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**THE CHANGING STATE OF POLICY PRODUCTION
IN AUSTRALIAN FEDERALISM:
GENDER EQUITY AND SCHOOLING**


A THESIS

**SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT AT
THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND**

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SEPTEMBER, 1992

The work presented in this thesis is original, except as acknowledged in the text. The material herein has not been submitted, either in whole or in part, for a degree at this or any other university.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'R.L. Lingard'. The signature is written in a cursive style with a prominent loop at the end.

R.L. Lingard

22 September, 1992

For

Millie and Josephine

Eileen and Bob

Carolynn and Nicholas

ABSTRACT

This research exercise in policy sociology focuses on the development of gender equity policies in schooling at the federal and Queensland levels, including the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* (1987) and Queensland's policy of *Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys* (1981). Earlier and later developments in gender equity policies are also analysed, indicating the interactive nature of policy production within the dual jurisdictions of federalism. The thesis takes as its point of departure from the mainstream policy literature the view that an understanding of the state is central to any analysis of policy production within it.

Dale (1986) makes a distinction between the topic of research and the resources which are utilised to provide an analysis of the topic. The research has two topics. The first is the development of gender equity policies and the second is theorising policy production within the state, as part of a broader project of providing an historical sociology of the Australian federal state. The focus for both topics is upon the period from Whitlam to Hawke, with special emphasis on the Hawke era (1983–1991). The second topic serves as a research resource towards the analysis of the interactive development of gender equity policies at the national and Queensland levels. The first topic also serves as a resource for the second topic of theorising policy-making within the state and providing an historical sociology of the Australian federal state. Additional research resources included interviews with many of the participants in the development of the gender equity policies under focus, reports and publicly available documents, and the relevant policy files of the Queensland Department of Education.

Amongst the research respondents were many women with feminist views and goals working within the bureaucracy and utilising both the bureaucratic structure and federal-state relations as a terrain to develop strategies to achieve gains in gender equity policy. The Australian neologism, "femocrat", has been coined to refer to such women for whom a commitment to feminism is a requirement of the positions they hold. This professionalisation of the women's movement (Yeatman, 1990a) resulted from the confluence of the second wave of the women's movement and the election of the social democratic Whitlam Labor government in 1972 and also reflected the traditional statism of Australian political culture (Eisenstein, 1991). The research indicates the significance of feminist networks and strategy to the achievement of policies at both the national and Queensland levels. As such, this finding is a most useful resource for indicating the

necessity to consider the agency of bureaucrats as another mediating factor in policy production within the state. This aspect of the research also demonstrates the significance of bureaucratic structure and location for effectiveness of a reform strategy. The research shows how femocrats utilised symbolic policies as the first stage of a longer term strategy and how such policies could have material effects when accompanied by a committed political constituency.

The thesis attempts to establish a viable theory of policy production within the state through a synthesis of a critiqued version of the work of Offe (1975, 1984, 1985) and feminist theories of the state (Franzway, Court and Connell, 1989; Connell, 1987, 1990), while acknowledging the state as a terrain of policy struggle (Burton, 1985; Jessop, 1990). Through an amalgam of theoretical and empirically based insights the thesis outlines the requirements of a viable theory of policy production within the state. It is argued that consideration must be granted to the accumulation and legitimation pressures upon the state (Offe, 1975, 1984, 1985), as well as to political ones (Esping-Andersen, 1985, 1990). Recognition needs to be given to the different bases of power in those spheres. Collectively the state is a complex arrangement of institutions and practices which has to balance these ongoing pressures, arriving at temporary settlements at different historical moments. These pressures are mediated in their impact upon the institutions and practices of the differentiated internal state structure, for only some arms of the state are specifically concerned with accumulation, while others have ostensibly different purposes. In turn, state structures, including federalism in Australia and the nature of the bureaucracy, always mediate those pressures. The research indicates very clearly that the interior of the state is a strategic-relational (Jessop, 1990) terrain of policy struggle with bureaucrats and ministers and their practices also mediating between those pressures and policy production. It was also indicated how the policy culture within a specific department framed the policy possibilities. The processes of accumulation and legitimation are gendered and classed processes, while the state itself at the present time has a deeply embedded gendered division of labour, reflecting the broader gender regime of the state, which in turn relates to the nature of the societal gender order (Connell, 1987, 1990).

The historical sociology of the Australian state indicates the statist nature of Australian political culture and the emergence by the turn of the century of a specifically Australian policy response of domestic defence (Castles, 1988), which ensured a tariff protected manufacturing industry and a dependence upon the export of primary products.

It is shown how that approach began to collapse in the seventies and eighties, first with Whitlam's attempt to create a social democratic welfare state, which was something of an aberration set against the abstemious labourist approach to welfare institutionalised earlier in the century and during the conservative Keynesianism of the post-war period. Whitlam also reduced tariffs as the Australian economy was integrated into the global one. The last Whitlam budget coincided with the end of the post-war economic boom. The thesis thus deals with the period of economic downturn and restructuring experienced since with the search for a new policy settlement.

The thesis documents and analyses changes in the bureaucratic arrangements and in federalism across that period, with emphasis upon the corporate managerialist revolution within the federal public service and the emergence of what this thesis classifies as corporate federalism. These changes are shown to be part of the endorsement of economic rationalism and the move to integrate Australia in a non-tariff protected fashion with the global economy. The weakening of the progressive potential of Hawke's neo-corporatist approach after 1987 is also demonstrated. These changes were an attempt to grant priority to accumulation over political pressures and also to tighten ministerial control over policy agendas and to have the federal state work in a more unitary fashion. Corporate managerialist changes within the Queensland bureaucracy are also documented. The significance of these changes to the machinery of educational policy production and to gender equity in schooling policies is also illustrated.

The research demonstrates the effectiveness of the femocrat strategy of working within the state to achieve gender equity policies in education. However, the managerialist revolution and the incorporation of education as part of economic restructuring has resulted in a reframing of the gender equity agenda. The Queensland situation is shown to be atypical here, with State neglect of equity during the long period of conservative government and the centrality of Commonwealth policies and funding to policy achievements during that time. Femocrats within the Queensland bureaucracy cleverly utilised national level developments as leverage in the hostile policy culture within the Department. After the election of a Labor government in 1989, there has been a strengthened commitment to gender equity, structurally and in policy and personnel terms. However, all equity domains are starting anew and are affected by managerialism and the tight funding circumstances. Further, the Commonwealth's attempt through corporate federalism (Lingard, 1991, 1992) to establish national policies framed by an economic

restructuring agenda also has the potential to further instrumentalise such policies. The thesis demonstrates very clearly the continuing significance of the state in policy production despite its reconfiguration and despite the fact that such a reconfiguration has reduced its capacity to give priority to and enforce equity policies.

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Bob Lingard

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACER	Australian Council for Educational Research
ACT	Australian Capital Territory
ACTU	Australian Council of Trade Unions
AEC	Australian Education Council
ALP	Australian Labor Party
AMC	Australian Manufacturing Council
ARC	Administrative Review Committee
ARC	Australian Research Council
ATF	Australian Teachers' Federation
AVCC	Australian Vice Chancellors' Committee
BCA	Business Council of Australia
BI	Budgetary Initiatives
CAE	College of Advanced Education
CAI	Confederation of Australian Industry
CDC	Curriculum Development Centre
CJC	Criminal Justice Commission
CTEC	Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission
DEET	Department of Employment, Education and Training
DEVET	Department of Employment, Vocational Education and Training
DLP	Democratic Labor Party
DSP	Disadvantaged Schools Program
EARC	Electoral and Administrative Review Commission
EEO	Equal Employment Opportunity
EOG	Education Office Gazette
EPAC	Economic Planning Advisory Council
ERC	Expenditure Review Committee
ESU	Efficiency Scrutiny Unit
FAG	Financial Assistance Grant
FAGS	Financial Assistance Grants to the States
FAUSA	Federated Australian University Staff Association
FMIP	Financial Management Improvement Plan
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IT	Interview Transcript
IWY	International Women's Year
KWS	Keynesian Welfare State
MACOS	Man: A Course of Study
NBEET	National Board of Employment, Education and Training
NPQTL	National Project on the Quality of Teaching and Learning
NWAC	National Women's Advisory Committee
OECD	Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries
OSW	Office of the Status of Women
PEP	Participation and Equity Program
PRISEAC	Private Sector Economic Advisory Committee
PSB	Public Service Board
PSMC	Public Sector Management Commission
QERC	Quality of Education Review Committee
RAPS	Reforming the Australian Public Service

RCAGA	Royal Commission on Australian Government Administration
SCINOS	Standing Committee for the Implementation of New Organisational Structures
SEMP	Social Education Materials Project
SENSE	Studies to Encourage Non-Sexist Education
SES	Senior Executive Service
SPC	Special Premiers' Conference
TAFE	Technical and Further Education
TDC	Trade Development Commission
WEL	Women's Electoral Lobby
WWWW	Women Who Want to Be Women

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: THE NATURE OF THE RESEARCH

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an exercise in policy sociology (Ozga, 1987; Ball, 1990c). It began from an interest in policy production within the liberal democratic state¹ and particularly a concern with schooling policy-making in the Australian federal state and more specifically with gender equity policies. The research focuses on the development of gender equity policies in schooling at the federal and Queensland levels, including the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* (1987) and Queensland's policy of *Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys* (1981). However, there is an analysis of earlier and later developments with an emphasis upon the interactive character of developments at these two levels of the Australian state, reflecting the dual jurisdictional character of federalism. The thesis takes as its point of departure from the traditional policy literature the view that an understanding of the state is central to any analysis of policy production within it.

The *National Policy for the Education of Girls*, the first national policy in any area of schooling, was developed in 1987 under Susan Ryan as federal Minister in the Hawke Labor government. The policy was implemented after the third consecutive Labor election victory in 1987 under a new Minister, John Dawkins, who was responsible for the new portfolio of Employment, Education and Training. The impact on the policy of changes in the internal structure of the Australian state, which Labor also implemented after the 1987 election victory, is an area of further exploration. These changes included the corporate managerialist revolution (Considine, 1988; Yeatman, 1990a; Pusey, 1991), which accompanied the reduction in the number of ministerial portfolios and public service departments, and the consequent creation of fewer, megadepartments. They also included changes in the operation of federalism in schooling policy (Lingard, 1991, 1992).

The *National Policy for the Education of Girls* was the first Australian national policy in the domain of schooling policy, which since the Whitlam government's (1972–1975) systematisation of federal involvement (White, 1987), has been affected by the intersection of federal/State pressures. As such, it was an indirect precursor of subsequent developments in federalism in schooling policy formation pursued under the new policy regime of Dawkins (1987–1991). The Dawkins authorised policy statement *Strengthening*

Australia's Schools (1988) articulated a desired reworking of federalism in this area in the direction of national policies, as all education policies, including schooling, were reconceptualised as central to economic restructuring and the microeconomic reform agenda (Lingard, O'Brien, Knight, in press). It is argued that these changes manifest a new approach to federal/State relations in schooling policy, which this research characterises as 'corporate federalism' (Lingard, 1991, 1992). The changes in policy culture and structures of policy formation and delivery within the bureaucracy and federal/State relations, following Dawkins' appointment, will be documented and analysed, as will their impact upon the National Policy. The National Policy is significant in that its formulation and implementation sit at the intersection of two different policy cultures and policy regimes (Kenway, 1990b).

The research is also concerned with developments in girls' schooling policy in the Queensland Department of Education from the time that the Whitlam government in its Schools Commission report *Girls, School and Society* (1975) provided the first extensive federal policy recognition of the disadvantages experienced by girls through schooling. Despite continuing pressure from the Commonwealth and from a variety of other sources, the Queensland Department of Education did not develop a specific policy until 1981 and even then did so most reluctantly (Lingard, Henry, Taylor, 1987). The policy formulated, notably *Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys*, was an idiosyncratic amalgam of competing discourses (Lingard, Henry, Taylor, 1987; McHoul, 1984; Laxon and Knight, 1992), which resulted from policy pressures from a variety of directions, including the Queensland Teachers' Union, feminist and anti-feminist groups, female bureaucrats within the Department of Education, and the Commonwealth through the Schools Commission. In one sense, the generation of Queensland's policy was a direct result of the availability of Commonwealth funds. Across the long period of conservative government in Queensland (1957–1989), and particularly from the late seventies onwards, the State government opposed progressive developments in schooling, with equity matters getting onto Queensland schooling policy agendas solely through Commonwealth initiatives (Lingard, 1983; Lingard, Henry, Taylor, 1987; Lingard, 1990c). The research analyses the factors involved in the development of Queensland's policy and subsequent developments across the period until Queensland refused to be part of the National Policy in 1987. Ultimately, in a *de facto* manner and under a new Minister for Education, Queensland became part of the National Policy. Formal recognition came after the

election of a State Labor government in 1989. The research reports and analyses the politics, largely internal to the state, including significantly federal/State relations, operating across that period in relation to policies on the schooling of girls.

The policy research reported began from an assumption that an understanding of public policy required an understanding of the state in a liberal democracy and the way its structures and practices framed policy agendas (Ham and Hill, 1984; Wolfe, 1977; Benson and Weitzel, 1985; Offe, 1975, 1984, 1985; Alford and Friedland, 1985; Dunleavy and O'Leary, 1987). At another level then, the thesis theorises the state and its relationship to policy-making. It attempts to construct a more general theory of the state and policy-making through a synthesis of a critiqued and modified version of the work of the German critical theorist Claus Offe (1975, 1984, 1985) and insights from more recent feminist theories of the state (Franzway, Court, Connell, 1985; Connell, 1987, 1990; MacKinnon, 1989; Sassoon, 1987; Kenway, 1990b,c, 1992). Offe's work is useful to the research because of the recognition that his theorising gives to the impact of the internal structure and workings of the state upon policy formulation. The research findings with respect to the effect of the corporate managerialist restructurings at both Commonwealth and State levels of schooling policy-making, and especially in the domain of girls' schooling, certainly bear out Offe's observation, as does the impact of the changes to federalism which are also documented. The feminist approaches are important in relation to the specific policy focus of the research. Furthermore, they provide a necessary corrective to the gender blindness of Offe's work, his failure to acknowledge that both the economy and politics are gendered processes (Connell, 1987) and his failure to note that workers inside the state have a strategic impact upon policy-making (Jessop, 1990). The latter point is one central finding of the research reported within this thesis. The importance of femocrats (bureaucrats with a feminist ideology) in the domain of girls schooling policy became very apparent from the research. As a consequence, some attention is given to this peculiarly Australian phenomenon of 'femocracy' (Franzway, 1986; Franzway, Court, Connell, 1989; Yeatman, 1990a; Eisenstein, 1985, 1991; Dowse, 1984, 1988; Sawer, 1990; Summers, 1986; Lynch, 1984), which, as Yeatman (1990a, p.65) notes, has resulted from 'the professionalisation of feminism and its incorporation into the state'.

The development of an adequate theory of the liberal democratic state and its relation to policy-making requires the aggregation of a number of detailed and historically

grounded accounts of such a state in operation (Jessop, 1982; Head, 1983; Pierson, 1986). At another level, this thesis in Chapters 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 provides an historical account of the nature of the Australian federal state, including developments in Queensland. While it has been acknowledged above that policy analysis requires an understanding of the state, this is a very pertinent observation in relation to policy-making in the Australian context because of the "statist" nature of Australian political culture (Rosecrance, 1964; Castles, 1988; Pusey, 1991; Beilharz and Murphy, 1992).

The thesis focuses on the period from Whitlam (1972–1975) to Hawke (1983–1991) and the changes in the structure and operation of the state across that time, as they relate to policy formulation. More specific attention is paid to the changes enacted across the Hawke period, particularly as they turn upon the 1987 public service restructurings (Pusey, 1991). Both the corporate managerialist revolution (at Commonwealth and Queensland levels) and changes in Australian federalism are considered.

Centripetal pressures within Australian federalism appeared to reach a crescendo with the Whitlam government, which was elected to power almost at the end of the post-war economic boom period. The end of that boom period witnessed the collapse of the social democratic, Keynesian settlement in schooling policy-making (Freeland, 1986). The Hawke (1983–1991) period saw a variety of competing centripetal and centrifugal pressures within federalism (Lingard, 1991, 1992; Knight, Lingard, Porter, 1991) and a search for a new policy settlement (Seddon, 1988, 1989). In one sense, it is the Labor attempt to achieve a new policy settlement generally, and specifically within schooling, which is the backdrop to the concern with the changes in the *National Policy for the Education of Girls*, consequent upon the differing policy culture at work in its formulation and implementation phases.

The policy sociology practised in this research is 'state-centric' in character (Bowe, Ball, Gold, 1992). While it is concerned largely with policy production or generation, it is, of course, acknowledged that the state is not the only site at which policy processes occur. This research however has chosen the state site of policy generation to study because of the centrality of internal state politics to the formulation of both the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* (1987) and Queensland's *Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys* (1981) policy. The state-centric approach is confirmed by the empirical data base of the research, which indicates the significance of state structures and practices and changes to them to policy generation. The research reported here presents a picture of the

state as one of the most important arenas of political struggle in policy-making. That reality might reflect the historically statist nature of Australian political culture, the statist orientation of Labor governments (Beilharz and Murphy, 1992), and the particular policy domain under the research microscope. The central significance of feminist bureaucrats, "femocrats" in the Australian neologism, and feminist policy culture and networks, in the domain of girls schooling policy is a finding of the case studies in policy sociology reported in this thesis. The femocrats interviewed in this research conceptualised that agency in respect of policy-making as "strategy". This is not to deny the importance of politics and culture outside of the state, but rather to acknowledge an often neglected feature of state policy production. However, state structure and practices help frame the way politics, culture and pressure groups impact upon policy generation. This research would assert the shortcomings of those theories of the liberal democratic state and policy-making which proffer unitary and instrumental accounts of the state (cf Clegg, Boreham, Dow, 1986). It is also to reject those approaches within policy sociology which neglect the significance of politics inside the state (Ball, 1990c; Bowe, Ball, Gold, 1992; Jessop, 1990).

This research is concerned with policy production at two sites within the Australian federal state. It documents and analyses the emergence of Commonwealth policy on the education of girls. Special attention is paid to the development of the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* (1987), the first national policy ever in schooling. The research is also concerned with related moves in the Queensland Department of Education, chronicling the establishment of the *Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys* (1981) policy to the official endorsement of the National Policy after Labor won the State election in 1989. The research illustrates the interactive character of these policy moves at the national level and in Queensland, indicating how Commonwealth developments were used as leverage in the Queensland Department by the relevant policy officers. On the basis of that research evidence and a critical review of the literature on state theory, the thesis seeks to establish the necessary components of an adequate theory of policy production within the liberal democratic state. The interviews with femocrats conducted as part of the research indicated very clearly the need to consider strategies within the state as an important factor in policy production with consequent implications for such theorising. The research also provides an historical sociology of the Australian federal state. In particular, it provides a sociological analysis of the reconfiguration of the Australian state,

including the operation of federalism and the corporate managerialist changes to the bureaucracy, which has occurred throughout the 1980s. The significance of those state/structural changes to policy production in schooling is also analysed.

1.2 POLICY

This research is interested in policy-making within the state. It is also concerned to theorise policy production within the state and as such stands outside of the mainstream policy literature. It also emphasises the political nature of policy which is particularly pertinent to the specific focus upon gender equity.

This section establishes a brief dialogue with issues raised in the policy literature, setting out its own conception of policy and policy production within the state. It begins by considering definitions of policy and then moves to explicate the approach to policy analysis used in the research. Some attention, in turn, is then given to the rational and incremental and policy and administration debates in the policy literature. Finally in this section, there is a discussion of the material/symbolic policy distinction. This is particularly significant to an analysis of the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* (1987) and Queensland's *Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys* (1981) policy, because of their ostensibly symbolic character.

1.2.1 Policy

Cunningham (1963, p.229) has observed that: 'Policy is rather like the elephant – you recognise it when you see it but cannot easily define it'. Hogwood and Gunn (1984) include amongst their consideration of common usage of policy, policy as a label for a field of government activity and as a statement of purpose for such activity. They also suggest policy as specific proposals or decisions, formal authorisation, for example legislation, and as program. Some have argued that policies involve a web of decisions (Easton, 1953; Encel, Wilenski and Schaffer, 1981). Others have distinguished policy from programs. Thus, for example, Harman (1984, p.13) argues that policy refers to 'the implicit or explicit specification of courses of purposive action being followed or to be followed in dealing with a recognised problem or matter of concern, and directed towards the accomplishment of some intended or desired set of goals'. He defines program in a

narrower fashion as the 'authorised means, strategies and details of procedure for achieving goals' (p.14). Programs are thus construed as the means by which government's attempt to achieve their policy goals (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984, p.16).

Hill and Bramley (1986) quote with approval Jenkins' (1978) definition of policy as:

...a set of interrelated decisions taken by a political actor or group of actors concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified situation where these decisions should, in principle, be within the power of these actors to achieve. (Hill and Bramley, 1986, p.3)

Hill and Bramley support this definition for a number of cogent reasons. The definition argues that policy relates to a number of decisions and that it is formulated by a number of policy actors, including politicians and bureaucrats, and also including what Davis, Wanna, Warhurst and Weller (1988, p.122) call the 'policy community' or what Hawker, Smith and Weller (1979) refer to as proximate policy makers. Further, Hill and Bramley support the definition because it emphasises that policy is about means and ends, a point which will be pursued below in terms of the policy and administration relationship. With respect to means/ends considerations, the distinction is sometimes made between procedural and substantive policies (Anderson, 1983; Prunty, 1984). Finally, Hill and Bramley accept the Jenkins' definition because it stresses that the efficacy of any policy is contingent on other policy actions and that policy is concerned with those matters over which the state has some authority.

The distinction is sometimes made in the policy literature between policy outputs and outcomes (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984). Outputs refer to 'the activities of government at the point of delivery', while outcomes denote 'the impact of these activities' (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984, p.17). Offe (1984, p.114) similarly observes that 'the institutional and legal structures of "policy outputs" in no way define the social and political "impact" of social policy'. Some policy theorists make a distinction between proximal and distal, or short and long term outcomes (St. Pierre, 1985).

Easton's (1953) definition of policy recognises the important point that some benefit from a given policy while others do not. Easton defines policy in the following manner:

The essence of a policy lies in the fact that through it certain things are denied to some people and made accessible to others. A policy, in other words, whether for a society, for a narrower association, or for any other group, consists of a web of decisions and actions that allocate values. (Easton, 1953, pp.129-130)

While Easton (1953) stresses that policy is the 'authoritative allocation of values', Prunty (1984, p.42) notes that 'policy is the legitimation of values'. Prunty (1984) also stresses that policy production involves the exercise of power. He states in relation to educational policy:

Educational policy making is an exercise of power and control directed towards the attainment or preservation of some preferred arrangement of schools and society. Whether a particular policy has to do with the nature of school curriculum, pedagogy, the role of the community in school decision making, disciplinary procedures, or the content and criteria of HSC examinations, some desired state of affairs is envisaged, and the requisite resources and authority are garnered in the services of this ideal. (Prunty, 1984, p.3)

Codd (1988, p.235) makes a related point when he argues that 'fundamentally, policy is about the exercise of political power and the language that is used to legitimate that process'.

Much of the mainstream policy literature utilised above comes out of a functionalist framework and as such fails to recognise the way in which social inequalities in society structured around class and gender relations impact upon the policy processes within the state. Offe's work (1975, 1984, 1985) is most useful in that respect, because he recognises the balancing act the state must perform between the economic and political pressures upon it and the significance of state structures in that balancing act. However, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 3, while his approach recognises the underlying significance of the accumulation process in state policy production, it fails to recognise the gendered character of both accumulation and political pressures upon the state. A definition of policy is required which moves beyond functionalist assumptions and which is useful to the research of this thesis. Given that requirement, this research accepts Kenway's (1990b, p.59) definition of policy. She argues that: 'Policy represents the temporary settlements between the diverse, competing and unequal forces within civil society, within the state itself and between associated discursive regimes'. Those unequal forces are structured around class and gender. In this way policy is more about the management of problems than solving them (Rein, 1983, pp.210–215). This is so because of the contradictory pressures which the state has to manage (Offe, 1975, 1984, 1985) and because contestation and trade offs are involved right from the appearance of a problem on the policy agenda, through the 'organisation of the fine structure of action' to the inevitable trade-offs involved in formulation and implementation (Rein, 1983; Rizvi and Kemmis, 1987). Policy is thus a political attempt to provide a course of action which is satisfactory to a

number of 'contending interests' (Rein, 1983, p.215) within the constraints upon the possibilities for state action (Offe, 1975, 1984, 1985).

1.2.2 Policy Analysis

The study provides an analysis of policy rather than an analysis for policy to use the distinction developed by Gordon, Lewis and Young (1977). Put another way, this research focuses on knowledge of the policy process, as opposed to knowledge in the policy process (Lasswell, 1961), even though the former ought to lend some contribution to understandings of the possibilities for the latter. In a sense, this research through interviews with the major participants in the development of girls' schooling policies at the Commonwealth and Queensland levels, taps into retrospective accounts of knowledge in the policy process to provide a sociological analysis of policy-making.

The approach to policy analysis adopted is sociological in nature, and as such pursues what Simeon (1976, p.556) calls the 'funnel of causality' of the given policies. This entails moving from macro considerations such as the class structure and the gender order and their intersection with the state, through the administrative and organisational arrangements of the state, including the limitations upon state action implicit in the balancing acts the state has to perform (Offe, 1975), to the specific and fine details of the bureaucratic and political strategies involved in the production of policies on gender equity at State and federal levels. As with such sociological accounts of policy production, the study is retrospective rather than prospective in character. Its aim will be that of 'empirically reconstructing the social "history of effects"' (Offe, 1984, p.108) operating in respect of both Commonwealth and Queensland policies on the education of girls and the interactive relationship between them.

The sociological orientation also means that the study is cognisant of the structure/agency question central to contemporary social theorising (Giddens, 1979; Watkins, 1985). Giddens' (1979, p.69) notion of 'structuration' refers to the 'fundamentally recursive character of social life, and expresses the mutual dependence of structure and agency'. Basically, the theory of structuration is an attempt to acknowledge both structural constraint and some human agency in social life. Effective policy analysis must take cognisance of both structure and agency. In policy terms, structure refers to the organisational framework within which policy is constructed, that is the bureaucratic

agencies of the Australian federal state and the economic and political pressures acting upon it. Drawing upon Giddens' theoretical insights, Rizvi and Kemmis (1987, p.41) make a useful distinction in terms of policy production within the state between 'design effects' ('the structures of the program as designed') and 'performance effects' (the talents of the individuals 'whose performance would influence the successes and failures of the program as enacted'). Thus, while this policy analysis emphasises the significance of understanding the state to understanding policy production, it also acknowledges the importance of the actions of the individuals within the state involved in such production, that is, it is concerned with both structure and agency and with both design effects and performance effects. That approach is particularly pertinent in the domain of gender equity policies, given the political nature of such policy and the involvement of feminist bureaucrats (femocrats) in the gestation of such policies. Indeed, the thesis concludes by arguing the necessity for considering the interior of the state as a strategic-relational terrain in a theory of policy production within the liberal democratic state (Jessop, 1990).

The type of policy analysis offered by this thesis could also be described as political. As Ham and Hill (1984, p.20) assert: 'the effectiveness of policies and policy making cannot be assessed independently of analysis of the distribution of economic and political power within political systems'. That is why the approach to policy analysis of this thesis is that of political sociology and that is why emphasis is given to an understanding of the nature of the state. Archer (1985) makes a useful distinction between high educational politics, referring to individual players and their agency, and broad educational politics, referring to the structural framework of power, including class and gender relations, in which policy is formulated and has its outcomes. This research is concerned with the interaction between the broad and high politics of policy production in education at two sites within the Australian federal state. That broad politics includes the nature of the state, its internal structural arrangements and practices, and pressures upon it. High educational politics involve the strategies of the ministers and bureaucrats, who in this research were largely femocrats.

The policy literature often makes a distinction between policy formulation and policy implementation. This thesis would reject any linear conception of that relationship. The relationship between policy formulation and implementation is never straightforward. This is particularly the case when the policy in question is to be implemented by professionals who exercise some autonomy or discretion in the implementation process.

McLaughlin (1987) has suggested that implementation nearly always manifests some infidelity to the policy intention, while Rizvi and Kemmis (1987) have illustrated the contestation involved in all stages of policy production and implementation. Elmore (1984) speaks of the need for 'reversible logic' in policy analysis, meaning that policy options need to be looked at from both the 'top-down' and the 'bottom-up'. He suggests that individuals involved in any stage of the policy cycle are most likely to consider that 'the implements they control' (p.37) are those most vital to the success of the policy. The problem with this approach is that it disregards 'the fact that the overall success of the policy depends not on their implements alone but on the relationship between their implements and those at other levels' (1985, p.37). While Elmore (1985) is concerned with analysis for policy, his insights are significant as well to analysis of policy which is the approach of this research.

Although concerned with analysis of policy, Bowe, Ball and Gold (1992) offer a perspective not too dissimilar to that of Elmore (1985). Instead of a linear policy formulation and implementation dichotomy, they argue for the idea of a policy cycle, consisting of three interactive contexts, notably the context of influence, that of policy production within the state and that of practice. They are critical of 'state-centric' approaches to policy production which ignore this interactive cycle and which assume that policies produced by the state are simply installed in schools and classrooms. This thesis would accept that policy is produced at many sites, but would also argue that policy produced by the state is of particular significance. However, it would stress that the relationship between the policy produced within the state and its recontextualisation in school practices is not an arbitrary one. Further, recognition must be given to the interior of the state as a contested site of policy production. This thesis focuses upon policy production within the state, while also taking cognisance of pressures upon the state and changes to its structure. It is thus not concerned with policy implementation, except in so far as it documents and analyses the refraction (Freeland, 1981) of the federal policy intention with respect to girls' schooling in developments in Queensland funded by the Commonwealth.

