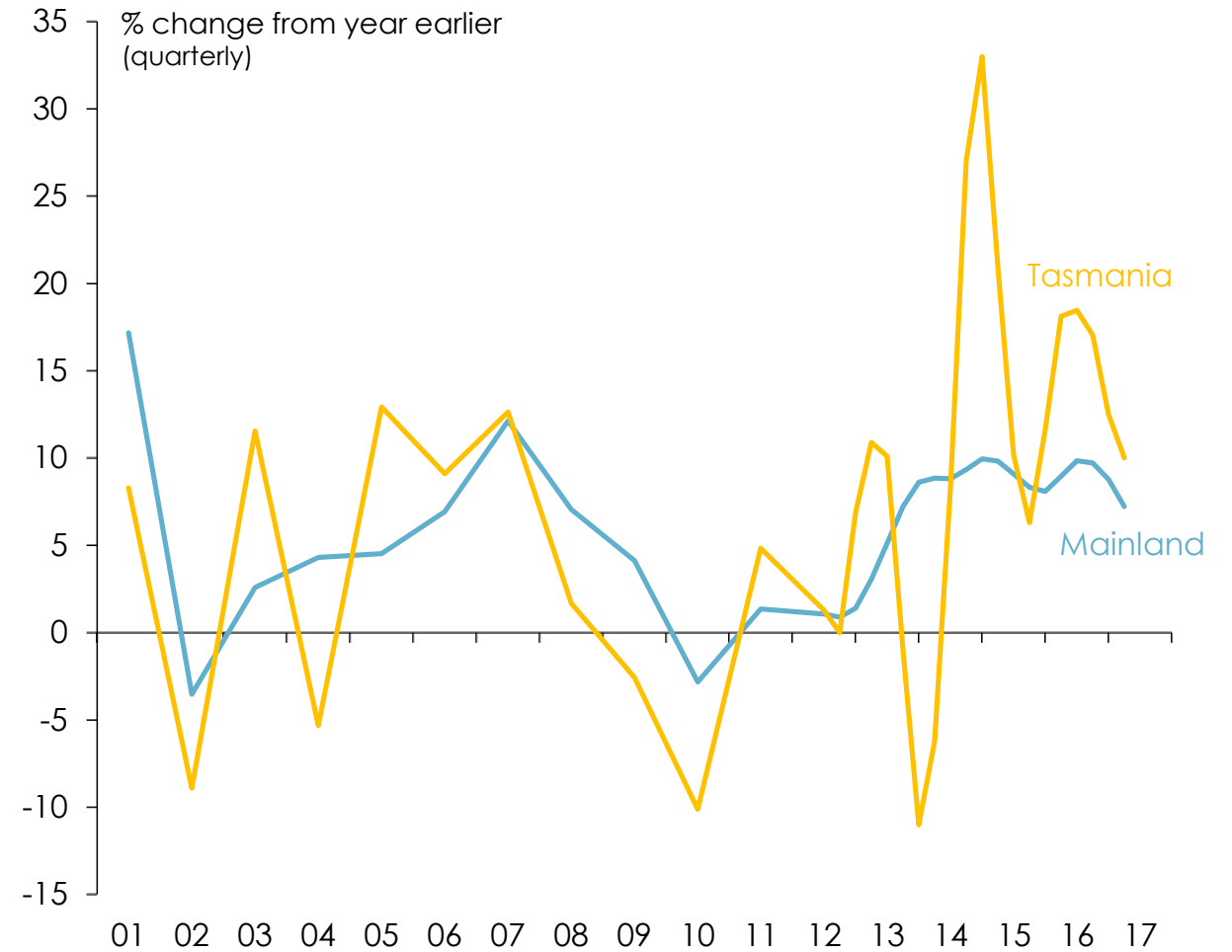


# Tasmania's goods exports have been hurt by lower prices for metals and meat over the past year, but services exports are doing well

## International exports of goods



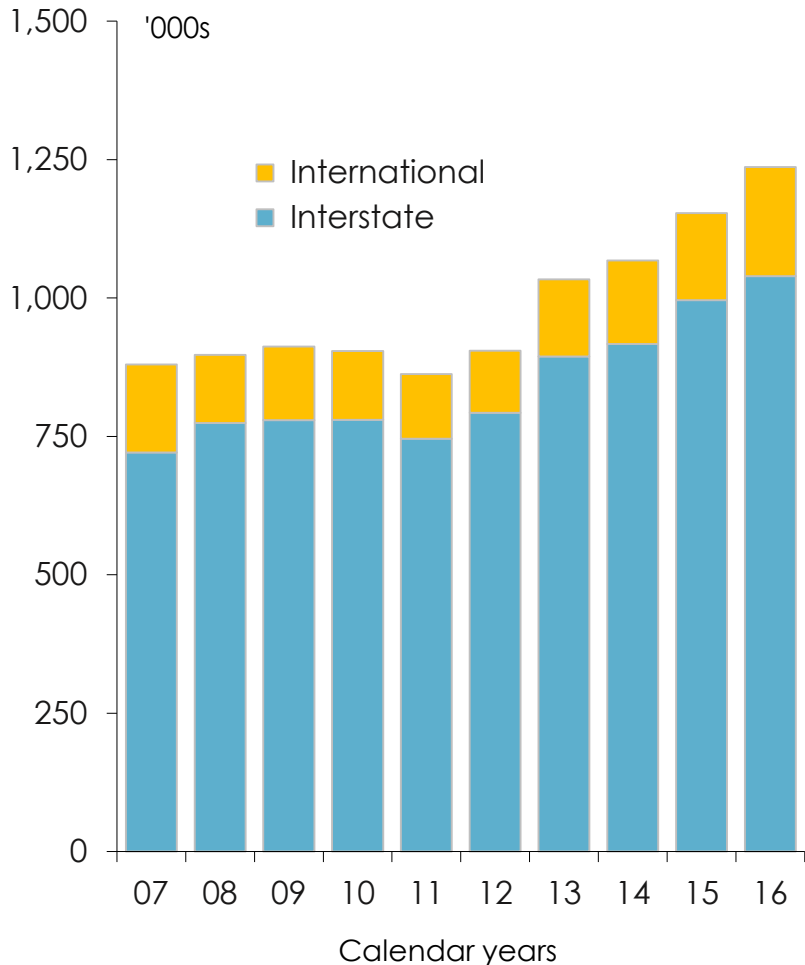
## International exports of services



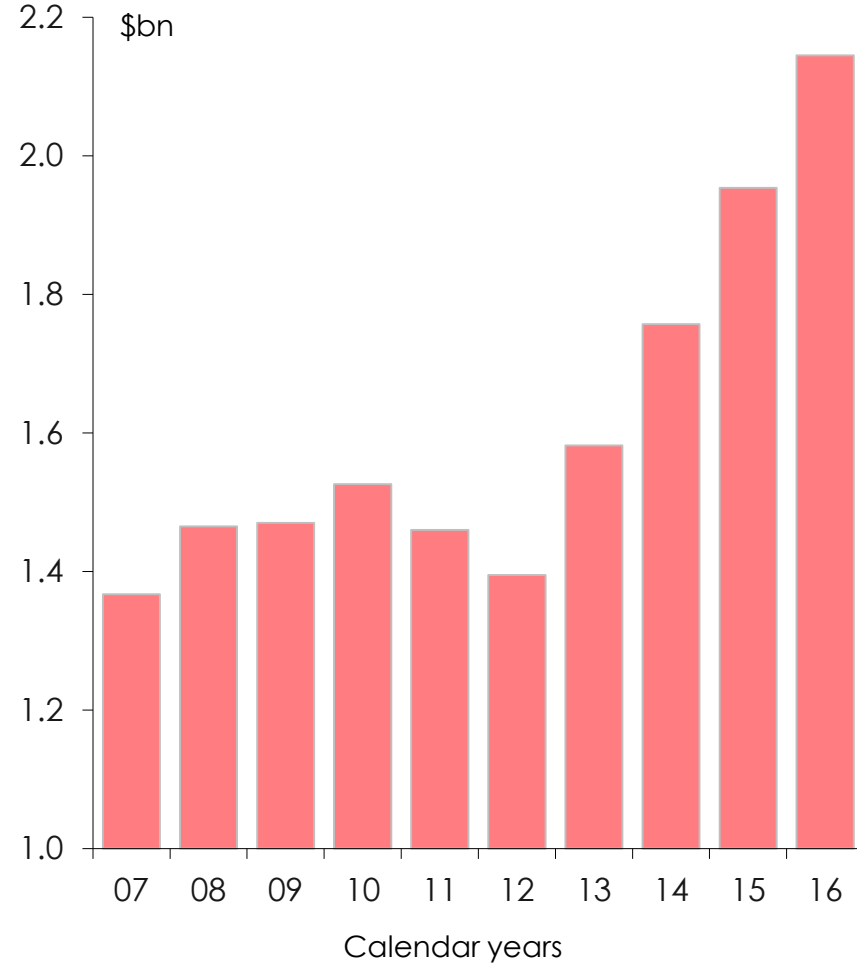
Note: Data are in current prices. Data for services exports are financial year totals until the September quarter of 2011  
Sources: ABS 5368.0 and 5302.0.

# Tourism is a major driver of the growth in services exports

## Visitors to Tasmania



## Spending by visitors to Tasmania



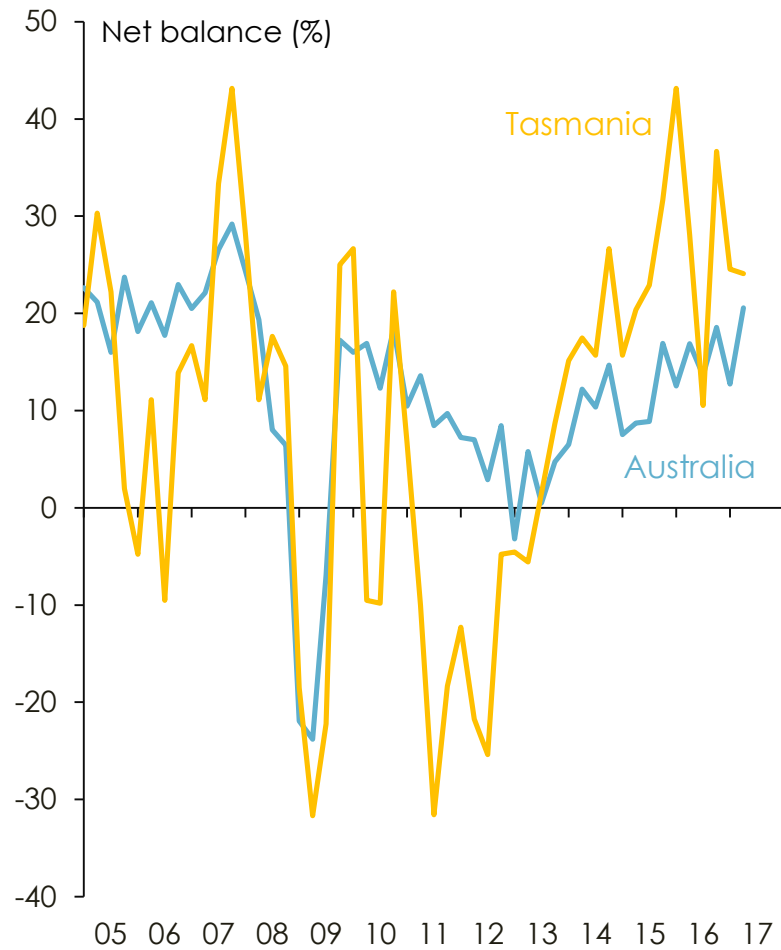
## Tasmania's 'market share' of visitors to Australia



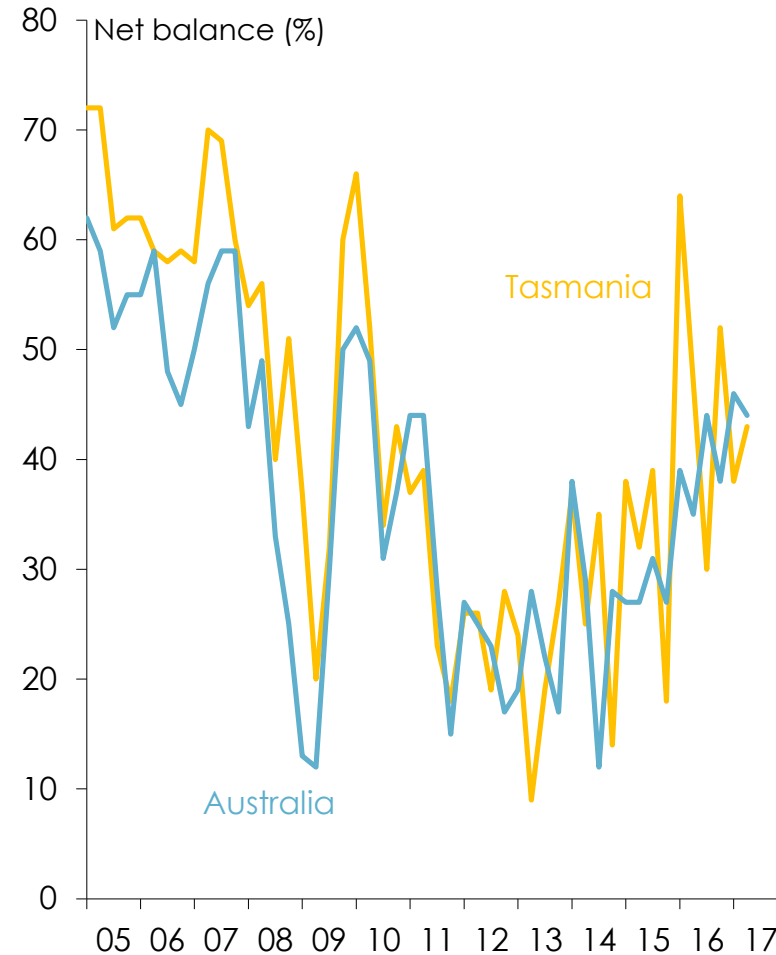
Sources: Tourism Tasmania Corporate; ABS 3401.0.

# Business confidence in Tasmania is at a high level – and the State Government can claim at least some of the credit for that

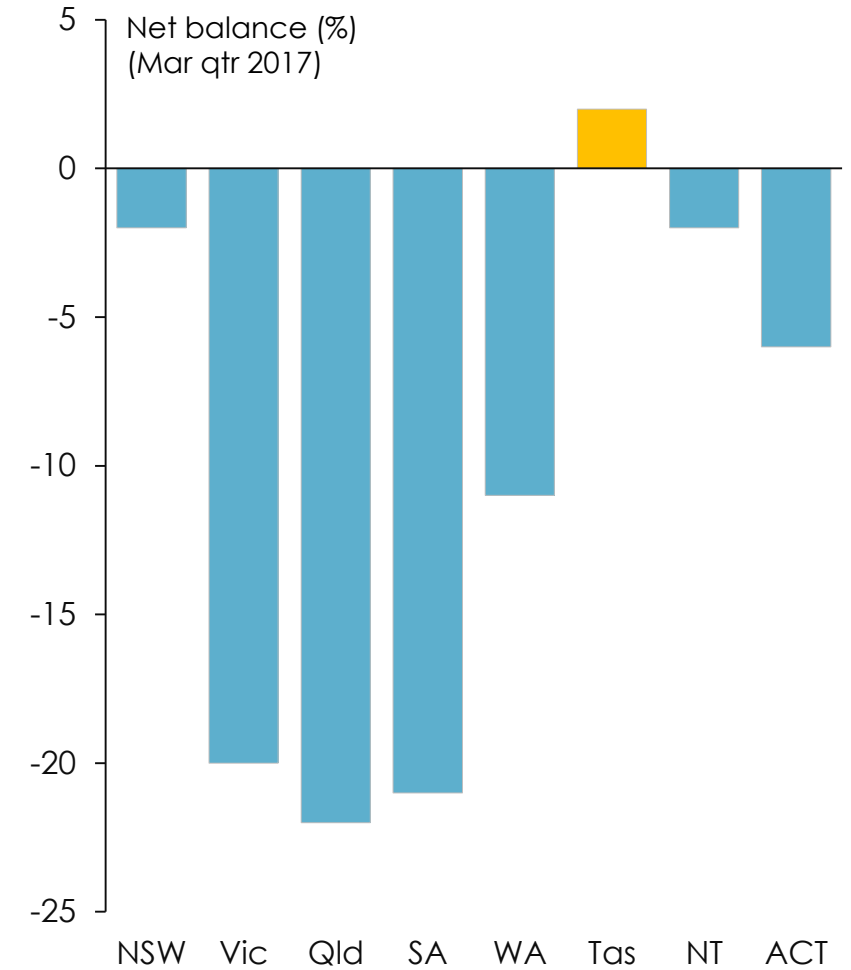
## NAB Survey expected business conditions



## Sensis SME Survey business confidence



## Approval of State/Territory government policies

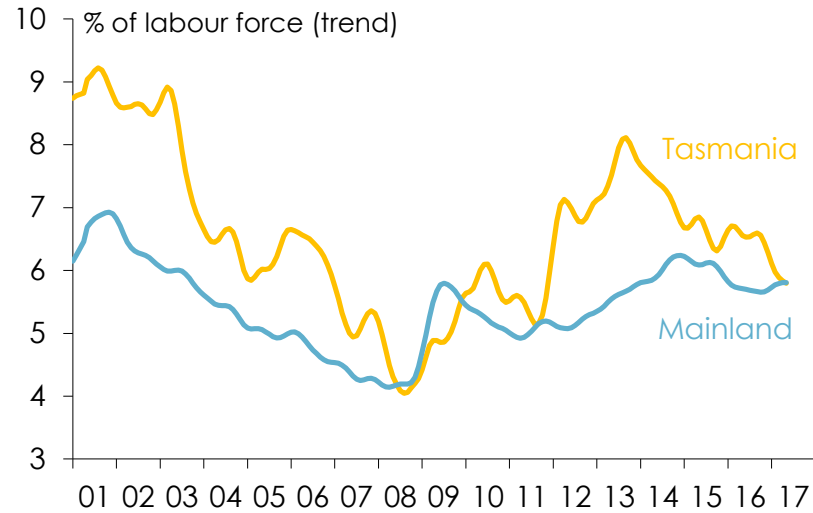


Sources: National Australia Bank; Sensis.

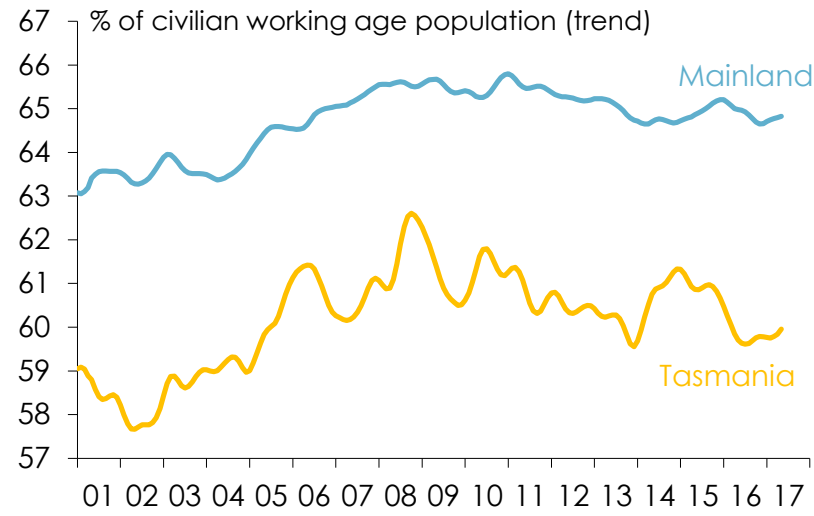


# Unemployment in Tasmania is now lower than on the mainland: but that conceals a lot of on-going weakness in Tasmania's labour market

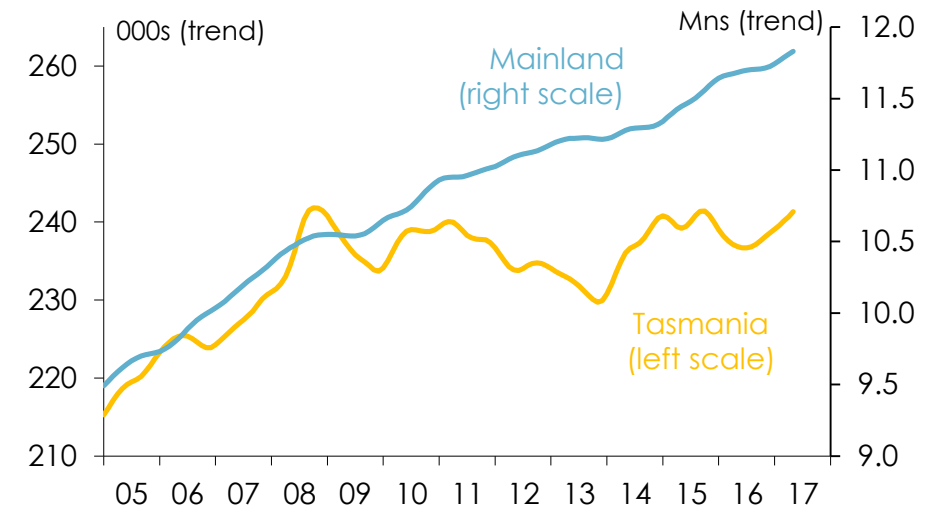
## Unemployment rate



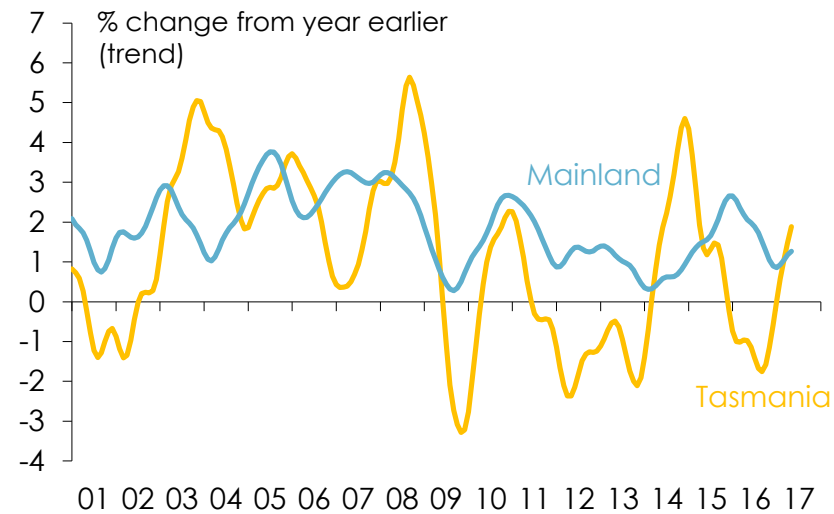
## Labor force participation rate



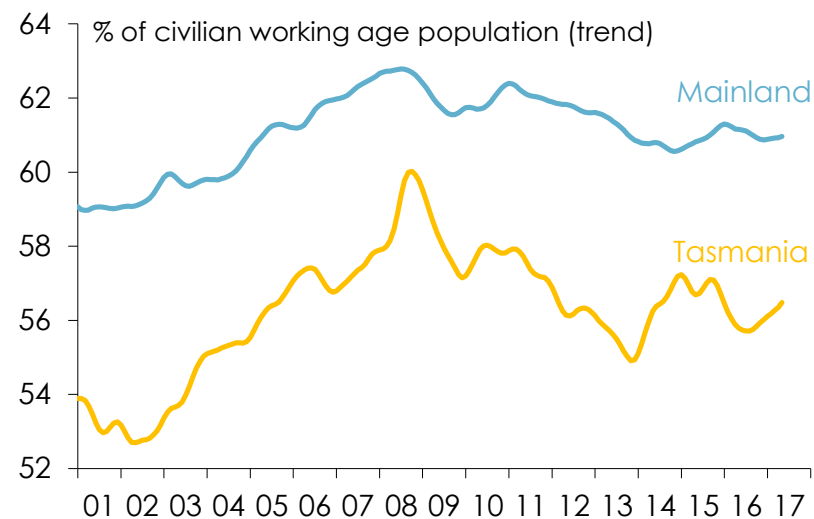
## Level of employment



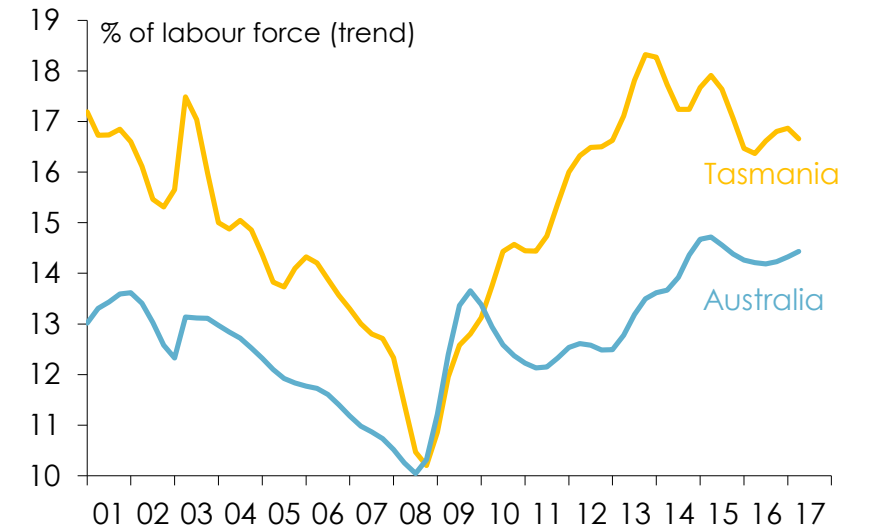
## Employment growth



## 'Employment rate'



## Labour force 'underutilization'

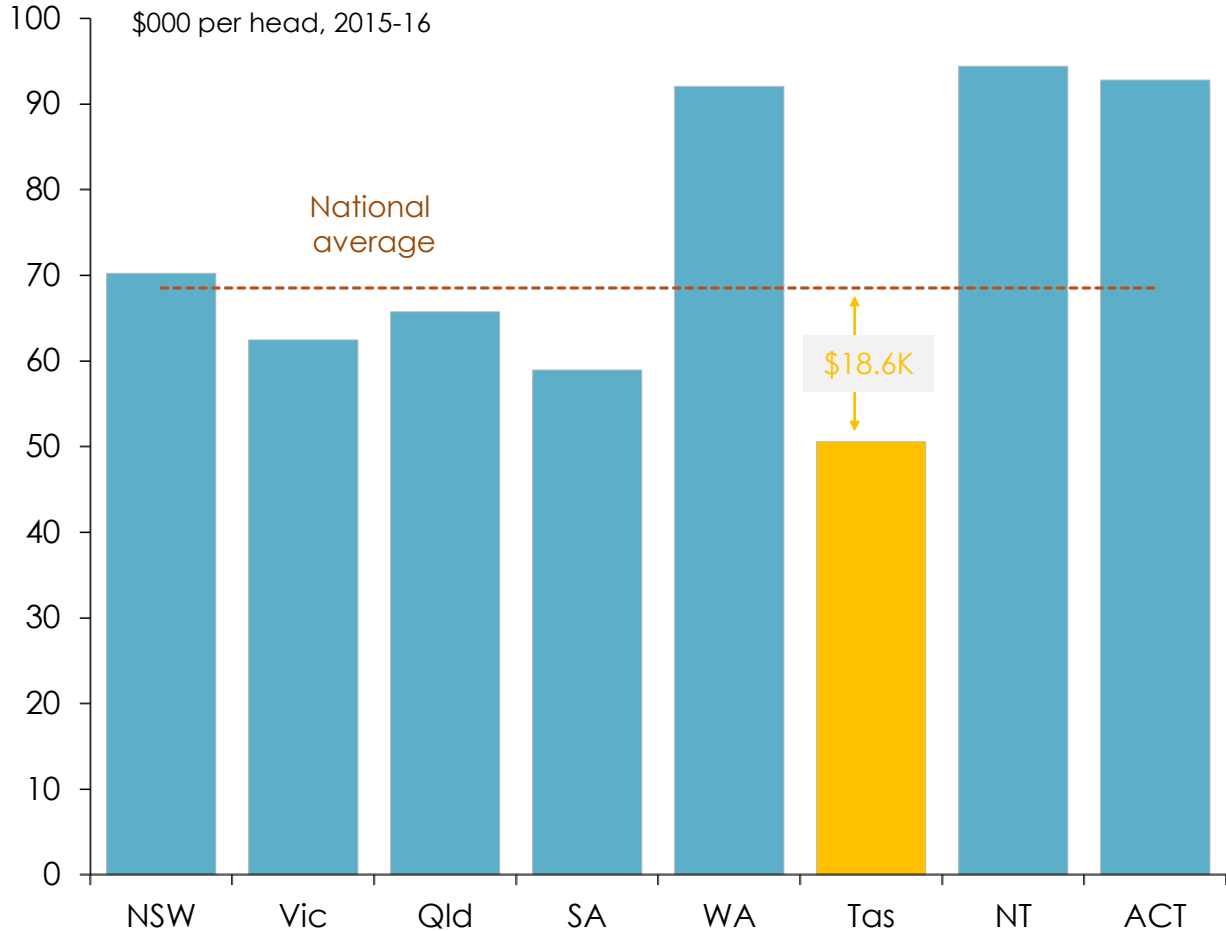


Sources: ABS, 6202.0. Note: the labour force 'under-utilization' rate is the proportion of the work force who are either unemployed (as conventionally defined) or are working part-time for fewer hours than they are willing and available to work.

