## Closing the democratic deficit in superannuation and pensions

#### **Gwion Moore**

32<sup>nd</sup> Colloquium on Pensions and Retirement Solutions
3<sup>rd</sup> December 2024

# Summary

#### Proposal:

To allow members to delegate their proxy vote to a value aligned organisation

- The introduction of ESG into Proxy voting has explicitly politicised and delegitimised Proxy voting
- Current model disenfranchises members, particularly minority groups
- That the technical challenge to implement this process will be resolved in a few years
- The money to implement this policy is already available
- Proxy voting could be more consequential than voting in national elections

# Proxy voting – a source of controversy

- The current model for Proxy voting for Superannuation schemes in Australia is in need of reform
  - Australia: "Greater Transparency of Proxy Advice" (2021) Treasury Paper
  - UK: Updated Stewardship code (2020)
  - Canada: Capital Markets Modernisation Taskforce (CMMT) (2020)
  - US: SEC reform of Proxy voting disclosures (2021)
- Wave of reforms arguably linked to politicisation of Proxy voting caused by the incorporation of ESG frameworks

#### FINANCIAL REVIEW

Proxy investor advice overhaul all about the politics

# Objections to proposal

- Members don't care and shouldn't care
  - Engagement is weak at the best of time
  - Proxy voting is a specialist skill set
- Irrelevance
  - Proxy voting is largely performative with most resolution passed with 90%+ approval
- Technical challenge
  - Would require full digital flow through of the proxy voting process
- Financing
  - How do we pay for this?

### Conclusions

- The current model for Proxy voting for Superannuation schemes in Australia is in need of reform
  - The rise of ESG inputting into Proxy voting has explicitly politicised the process
  - The politization has delegitimised the process
  - The current model disenfranchises members and excludes minority groups
- Allowing members to transfer their proxy to value aligned organisation is a potential solution
  - Once in place it could re-legitimise the ESG framework
  - The technical challenge is quite close to being solved
  - The money to support and maintain the change is already available
  - It could vivify member engagement
  - In a globalised world Proxy voting could be more consequential voting in national elections

### References

"Greater transparency of Proxy advice - Consultation Paper"

https://treasury.gov.au/sites/default/files/2021-04/c2021-169360\_consultation\_paper.pdf

Tamrat, E. (2024) "Governance Guide: Proxy Voting", Council of Institutional Investors <a href="https://www.cii.org/Files/publications/governance\_guides/Goverance-Guide-Proxy-Voting-July-2024.pdf">https://www.cii.org/Files/publications/governance\_guides/Goverance-Guide-Proxy-Voting-July-2024.pdf</a>

Ehrenreich, B. Ehrenreich, J. (1976) "The New Left: A Case Study in Professional Managerial Class Radicalism", Radical America

https://files.libcom.org/files/Rad%20America%20V11%20I3.pdf

Lind, M. (2021) "The Double Horseshoe theory of class politics", The Bellows <a href="https://thebellows.org/the-double-horseshoe-theory-of-class-politics-the-bellows-2/">https://thebellows.org/the-double-horseshoe-theory-of-class-politics-the-bellows-2/</a>

Paatsch, D. (2021) "proxy investor advice overhaul is all about politics", Australian Financial Review

https://www.afr.com/companies/financial-services/proxy-investor-advice-overhaul-all-about-the-politics-20210520-p57tlx