1.2.3 The Rational/Incremental Distinction

The policy literature is replete with the rational/incremental distinction. Advocates of a rational approach usually outline the stages of this approach as a prescriptive model, while incrementalists support their approach in both prescriptive and descriptive modes. Many have argued that in 'mature systems' for a variety of reasons policy production usually occurs in an incrementalist fashion (Hawker, Smith and Weller, 1979, p.160; Clegg, Boreham and Dow, 1986, pp.283ff.)

Leach (1982, p.7) describes incrementalism as an approach to policy-making which 'eschews any real attempt at long-range planning, comprehensiveness, means/ends analysis, or wide ranging identification and evaluation of alternatives'. Further, he suggests that incrementalism 'takes as its basis for decision-making the nature of existing policies and considers only incremental sideways shifts from such policies' (p.7). In contrast, the prescriptive rational model is most often structured around a set of "logical" steps. Leach (1982, p.6) argues that the following are the usual stages: 'identification of needs/problem; setting of objectives; identification of alternative choices; evaluation of alternatives; choice of preferred alternatives; implementation; and monitoring feedback and review'. (See also Carley (1980) and Hogwood and Gunn (1984).)

Many policy theorists critique this as a possible model for practice for a number of related reasons. Thus, for example, Hogwood and Gunn (1984, pp.50-52) list at least five reasons why the rational approach is an inappropriate descriptive model of policy in practice. These include the psychological limitations to rationality and the limitations resulting from the existence of multiple values, organisational arrangements, and constrained resource parameters. They add 'situational limitations' to the list, where such limitations refer to the incrementalist impact of existing precedents upon any policy. Such precedent can be administrative or legislative in character.

Ham and Hill (1984, pp.77-78) also suggest a number of shortcomings inherent in the rational approach. They argue that decision-making in relation to policy-making very rarely, if ever, proceeds 'in such a logical, comprehensive and purposive manner' (Ham and Hill, 1984, p.78) as desired by the rational model proponents. Conflicts of values are involved for instance. Ham and Hill also reject the fact/value or means/ends assumptions implicit in rational models. Leach (1982, p.6) lists the most common criticisms of the rational model: 'unreasonable demands on the intellectual capacities of policy-makers;

impossibility of setting objectives prior to and distinct from a consideration of alternative policies; financial and time costs; and its unrealistic view of the realities of inter- and intra-organisational behaviour'.

Even a hard-headed proponent of the rational approach, such as Carley (1980), concedes that there are political and bureaucratic factors, in addition to analytic rationality, which contribute to policy-making and which limit the impact of rationality in the policy process. On this point, Carley (1980, p.26) states: 'policy analysis which overscribes to the rational model or undervalues the value-conflictive and bureaucratic elements in policy-making will be poor policy analysis because its model will be overly divergent from social reality'.

Clegg, Boreham and Dow (1986, pp.276-286), drawing on a range of other theorists, provide a sociological account of individual, behavioural and organisational factors contributing to incrementalism in policy practice. The sociological reasons for the preponderance of incrementalism in policy-making provide an important link between policy-making and the nature of the state. In this thesis, it is that link which is the basis of the emphasis on theorising the state for an understanding of policy-making.

Clegg, Boreham and Dow (1986, pp.278-279) see the nature of public administration as a critical intervening variable between political inputs to the state and policy outcomes, thus giving some weight to the 'politics of administration'. Offe (1975, 1984, 1985) and Alford and Friedland (1985) offer similar style arguments, which are canvassed in more detail in Chapter 3. While conceding that class struggle, amongst other things, affects both inputs and outputs, Clegg, Boreham and Dow (1986) accept to some extent the instrumentalist view that elite recruitment to the state is one factor in conservative policy determination. In so doing however, they go beyond the early instrumentalism of Miliband (1969) and suggest instead that such elite recruitment is 'facilitative', rather than 'determinant' of class rule (p.281). They also argue that hegemony is 'incorporated into the state organisations' taken-for-granted practices of administration' (p.278). There is also something of a suggestion that the lack of an external rationale (other than political demands) for public policy-making and administration, along with the size of the state bureaucracy, contribute to incrementalism, with its emphasis on currently existing organisational arrangements, practices and procedures. Drawing upon Weick's (1969) work on organisational psychology, Clegg, Boreham and Dow (1986, pp.283-284) also provide a number of behavioural reasons for incrementalism. Thus, they suggest that

organisational members will most often choose the course of action which requires least effort, and which will be the least disruptive to the organisation, consequently providing the most stable (incrementalist) changes. This organisational conservatism, combined with elite recruitment to senior levels, results in an incrementalist norm. In this way, the authors (1986, p.284) speak of state bureaucracies being imbued with 'an organisational climate geared to organisational easy action'. However, it should be noted here that such organisational easy action was not the experience of the femocrats interviewed for this research, as will be shown in Chapters 9 and 10.

A number of theorists (Beilharz, 1987; Yeatman, 1990a) have argued that the production of policies involves the creation of a given policy problem in a particular fashion and then the subsequent establishment of policy which "solves" the problem as created. That policy production component of the policy cycle clearly negates any notion of a straightforward rational approach. Policy production is very obviously a political activity, involving both ministers and bureaucrats. As Beilharz (1987) notes with respect to policy production:

Problems are not given but constructed, agendas are not self-evident but are produced as though they were; policy making is an instrumental exercise which necessarily fails to see itself as such. (p.389)

In a similar fashion, Yeatman (1990a, p.160) argues that the denial of the 'politics of discourse' inheres in the policy production process.

Rizvi and Kemmis (1987) in their critical policy analysis of the Hawke government's reformist Participation and Equity program in Victoria (1984–1986) show how existing discourses, practices and structures ensured some incrementalism in its implementation. They also indicate how funding cuts to that program encouraged incrementalist practices. In a similar fashion, Hawker, Smith and Weller (1979) describe how the rational, reformist attempt at education policy-making during the Whitlam period, was based in an incrementalist way on earlier government legislative and administrative action.

1.2.4 The Policy/Administration Dichotomy

Wilenski (1986, p.16) suggests that the Australian policy/administration distinction is almost 'a necessary mythology of our system of government', one which has its origins in the structure of government departments in nineteenth century Britain. The Fitzgerald

report in Queensland reaffirms the mythology, for example, when it states that 'the proposition that governments answerable to the people decide policy and public servants implement it' is still, despite 'conceptual and practical difficulties', the Constitutional position within a Westminster system of parliamentary democracy (1989, p.129). The size of nineteenth century government departments in Britain and their limited functions meant that 'even if administration was not separate from policy-making at least the minister could maintain control of the value judgements entailed' (Wilenski, 1986, p.17).

The size of the state bureaucracies and the width of their functions today also ensure the invalidity of the policy/administration dichotomy. There are practical limits to government and ministerial control over the state apparatus (Dale, 1982, p.139); not all that is administered by the state becomes a direct concern for governments. Additionally, different ministers will seek varying amounts of control over their department's policy agendas. As a consequence, bureaucrats within state departments play an important role in the formulation of policy. The research reported in this thesis indicates very clearly the political role played by femocrats in the formulation of gender equity policies in education at both the Commonwealth and Queensland levels of the Australian federal state. Such roles, of course, have a political rationale for their existence. Furthermore, many of their job descriptions specifically required proactive involvement in bringing gender issues to the fore and devising ways of dealing with them.

The policy/administration dichotomy has thus most often been predicated upon the assumption of clearly defined and demarcated roles for politicians and bureaucrats. Within that framework, policy involving the allocation of values and resources is seen to be the responsibility of elected politicians, while the administration of this policy (a concern with means) is seen to be the responsibility of the appointed public servants. The actions of the former are seen to be legitimated through the electoral process, while those of the latter are legitimated as the implementation of political decisions. The reality, though, in terms of actual functions is considerably different (Greenwood and Wilson, 1984; Offe, 1985; Wilenski, 1986). Politicians and bureaucrats both administer and formulate policy or, as Anderson (1974, p.98) puts it, 'policy is being made as it is being administered and administered as it is being made'. In some senses the distinction is nothing more than the difference between the broader and the more detailed aspects of governmental decisions. The blurring of the two functions is also exacerbated by the extensive size and service provision functions of the contemporary state.

The policy/administration distinction certainly collapses in practice for no administrative act is purely instrumental in nature (Anderson, 1983; Greenwood and Wilson, 1984; Wilenski, 1986, 1988; Rizvi, 1986a,b). Concerning public administration, Offe (1984, p.107) argues that 'there is no such thing as an administrative reform which is nothing but an administrative reform'. As Wilenski (1988, p.217) states, 'each act of administration defines and refines "policy" and is itself "policy-making" activity. It requires the exercise of value judgements'. The means/ends dichotomy which forms the basis of the Weberian 'ideal type' bureaucracy does not hold up in practice, while its basis in an emotivist theory of value, which assumes that values cannot be subject to rational evaluation, is also open to dispute (MacIntyre, 1981; Rizvi, 1986a, 1986b; Bates, 1989).

The same, of course, can be said of any theory of administration which gives sole emphasis to efficiency. Such an emphasis is predicated upon the assumption that administration is simply an instrumental activity. However, one can only be efficient about some thing (Fay, 1975), or as Wilenski (1986, pp.64-73) argues, efficiency is a surface principle of administration which, in a democracy, ought to be underpinned by meta-principles, including greater want-satisfaction, equity and respect for persons. These matters have even greater saliency when applied to educational administration, because education is a task saturated with ethical, moral and cultural considerations (Rizvi, 1986a,b; Bates, 1988). Much public administration, however, is hampered to some extent by the lack of a clear rationale for action, which distinguishes it starkly from administration in the private sector, which is subject to the external discipline of the market (Clegg, Boreham, Dow, 1986, p.278), though the market itself may not be rational. Offe (1985, p.302), drawing upon Weber's distinction between formal and substantive rationality, also makes the important point that two concepts of rationality underpin state actions, the first is the internal rationality of bureaucracy and the second is the external political rationality of the state. Often, as Offe (1985) suggests, rational action according to the first criterion can conflict with rationality in the second sense. Indeed, Offe (1985, p.316) shows how public administration is suspended between 'contradictory criteria and standards of rationality'. Thus, the state 'must simultaneously conform to legal principles, its functions, and the declared interests of its clients and reference groups' (1985, p.316). It is from that conglomeration of factors that the state arrives at policy settlements, rather than policy solutions.

1.2.5 Symbolic and Material Policies

Anderson (1983) and Rein (1983) both make a distinction between symbolic and material policies. It is a most useful distinction to make 'when analysing policy impacts as it directs our attention beyond formal policy statements' (Anderson, 1983, p.117). Anderson (1983, p.131) argues that material policies 'actually provide tangible resources or substantive power to their beneficiaries or impose real disadvantages on those who are adversely affected.' By contrast, symbolic policies 'distribute advantages or disadvantages which have little real impact upon people. They do not deliver what they appear to promise' (Anderson, 1983, p.131). Elsewhere (Lingard and Collins, 1991c), the symbolic/material dichotomy has been utilised to describe whether or not the changes to flow from the policy statement are actual or rhetorical. However, symbolic policies can build and mobilise constituencies, and also be responses to pressure group politics (Lewis and Wallace, 1984, p.210). In one sense, they articulate what a constituency wants to hear, but simultaneously help to create that constituency. Symbolic policies may operate only at the level of rhetoric, but as such may serve a political function. The interview data reported in this thesis, however, would negate any view that symbolic policies cannot have any material effects. The femocrats interviewed saw the achievement of a symbolic policy as the first step in a political strategy. They also argued that the impact of a symbolic policy depended upon the existence or otherwise of a committed political constituency.

In many instances, symbolic policies of the rhetorical kind are better than no policy at all and may serve as an umbrella under which (in education for example) teachers can justify progressive practices. Until the allocation of State monies in 1990–1991, the Queensland Education Department's *Equality of Opportunity in Education for Boys and Girls* policy could be seen to function in that manner in that no State monies were contributed towards the implementation of the policy.

Regarding the symbolic/material distinction, Rein (1983) has written that the implementation of a given policy will be affected significantly by three factors, namely, the goals saliency of the policy, the complexity of the implementation process (including number of stages) and the extent or otherwise of the resource commitment to the policy. He argues (1983, p.131):

Ambiguous, symbolic, low-saliency programs are characteristically implemented in a very complex, circular fashion. Programs whose goals are

clear, instrumental and urgent are generally more centrally and hierarchically implemented.

Thus, symbolic policies tend to have broad, vague, ambiguous, abstract and non-operationalised goal statements with little or no resource commitment. Indeed, the extent of resource commitment will often tell us much about the extent of political support for a given policy. One useful way to consider policies is to evaluate their goals and the suitability of the resources committed to achieving them. In this respect, it is relevant to note that the Queensland Department of Education committed no State resources to equity policies until after the election of the Goss Labor government, in December 1989.

The existence of a complex stage arrangement for policy implementation (for example, the federal/State administrative set-up in Australia) will almost certainly ensure some 'refraction' (Freeland, 1981; 1986) from the original policy intention, particularly when a policy has its origin at the federal level but is implemented by a State bureaucracy.

Maynard-Moody and Stull (1987) have stressed the importance of the symbolic or expressive side of policies. Their stance differs from the usual one which tends to see symbolic policies as weaker than material ones and which stresses the instrumental and neglects the expressive side of policies. In their terms, policies: '...say as well as do things, they communicate values and intentions, and they distribute symbolic rewards as well as alter behaviour' (1987, p.249). Symbolic policies within this framework can have a strategic function 'in legitimising the authority of certain groups' (Maynard-Moody and Stull, 1987, p.250). Such a process can be seen to have been in operation when the Prime Minister created the Office of Multicultural Affairs within the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet in 1987, following the outcry from within the ethnic communities at cuts in federal expenditure on a range of multicultural matters in the 1986 budget, including the Multicultural Education Program. Symbolic policies also distribute symbolic rewards (Maynard-Moody and Stull, 1987, p.250), a process at work in the example cited immediately above. Finally, according to Maynard-Moody (1987), the expressive side of policies lies in their manifestation of beliefs and values. Rein (1983) has made a similar point with respect to the potential impact of symbolic policies. Thus he asserts: 'A program may fail to capture substantial resources or achieve its mission but nevertheless contribute to altering the political climate in which issues are discussed' (p.131). Such a symbolic policy may also create a policy constituency. Further, the existence of a symbolic policy statement may also be an indication of a partial political victory for a particular pressure group.

1.3 THE RESEARCH AND ITS METHODOLOGY

The research reported in this thesis has two topics. The first is the production of gender equity policies in education within the Australian federal state. The specific policies with which the research is concerned are the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* (1987) and Queensland's policy of *Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys* (1981). The second topic is theorising policy production within the liberal democratic state as part of a broader project of providing an historical sociology of the Australian state. More specifically, this second topic is concerned to theorise policy production in schooling within the Australian federal state, during the period from the Whitlam government (1972–1975) until the end of the Hawke period (1983–1991), with specific emphasis on the latter.

Dale (1986) makes a distinction between the topic of research and the resources which are utilised to provide an analysis of the topic. In this thesis, the second topic above serves as a resource to analyse the first topic. Thus an attempt is made to theorise policy production within the state through a synthesis of a critiqued version of the work on the state of Offe (1975, 1984, 1985) and insights from feminist theories of the state (Connell, 1987, 1990; Franzway, Court and Connell, 1989). A theory of the liberal democratic state and policy-making within it is one resource which the thesis utilises to understand and analyse the development of gender equity policies in education, as is an historical sociology of the Australian State.

In turn, the development of gender equity policies in schooling, becomes a resource in terms of the second major topic of the thesis. The detailed analyses of the development of the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* and of gender equity policy in Queensland provided in Chapters 9 and 10, thus also serve as resources for providing a theory of policy-making within the liberal democratic state.

That exercise in policy sociology is useful to this topic for a number of reasons. First, the development of gender equity policies at the federal and Queensland levels sit at the point of intersection of Commonwealth and State relations. Changes in the operation of federalism have been an important state structural response to the end of the postwar economic boom and the globalisation of the economy. Second, the development of policies at the Commonwealth level sit astride the end of the postwar economic boom period and the conjunctural policy rationale (Offe, 1985) and the period since and its

accompanying structural policy condition (Offe, 1985). The 1987 *National Policy for the Education of Girls* emerged out of the policy culture of Susan Ryan's period as federal Minister for Education (1983–1987) and was implemented in the vastly different policy culture of the John Dawkins era as federal Minister for Employment, Education and Training (1987–1991). Third, the formulation and implementation of the National Policy also sit at the intersection of the move towards a fully blown corporate managerialist restructuring of the Commonwealth bureaucracy (Considine, 1988; Thompson, 1991) and the fulsome embrace of economic rationalism (Pusey, 1991), with economic restructuring taking on metapolicy status (Yeatman, 1990a).

Fourth, as will be shown in Chapters 9 and 10, Queensland initially refused to endorse the National Policy, but its achievement provided some leverage for femocrats within the Department of Education to push for change. As such, insights into the working of federalism in schooling policy formation and the state as a terrain of struggle over policy formulation are provided. Indeed, the evidence mounted in Chapters 9 and 10 shows that Commonwealth initiatives were centrally important in Queensland's glacially slow moves to formulate a policy in the area. Fifth, the documentation and analysis of developments in the gender equity policy area in Queensland provide a picture of policy-making and policy itself as an arena of contestation within the internal structure of the state. The changes within the Queensland Department, both structural and cultural, which have resulted following the State Labor election victory of 1989, amplify insights into the significance of state structures and policy culture to policy outcomes. Finally, as most of the bureaucrats interviewed were femocrats, the case study provides an account of femocrat practice within the state and the way in which the contemporary managerialist state in economically difficult times has "managed" the political success of one so-called new social movement, namely, feminism. Because of the political rationale for femocrat appointments, the case studies also further our understanding of strategy within the state. These insights also contribute towards an adequate state theory which must take account of gender factors, both internal to the state and its structures and practices and in terms of the external environment of the state.

Following Burgess (1984), this research adopted a number of strategies and a variety of data to outline and understand developments in girls' schooling policy in Queensland and at the federal level. The strategies included in-depth interviews, each of about one and half hours duration, with most of the major players in policy developments

at both these levels. Interviews were also conducted with other major players within the state and education policy-making across the time focus of the thesis, for example with Professor Peter Karmel, who chaired the Interim Schools Commission for the Whitlam government which produced the influential *Schools In Australia* (1973) and who was also the chair of the later *Quality of Education in Australia* (1985), commissioned during the Hawke period. Dr Peter Tannock, member of the Schools Commission from its inception and later Chair, was also interviewed, as was Dr H.C. Coombs, a most significant player in the Commonwealth public service from postwar reconstruction to the Whitlam era. Lyndsay Connors, who was a member of the Schools Commission appointed by Susan Ryan and who was the first chair of the Schools Council, a subsidiary Council of the National Board of Employment, Education and Training created by Dawkins, was also interviewed. She was very important in the development of the *National Policy for the Education of Girls*. There were fifteen interviews in total, which were semistructured or what Burgess (1984, p.102) has called 'conversations with a purpose'. All of the interviews were recorded and transcripts of interview prepared and numbered. This provided a very substantial research document. The transcripts are utilised throughout the thesis, particularly in the case study Chapters. For a variety of reasons, not all of the interview transcripts are attributed. This is to protect the interests of some respondents and to respect their right to anonymity. All respondents indicated in interviews when they did not want specific material to be attributed. For referencing purposes, IT (interview transcript) is placed in the text, followed by a number indicating which interview, and year and page reference. The interview transcripts have been numbered according to an alphabetical listing of the respondents.

Interview transcripts then provided one source of research data. Others included informal interviews and conversations, often as follow-ups to the more structured interviews, seeking clarification of a point made or a sequence of events. The other sources of data were documentary and included published and readily available reports and policy documents. The very substantial amount of material available from the Schools Commission, as the federal government's major schooling advice body (1974–1987), is an indication of its professional and educational approach to policy-making, which in turn reflected its clientist and pluralist character (Ball, 1990c).

The other documentary data utilised were the relevant files of the Queensland Department of Education. Permission was granted for access to these files, held within the

department, which dealt with Equality of Opportunity (1975–1981), Equality of Opportunity (1982–1985), Equality: Gender Equity in Education (1986–1989) (actual file names). These files contained all Departmental correspondence and communications on the topic and included internal memos, reports and cabinet submissions. Clearly, these files were most relevant to constructing a picture of external (including Commonwealth) and internal pressures and strategies towards the creation of policy in Queensland. However, they were also essential to understanding the processes and negotiations involved in the establishment of the 1987 *National Policy for the Education of Girls*. The correspondence between the Department and the Schools Commission and between the Queensland and Commonwealth Ministers on the National Policy also provided acute insights into the complex workings of federalism in schooling policy formulation.

In summary then, the research has two topics. The first is a policy analysis of the development of gender equity policies in education at the federal and Queensland levels. The second is a theory of policy production within the liberal democratic state and an historical sociology of the Australian federal state. Drawing on Dale's (1986) distinction between a research topic and a research resource, the second topic also serves as a resource towards an analysis of gender equity policies in education. Likewise, the first topic serves as a resource for the creation of a theory of policy production within the liberal democratic state and a specific historical sociology of the Australian federal state. Data were collected from three sources, notably semi-structured interviews with the major policy players, publicly available policy documents and reports and the relevant documentary files of the Queensland Department of Education. Such data inform this exercise in policy sociology.

1.4 THE RESEARCH: APPROACH, STRUCTURE, OBJECTIVES

With its emphasis on the necessity of understanding the state to conceptualising policy production, this thesis moves beyond the mainstream policy literature. However, in stressing the importance of the state in this way it also goes against the stance of so-called postmodernist and poststructuralist sociology which sees the state as too aggregative and totalising to be of any theoretical or political use (Hinkson, 1991; Aronowitz, 1992; Allen, 1990). In contrast, this thesis indicates how the globalisation of the economy, and the specific post-1987 Australian policy response of moving towards non-tariff protected

integration with that economy, without appropriate internal policies, have narrowed the policy options open to Australia. Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 document at some length the reconfiguration of the Australian state at both federal and State levels which has occurred during the eighties. That reconfiguration includes changes to the structure of the bureaucracy and to the operation of federalism. As indicated in this research, that reconfiguration does not mean that the state is no longer important, but rather that it now works in a different fashion, strengthening the economic and efficiency aspects of all contemporary public policy (Pusey, 1991; Yeatman, 1990a). Amongst other things, the thesis analyses that impact on schooling policy generally and specifically in relation to gender equity.

As a number of commentators have noted, Jameson (1991) and Wheelwright (1992), for example, the effects of the global economy cannot be challenged or mediated effectively simply at the local level. That would appear to be the strategy implicit in much postmodernist and poststructuralist politics (Hinkson, 1991; Aronowitz, 1992; Allen, 1990). Indeed, such politics may very well play into the hands of those very economic interests to which such theorists would otherwise be opposed. The argument of this thesis is that the reconfigured state remains very important in mediating policy production and indeed the evidence mounted confirms that observation. The historical sociology of the Australian federal state which is presented shows how the policies pursued at the national level of the state are very important in determining the economic and social outcomes within a given country, despite the ostensible globalisation of the economy (Boreham and Compston, 1992; Dow, 1992). While the weakening of the progressive potential of Hawke's neo-corporatist approach is documented, particularly after 1987, the position taken here is that a strong social democratic corporatism, aware of the need to be more inclusive in its operation, would provide the best approach to creating a more equitable, independent and pluralist Australian society (Castles, 1988; Dow, 1992; Boreham and Compston, 1992; Pusey, 1991).

The policy analysis undertaken in this thesis takes as its point of departure, then, the view expressed by Ham and Hill (1984, p.22), and others (for example, Wolfe, 1977; Benson and Weitzel, 1985; Offe, 1975, 1984, 1985; Alford and Friedland, 1985; Dunleavy and O'Leary, 1987), that 'it is necessary to give the state a central position in policy analysis'. Davis, Wanna, Warhurst and Weller (1988, p.16) have argued specifically for the Australian policy context that 'the pervasive role of the state is crucial to

understanding public policy in Australia'. Others have noted the historically statist nature of Australian political culture (Rosecrance, 1964; Castles, 1985, 1988; Pusey, 1991; Beilharz and Murphy, 1992) and the concomitant proclivity for bureaucracy (Davies, 1958). The location of education policy analysis within a theory of the state is particularly pertinent, given the very substantial state involvement in educational policy production (Finch, 1984, p.4; Dale, 1982, 1989).

McNay and Ozga (1985) argue that until fairly recently education policy analysis has been dominated by pluralism in theoretical terms and by the case study in methodological terms. They, as well as Salter and Tapper (1981), also suggest that education policy analysis needs to take account of some of the insights provided by neomarxist sociology of education. Recently, such sociology of education has been concerned to develop a theory of the state, reflecting cognate concerns within general sociological theory (Dale et al, 1981; Dale, 1982; Carnoy, 1982; Bates, 1985, 1988). Dale's (1989) recent study of the state and educational policy production provides an advance on what has hitherto existed. Dale (1989), as with this thesis, draws heavily on the work of Offe. The "problems" with Dale's approach with respect to this thesis are that it does not give any emphasis to developments in feminist theories of state, which add a concern for both agency and the internal dynamics of the state to Offe's structural mediation thesis. Further, given that Dale's focus is England and Wales, he takes as given a unitary form of government, as opposed to the federal arrangement in Australia. Australia's federal political structure is another factor in ensuring that state here does not operate in either a unitary or instrumental manner. Thus, this thesis fits with some recent developments within the sociology of education which have sought to theorise education policy production within the state. As such, it moves beyond pluralism, while recognising the complexity of the policy process and the operation of the state. It also attempts to move beyond the minutiae of the case study to theorise policy production within the state, while not reifying the state concept.

This Chapter has outlined the topics and resources of the research, its method and approach to data collection, as well as provided some consideration as to the nature of policy. Chapters 2 and 3 review the state theory literature and move towards an adequate theory by synthesising a critiqued version of Offe's (1974, 1984, 1985) work with feminist theories (Franzway, Court and Connell, 1989; Connell, 1987, 1990), which emphasise the internal dynamics of the state, including its gender regime. Such a theory also

acknowledges the interior of the state as a strategic–relational terrain upon which struggles occur in relation to policy production (Burton, 1985; Jessop, 1990). A consideration of the role of femocrats forms part of the acknowledgement of the state as a strategic–relational terrain.

Chapters 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 analyse the specific historical operation of the Australian federal state. Chapter 4 provides an historical sociology of the Australian state across both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, documenting the move towards a statist political culture and away from it. That history is essential to understanding the more recent past and policy options open at the present. Chapter 5 documents and analyses changes in the bureaucratic structure of the federal public service from Whitlam (1972–1975) until the Hawke era (1983–1991). Attention is granted to the emerging managerialism, particularly after 1987. The emphasis is upon the way the 1987 bureaucratic restructuring institutionalised economic rationalism (Pusey, 1991) and enabled economic restructuring to take on metapolicy status (Yeatman, 1990a). The impact of those changes on the structure of educational policy machinery at the Commonwealth level is another focus, as is their effect upon equity agendas. Chapter 6 provides a comparable analysis of changes to the Queensland bureaucracy across the same time period. The emergence of a managerialism during the latter stages of the National Party period, which focused on efficiency without any equity concern is also noted, as is the effect of the substantial 1987 reduction in Commonwealth grants to the States in strengthening this efficiency focus. Some attention is also given to Labor's public sector reforms after their 1989 State election victory. The most significant factors in getting equity onto the educational agenda in Queensland during the National Party period were Commonwealth programs and funds. After 1989, social justice became one focus of State educational policies in Queensland, but in a new managerialist context.

Chapters 7 and 8 are concerned with federalism as an important structural feature of the Australian state which mediates the policy cycle. Chapter 7 analyses the general character of federalism and historical developments within it. The increased power of the Commonwealth in relation to the States across the time since federalism is documented at some length. These centripetal pressures were enhanced by the Keynesian settlement of the postwar boom period which lasted until the mid–seventies. It is argued, that in the time since the end of the boom, centrifugal pressures have begun to emerge within federalism. Particular stress is given to Hawke's so–called new federalism, which sits in a

symbiotic relationship with the corporate managerialist changes and with the emphasis upon economic restructuring. The Chapter analyses the emergence of what this research classifies as corporate federalism, as part of the attempt to construct a national economic infrastructure, as Australia moves towards non-tariff protected integration with the global economy. Economic rationalism and corporate managerialism have precipitated a new amalgam of centripetal and centrifugal tensions within Australian federalism.

Chapter 8 traces changes in the operation of federalism in schooling, noting the systematisation of the Commonwealth's involvement under Whitlam (White, 1987). The Chapter argues that the emerging corporate federalism has been most obviously manifest in the schooling domain during Dawkins period as the federal Minister for Employment, Education and Training (1987–1991). The *National Policy for the Education of Girls* was the first national policy ever achieved in schooling. Indirectly it provided some impetus to the economically motivated move towards a national schooling system under Dawkins. Some critical analysis and evaluation of these changes in federalism is provided. It is pointed out how central Commonwealth programs and funding have been to equity debates, policies and practices within school systems, schools and classrooms.