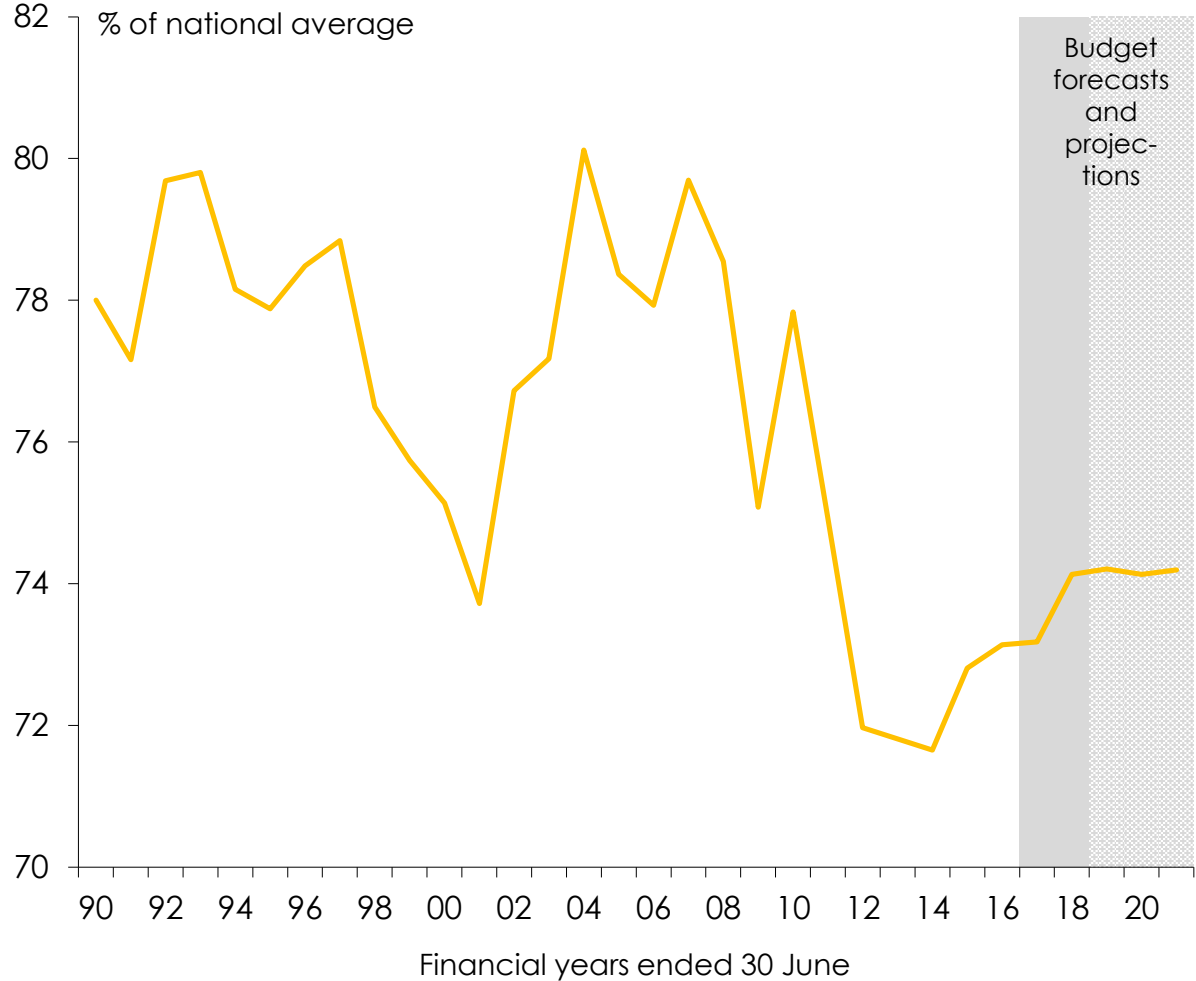
# The longer-term economic challenge for Tasmania

# Tasmania's per capita gross State product is \$18,600 or 27% below the national average

## Gross State product (GSP) per capita, States & Territories, 2015-16



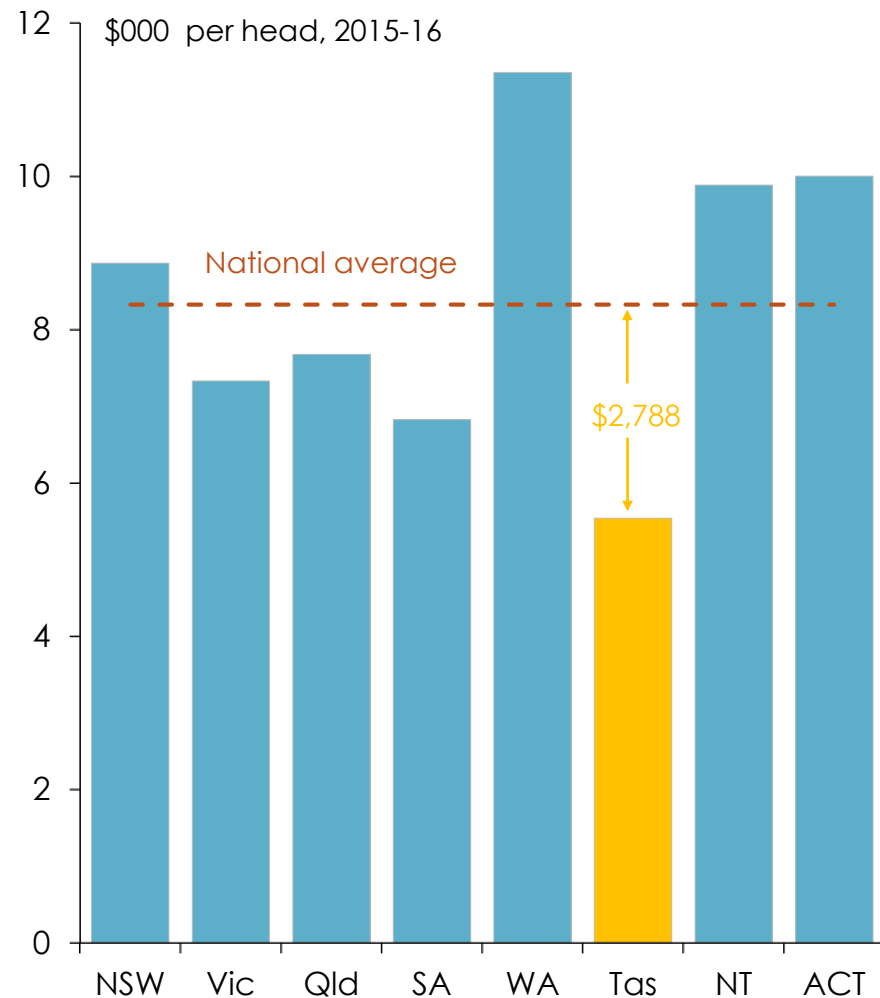
## Tasmanian GSP per capita as a pc of national average, 1989-90 to 2020-21



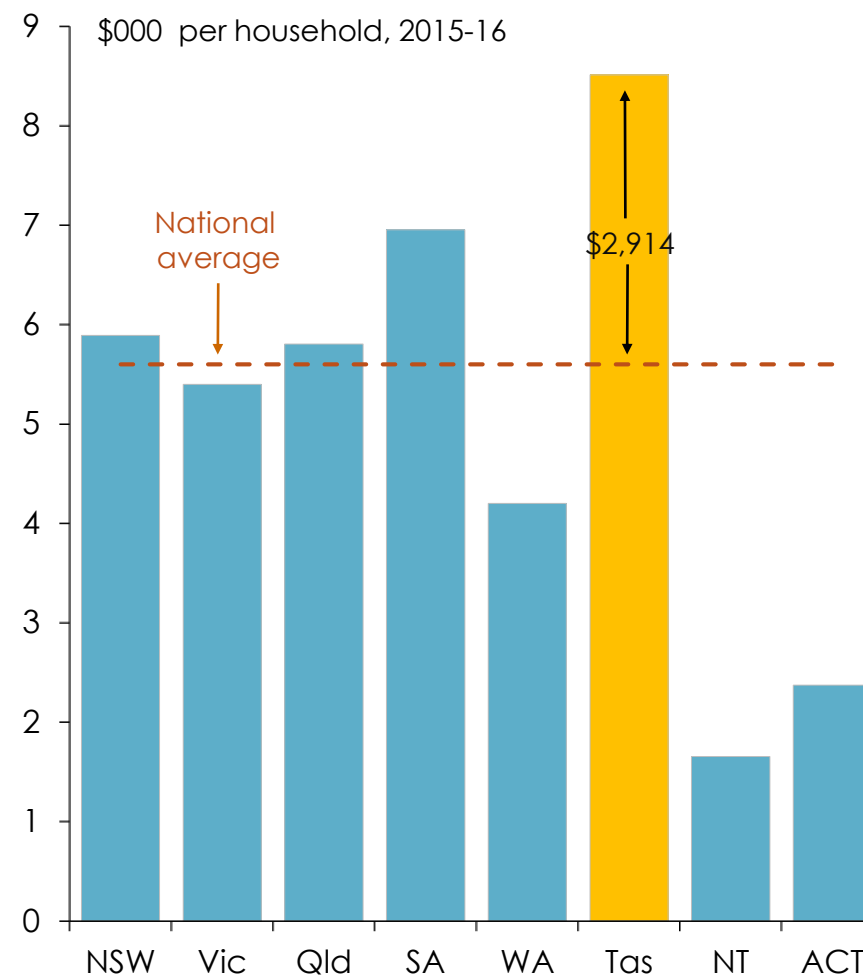
Source: ABS 5220.0; Commonwealth and Tasmanian Budget Papers 2017-18.

# The national tax-transfer system shields Tasmanian households from the full effects of Tasmania's economic under-performance

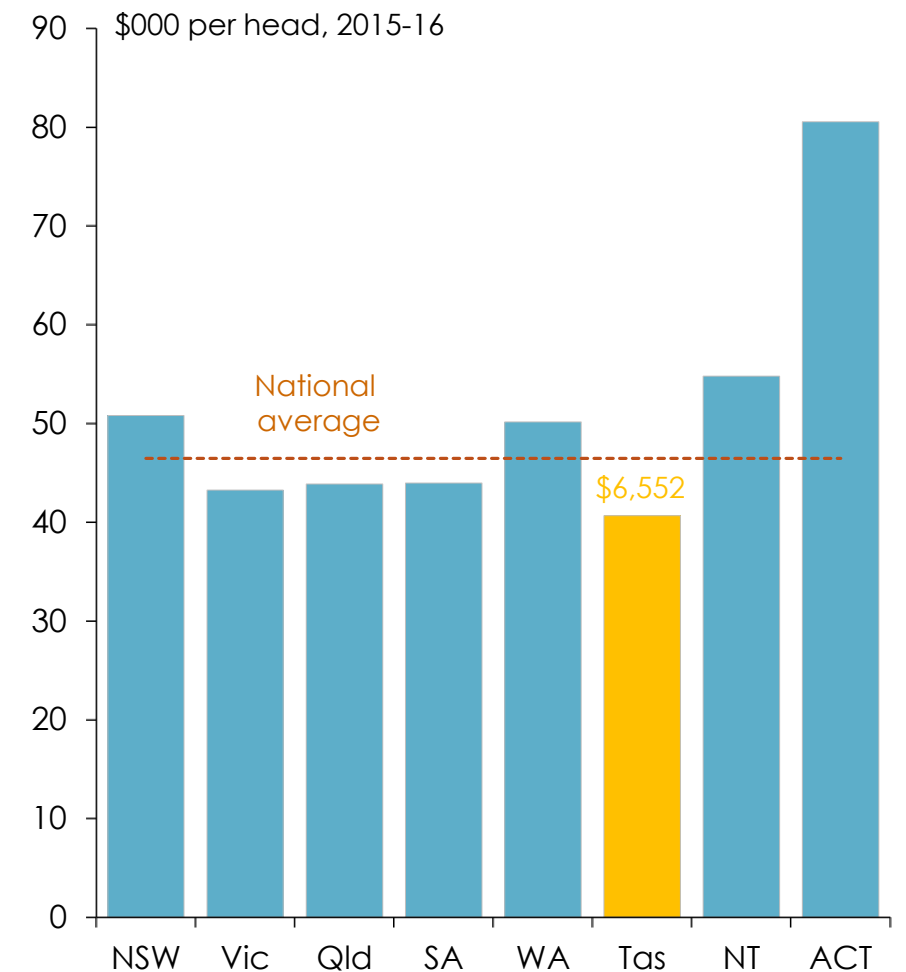
## Personal income tax payments per head, 2015-16



## Social security benefits receipts per head, 2015-16



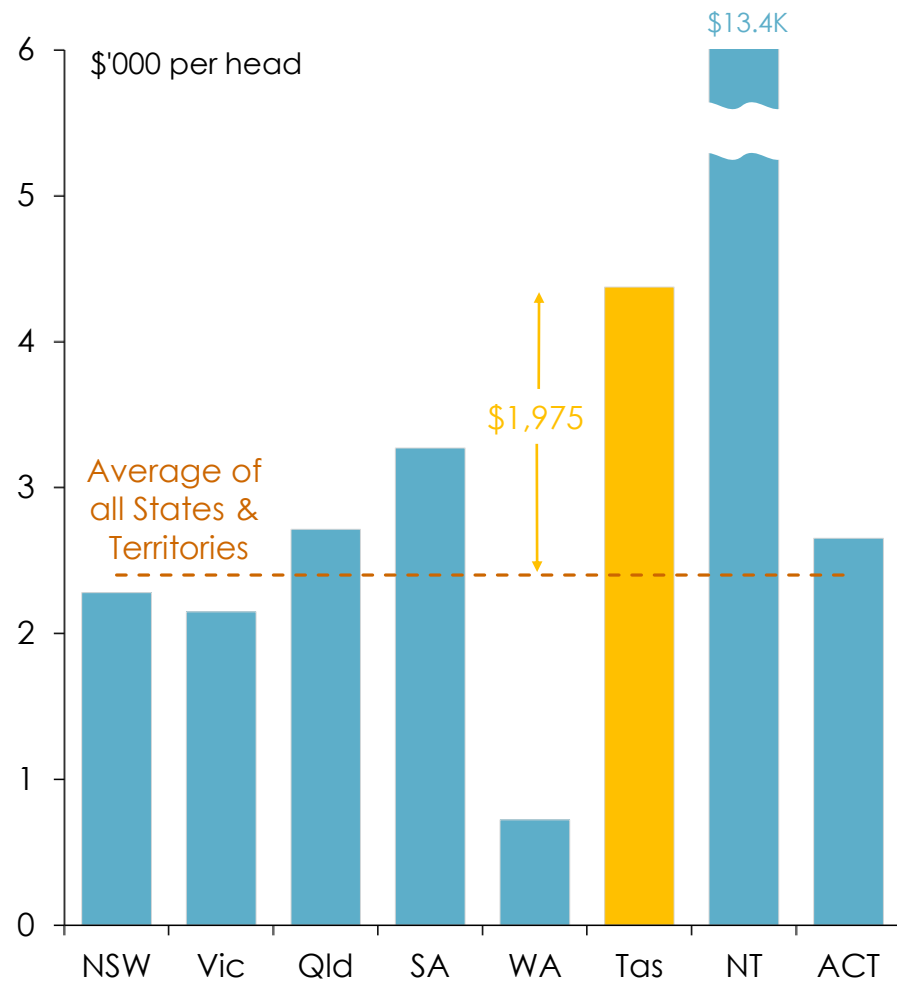
## Household disposable income per head, 2015-16



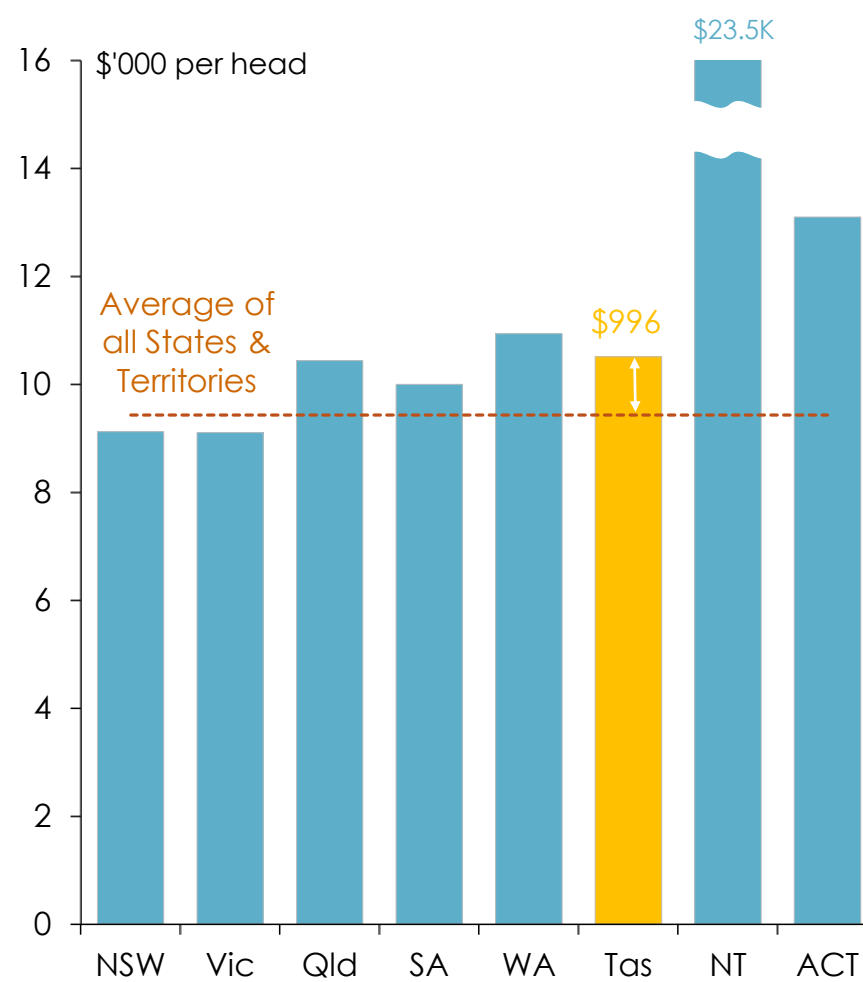
Source: ABS 5220.

# Similarly the GST revenue-sharing system shields the State Government from the full impact of Tasmania's economic under-performance

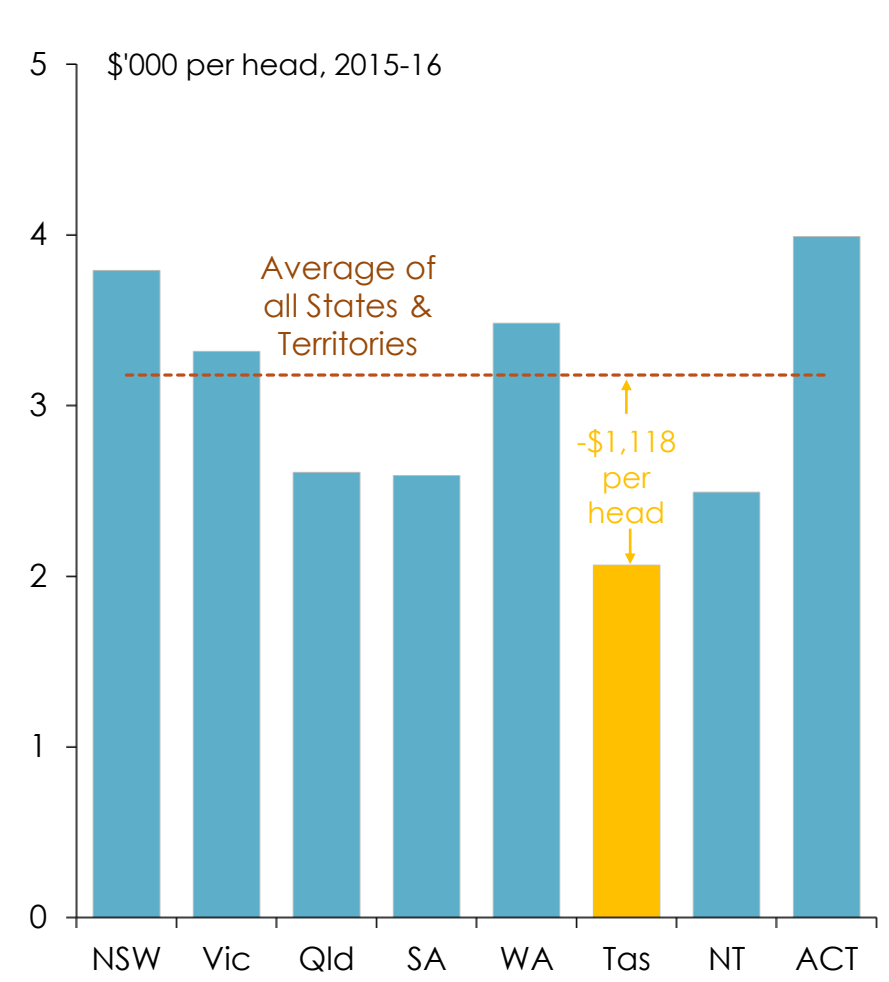
## GST revenue-sharing payments per head, 2015-16



## State government 'operating expenses' per head, 2015-16



## State taxation revenue per head, 2015-16

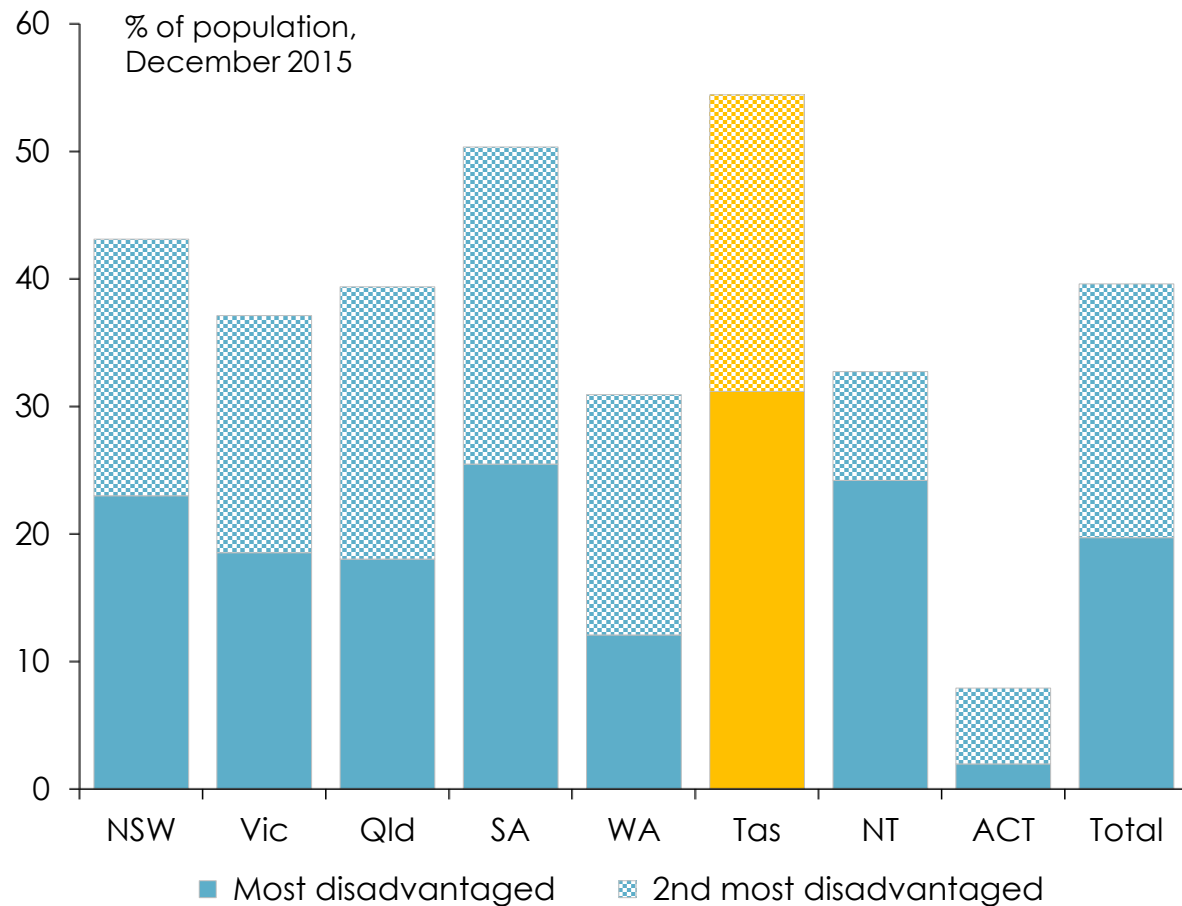


Sources: Commonwealth, State and Territory Final Budget Outcome or equivalent reports 2015-16, and 2017-18 Budget Papers.

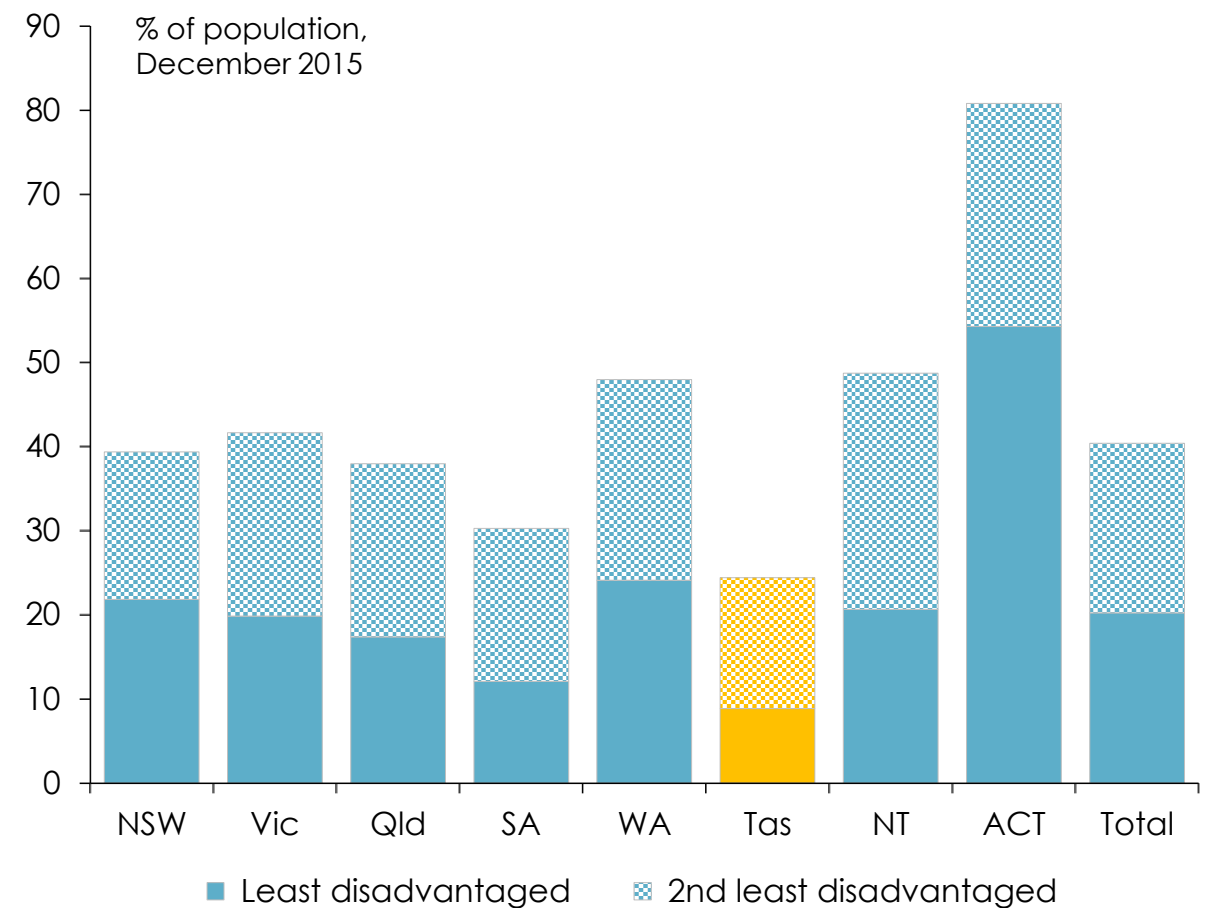
# Tasmania has an above-average share of low-SES households, and a below-average share of high-SES households

## Socio-economic status (SES) of households – States and Territories, December 2015

### Lowest



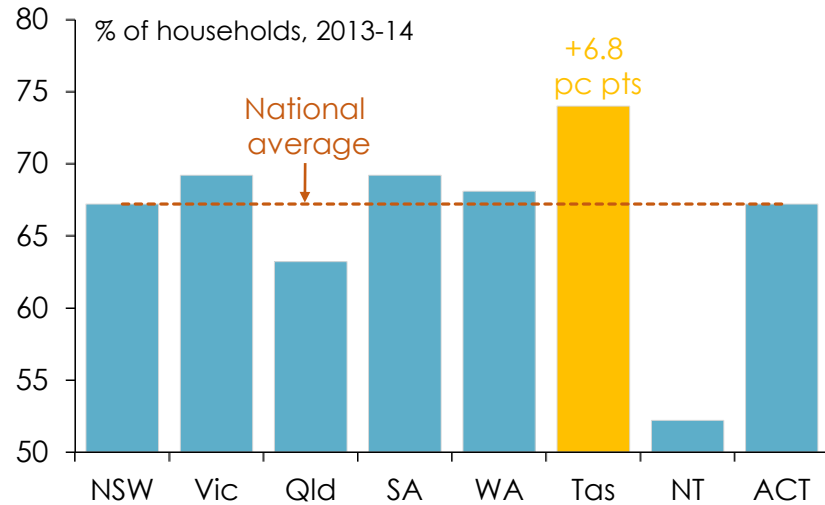
### Highest



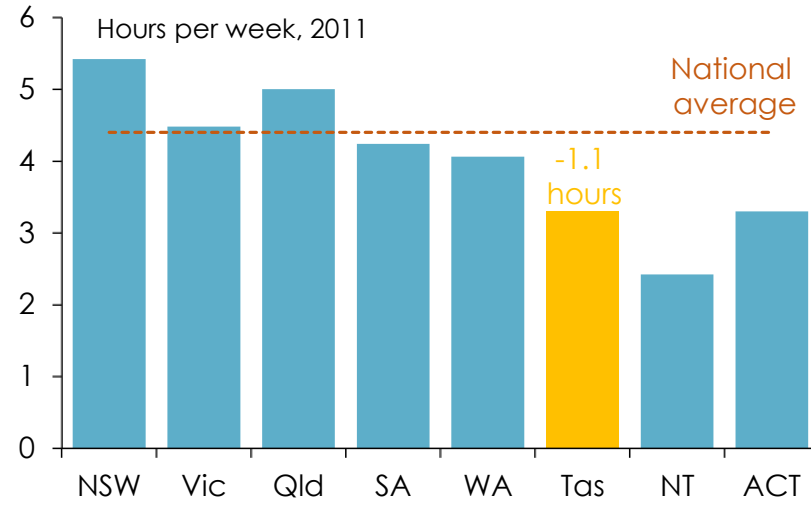
Source: Commonwealth Grants Commission, Report on GST Revenue Sharing Relativities – 2017 Update, Table S1-3.