Drawing on interview and documentary evidence, Chapters 9 and 10 chronicle and analyse the development of girls' schooling policies at both the Commonwealth and Queensland levels. The entangled character of the production of policies at both levels is illustrated, reflecting the dual jurisdictional character of policy production within federalism. These two Chapters also indicate the importance of femocrat strategy in the achievement of the National Policy in 1987 and Queensland's 1981 *Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys* policy. A picture is presented of bureaucratic structure and federal/State relations as a terrain upon which femocrats struggled to achieve policy goals. Chapter 11 utilises the insights of Chapters 9 and 10 and the interview evidence to draw some general conclusions about policy production within the state. The concept of strategy is developed from the interviews with femocrats to refer to bureaucratic agency within the state in relation to policy production. The concept of policy culture is also established to refer to the way structures and policy discourses at any given time frame the possibilities for policy strategy for policy makers.

The concluding Chapter provides a synoptic account of the research findings. It also provides an account of the required components of an adequate theory of policy production within the liberal democratic state. Franzway, Court and Connell's (1989)

criteria for an adequate state theory are critically utilised in that respect. The major emphasis is upon the way in which the internal dynamics of the state, including bureaucrats' and minister's strategies, mediate the policy cycle, in addition to the mediating role of state structures. This Chapter also provides some critical commentary on changes in federalism and schooling policy and upon the role of femocrats in relation to gender equity policies. The Chapter concludes by criticising the policy and social impact of the Hawke government's reconfiguration of the Australian state and argues instead the necessity for a democratic and inclusive, interventionist, corporatist approach of domestic compensation as practised until recently in Sweden (Katzenstein, 1985; Castles, 1988).

The following list provides a succinct summary of the research objectives:

- * To critically review the literature on theories of the state in liberal democracies and their relevance to policy production;
- * To make a contribution towards an adequate theory of the liberal democratic state and policy production;
- * To contribute towards an empirically grounded and historically specific understanding of the Australian federal state, with some emphasis on the period from Whitlam to Hawke, but with closest attention to the Hawke era (1983–1991);
- * To contribute towards an understanding of changes in the federal framework of schooling policy-making in Australia, particularly for the Hawke period;
- * To provide a policy analysis of the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* (1987), the way it was affected by changing structures and culture of policy-making, and its reception in the Queensland Department of Education;
- * To provide a policy analysis of the development of policy on the education of girls within the Queensland Department of Education and the interaction between such developments and Commonwealth initiatives;
- * To make a contribution towards theorising schooling policy formulation (particularly within a federal political arrangement) and to the more general policy sociology literature within education;
- * To contribute towards an understanding of the role of femocrats in policy-making within the Australian federal state.

ENDNOTE

1. This thesis uses the following convention with respect to **state** and **State**. The former usage, that is, state beginning with a lower case "s", is used to refer to the state in general which is the concept employed to refer to government, public bureaucracies, statutory authorities, the judiciary and so on. Chapter 2 provides a definition of this abstract conception. By contrast, **State** with an upper case "S" is used to refer to specific states, for example, Queensland, Victoria.

CHAPTER TWO

THE STATE OF STATE THEORY: AN OVERVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

As one group of political commentators has put it: 'the pervasive role of the state is crucial to understanding public policy in Australia' (Davis, Wanna, Warhurst and Weller, 1988, p.16). Chapter 1 claimed that theorising the state was central to an understanding of state policy-making within any of the so-called advanced societies. However, this claim is particularly pertinent given the "statist" nature of Australian political culture (Rosecrance, 1964; Castles, 1988). As such, this Chapter traverses the field of "mainstream" theories of the state, noting the strengths and weaknesses of the various approaches.

The Chapter proceeds by first defining the state and then outlining and evaluating pluralist, neopluralist, elitist, marxist, new right and corporatist accounts. This evaluation, set against criteria for an adequate theory of the liberal democratic state (Franzway, Court, Connell, 1989), will establish the basis for the following Chapter's post marxist/feminist synthesis.

2.2 DEFINITIONS OF THE STATE AND THE EDUCATIONAL STATE

Alford and Friedland (1985, p.1), drawing upon the work of Skinner (1978), show how the modern concept of the state emerged between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. The significance of this was the move from a ruler maintaining order to a state as a separate legal and constitutional entity, existing apart from the individuals who controlled it at any one time. The writings of Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) made an important theoretical contribution in these developments, particularly in *De Cive* (1642) in which he considered both the rights of states and the duties of citizens.

Skinner (1978) argues that by the beginning of the seventeenth century the necessary material conditions for the emergence of the modern state as we know it were in place in France. These include 'a relatively unified central authority, an increasing apparatus of bureaucratic control, and a clearly defined set of national boundaries' (1978, p.354). In a similar vein, Held (1983, p.1) suggests that: 'In modern Western political

thought, the idea of the state is often linked to the notion of an impersonal and privileged legal or constitutional order with the capability of administering and controlling a given territory'. The relationship between the rise of the modern nation state, the industrial revolution and capitalism has, of course, been the focus of much sociological theorising. Suffice to say here that Australia, as a settler capitalist society resulted in some ways from a confluence of these developments, including the ideology of the Enlightenment. As well, the specificities of Euro–Australian occupation meant that the state was central to both economic and social development here in a manner different from the more "stateless" heritage of Britain or the "stateless" model of the United States (Nettle, 1968). In this way, Rosecrance (1964) is able to argue that Australia was 'born modern'.

2.2.1 Definition of State

Hall and Ikenberry (1989, pp.1–2) suggest there are three necessary elements in a definition of the state. The first of these is that the state consists of a 'set of institutions', all of which, in Weber's well-known phrase (in Gerth and Mills, 1974), have a monopoly on the legitimate use of violence in a given territory. This set of institutions creates recognisable public and private spheres, which have also been central to the production and reproduction of the sexual division of labour endemic to the gender order (Connell, 1987). Indeed, Mitchell (1991, p.94) sees the state as a 'set of structural effects' which produces a division between the state on the one hand and the society on the other. The second element of Hall and Ikenberry's (1989) definition of the state is that the configuration of institutions which constitutes it is located 'at the centre of a geographically-bounded territory' (p.2), usually referred to as a society or nation state. Finally, they note the state's monopoly on rule-making within its territory as the third element of a definition of the state. Dunleavy and O'Leary (1987, p.2), in their organisational definition of the modern state, provide a similar list of traits, to which they add the fact that 'state personnel are mostly recruited and trained for management in a bureaucratic manner' and the reality that the state has 'the capacity to extract monetary revenues (taxation) to finance its activities from its subject population'.

A number of definitions of the state make the distinction between institutional or organisational and functional approaches, for example, Ham and Hill (1984), Dunleavy and O'Leary (1987). The "functions" of the state in a liberal–democracy such as Australia will

be considered in the section on theories of the state and in the next Chapter. In terms of the institutions of the state, the state is a broader set of institutions than the elected government of the day, but it does include the government, which in turn can be conceptualised as 'those hierarchically supreme elements within state institutions (at local or national levels) responsible for executive policy-making' (Frankel, 1983, p.ix). Through elections this capacity for executive policy-making changes hands, given the fluctuations in coalitions of power within the society. However, certain structural pressures remain upon the state, irrespective of the dominant coalition which controls government at any one time (Dale, 1989). The state then is more than government or the dominant coalition of political leaders at any one moment. In Archer's (1985) terms, this is the distinction between high politics (individuals and coalitions) and the broad politics of structure. In dealing with the state we are dealing with both high politics and the broad politics of structure. However, in theorising, rather than defining the state, we also need to consider it as 'process' (Connell, 1990, p.509; Franzway, Court and Connell, 1989, p.33; Burton, 1985; Jessop, 1990). In the policy literature, this is akin to the distinction between 'design effects' and 'performance effects' (Rizvi and Kemmis, 1989) or what Giddens (1990) refers to in the negative in a different context as 'design faults' (p.151) and 'operator failure' (p.152). Design effects are one structural component of policy-making located within the broader structures of the state. Burton (1985, pp.104-105) picks up on this type of approach when she argues that: 'The state is not a thing; it does not exist as a single monolithic entity. It is a complex of relationships, embodying a certain form of power operating through various institutional arrangements.' She also notes that the state is a 'social-political process'.

2.2.2 Levels of the State

There are also various levels of the state (Ham and Hill, 1984, p.23; Dale, 1989, p.54; Connell, 1990, p.509): local, regional (state or provincial) and national. Connell (1990, p.509) also suggests that there is 'an international level of the state, found in international law and intergovernmental organisations such as the European Economic Community and the United Nations'. Political and cultural history will determine the nature of the relationships between these various levels of the state, for example compare

and contrast federal and unitary forms of government and consider the moves towards the creation of a united Europe.

In regard to the Australian federal/state, Davis, Wanna, Warhurst and Weller (1988, p.17) argue that a consideration of the institutions which constitute the state apparatus in Australia gives a good indication of both its scope and functions. They list the following as the institutions of the Australian state: parliament and cabinet, administrative departments of state, the judiciary and the courts, the enforcers of public order and defenders of territory (for example, the police and army), the local, State and Commonwealth divisions, state trading enterprises, a 'plethora of regulatory bodies' (p.19), and a range of semi-state sponsored institutions, including political parties, trade unions and pressure groups.

While there are some difficulties in defining the state and clearly demarcating it from civil society, the concept is very useful for it 'gathers up the military, the police, the Constitution, and more importantly, the government, the bureaucracy and the legislature, and joins them all into a single entity' (Pusey, 1988, p.23). However, the very diversity of the institutions making up the state, along with the divisions between Commonwealth and State arrangements within Australian federalism, one topic of this thesis, mean that any instrumental or unitary theorising of the state must be rejected. Having made that point though, as Clegg, Boreham and Dow (1986, p.269) argue: 'The state, as a centre of representation, intervention and regulation, exhibits a degree of centredness and inclusivity which is unique amongst the organisational apparatus of modern society'. However to reiterate, in theorising the state adequate account must be taken of its institutional complexity and the various layers at which these institutions are situated and intersect. Renovations in the Australian public sector at both federal and state levels in the direction of corporate managerialism (Considine, 1988; Yeatman, 1990a) are attempts by political interests to regain "control" of the political agenda in economically difficult times and a recognition of the complexity of the contemporary state. Moves to reconstruct Australian federalism also reflect these realities (Lingard, 1991, 1992).

Having provided some definition of the state in general, a definition of the educational state is required. Ball (1990c, p.20) has defined the educational state in the following fashion: 'the educational state, ... is that conglomeration of sites and agencies concerned with the regulation of the education system'. In the Australian context, the educational state includes Departments and statutory authorities at both State and

Commonwealth levels and their intersection, as well as regional offices within the State systems and schools. The Australian Education Council (AEC), the intergovernmental committee consisting of State and Commonwealth Ministers, is an important component of the educational state in Australia.

As Dale (1989, p.57) suggests, we must also keep in mind the fact that most workers in the educational state are teachers, who demand and achieve some degree of professional autonomy, and as such cannot merely be seen as 'state functionaries'. Shilling (1988, p.11) in a related fashion argues that educational policy is constrained and "determined" by 'the potential power schools are able to exercise as "front-line organisations"'. The point is more generally true about all state policies, for as Rein (1983, p.115) notes, policy and implementation are 'continuously comingled'.

Dale (1989, p.33) makes two other useful points about the education state. He notes how there are practical limits to the extent of government control over all aspects of state policy. Additionally, he acknowledges the organic history of each given policy domain. The research reported in this thesis is about policy making within the formal state structure, rather than about the implementation of the policies in question within schools and classrooms. That would require another study. However, the point needs to be made here that the traditional policy/implementation dichotomy must be eschewed, for policy is ultimately what occurs in practice (Wilenski, 1986). That is particularly the case with respect to most educational policy.

2.3 THEORIES OF THE STATE

There is a need now to move from definitions to theories of the state. This section will provide a brief exegesis of theories of the state, before moving to a consideration of the criteria for an adequate state theory (Franzway, Court and Connell, 1989, ch.3). Such a theory will also have to provide some understanding of the findings of this research on the operation of policy on the education of girls at the intersection of federal/State policy-making, across the period from the mid-seventies until the early nineties. Such findings will also allow for reflection upon and modification to state theory.

At present there does not appear to be an adequate theory for dealing with questions of class and gender and policy-making within the state, which also simultaneously takes account of the internal structures and practices of the state. This will

become clear in the brief synopses of theories of the state which follows. It will also become clearer in the following Chapter.

There ~~are~~^{is} now a plethora of studies of theories of the state (for example, Held et al, 1983; Carnoy, 1984; Alford and Friedland, 1985; King, 1986; Dunleavy and O'Leary, 1987) which provide summary outlines of the mainstream theories. Dunleavy and O'Leary's (1987) *Theories of the State: The Politics of Liberal Democracy* is most useful in that respect and will be utilised here. However, their account is entirely unsatisfactory with respect to gender. They do not deal with feminist theories of the state and explain away, very inadequately it must be said, their failure to deal with gender by stating that their concern is with the 'state rather than society' (p.10). They add that they deal with the gendered features of society and of individual identity only in so far as they are relevant to 'input politics' (p.10). This is clearly unsatisfactory, for as this research shows, gender is an important component of the practices and internal structural landscape of the state. Gender is not only significant with respect to pluralist pressures upon the state for service delivery, or as part of what Cawson and Saunders (1981) and Cawson (1982, pp.10–11) might call the politics of consumption, that is, the service delivery as opposed to the economic maintenance side of state policies. Having said that, Dunleavy and O'Leary do provide useful outlines of the traditional approaches to theorising the state and to developments within those approaches. Their account also indicates how most approaches have been blind to gender and have neglected the significance of the internal arrangements of the state itself. The traditional theories have given 'society centred' answers to considerations of the society/state relationship (Nordlinger, 1981; Ham and Hill, 1984, p.25). In that way, most traditional theories have also provided unitary and/or instrumental accounts of the liberal–democratic state.

In their introduction, Dunleavy and O'Leary (1987) suggest that competing theories of the state can be contrasted according to the stance they take with respect to two areas of state intervention. The first sphere of intervention relates to law and order, defence and the maintenance of traditional values, while the second relates to the economy and welfare provision. They distinguish left (communist), social democratic, conservative, anarchist and new right stances on a grid consisting of the two aforementioned dimensions of state activity. Thus, for example, the new right wants to "peel back" the state with respect to the market, but have a more interventionist state with respect to moral issues. On the latter point, Franzway, Court and Connell (1989, p.5) note, '...the moral program of the

new right requires expanded state intervention in areas like censorship, sexual behaviour, the surveillance of medical practitioners, and even the surveillance of (whisper it) families'. The left or communist perspective is represented as requiring an interventionist state on both dimensions, with conservatives requiring a fair degree of state intervention with respect to the law, order, defence and traditional values axis and mid-range intervention in the market. The social democratic position is represented as wanting considerable intervention in the market and very limited intervention along the second axis, with anarchists demanding minimal intervention across both domains.

The gender blindness of Dunleavy and O'Leary's categorisation is clear in their failure to consider the gender aspects of their grid. Feminism has impacted upon contemporary politics to expand the definition of the political. Thus, for example, a social democratic definition of welfare informed by feminism would broaden its scope to include matters such as equal opportunity, anti-discrimination and sexual harassment legislation and policies on equal opportunities in education for women and girls. New right theories while requiring less state intervention in the market, demand state involvement to reinforce traditional values, including a preference for home-based roles for women. These issues will be taken up in the following Chapter in a consideration of feminist theories of the state.

Dunleavy and O'Leary then go on to outline contemporary theories of the state which they classify as pluralist, neo-pluralist, new right, elitist, and marxist. They also touch on corporatism in relation to pluralism, elitism and neo-pluralism. Each of these theories will be considered briefly in turn, before considering criteria for a satisfactory theory of the state in the conclusion to this Chapter.

2.3.1 Pluralism and Neo-Pluralism

The pluralist position sees liberal democracies as consisting of a substantial variety of groups participating in the political processes focused on the state. The state is seen as either a neutral arbiter between these groups or as another source of influence within the pluralist patchwork. With the latter "broker" view of the state, both bureaucrats and state agencies are seen to have interests, with competition internal to the state contributing to policy, along with the contribution of contests external to the state. Pluralists then see the state as 'a highly differentiated mosaic of agencies and programs accessible to influence

(Alford and Friedland, 1985, p.10). However, pluralism is more a theory of society, than a theory of the state as such (Alford and Friedland, 1985, p.41; Dunleavy and O'Leary, 1987, p.42). In most Anglo-American political science, the notion of the state is seen to be alien and peculiar to 'continental Europeans' (Nettle, 1968; King, 1986, pp.31-32; Dunleavy and O'Leary, 1987, p.42). Within pluralist accounts, power is seen to be distributed throughout the society in a non-cumulative manner; power is also seen to have a variety of sources, notably economic, professional, political, bureaucratic and so on.

Neo-pluralist accounts of the state are basically a response to elitist, marxist and new right critiques of the classical pluralist approach (Dunleavy and O'Leary, 1987, p.271). Pluralists basically accepted that the capitalist economy placed no constraints on representative democracy and the operation of the liberal democratic state. That basic assumption was strongly criticised by both marxist and elite theorists for underestimating the political and structural power of capital or big business in relation to the state and its policies (Dunleavy and O'Leary, 1987, p.277). Coming from a different ideological direction, the new right argued that pluralists failed to acknowledge the necessity of the capitalist mode of production to the very existence of liberal democracy (Dunleavy and O'Leary, 1987, p.277). While accepting the left criticisms, neo-pluralists still perceive capitalism and the liberal democratic state as the best possible alternative, because there is at least some dispersal of both economic and political power, as well as some possibility for citizen redress. Basically, the neo-pluralist view of the state, in response to perceptions of a formally constituted political equality balanced against inequalities of power spawned by economic inequalities, speaks of a 'dual polity' (Dunleavy and O'Leary, 1987, p.297). Within the dual polity, 'electoral competition, interest group lobbying, and mass media scrutiny' all work to ensure that the state and its representative institutions operate in a fashion akin to that purported by the classical pluralists (Dunleavy and O'Leary, 1987, p.297). However, the neo-pluralists also acknowledge that the state must respond to both latent and manifest pressures from big business and capital; what results is a 'deformed polyarchy' (Dunleavy and O'Leary, 1987, p.297).

2.3.2 Elitism

Elitist accounts of the state accept that a number of sources of power exist within liberal democracies, but that power is a cumulative phenomenon, and as such, the number

of effective sources of power in relation to state policies is limited. There is a variety of strands within elite theory. These include, the classical elite theory postulated by Mosca, Pareto and Michels, who in his *Political Parties* (1911) argued the 'iron law of oligarchy', the supposed inevitability of rule by an elite, democratic elite theory which emphasised the 'compatibility of bureaucracy and democracy' and politics as 'elite competition' (Dunleavy and O'Leary (1987, p.141), and finally, radical elite theory, developed largely in the United States as a left critique of pluralism. With respect to the latter, the work of C. Wright Mills (1956) on the power elite, consisting of a triumvirate of big business, military and political elites is perhaps the best known.

Dunleavy and O'Leary (1987, p.185) suggest that there are three analytical distinctions which can be discerned within elite conceptions of the state (which are distinct from the historical classification listed above), namely, the metaphors of the state as machine, autonomous actor and corporatist network. The machine metaphor paints the state as controlled by an external elite. The autonomous actor conception sees the state as responding to the 'preferences of the administrative and governing elites who directly staff its institutions' (Dunleavy and O'Leary, 1987, p.185). In that account the state is granted a powerful, quasi-independent role with respect to policy-making. The corporatist network perception of the state blurs the society/state relationship to the extent that there is a policy integration between the government and elite peak councils, representing major interests within the society, for example labour and types of capital. Some have argued (Wolfe, 1977; Offe, 1985) that corporatism has been a pragmatic political response to the economic difficulties faced by advanced capitalist societies. However, corporatism can also operate as a form of representation for non-economic interests (Schmitter, 1974; Offe, 1985). With corporatism the relationship between the government and the state and the peak councils of labour and capital becomes blurred to some extent, while with such a model the corporate state also takes on a more directive role with respect to the economy.

The dual state theory of Cawson (1978, 1982), Saunders (1980), and Cawson and Saunders (1981, 1983) is relevant here, for they argue that different policy arms of the state, as well as different levels of the state structure, are subject to different types of pressures and politics. Their dual state theory suggests that economic policy or the politics of production operates according to the corporatist approach as briefly outlined within elite theory, while welfare policies or the politics of consumption are characterised more by the competitive politics central to pluralist accounts. This dual state theory has real relevance

to this thesis research which is concerned with the intersection of federal and state social policies across a period in which economic restructuring took on increasing significance in the construction of all government polities (Yeatman, 1990a).

Education is an interesting policy domain with respect to dual state theory because it can be seen to be part of both the politics of production and the politics of consumption, with changing emphases at different times. The Dawkins' reconstruction of all arms of education policy as part of economic restructuring and microeconomic reform is interesting in relation to dual state theory. As shown in Chapter 5, Dawkins also restructured the policy advice apparatus weakening its clientist and pluralist character. This has been an attempt to move educational policy from a clientist and educational rationale towards a corporatist and economic one, tilting the balance from the politics of consumption towards the politics of production.

2.3.3 Marxism

Marxist accounts of the state go one step further beyond pluralist accounts than do elite theories by speaking of a ruling class rather than a power elite. This ruling class or bourgeoisie consists of that small group which own and control the economy. In the specific Australian context, of course, one would have to speak of a dependent ruling class, given our location in the world economy. In their crudest forms, some marxist accounts simply saw the state within liberal democracies as the executive arm of the bourgeoisie. However, if we return to Marx's own writing we find two conflicting depictions of the state within liberal capitalist societies. We should also note, though, the smaller and less interventionist state in the Europe experienced by Marx in his lifetime. In the early Marx, most notably in *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right* and *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, the state is characterised as having some "relative autonomy" from the economic ruling class. Such relative autonomy is contingent upon the existence of a balance of power within the broader society. As such, the state is potentially a site for political struggle. As Held (1983, p.29) puts it, the relative autonomy theory of the state served as a basis for the social democratic tradition within socialism, developed by theoreticians such as Eduard Bernstein (1850–1932). The dominant view of the state within Marx's work, however, is that encapsulated by the famous sentence from the *Communist Manifesto*: 'The executive of the modern state is but a committee for

managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie'. This perception has obvious implications for revolutionary politics and the political retort of "smashing the state". Within such a perception, politics are regarded as having no autonomy from economic power. In some respects, this is the antithesis of the pluralist view, which constructs politics as fully autonomous from questions of economic power, and in so doing confuses or conflates formally equal political power with an unequal political reality. This marxist perspective, by way of contrast, equates the possession of economic power with the possession of political power.

Since Marx's day there has been a range of "marxist" approaches to the state which are witness enough to the 'ambiguous heritage' (Held, 1983, p.31) of Marx's own approach to the "capitalist state". Just as there was a resurgence of academic interest in theories of the state from the early 1970s, so there was with marxist approaches. The Miliband/Poulantzas debate from the early seventies was one important point of departure. Miliband in *The State in Capitalist Society* (1969) attempted to critique the liberal pluralist notion of the democratic state as operating independently from the class structure and the interests of the bourgeoisie. Instead, Miliband postulated an "instrumentalist" account of the "capitalist state", which was seen to operate in the interests of the bourgeoisie, through the commonality of class, cultural and educational backgrounds of the economic and state elites. (One could also add gender to this list of characteristics of these elites.) Miliband also acknowledged the structural power of capital with respect to the state and its policy-making, while emphasising however, the great importance of the instrumental links. Poulantzas (1973) in his critique of Miliband's instrumental marxist account of the state argued that the most significant determinant of state policies is the structural power of capital. In the celebrated debate, the Poulantzas position became known as a structuralist marxist account of the state. Here Poulantzas saw the state as the central unifying institutional structure of capitalism, but a unifying structure which had some relative autonomy from capital, because of class fractions within capital itself.

One subsequent response within marxist state theory to the Miliband/Poulantzas debate was the development of the "state derivation" or "capital logic" approach to the state (Holloway and Picciotto, 1978). State derivation arguments were critical of the separation of the political from the economic in the earlier debate. These functionalist and deterministic state derivation accounts argued that the nature of the state could be "read off", as it were, from the nature of the mode of production within a given social formation.

All of these marxist accounts appear to be unsatisfactory with respect to the empirical data of this thesis, which indicates that the state in a capitalist society can meet some interests other than those of specific capitals or the general interest of capital, whatever that might be. Further, the research evidence in the area of schooling policy for girls shows that state workers, in this instance, largely femocrats, can operate in a strategic and political ways. What Pierson (1986) calls 'post-marxist' approaches to the state provide a much better purchase on the findings of this research, as do feminist theories. Post-marxist approaches (particularly those of Habermas and Offe) accept that the state in capitalist societies can serve interests other than those of the bourgeoisie; indeed, they argue that the state must balance economic pressures with democratic ones. For both Offe and Habermas, the state is interested in the continuity of capital accumulation for its own self-interested sake, that ~~it~~^{is}, so it can at least minimally satisfy the democratic policy pressures upon it (Held and Kriegler, 1983, p.488). Habermas, and particularly Offe, also take account of the complex relationship between the environment of the state and its internal structure and landscape. Offe has made an important contribution to our understanding of the policy and administrative functions of the liberal democratic state. It must be said at this point, though, that Offe's sophisticated theorising still ignores sexual politics and the gender order, apart from their relevance as new social movements. These theories will be considered in the next Chapter (along with feminist approaches) in an attempt to establish an adequate theory of the state.

2.3.4 New Right

Dunleavy and O'Leary (1987) take a fairly narrow approach to defining new right theories of the state, emphasising their intellectual and academic, rather than more populist manifestations. They give emphasis to public choice theory (Mueller, 1980) and the Austrian School of Economics, specifically the philosophy of the Austrian economist Fredrick Von Hayek. Public choice theory applies classical economics' view of the individual as "rational utility maximiser" to the behaviour of individuals within politics, bureaucracy and the state. More to the point, this theory asserts that individual behaviour across these spheres seeks to maximise the benefits accrued to the individuals involved, rather than providing services for others. Green (1987, p.93) has encapsulated this perspective as applied to the administrative domain in the following manner:

The behaviour of individuals was analysed, not as if they were dispassionate servants following orders from their political masters, but as though they were self-interested persons like anyone else with private preferences which affected their conduct in making and administering policy.

This is a very negative perception of what motivates individuals, but one can clearly see how such a perception would demand a reduction in state activity in both the market and welfare policies.

Hayek, the central figure in Austrian economics, in his *The Road to Serfdom* (1944) also argued for the pre-eminence of the individual in political theory and practice in the context of the emergence of the welfare state in postwar Europe. As a result, as Loney (1986, p.5) has put it: 'Hayek challenged the growing role of the state and egalitarian attempts to regulate social life and asserted the pre-eminence of the individual. Freedom was not simply to be preferred to equality. It was incompatible with it'. Hayek stressed the necessity of individual freedom within the market to the existence of freedom in other spheres of life. Specifically, he asserted that a market economy was the *sine qua non* of all other freedoms. This position is in many ways the antithesis of that expressed by the intellectual architects of the post-war British welfare state, T.H. Marshall in *Citizenship and Social Class* (1950) and R.M. Titmuss in *Essays on the Welfare State* (1958). Marshall desired a balance or compromise between the principles of equality underpinning democratic citizenship and those of inequality underpinning the market, backed by a welfare state safety net. Titmuss in contrast argued that the moral principles which form the basis of citizenship and social policy should, where necessary, override those amoral ones of the market. Wilenski (1986) has provided a most useful *ex post facto* justification for the construction of the post-war welfare state in Australia, showing how state intervention helped to create a more egalitarian society. While these latter positions (or others very much like them) were central to the construction of the Keynesian welfare state in the OECD countries, the position of Hayek can be seen to have resurfaced, as it were, across the period which might be classified as that of the post-Keynesian economic malaise, experienced by those very same OECD countries since the mid-seventies. Austrian economics have contributed to the new right push to peel back and refocus the state, and to deregulate the market, evident to varying degrees in the liberal democracies since the mid-seventies. One thing (and probably the only one) that can be said in favour of that situation is that it has forced us to consider the amount of state intervention necessary for equality of citizenship for all, for the creation of a civilised and decent

society, while still allowing for a plurality of political and social perspectives. That has become a most important consideration within the collapsed Eastern bloc nations, as well as in the former Soviet Union.

As suggested earlier, while new right political activists want to peel back the state, through reductions in government expenditure and privatisation and user-pays policies, and the deregulation of the market, they also desire a more interventionist state with respect to questions of morality and traditional values. There are many negative possibilities for women within that political agenda, as there are with the privatisation of welfare (Sawer, 1982).

The new right also supports "supply-side" economics, which can be fairly starkly distinguished from the "demand-side" economics usually associated with Keynesian approaches. Demand-side economics saw government expenditure as a way of stimulating both private investment and demand so as to ensure full employment, while accepting the validity of deficit budgeting. Supply-side economics concentrates on the production side of the equation and argues for reduced state involvement in that domain, as well as for surplus budgeting. In a sense, it is almost as if the new right want to return to the type of society envisaged by Adam Smith in the *Wealth of Nations* (1776). It seems clear that such deregulation would work in the interests of the most economically powerful groups in the society (Maddock, 1982). The new right perception of the state, in contradistinction to the marxist one, is that the state (particularly the Keynesian welfare state) inhibits the optimal functioning of the capitalist economy.

2.3.5 Corporatism

Some mention was made about corporatism in the section above on elite theories of the state. Dunleavy and O'Leary also make mention of corporatism in relation to both pluralism and neo-pluralism. It needs to be said here that the literature on corporatism functions as both description of how the state operates and prescription for how it ought to operate. Schmitter (1974, pp.93-94) points out that corporatism is a form of interest representation, which becomes integrated with the state in policy-making. Schmitter defines corporatism in the following way as:

... a system of interest representation in which the constituent units are organised into a limited number of singular, compulsory, non-competitive, hierarchically ordered and functionally differentiated categories, recognised

or licensed (if not created) by the state and granted a deliberate representational monopoly within their respective categories in exchange for observing certain controls on their selection of leaders and articulation of demands and supports (1974, pp.93–94).

Schmitter distinguishes two types of corporatism, namely state and societal, with the former applying to the unacceptable political approaches adopted in fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, and the latter being a political response within the liberal democracies to the decay of pluralism, pressures upon capital accumulation and tensions within nation states, resulting from the increasing internationalisation of the economy (Ham and Hill, 1984, p.38). Others have argued that corporatism has been a response to government overload in periods of economic difficulty (Wolfe, 1977; Offe, 1985). Pluralists worry about the exclusion of the unorganised from the policy process with corporatism. Elite theorists see a system of *de facto* elite collaboration paralleling representative government to be the result of corporatist approaches.

Boreham and Compston (1992), after reviewing the literature and political structures and practices of a number of OECD countries, outline three conceptions of corporatism. The first sees an incorporation of labour and capital with a strong state so as to manage macroeconomic policy aimed at ensuring economic stability and the conditions for capital accumulation. In practice, such an approach moves some economic decision-making out of the private market and into the public and political sphere. The second conception is more restricted, basically involving a *quid pro quo* between wage restraint and increases in the social wage. The third conception might be called strong corporatism. This involves the creation of a number of institutions which allow for the effective involvement of organised labour in a broad spectrum of policy-making, including economic and social. As such, this broadens the conception of politics well beyond that enshrined in the narrower focus of liberal parliamentary politics. Boreham and Compston (1992) in their evaluation of the economic performances of OECD countries on a number of indicators demonstrate that strong performance is highly correlated with the third conception of corporatism, an argument also supported by Dow (1992).

With corporatism, the state becomes more directive with respect to the economy (Ham and Hill, 1984, p.41), while managing pressure group politics through systems of interest representation, rather than through *ad hoc* pluralistic bargaining (Richardson and Jordan, 1979, p.161). In the Scandinavian countries and in Australia under the Hawke Labor government since 1983, such interest representation has centred around the market

players of capital and labour. However, the Hawke government has also utilised corporatist approaches to interest representation in other domains of social policy formulation. In that respect, Offe (1985, p.239) distinguishes two types of groups within corporatism, namely, 'market participants' and 'policy takers', with the former operating in the economic sphere and the latter in other policy areas. The Hawke government's approach is perhaps better described as neo-corporatist (Stilwell, 1986). This is because, while the Accord between the peak council of the trade union movement and the government regarding centralised wage fixing and the Economic Planning and Advisory Committee (EPAC) with representatives from government, capital and labour are very important corporatist components of Hawke's policy strategy, other central arms of economic policy, Treasury, Finance, the Reserve Bank and so on, have not been reconstituted along corporatist lines. Furthermore, as demonstrated in later Chapters, after 1987 the Hawke government's neo-corporatism worked simply as a wages policy, rather than in the manner of strong corporatism (Boreham and Compston, 1992).

2.4 AN ASSESSMENT AND CONCLUSION

At this point, some assessment of the theories of the state considered above is required, set against the empirical evidence of the research presented in Chapters 9, 10 and 11, and against knowledge of the operation of the Australian federal state from Whitlam to Hawke as considered in Chapters 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8. None of the above approaches is satisfactory against such evidence.

Pluralism's strength is its acknowledgement of a variety of sources of power within societies such as Australia and its acceptance that the state itself and its workers can be another source of power and influence on policy-making. Neo-pluralists accept the significance of the power of capital in relation to policy-making, while still accepting that pluralism operates in some policy domains. Elite theorists recognise that not all have equal access to policy-making; rather, real and significant power differentials exist and can disfigure policy-making against any public interest in the "mobilisation of bias".

Corporatism appears to provide a more apposite account of some post-pluralist democracies, than the traditional pluralist analyses. Here, dual state theory, which suggests corporatism as the way of economic policy-making and pluralism as more the approach in social policy areas, is insightful. Most of the above approaches play down the significance

of class and class conflict, while none deals explicitly with gender. Marxist accounts which emphasise some relative autonomy for the state from the power and interests of capital, and which in the democratic socialist tradition see the state as a site of struggle over policy, are also relevant. Their recognition of the power and influence of capital is important, particularly given the period following the post-war economic boom the research is dealing with. The stress within some marxist theories of class and class struggle in relation to the state is also important, but there remains a neglect of gender. However, policies to do with gender remain on the formal policy agenda despite the economically difficult times, if in somewhat reconstituted terms, as the evidence in Chapters 9 and 10 clearly indicates. Marxist accounts, as presently constituted do not provide purchase on that situation. Miliband's approach of linking capital to state policy makers through their common education and cultural backgrounds, what Bourdieu would call a common "habitus", can be utilised in considering the links between the gender order and state policy makers. However, more structural linkages are also required.

The new right accounts do not have much to offer this research, except in relation to two matters. Firstly, they provide some insight into the politics of the period of the research, for such ideology has impacted upon the *realpolitik*. Though, it ought to be said, that in the Australian context new right pressures have been mediated to some extent by traditional Labor concerns for equity and social justice and for close ties with the organised union movement. The second point of significance of new right theory for this thesis is that it serves to drive home the point that an adequate theory of the state ought to provide some useful insight into appropriate political strategies towards a more democratic, more open and more equal society, in which all, irrespective of their structural location, can live decent and productive lives. New right ideology works very much against that ideal, with its replacement of a strong notion of citizenship with the notion that we are all merely consumers, along with its encouragement of greater inequality in the distribution of both wealth and income.

In providing some tentative evaluation of traditional theories of the state, there is now a need to consider criteria for the creation of an adequate theory of the state. Franzway, Court and Connell (1989, p.33) suggest, specifically in relation to gender and the state, that such consideration must be framed within a more general analysis of the liberal democratic state. That position is accepted here in relation to the gender order. However, in taking account of those structural features of society, we still must take

account of class relations. We also need to consider the internal structures and practices of the state itself and to allow for some limited agency to bureaucrats.

Franzway, Court and Connell (1989, ch.3) then go on to provide four substantive criteria for an adequate theory of the state. These will be utilised in this research. Their first criterion is the necessity to perceive the state as a process, not simply as a set of institutions. As they affirm: 'Processes of mobilisation, institutionalisation, the negotiation of hegemony between social groups, are all central to the character of the state' (p.33). The second criterion is the recognition that the state is an actor in its own right, that is, the state constitutes, as well as balances interests; this is a negation of an instrumental perception of the state. While accepting that state is not instrumental in its operation, the research evidence would reject the reification implicit in the notion of the state as an actor because the state is also non-unitary in character. The third criterion requires an acknowledgement of the internal differentiation of the state structure this is a rejection of a unitary account of the state and its operation. As the authors argue: 'There are systematic divisions of interest and systematic sources of conflict within states which affect the way a particular part of the state interacts with its environment' (p.34). Environment here refers to both the external one and to other component parts of the state apparatus. The fourth and final criterion demands an understanding of the complexity of the intersection between the state and 'its envioning structures' (p.34), notably, the class structure, the gender order and ethnic relations. Franzway, Court and Connell (1989, p.34) conclude their criteria for an adequate theory of the state by saying:

Adding the presence of different interests within the state, and the interplay of different structures (class, imperialism, gender) with the state, it is clear that the complexities involved in a realistic analysis of modern states are formidable. Simple formulae will not do.

Clegg, Boreham and Dow (1986, p.285) recognise the relative autonomy of the state, as well as structural limits upon it, and also acknowledge the need to understand the state as a complex organisation in its own right. As a result, they suggest that any interest representation made to the state is always responded to in a mediated fashion, a stance similar to that adopted by Offe, as will be indicated in the following Chapter. Thus, in their view, an adequate theory of the state must synthesise instrumental, structural and organisational perspectives. In a not dissimilar fashion, Alford and Friedland (1985) seek to synthesise pluralist, managerialist and class perspectives to deal with the policy, organisational and economic aspects of the state.

Pierson (1986, pp.150–151), after traversing what he classifies as post-marxist theories of the state (including the writings of Offe), summarises the significant claims of such approaches. These include the fact that the state does not, in either an instrumental or relatively autonomous manner, work unambiguously in the interests of a dominant class (p.150). (As Eisenstein (1985) points out, the same could be said of the state in relation to the gender order.) It also asserts the importance of grounding a theory of the capitalist state in detailed analysis of the operation of particular states across discrete time periods (p.150). Thirdly, he notes that the state is not an institution that can be seized or occupied and that any transformation of the state will always be in part, internal in character (p.150). Finally, he suggests in a somewhat Weberian manner that the state will not wither away as predicted in classical marxism, but will always remain central and essential to any developed and complex society (p.151). This is a point also argued by Frankel (1992, pp.104–105). With respect to civil society and democracy, he makes two points of relevance to this thesis, namely that there is a variety of emancipatory struggles in late capitalism in addition to class struggle, and that representative parliamentary democracy, and the civil rights of citizenship associated with it, are significant popular achievements (p.151). Indeed, person rights have inhibited the dominance of property rights across the post-war period while they have come under attack since the mid-seventies.

After having traversed "mainstream" theories of the state and noted their strengths and weaknesses in this Chapter, the next one attempts to construct a more viable approach to theorising policy production within the liberal democratic state. The requirements of such a theory would include the need to consider the class and gendered pressures upon the state and the way in which its structure mediates those pressures. There is also a need to consider the internal differentiation of the state structures and policy struggles inside the state. Furthermore, historical changes in those structures, pressures and processes must be acknowledged. The next Chapter attempts, through a synthesis of a critiqued version of Offe's work and feminist approaches, to outline the components of a workable theory of policy-making within the liberal democratic state. Subsequent Chapters trace historical changes to its Australian manifestation.

CHAPTER THREE

TOWARDS A THEORY OF THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC STATE: OFFE AND FEMINIST ACCOUNTS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter will outline firstly the work of Claus Offe on the liberal democratic state within capitalist societies. Offe is the major figure within Pierson's category of post-marxism. A critique of weaknesses of Offe's work will also be provided. Secondly, the chapter will consider feminist approaches to the state. These accounts are important because of the significance they grant to the internal differentiation of the state structure and to the politics and processes of administration, and also because of their account of the state and the gender order. They also allow for some agency. Some synthesis will then be attempted which gestures towards an adequate theory of the liberal democratic state as measured against the criteria outlined in the previous Chapter. This synthesis will have to take cognisance of the relationship between the state and class and gender.

3.2 OFFE'S THEORY OF THE STATE

This section of the Chapter will outline the central tenets of Offe's theory of the state. It will then provide a critique of his approach. The weaknesses of Offe's approach stem from the fact that his approach synthesises disparate theories and ideologies.

3.2.1 Outline

The work of Offe and Jurgen Habermas fits within a framework descended from the Frankfurt School, a critical theory development within marxism, while also being in some ways heir to the work of Max Weber on politics and the state and bureaucracy and his thesis on the more general process of rationalisation associated with the emergence of modernity. Their work is post-marxist in that it allows politics some considerable space from economics. It also grants the state a self-interested role in capital accumulation so that it can attempt to balance the contradictory pressures upon it. The work is also post-marxist in that the state is seen to be more vulnerable and more problematic than within

marxist approaches. One link to Weber is the recognition of political struggles other than those based in class, while another is the emphasis given to the administrative structure of the state itself. However, there are some points of departure, for while Weber saw bureaucracy as the superior administrative device, albeit one which could result in the iron cage of an administered society, Offe (1975) perceives bureaucratic administration as inflexible, and indeed inappropriate, as an administrative practice for what he calls 'productive' as opposed to 'allocative' state activities. Productive state activities are those which provide services such as education, transport, communications and health, for example, while allocative state activities simply distribute state funds, as with say the payment of pensions. Habermas's (1971, 1972) work on the scientisation of politics clearly has its roots in the process of rationalisation, which Weber saw as endemic to modernism. Indeed, in many ways it is the *reductio ad absurdum* of that process. Offe and Habermas present similar depictions of the nature and operation of the liberal democratic state in late capitalism. (See here Habermas (1971, 1975) and Pusey (1987) on Habermas's sociology of advanced capitalist societies.) However, Offe has more to say about the internal and administrative structures of the state than does Habermas and for that reason his work will be utilised here.

The work of Offe which is drawn on includes his 1975 essay, "The Theory of the Capitalist State and the Problem of Policy Formation". Also utilised are his two major books, notably *Contradictions of the Welfare State* (1984) and *Disorganised Capitalism: Contemporary Transformations of Work and Politics* (1985).

In the 1975 essay, Offe provides a definition of the state in capitalist societies. He does so, not by listing the institutions which constitute its structure, but rather by considering the nature of the relationship between the state and the processes of capital accumulation. Herein, one can see the marxist influence on his work. Offe asserts that there are four features of that relationship which provide a definition. These are firstly, that the state is excluded from the process of capital accumulation; secondly that the state must maintain the conditions for capital accumulation; thirdly, that the state is dependent on capital accumulation to function; and finally that the state has to appear to pursue the "common interest", rather than simply the interests of those who benefit most from the capital accumulation process. This democratic imperative forms part of the legitimation requirement upon the state.

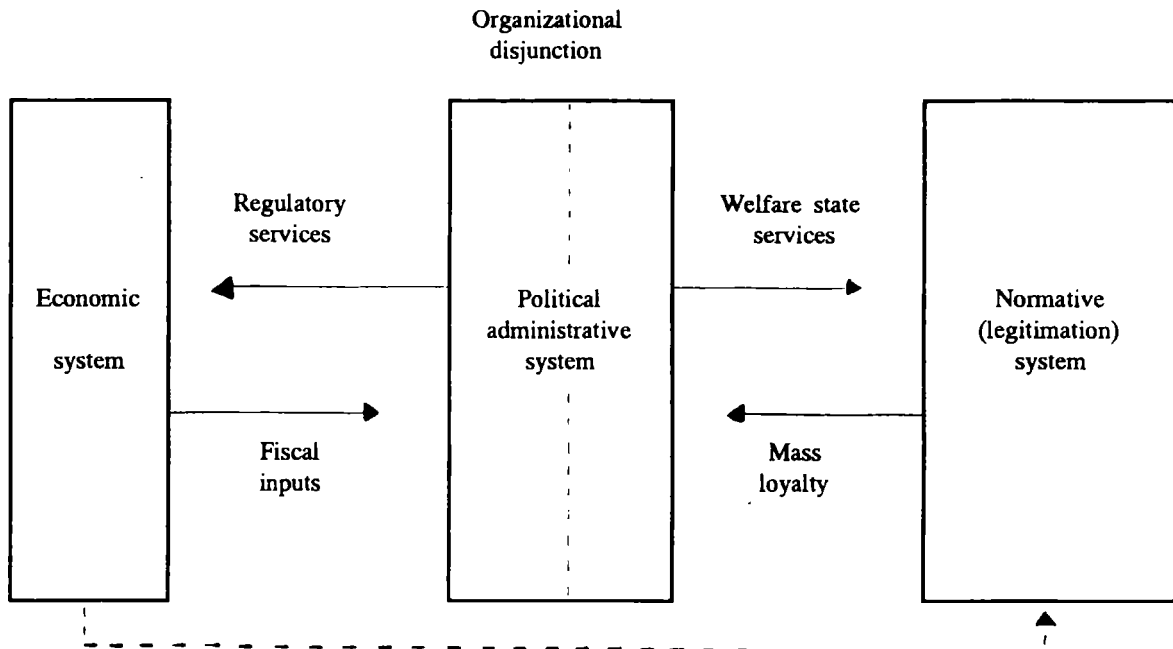
The third feature (dependence) is important because it acknowledges that accumulation 'acts as the most powerful constraint criterion' (1975, p.126) upon state policies, while not necessarily being the determinant of the content of policy. This is Offe's 'selectivity principle' of state policy-making. The fourth point is also important because it emphasises that the state must respond to 'justified demands' (1975, p.127) upon it and attempt to pursue the 'general interests of society as a whole' (1975, p.127), if it is to adequately meet its functions in relation to capital accumulation. Along with the fourth element of the definition of the state, Offe suggests that the state basically has to hide or at least obfuscate its operation as a capitalist state. This ideological function seems to be a little far-fetched, given that in the economic circumstances of the post-Keynesian era, most active participants in politics probably accept the need for the state to have such a role, particularly in the face of high levels of unemployment. Indeed, one could argue that since the mid-seventies the capital accumulation pressure upon the state has taken precedence. It would seem to be the case that the adequate provision of services is more central to state legitimacy. However, the dependence of the unemployed upon the state, and the effect of the dull compulsion of economic need on the rest of the population, probably mean that the ideological function of the state, as suggested by Offe, is not central to the legitimation anyway.

Pusey (1988) has eloquently argued that Offe's components of a definition of the state (exclusion, maintenance, dependence, legitimation) are descriptive rather than normative in character (p.46), and as well are only applicable in the Australian context to the contemporary state. By way of contrast, Pusey (1988, 1991) shows how the state played a much more interventionist role in the historical development of capitalism within Australia, than Offe's description of the contemporary state would suggest as the likely case. Castles (1988) has also shown that Australia had a more interventionist state before countries in Europe which industrialised early or the United States of America. The specific historical and cultural nature of the Australian state will be pursued in the next Chapter of this thesis.

Thus to recapitulate, for Offe the state plays a balancing role between its dependence on capital accumulation and the need for it to provide a wide variety of services to ensure legitimacy, with its dependence selectively framing its policy-making. (Figure 3.1 provides a diagrammatic depiction of Offe's position here.) Castles (1988, p.4) has encapsulated this perception of the capitalist state in the following manner: 'The state

is at one and the same time the guardian angel of the capitalist economic process and the chosen instrument for protecting society from the corrosive impact of that process'. The state is better able to perform that balancing act in times of economic well-being (for example the post-war economic boom period), than during times of economic downturn (for example the post-Keynesian period since the mid-seventies). Further, this thesis would argue that the liberal democratic state pursues different settlements at different moments of its economic history in relation to the balancing act it must perform. The notions of a balancing act and changing settlements seem to be a theoretical advance beyond the notion of the relative autonomy of the state, beloved of neo-marxist approaches. As a number of commentators (Hindess, 1983, p.83; Cawson and Saunders, 1983, p.9) have noted, that concept is a failed attempt to move neo-marxist accounts beyond economic determinism, for it is an attempt which simultaneously explains 'everything and nothing'.

FIGURE 3.1
OFFE'S LIBERAL-DEMOCRATIC STATE STRUCTURE



Adapted from OFFE, C. (1984) *Contradiction of the Welfare State*, London, Hutchinson, p.52

In the 1975 paper, Offe makes a useful distinction between 'allocative' and 'productive' state activities or policies, which were briefly mentioned above. The former involve the simple allocation of state resources and are decided upon politically and administered in the classical Weberian bureaucratic fashion. The latter refer to those policies and services which must be created by the state, not simply distributed, for example health, education, transport and communication policies. Productive policies cannot be administered adequately by rigid and rule-bound bureaucratic means, according to Offe, because of the inflexibility of bureaucracy and because with such policies the emphasis is on outputs and ends as opposed to inputs and means. Offe suggests two possible applicable modes, namely purposive-rational or political/consensual. The former approach is thwarted somewhat by the lack of clear cut operational goals for productive state policies, while the latter creates a danger of increasing demands upon the state which cannot be satisfactorily met in policy terms. Held and Krieger (1983, p.490), after commenting on the three potential logics of policy production within the state bureaucracy as outlined by Offe (1975), summarise his perspective in the following fashion:

Modern states are hamstrung by a bureaucracy which operates by invariant rules and procedures and by too limited goals or with overly narrow and strict jurisdictional areas of responsibility which limit the flexibility and, in a word, the rationality of administrative responses to externally formulated demands.

Offe then goes on to claim that policy-making within the state involves another balancing act, that between the activities required of the state (accumulation and service ones) and the internal structure of the state itself. The relationship or compatibility between external functions and internal structure then becomes central to state policy-making. There is a stress on the way in which the formal structure of the state 'predetermines what can and does become the content of a policy' (1975, p.140). In that way, the structural arrangement of the state is seen to play an important role in determining what gets on to the policy agenda and in what fashion. In the 1984 book, *Contradictions of the Welfare State*, Offe clarifies this perception a little further. He argues that there is a 'dual determination of the political power of the capitalist state', namely that the institutional form of the state is 'determined through the rules of democratic and representative government', while the content is 'conditioned by the continuous requirements of the accumulation process' (1984, p.121). A buoyant economy and profitable businesses are essential to stable and effective state activities, for they

ensure a revenue base through taxation and thus allow the state to respond adequately to political demands which is necessary for legitimation.

Offe (1975) contrasts his position on policy formation with that of the mainstream policy literature, which simply perceives state activity as the recognition and attempted solution of problems. By contrast, Offe suggests two processes are set in train with policy-making within the state. As he asserts:

...what the state does if it works on a problem is a dual process: It organises certain activities and measures directed toward the environment and adopts for itself a certain organisational procedure from which the production and implementation of policies emerges. Every time a state deals with a problem in its environment, it deals with a problem of itself, that is, its internal mode of operation (1975, p.135).

That general point of Offe's will become most relevant in the consideration later in this thesis of the managerialist restructuring of the federal and State bureaucracies of the 1980s. It is also pertinent in Chapter 7 when changes in the operation of Australian federalism across the time focus of this thesis are considered; that is the move towards 'corporate federalism' (Lingard, 1991, 1992). As will be pointed out, federalism is an important structural feature of the Australian state which helps frame policy production and which is also affected by changes in the policy environment.

Offe's general position (1975, p.144) is that the liberal democratic state within a capitalist economy cannot permanently reconcile the functions it has to balance with its own internal mode of operation. Herein lies a vulnerability of the state unknown in neo-marxist accounts. Offe (1975, p.144) concludes his 1975 paper by stating: 'The reality of the capitalist state can thus be described as the reality (and dominance) of an unrealistic attempt'. In his 1984 book, Offe encapsulates this tension by noting the apparent incompatibility between the political and economic structures of advanced capitalism. Specifically, he claims:

What the state is required to do becomes evidently impossible to accomplish unless either the private character of accumulation or the liberal democratic character of the polity are suspended (Offe, 1984, p.244).

In *Contradictions of the Welfare State* (1984) Offe pursues many of the themes taken up in the 1975 paper, but in the context of the attack on the welfare state from the new right. Interestingly, Offe accepts many of their critiques of the welfare state, albeit expressed in vastly different terminology and with different solutions, namely the development of a socialist civil society. Specifically, he acknowledges the demand overload upon the state in a period of limited economic growth, but believes that the new

right solution of a return to a more competitive market economy and a weakening of the welfare state is neither very likely nor indeed desirable. Perhaps he is a little over optimistic here.

In his Chapter, 'Social Policy and the Theory of the State', Offe once again stresses the impact of the state's own structure on the policy process, thus rejecting any conceptualisation of it as a neutral conduit. He suggests that the conversion of political demands upon the state into policies is 'always refracted and mediated through the internal structures of the political system' (1984, p.102). The state structure also determines 'whether or not "needs" are acknowledged as themes worthy of treatment' as policy (1984, p.102). All the while, however, the state must seek to balance political demands with systemic requirements (the continuity of capital accumulation and legitimation) (1984, p.103), or at least key policy actors' perceptions of those requirements. Following that conceptualisation, Offe then defines policy in the liberal democratic state as an attempt to balance political demands and systemic demands within the institutional framework of the state. He puts it this way:

The crucial functional problem in the development of social policy and, thus, the key to its social-scientific explanation is that of the compatibility of the strategies through which the ruling political apparatus must react to demands and systemic requirements in the framework of existing political institutions and to the relationship of social forces channelled through them (Offe, 1984, p.104)

The relationship then between capitalism and the liberal democratic state is not instrumental and direct, rather it is indirect and mediated by the structure of the state itself. Offe suggests that the link actually operates through the universalisation of the commodity form and exchange relations (p.121). However, while the commodity form remains dominant in the structure of capitalist societies, it is also at the same time recessive (p.48), in that fewer aspects of work and life now are conducted in that form with the expansion of the service sector of the economy (p.48) and the substantial provision of state services, many of which function in a decommodified form. That perception relates to Offe's (1984, p.43) four sector model of the capitalist system, consisting of monopoly and competitive sectors where commodified relations dominate, to the state and residual labour power sectors (welfare beneficiaries and domestic workers), where a decommodified form is the norm. (See also Esping-Andersen, 1990).

Offe points out that the 'material resources of state power' depend on the continuity of capital accumulation rather than upon electoral support (p.121). The latter, though, is

necessary for legitimation. The paradox, or contradiction here is that the state's role in the universalisation of the commodity form requires a number of organisations whose operation is not subject to the commodity form of exchange relations (p.127); rather, these organisations operate in decommodified ways. The apparatuses of public schooling and education are good examples in that respect, as is the health system. For Offe, the latter are decommodified because 'their provision of use values is no longer guided by the form of rationality appropriate to market behaviour' (1984, p.264).

To this point, emphasis has been given to the state's need to guarantee the continuity of capital accumulation and to respond to political demands, through the provision of services to ensure its legitimacy. Offe (1984, p.144) argues that both pressures are manifest in the dual and contradictory standards of work of state policies. As he asserts: 'Policies will be measured both by the exchangeability they produce for labour and capital and by their promise to satisfy needs of people through alternative, non-market means of social production' (p.144). Social policies are then marked by a dual reference to the commodity form and need, with the latter often manifest in a decommodified fashion. Offe provides the example of education to explicate this very point; schooling is simultaneously about 'the marketability of labour power' and 'personality development' (p.144). Policies on the education of girls are marked by these dual references; this becomes more so when the state is restructured under conditions of economic constraint, as later Chapters in this thesis will clearly indicate. Under those conditions there is some attempt to recommodify such activities.

Policy makers, according to Offe (1984, p.107), have to create policies in response to demands, while at the same time also being aware of the extent of the tolerance of the capitalist economy for "'unproductive" social policy expenditures' (p.107). However, given the size and differentiation of functions of the state structure and the levels of the structure within a federal state, state policies can become irrational as measured against that tension. Indeed, as will be argued in the following Chapters, the contemporary restructuring of the Australian state in the direction of corporate managerialism has been an attempt to construct social policy within such constraints, witness, say, the controlling role of Treasury and Finance in policy-making across the spectrum at the federal level (Yeatman, 1990a; Pusey, 1991). However, it does seem as if Offe ignores to some extent the 'strategic intelligence which government and state agencies often display' (Held and Kriegler, 1983, p.491). One could also add, on the basis of the findings of this thesis, that

he also plays down the strategic political intelligence displayed by individual policy makers. As will be indicated below, some feminist accounts of the state take cognisance of such strategic intelligence at both individual and agency levels.

Offe (1984, p.131) articulates the legitimacy/efficiency problem for the state when he indicates that fulsome response to political demands, which may be necessary for legitimation, may very well ensure inefficiency in the delivery of services and in budgetary terms. He also notes how efficiency and effectiveness for state policies lack market and profitability criteria as points of reference. Further, he argues that state policies are efficient to the extent that they universalise the commodity form (p.138). Efficient state policies then would be those that ensured that all citizens could take adequate care of their own needs through full participation in market relations (p.138). However, Offe fails to acknowledge that such a situation would remove these services from democratic (political) to capitalist (market) control.

A further factor, according to Offe (1984), in ensuring the compatibility between the state and its mode of operation and the market and its form, occurs through the contamination of each form with norms and practices from the other. Thus, the state impacts upon the market through regulations, transfers and demand management which reduce its self-regulatory capacity. At the same time, 'market contingency is introduced into the state, thus compromising any notion of absolute authority or absolute good' (1984, p.183).

Given the emphasis upon the impact of state structures on policy, it is not surprising that Offe (1984, p.105) notes that reforms of that structure have clear political effects. As he puts it, '...it is certain that there is no such thing as an administrative reform that is nothing but an administrative reform' (Offe, 1984, pp.105-106). Administrative restructuring within the state has an impact upon the 'power resources of social groups' (p.105). It is important to keep this in mind *apropos* the corporate managerialist restructuring of the Australian state at both Commonwealth and State levels and the related restructuring of federal/State relations.

In the "Competitive party democracy and the Keynesian welfare state" chapter, Offe (1984) considers the question of the compatibility of liberal democracy and the capitalist economy. His position differs from that articulated by Marx and by Liberals such as Mill and de Tocqueville that there was a tension, indeed even some incompatibility, between these political and economic forms. While he accepts that there is some tension in the

relationship, he argues that mass political parties and party competition, along with the Keynesian welfare state, created some compatibility across the time from the second world war until the mid-seventies.

The changed nature of mass political parties, Offe argues, has also contributed to the apparent compatibility of capitalism and liberal democracy. Here, he makes particular mention of the bureaucratisation and professionalisation of the parties themselves, which in turn have precipitated 'ideological deradicalisation', the 'deactivation of membership' and the 'erosion of collective identity' (Offe, 1984, p.187). The latter features of contemporary mass political parties have also resulted from the need for those parties to be 'catch-all' in character, so as to win the required electoral majority. This situation, Offe posits, sees some resultant compatibility between the political and economic systems. However, with the end of the post-war economic boom, according to Offe the (expensive) welfare state solution to the task facing the liberal democratic state is no longer viable, given the problems it now must contend with. Economic decline means that capitalism is now a 'zero sum' game again (p.202), not the 'positive sum game' of the Keynesian boom period (p.194). Of course this is not to deny that economic decline may also be the result of accepting non-Keynesian policies.