# Of course, GDP, income and wealth aren't everything ...

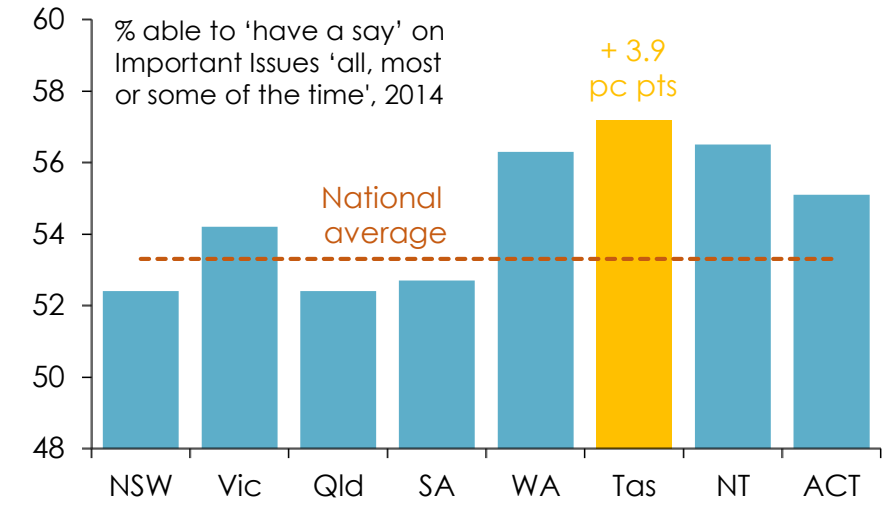
## Home ownership rates



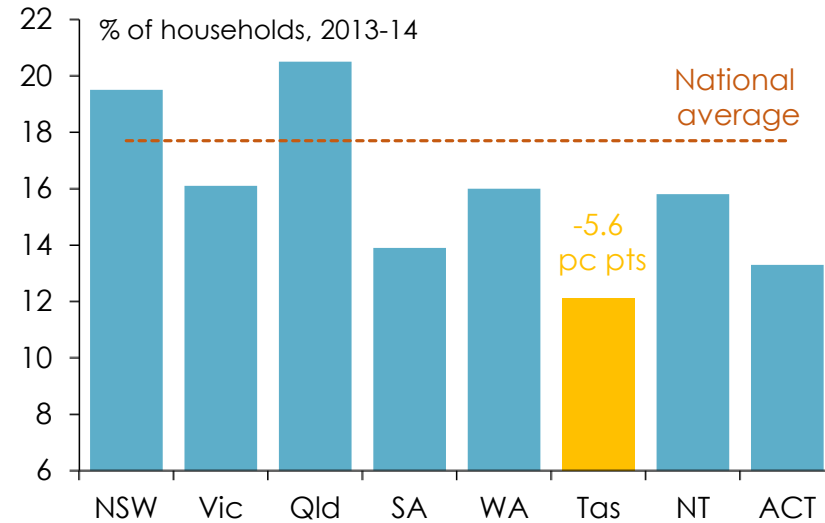
## Commuting times



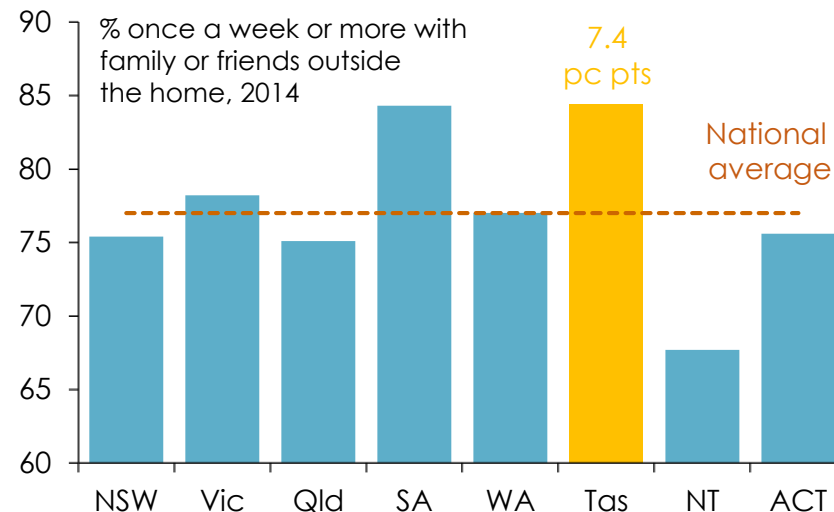
## Feel able to 'have a say'



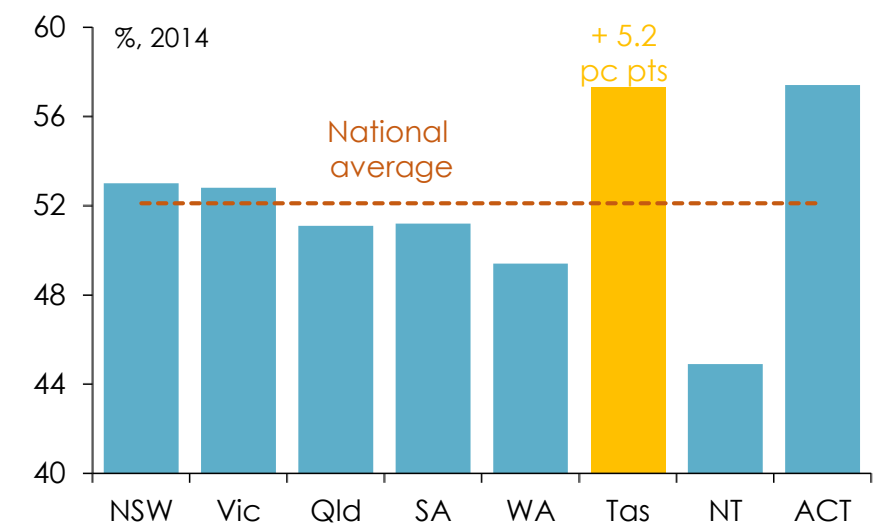
## Housing stress



## Contact with family & friends



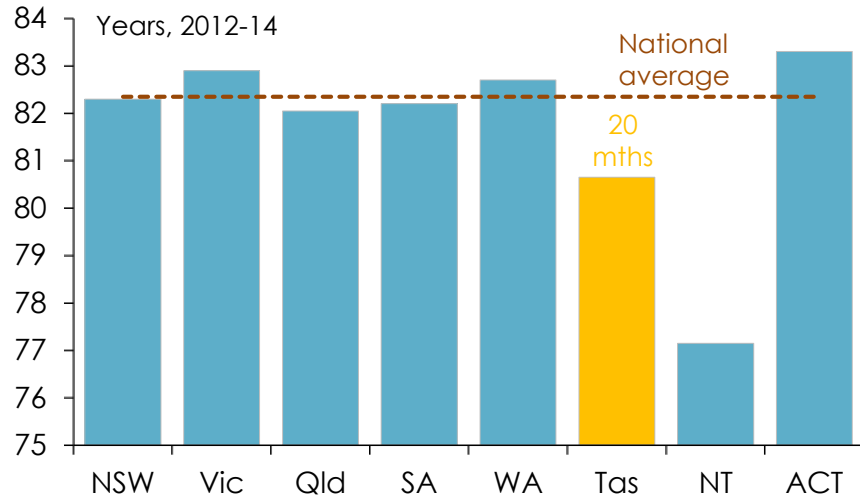
## Feel safe walking alone at night



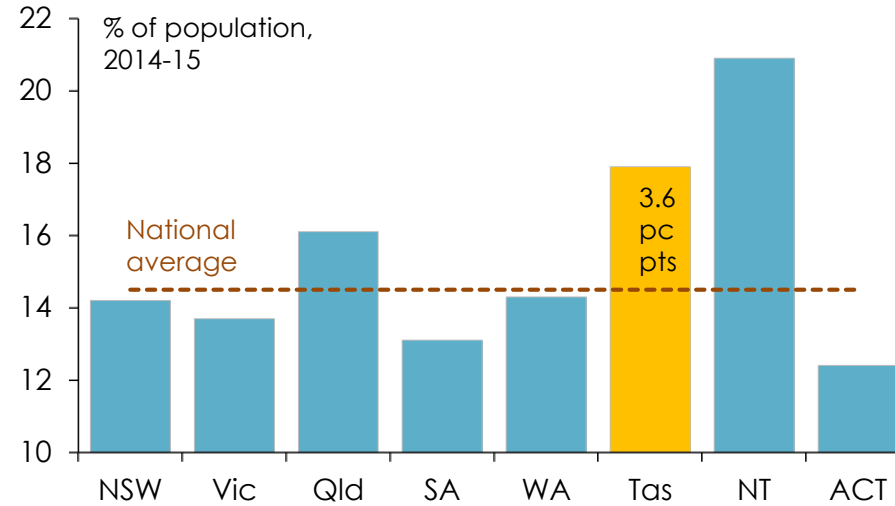
Note: 'Housing stress' means spending more than 30% of gross household income on housing costs.  
Sources: ABS, 4130.0, AMP/NATSEM Race Against Time, ABS 4159.0.

# ... but Tasmanians nonetheless have lower levels of well-being than other Australians on many other non-economic indicators

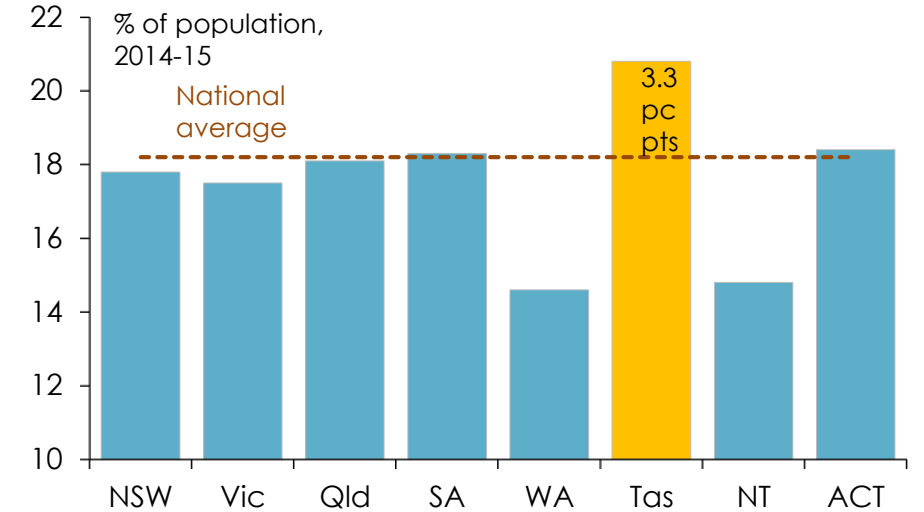
## Life expectancy at birth



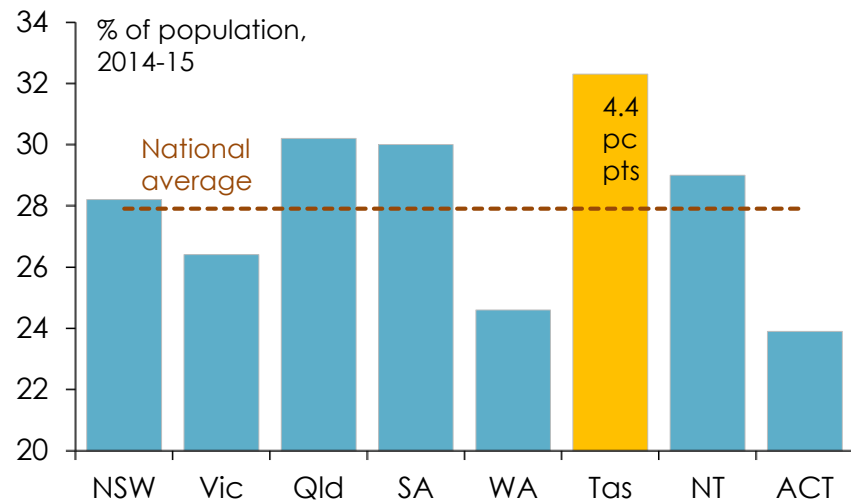
## Daily smoking



## Mental or behavioural problems



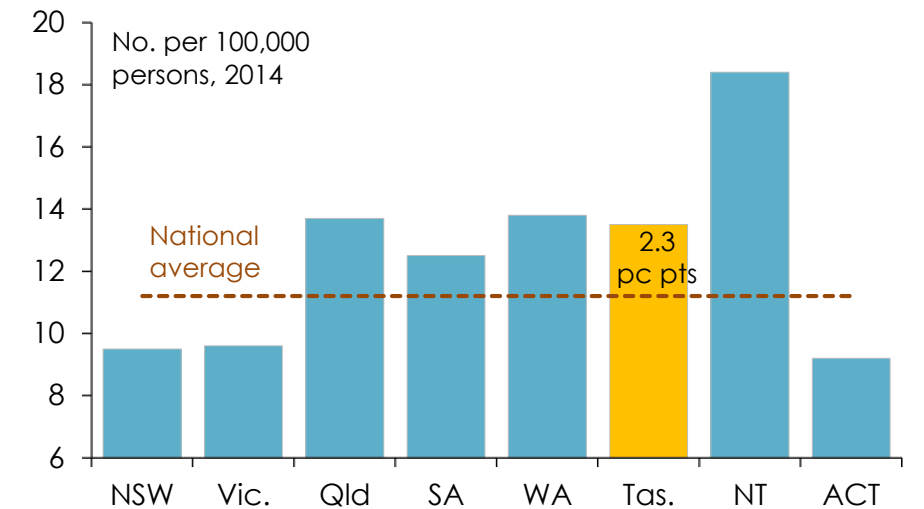
## Obesity



## High blood pressure



## Suicide rate



Note: 'Obese' means body mass index (BMI) of 30 or more. 'High blood pressure' means  $\geq 140/90$  mmHg. Mental or behavioural problems includes organic mental problems, alcohol and drug problems, mood (affective) problems, anxiety related problems and other mental and behavioural problems.  
Sources: ABS, 3302.0.55.001, 4364.0.55.001, 3303.0.



# A useful way of thinking about the reasons for Tasmania's sub-par economic performance

$$\frac{\text{gross State product}}{\text{population}} = \frac{\text{employment}}{\text{population}} \times \frac{\text{total hours worked}}{\text{employment}} = \frac{\text{gross State product}}{\text{population}}$$

The diagram illustrates the decomposition of per capita gross state product into its components. The first fraction,  $\frac{\text{gross State product}}{\text{population}}$ , is equal to the product of two fractions:  $\frac{\text{employment}}{\text{population}}$  and  $\frac{\text{total hours worked}}{\text{employment}}$ . This product is then shown to be equal to the original fraction  $\frac{\text{gross State product}}{\text{population}}$ . Red diagonal lines are drawn through the 'employment' terms in the first and second fractions, and blue diagonal lines are drawn through the 'total hours worked' and 'employment' terms in the second and third fractions, respectively, to show the cancellation of these terms.

# A useful way of thinking about the reasons for Tasmania's sub-par economic performance

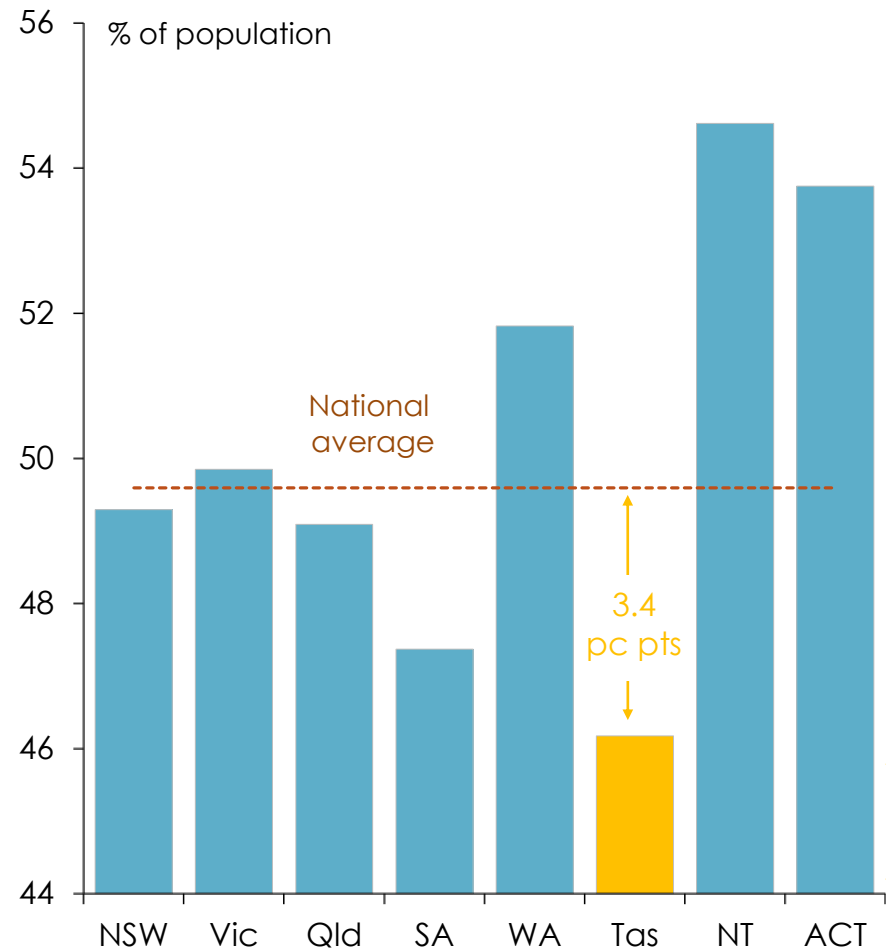
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$$\frac{\text{gross State product}}{\text{population}} = \frac{\text{employment}}{\text{population}} \times \frac{\text{total hours worked}}{\text{employment}} = \frac{\text{participation rate}}{\text{population}} \times \frac{\text{average hours worked}}{\text{employment}} \times \frac{\text{labour productivity}}{\text{employment}}$$

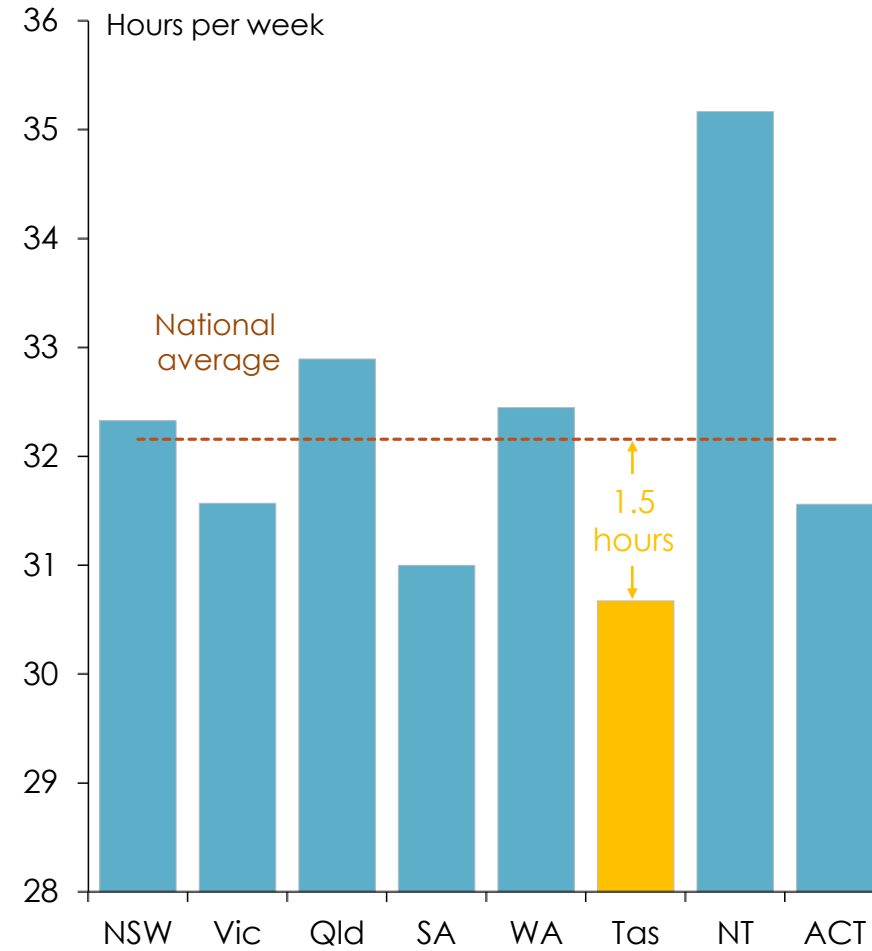
The diagram illustrates the decomposition of per capita gross state product into three components: participation rate, average hours worked, and labour productivity. It shows that per capita output is equal to the ratio of employment to population multiplied by the ratio of total hours worked to employment, which is further equal to the participation rate multiplied by the average hours worked, and finally multiplied by labour productivity.

# Tasmania's below-average per capita GSP reflects below-average employment participation, working hours, and productivity

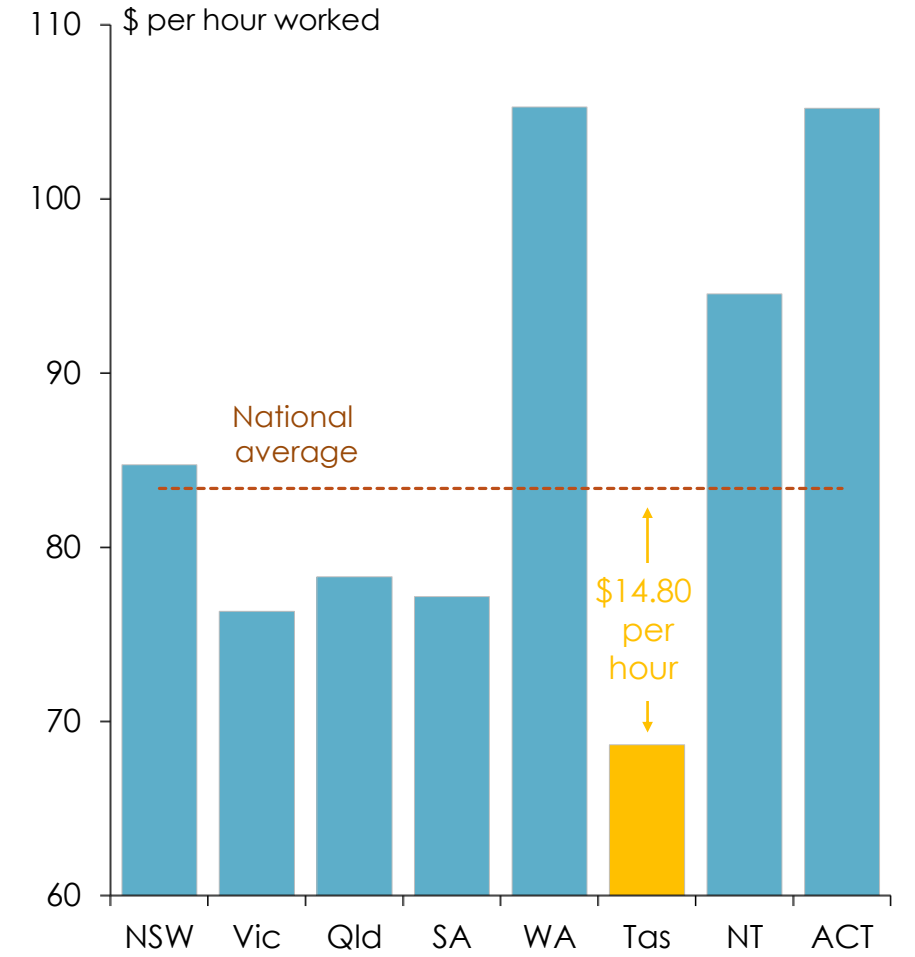
## Employment-to-population ratio, 2015-16



## Average weekly hours worked, 2015-16



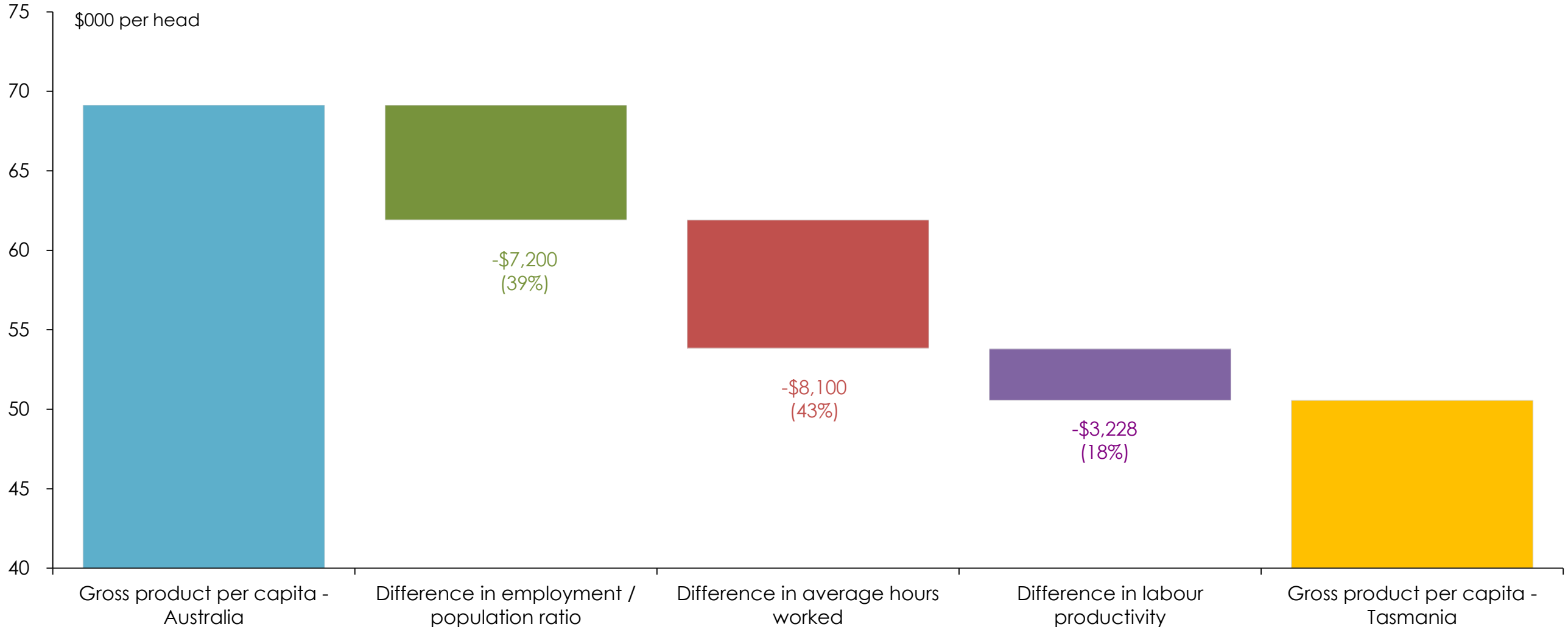
## Output per hour worked (labour productivity), 2015-16



Source: ABS 5220.0 and 6201.0

# Tasmania's below-average gross product per person reflects below-average employment participation, working hours and productivity

## Sources of the difference in per capita gross product between Tasmania and Australia, 2015-16



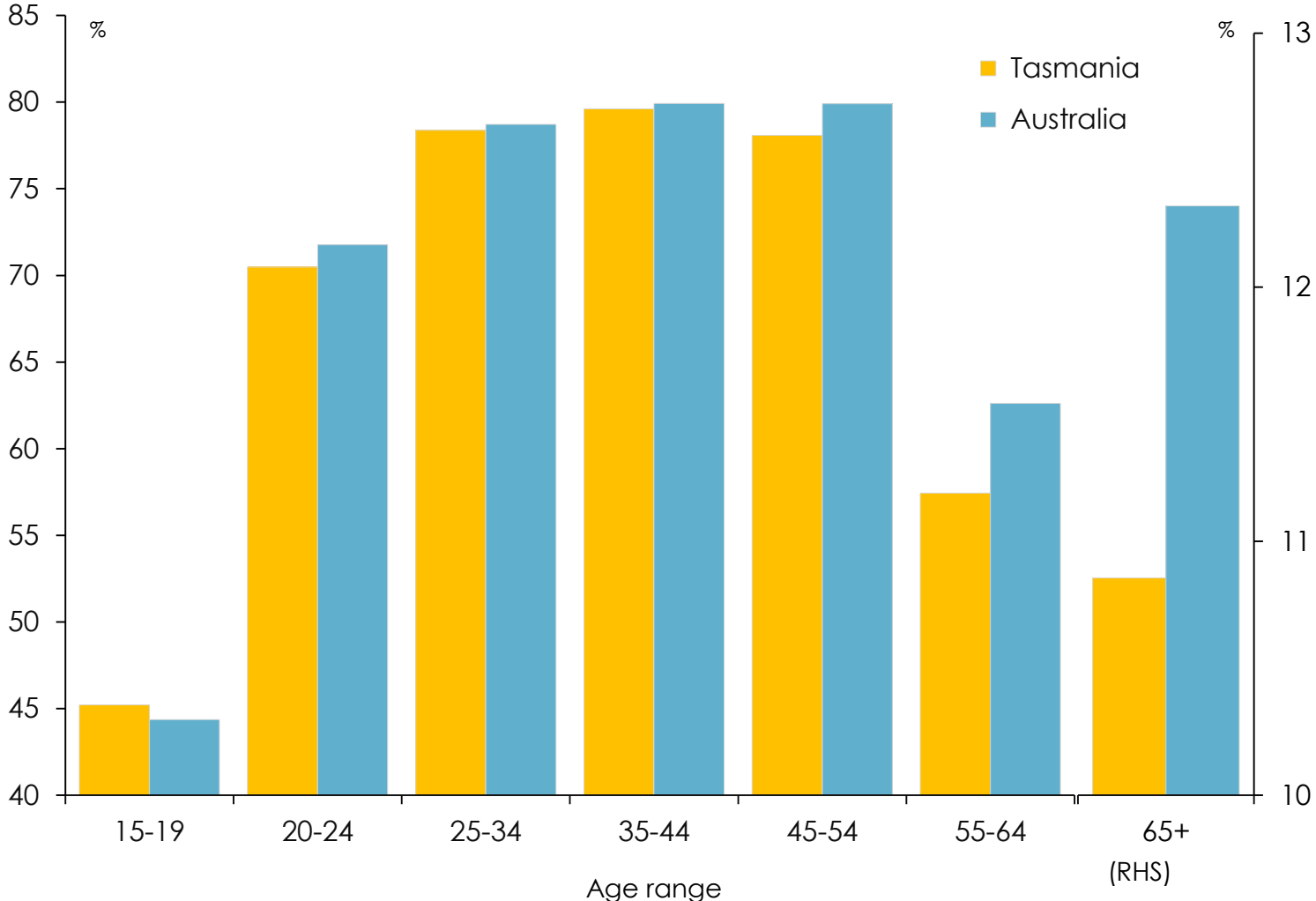
Sources: ABS, Australian National Accounts – State Accounts (catalogue no. 5220.0) and The Labour Force, Australia (catalogue no. 6201.0).

# Tasmania's below-average workforce participation rate is partly the result of its older-than-average population - but not entirely

Population aged 65 and over, States and Territories, June 2016



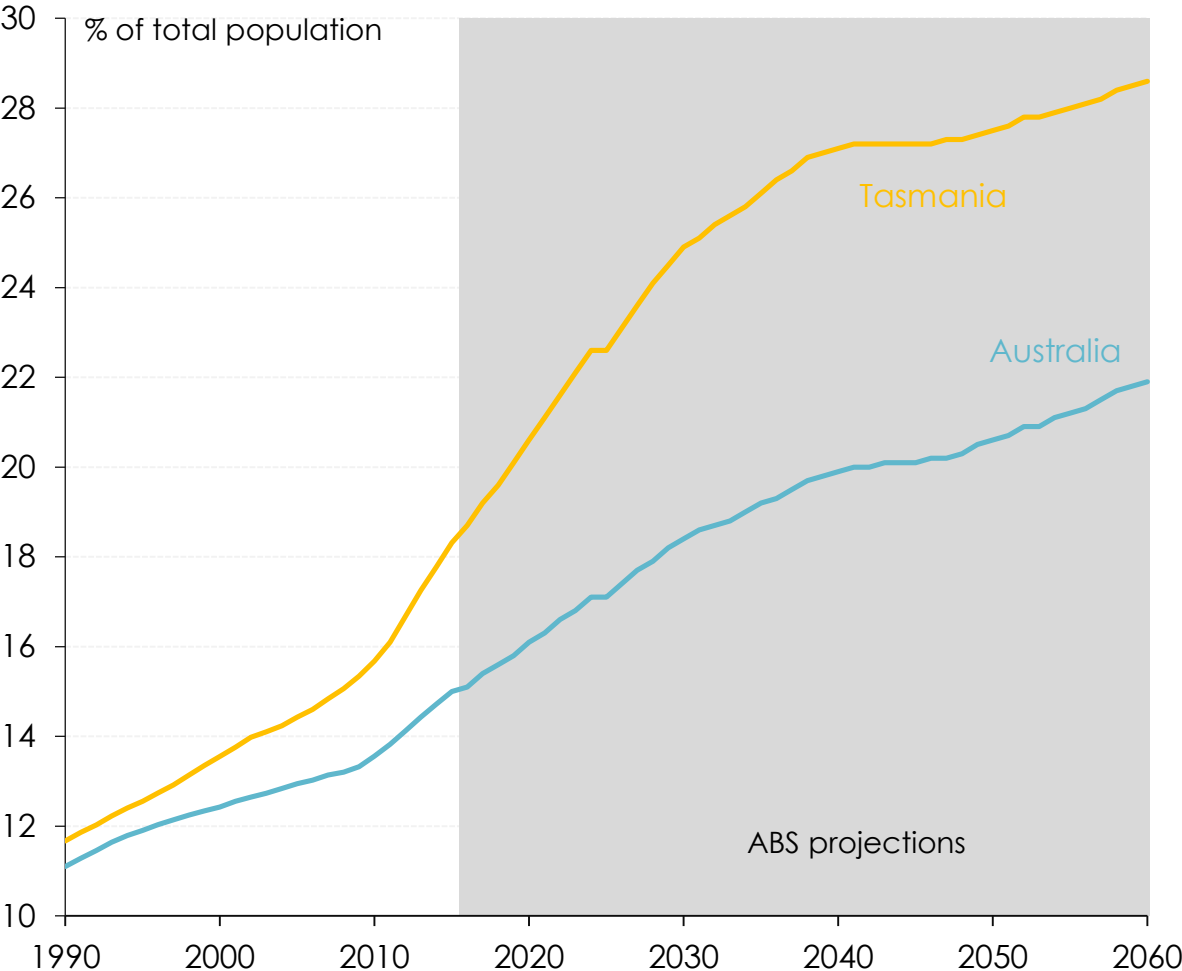
Employment as a pc of population, by age, Tasmania vs national average, 2015-16



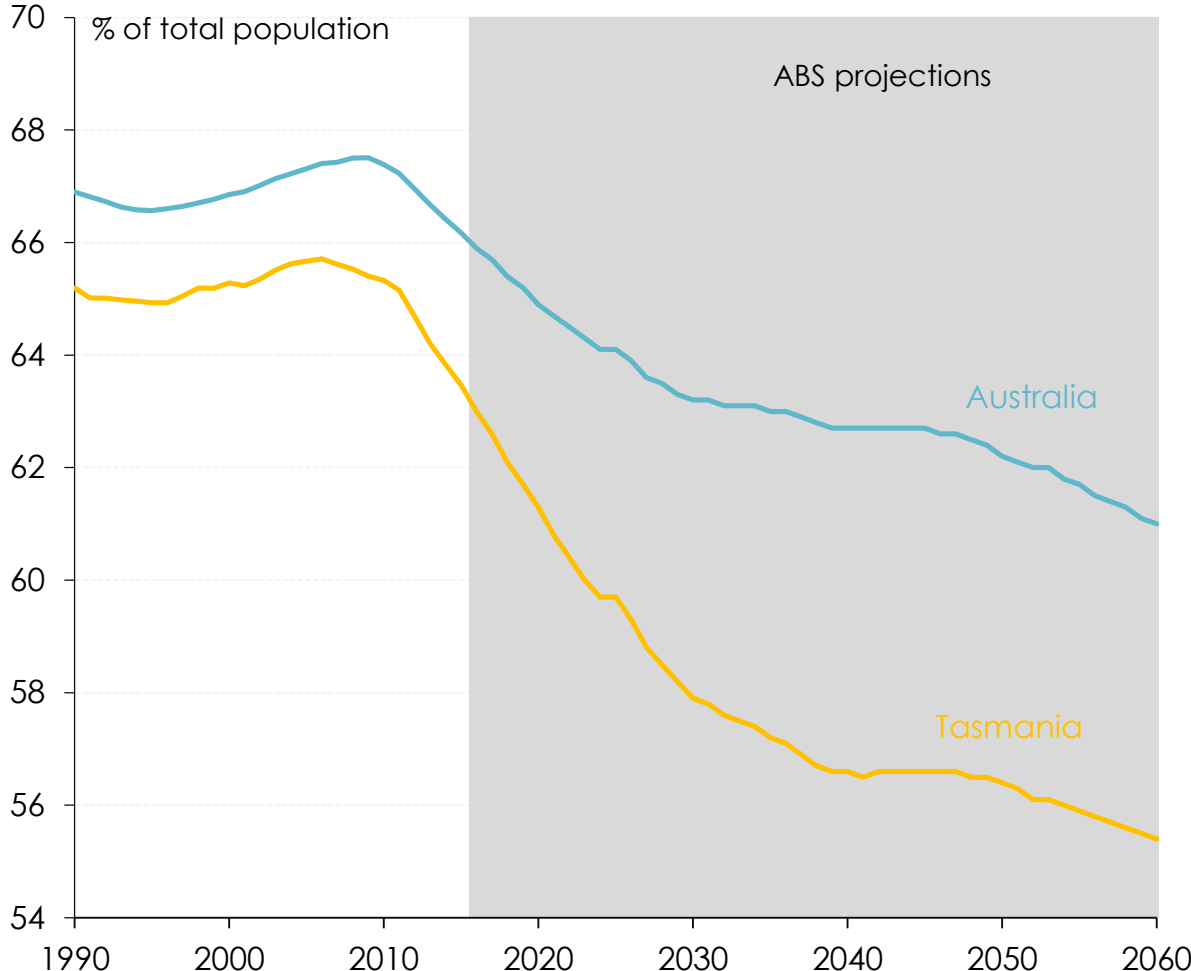
Source: ABS 3101.0 and 3105.0.65.001.