It is here in this new economic and policy context that Offe suggests there are two likely political options, notably new right attempts to reinstate a market economy accompanied by a reduction in political demands upon the state with a return to a norm of self help and self reliance, or that of liberal corporatism. He believes the former strategy cannot succeed because of the substantial dependence of advanced capitalism upon the state. The latter is a mode of 'interest representation' (p.190) outside of the process of democratic politics, most usually operating in the sphere of economic policies. In some ways, it is left-technocratic response to the ungovernability thesis regarding advanced capitalism. Offe (1984, p.168) perceives such corporatist approaches to policy-making as providing a 'substitute consensus', but as such it is a somewhat unstable solution. Furthermore, he asserts that this bypassing of democratic institutions, in a sense a second circuit of representation, contributes to the widening political rift between the individual and the state.

Related, Offe argues that one political and social response to the decline in mass political parties and the emergence of "aloof" corporatist approaches to policy formulation and implementation, has been the rise of new social movements and concomitant post-

materialist or post-acquisitive values. These movements include the women's movement, the green and peace movements and those focused around ethnic and racial identity. These new social movements have often had their bases in the decommodified practices of state institutions, such as schools and universities, or within the domestic sphere and are often linked to the "new middle class". The emergence of a new middle class and new social movements are features of what Lash and Urry (1987, p.5) and Offe (1985) call 'disorganised capitalism'. Here we witness the eruption of political pressures outside of the "managed" capital/labour tensions of "organised capitalism". Offe (1984, p.174) has suggested that the state in the search for legitimacy has to respond to these new social movements and their political demands. In the context of a move towards corporatist approaches, there is a real contradiction here, for 'as politics move beyond the reach of citizens, state policies move ever closer' (Offe, 1984, p.174), responding, for example, to gender based demands, as with the policy case studies of this thesis. Paradoxically, this explosion of demands upon the state coincides with its weakening capacity to respond to them. Further, and as will be argued in the next section of this Chapter, corporatism can operate in a more democratic fashion than that suggested by Offe.

The remainder of *Contradictions of the Welfare State* is taken up with an application of Offe's state theory to the post-Keynesian period since the 1974 OPEC oil crisis, and the new right attack upon the Keynesian welfare state as an appropriate political settlement for advanced capitalism. Offe's account will be considered briefly here, for it is relevant to the substantive content of this thesis which deals with the Australian state and policy-making from the peak moment of progressive Keynesian welfare statism under Whitlam, through until the post-Keynesian, neo-corporatist response of the Hawke Labor government to Australia's economic malaise.

As with a range of other commentators (for example, Freeland, 1986; Jennett and Stewart, 1989), Offe sees the Keynesian welfare state (KWS) as a useful and workable "solution" for the liberal democratic state across the post-war boom period. Once economic difficulties become part of the ongoing landscape however, Offe argues, the KWS is no longer a viable or even consensual solution. Furthermore, Offe (1984) argues that the KWS contributes in some ways to these emerging problems. For instance, the state can no longer respond adequately to the demands upon it, because economic difficulties spawn economic and ideological pressures upon the state to become more frugal in its operation. Additionally, while the KWS solution may have solved macro,

demand-side aspects of the capitalist economy, Offe believes that this very solution creates supply-side problems to do with rigidities and inflexibilities within labour markets and within production (p.197). Here his argument would seem to coincide with new right critiques of Keynesianism. Offe (1984, p.198) suggests that the strategic aim of Keynesian macroeconomic policy was to promote growth and as a consequence to ensure full employment, while the KWS was to protect those at risk and to create a 'measure of social equality' (p.198). However, he stresses that the latter was absolutely contingent upon the success of the macroeconomic policy agenda. As well, Offe notes that these combined strategies ultimately result in increased unemployment and high levels of inflation. Even though it should be noted that the subsequent non-Keynesian alternatives have not been particularly successful in that respect either. In many ways the KWS has become a victim of its success. Across this period there is also the weakening independence of the economies of nation states and an increased integration of the world economy. It is in this context that he now speaks of the 'crises of crisis management' (1984, p.36) currently facing advanced capitalist societies and their state structures.

Offe's (1985) *Disorganised Capitalism* deals more with contemporary changes in work and politics than with the state *per se*. However, the outline of changed policy rationales from the KWS period to the post-Keynesian period is most relevant to this thesis, as is the consideration of 'divergent rationalities of administrative action' (p.300). These will be considered briefly here.

In Chapter 8, "The Attribution of Public Status to Interest Groups", Offe contrasts two types of political rationality, manifest in different political, policy and economic contexts. He does this against a backdrop of the nature of pressure groups, whose impact, he asserts, always results from a combination of 'interest' with political 'opportunity' and 'institutional status' (1984, p.222). He also argues that interest groups need to be understood in terms of an amalgam of individual motivations, the organisational structure of the group and the groups interaction with the broader social structure. This thesis would indicate that a similar amalgam contributes to the functioning of the liberal democratic state (and to the actions of femocrats within it). However, what is more pertinent to this study of an historical change in the operation of the Australian federal state, is Offe's distinction between what he calls 'conjunctural' and 'structural' policies or policy rationales (pp.223-227).

According to Offe, a conjunctural policy rationale operates in times of economic well-being, for example, the post-war boom period (1945–1975). Here, the state, through its policies, aims to optimally satisfy the interest pressures brought to bear upon it (Offe, 1984, p.224). As such, policy makers manipulate policy outputs. A buoyant economy is central to such political rationality. Now, with the onset of economic recession, policy makers can no longer respond to all the policy demands upon them, because of insufficient 'fiscal and institutional resources' (p.224). As a result, a new mode of political and policy rationality is brought into play, namely, what Offe calls the 'structural' rationale. Here, the emphasis is upon keeping policy output constant (affordable), 'while channelling demand inputs in a way that appears compatible with available resources' (p.224). No longer is the aim to satisfy demands, but rather 'to shape and channel them so as to make them satisfiable' (p.225). With the conjunctural policy condition the variable to be manipulated is 'policy outputs', while with the structural one, the variable for manipulation is the 'system of interest representation' (p.224).

FIGURE 3.2

OFFE'S TWO TYPES OF STATE POLICY

	Conjunctural Policy	Structural Policy
Political Strategy	Satisfy demands	Shape and channel demands to make them satisfiable (New Right and corporatist alternatives)
Economic Strategy	Manage input, order priorities (demand-side economics)	Manage output, keep supply constant (supply-side economics)
System Effects	Policy "joins on" existing system	Policy "restructures" existing system
Societal effects	Increased State intervention	Increased politicisation

Adapted from CODD, John (1990) "Educational Policy and the Crisis of the New Zealand State" in MIDDLETON, S., CODD, J. and JONES, A., New Zealand Education Policy Today, Wellington, Allen and Unwin, p.213.

Offe (1985) provides the following characterisation of the two types of policy condition:

Conjunctural policies would seek to maximise the adequacy of policy responses to problems as they emerge and appear on the agenda; the concomitant expectation is that such problems will remain within a range of manageability defined by existing capacities of state action and their continuing improvement (pp.225–226).

By contrast, in times of 'economic and institutional crisis' (p.226) the structural policy condition comes into play.

In response to such crises, the physical and economic parameters of production and the institutional parameters of interest representation, which together constitute the nature of the problem, become subject to redesign. The shift is from policy output and economic demand management to the shaping of political input and economic supply – from state intervention to politicization (p.226).

(Figure 3.2 provides a diagrammatic representation of the two policy rationales.)

The latter statement gives us some indication of how Offe sees the link between changing policy rationales and changing approaches to economic policy formulation within the state. Thus, for example, the conjunctural policy condition is usually accompanied by Keynesian demand-side economic policies, while the structural condition is accompanied by a renewed emphasis upon the supply-side of the economy which includes, *inter alia*, considerations of the skill levels, cost and productivity of labour.

Offe (1985) also makes the point that the conjunctural/structural distinction is a conceptual one, rather than indicative of an 'evolutionary sequence' (p.226). However, he does suggest that since the late sixties there has been in Europe a move from the former towards the latter. For Australia, one can sustain an argument that from the 1975 Hayden budget in the Whitlam Labor government (1972–1975) the move towards the structural policy condition began. That transformation has become much more profound in the efficient state approach of the Hawke Labor government, which has been in power at the federal level since 1983.

Offe (1985) argues further that it is more instructive to consider the 'simultaneity and interaction' (p.226) of the two policy rationales at any time and the dominance of one form over the other, rather than the replacement of the conjunctural by the structural condition. This is certainly the situation with the case studies of this thesis. At the federal level, the emergence from the Whitlam time of general and education policies on women and girls fitted within a classical welfare state, conjunctural policy rationale. Since that

time these policy domains have been reshaped by the onset of economic recession and the accompanying structural policy condition. They have also been reshaped by changes to the operation of the federal/State structure within which they are formulated and implemented. Furthermore, the federal policy intention was refracted in the passage from policy formulation at the federal level to implementation and developments at the Queensland State level.

As suggested elsewhere in his writing, Offe (1985) sees new right attempts to reduce demand overload on the state as one contemporary political solution to the economic problems facing the state. In contrast, the social democratic response to such problems is more likely to be corporatist in character, incorporating a variety of policy communities into the policy process. Offe thus perceives corporatism, along with new right small state ideology, as a way of managing policy demand upon governments. With respect to the corporatist alternative, he speaks of two types of policy groups potentially incorporated into state policy-making, notably, the 'market participants', that is, all those associated with the supply and demand side of labour markets, and the 'policy takers', all those other groups affected by government policy decisions (1985, p.239). The former relations, he posits, operate in class terms, while the latter operate more in terms of pluralist politics. This brings his position fairly much into line with that proffered by Cawson and Saunders and their 'dual state theory', which was briefly considered in the previous Chapter. The move towards corporatist approaches (or indeed the utilisation of Thatcherite new right ones) are responses to the structural policy condition. With the move towards the structural policy condition:

The pervasive shift is from conflict over group interest to conflict over ground rules, from the definition of claims to the definition of legitimate claimants, from politics to metapolitics. (Offe, 1985, p.231)

Under the Hawke government's corporatist accord with the trade union movement, the economic restructuring of Australia in the direction of high technology, export oriented, internationally competitive manufacturing has taken on metapolicy status, with the demands from 'policy takers' being reframed under its rubric.

Offe tends to perceive corporatism as a means of coopting the working class, because it reduces and controls trade union demands upon the state. He does, though, at least concede that corporatism, by bringing the organised working class into the policy processes of the state itself, might be potentially progressive, a position taken by a number of other commentators, for example, Esping-Andersen, Friedland and Wright (1976),

Clegg, Boreham and Dow (1986), Boreham and Compston (1992). This point will be taken up in the following section of the Chapter.

In the final chapter of *Disorganized Capitalism*, Offe considers again 'divergent rationalities of administrative action', stressing the inappropriateness of formal or legal rationality in the domain of productive state activity. He also notes the potential disjunction between state organisational and social system rationality, that is, what may appear rational in terms of the state bureaucracy's policy production rules may very well be dysfunctional in terms of the demands which the liberal democratic state has to meet. (This is a recapitulation of Weber's formal/substantive rationality distinction.) Implicit in the traditional rational-legal authority of bureaucratic action is an assumption of a clearly demarcated politician/bureaucrat division of labour. With the move to more productive state activities this division becomes blurred somewhat and the onus of rationality now lies in the achievement or otherwise of desired policy outputs in the short term, or outcomes in the long term. Here the administration begins to play a more substantial political role in the policy process. One end result of this process, particularly under the conjunctural policy condition, can be the state's use of spending to buy political support and consensus. As economic circumstances worsen, however, and the move to the structural policy condition occurs, politicians seek greater 'steering capacity' (Habermas, 1971) over state policy formation, while the buying of support becomes much less of a political option. Often a restructuring of the state and its policy rationales can occur, which through "managing" demand seeks to better achieve a narrower portfolio of goals more intimately linked with the capital accumulation imperative for the state (cf Considine, 1988; Dale, 1989; Codd, 1990; Yeatman, 1990a).

3.2.2 Critique

The above provided a summation of Offe's theory of policy-making within the liberal democratic state. Offe's approach is very much a synthetic one drawing together a number of disparate accounts and political ideologies. For instance, the notion that the state has to balance accumulation and legitimation pressures is derived from O'Connor's (1973) marxist work on the fiscal crisis of the state, while his critique of the negative effects of the Keynesian welfare state, along with his negative evaluation of corporatism have more in common with new right criticisms and the call for "peeling back the state".

What this section will do is outline the major weaknesses of Offe's approach, noting the correctives which have to be made, while also concluding with a comment on the usefulness of his work to this research.

There are some problems with Offe's conceptualisation of accumulation and legitimation pressures upon the state. While accumulation is clearly an important "bottom line" concern for the state, not all arms of the complex machinery which constitute the modern state have accumulation as an upper most priority. The complexity of the internal structural arrangement of the state must be acknowledged. This has been indicated in the Australian context with the post-1987 corporate managerialist restructuring of the Commonwealth public service as documented in Chapter 5 of this thesis. As is shown there and has been indicated at some length by Pusey (1991), that restructuring attempted to institutionalise economic rationalism and the goal of economic restructuring across all portfolios. With those changes, education was conceptualised in human capital terms and regarded as central to economic restructuring. However, as Pusey (1991) notes, a social democratic residue still remains within educational policy. Thus the impact of the accumulation pressure must be linked to Offe's distinction between conjunctural and structural policy rationales. The move to the latter, as occurred in Australia from the mid-seventies, increases the accumulation pressures upon the state, but those pressures are still experienced in a different fashion by different arms and levels (federal or State) of the bureaucracy. Thus the differential impact of the accumulation pressure upon the state must be acknowledged, as well as its fluctuating significance at different times in economic history.

Just as it is necessary to modify Offe's account of accumulation pressures upon the state, so it is the case with the necessity of legitimation. There is a way in which this conceptualisation of political pressures upon the state and the necessity of state response for legitimation flows from a 'capital logic' approach (Boreham 1991, p.4), which in turn results from Offe's dependence on the marxist work of O'Connor. This view appears to deny the possibility of progressive political gains through state policies. There is much evidence to disaffect us of such a view. For example, Wilenski (1986) documents gains across the post-war boom period in Australia, while Dow (1992) and Boreham and Compston (1992) show how a strong corporatist approach to policy-making has resulted in superior economic and other policy outcomes in a number of OECD countries during the period since the mid-seventies. The evidence documented in this research and outlined in

Chapters 9 and 10 shows that political gains can be made through state action and not simply for legitimation purposes. Thus some autonomy must be granted to politics, while still acknowledging that such politics are framed by the nature of the accumulation pressures upon the state.

Korpi (1989) and Esping-Andersen (1985, 1990) conceptualise the state in relation to markets and politics. They note that each sphere operates according to the possession of different assets. The market operates according to capital assets, while politics work through the mobilisation of numbers. Herein is the basis of potential political gains through the state and an indication that accumulation pressures are always mediated by political history and struggles. In this way politics can work against markets through the relocation of economic decision-making within the political and democratic sphere (Esping-Andersen, 1985). Herein lies the progressive potential of democratic corporatism.

There is also a way in which Offe's conceptualisation of legitimation needs to be deconstructed to take account of a variety of meanings and distinctions in practice. Held (1984) has established a continuum of types of agreement in a political system which suggests a number of forms of acceptance which are much weaker than legitimation, including tradition, apathy, pragmatic acquiescence, and instrumental acceptance.

Another weakness of Offe's account of the nature of the liberal democratic state and policy-making is his failure to acknowledge the significance of the internationalisation of the economy. This is a point made by John Keane in his introduction to Offe's *Contradictions of the Welfare State*. In a sense that probably reflects the time his work was written. In policy terms such a development has increased the need for clearly thought through policies at the nation state level. This development has brought new pressures to bear upon the state, particularly when the approach has been the Australian one of attempting to integrate in a non-tariff protected fashion with that global economy. In Offe's terms, that policy approach has placed new pressures on the legitimation aspect of the state. Pusey (1991, pp.210-211) has attempted to incorporate the economic rationalist policy approach in Australia with its move for integration into the global economy into Offe's model. As such, he suggests that:

Integration with the world economy clearly presupposes a closer functional incorporation of the 'political administrative system' (the state, and with it the obligatory conditions of elected governments) into an augmented economic system. (Pusey, 1991, pp.210-211)

In other words, Pusey is arguing that the economic rationalist policy approach has had real significance for politics around the state and the state's capacity to respond.

Earlier it was suggested that there was a way in which Offe took a political stance somewhat akin to that of the new right in relation to Keynesianism. He does this by uncritically accepting that Keynesianism was the major causal factor in the problems faced by the advanced economies since the mid-seventies. Clearly almost twenty-years of anti-Keynesian economic policy-making in a number of countries, Britain for example, have not been particularly successful either.

Offe also is critical of corporatism which he sees simply as a way of coopting the working class particularly in times of economic difficulty and restructuring. Such a view is also linked to his failure to acknowledge that real gains can be made through the state, a point made above. Offe's perception of corporatism is partial at best and needs to move to a more sophisticated account. Boreham and Compston (1992) argue for three conceptualisations of corporatism, only one of which closely fits Offe's assumptions. This sees an attempt at controlling or reducing wages as a *quid pro quo* for increases in the social wage through the incorporation within the state of representatives of labour. This form of corporatism as simply an incomes policy may very well work in the ways suggested by Offe and as indicated in the Australian context after the first couple of years of the Hawke government (Boreham, 1990, 1991). A stronger definition and practice of corporatism would institutionalise labour organisation participation in economic policy-making and as such broaden the policy matters to be determined on democratic as opposed to market criteria. There is some cross-national research evidence to suggest that such approaches have been successful in economic outcomes terms across the period since the mid-seventies (Boreham and Compston, 1992; Dow, 1992). That evidence points up a weakness in Offe's account, for clearly politics can operate against markets (Esping-Andersen, 1985).

Two other weaknesses of Offe's theory of policy-making within the liberal democratic state need to be noted. Both are particularly pertinent to the research reported in this thesis. While Offe grants significance to the part played by state structures to both policy agendas and policy outcomes, he does not allow for any agency for policy makers within the structures of the state. Here Jessop's (1990) conception of the interior of the state as a strategic terrain upon which policy makers struggle for policy gains is an important corrective to Offe's account, as is Deacon's (1989) point that public servants

have to be brought back into accounts of policy-making within the state. Offe's theory is also largely gender blind only allowing for gender politics in so far as they relate to what he would call questions of legitimation. To utilise Offe's language it must be stressed that both accumulation and legitimation are gendered processes (Connell, 1987).

An acknowledgment of the above weaknesses serves as an important corrective to the shortcomings of Offe's approach. As will be shown, the empirical evidence outlined in this thesis also suggests the need for such modifications. The very real strength of Offe's theory of the state generally and particularly in relation to this research lies in his stress on the significant mediating role played by state structures in policy formulation and implementation and the way in which policy problems become problems for the state's structure. Bureaucratic organisation and structure of government, for example unitary as opposed to federal arrangement, frame policy agendas. Those structures are also gendered. It is to a consideration of feminist theories of the state that the Chapter now turns.

3.3 FEMINIST THEORIES OF THE STATE

As noted above, Offe's account is basically gender blind. It fails to acknowledge that accumulation and legitimation politics around and within the state are gendered processes. It also fails to recognise the complexity of the internal organisational structure of the state and to allow for strategic action of state workers. The feminist theories of the state considered in this section of the Chapter provide important insights in those respects.

In 1983, MacKinnon (1983) noted that feminism had no theory of the state, while in the same year Australian feminists Pringle and Game suggested that the lack of a theory of the state was a yawning gap within feminism. In 1989, Franzway, Court and Connell (p.ix) confidently asserted: 'Social Science has no theory of the state as an institution of gender relations'. Such a theory is required for both theoretical and political/strategic reasons, particularly given the significance of the state for feminist politics (Franzway, Court and Connell, 1989). Since the time of those statements, some theoretical advances have been made. These will be traversed here.

It also ought to be said that most feminist analyses now argue the necessity for a feminist theory of the state. It is only the more recent feminist approaches within poststructuralism which argue against such a need (Weedon, 1987; Allen, 1990). Thus, for example, Allen (1990, p.22) argues forcefully, from a poststructuralist feminist

perspective, that the state is too 'aggregative' and too 'abstract' to be of explanatory value for a feminist politics. In full she asserts:

The state is a category of abstraction that is too aggregative, too unitary and too unspecific to be of much use in addressing the disaggregated, diverse and specific (or local) sites that must be of most pressing concern to feminists. The state is too blunt an instrument to be of much assistance (beyond generalisations) in explanations, analyses or the design of workable strategies. (Allen, 1990, p.22)

That position is rejected here, for an emphasis on the minutiae of the specific and the idiosyncratic does not allow for any generalisable or transferable explanation, or for the development of a more explanatory theory. Furthermore, it needs to be recognised that the state is the central institutionalisation of power in societies such as ours. Additionally, feminism as a political strategy has developed in fairly close relation to it (Franzway, Court and Connell, 1989, p.ix; Dowse, 1988). As Franzway, Court and Connell (1989), as well as Connell (1990) point out, feminists have made political demands upon the state in both the first and second waves of the movement. They have also, through a strategy of "entrism" (the femocrat approach), attempted to coopt aspects of the state's political agenda in women's interests. Since the seventies, reactionary, anti-feminist groups have recognised the (apparent) success of such strategies and, as such, have sought to "peel back" the state, so as to reinstate a closed patriarchy. Thus it is argued here that the state must remain a central concern for feminist theory. (See Kenway, 1992.) Indeed, while this thesis indicates how the State has been reconfigured and how it is not a unitary structure, it also demonstrates its continuing importance.

The two policies which this thesis focuses upon *The National Policy for the Education of Girls* (1987) and Queensland's policy of *Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys* (1981) were both state-centric in their orientation, as will be shown in some detail in Chapters 9 and 10. In particular, the existence of a policy in Queensland during the National Party regime was the result of politics played out inside the bureaucracy and in the interaction between it and agencies of the Commonwealth. Given these factors, a feminist theory of the state is certainly required, but one which does more than simply add women in to already existing accounts, be they of a liberal or marxist hue. It must be acknowledge, though, that earlier approaches to the state, such as liberalism and marxism, only dealt with women in implicit rather than explicit ways. Just as with the individual of social science, so the individual of liberal citizenship was implicitly male (Pateman, 1985; Eisenstein, 1981). Liberal feminism, of course, was about achieving the

universal application of those very citizenship rights. Franzway, Court and Connell (1989, p.13) conclude, concerning the need for a feminist theory of the state: 'the problems of practical politics, like the silences and hidden messages of classical theories of the state, point to the need for an explicit theorisation of the state in relation to sexual politics'. Indeed, they argue that a feminist theory of the state is essential because 'gender is as a matter of fact a major feature of the state' and 'sexual politics is in fact a major sphere of its operation' (p.6).

Approaches within feminism are usually classified politically as either liberal, radical or socialist. More recently poststructuralist feminism has emerged (Weedon, 1987; Allen, 1990; Davies, 1988, 1989) which seeks a political utopia beyond gendered dualisms, but which, as suggested earlier, has argued against the need for a feminist theory of the state (Allen, 1990). These varying accounts of the state will be considered briefly here.

Liberal approaches coopt the supposed universalism of the liberal stress on citizenship rights and argue for its inclusive application to women, a position articulated by both John Stuart Mill and Mary Wollstonecraft. In so doing, they reject the dichotomous division of public and private endemic to liberalism and seek to broaden the scope of state policies by expanding the definition of public and stressing that the personal is political. A whole range of progressive political changes have been achieved from such a perspective in both the first and second waves of the women's movement, including the franchise and more recently equal opportunity and anti-discrimination legislation. Franzway, Court and Connell (1989, p.15) note, however, that the success of the liberal feminist 'imperfect citizenship' strategy has resulted from its resonance with 'key problems in modern state structures'. They also point out, as do others (Kenway, 1990b,c), that such a conception of the state accepts at face value pluralist accounts of state neutrality and as such is 'theoretically rootless to a striking degree'. They also note how such a political strategy is most likely to benefit middle class women with careers in the primary labour market.

Those radical approaches which perceive the state as patriarchal (for example, Eisenstein, 1979; Mies, 1986), argue the dominance of men in senior levels of the state bureaucracies, and particularly in the powerful state agencies such as Treasury, and the agencies of force such as police and army, is one significant instrumentalist contributing feature to male dominance and female subordination. This position can be compared with Miliband's within marxism. They also take a complementary structuralist perception,

which can be compared with Poulantzas's structuralist critique of Miliband's instrumentalism. Often, though, such radical feminist perspectives deny the possibility of achieving progressive political gains for women through the state, because the state is perceived to be patriarchal and as such run for male interests. There is something of a parallel here with earlier marxist theories which rejected the state as a site for progressive policies.

Radical feminist theories of the state accept that structural inequality around gender is the most fundamental division within a society. Here the state is seen to be patriarchal and to operate in the interests of all men as a sex/class. The patriarchal state is seen to work through,

...its complicity is sustaining the patriarchal family, its judicial and other arrangements concerning matters of rape, domestic violence, pornography and reproductive technology, and its involvement in militarism and warfare (Kenway, 1990b, p.13).

As such, the state is rejected as a site for political struggle. However, it ought to be noted that most feminists tend to use the term patriarchy and that even radical feminists have sought redress from the state (Dowse, 1988). Some radical feminists (Daly (1978) for example) resort to a theoretical position which asserts the moral superiority of women over men and as such argue for a separatist political strategy which does not need to engage with the state.

Socialist feminists either give priority to class relations over patriarchal ones (McIntosh, 1978; Burstyn, 1983) or theorise an intersection between the two (Hartmann, 1979; Baldock and Cass, 1988). Whichever the case, they see the state playing an important role in reproducing both. Reproduction within the family and state institutions such as schools is seen to ensure the ongoing existence of a gendered division of labour within both public and private spheres (Burton, 1985). Here, men are seen to be involved largely in production and women in public and private cultural reproduction, as well as biological reproduction. Juliet Mitchell (1971) in *Woman's Estate*, for example, argued that women were oppressed in four structures, those of production, reproduction, socialisation and sexuality. As with reproduction theories in general, such accounts of the state tend to be overly functionalist in nature (Kenway, 1990b, p.18).

Some recent feminist theorising of the state from within a democratic socialist position is probably more useful to our purposes. The collection edited by Anne Showstack Sassoon (1987) is important in that respect, as is the Australian publication

Shortchanged (Sharp and Broomhill, 1988). The articles in Sassoon point out the historically changing nature of patriarchy, as well as the changing nature of women's relationships to the state (Borchorst and Siim, 1987; Dahlerup, 1987; Hernes, 1987) and assert the need for detailed and specific historical case studies. They also argue that the state is an important site of struggle for the feminist movement. Hernes (1987) and Borchorst and Siim (1987) suggest that women have moved from private dependence upon the patriarchal family to a more public dependence upon the welfare state. While Dahlerup (1987) would have some sympathy with such an assessment, she points out that the state is only one, and not the most significant, component of the oppression of women. All accept that women are more dependent upon the state than are men; they are dependent as state workers, consumers and clients. The state is largely controlled by men and as such women are perceived to have lesser citizenship rights, as well as weaker rights as workers, consumers and clients of state policies. Borchorst and Siim (1987, p.136) do point out how a stronger and more universalist welfare state, though, does strengthen women's social position because it expands the availability of consumer and employee relationships with the state, and consequently reduces the need for dependent client ones. Hernes (1987, p.84) notes that with the expansion of the welfare state in the Scandinavian countries, including child care support, women have moved from a position of being powerless to one of having little power. Thus, it would seem that some feminists are now somewhat more ambivalent and perhaps more sanguine about the welfare state, than they were when Elizabeth Wilson published her pathbreaking *Women and the Welfare State* in 1971, which saw welfare as the 'state organisation of domestic life' (p.9). State policies then are seen to be an important component of the struggle to improve women's position, a perception also central to the femocrat strategy, which raises questions to do with the relationship between femocrats and the women's movement and femocrats and the state.

MacKinnon (1983) in her study of feminist jurisprudence, Scutt (1991) in her account of 'invisible women' within the law, and Ferguson's (1984) analysis of bureaucracy as 'gendered hierarchy' together provide another type of feminist approach to the state. This is an approach referred to by Franzway, Court and Connell (1989, p.29) as 'patriarchy as procedure'. MacKinnon, for example, has shown how ostensibly objective legal procedures, with respect to rape cases, actually operate from a male point of view, especially in relation to questions of consent. This approach makes us cognisant of the necessity to consider process as well as structure.

Franzway, Court and Connell (1989) in Chapter 3 of *Staking a Claim* begin to provide the skeletal outline of some of the requirements for a feminist theory of the state. They do so after listing the four criteria for an adequate theory of the liberal democratic state which were considered in the previous Chapter of this thesis. In a more recent paper, Connell (1990) has gone a little further in the construction of such a theory of what he calls the 'patriarchal state'. However, the central tenets of such a theory, which he outlines, suggest that his account of the state is much less instrumental and unitary than that description would perhaps imply. Connell gestures towards a theory of the patriarchal state by considering six postulates of such a theory. These will be considered briefly in turn.

Connell's first postulate is that the state is 'constituted within gender relations' as well as being the 'central institutionalisation of gendered power' (1990, p.519). In his earlier book, *Gender and Power* (1987), Connell described the gender regimes within given institutions as conglomerating to construct the gender order of a given society (p.134). In this first postulate, he is suggesting that the state is a very important 'node' or 'substructure' within the broader gender order. He also notes how the emergence of bureaucratic rationality in the nineteenth century was central to, and intimately involved in, both the bourgeois and industrial revolutions (1990, pp.523–524). He documents the emergence of a new form of 'hegemonic masculinity organised around themes of rationality, calculation, and orderliness' (p.521); in this way adding a gender component to Weber's account of the relationship between modernity and rationality. This historical perspective complements the contemporary feminist characterisation of bureaucracy as a gendered hierarchy (Ferguson, 1984) and the more general notion of patriarchy as procedure (Franzway, Court, Connell, 1989).

Connell's second postulate of a feminist theory of the state is the notion that the state is itself a 'bearer of gender', and, as such, each state has a specific 'gender regime'. Such a regime results from continuing political struggle in and around the state. He explicitly rejects the notion that the state is male, mainly because of the large numbers of women employed within the state as femocrats, clerical and stenographic workers and by the state as professionals, such as teachers and nurses. The concept of a gender regime refers to the 'historically produced state of play in gender relations within an institution' (p.523). The gender regime can be described by drawing up what Connell (1987, p.91) calls a 'structural inventory', that is by considering (1) the gendered division of labour, (2)

the gendered basis of power and (3) the structure of cathexis ('the gender patterning of emotional attachments') (1990, p.526) within a given institution. Each of these components of a structural inventory will be considered very briefly here.

The gendered division of labour within the state refers to the gender segmentation, both horizontal and vertical, of the state's own labour force. Thus, for instance, men tend to dominate in the senior power positions across all bureaucratic units that make up the state and also dominate the most powerful of these units, for example in the recent Australian Commonwealth context, Treasury, Finance and Prime Minister and Cabinet. The coercive state apparatuses of the army and police are also dominated by men, while women predominate in service and secretarial positions. There is also a gendered division of labour within any given department which most often operates in terms of function performed. Cork (1991) and Limerick (1991) have documented a stark gendered division of labour within the Queensland Department of Education which is most pertinent to the girls' education case study of this research. Indeed, in many ways at the most macro level, education can be seen to be divided around a female teaching service and a male administrative and policy directorate, both within schools and within the state bureaucracy. (Porter, Warry, Apelt, 1992).

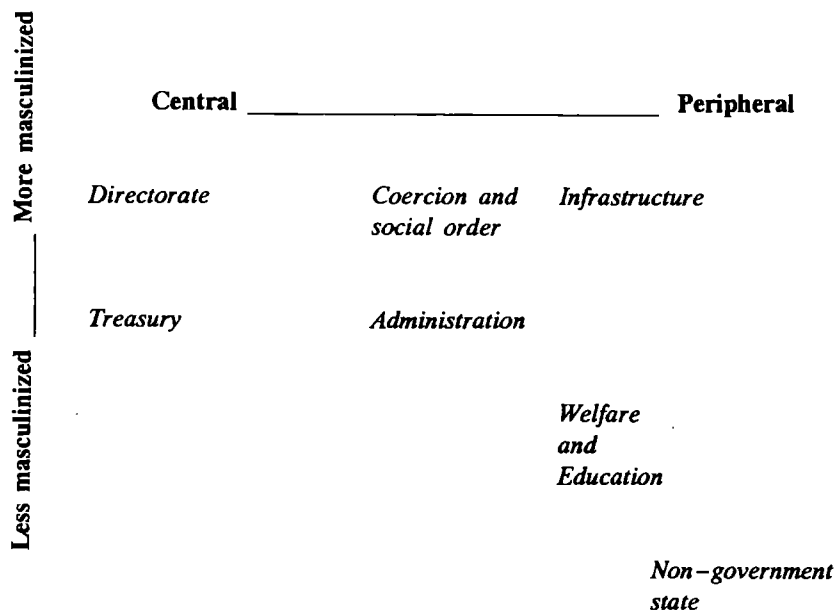
Connell notes that in addition to this individual division of labour, there is also a gendered division of labour across types of bureaucratic unit. These are represented in Figure 3.3, adapted from Connell (1990, p.524). Thus, men predominate in the central agencies such as Treasury and Finance, while women are more prevalent in the service and welfare agencies such as Health, Welfare and Education. In that respect, Yeatman (1990a, p.83) speaks of 'hard' and 'soft' areas of the state. She argues that the former includes economic policy, foreign affairs, immigration, trade, defence, labour and industrial relations (p.83), while the latter includes all of the human and community services, that is, child care, health, social security and welfare and education (p.83). Furthermore, she notes, the 'hard' areas in 'soft' portfolios are staffed by men, and vice-versa. More specifically, Yeatman (1990a, p.83) suggests that with the creation of the restructured mega-department of Employment, Education and Training, following Labor's 1987 election victory, education policies have been reframed in the 'hard' masculinised terms of economic restructuring, labour and industry (p.83). There appears then to be an inverse relationship between the power and centrality of a bureaucratic unit and the number of women who work within the unit. This seems to parallel Summers' (1986) perception that the mandarin

or missionary positions open to female bureaucrats are respectively accompanied by lesser or stronger commitments to feminist ideology.

With reference to Figure 3.3, Connell has developed the notion of the 'non-government state' from the work of Shaver (1982) to refer to those quasi-independent agencies run by women on a voluntary basis, such as health centres, crisis centres, and charity bodies, through which women have had some impact and call upon state policy. These are extremely vulnerable with respect to state support, while their very nature reproduces and links with a particular construction of femininity. This vulnerability is picked up in Beilharz, Considine and Watts', (1992, p.57) description of these agencies as constituting the 'other state'.

FIGURE 3.3

GENDER STRUCTURING OF STATE APPARATUS



Adapted from CONNELL, R.W. (1990) 'The State, Gender, and Sexual Politics: Theory and Appraisal', *Theory and Society*, 19, p.524.

Yeatman (1990a, p.88), in acknowledging the gender segmentation in and across the agencies of the state bureaucracy, notes how femocrats become the voice of the disadvantaged groups within the state, and how, as a consequence, the government is doubly distanced from such groups. Further, regarding the gender segmentation of the state, Yeatman (1990a, p.83) has noted that it is 'bound into a more general patriarchal

culture of power and authority that underwrites the cultures of hierarchy which structure the workings of government agencies' (cf Mills, 1989; Sheppard, 1989).

Connell's (1990) second component of the gender regime of the state is the internal 'structure of power' (p.525). Here he describes the bureaucracy, following Ferguson (1984), as a 'gendered hierarchy' (p.525). Yet, in contrast with Ferguson (1984), Connell rejects any notion that the bureaucracy is in 'direct opposition to feminism' (p.525), mainly because the rationality of bureaucracy is in itself subversive of patriarchy, in much the same way as the liberal notion of rights has been subversive of lesser citizenship rights for women, a point often made by the femocrats in the research interviews. Connell also mentions the personal networks, which often run parallel to more merit based approaches to appointment and promotion within the bureaucracy, and which most often work to advantage men and disadvantage women. Limerick (1991) has documented the existence and operation of those male networks within the Queensland Department of Education.

Connell also notes the changing modes of coordination of the various units of the state's bureaucratic structure, notably the move in the eighties from administrative to fiscal coordination (p.525). (See Chapter 5 here.) With this move, the language of economic rationalism has reduced welfare provisions and downgraded women's interests, for the position of the social service departments has also been weakened. Pusey (1991) in his study of the Senior Executive Service of the Commonwealth Public Service has also noted such a phenomenon at work, notably the dominance in policy-making of male economists of a "classical" theoretical persuasion, who promulgate economic rationalism throughout the service. Sitting on top of the state bureaucracy, as it were, are the politicians. In relation to them, Connell (1990, p.526) speaks of 'electoral patriarchy' to denote the dominance of men within the legislatures and cabinets of the nation.

The final component of the gender regime of the state is the 'structure of cathexis', that is, the gendered patterning of emotional relations within the day to day life of the institution. Connell (1990, p.526) asserts that the nature of cathexis within the state is basically patriarchal, but that this is a matter subject to struggle and challenge. For instance, Yeatman (1990, p.85) speaks of the increasingly masculine style and culture of work as one ascends the bureaucratic hierarchy within agencies and across agencies, a point also made by Mills (1989) and Sheppard (1989). Rosaldo (1974) has written of the distancing mechanisms which men use to manifest both authority and power relations. These are simply one component of the structure of cathexis within the state. The work on

femocrats has also provided some insight into the operation of cathexis within state bureaucracies (for example, Eisenstein, 1985, 1991; Dowse, 1984, 1988; Lynch, 1984), as has Hochschild's (1983) concept of 'emotional labour', characteristic of much of women's service work within the state (and elsewhere). The work pressures upon individual femocrats are excessive, so that Yeatman (1990a, p.66) suggests that the position is almost predicated upon an assumption that femocrats have relative freedom from the demands of domestic labour and often "freedom" from personal relationships. The structure of cathexis "requires" and assumes heterosexual, family relationships as the norm. There were comments in the research interviews that male bureaucrats used women's dress to comment upon sexuality, while sexual orientation was used as a "put-down" by them.

The third postulate of Connell's feminist theory of the state relates to the way in which the state's embodiment of gender enables it to "'do" gender', as it were (p.527). Connell asserts: 'As the central institutionalisation of power the state has a considerable, though not unlimited, capacity to regulate gender relations in society as a whole' (p.527). Connell documents this with respect to sexuality, domestic relations, work, welfare, equal employment legislation and so on. Indeed, it is the state's capabilities in this respect which Connell (1990) and Franzway, Court and Connell (1989) take as a central reason for the need to construct a feminist theory of the state.

The fourth postulate refers to the state's capacity to generate and transform components of the gender order, for example the changing support for women's employment in the public sphere or the state's part in constructing masculinity through military training, or the creation of a non-sexist schooling. This is even true of the symbiotic relationship between feminism and the state. Because of its more individual, as opposed to structural character, and because of the liberalism underpinning the democratic state, the state is more likely to be responsive to pressures from liberal feminism. Hence, Franzway, Court and Connell (1989, p.162) argue that, 'liberal feminism dominates feminist strategies in and around the state, and since the state is so central to the oppression of women, liberal feminism tends to dominate the women's movement'. Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) and anti-discrimination, for example, are liberal procedures relying upon individual legal claims for redress.

According to Connell (1990, p.530), because of the state's power to both regulate and create, it becomes a 'major stake in gender politics', which is his fifth postulate of a feminist theory of the state. As a consequence, 'the state becomes the focus of interest-

group formation and mobilisation in sexual politics' (p.530). In Offe's terms, the state is subject to democratic pressures to which it must respond in some way or other for legitimisation purposes, but at all times it must continue to take cognisance of its essential support for the process of capital accumulation. That legitimisation factor has been significant in the success of liberal feminist political strategies, as has the liberal political notion of individual rights, universally applied. Feminists as a pressure group express a need to which the state responds as part of its seeking legitimisation and which subsequently refracts the expressed need through its structure, policy production rules and professional intervention (Fraser, 1987, 1989; Offe, 1975; Sharp and Broomhill, 1988).

The sixth postulate stresses that the state is constantly changing. Connell (1990, p.532) posits that 'gender relations are historically dynamic' and 'the state's position in gender politics is not fixed'. Apropos the dynamics of gender relations, Connell (1987, p.960) asserts: 'I would argue that the concepts of internal differentiation, historical unevenness and internal contradiction are essential for understanding the structure of gender relations'. Other feminist theorists (for example, Dahlerup, 1987; Sharp and Broomhill, 1988) have also made the point that an historical account of the gendered state and its intersection with the gender order is required. In that respect, Dahlerup (1987, p.96) rejects the view that the concept of patriarchy is ahistorical, but argues that a typology of patriarchies is required to account for the various manifestations of structured male dominance across different societies and through time. Thus, in the context of contemporary Scandinavian countries, she speaks of welfare state patriarchy. She also notes the need to analyse the manner in which 'male dominance and the subordination of women is integrated with the socio-economic structure of any given society' (1987, p.96) and the way the state is implicated in this integration.

Connell suggests that currently there is something of a move towards 'a crisis in the legitimisation of patriarchy' which seeks a weakening of 'established bases of authority' (1990, p.533); the weakening role of the churches has been one important contributing factor here. A number of feminist theorists (Borchorst and Siim, 1987; Dahlerup, 1987), writing about Scandinavian welfare state patriarchy, have argued that the twentieth century has witnessed a weakening of family and private patriarchy and a related strengthening of social or public patriarchy. Game and Pringle (1983, p.22) call this situation, 'patriarchy without the father'. It should be noted though, that there has also been something of a backlash against policy gains for women.

On the basis of the above theoretical postulates, Connell (1990) concludes by arguing that the state has to this point operated in a patriarchal fashion. It has been dominated and controlled by men; most often equated authority with a hegemonic masculinity; and operated in a manner by and large biased towards the interests of heterosexual males (p.535). However, it is a site of struggle, an important stake in gender politics. Here his position would appear to coincide with that of Hester Eisenstein (1985, p.115) who rejects the notion that 'the state is male' and argues instead that the more accurate perception is that 'up to now the state has been male'. In coming to that stance, Eisenstein shows how affirmative action legislation in New South Wales at least modified male behaviour in relation to sexual harassment, and raised questions about embedded masculine assumptions in respect of work requirements and the organisation of the working day.

The six postulates of Connell's feminist theory of the state do not mention the intersection of patriarchy with the class structure. In *Gender and Power*, Connell (1987, ch.3) distinguishes between extrinsic and intrinsic approaches to theorising the gender order. The former argue for the priority of some other structure over the power relations between men and women, while the latter concentrate on those relations and give them priority in their theoretical work. Connell (1987) documents three types of extrinsic accounts, namely, those, usually derived from some sort of marxist position, which give theoretical and material priority to the class structure, those which emphasise how the relations of reproduction (child bearing and caring) complement both the relations of production and production itself, and finally those approaches which posit a 'dual structure' of patriarchy and class relations. Connell rejects the first approach, sees difficulties with the ahistorical nature of reproduction theories and has most sympathy with the dual structure theory proffered by the likes of Hartmann (1979) and Eisenstein (1979). However, his difficulty with the latter theory stems from its structural or categorical character. He argues, as he does in relation to the class structure (Connell, 1977, pp.4-5), that a generative theory is required, that is, one which takes account of agency and practice and their relationship with structure and which is able to deal with historical change. (The same could be said in relation to femocrat practice within the state.) Furthermore, in relation to theorising the gender order, he argues that the current moment within feminist theory, as it were, requires a concentration on intrinsic accounts of the gender order. Clearly then, his gesturing towards a feminist theory of the state has taken heed of this

position. He does, though, acknowledge the absolute necessity for understanding the complex interaction between the gender order and the class structure, without prioritising one over the other. Indeed, he would also acknowledge the need to take account of the different experiences of women from different racial and ethnic backgrounds. In this way, he rejects what a poststructuralist might call a universalising, totalising or essentialising approach to gender, a position also supported by Eisenstein in her outline of contemporary feminist thought (1984, p.xvii). Of course, the theoretical "trick" needed here is to acknowledge the plurality of possibilities without neglecting structural constraints.

Feminist theories of the state are very useful in terms of understanding and analysing the empirical data of this thesis, on the education of girls. Firstly, they draw out attention to the gendered division of labour within the internal arrangement of the state, both in individual terms and at the collective level of bureaucratic units (Connell, 1990, p.523). Thus most often, 'women's interests are articulated in relatively peripheral parts of the state apparatus' (Connell, 1990, pp.523–524). Secondly, an understanding of liberal feminism's perception of the state is also useful to understanding the girls' education case study. Liberal feminism, developing out of the political tradition of J.S. Mill and Mary Wollstonecraft, simply sees sexism (and patriarchy) as an accident, rather than as a system of repression and domination, as acknowledged by both radical and socialist feminists. The problem is perceived to be an individual, rather than structural one, with sex role socialisation being a major contributing factor. As such, for liberal feminists, political intervention by women to achieve full citizenship rights and to fill positions within the bureaucracy itself, can ensure that the state does operate in a manner akin to liberal/pluralist accounts, that is, as a neutral arbiter between competing interests (Connell, 1990). Within such a framework, non or even anti-sexist schooling becomes one possible reform strategy.

Liberal feminist approaches exist along a continuum with respect to the extent of state intervention required to ensure equal opportunities and equal citizenship rights for women (Eisenstein, 1984). Such approaches, however, do not confront the systemic nature of patriarchy (Sassoon, 1987; Franzway, Court and Connell, 1989; Connell, 1990; Kenway, 1990b,c; Eisenstein, 1984; Sharp and Broomhill, 1988). The granting of a narrow conception of citizenship rights to Aborigines in 1967, for example, has not ensured any real equality for Aboriginal people. Likewise, citizenship rights are not enough to guarantee equality for all women. Liberal feminists do not see any structural

obstacles to changing the state so that it can operate in women's interests (Sharp and Broomhill, 1988, p.5). Clearly then, the state in response to democratic policy pressures from women is most likely to respond in a fashion underpinned by liberal feminism, rather than by more radical varieties. This observation tends to be true of most state policy responses in the social domain.

Thirdly, new right pressures upon the state from the mid-seventies have attempted to reduce the extent of the welfare state and as such have attempted to reduce the definition of the relevant public sphere for state policy response. Such a politics works directly against the feminist agenda of broadening the definition of the political, as a recognition that the boundary of the public and private is an important stake in feminist political struggles with the state (Franzway, Court and Connell, 1989, p.41). The residualising of welfare through tight targeting impacts upon women in a way so as to reduce their life options, and often assumes the presence of women within the domestic household not employed within the public sphere. It is in that context that corporatism might benefit women in its stronger capacity to defend the welfare state and to broaden the political agenda.

Fourthly, feminist accounts indicate how the dichotomy between economic policy and social policy in a sense reflects and reinforces the male/female and public/private divisions which have been central to the ongoing subordination of women (Sharp and Broomhill, 1988; Dowse, 1988; Franzway, Court and Connell, 1989). Australian feminists have recognised this with the development of the women's budget as a political strategy; an attempt to get some purchase on how all government activity (including economic) impacted upon women (Draper, 1991, p.17). (See Chapter 9 here.) Economic policy and theory have neglected the contribution of unpaid domestic labour in their equations. The resurgence of neo-classical economics (in Australia, economic rationalism) has had serious implications for the state structure and its policies (Considine, 1988; Yeatman, 1990a; Pusey, 1991). In turn, the restructuring of the state and the concomitant attempt to narrow its policy domain and to reframe all domains within an economic restructuring agenda (Yeatman, 1990a; Kenway, 1990b), have had a powerful impact upon the position of women, because women are in a sense more dependant upon the state than men, as workers, consumers and clients (Borchorst and Siim, 1987; Dahlerup, 1987; Hernes, 1987). The impact has also resulted from the hierarchical reframing of the relationship between the central bureaucratic policy agencies of Treasury, Finance and

Prime Minister and Cabinet and the service delivery departments, including welfare and education. Indeed, Yeatman (1990a, p.3) argues convincingly that the new managerialist agenda within the state has been 'an effective Trojan horse by which the democratising agendas of the new social movements and their advocates within public bureaucracies have been subordinated to a process of the effective reinstatement of hierarchical controls and administrative elite rule within public bureaucracies'. Connell (1990, p.536) has suggested that this new efficiency strategy pushes women's policy in the direction of policies which help to modernise the state, but which do not have substantial budgetary implications, for example, the state embraces equal employment opportunity and anti-discrimination legislation against an efficiency rationale. More broadly, money is pushed in the direction of policy domains with a high percentage of men and directed away from those domains with a preponderance of women (Connell, 1990, p.536) as both consumers and clients (Borchorst and Siim, 1987). The restructuring of Australian federalism is also implicated in these changes. (See Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8.)

Offe's (1984) suggestion that corporatism is the most likely left-technocratic policy response to the end of the post-war boom is also relevant here. Corporatism within the economic policy sphere usually pulls together the peak councils of labour and capital with government. Each of these institutions is dominated by men and is concerned with economic policy narrowly defined as work in the public productive sphere. In this way women (and the unemployed and so on) may be construed as the policy "other" (Yeatman, 1990a). Hernes (1987, p.75), writing about the Scandinavian 'corporate redistributive state', argues that, 'Corporatism as a mode of interest intermediation, redistribution and policy formation is a male world of civil servants, organisational leaders and technical-professional experts which defines an ever increasing part of the public interest'. As indicated earlier, she also notes women's substantial dependence upon the corporatist state as employees, clients and consumers. Yet the corporatist mode of interest intermediation within the state means that women's status in those spheres is defined largely by men, which Hernes (1987, p.77) argues indicates a lesser citizenship status for women. Thus, in respect of these points, she is able to conclude that: 'The very narrow representational base of interest representation which corporatism implies underlines and strengthens power inequalities between women and men' (1987, p.76). In that way, women are constructed largely as policy takers, rather than policy makers. Johnson (1990) has proffered a similar argument with respect to corporatist approaches by Labor governments in Australia.

The position taken in this thesis is that corporatism is much preferable to new right approaches to the contemporary crisis of the liberal democratic state. The problems alluded to above may not be endemic to corporatism, but rather may be the result of the masculinist cultures of unions, government and business and as such reflect the character of the societal gender order. What is required, however, is a concerted effort to broaden the nature of interest representation amongst both policy makers and policy takers, in Offe's sense of the terms. There will be ongoing struggles around such an agenda because of the tasks that the state has to manage with respect to accumulation and legitimation. The unions in Australia are now at least cognisant of the need to modify their masculinist cultures and attempt to meet the needs of women workers and must do so to ensure their long term future and to contribute towards the creation of a democratic, representative and non-patriarchal welfare state. Certainly up until now, the role of male dominated unions in supporting concepts such as the family wage and particular definitions of skills have been intimately implicated in the subordination of women.

Feminist accounts make us aware of the gendered nature of the pressures upon the state. Both accumulation and legitimation pressures are gendered. Indeed, the changing Australian federal state which is one topic of this research, has reframed the rationales for gender equity policies generally, and in relation to schooling, from a largely political and legitimation emphasis to one framed more by an accumulation and wastage of talent argument, rather than one grounded in a liberal rights perspective. The internal structure of the state is gendered in terms of the segmentation of women's policy units and in terms of both the divisions of labour and power. The state manifests a patriarchal gender regime. The practices and hierarchy of the bureaucratic structure also resonate with a dominant masculinity. The state is, as Connell (1990, p.519) asserts, a significant institutionalisation of gendered power in society, forming one powerful component of the societal gender order. As such, the state must remain one important focus of feminist politics. Thus, while until now the state has been patriarchal in its structures and practices, and in terms of the politics it pulls onto policy agendas and the policy outputs it produces, it is a focus of feminist politics, both within and upon it. Consequently, the state must also be viewed historically and in terms of its changing dynamic.

The creation of women's policy machinery within the Australian state since the seventies has resulted in the emergence of positions within the bureaucracy responsible for such policy. Such positions have been filled by women, with a commitment to feminism

being a requirement of appointment. In Australia, those holding such positions have been classified as "femocrats". The Chapter now turns to a consideration of femocrats as a way of introducing some individual agency into state accounts. An understanding of such agency is central to a conceptualisation of policy production within the state. A consideration of the femocrat position also illuminates further the gendered character of the state and its practices. Further, some understanding of the femocrat role is important to an analysis of the case study in gender equity politics in schooling, which is the empirical focus of this research.

3.4 FEMOCRATS

The term "femocrat" is an Australian neologism which emerged in the late seventies and early eighties to refer to the feminist strategy of entering the state and seeking improvements for women through state structures and policies. As a number of commentators have noted, this strategy reflected the statism of Australian political culture (Eisenstein, 1991; Franzway, Court and Connell, 1989). Indeed, Eisenstein (1991) notes how the femocrat strategy reflected those aspects of Australian politics, while the early development of women's studies courses in American Universities emerged from that different political culture.

Many commentators have also pointed out the significance to the femocrat strategy in Australia of the historical coincidence of the second wave of the women's movement and the election in 1972 of a reformist Labor government under the leadership of Gough Whitlam (Lynch, 1984; Dowse, 1988; Ryan, 1990; Franzway, Court and Connell, 1989; Sawyer, 1990; Eisenstein, 1991). The Women's Electoral Lobby (WEL), one institutionalisation of the women's movement formed at that time, also pursued a state-centric political strategy. The impact of that strategy upon the Australian state, including particularly the creation of women's policy machinery at all levels and gender equity policies, will be considered in Chapter 9. Sawyer (1990) has outlined in some detail the emergence of such policy machinery in Australia since the seventies. The femocrat strategy, however, is just one of a number of potential feminist political interventions.

Eisenstein (1991, pp.40–41) creates a tentative typology of such feminist political interventions. These are shown in Table 3.1. All can be applied to the state and indicate possible feminist strategies therein. The bureaucratic-individual strategy is that of the lone

feminist entering the bureaucracy and articulating a feminist politics. The bureaucratic-structural strategy is that which results in the creation of new structures geared to formulate policies for the benefit of women. Femocrat has been utilised to refer to women who work in such units and for whom their feminism is a requirement of appointment to the position (Yeatman, 1990a). Yeatman (1990a) refers to this situation as involving the professionalisation of feminism. Some speak of official or state feminism (Eisenstein, 1991). The establishment of such positions has granted some women entrance to the senior levels of some bureaucratic arms of the state. Legal reform, including equal employment opportunity and anti-discrimination legislation, has been another focus of feminist strategy, usually managed by femocrats within the state. Feminists have also pursued their political objectives by seeking political leadership roles within government. Susan Ryan, Minister for Education in the Hawke Labor government (1983-1987), is a good case in point. The final feminist political intervention considered by Eisenstein (1991) is that of creating alternative structures. Here she lists women's refuges and rape crisis centres. Often these structures form part of the 'other state' (Beilharz, Considine and Watts, 1992, p.57) and are dependent to some extent upon state funding and to a considerable extent upon the voluntary labour of women.

Most usually then, femocrat is used to refer to women who work in women's or girls' policy units within the state bureaucracy, which have resulted from successful feminist political pressures upon the state. Yeatman (1990a, p.67) argues that there are four defining features of femocrat positions. These include a commitment to feminism as a requirement of such positions, which are located within the full-time, primary labour market. Such positions are also based upon the assumption that incumbents will have 'relative freedom from domestic labour' and the capacity to establish their own class positions. Yeatman (1990a) suggests that such a definition means more female workers come under the femocrat category than just those who work within women's policy units within the state. She includes women 'who staff women's community health centres, rape crisis centres, and women's refuges' (p.67) and also feminist academics. Franzway, Court and Connell (1989, p.134) argue that the application of femocrat is now being extended to include any female bureaucrats with a feminist perspective 'who seek to work on behalf of women whatever their position'.

TABLE 3.1

A TYPOLOGY OF FEMINIST POLITICAL INTERVENTIONS

CATEGORY	TYPE OF INTERVENTION
1. Bureaucratic-Individual	Entering the State Bureaucracy as a Self-Identified Feminist
2. Bureaucratic-Structural	Creating New Structures Within State Bureaucracy or Other Organisations to Benefit Women
3. Legal Reform	Introducing or Revising Legislation to Benefit Women
4. Political Participation in a Leadership Role	Standing for Political Office as Self-Proclaimed Feminist
5. Alternative Structures	Establishing Feminist Organisations Outside of the Mainstream and Existing Organisations (e.g. Women's Refuges)

Adapted from EISENSTEIN, H.(1991) Gender Shock: Practising Feminism on Two Continents, Sydney, Allen and Unwin, pp.40-41.

Yeatman (1990a, ch.4) has provided a tentative, if somewhat categorical (Connell, 1977, p.4) and 'commatised' (O'Brien, 1984) account of the way class, gender and ethnicity may be seen to articulate with each other, particularly in relation to the state. She acknowledges, however, that this aspect of her work is exploratory. It will be considered briefly here because of the centrality of femocrats to the research.

Yeatman (1990a, p.70) begins from the assumption that there are a 'plurality of effective claims on the social surplus which arise from a plurality of exploitative class relationships'. She then goes on to establish seven criteria for considering that plurality of class relationships. The first concerns the possession or otherwise of capital assets, while the second and third relate to the possession or not of organisational and cultural capital. The fourth criterion is the capacity to exploit 'primary labour market assets' (p.71). These four criteria are classified as economic class relationships. The subsequent three take account of gender, race and ethnicity, with the fifth criterion referring to the possession of gender assets or capital, while the sixth acknowledges racial and/or ethnic assets. The seventh and final criterion moves into the international context by considering imperial/metropolitan assets. Yeatman argues that progressive social struggles result from

the mobilisation of those who are negatively positioned with respect to the seven types of assets.

Thus in analysing the class position of femocrats, Yeatman suggests that while they are negatively placed with respect to gender assets, they are most often positively placed in relation to organisational and cultural capital and in terms of primary labour market assets, as well as in relation to race and ethnicity. Pusey's (1991) study of the Senior Executive Service within the Commonwealth bureaucracy has shown that the most powerful bureaucrats are most often positively positioned with respect to organisational, cultural, labour market, gender and ethnic/racial assets, and as well, very often come from backgrounds which possessed capital assets. It is in these terms, that Yeatman (1990a, p.67) suggests that femocrats are in a class of their own. She also argues that the effect of such a class position on femocrats' capacities to 'embrace the interests of all women' still requires exploration (p.73).