# Tasmania's population is going to age even more rapidly over the next 25 years than it has done over the past 25 ...

### Pc of population aged 65 and over



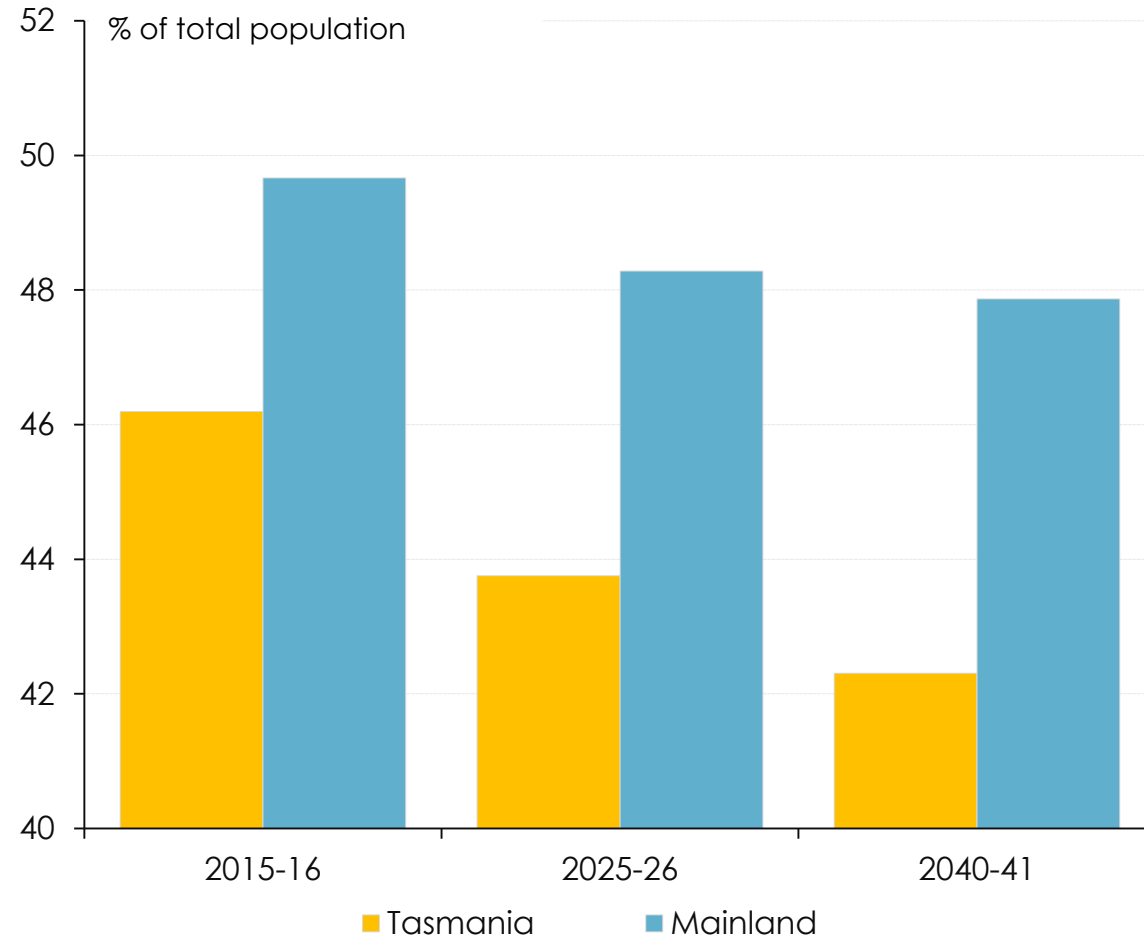
### Pc of population aged 15-64



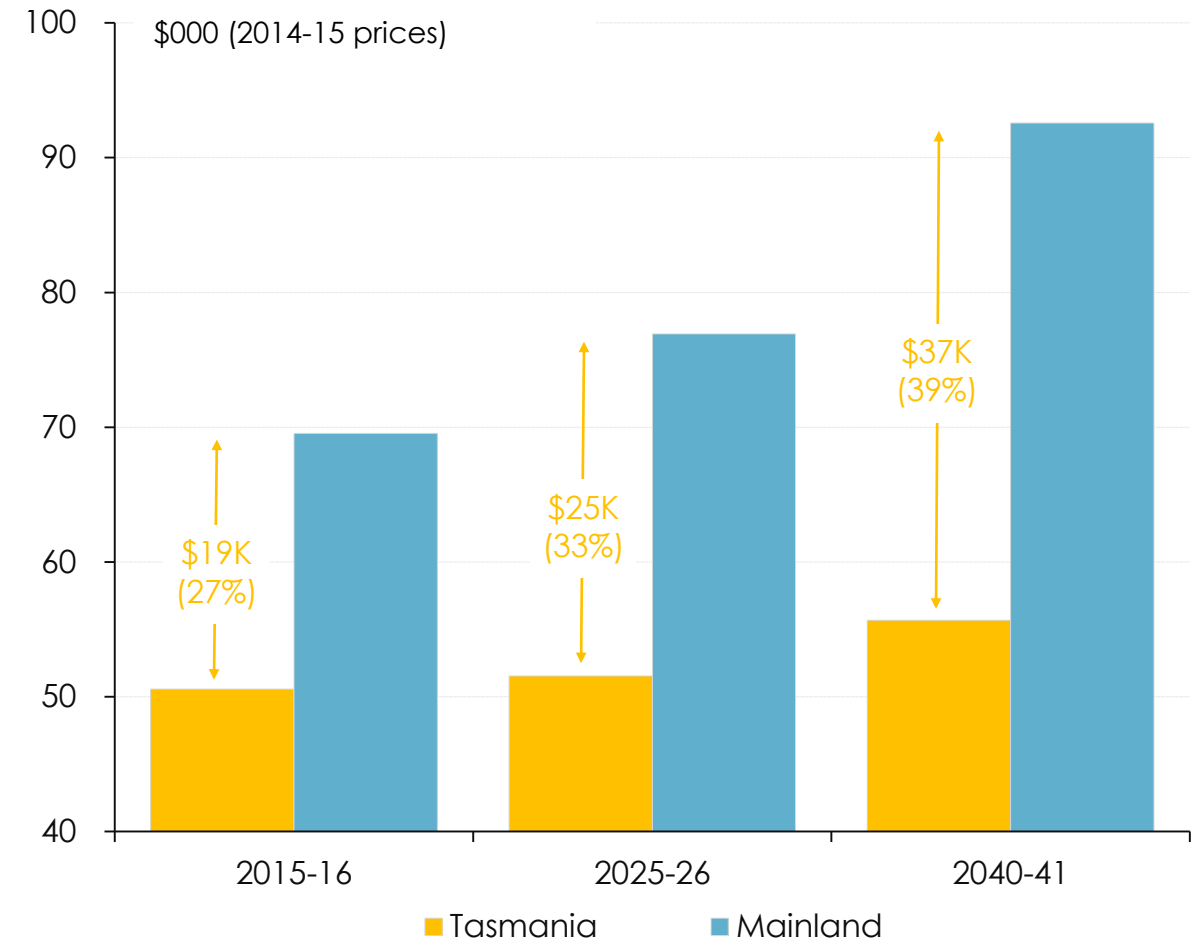
Source: ABS, Population Projections, Australia, 2012 (base) to 2101 (catalogue no. 3222.0).

# ... which means that Tasmania's 'employment rate' is likely to fall further and all else being equal, the 'living standards gap' will widen further

## Projected employment-to-population ratios, Tasmania and mainland



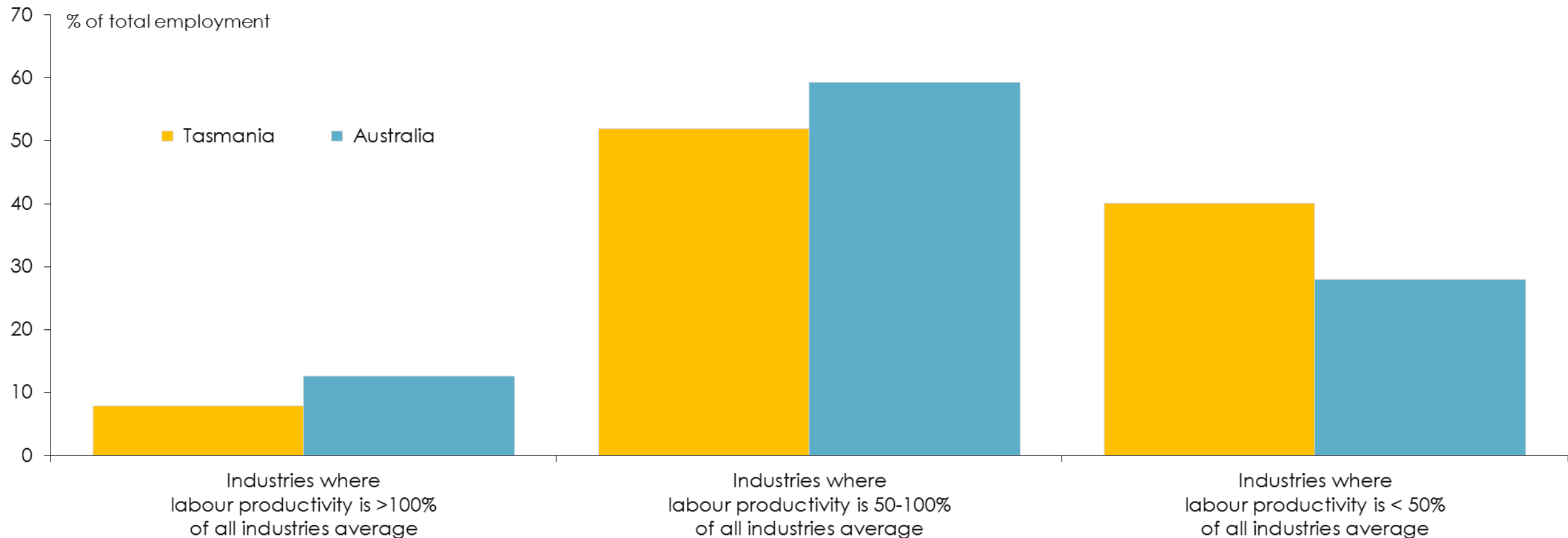
## Projected levels of per capita GSP, Tasmania and mainland



Note: Per capita GSP projections assume average hours worked unchanged at 2015-16 levels, and productivity growth for Tasmania and mainland continuing at the same rates as over the ten years to 2015-16. Source: ABS.

# 'High-productivity' industries are 'under-represented' in the Tasmanian economy, while 'low-productivity' industries are 'over-represented'

Proportion of workforce employed in industries where Australia-wide productivity is above or below the average for all industries – Tasmania and Australia, 2015-16



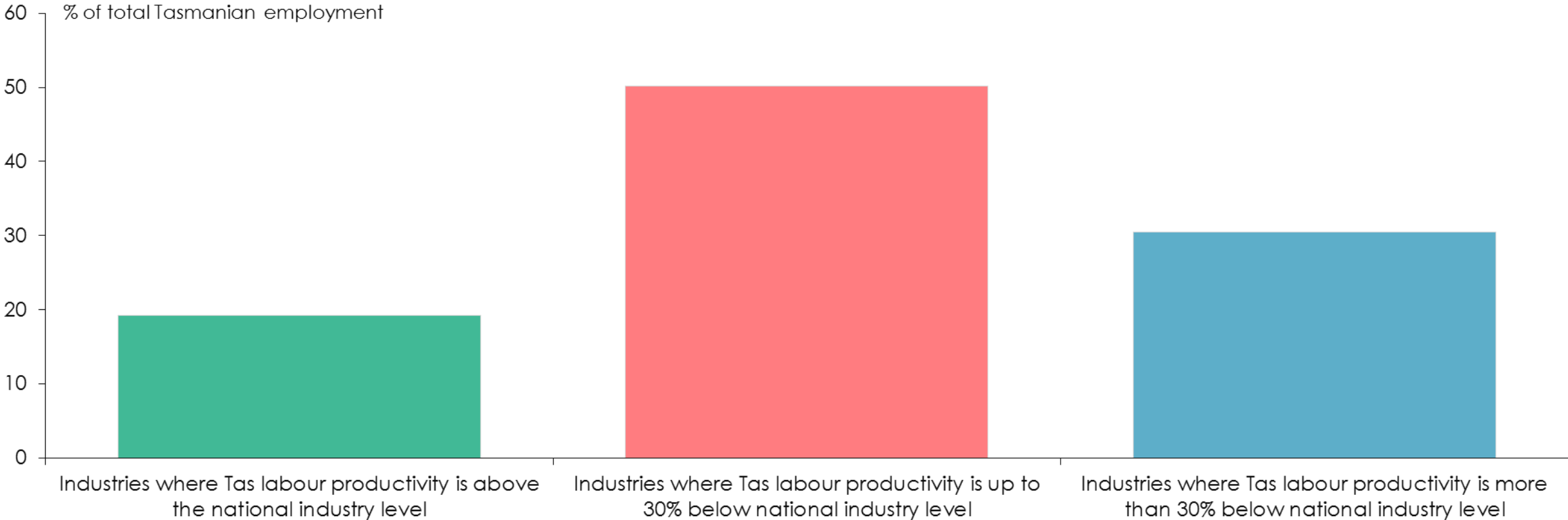
Note: Industries where Australia-wide labour productivity is above the national all-industries average are mining; financial & insurance services; electricity, gas, water and waste disposal services; rental, hiring & real estate services; and information, media & telecommunications services. Industries where Australia-wide labour productivity is between 50 and 100% of the all-industries average are wholesale trade; public administration & safety; administration & support services; construction; transport, postal and warehousing; manufacturing; professional, scientific & technical services; agriculture, forestry & fishing; and education & training. Industries where Australia-wide labour productivity is less than half the all-industries average are health care & social assistance; art & recreation services; retail trade; accommodation & food services; and other services.

Sources: ABS, Australian National Accounts – State Accounts (catalogue no. 5220.0) and The Labour Force, Australia, Detailed, Quarterly (catalogue no. 6291.0.55.003).



# More than 80% of the Tasmanian workforce is employed in industries where Tasmanian labour productivity is below the national average

Proportion of Tasmania's workforce employed in industries where Tasmanian labour productivity is above, or below, the corresponding national averages for those industries

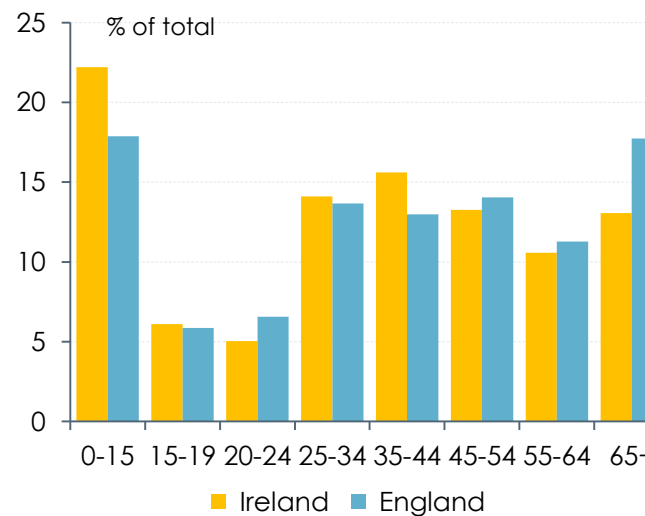
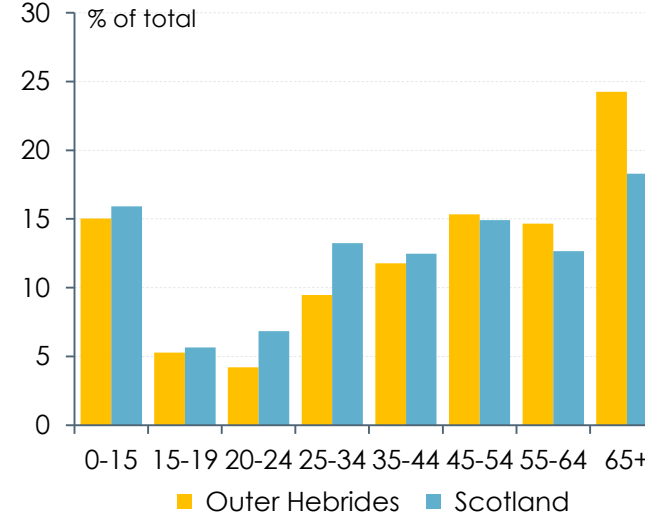
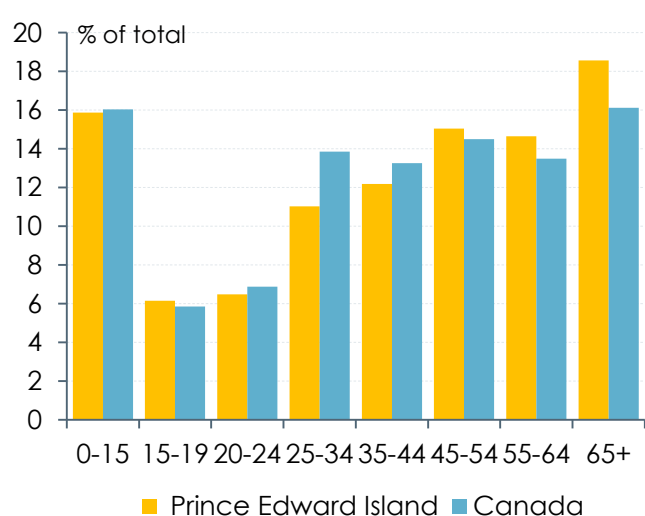
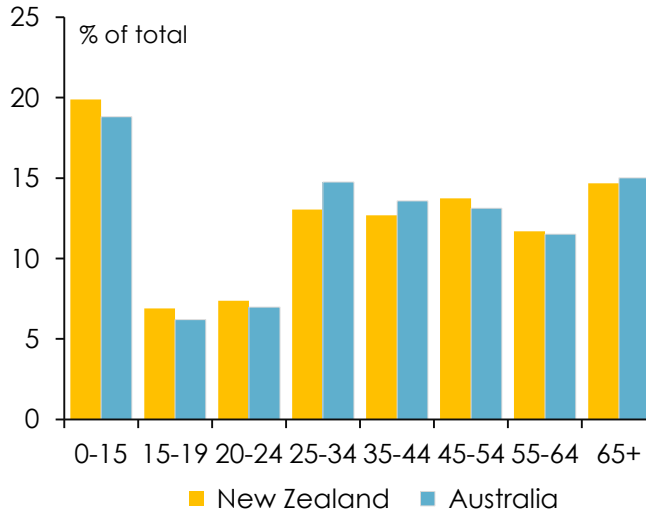
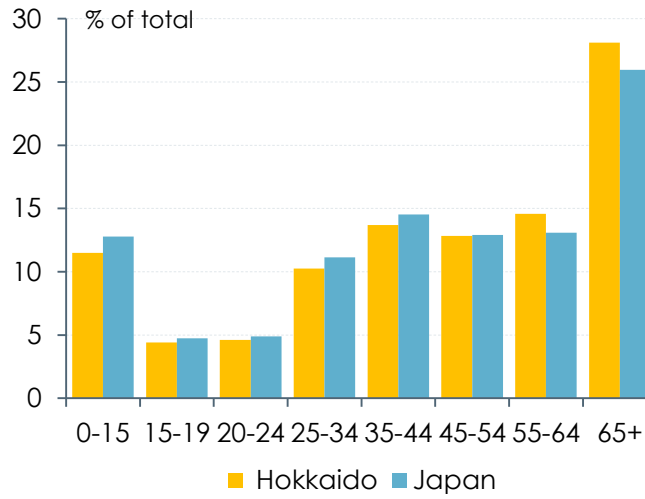
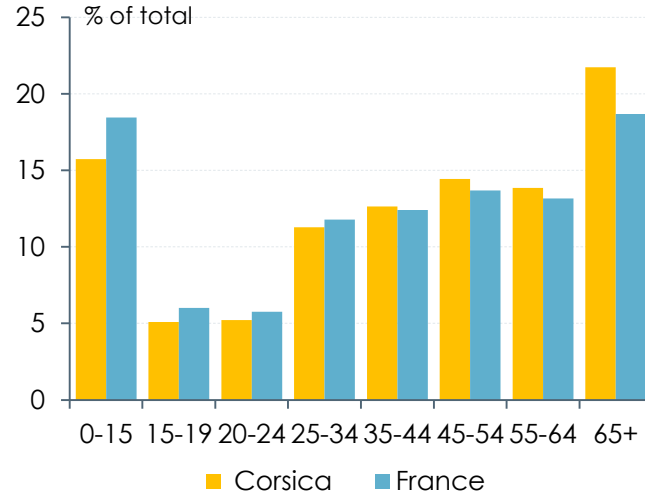
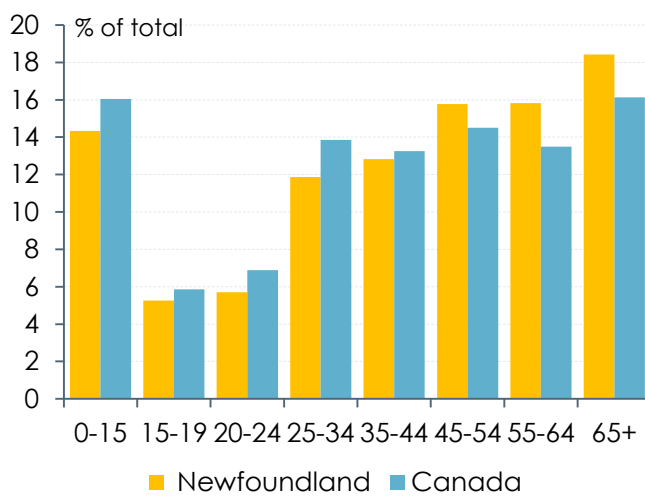
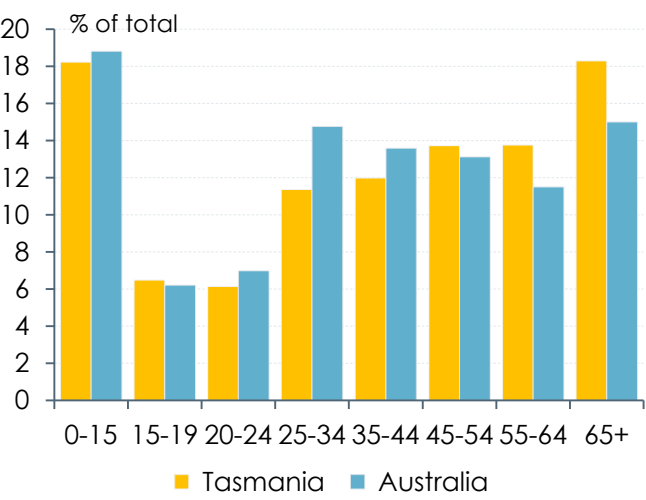


Note: Industries where Tasmanian labour productivity is above corresponding national industry average are electricity, gas, water and waste disposal services; financial & insurance services; information, media & telecommunications services; agriculture, forestry & fishing; transport, postal and warehousing; rental, hiring & real estate services; and wholesale trade. Industries where Tasmanian labour productivity is between 70 and 100% of the corresponding national industry average are administration & support services; manufacturing; education and training; public administration and safety; mining; construction; and health care and social assistance. Industries where Tasmanian labour productivity is less than 70% of the corresponding national industry average are professional, scientific and technical services; retail trade; accommodation & food services; art & recreation services; and other services.

Sources: ABS, *Australian National Accounts – State Accounts* (catalogue no. 5220.0) and *The Labour Force, Australia, Detailed, Quarterly* (catalogue no. 6291.0.55.003).

# Tasmania's demographic profile is by no means unique – many other islands have something similar or even starker

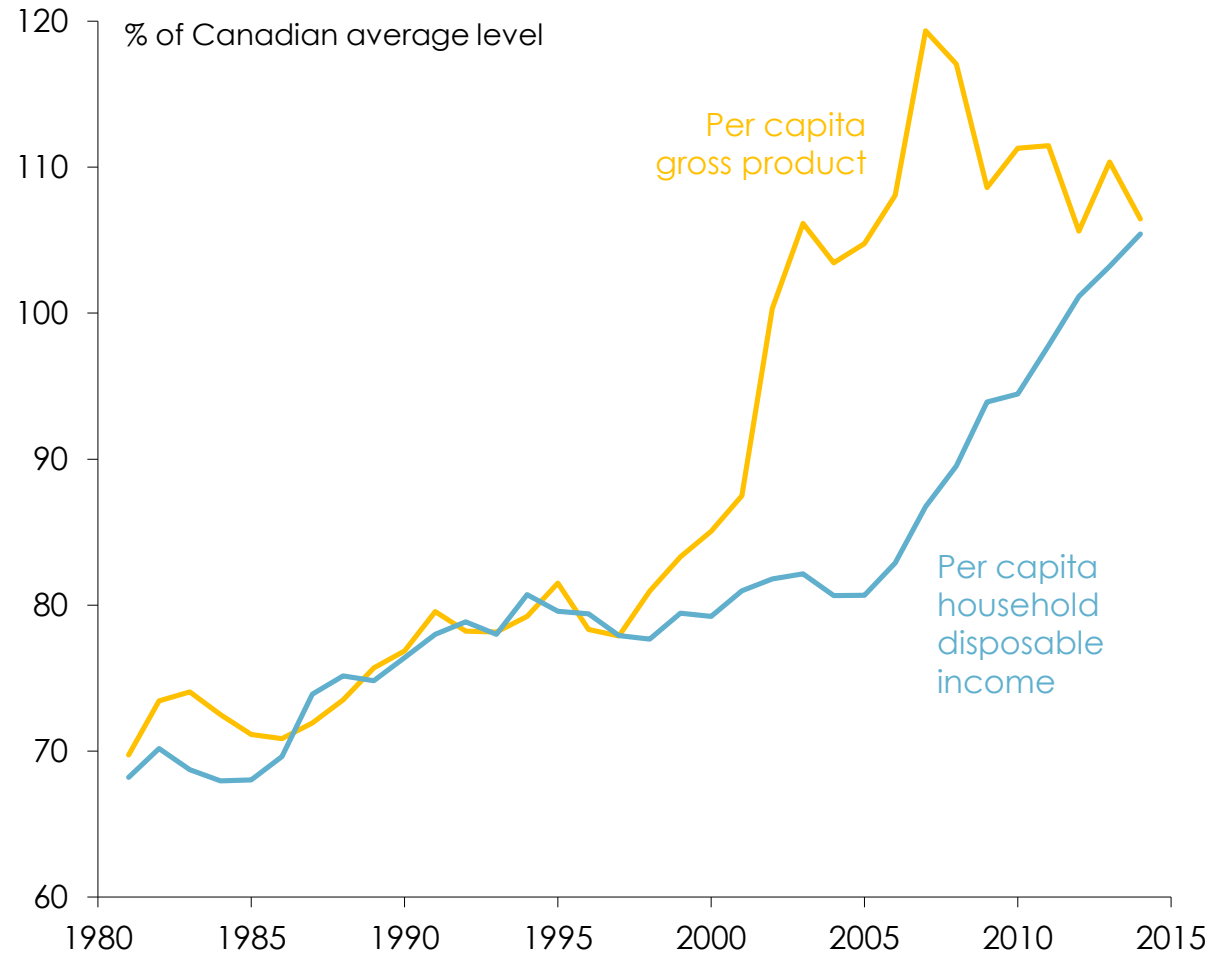
## Age profiles of selected islands and their adjacent 'mainlands'



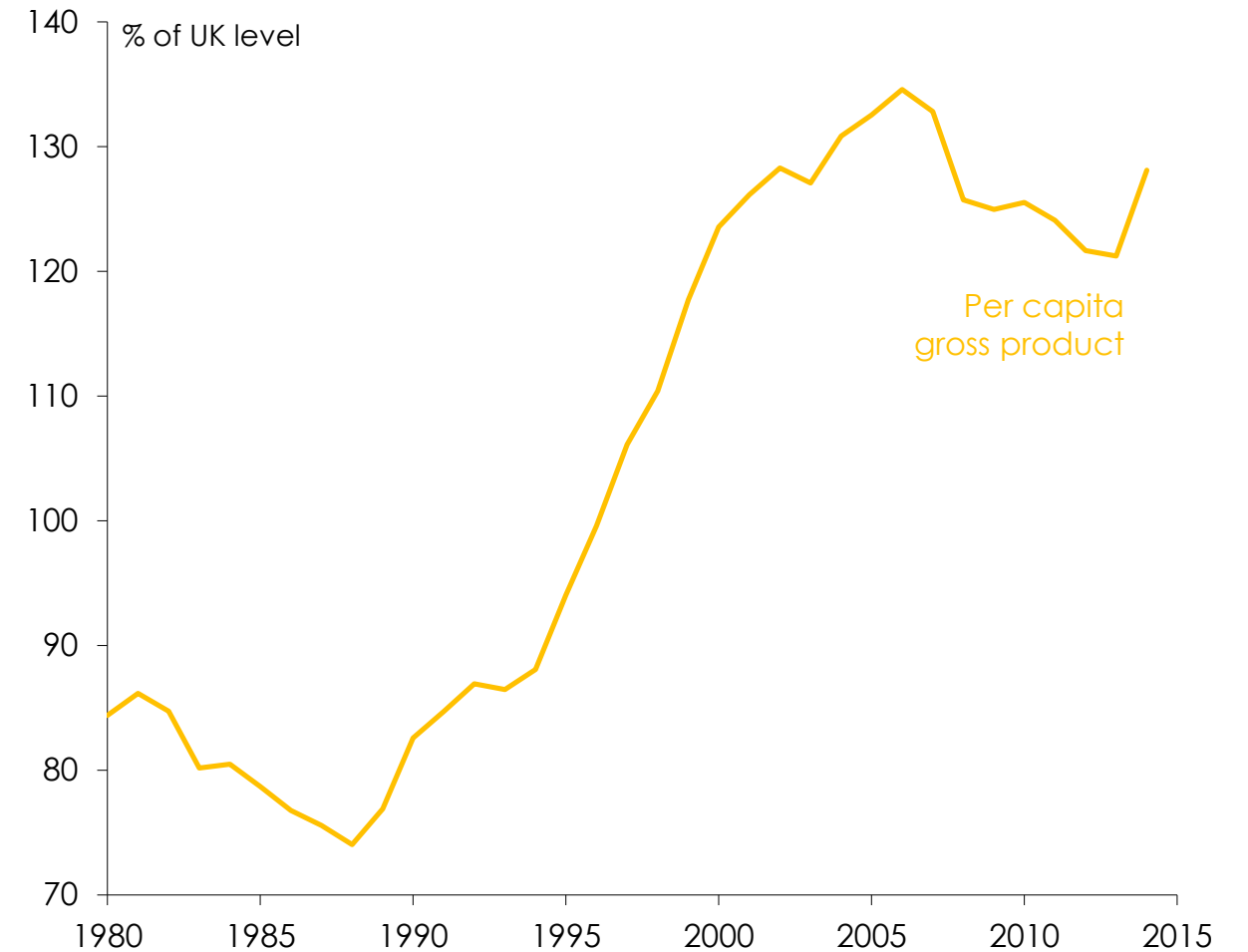
Sources: ABS, Statistics New Zealand, Statistics Canada, Insite National de la Statistique et des Études Économiques, UK Office for National Statistics, Statistics Japan, Ireland Central Statistical Office.