The nomenclature of "femocrat" is regarded somewhat ambiguously by different groups of women, reflecting the conflicting pressures upon femocrats (Franzway, 1986), and perhaps their idiosyncratic class location as argued by Yeatman (1990a). There are a number of bases for this ambivalent evaluation. The first involves the tension of dual accountability experienced by femocrats between their commitment to the bureaucracy and to women outside of the bureaucracy. As Franzway, Court and Connell (1989, p.160) put it: 'The sting is that their individual power is derived from their location within the state but their access to that location depends on the collective power of the women's movement'. Concerns over appropriate dress constitute another manifestation of that tension (Sawer, 1990). There are also some problems inherent in the distance between femocrats' location within the full-time, professional, primary labour market and the work situations and interests of most women in the paid workforce. Yeatman (1990a, p.81) argues that the policies femocrats are able to achieve within the state are most likely to be in line with the interests of women located within primary labour markets. Other tensions result from the perceived possibility of cooption of feminist ideology by the bureaucracy, the 'bureaucratisation of feminism' according to Franzway, Court and Connell (1989, p.143) and for the potential coopting effect of careerism on femocrats (Lynch, 1984; Franzway, 1986).

Summers (1986) has depicted another tension for femocrats involving the stances of either the mandarin or the missionary within the bureaucracy. She argues there is almost a

direct relationship between the potential to articulate a strong feminism and a marginalised location within a bureaucracy and powerful positions and a weakened capacity for such articulation. As indicated in the section above, that situation is a reflection of the gender segmentation within and across bureaucracies and of the structure of power which form part of the gender regime of the state (Connell, 1987, 1990). The missionaries take a more public proselytising role, while the mandarins attempt to work through correct bureaucratic procedures. Furthermore, while other male bureaucrats regard all femocrats as missionaries, women outside the bureaucracy tend to regard them as mandarins (Sawer, 1990, p.24). Summers (1986) concludes by suggesting that successful pursuit of the femocrat role requires both approaches.

The usefulness of the concept of femocrat to this research lies in its capacity to depict political motivations for female bureaucrats as the basis for strategy inside the state's structures. The justification for femocrat positions is political and consequently femocrat positions differ from most others within the state bureaucracies. Additionally, the concern in the literature on femocrats with the way in which location within, and practices of, the bureaucracy frame the nature of that agency is also very important to understanding the case study in gender equity policy. That mediation is apparent in the conversion by the state bureaucracy of variegated feminist needs-talk into liberal feminist strategies and policies of equal employment and anti-discrimination legislation (Fraser, 1987, 1989; Franzway, Court and Connell, 1989).

An understanding of the femocrat role and the tensions inherent within it adds considerably to an understanding of policy production within the state. In the critique of Offe's theorising provided earlier in this Chapter, his failure to acknowledge the interior of the state as a strategic-relational terrain of policy-making was also noted (Jessop, 1990). A consideration of the femocrat role allows for a concept of agency within the gender differentiated state structure. As such, it draws attention to the significance of the internal dynamics of the liberal democratic state to the whole policy production cycle.

3.5 TOWARDS A SYNTHESIS

This research suggests that a sensitive cojoining of the critiqued version of Offe's theory of policy-making within the liberal democratic state with the emerging feminist approaches provides some effective purchase upon an understanding of state policy

production. In that synthesis, there is also a need to take account of the integration of the Australian nation state within the world economy and how that has contributed to a narrowing and refocussing of state activity, particularly in a time of economic difficulties, and given the economic rationalist approach taken. That synthesis certainly provides insights into the case studies which constitute the "empirical" focus of the research, as will become clearer in Chapters 9, 10 and 11.

As will be shown in Chapter 9 feminists have made policy gains within the Australian state since the seventies. The paradox here is that their political success in gaining access to state policy agendas by becoming political constituencies comes at the same moment as the apparently weakening capacity of the state to respond to their demands. The effect of changed economic circumstances upon the state's "balancing act" also dramatically modifies the manner in which the state responds to democratic pressures. More specifically, the move from a conjunctural to a structural policy rationale across the time focus of this thesis carries considerable significance for feminist politics focused on the state, as will become patently clear in Chapters 9 and 10 when the two policies under focus are analysed.

An important insight from both Offe and feminist theory is the fact that state structure (including for example, federalism) and practices have an impact upon state policy formation. The state does not simply respond to pressures upon it, rather these pressures are mediated by the structure of the state and its practices. Sharp and Broomhill (1988, p.30) make this point thus: 'In the process by which the state translates external demands into policies, one of the key factors influencing the final outcome is the structure of the state itself'. That is an important perception in relation to feminist policies.

Nancy Fraser's (1987, 1989) work on 'the politics of need interpretation' is most instructive here. Fraser writes about the generation of different types of needs talk in the construction of political constituencies by the state. In so doing, she categorises three types of needs talk in state policy discourse, notably, oppositional, expert and reprivatisation. Oppositional needs talk comes "from below" to pressure for a state policy response and at the same time helps to construct a social and political identity for the group articulating the need. Expert needs talk is that articulated by professionals within the state bureaucracy. It is through this expert knowledge and talk that oppositional needs talk is mediated in the process of becoming state policy. That professional needs talk has links with the knowledge bases and ways of seeing of tertiary institutions, is arcane, and as

such, potentially exclusionary in effect. Nonetheless, according to Fraser (1989, p.174), it provides a bridging discourse between social movements and state policy and policy makers, including femocrats. Yeatman (1990a) argues that femocrats represent the professionalisation of feminist political demands upon the state. As such, femocrats mediate oppositional feminist needs talk in the process of policy production.

Reprivatisation need talk is a conservative political response to oppositional talk in an attempt to quarantine and/or reduce political claims upon the state. State responses to political pressures most often result in conflict between the various types of need talk. Suffice to say here, that the state can preempt the creation of oppositional needs talk, and always mediates oppositional needs talk in the move towards the creation of state policy and the simultaneous formalisation of a political constituency. The femocrat political strategy, however, is predicated on the assumption that professional needs talk can still be potentially progressive. Omi and Winant (1986, p.81), in their account of the 'racial state' in the USA, argue that two processes of 'absorption' or 'insulation' occur, which, in effect, make the oppositional needs talk "safe" in its policy manifestation. The state then manages its legitimation concerns through the creation and recognition of separate political constituencies and "safe" needs talk. Most often, as will become clear from the empirical aspect of this research, that talk is formulated within the political discourse of liberalism.

Since the mid-seventies, the reprivatisation needs talk of economic rationalism has attempted to reduce political demands upon the state and has simultaneously argued for priority to be given to accumulation pressures. In the process, the coordinating capacity of the state has been weakened in favour of that other such steering mechanism within advanced societies, the market (Pusey, 1991). As Offe notes, problems in the state's policy context become problems for the state's structure. Since the eighties, in response to economic and ideological pressures, there has been a managerialist restructuring of the state, as well as a reworking of the operation of federalism. Yeatman (1990a) argues cogently that this new managerialism has been the Trojan horse through which the state has attempted to contain political pressures from the new social movements, including feminist ones.

A synthesis of a modified version of Offe's theory, which takes account of the weaknesses outlined earlier in this Chapter, with insights from the feminist approaches considered above, moves us towards an adequate theory of policy-making within the state. Such an account must acknowledge the gendered character of our State and its practices.

This synthesis, as will be shown, also provides some purchase on the accounts of two pieces of policy-making within the state which are the empirical focus of this research. Such a theory would acknowledge that both accumulation practices and politics within the state are gendered, as well as classed processes, while state policies also have differential gendered and classed impacts. It would also recognise the way over time changes in the accumulation process impact upon the state and frame its policy possibilities. While recognising the way the state's structures, both bureaucratic and political, frame what gets onto the policy agenda and how policy is formulated and implemented, attention also needs to be given to the internal complexity and differentiation of the state, including its gender regime. Further, Jessop's (1990) conception of the state structure as a terrain of policy strategy, along with femocrat notions of policy agency, need to be factored into Offe's more structural account. This is particularly necessary, given the policies focused upon in this research and the political rationale and motivation for femocratic practice.

While a general theory of the liberal democratic state has been attempted in this Chapter, an understanding of the workings of a specific state requires consideration to be given to the historical, cultural, economic and political idiosyncracies of that state. It is to a consideration of the specific characteristics of the Australian state, and to developments within it, that this research now turns in the following Chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SPECIFIC CHARACTER OF THE AUSTRALIAN STATE: PAST AND PRESENT

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous Chapter offered a theory of the liberal–democratic state through a synthesis of a modification of Offe's approach with a feminist one. This Chapter moves from such abstract theorising to consider the specific nature of the Australian state as an idiosyncratic manifestation of liberal democracy. This is the case because while all states within liberal democracies have much in common, each has its own political and economic history. Further, each has an idiosyncratic relationship to world politics and economy. Thus, for example, while one is able to speak of the Keynesian settlement within most liberal democracies across the postwar boom period, that settlement was played out in different ways in different nation states. Current approaches and options to policy within the state are framed by these past practices. The same is true structurally with regard to the organisation of the state. It is for these reasons that this Chapter provides an historical sociology of the Australian state. Such an understanding is important to an analysis of the state in contemporary Australia and the way it frames educational policy.

The Chapter develops this historical sociology in a number of ways. Initially, the historical legacies, both foundational and colonial, what Pusey (1988, p.24) has called the 'birthmarks' of the Australian state are considered. So-called 'colonial socialism' (Pincus, 1987) will be one salient focus, as will the importance of a Benthamite utilitarianism which underpinned the creation of an interventionist state (Collins, 1985).

Next, some consideration is given to the role of the state in the creation of the specifically Australian 'domestic defence' settlement (protection, conciliation and arbitration, restrictive migration policy, residual welfare provisions) (Castles, 1988), which emerged out of the 1890s depression and structural features of society at the time. In this section of the Chapter, which considers the period up to the second world war, some attention also will be given to the humanitarian liberalism of the decade after federation and to the subsequent impact of the 1930s depression on the Australian state and public policy.

The development of the Australian welfare state (Watts, 1987) and the acceptance of a Keynesian orthodoxy (Freeland, 1986; Castles, 1988), albeit of a fairly conservative bent, from around the time of the second world war until the end of the Whitlam period will then be considered. This development builds upon the domestic defence strategy within a Keynesian welfare state framework. While the earlier approach emphasised "fair" wage levels, the latter one stressed full employment, following the experience of the 1930s depression and the abandonment of full wage indexation in 1953.

The changes in the Australian state in the period from Whitlam to Hawke will be documented and analysed with particular emphasis given to the Hawke period. These are the changes succinctly encapsulated in Pusey's (1991) words as a nation-building state changes its mind, and characterised by Castles (1988) as Australia being caught between the historical compromises of 'domestic defence' and 'domestic compensation', as the state is more closely incorporated into the Australian economic "system", which in turn is more closely integrated into the global economy (Pusey, 1991; Jennett and Stewart, 1990; Camilleri, 1986; Cerny, 1990). It is those resulting changes in the Australian state (including federalism and bureaucratic organisation) which surround the developments in educational policy which are the specific empirical focus of this research.

This Chapter outlines and analyses the historical legacies of the structure and practices of the liberal democratic state in Australia as background to understanding the changes under Hawke Labor. In so doing, it also provides an account of the state and the gender order. More specifically, it sets the context for the following four Chapters which consider more recent changes in the internal structure of the federal state, firstly, the corporate managerialist revolution in administrative structures and practices, and secondly, modifications to the operation of federalism.

4.2 THE FOUNDATIONAL AND COLONIAL LEGACIES, DOMESTIC DEFENCE AND THE AUSTRALIAN STATE UNTIL WORLD WAR TWO

Many commentators have noted the statist nature of Australian culture (for example, Pusey, 1988, 1991; Austin, 1984; Rosecrance, 1964; Encel, 1960, 1968, 1970; Davies, 1958). In his well known and much quoted observation, Davies (1958) noted the characteristic talent of Australians for bureaucracy, while Encel (1960, 1970) pointed out the 'bureaucratic ascendancy' within the political culture. Indeed, what we had from the

European outset in Australia was a modern, nation-building state (Pusey, 1988, 1991; Painter, 1987; MacIntyre, 1985; Davidson, 1991). Similarly, Davis et al (1988, p.15) argue that from the time of the European invasion Australia did not have a 'minimalist state', and as such classical liberalism was never manifest in political practice here. Thus they suggest that: 'While other nations recall their laissez-faire past, the important concerns for Australians were always about the most appropriate projects for an interventionist state' (Davies et al, 1988, p.28).

In this way, Pusey (1988, 1991) points out the distinctiveness (historically) of Australia's 'strong' or even 'dominant' state (Krasner, 1978) and statist culture, at least in terms of internal relations. He contrasts that situation with what Nettl (1968) has called the great stateless societies of Britain and the USA and their encompassing 'intellectual statelessness'. It is this reality which requires a focus on, and analysis of, the state as a central component of Australian sociology (Encel, 1960; Austin, 1984, p.178; Pusey, 1988, 1991).

Pusey (1991, pp.9-10) notes that developed societies such as Australia are coordinated through two steering mechanisms, namely the state and/or the market, with a balancing line between the two defining social democracy. These are the tensions and dynamics between economic liberalism and social protection or social democracy which characterise the modern state (Polanyi, 1944; Beilharz, Considine, Watts, 1992).

Pusey also points out that from the eighteenth century specific states within the developed nations have existed along a continuum of types. This continuum extends from the 'continental European end', where the state is 'the embodiment of ethics, reason, and collective will' (for example the Hegelian state) to the 'Anglophone, libertarian and Mayflower end', where the state is conceptualised as the major impediment to freedom for individuals and to holding property, and also as a constraint on the pursuit of happiness (Pusey, 1991, p.14). Australia from foundation sits closer towards the 'continental European end' of this spectrum, but significantly without the metaphysical and intellectual justifications of the continental European states, for Australia has always been a distinctively Benthamite and utilitarian society (Collins, 1985), pursuing an 'ascetic realism' (Pusey, 1991, p.232) and 'practical materialism' (Rosecrance, 1964, p.284) through an interventionist state.

In 1788, Euro-Australia was thus 'born modern' (Rosecrance, 1964) and was subsequently nurtured as modern throughout the nineteenth century, with an interventionist

state as the most important societal steering mechanism, particularly in relation to the construction of the infrastructure necessary to the nascent economy (Painter, 1987, pp.16–22). This situation was in contrast to a liberal state model which was emerging in Britain at the time the Australian 'fragment' (Hartz, 1964) was formed. Thus Rosecrance (1964, p.310) acutely observes that, 'Born modern, Australians believed that the state far from encroaching upon individual rights, would be the most likely protector of rights against other agencies of social coercion'. Hence, in a fashion distinct from the disposition of classical European liberals, Australians believed that 'the major constraints on individual liberty were not public, but private' in character (Rosecrance, 1964, p.310). It is, of course, that cultural norm which has come under strong attack from the new right and economic liberals in Australia since the end of the post-war boom in the mid-seventies.

The convict and military colony from 1788 manifested a strong state with little or, initially, no, distinction between the state and civil society (Davidson, 1991). Indeed, as Castles (1988, p.78) points out, the colonial state created civil society. What Australia began with politically was a 'gubernatorial military government in a penal colony' (Pusey, 1988, p.24). However, the brutality of that "settlement" (Hughes, 1987) ensured, when the time came, that the establishment of 'new structures of government' became a necessary 'precondition for independence', for the 'legitimacy of the old order' (meaning British) had been destroyed (Pusey, 1988, p.26). The development of later bureaucratic administrative structures, though, were 'forever impregnated' with the heritage of the colony's past as a jail (Davidson, 1991, p.30).

Clearly, European-Australia was not founded by individuals fleeing religious persecution and seeking new freedoms in a new country, as was the case with the USA. Indeed, the earliest European Australians 'were about as far estranged from the liberal American idea of the intimate self-governing community as any English-speaking population ever could be' (Pusey, 1988, p.25). It was the case that prior to the gold rushes of the 1850s Australia was not peopled by 'ambitious self-reliant individuals' (Rosecrance, 1964, p.282). In contrast to the situation in the USA, the Australian colony depended upon the state for its very existence and subsequently continued to do so for the creation of a European nation throughout the nineteenth century. As Aitkin (1984, p.176) acknowledges, the Australian state was 'centralised, omni-competent and authoritative' from the beginning, a perception supported strongly by Davidson (1991) in his recent study of the formation of the Australian state across the nineteenth century.

There are other factors in Australian's nineteenth century experience which contributed to the statist nature of Australian political culture. Hartz's (1964) 'fragment' thesis, despite some of its obvious shortcomings (Hodge and Mishra, 1990; Bolton, 1973; Pusey, 1991, pp.216 ff; Collins, 1985), particularly its "static" and non-dialectical notion of historical development, provides some useful insights into the emergence of this strong state. Perhaps reflecting the time at which he was writing, Hartz however neglects the centrality of the destruction of Aboriginal people, their society and culture and the ideology of the Australian continent as *terra nullius* to the establishment of the colonial fragment. Sovereignty over the content was assumed from the European beginnings, a necessary condition to the establishments of a modern nation state. However, as noted by Davidson (1991, p.241), it was with federation that the Australian state actually reached 'the physical borders of the content'. By the latter part of the nineteenth century, a strong state was obviously manifest in "relationships" with Aborigines.

Additionally, Hartz sees the Australian political culture and the role of the state as atrophying from the time of its extrication from Britain. As such, he fails to see the changing impact of each new set of migrants or fragments right through until the present (Hodge and Mishra, 1990, p.180). Australia's changing relationships with the metropolitan centres, in both cultural and economic ways, has had an ongoing impact upon politics and the nature of the state. Indeed, one important premise of this Chapter is the importance of history and change to an understanding of contemporary politics surrounding the state. Hartz (1964) overplays the fixity of the fragment ideology and society once it has been extricated from the centre.

The central tenet of Hartz's thesis is that the historical moment at which any fragment colony was extricated from the imperial parent has a significant and enduring impact upon developments within the colonial fragment. Thus he hypothesises that the moment of "settlement" of the USA, for example, saw the development of a new 'liberal conservative' fragment (p.6), while in contrast the later moment of the creation of the Australian fragment saw the emergence of a 'radical conservatism' (p.6). The ideas of Locke were significant to US developments, while those of Cobbett more relevant in Australia (Hartz, 1964). In a sense, the nature and strength of each fragment ideology also reflects what Hartz perceives to be the lack of an entrenched past and the cultural unity of the colony, as opposed to the tensions resulting from the "burden" of history and the plurality within the culture of the coloniser. Furthermore, Hartz asserts that because the

colonial fragment is torn from the internal conflicts and subsequent developments of the parent nation, there develops a conservative element to what in many other respects is the progressive nature of the colonial fragment. This is the atrophy of political ideology to which he refers. Specifically, he argues that the 'easy triumph of the Labour (sic) spirit in Australia' saw a rejection of the doctrinaire edge of European socialism and a related 'distrust of the theoretical mind' (p.42). Australia was the colonial fragment created at the moment of Chartism and prior to the emergence of doctrinaire socialism. Thus, what was evinced in the Australian fragment was a more 'pragmatic radicalism', which in a utilitarian manner looked to the state for sustenance.

Rosecrance (1964, p.275), who specifically applies the "Hartzian" thesis to the Australian fragment, in a variation of Blainey's (1966) later 'tyranny of distance' thesis, argues that the isolation of the colony from the 'main streams of European culture' meant that Australia was destined to find its 'political and social tendencies immanent in the foundation population'. Australia's uniqueness, he suggests, stems from its settlement by an idiosyncratic fragment of British society at a time of social and political ferment in Britain precipitated by the industrial revolution and the emergent class structure attendant upon it. That fragment, he avers, was basically a slice of the British working class who had been influenced by the Chartists and their political manifesto for universal "manhood" (sic) suffrage and reforms to the factory system through parliamentary representation and support for education to support these developments.

The lack of a feudal past and an hereditary aristocracy and 'the apparent plasticity of society' (Macintyre, 1985, p.17), combined with the social composition of Australian society, precipitated the view that there were no serious impediments to reform in the colonial fragment. Hence, as has been noted by Hancock (1930, p.71) and others (Collins, 1985, p.151), within a decade of the gold rushes the entire Chartist program of reform had been achieved in the colonies. The early extension of the franchise was important in that achievement. This apparently easy success was also in no part due to the strong, intrusive, interventionist state 'delivered' to the colonial democrats as part of the foundational heritage (Collins, 1985, p.151).

Collins' (1985) persuasive argument that Australia is a distinctively Benthamite utilitarian society adds an important insight and corrective to the fragment thesis (pp.165–166). It also adds to our understanding of the historical development of the Australian state. Collins suggests that the moment of "settlement", and the nature of the emerging

free colony after the Bigge Report of 1819, encouraged the wide spread acceptance of a Benthamite ideology with its stress on utilitarianism, legalism and positivism (p.148). The political reformers of the second half of the nineteenth century, including liberal merchants, lawyers and emancipists (Pusey, 1988) were bearers of this ideology. It is on this point that Rosecrance (1964, p.290) insists that Marx was wrong about Australia at the time, for the controllers of economic power, the squatters, were clearly not the holders of political power (Davidson, 1991; Castles, 1988).

In an insightful study, Davidson (1991) has documented the rise of legalism as coterminous with the development of the Australian state. He shows quite conclusively how the coalition of lawyers and squatters which drew up the colonial Constitutions instituted representative, rather than responsible government, because the final interpretation of those Constitutions lay with the judiciary, not the people. He also stresses how from that time it was the wording of those Constitutions, rather than their spirit, which was of major importance, a manifestation of a positivistic legalism. The sovereignty of the law, rather than the sovereignty of the people was established. Davidson (1991) analyses the enormous influence of the lawyers in both the construction of the Constitutional frames for the emerging state and in the colonial legislatures. According to Davidson (1991)

The effect of the dominance of the judiciary and legal reason in politics – and its expressly recognised corollary that there was no responsible government in the colonies – was the creation of a peculiar Australian political style, a particular view, of what it was to act politically. (p.190)

He goes on to show how this situation was reproduced with the construction of the federal state after 1901, where the earlier preeminent colonial judiciary was now complemented by a preeminent one at the Commonwealth level (p.241), which had in the High Court the responsibility for interpreting the validity of government legislation when challenged. Davidson (1991, p.190) thus shows how, unlike the situation resulting from the 1689 "revolution" in England, the 1789 revolution in France, or the American assertion of independence in 1776, 'the people' had not emerged in an active role in either the creation of the Australian state or of responsible government. Rather, in the Australian context, 'the people' were 'accorded a passive role by both the administration and the judiciary, as recipients of their decisions' (Davidson, 1991, p.190). It is in that way that Davidson (1991) is able to speak of an 'invisible state', referring to the way in which the 'cement' of state structures lies in a hidden legalism, rather than with the consent of the people.

Collins (1985) goes on to argue that these Benthamite utilitarian characteristics (including legalism) were manifest in the emerging political structures of the nineteenth century and have, indeed, remained pervasive to the present. These traits were significant in the instigation of an interventionist state, but one which was justified on utilitarian grounds. They were also important in the development of politics as both the 'pursuit of interest' and a contest between interests, rather than a 'genuine battle of ideas' (Collins, 1985, p.155). Australia's characteristic talent for bureaucracy can be understood against this backdrop of Benthamite utilitarianism, as can the nature of federation in 1901, which, Collins notes (p.152), was more a matter of convenience than of conviction or great ideological justification. It was also, in some senses, a playing out of the pervasive legalism within Australian political culture (Davidson, 1991).

Pusey (1988) has argued that utilitarianism catalysed a specifically instrumental perception of the state. Thus he postulates that:

..this pragmatic, utilitarian and materialist strain of liberalism cast the state as a neutral instrument for the efficient organisation of the economic, political and legal-administrative structures of society. (1988, p.28)

Encel (1968, p.44) conceptualises the Australian state as a machine available for manipulation by various interest groups, rather than as geared to the achievement of the good life or the collective will. Rosecrance (1964, pp.296-297) likewise suggests that the emergence of nationalism prior to the creation of the federal state, and given nationalism's social basis, that such a state was not to be 'the embodiment of the nation', but rather 'it was the nation's tool', a clear explication of the significance of utilitarianism within Australian political culture.

The penchant within Australian politics for statutory authorities and a whole plethora of quasi-autonomous government and semi-judicial organisations can also be understood against this backdrop. The creation of a centralised system of industrial arbitration and conciliation in the first decade of the twentieth century is one specific manifestation of this characteristic. That situation of statutory authorities and so on (along with the increasing complexity of government) ensured a more "political" function for Australian bureaucrats, than envisaged (but rarely practised) in the Whitehall model of the minister determining policy and the bureaucrat simply implementing it.

Thus, Collins argues that the radical fragment with a 'mild', non-doctrinaire socialism as suggested by Hartz (1964) and Rosecrance (1964) alike, is more aptly characterised as an interventionist state justified by Benthamite utilitarianism, encouraged

by the nature of the nineteenth century population and by social and economic conditions in Australia at that time. Presumably, he would make the same comment in relation to the observations by Frenchman, Metin, in 1901 with his 'socialism without doctrines' description of the Australian state and politics, and to Eggleston's (1932) and Hancock's (1930) well-known characterisation of Australian politics as 'state socialism'. While there appears to be veracity in Collins' argument, as McQueen (1970, pp.194–195) observes, many participants in the political process at the time were prepared to call this instrumental state interventionism, "socialism".

The nature of the nineteenth century economy almost ensured an interventionist state (Painter, 1987). This built upon the foundation heritage and was necessitated further by both the isolation of Australia as a European outpost in an Asian environment and the huge interior distances which exacerbated the costs of the provision of both social and economic infrastructure. Blainey's tyranny of distance has been one factor in the development of an interventionist state. The smallness, orientation, dependency and vulnerability of the Australian economy were also contributing factors in this respect (Castles, 1988), as was the lateness of industrialisation (Encel, 1960), at least in relation to Britain and France, and the highly urbanised population and early emergence of organised labour (Macintyre, 1985; Castles, 1988; Pusey, 1991). The early capitalist mode of rural production was also of significance (Castles, 1988), while the rural labourers it employed were central to the development of the male "mateship" myth (Ward, 1966), which excluded women, Aborigines and the Chinese from its purview (Smith, 1980). Ward (1966) suggests that the frontier experience of the rural working class resulted in a more collectivist 'mateship' ideology, than had been the case in the United States where the frontier experience spawned a much more individualistic culture.

According to Painter (1987, p.18), this state intervention took a number of forms from the middle of the nineteenth century, notably, administration of crown lands, support for immigration, investment in economic infrastructure (particularly railways, roads and ports), and a variety of incentives for different groups of capitalists. Painter's study of the emerging state and bureaucratic structures in the colonies of New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia indicates how in the period prior to the 1890s the colonial governments were largely preoccupied with the provision of physical and economic services.

Education, or "public instruction" was a feature of these administrations from the time of the passing of the "free, compulsory, and secular" education acts of the latter part of the nineteenth century. Education, as with other services, was provided and administered by highly centralised departments in each of the capital cities of the colonies, framed by the legal-rationality as recommended by the 1854 Northcote Trevelyan Report on the British civil service. The professionalisation of that service was a post-world war two phenomenon, although around the turn of the century some of the state bureaucracies attempted to reform themselves (Connell and Irving, 1980, p.214). The education provided was very much of a utilitarian and positivist kind (Davidson, 1991).

Extensive government or state interventionism was supported by capital (and all of its fractions) and labour alike. Indeed, state investments in the economy exceeded private ones until the 1930s (Butlin, Barnard and Pincus, 1982). Prior to federation, colonial governments secured about half of the inflow of foreign capital and accounted for about forty percent of domestic capital formation (Evatt Research Centre, 1989, p.4). These governments also conducted the largest enterprises in the economy, while employing about five percent of the workforce and generating six percent of GDP (Evatt Research Centre, 1989, p.4). Arguably, without such state intervention, the Australian economy would have developed as a 'poor Third World "comprador" economy' (Pusey, 1988, p.30).

The state's 'equal cosponsorship' with private production points up the specific idiosyncrasies of the Australian state until the 1930s, which fly in the face of much theoretical characterisation of the liberal democratic state of that time. Thus, Pusey (1988) persuasively demonstrates how Offe's (1975) thesis, that the liberal democratic state is excluded from economic production and largely has a maintenance function in relation to it, does not apply to the Australian state across this time period, when the state played an economically productive role. In nineteenth century Australia, in contrast to the situation in the United States, the state led and capital followed (Pusey, 1988, p.31). It is that situation which has spawned the description of politics and the state in the nineteenth century as 'colonial socialism' (Butlin, Barnard and Pincus, 1982; Pincus, 1987; Evatt Research Centre, 1989).

With federation, the new Australian federal state still bore the markings of its colonial heritage. However, the first decade of federation saw a refocussing of state policy away from the provision of economic infrastructure towards the mediation of interests, and the creation of the 'domestic defence settlement' (Castles, 1988), which remained

significant until the 1970s. To understand this reorientation some consideration must be given to the industrial disputation of the 1890s (Macintyre, 1985), and to a number of structural features of Australian society at that time (Castles, 1988).

The liberal progressive and interventionist nature of the Australian state from the 1850s to the last decade of the century reflected many of the characteristics of society across that time which have been outlined to this point. The nature and buoyancy of the economy were also important in precipitating this economically interventionist state. The shortage of labour ensured relatively high wages, while government legislation provided some protection of wage and working conditions (Macintyre, 1985).

The depression of the 1890s saw the reduction of export earnings and of British investment and the related reductions in wages, increases in unemployment and industrial strikes, and the subsequent 'routing' of the unions in the period 1890–1894 (Macintyre, 1985, p.51). As a consequence, industrial labour looked to the strategy of political representation through the Labor Party and the utilisation of the state to achieve the desired security of employment and 'basic wage' (Rowse, 1978; Connell and Irving, 1980; Macintyre, 1985), a strategy which sought to ameliorate the negative effects of capitalism through the emerging practices of conciliation and arbitration and residual welfarism, rather than to overthrow it (Macintyre, 1985, p.51). Such a strategy was also supported by liberal lawyers of the period such as Deakin and Higgins, who occupied the middle ground between Labor and the political representatives of capital, and who were to have significant impacts upon federal politics in its first decade. This perception of the state as the neutral mediator of interests, of course, had its roots in the practices of the colonial past and its accompanying Benthamite utilitarianism, and was accepted to a lesser or greater degree by both the right and the left of Australian politics.