# It is possible for island economies to overcome these disadvantages

## Newfoundland per capita gross product and household income compared with Canada



## Ireland per capita gross product compared with the UK



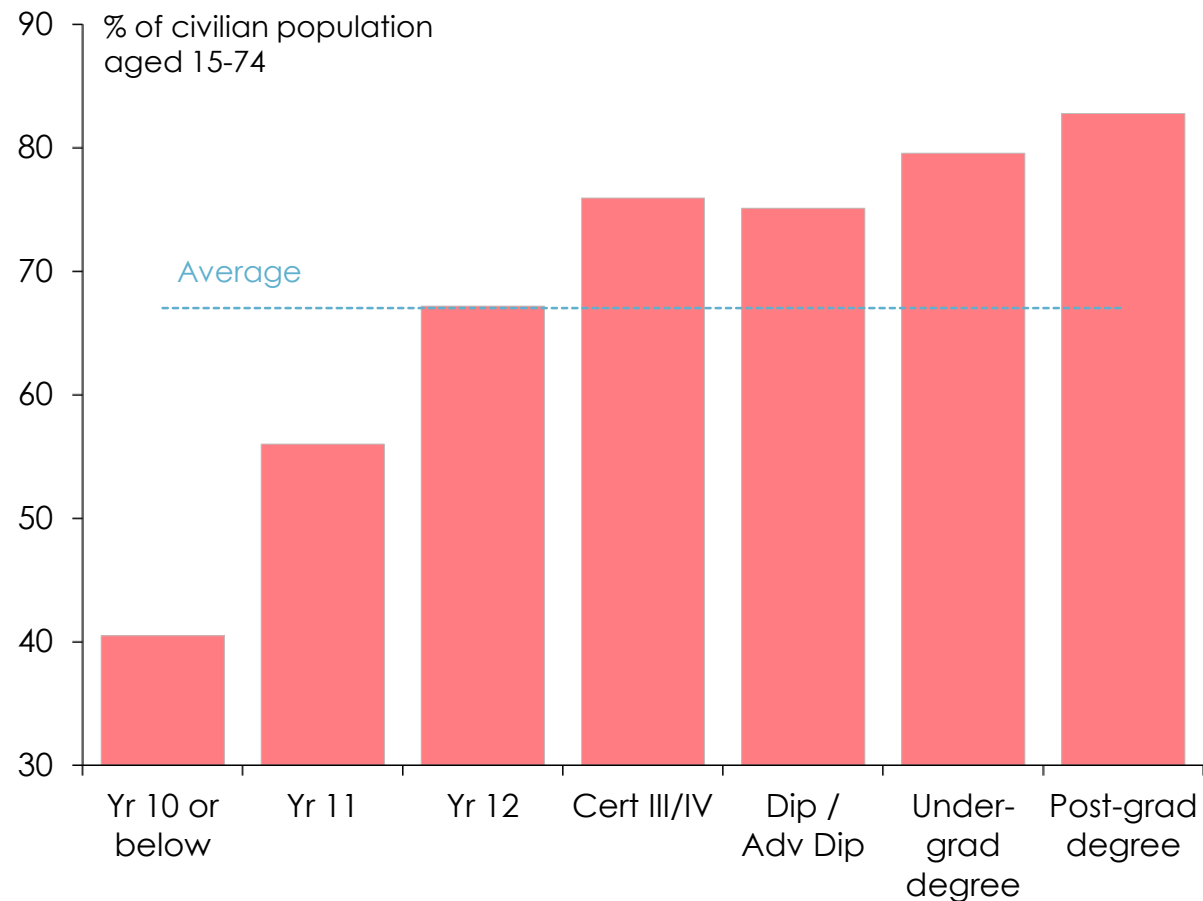
Sources: Statistics Canada; International Monetary Fund.

# The importance of education

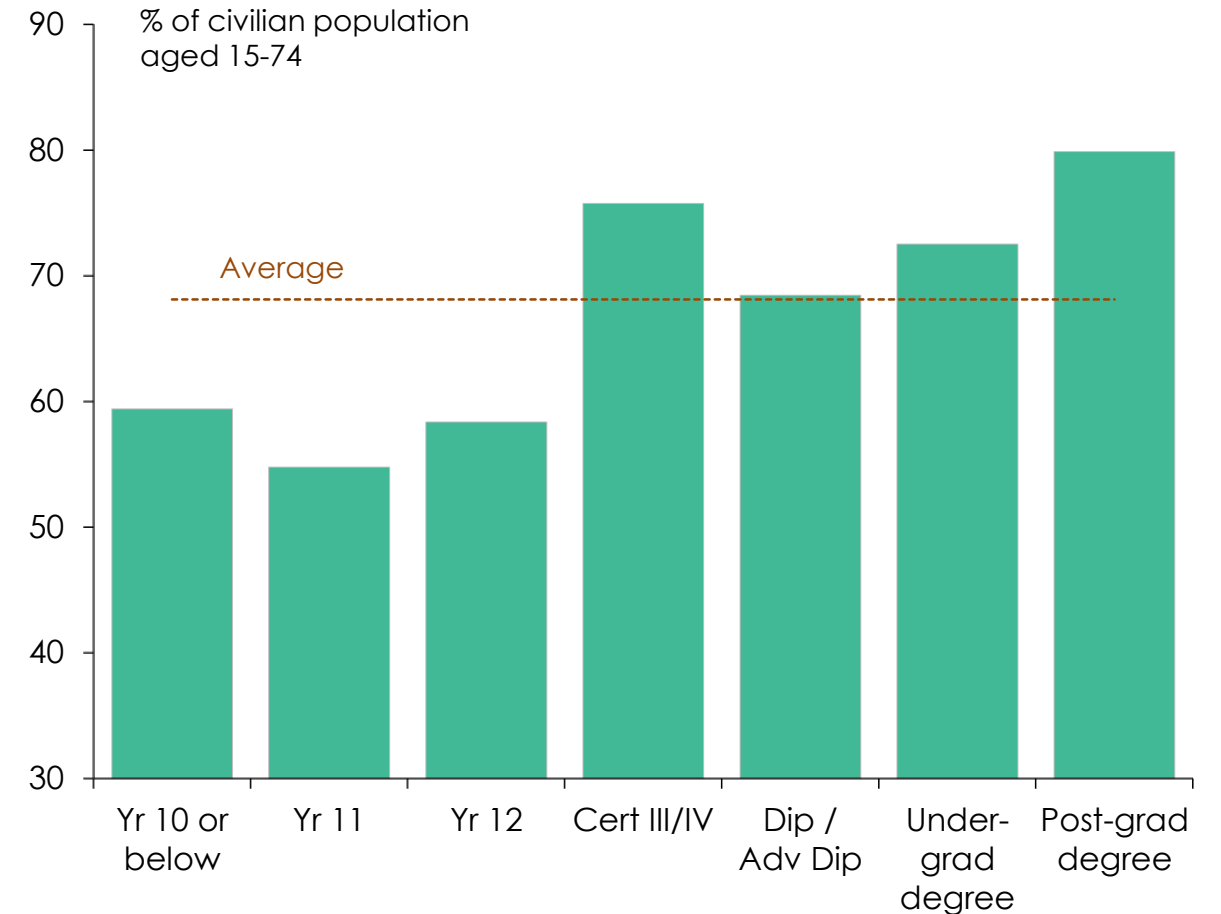
# The higher a person's level of educational attainment, the more likely he or she is to be working – and to be working full-time

## Labour force experience by level of educational attainment – Australia, May 2016

### Employment as a pc of population, by level of educational attainment



### Full-time work as a pc of total employment, by level of educational attainment



Source: ABS, Education and Work (catalogue no. 6227.0).

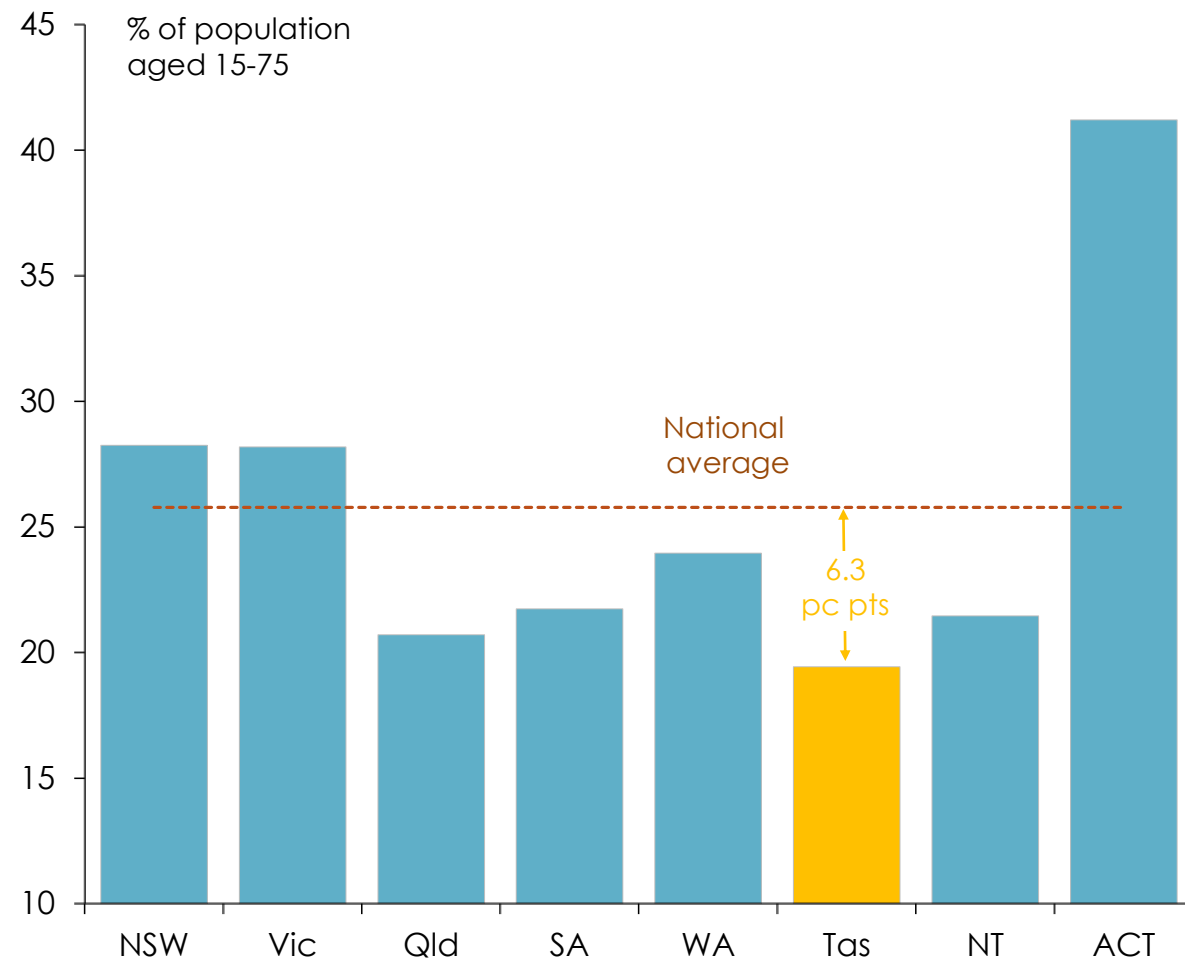
# Educational attainment is also unambiguously correlated with earning capacity

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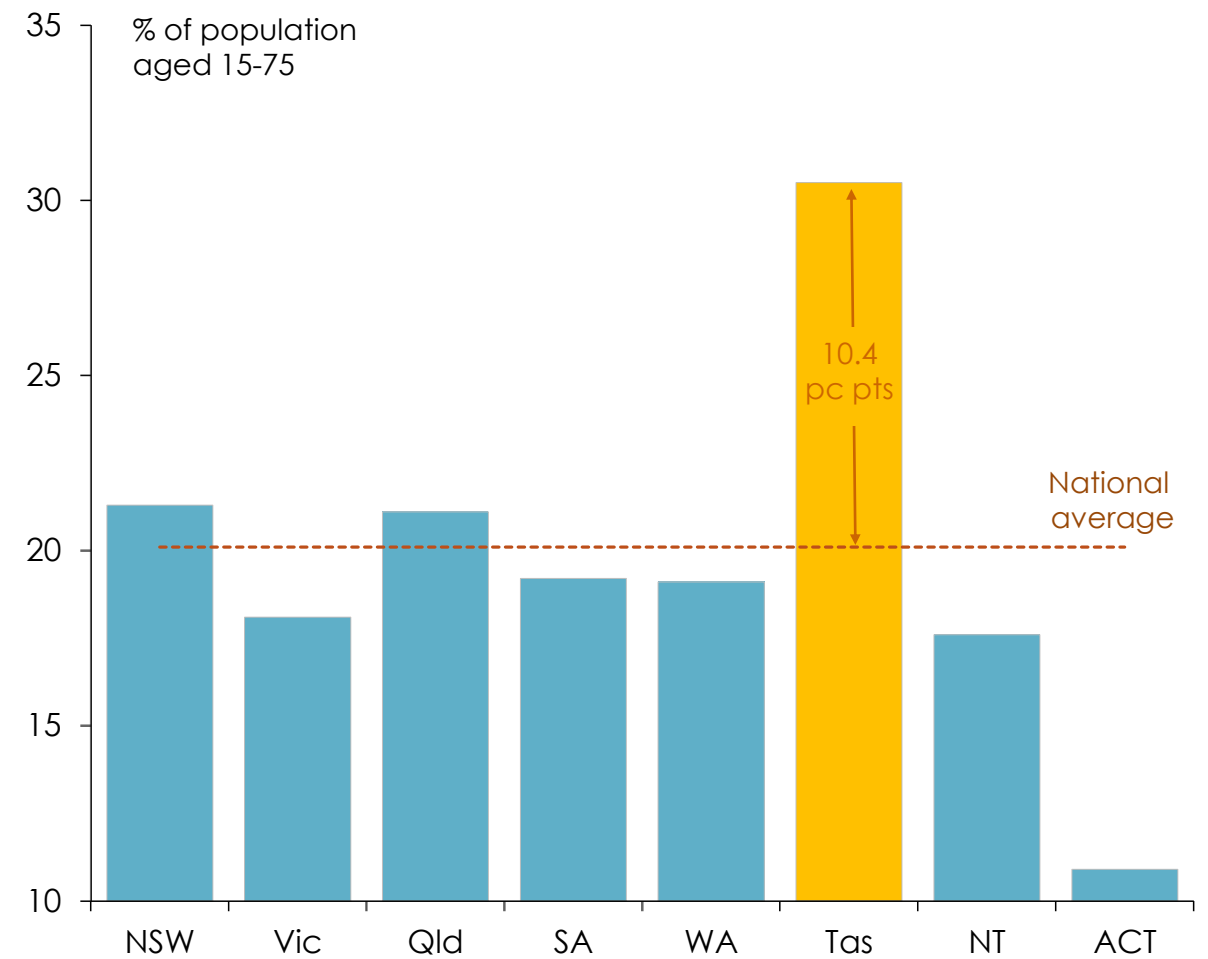
- ❑ people who complete Year 12 have lifetime earnings which are 42% higher than those who leave school at Year 10, and 64% higher than those who do not go beyond Year 9;
- ❑ the lifetime of earnings of people who complete a bachelor's degree are 45-50% higher than those whose highest educational qualification is Year 12 – while those of people with a higher degree are 66-74% higher than those of people whose highest educational qualification is Year 12.

# So, clearly, Tasmania's below-average levels of educational attainment must be detracting from its economic performance

## 15-75 population with bachelor's degree or higher, May 2016



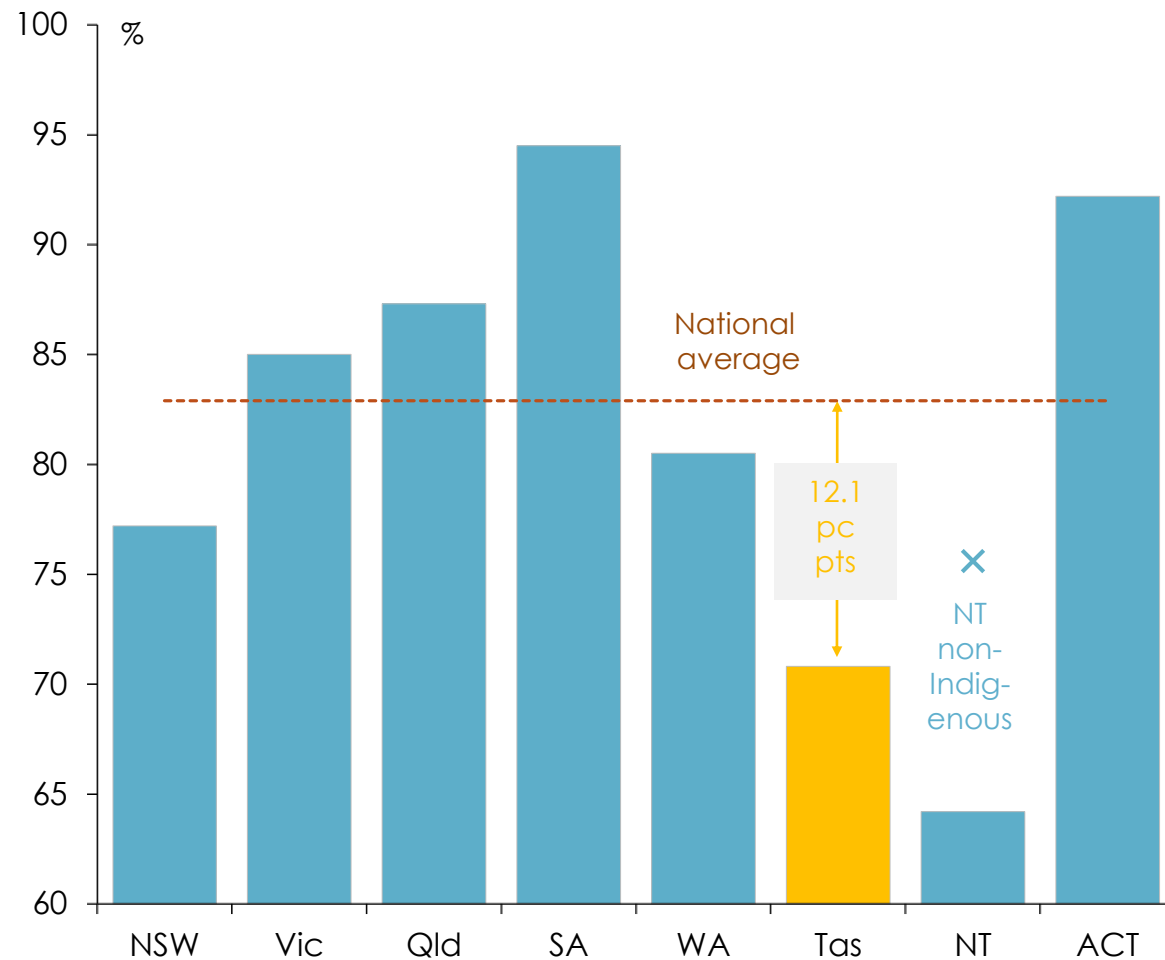
## 15-75 population with no qualification beyond Year 10 of high school, May 2016



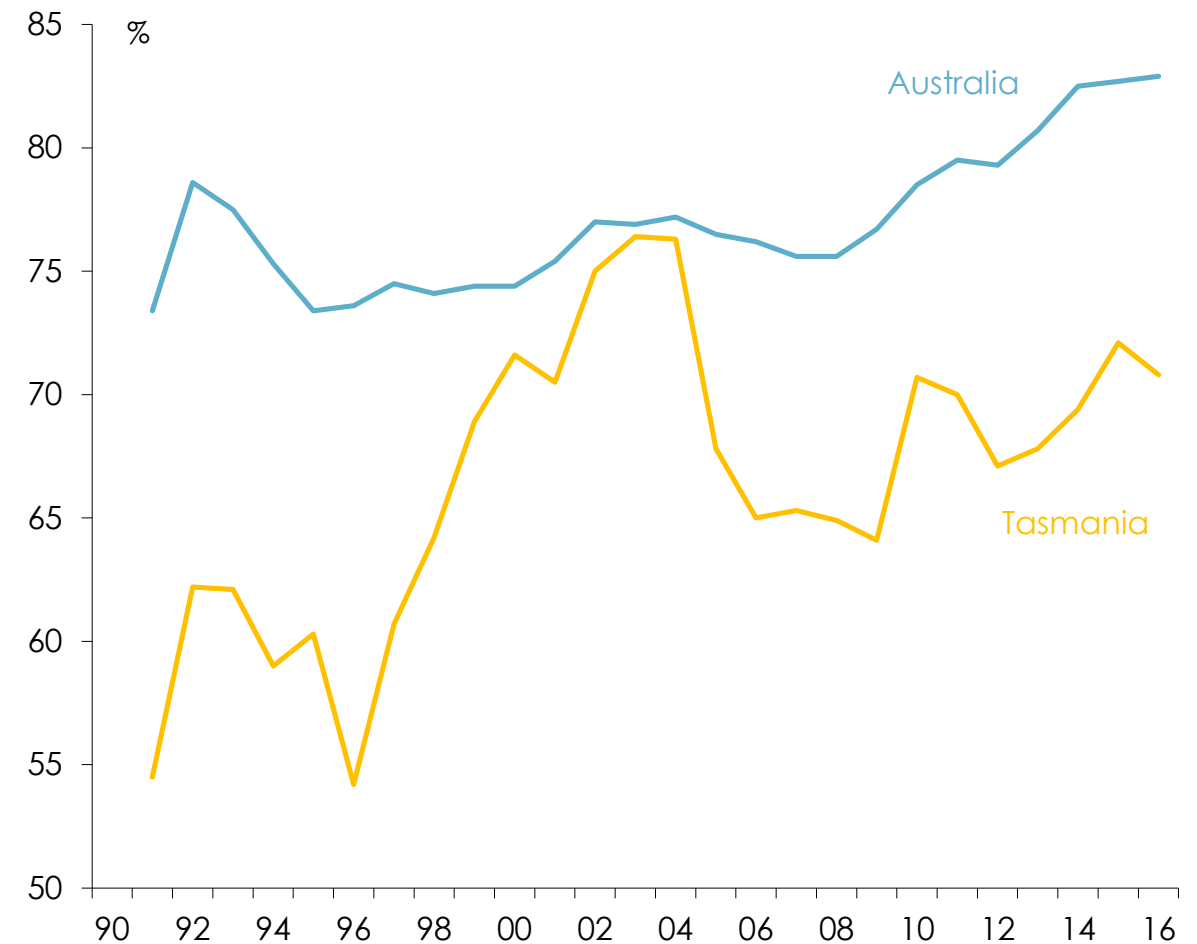
Source: ABS, Education and Work (catalogue no. 6227.0).

# It will be difficult to raise average skill levels in Tasmania while the proportion of Tasmanians doing Year 12 remains so low

## Apparent school retention rates from Year 10 to Year 12, 2016



## Apparent school retention rates from Year 10 to Year 12, Tasmania vs national average



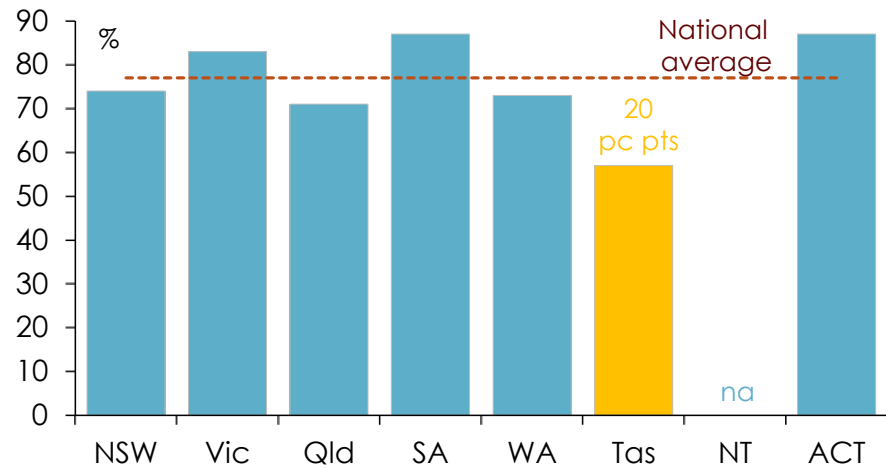
Source: ABS, Schools, Australia (catalogue no. 4221.0).



# Tasmania's below-average Year 12 completion rates are not the result of more Tasmanian students coming from rural and regional areas

## 2015 Year 12 completion rates by students' location, States and Territories

### Metropolitan



### Remote



### Provincial



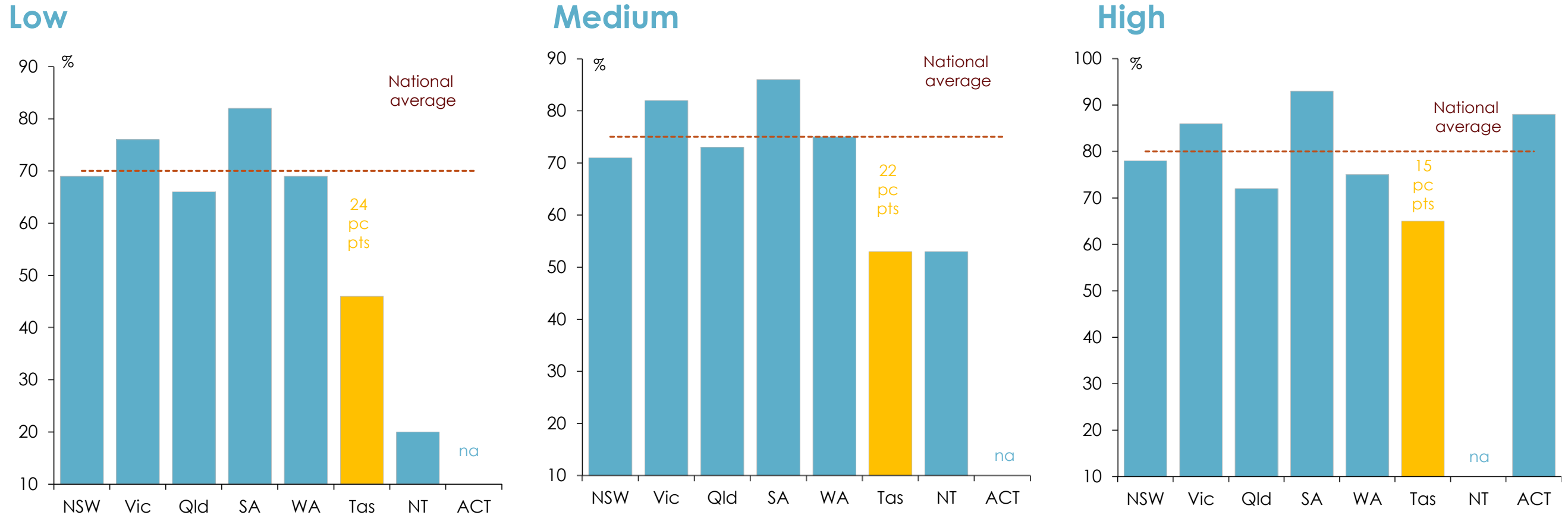
### Very remote



A student from living in Hobart was less likely to have completed Year 12 in 2015 than a student from a provincial, remote or very remote location in any other State

# Tasmania's below-average Year 12 completion rates are not the result of more Tasmanian students coming from low SES households

## 2015 Year 12 completion rates by students' socio-economic status, States and Territories

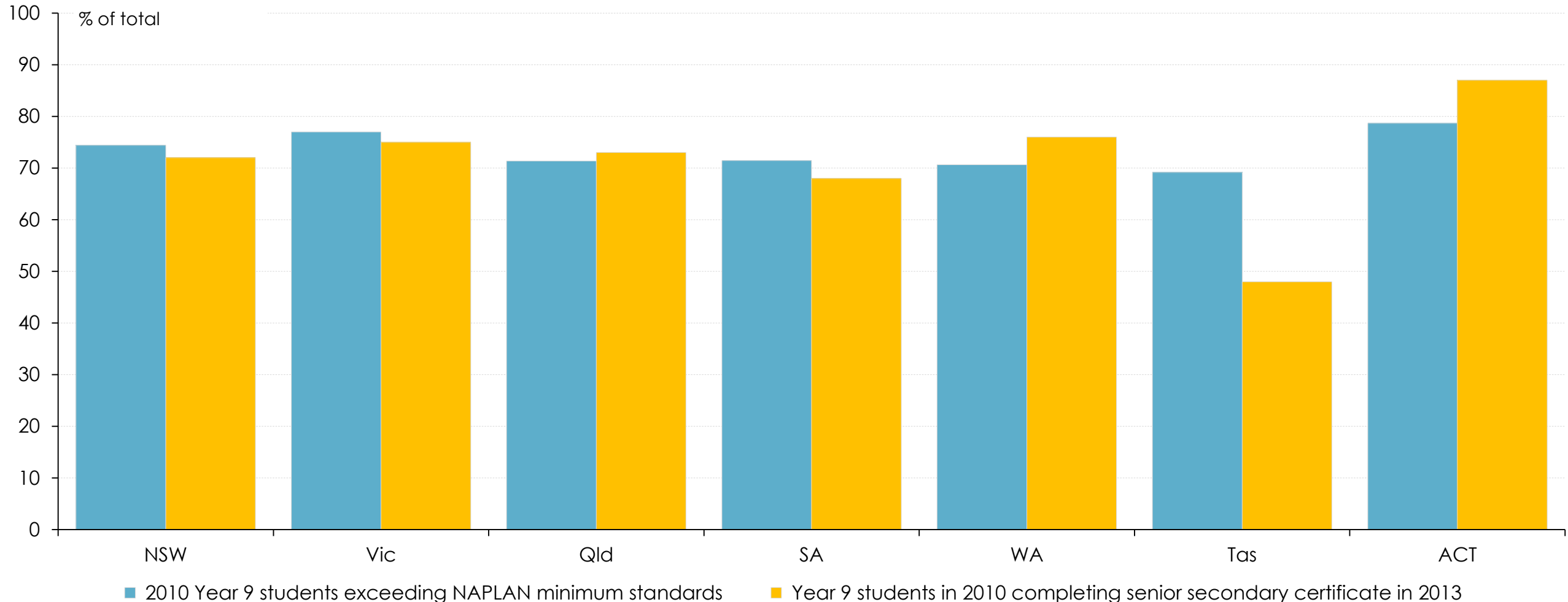


**A student from a high SES household in Tasmania was less likely to have completed Year 12 in 2015 than a student from a low SES household in any other State**

Note: Low socioeconomic status is the average of the three lowest deciles, medium socioeconomic status is the average of the four middle deciles and high socioeconomic status is the average of the three highest deciles. Source: Productivity Commission, *Report on Government Services*, 2017, Volume B, Chapter 3.

# Tasmanian students do just as well as those from elsewhere in Australia at Year 9, but much less well at completing Year 12 – why is that?

## Year 9 NAPLAN results 2010 and subsequent senior secondary certificate completions

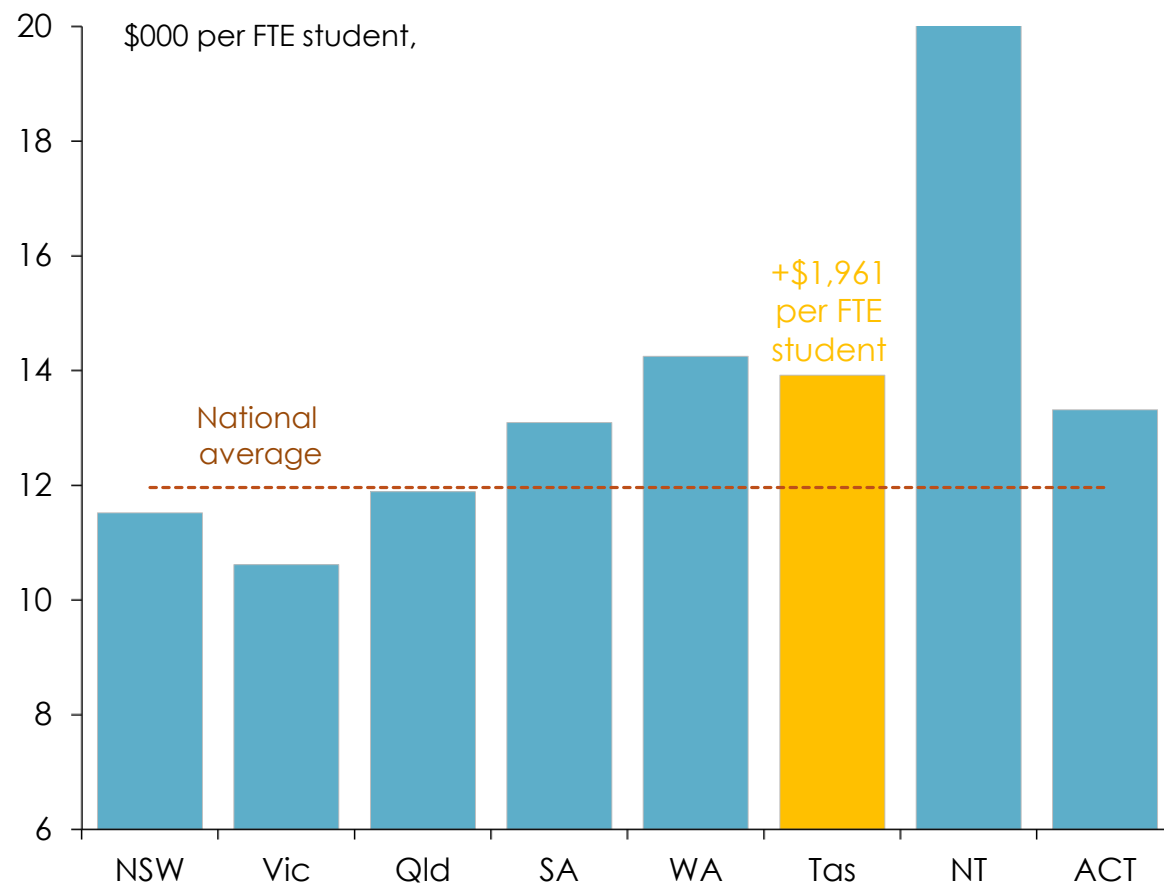


Source: Eleanor Ramsay and Michael Rowan, *Submission to State of Tasmania Years 9-12 Education Review*, September 2016

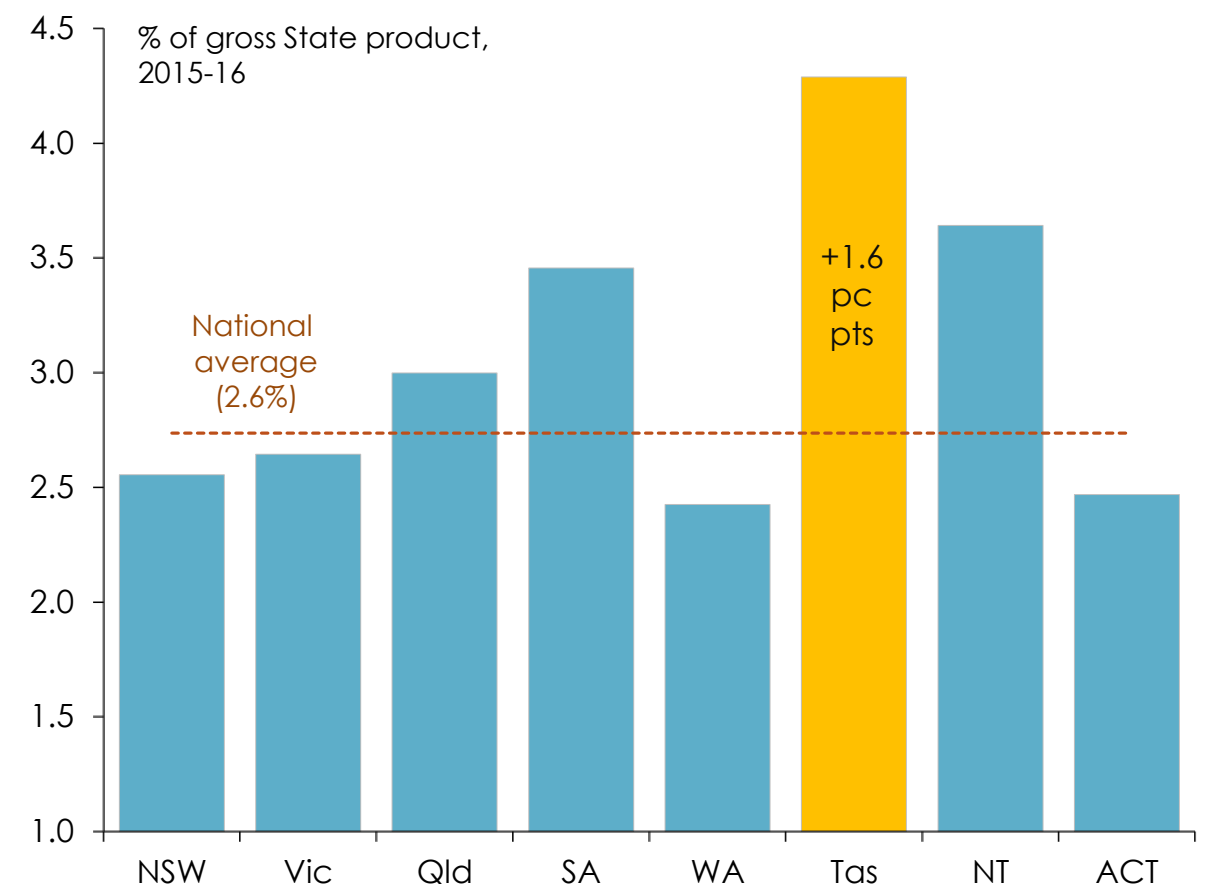
# Nor are Tasmania's poor educational participation and attainment rates the result of insufficient government spending on education

## State and Territory government spending on primary and secondary education, 2015-16

### Per full-time equivalent student



### As a percentage of gross state product

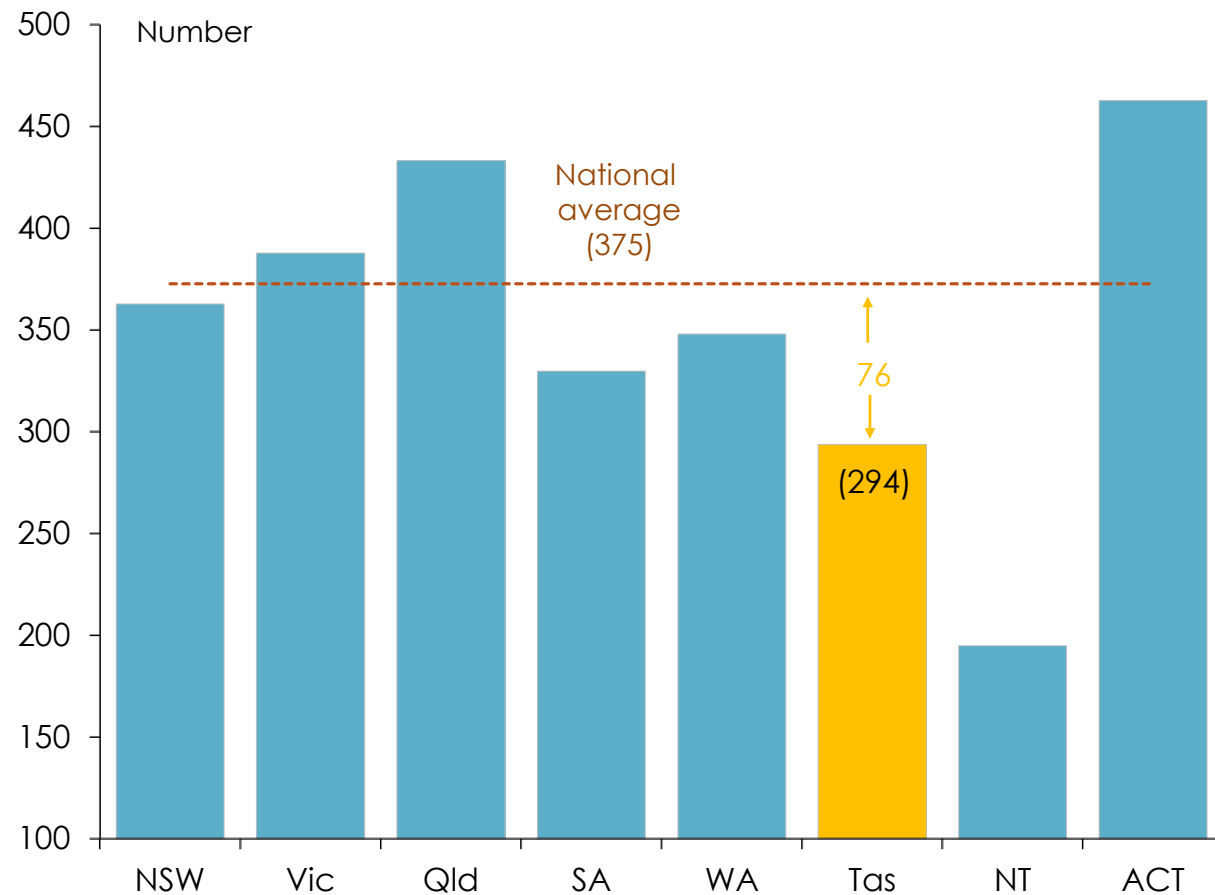


Sources: ABS 4221.0 and 5518.0.55.001.

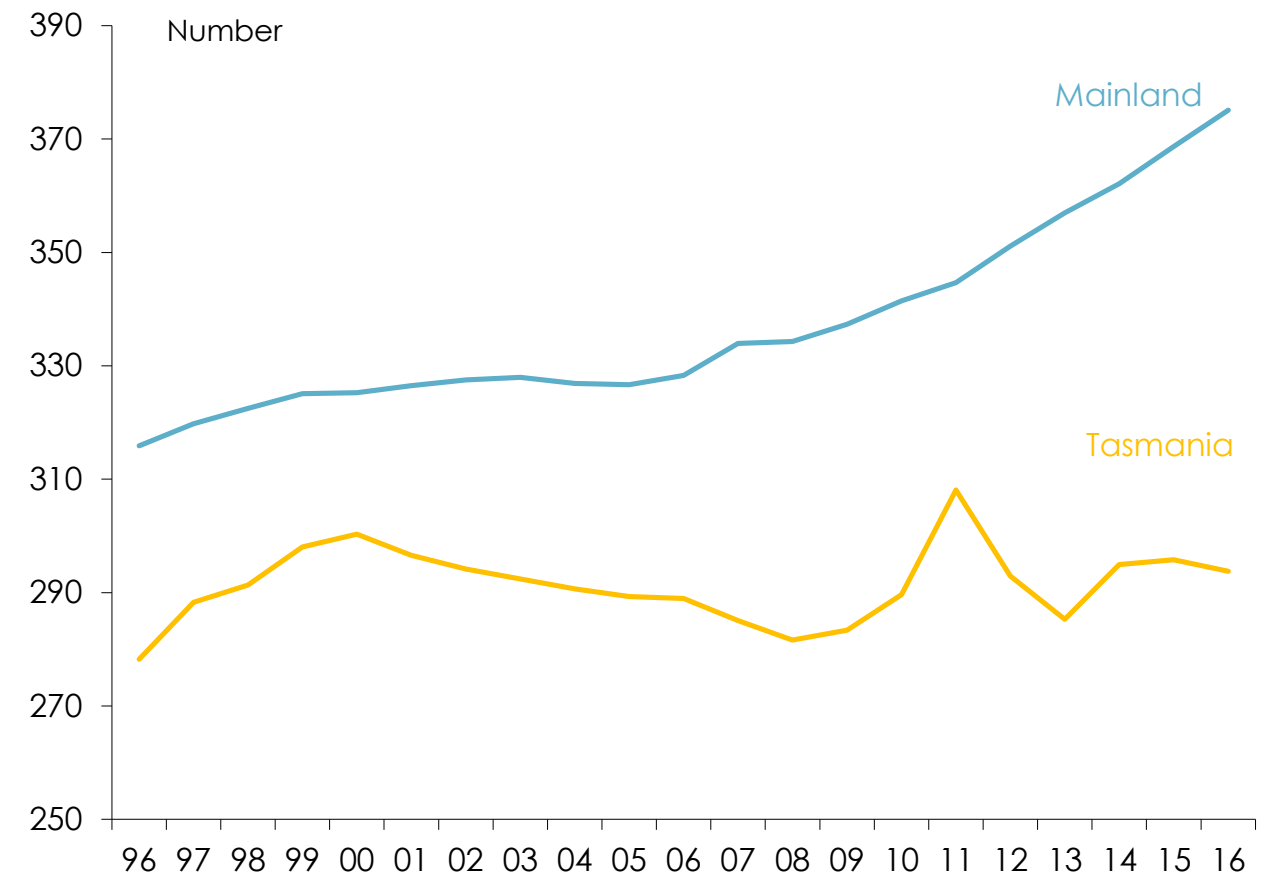
# Rather, Tasmania spends what it does spend on school education rather inefficiently

## Number of full-time equivalent students per government school

### States and Territories, 2016



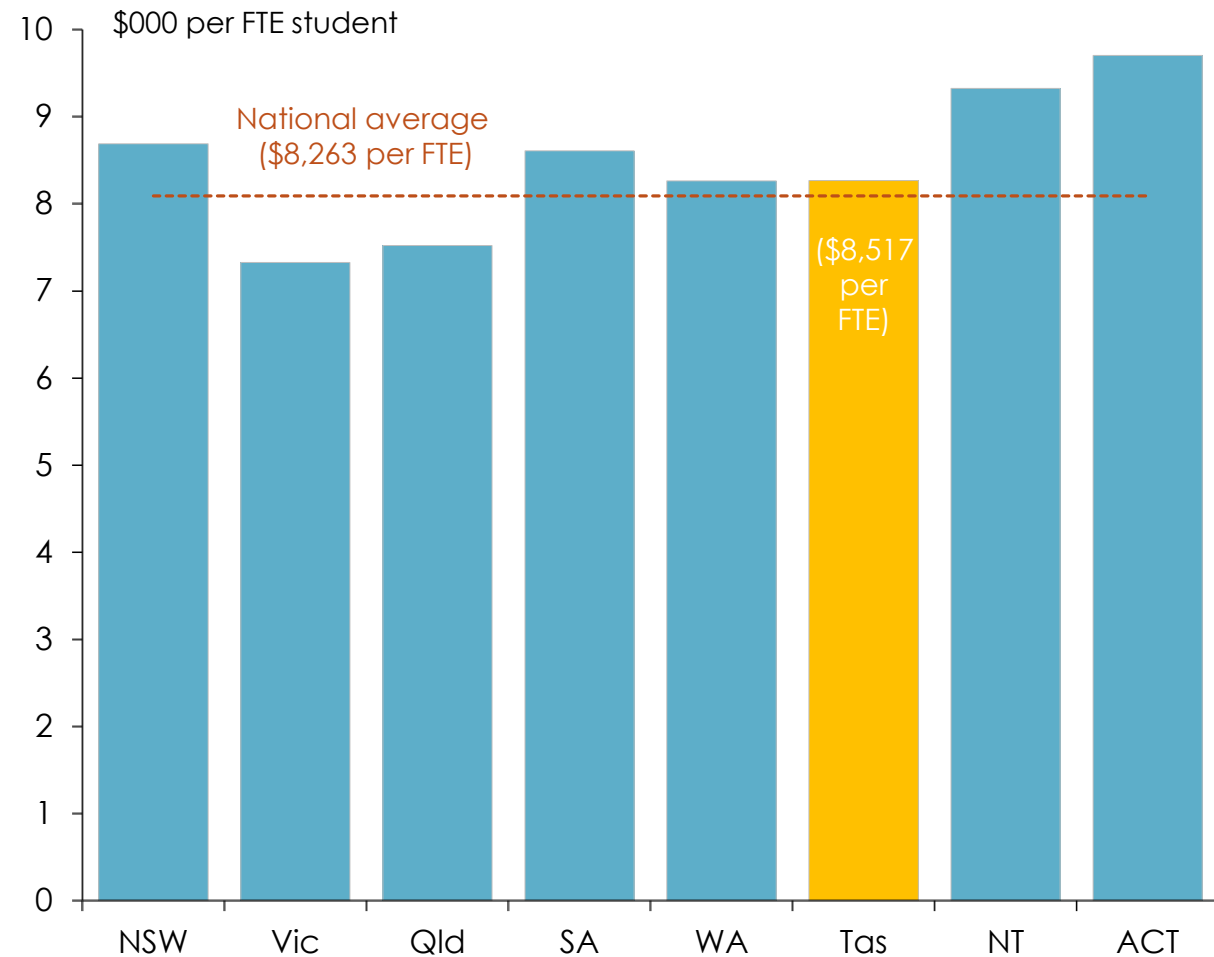
### Tasmania vs mainland, 1996-2016



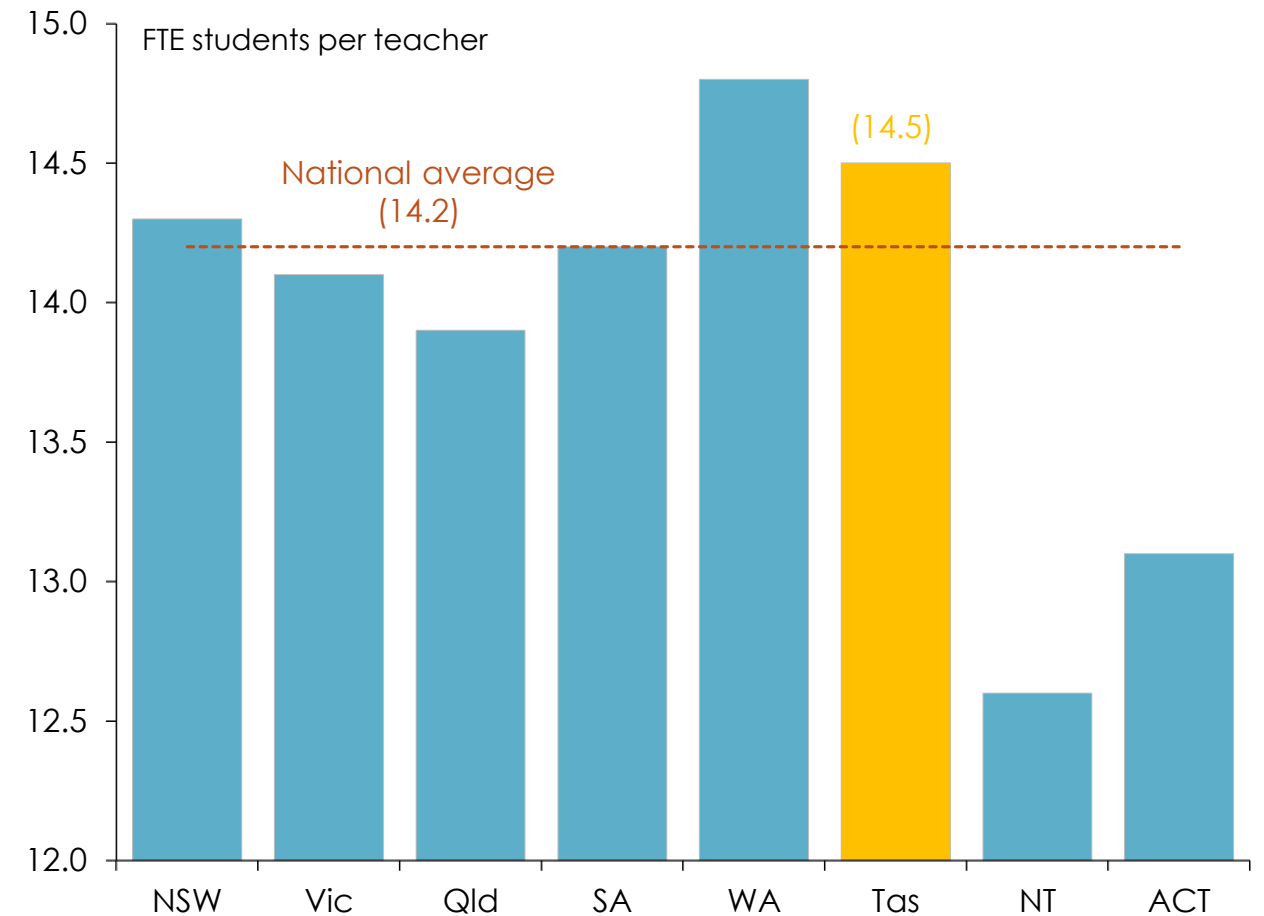
Sources: ABS 4221.0.

# Tasmania spends about the same as the national average on teachers, and has similar class sizes to the national average

## Spending on teachers in government schools, per FTE student, 2014-15



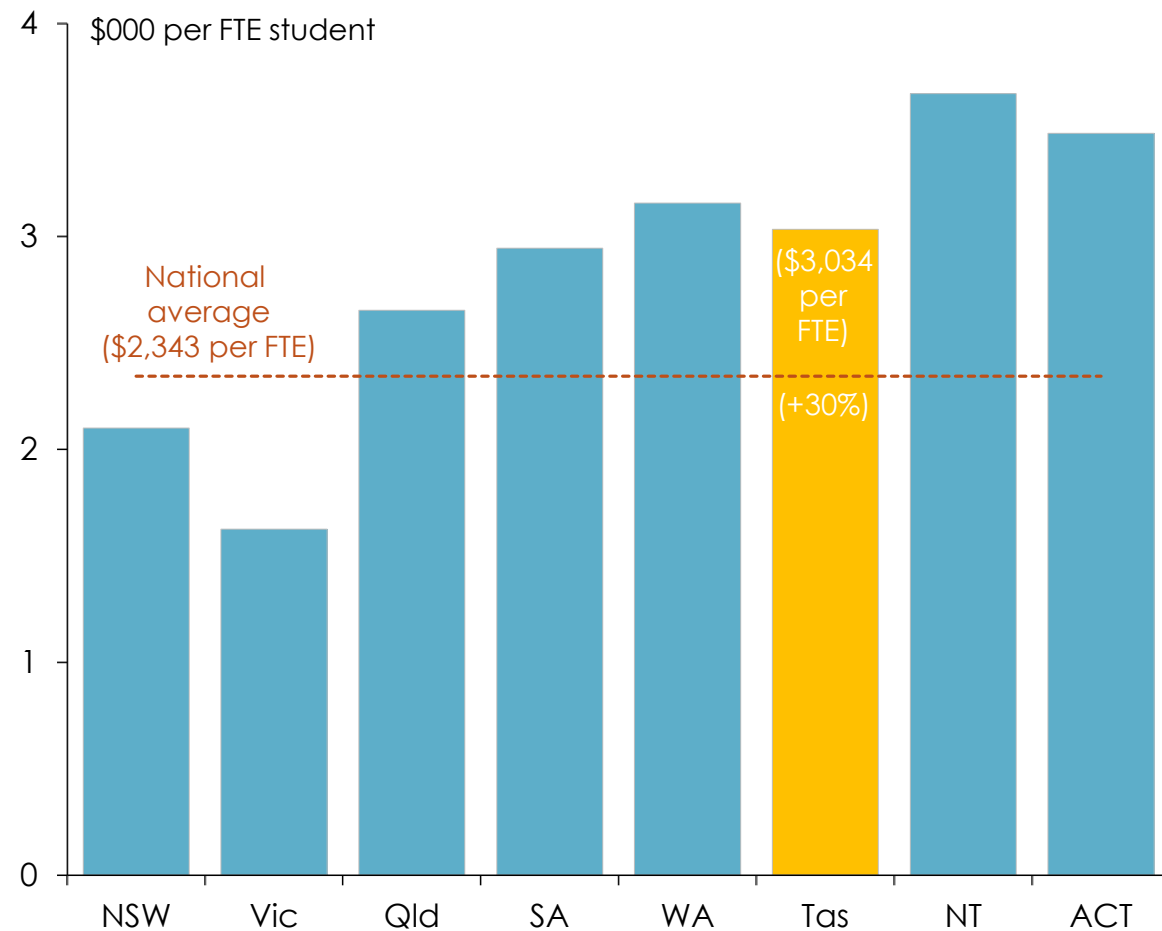
## Average class sizes in government schools, 2015



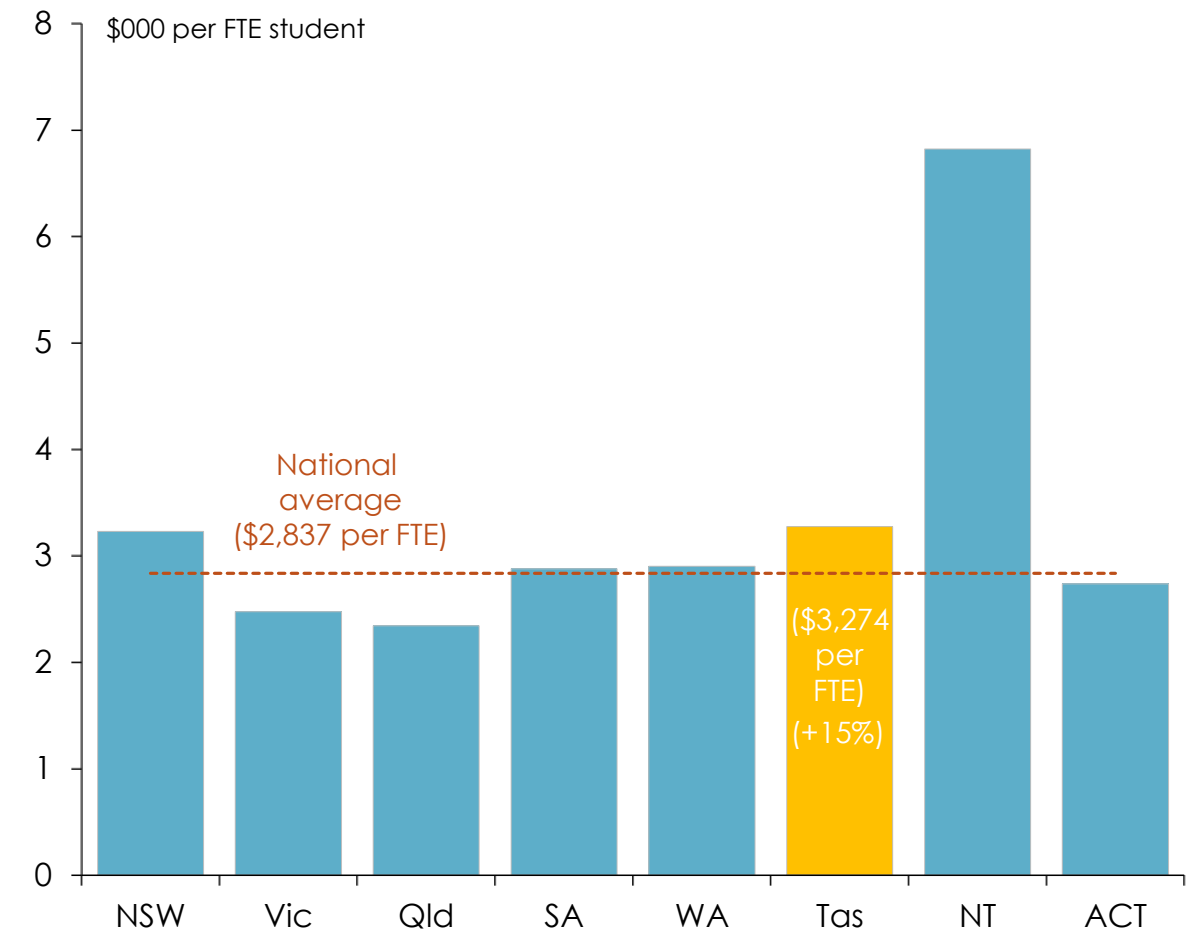
Source: Productivity Commission, *Report on Government Services 2017 – School Education*, Table 4A.10; ABS 4221.0.

# Tasmania spends about 30% more per government school student on non-teaching staff and 15% more on other costs than the national average

## Spending on non-teaching staff per FTE government school student, 2014-15



## Other 'operating expenses' per FTE government school student, 2014-15



Source: Productivity Commission, *Report on Government Services 2017 – School Education*, Table 4A.10.

# Other reasons for Tasmania's poor Year 12 retention and completion rates

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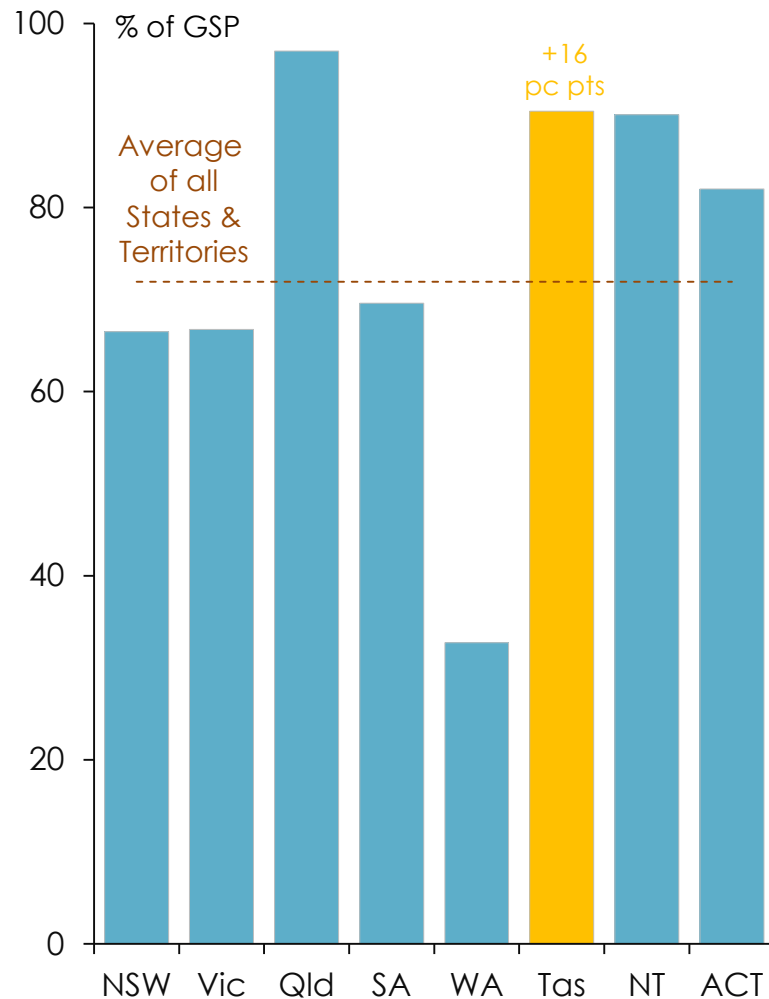
- ❑ **Tasmanian children starting school at an older age than elsewhere**
  - with the result that a larger proportion of Tasmanian students reach the age at which they can legally leave school at a lower grade than in other parts of Australia
  - the Government's proposed changes to the mandatory school starting and leaving ages prescribed by the Education Act sought to address this problem
- ❑ **the 'structural break' in the government high school system between Year 10 and Years 11&12**
  - with the latter years traditionally being taught at separate 'colleges', a system which exists nowhere else in Australia than in the ACT
  - which sends a signal that Year 10 is an acceptable 'exit point' from education
  - and which has historically been re-inforced by the common practice of describing end-of-Year-10 celebrations as "Leavers' Dinners"
  - progressive roll-out of Year 11 & 12 courses at rural and regional High Schools addresses this problem where it is most severe – but won't solve the problem in cities where three quarters of Tasmania's students live
- ❑ **a culture in which "relatively low levels of educational attainment have become the norm"**
  - that is, one in which low expectations regarding educational participation and attainment are passed on from one generation to the next
  - there is evidence that this is changing



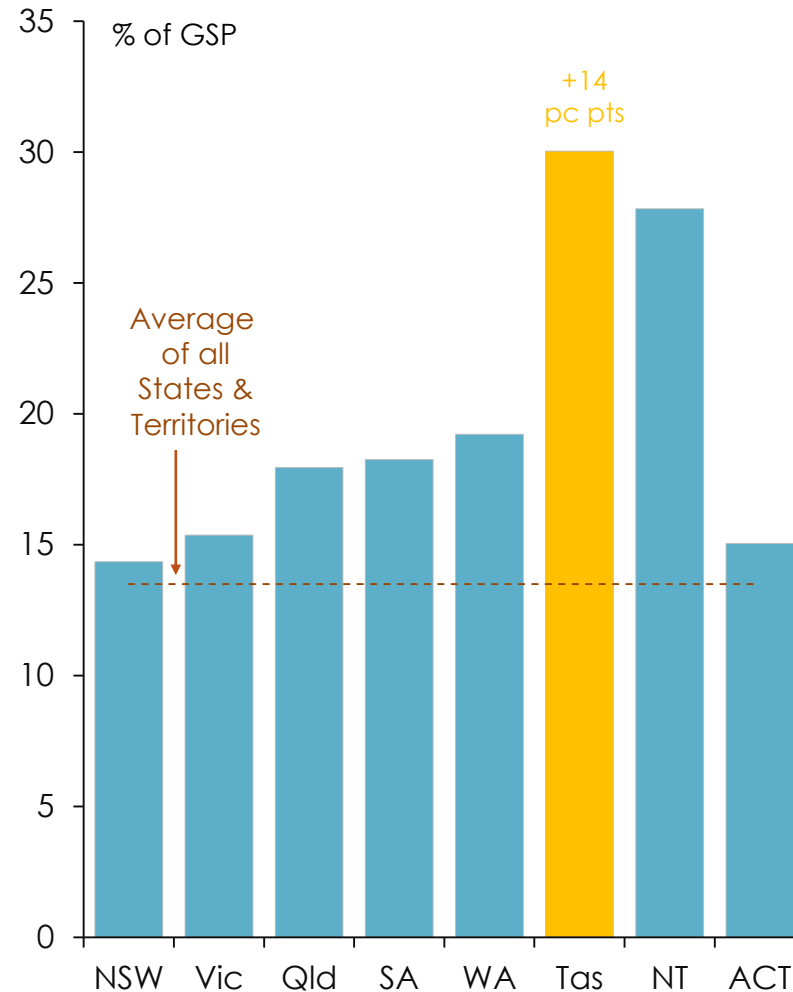
# Tasmania's public sector

# Tasmania has a relatively large public sector

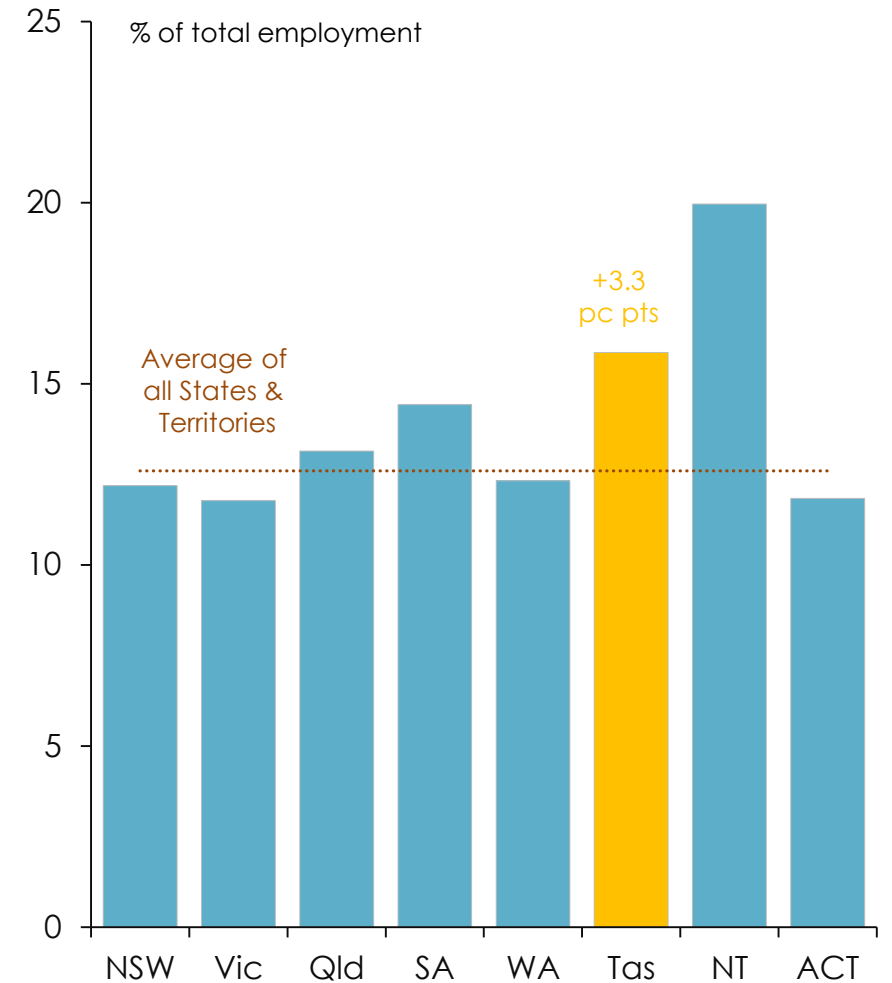
## State public sector assets as a pc of GSP, June 2016



## State public sector spending as a pc of GSP, 2015-16



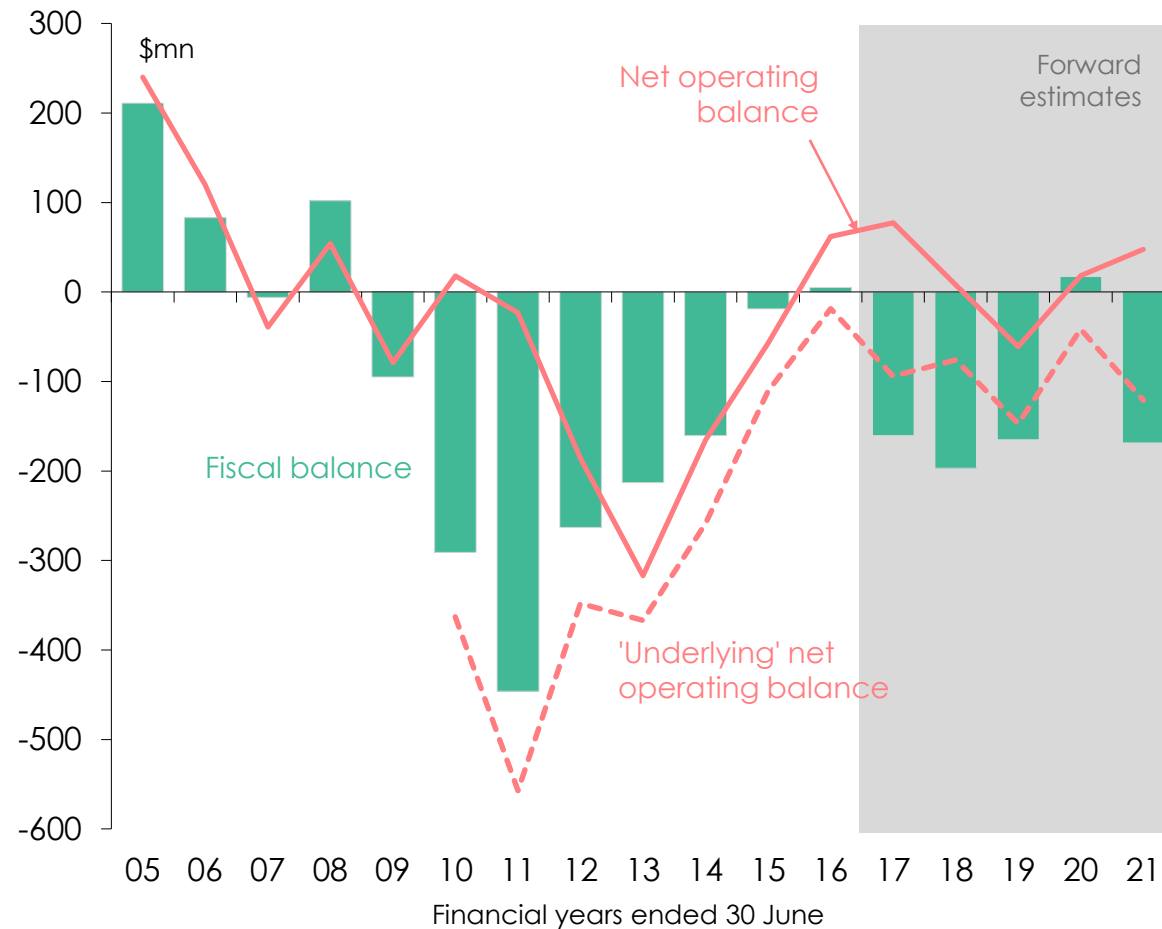
## State public sector employment as a pc of total, 2015-16



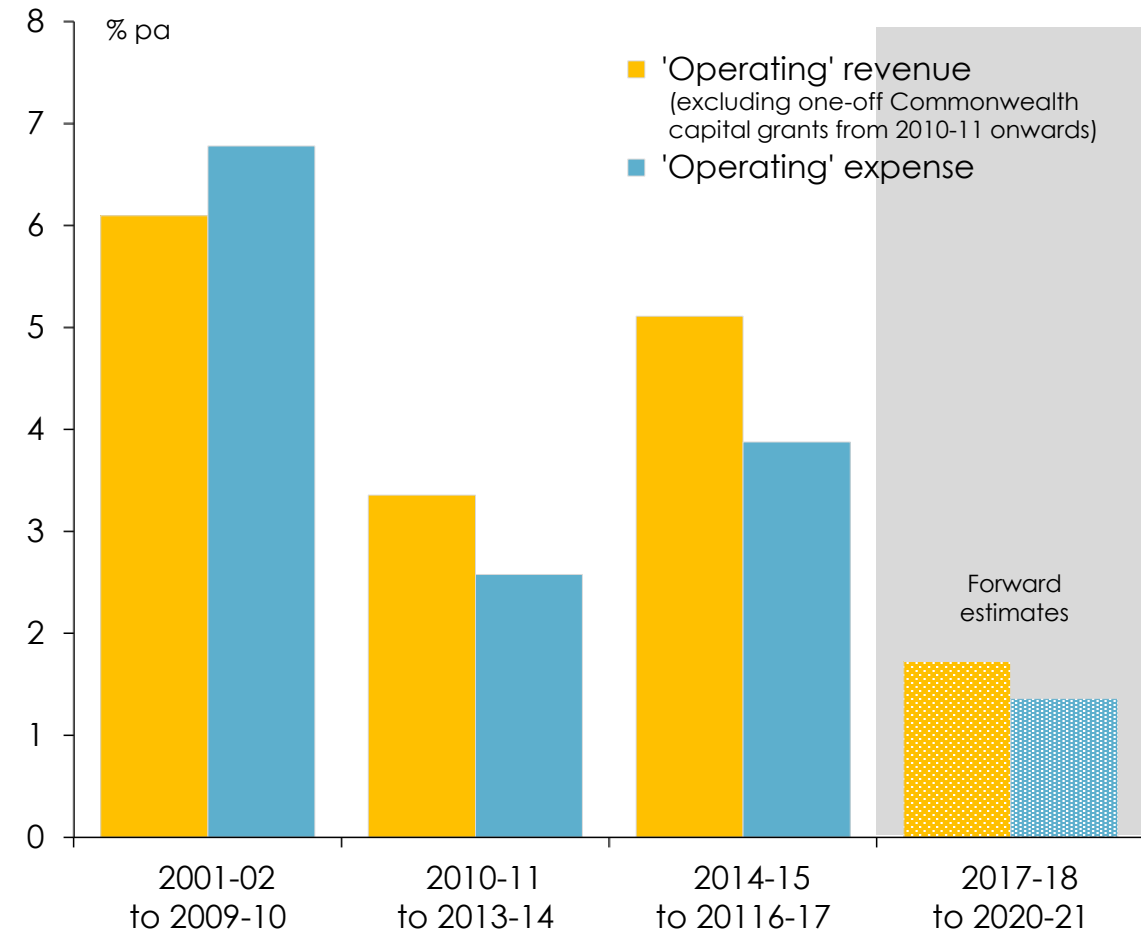
Note: Data in these charts are for the 'non-financial public sector', ie includes departments and agencies, and government business enterprises (GBEs).  
Sources: Tasmanian and other State & Territory Governments, Budget Papers and Final Budget Outcome reports; ABS 5220.0 and 6248.0.55.002.

# Tasmania's fiscal position has improved over the last three years – through a combination of good management and good luck

## The 'general government' sector 'bottom line'



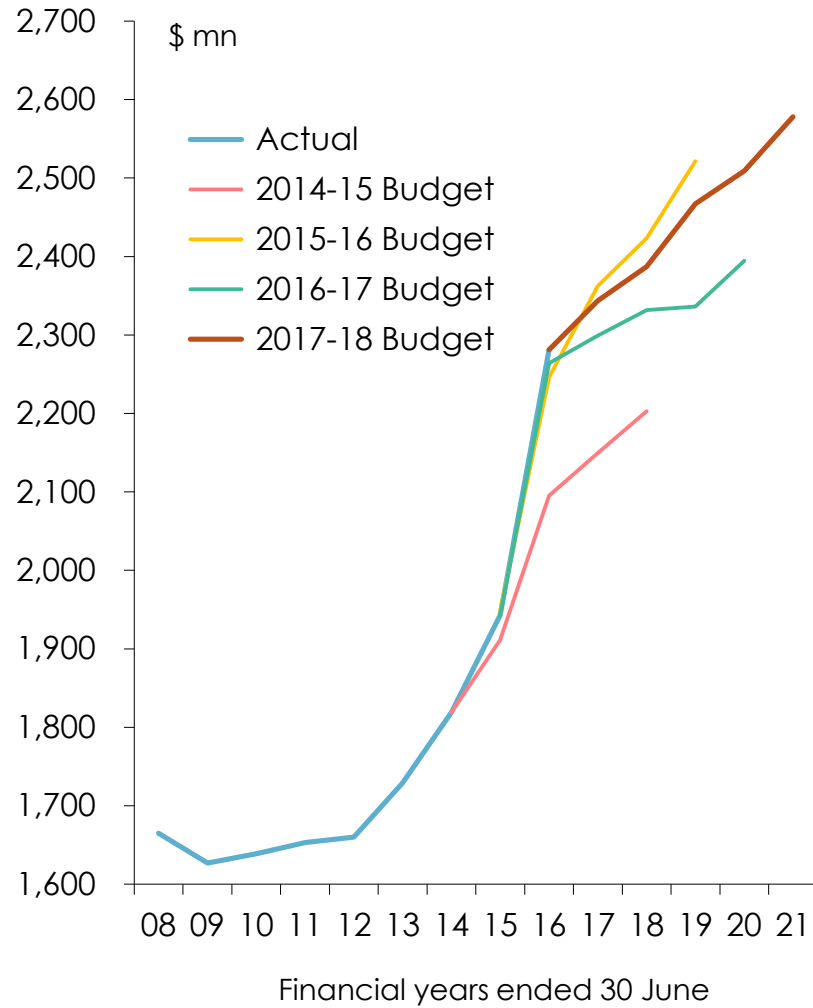
## General government 'operating' revenues and expenses



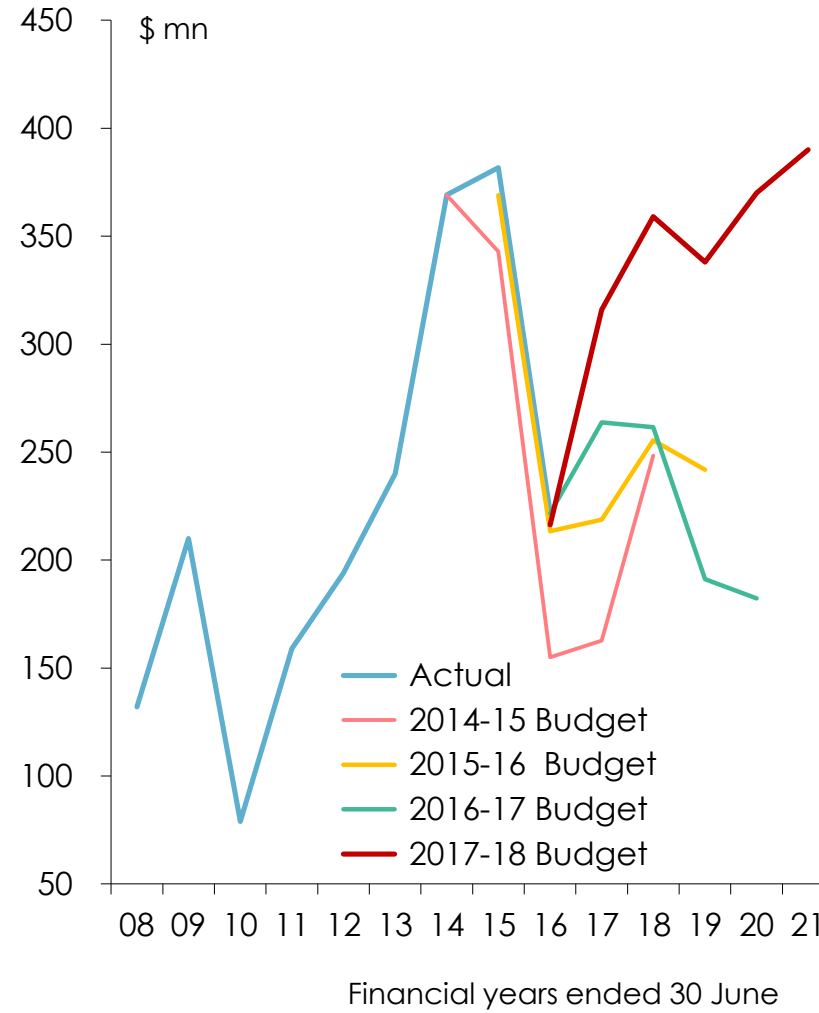
Note: 'General government' refers to the core government departments and other agencies funded wholly or largely by taxes, fees and fines, GBE income or grants from the Commonwealth. The 'underlying' net operating balance is the difference between those sources of revenue and 'operating' expenses such as employee expenses, grants and subsidies, depreciation and interest, excluding one-off Commonwealth Government payments eg for the Royal Hobart Hospital reconstruction and the transfer of the Mersey General Hospital. Sources: Tasmanian Budget Papers.

# Tasmania's fiscal position has been aided by successive upward revisions to forward estimates of revenues

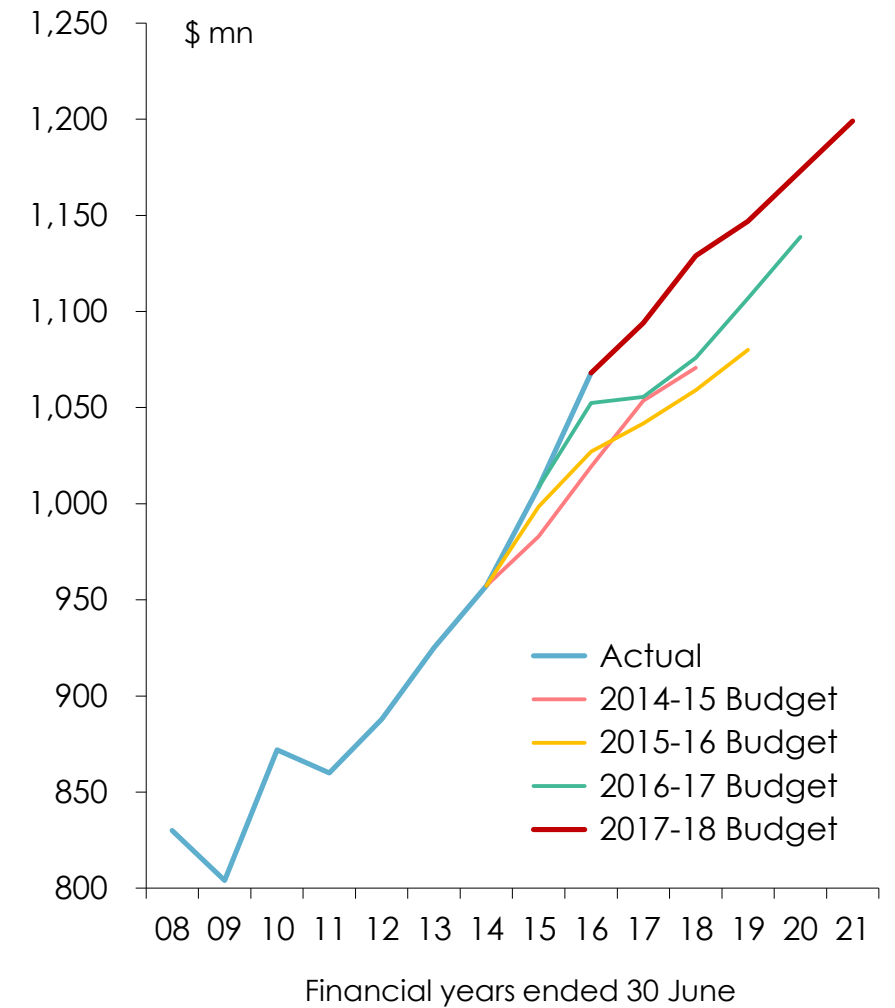
## Successive forward estimates of GST revenue



## Successive forward estimates of GBE revenue



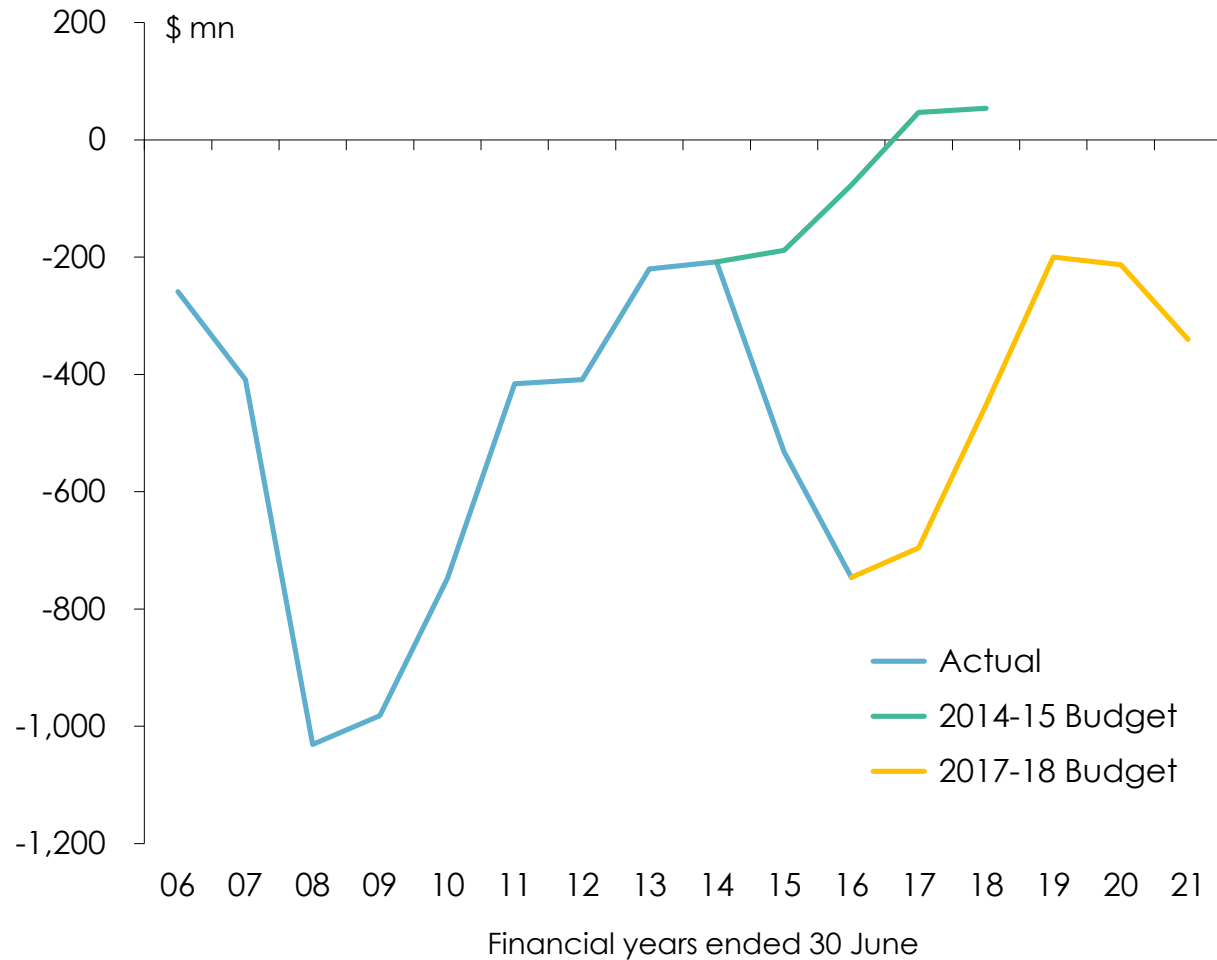
## Successive forward estimates of State taxation revenue



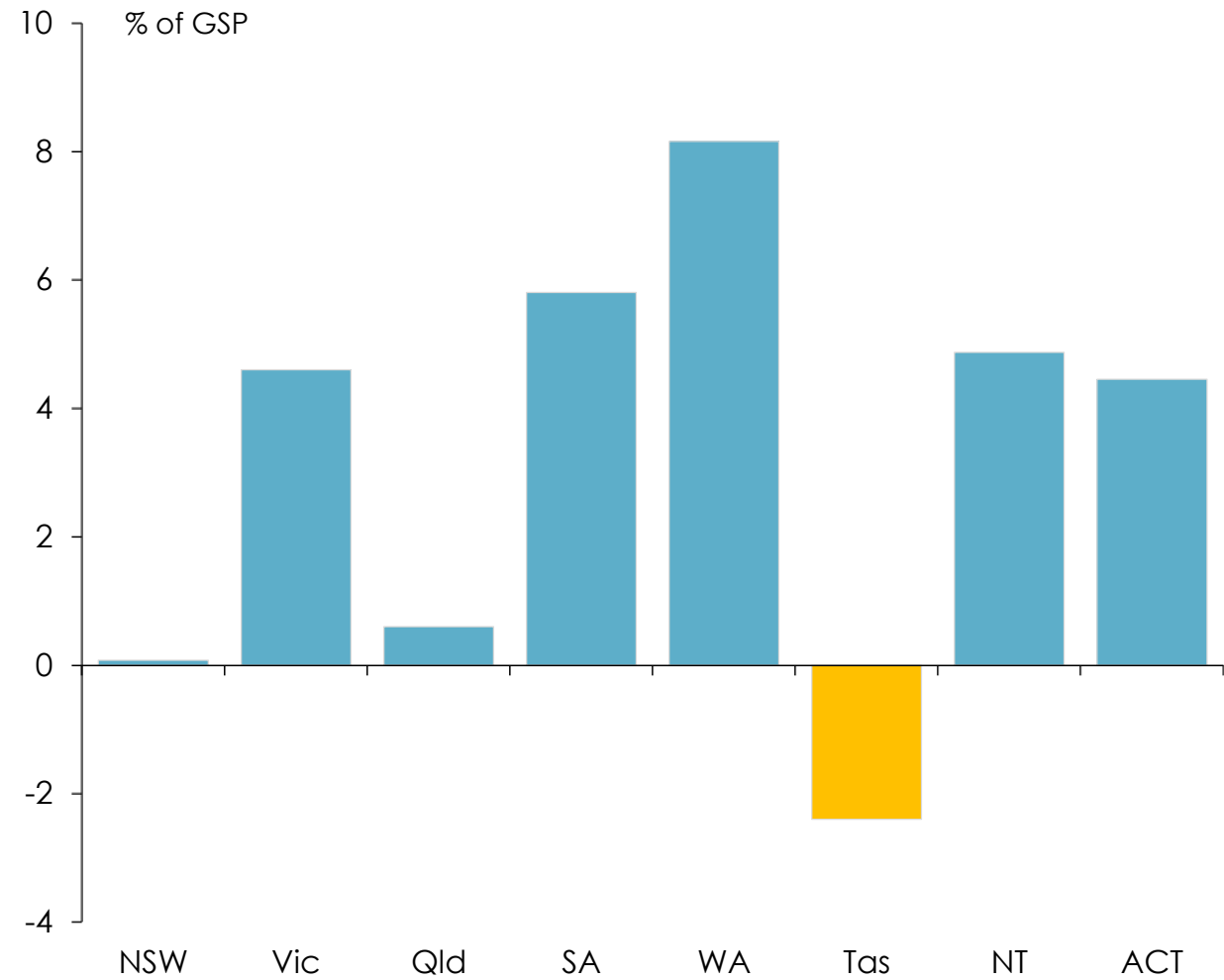
Sources: Tasmanian Budget Papers and Final Budget Outcome reports.

# Tasmania is the only State or Territory where the 'general government' sector is a net creditor

## Tasmanian general government net debt



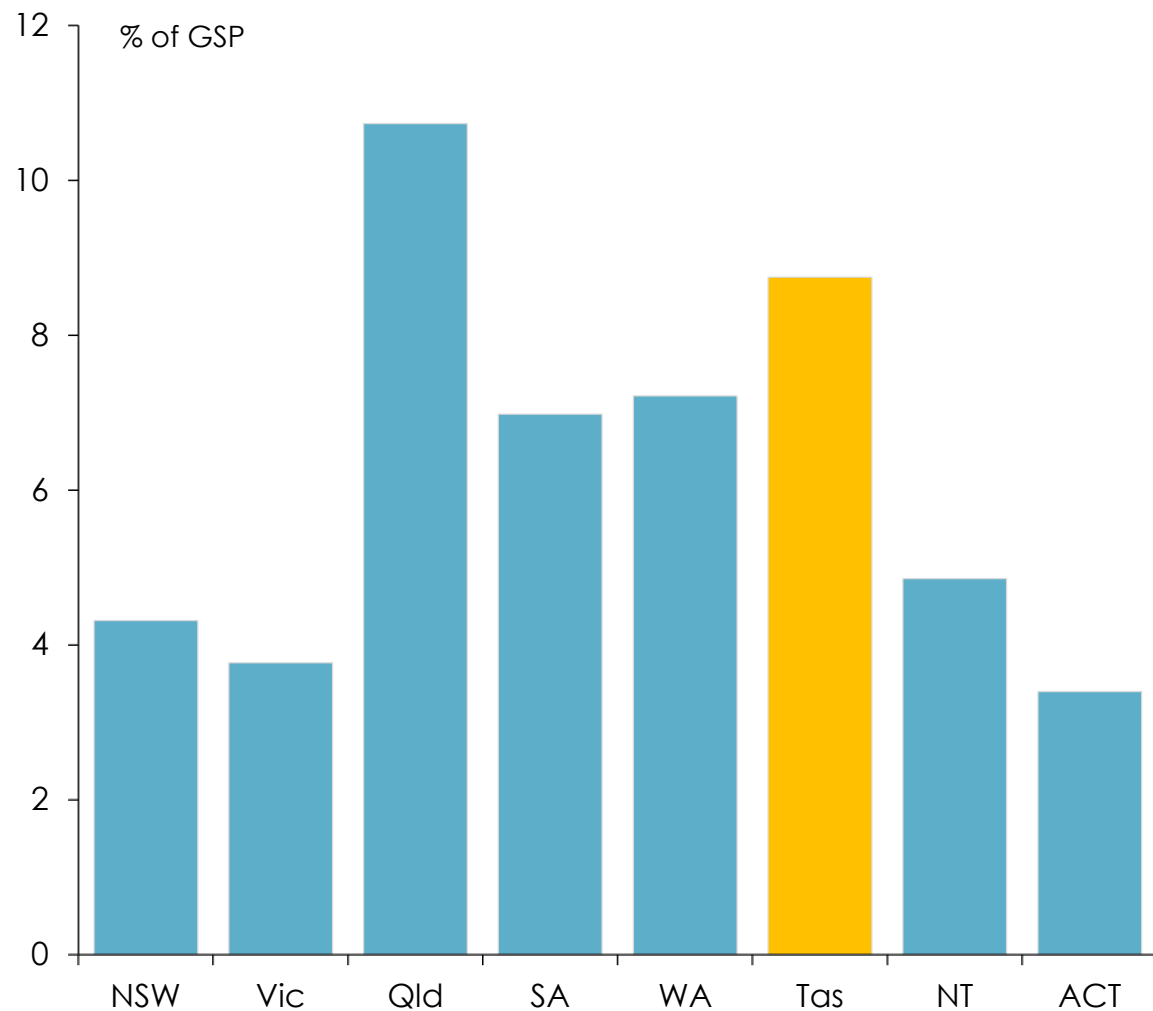
## State and Territory general government net debt, June 2017



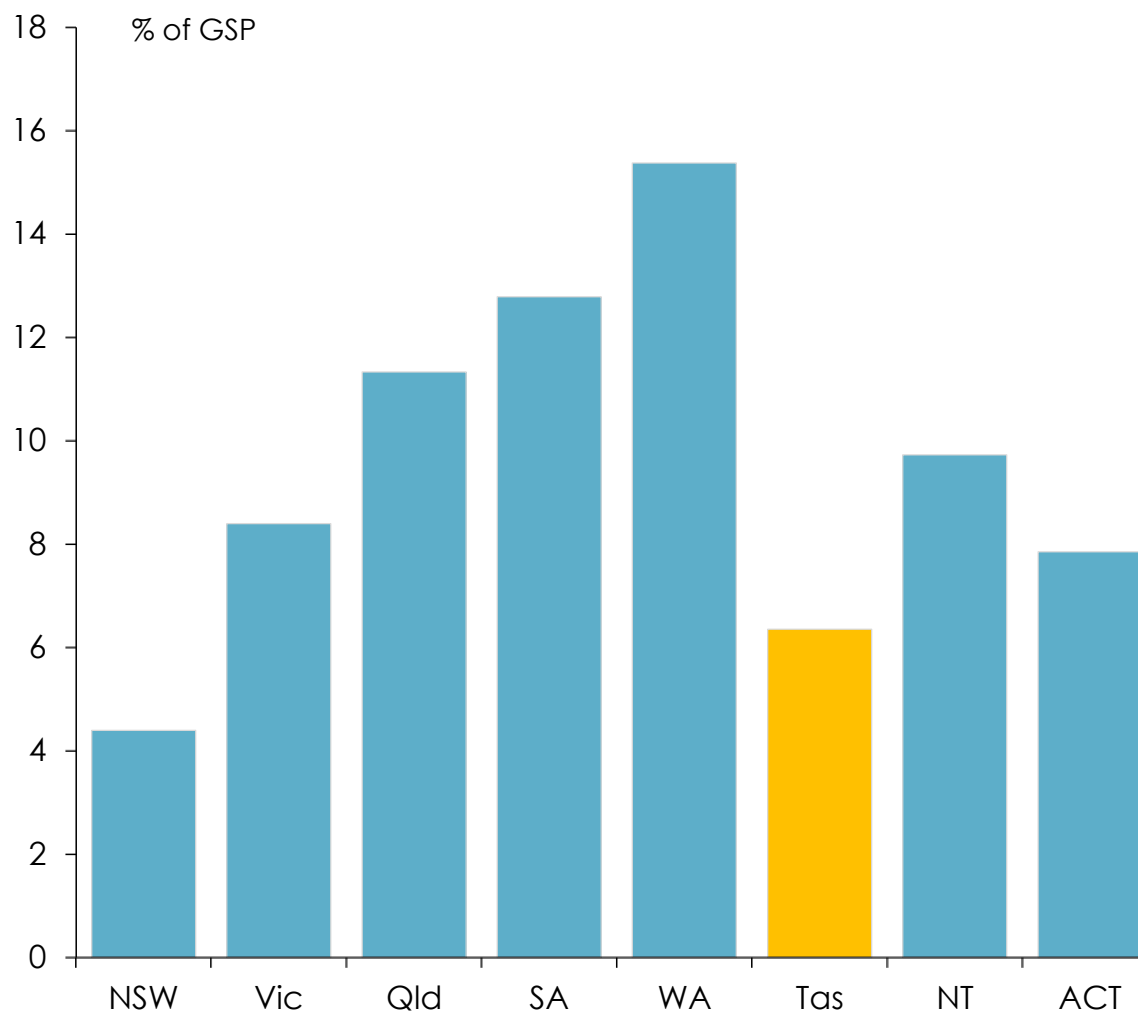
Note: 'General government' refers to the core government departments and other agencies funded wholly or largely by taxes, fees and fines, GBE income or grants from the Commonwealth. The 'underlying' net operating balance is the difference between those sources of revenue and 'operating' expenses such as employee expenses, grants and subsidies, depreciation and interest, excluding one-off Commonwealth Government payments eg for the Royal Hobart Hospital reconstruction and the transfer of the Mersey General Hospital. Sources: Tasmanian Budget Papers.

# Even though Tasmania's GBEs have a relatively large amount of debt Tasmania's total public sector debt is the second-lowest after NSW

## Public non-financial corporations net debt, June 2017



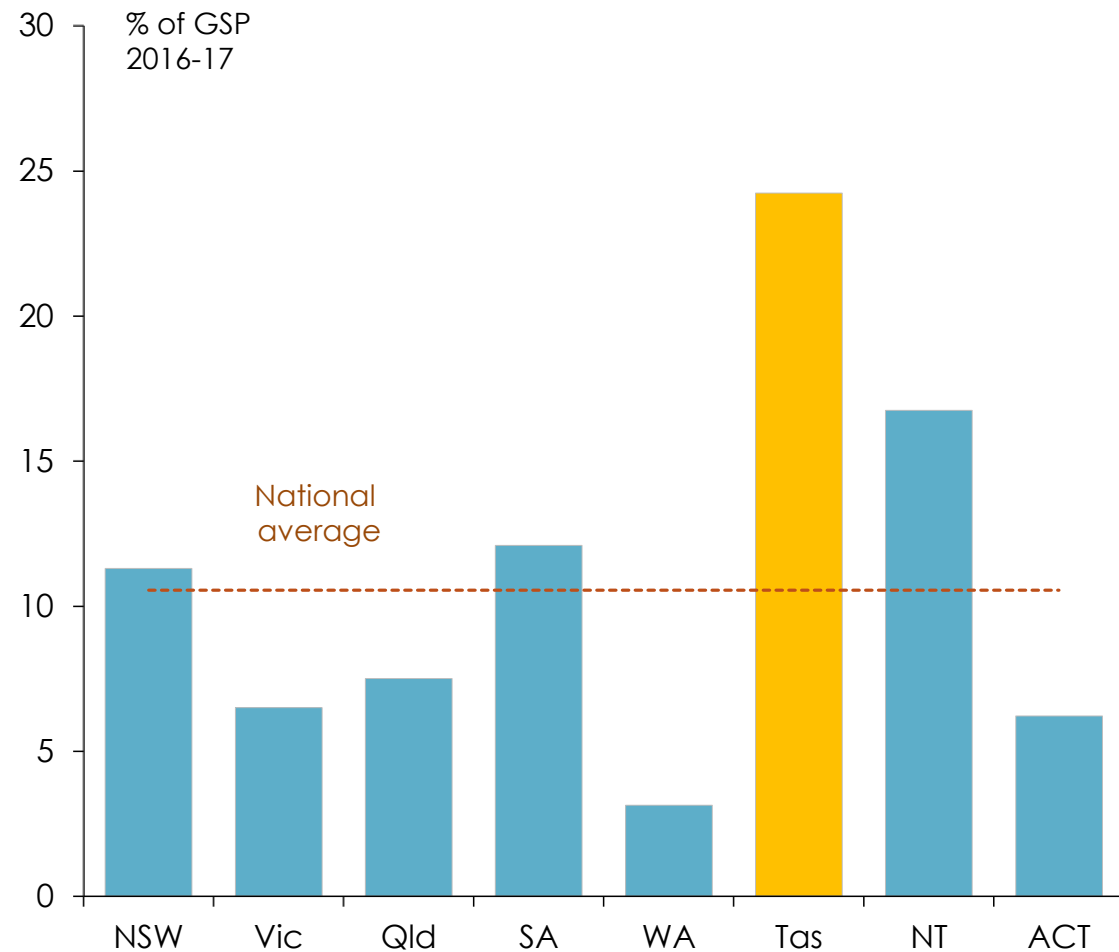
## Non-financial public sector net debt, June 2017



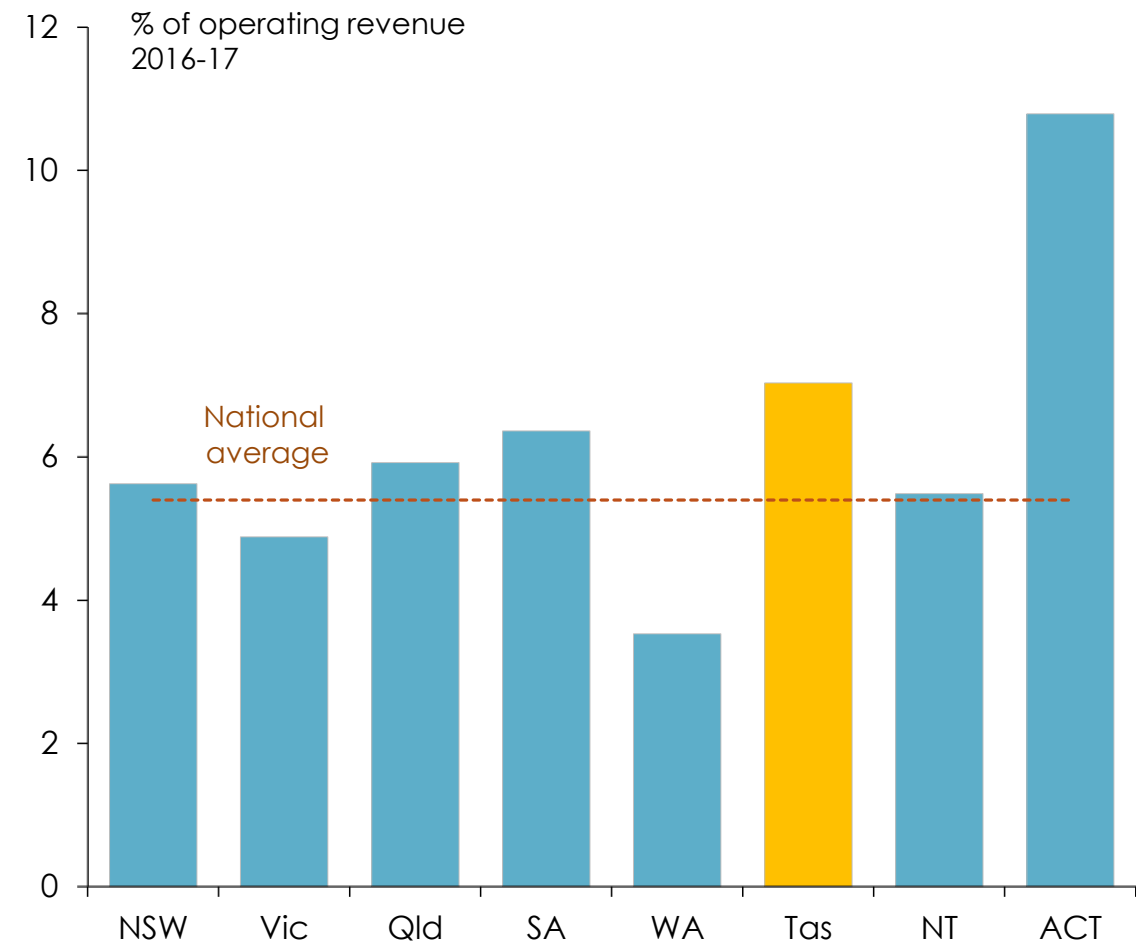
Sources: State & Territory 2017-18 Budget Papers (Vic, Tas, NT & ACT) and 2016-17 Mid-Year Reviews (NSW, Qld, SA & WA); ABS 5220.0 and 6248.0.55.002.

# Tasmania's relatively sound net debt position is partly offset by its very large unfunded public sector superannuation liability

## 'Non-financial public sector superannuation liability, States & Territories, 30 June 2017



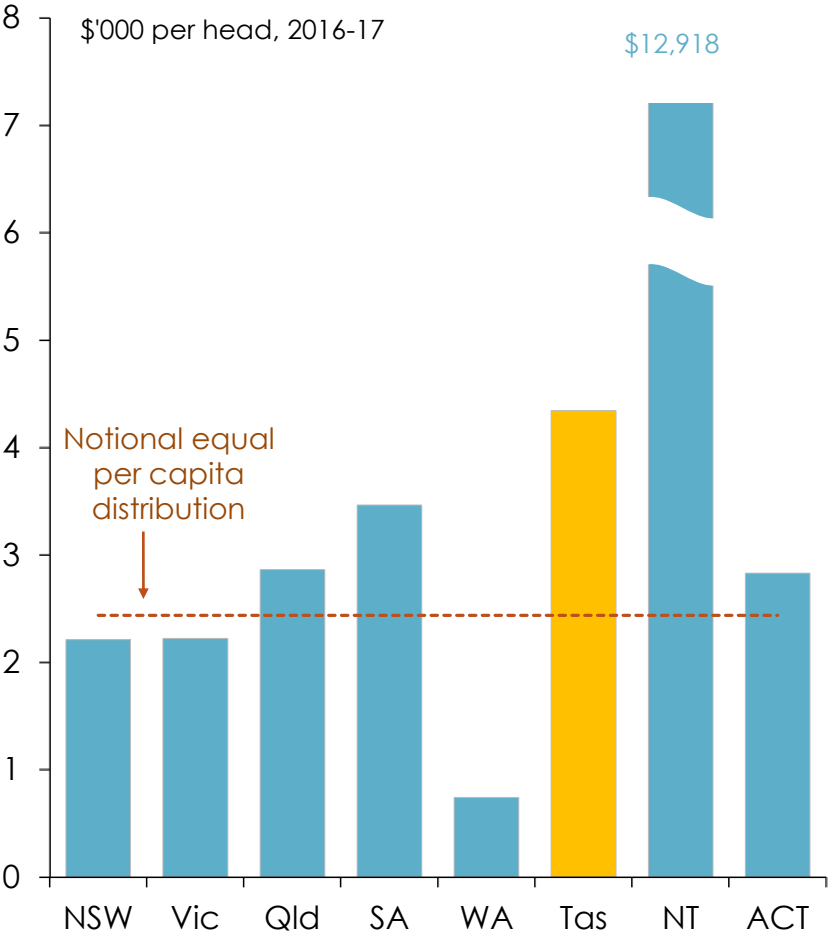
## Superannuation expenses as a pc of 'operating revenue', 2016-17



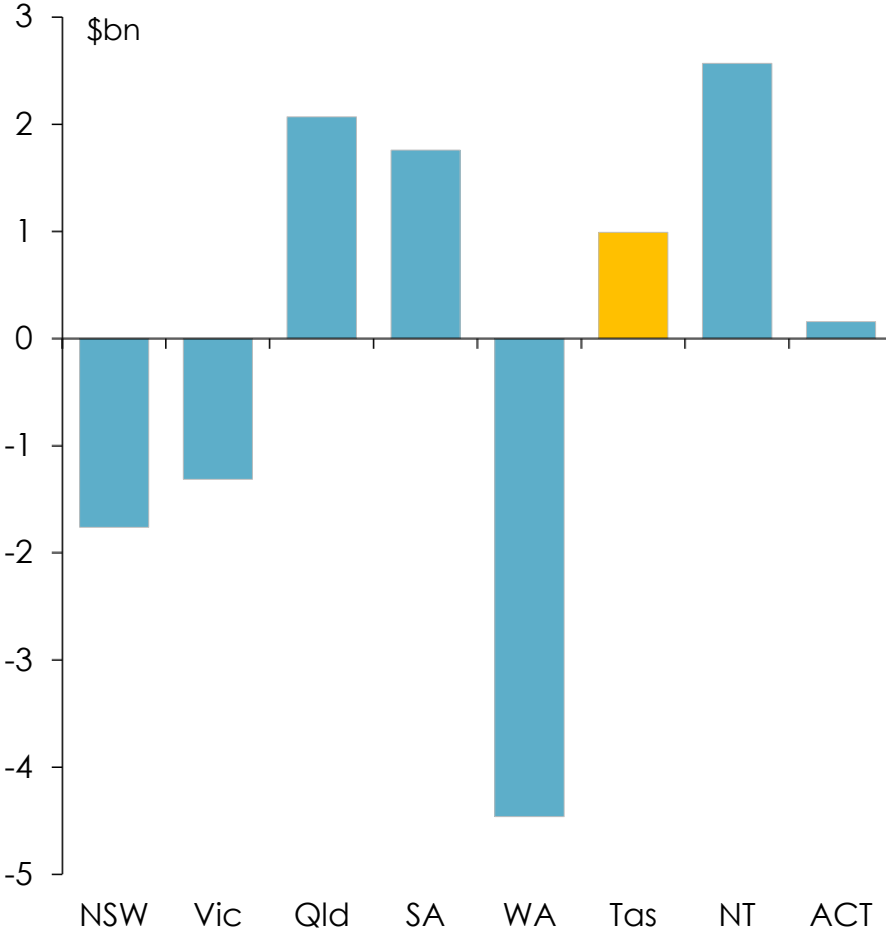
Sources: State & Territory 2017-18 Budget Papers (Vic, Tas, NT & ACT) and 2016-17 Mid-Year Reviews (NSW, Qld, SA & WA); ABS 5220.0 and 6248.0.55.002.

# Tasmania's public finances are very vulnerable to a shift in the GST revenue-sharing arrangements sought by WA, NSW and Victoria

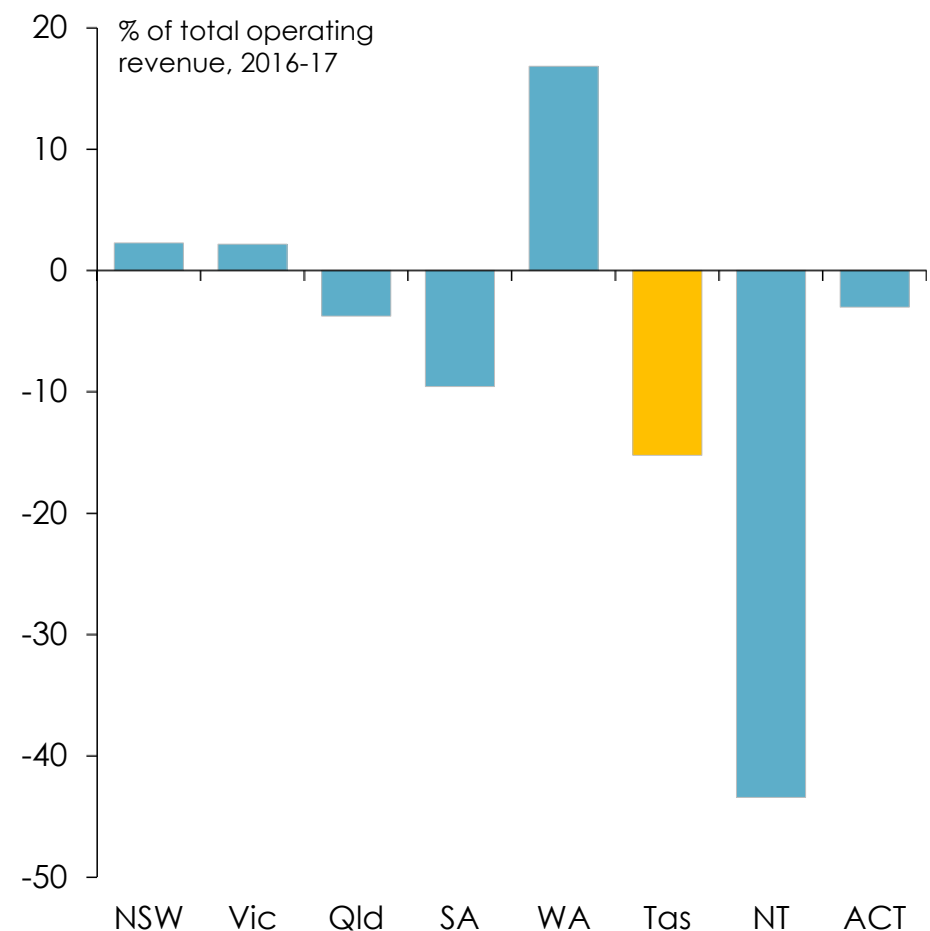
GST revenue shares per head of population, 2016-17



GST redistribution as compared with equal per capita, 2016-17



Impact of a shift to equal per capita GST distribution

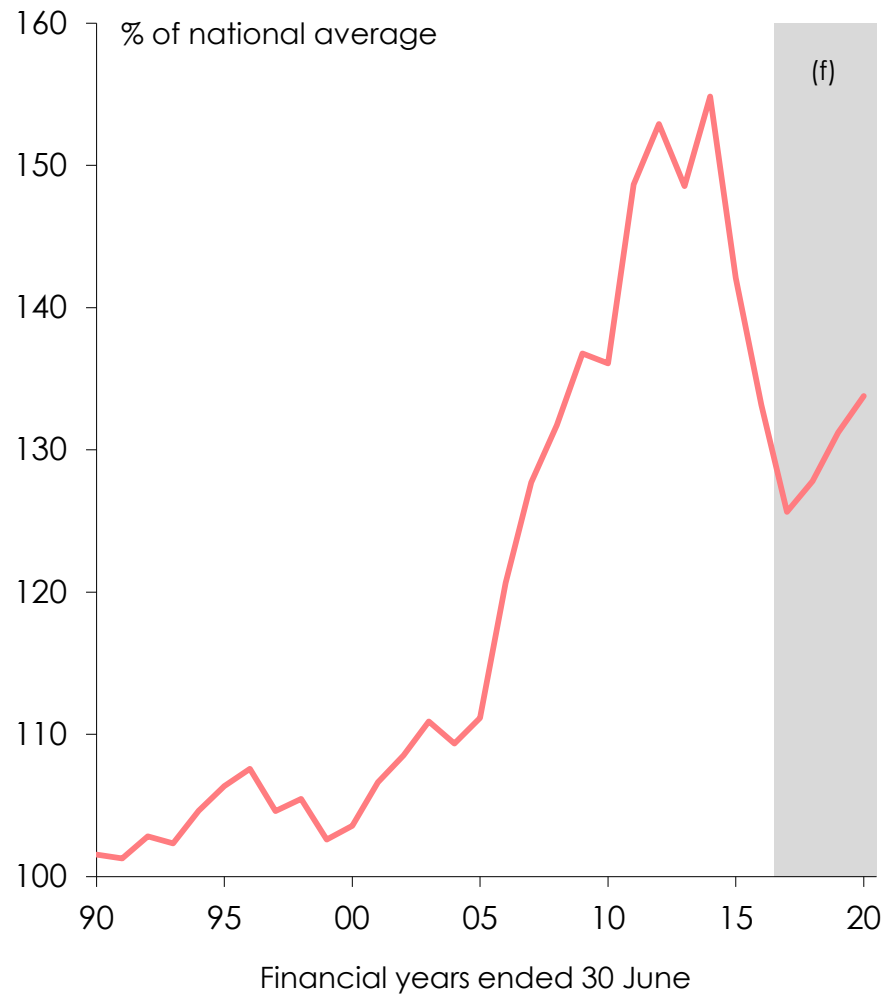


Sources: Commonwealth, State and Territory Budget Papers (2017-18) and Mid-Year Reviews (2016-17).

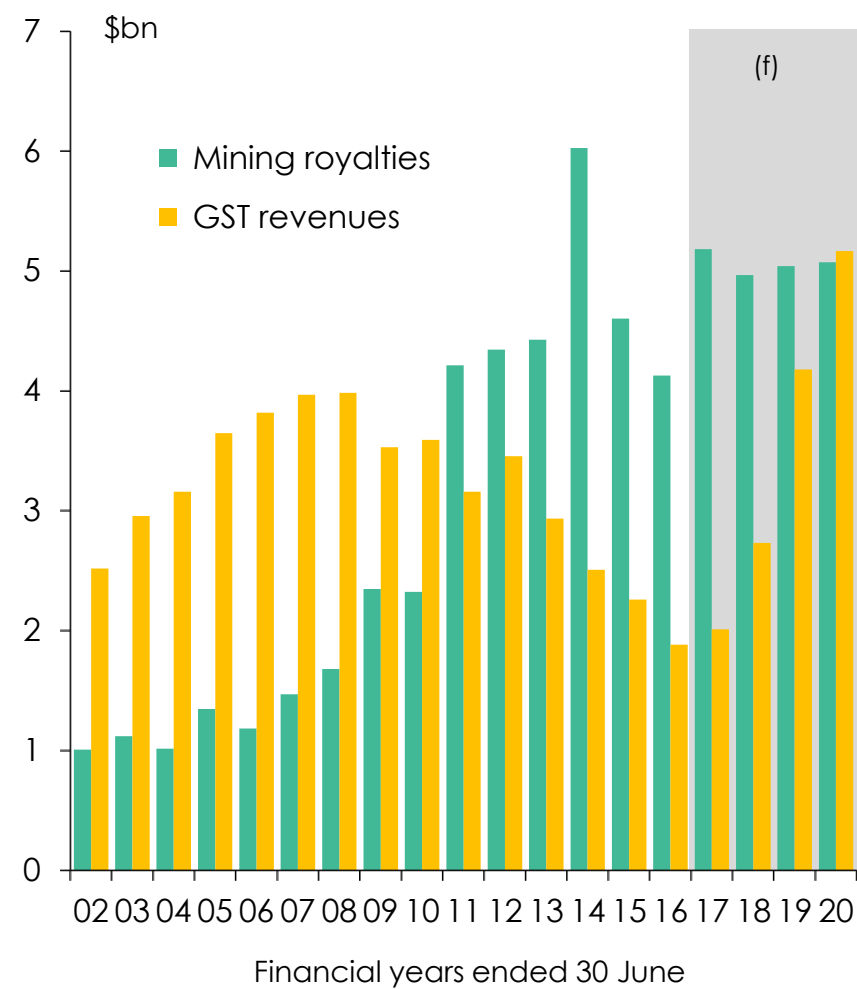


# WA has been Australia's richest state by an unprecedented margin in recent years: its financial problems have been largely its own doing

## WA GSP per head as a pc of national average



## WA mining royalties and GST revenue shares



## Growth in general gov't operating expenses per head



Sources: Western Australian and other State/Territory Budget Papers.

# Tasmania's economic future

# The Tasmanian economy of tomorrow has to be different from yesterday's

- ❑ The 'old' Tasmanian economy which Bob Cosgrove and Eric Reece built – aided by Sir Allan Knight and Russ Ashton – and which Robin Gray tried to prolong using borrowed money – was only ever sustainable when 'the world' (as far as Tasmania was concerned) consisted of other high-cost locations such as the rest of Australia, Europe, North America and Japan
- ❑ In the world that has been evolving since the mid-1980s – driven by 'globalization' and the rise of 'emerging markets', and rapid technological change – it's no longer economically sustainable for Tasmania to rely on the volume production of essentially undifferentiated commodities competing solely on the basis of price
  - at least, not without paying much lower wages and taxes, and further despoiling the environment
- ❑ Instead, Tasmania's economic prosperity will increasingly depend on its ability to produce and market highly differentiated goods and services, embodying a significant intellectual content, for which customers can be persuaded to pay premium prices
  - this is the only way producers based in Tasmania can overcome the disadvantages inherent in small scale and great distance from markets – whilst still being able to pay 'decent' wages, sufficient taxes to finance the public services Tasmanians want, and being able to maintain OHS, environmental and other standards
- ❑ That's not to say that there is no role for 'traditional' commodity-based / energy intensive industries in Tasmania – they make an important and valuable contribution to the economy and employment
  - but we can't realistically expect them to be major drivers of future growth

# The eight W's of Tasmania's economic future

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- ❑ **Wool**: for >150 years Tasmania has been producing the finest, most expensive wool in Australia
- ❑ **Water**: Hydro's renewable energy sold at high prices to mainland wholesale markets (and commanding an additional premium when carbon pricing returns) – plus irrigation (an enabler for expansion of the dairy industry) – plus premium water (from Cape Grim) in Qantas First Class and expensive restaurants – and products from water (like salmon, abalone and oysters) – and boat-building, marine engineering, Antarctic science etc
- ❑ **Wine**: Tasmania now produces some of Australia's best, and most expensive, premium wines
- ❑ **Whisky**: high-priced distilled spirits branded using some of Tasmania's most distinctive characteristics
- ❑ **Wasabi**: and other horticultural products (cherries, onions, turnips, truffles, etc) sold to at high prices to customers in Northern Hemisphere countries (Japan, Germany, France) who are used to paying high prices, in their off-seasons
- ❑ **Wagyu**: high-priced beef (retailing in Japan for >A\$80 per kilo)
- ❑ **Walking (and Wilderness)**: unique experiences for which tourists will pay premium prices (should include adventure tourism like New Zealand)
- ❑ **Walshy**: the unique MONA experience (and others like it)

For more details...

[bettercallsoul.com.au](http://bettercallsoul.com.au)

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**SAUL ESLAKE**