This political intervention by Labor, combined with the divisions between the free trade and rural and protectionist and manufacturing arms of capital, resulted in the emergence of a number of new state institutions and practices which were to remain of enduring influence for much of the twentieth century. These new state institutions and practices built, however, on the colonial heritage of an interventionist state justified on utilitarian grounds. As Pusey (1988, p.25) notes, the period from penal times to the 1890s depression shaped the ethos and structure of the Australian state.

This late nineteenth century context provided fertile ground for the new (or social) liberalism of T.H. Green (Rowse, 1978), which perceived state intervention as necessary to

individual freedoms, rather than a constraint upon them, a central tenet of laissez-faire liberalism (and, of course of more recent new right ideology). Professor Francis Anderson of Sydney University (1887–1921), and a "disciple" of Green's, was a ready purveyor of this ideology within the colony, where it was practised by embryonic Labor politicians and ameliorist liberals alike, particularly in the first decade after federation. Anderson (1911) suggested that this conceptualisation of the state eschewed both laissez-faire liberalism and socialism of the dogmatic kind. (See Rowse, 1978; Castles, 1988, ch.6.) While as Macintyre (1985, p.53) points out, Australians were not enamoured of theoretical niceties, the political practices in the new federation grew out of such new liberal assumptions which saw the state as central to progress, to the creation of positive freedoms and to the achievement of some distributive justice.

Both Macintyre (1985) and Castles (1988) show how the humanitarian liberalism of the Deakinite protectionists, and the creation of the New Protectionism with the 1907 Harvester Judgement of Justice Higgins, reflected both the statist strategy pursued by Labor and the division between the free traders and protectionists on the political right, with neither group being able to sustain a political majority within the new federal parliament. All of this was framed by the dominant utilitarian conception of the state.

From Labor's pursuit of the parliamentary road following the industrial defeats of the early 1890s, they had sought state intervention to ensure a living wage and an acceptable standards of living for all. The creation of conciliation and arbitration boards was a resulting political achievement, one which tells us much about the utilitarian distinctiveness of the Australian state (Rosecrance, 1964, p.308). The liberal protectionists, particularly based in Victorian manufacturing, supported tariff protection for the local industry. Most groups, but particularly Labor and the protectionists, supported a restrictive immigration policy, manifest in the racist White Australia Policy, one of the first pieces of legislation passed by the new federal government, so as to protect wage levels, standards of living and British heritage. The White Australia Policy was the new protection 'writ large' according to Macintyre (1985, p.54). It also served as a unifying ideology, cutting across class boundaries (Davidson, 1991).

The fact that the liberal protectionists required Labor support to have a majority in the federal parliament resulted in the development of a nexus between tariff protection and a guaranteed fair wage for Australian workers. This was initially guaranteed in the Excise Tariff (Agricultural Machinery) Act of 1906, which acknowledged the *quid pro quo* for

protection was the guarantee of a 'fair and reasonable' wage for all workers. It fell to Justice Higgins in the 1907 Harvester Judgement to define such a wage. In this judgement, Higgins defined a 'fair wage' as a 'family wage' which was to support a man, his dependent (sic) wife and three dependent children. This decision institutionalised patriarchal notions of female dependence and assumed the stability of the family, while legitimating a male/female wage differential which continued through until the 1970s. While a subsequent High Court judgement found against the 1906 Act, the notion of a basic wage and the role of Conciliation and Arbitration became central to Australian life from that time and particularly dominant shibboleths within the Labor side of politics. It also should be noted that the idea of wage determination according to need and fairness decommodified such practice.

From that time on: 'Governments were expected to pursue policies of national development, safeguard industry and maintain tariff walls high enough to protect domestic wage levels' (Macintyre, 1985, p.56). The conflict between labour and capital endemic to capitalism was institutionalised in the Conciliation and Arbitration Commissions at State and Commonwealth levels, while these agencies were 'cemented into the structures of the Australian State' (Pusey, 1991, p.34). Arbitration was built into the Australian Constitution. This was just one manifestation of the Australian penchant for statutory authorities with some autonomy from government and politics narrowly defined. As has been noted to this point, this perception that 'the state is a more reliable guardian of the common good than private interests or their political representatives' (Pusey, 1988, p.42) had its beginnings in the colonial experience.

The period of liberal protectionist/Labor coalitions also saw the development of an embryonic welfare state (for example, old age and invalid pensions, maternity allowances), along with the implementation of universal suffrage. The collapse of this political alliance with the achievement of a majority Labor government in 1910 resulted in a fusing of the free traders and protectionists into one conservative political force. Thus from that time we have the basic structure of Australian parliamentary politics through to the present day, consequently with greater political difficulties for Labor to achieve progressive goals. Castles (1988, p.124) argues that the new protectionist settlement arrived at by the liberal/Labor alliance guaranteed simultaneously rural prosperity and social peace in the cities through full employment and a high standard of living. As a consequence, he notes,

that the healing of the protection/free trade division amongst the political representatives of capital was now possible.

With respect to the new protection and humanitarian liberal settlement achieved after federation, analysts of this period are either sanguine about the achievements of Labor (Castles, 1988), or perceive it more negatively as the acceptance of capitalism (Rowse, 1978) and indicating a narrow 'labourist' ideology (Connell and Irving, 1980). Thus, for instance, Rowse (1978, p.40) argues that the new liberalism was the dominant ideology through which the ruling class accommodated the strengths of the political arm of labour. Rowse (1978, p.123) does make the valid point that the state mechanisms created in the decade after 1901 were facilitated by the newness of the federal apparatus and were underwritten to a considerable extent by the economic prosperity brought by the rural sector. The significance of economic prosperity to this relative autonomy of the state at the time becomes clearer when one looks at the impact of the 1930s depression upon the Australian state, when the 'ameliorist priority' within the practices of the state was undermined by 'the thematic of productivity and capitalist survival' (Rowse, 1978, p.124), a situation perhaps somewhat akin to that since the end of the post-world war two boom in the middle of the 1970s.

The impact of the depression in some other comparable countries was to increase state intervention in the economy following the counter-cyclical Keynesianism which emerged as a result of the depression. The idiosyncrasy of the Australian situation is indicated by the fact that the depression saw a reduction in the form of Australian social protection via the strategy of a 'wage earners' welfare state', when the basic wage was reduced in 1931 and the Premiers' Plan pledged a reduction in government expenditure. The notion of wages linked to productivity, rather than need, also came to the fore, an argument also echoed in the current economic recession.

Another enduring feature of politics around the state which has its gestation in the period of humanitarian liberalism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was the 'labourist tradition' of both industrial and parliamentary "Labor" (Connell and Irving, 1980; Beilharz and Watts, 1986; Beilharz, 1987, 1989; Castles, 1988). Basically, labourism refers to the eschewal of a revolutionary marxist philosophy for a reformist one; one which seeks to ameliorate and improve the conditions of the working class through state reforms for better wages and working conditions. In this way labourism is economic and state oriented in character. It is also oriented towards full employment and a residual

welfare provision for the rest. Thus in this manner it is distinct from the other reformist left strategy of social democracy with its tradition of a universal welfare provision and emphasis on citizenship rights and more democratic participation in economic policy formulation (Castles, 1988, p.108; Dow, 1992). As Connell and Irving (1980, p.200) put it:

Reformism was not a demobilising strategy; it simply asserted that when organised workers were represented in parliaments and other sections of the state, it would be possible to supersede the clashes of classes with a balance of interests and with a policy for the common good.

State institutionalised arbitration was one overt manifestation of such a strategy. It becomes clear then how the tradition of statism in Australia sits in a symbiotic relationship with such a technocratic labourism and left politics framed as state policies. Beilharz (1987, p.398) also notes how Australian labourism was masculinist so that it read "people" as "workers" and "workers" as "men", rather than utilising a (potentially) more inclusive social democratic discourse of citizenship (Cass, 1990; Beilharz, 1991). The nature of the Australian state has left its distinct markings upon labourism, which has had something of a second coming under Hawke Labor (Beilharz and Watts, 1986, p.109).

Castles (1988) utilises Katzenstein's (1985) thesis regarding the 'domestic compensation' nature of the public policy patterns of the small vulnerable economies of Europe, to provide an understanding of the unique Australian social protection response to economic vulnerability, which he classifies as 'domestic defence'. The institutional and intellectual components of this particular pattern of public policy (and its historical lineage) have been considered to this point, namely tariff protection for manufacturing, the conciliation and arbitration of industrial disputations and wage levels, restrictive immigration policy, and a residual, safety-net conception of welfare provisions (Castles, 1988, p.93). Some further attention will be given here to Castles' (1988) theorising of this idiosyncratic pattern of social protection, because it provides insights into the enduring nature of the Australian state across the twentieth century.

Utilising Katzenstein (1985), Castles (1988, ch.4) argues that small states are most likely to achieve historic compromises or settlements regarding social protection after heightened political conflict, such as Australia experienced during the 1890s, and when the bourgeoisie is divided politically, as it was at that time between the manufacturing protectionists and primary producing free traders. Further, such compromises are likely to be arrived at when the state is strong and has some capacity for autonomous action, an

important feature of the Australian state at around the turn of the century. The nineteenth century Australian experience, plus the early extension of the franchise, ensured Australia had a strong state. Thus, the conditions were ripe for the achievement of an historical compromise regarding social protection.

Katzenstein (1985) locates the 1930s and 1940s as the period when these conditions were extant in the small, vulnerable, manufacturing-based economies of Europe, including Sweden, Norway, Austria, Switzerland, Belgium and the Netherlands. The compromise negotiated in these economies Katzenstein (1985) classifies as 'domestic compensation'. Given their economic vulnerability and export oriented manufacturing focus, protection was not a viable solution for integrating their economies with world markets. Rather, their "defence settlement" resulted in laissez-faire external economic relations, combined with a strong and interventionist internal state. Such external relations of free trade meant that these societies were subject to ongoing internal dislocations; it was at these dislocations that compensation of various types was aimed. Such policies included government subsidies for restructuring, government investment programs, active labour market policies (including retraining and relocation allowances), corporatist prices and incomes accords, universalist welfare provisions, along with a big public sector in both expenditure and employment terms. Domestic compensation with its future orientation ensured flexible economic growth and the creation of competitive and efficient export-oriented manufacturing industries. Such compensation was geared to ameliorating the internal disruptions contingent upon fluctuations in the international economy.

The core of Castles' (1988) thesis is that Australia developed its own mode of social protection, notably 'domestic defence', during the period from about 1890 until 1910 and that this remained the framework of Australian public policy right up to the 1970s under Whitlam. Until then, tariffs ensured protection for Australian manufacturing and for jobs and wage levels, while the restrictive immigration policy (the White Australia Policy) also protected both of the latter. In addition, from the 1920s protection provided guaranteed prices for primary producers. Arbitration, which, as suggested earlier, existed in a symbiotic relationship with protection, saw the institutionalisation of labour/capital conflicts within the state. It should also be noted that arbitration, which basically cast workers and bosses as parties to a legal dispute (Rickard, 1976, p.286), was yet another manifestation of the legalism endemic to state practices in Australia from the nineteenth century. Indeed, Davidson (1990, ch.8) argues cogently that the failure of colonial

jurisdictions to have effect beyond their borders, accompanied by the national organisation of labour during the 1890s, was a significant factor in federation. A residual welfare provision was the final component of domestic defence. There was some surface rationality, albeit of a patriarchal character (Cass, 1990), to this development. Protection ensured a satisfactory existence for most working Australians, including a fair wage for most workers and their "dependent" wives and children. Those outside of this protective network were provided some security, through means tested and targeted age and invalid pensions introduced in 1909, and through the maternity benefit begun in 1913. However, these were the last substantial welfare developments until the introduction of child endowment in 1941.

Thus, as Castles (1988, p.107) argues, the defence of working class living standards through the wage system meant that Australia's welfare approach from the outset was of a residual safety-net type. It was also labourist and masculinist in nature. Furthermore, Castles (1988) documents how this historic compromise of domestic defence remained until the Whitlam time, which saw a move towards a more universalist welfare provision, and which also saw the demise of the restrictive White Australia immigration policy, as well as very substantial tariff reductions. He postulates that Australia is now between historic compromises, with the move towards a situation of non-tariff protected integration with the global economy, having forsaken domestic defence but failing to endorse the interventionist policy requirements of domestic compensation.

The Hawke government (1983–1991) has taken the country some direction towards the corporatist, domestic compensation settlement of the Scandinavian countries. The government/ACTU sponsored report, *Australia Reconstructed*, is an expression of the need for such a change in Australia's mode of social protection. However, the reality has been that many aspects of the old settlement remain, particularly the parsimonious nature of our residual and targeted welfare provisions. On this very point, Castles (1988, p.108) states explicitly:

Australia's poor welfare performance in recent decades and the smallness of its public economy in both employment and expenditure terms is a direct legacy of the institutional form taken by the historic compromise at the beginning of the century.

Most Labor governments in Australia have been very much labourist, rather than socially democratic in character, while as Castles (1988) notes, domestic compensation is likely to encourage the latter ideological commitment, while domestic defence the former.

Consequently, Castles (1985) has referred to the idiosyncratic Australian policy strategy as a wage earners' welfare state, which was both 'statist' and 'private' in character (Castles, 1988, p.129).

There is perhaps one other point to make about domestic defence, that is, how the closing of the Australian economy to international pressures resulted in a number of inflexible and inefficient practices, particularly within the manufacturing sector. Even though, free trade of itself will not ensure either efficiency or productivity (Stretton, 1987). This protected closure had implications for the comparative size of the Australian state in the post-war period. As Castles (1988, p.107) points out: 'By closing its doors to international trade, Australia turned its face against, perhaps, one of the most potent factors promoting big government in the twentieth century.' However, it ought to be noted that protection made some very positive contributions to Australian society, including low unemployment levels during the boom, a wide variety of skills and job options linked to industrial diversity and self-sufficiency, a generally manageable balance of payments situation, and sustained a larger population at a higher standard of living than would have been otherwise possible (Stretton, 1987, p.37, pp.198–201).

By the time of the depression then, and the related emergence of Keynesian counter-cyclical economic theories and the perceived need for social planning to insulate against the exigencies of the capitalist market, Australia had established its own approach to social protection. This approach was that of domestic defence. It is to the creation of the post-war welfare state that the Chapter now turns, but it is worth noting here, that the ideas and institutional arrangements resulting from domestic defence continued to have a very substantial impact upon the Australian state across the post-war period.

4.3 POST-WAR KEYNESIANISM AND THE WELFARE STATE UNTIL 1983

This section of the Chapter documents and analyses the emergence of the welfare state within the broad domestic defence approach to social protection. It also points to the beginning of the collapse of this approach, as the economy is integrated into the global one and points up the subsequent search for a new settlement, where the options appear to focus around either a corporatist, domestic compensation strategy or an economic liberalist, new right, small state, deregulated approach, or a combination of these. Sweden versus Thatcher might be one ideal typical way of encapsulating these broad policy options.

As has been noted by a wide range of researchers (for example, Castles, 1985, 1988; Pusey, 1991), early in the twentieth century Australia was one of the world's wealthiest countries ('men at least enjoyed the highest standards of living of any nation on earth' (Pusey, 1991, p.1), perhaps the earliest liberal democracy and a real social laboratory with respect to the nascent welfare state. This reflected a number of factors traversed in the previous section. By contrast, the creation of the post world war two Keynesian welfare state saw Australia's policy pattern develop in broadly similar ways to that in comparable countries, but the specific pattern was still framed by the domestic defence settlement arrived at during the first decade of the century. However, Australia was to become a comparative welfare laggard (Castles, 1988; Pusey, 1991) across this period, except for the brief interlude of Whitlam (1972–1975), which with emphasis on 'positive equality' (Whitlam, 1985) and social wage orientation took Australia in a more socially democratic, rather than continuing labourist direction. Thus after the war the state continued to be activist, but comparatively small in character (Davis et al, 1988).

Yeatman (1990a, pp.39–40) argues three factors contributed significantly to the increased complexity and interventionist nature of the state from the 1930s onwards. First was the depression and the related publication in 1936 of John Maynard Keynes' *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*, which encouraged and justified the need for governments to manage demand so as to ensure both full employment and a buoyant economy. Coombs, perhaps the most important public servant of the period from the war through to Whitlam, notes that the publication of *General Theory* was 'the most seminal event' for many of his generation of public figures (Coombs, 1981, p.3), while the biographer of Chifley, war-time Labor treasurer and later Prime Minister, has noted that he was a 'Keynesian-of-the-first-hour' (Crisp, 1960, p.169). In an interview for this research, Coombs pointed out how economic policy during the war, which attempted to control public consumption, expenditure and public works, so that resources could be pushed into the war effort without fuelling inflation was 'a conscious piece of Keynesian reasoning' (IT6, 1991, p.11). Second, Yeatman (1990a) suggests that the impact of the war, particularly with respect to the need for state intervention in the context of 'total war' (Marwick, 1974), 'consolidated the infrastructure of a national state administration' (p.40). Third, post-war reconstruction and the development of the welfare state 'expanded the reach of the state further', which led to the subsequent creation of 'the highly bureaucratised and professionalised sector of state-sponsored human services' (Yeatman,

1990a, p.40). On the pre-war Commonwealth public service, Coombs pointed out it 'was a very small organisation' (IT6, 1991, p.9) which had 'no academically qualified people at all' (IT6, 1991, p.10). 'People were recruited to the Commonwealth Public Service at seventeen' and 'promoted on seniority' (IT6, 1991, p.10). Thus, in a sense the war mediated the impact of the depression and its attendant intellectual developments and catalysed the development of the modern, interventionist welfare state at the national level. This process increased the power of the Commonwealth *vis-a-vis* that of the States which had been previously largely responsible for welfare payments, as will be shown in Chapter 7.

It is common place to ascribe the emergence of the Australian welfare state to the impact of the reforming zeal (the 'light of the hill') of the war and post-war Labor governments of first Curtin and then Chifley, from 1942 until 1949. There is some veracity in such an account. However, Watts (1987), in his historical research on the emergence of the welfare state from 1935 until 1945, argues that the liberal-progressive bureaucrats of the period (such as Coombs) were perhaps as responsible for its inception and that there was some continuity between the developments under Labor with those of the preceding conservative governments, which had introduced child endowment in 1941. Labor did stress, however, that welfare should be drawn from the general revenue pool, rather than from direct contributory schemes, the approach more favoured by the conservatives.

More broadly, Chifley's "safety net" notion of the welfare state (Watts, 1987) and accompanying emphasis upon full employment, was continuous with the domestic defence strategy, while Calwell's immigration policy was strongly informed by the White Australia Policy. It followed in the tradition of a minimalist definition of welfare as residual provision for those who could not find work. In line with that historical legacy, the 1945 Keynesian derived *White Paper on Full Employment* ensured the continuation of a wage earners' welfare state, which in turn 'ensured that welfare policy could only ever be a second order priority' (Watts, 1987, p.127). That strategy was successful only as long as there was guaranteed full employment, and only as long as capitalism could operate in an apparently non-zero sum manner, as it appeared to until the end of the boom coterminous with the OPEC oil crisis of 1973. It also required a protected, closed economy. However, by the time the economic boom came to a close, Australia was facing structural problems within the economy because of its failure to build an export-oriented manufacturing sector

(Beilharz, Considine, Watts, 1992). With increases in unemployment and inflation (stagflation), along with a number of economic pressures for a free trade approach (both internal and external), including the increasing power of multinational capital, the usefulness of the domestic defence strategy dissolved.

Let us return for a moment, however, to the period of the war. Coombs, Director of Post-war Reconstruction, important contributor to the 'Full Employment White Paper', later Governor of the Reserve Bank and Pro-Chancellor of the Australian National University and adviser to all federal governments from Curtin to Whitlam, stressed in an interview for this research that the war consolidated the view that Australia was now on its own as a nation. As such, this inchoate national maturity required the creation of the national institutions and infrastructure which would see it able to stand alone as a middle range power. 'I think you have to go back, realise that the war changed Australia very greatly, that we, for the first time, ...were on our own so to speak' (IT6, 1991, p.1). The specific creation of the Australian National University, he noted, stemmed from the perception that Australia had to develop its own research capacity, geared to its peculiar social, economic and political problems and to nation-building. The powers which the people were prepared to grant the Commonwealth during the war were to be utilised after the war for the creation of a new affluence for all based on full employment via Commonwealth managed demand strategies.

The "usurpation" by the Commonwealth of the income tax raising power in 1942 was seen as central to the successful and equitable prosecution of the Australian war effort. Such a transfer of power was also pivotal to the creation of the post-war welfare state and to increasing the policy power of the Commonwealth. Likewise, the failed 1944 and successful 1946 Referenda were about consolidating the national infrastructure and approaches prosecuted during the war time. More specifically, and as argued in Chapters 7 and 8, the 1946 Referendum which amended Section 51, xxiiiA of the Constitution provided the legal bases for the Commonwealth's role regarding welfare. The Commonwealth now had direct and specific Constitutional power to legislate for welfare provision. The 'benefits to students' phrase in this particular amendment, as will be argued in Chapter 8, on the surface at least appears to grant the Commonwealth at minimum concurrent powers with the States in respect of education (Tannock and Birch, 1976; Lingard, 1991, 1992). The war thus precipitated an increased role for the Commonwealth *vis-a-vis* that of the States and in planning. The fact that Labor governments (ostensibly

more centralist and statist than their conservative counterparts) presided over this period of Australian political history also consolidated this development. The war had reactivated a nation-building role for the federal state.

The Keynesian approach of countering fluctuations in the economy through demand management was accepted by both sides of Australian politics from about the 1940s onwards, as was the need to create at least a 'minimalist' version of the welfare state (Beilharz, Considine, Watts, 1992). The Australian reading of Keynes tended to emphasise public works as the focus of intervention, rather than intervention in the productive investment decisions of capital, which may have reduced the dependency on primary exports (Beilharz, Considine, Watts, 1992, p.88). Within this broad agreement, there were conservative and progressive versions (Freeland, 1986, p.216), with the conservative version pushing towards the minimalist direction (charity) and the progressive one pushing towards a more socially democratic approach (rights). The former was informed by an economic liberalism which required a smaller state structure, while the latter stood in the tradition of social liberalism with its utilitarian emphasis on state intervention to guarantee some social protection for all within a framework of citizenship (Beilharz, Considine, Watts, 1992). Differences also existed in relation to the concept of citizenship, with according to Beilharz (1991, p.4), conservatives emphasising duties and Labor rights linked to welfare provisions. There were also differing attitudes to the role of the Commonwealth with the Labor side supporting a more centralist strategy, and to the definition of the breadth of the welfare state, with Labor's broader definition including education and schooling. Commonwealth involvement in education before the second world war had been very minimal.

As shown in Chapter 8, Spaul (1982, ch.7) has documented the concern of the Labor governments during and immediately after the war to include education as integral to both reconstruction and social welfare. He suggests a number of reasons for the expansion and consolidation of Commonwealth involvement in education at the time. Many of these arguments also applied to other welfare areas. Firstly, federal involvement was linked to 'war time manpower policies' (p.218), which required support for universities, technical colleges and preschools. Coombs notes that one arm of the prosecution of the war effort was 'man-power' (sic) planning at home in relation to education, particularly in the universities (IT6, 1991, p.9). Secondly, education was perceived to be a part of the welfare contribution to post-war reconstruction (p.218).

Thirdly, the experience of war regenerated 'demands for federal financial support to education' (p.219). These matters are pursued in more detail in Chapters 7 and 8.

It is important to note here, though, that the Liberal/Country Party coalition victory in 1949, and governments of that political persuasion until the 1972 Whitlam-led Labor election victory, saw the implementation of a conservative Keynesian settlement (Freeland, 1986), framed by the elements of the earlier approach of domestic defence. A commitment to full employment was central to that long conservative hegemony, as was, of course, the long boom. Furthermore, as Castles (1988, p.144 ff.) documents, a conservative Keynesianism within a domestic defence framework required state intervention, but not state ownership and not substantially increased state expenditures. This was a state intervention which did not substantially interfere with the prerogatives of capital (Beilharz, Considine, Watts, 1992). In addition, welfare provision was of the residual, safety-net type. Thus, there was nothing offensive to liberals of the mildly interventionist Australian persuasion here. As Castles (1988, p.140) puts it: 'the politics of domestic defence was acceptable to the degree that it remained within the confines established by a utilitarian variant of statism'. It was an approach also encouraged by the division between the primary producer/manufacturing arms of local capital and their relationship to the two conservative political parties. Indeed, Castles argues that the conservative Keynesian settlement perhaps had more in common with domestic defence, than the more universal and socially democratic welfare states constructed across the post-war period in the small and vulnerable economies of Europe.

Butlin (1978, p.19) has argued that the comparatively weak and minimalist welfare state in post-war Australia probably reflected the fact that a whole range of welfare benefits emerged much earlier here than in other countries. As he puts it:

The extension of a Labor concept of a welfare state was less marked than in many other countries because of prior development of old age, invalid, and maternity benefits and child endowment and unemployment relief. (Butlin, 1978, p.19)

He then adds, given this situation, that: 'It was coherence rather than sharp increase in outlays, arising from these cash benefits, that marked post-war Australian welfare policies' (p.19). The increased Commonwealth involvement was central to this 'coherence'.

The buoyant economy (full employment and improving standards of living) and political divisions on the Labor side were important features in the long period of conservative hegemony at the federal level in post-war Australia. Symptomatic of this

economic situation was the fact that, for the first time in Australian political history, in the period 1945 to 1970, revenue from direct personal and company taxation was sufficient to cover outlays on welfare expenditure by all layers of government (Evatt Research Centre, 1989, p.7). However, from that point on, State expenditures on welfare have exceeded Commonwealth grants for this purpose (Evatt Research Centre, 1989, p.7). In addition, apart from the 1961 Menzies "credit squeeze", unemployment did not go beyond 2% in the period until the 1970s.

Castles (1988) shows how the domestic defence settlement began to slowly disintegrate in the post-war period, reaching its apotheosis in the 1960s and then declining fairly quickly from that point. He shows how the White Australia Policy slowly lost its validity across the time, while basic wage indexation had been abandoned in 1953, but centralised wage fixation remained. By the late sixties, some unions and some manufacturers perceived that protection and centralised wage fixation were denying some of the rewards of substantial economic growth to their constituent members. Consequently, some of the unions moved to embrace free collective bargaining, while some opposition was mounting to tariff protection. From the late sixties/early seventies tariff protection began to lose some of its intellectual justification, while the closer links to the world economy through the export of minerals, other primary products and manufactured goods ensured that a new mode of settlement was required. Castles (1988, p.148) sums up this sea change in the following fashion:

Australia in the 1960s and still more the 1970s was becoming a part of the world market mainstream and economists were progressively convinced that this meant that the path to prosperity lay in an economy subject to world market disciplines.

Whitlam had assumed the federal leadership of the Labor Party in 1967 and took the Party to government in 1972 with a program of social democratic reform. Whitlam was committed to building a welfare state geared to the notion of 'positive equality' (Whitlam, 1985), more along the social democratic European welfare state model, with the emphasis on the social wage, rather than a wage earners' welfare state central to the labourist tradition (Whitlam, 1985). He also floated the dollar and cut tariffs by 25% as the integration with the global economy was extended; these actions indicated Australia had moved some way beyond the traditional domestic defence settlement.

The Whitlam government, as one reflective of its time, also manifested the cultural awakening which saw the move to democratise a host of government and bureaucratic

practices. The new feminist movement had some impact in this respect. Thus, for example, as shown in Chapter 9, Whitlam responded to the women's movement by the appointment of Elizabeth Reid as Women's Adviser to the Prime Minister, and with the first steps towards embracing the femocrat strategy (Ryan, 1990), which has been idiosyncratic to Australia and which in many ways reflects the statist nature of Australian political culture (Eisenstein, 1991, p.25).

Whitlam's whole approach to schooling with the creation of the quasi-independent Australian Schools Commission, following the recommendations of the 1973 *Schools in Australia* report was indicative of the overall social democratic approach (Freeland, 1986). Educational expenditure was increased very substantially, while the Commonwealth systematised its approach to school policy-making, which was geared to achieving the strong notion of equality of opportunity defined in terms of more equal outcomes for those social groups, which a decade of sociology of education research had shown, were disadvantaged in schooling.

Whitlam was committed to emphasising in policy terms 'equality, universal provision, diversity and community involvement' (Freeland, 1986, p.220) in all domains of the Keynesian welfare state. Social wage expenditure increased in real terms across the Whitlam period from 35% of total Commonwealth budget outlays in 1972-73 to 50.9% in 1975-76 (Freeland, 1986, p.220). What we saw was the operation of Offe's (1985) 'conjunctural' policy condition, when the government responded to demands from organised pressure groups with increased expenditure and broader policy coverage. This was accompanied by support for pluralist and clientist participation in the policy process.

Whitlam's biggest political "mistake" was to be elected to office on a social democratic agenda at the moment when the post-war boom was coming to an end. The changed economic circumstances appeared to reduce the capacity of governments to meet ever increasing policy demands upon them. Further, the impact of the 1973 OPEC oil crisis was a stark indication of the increasing integration with the world economy and the incapacity of a given nation state to stand alone unaffected by exogenous economic pressures. Such integration required a new and different policy settlement (Castles, 1988). The sacking of Whitlam by the Governor-General was perhaps a manifestation of the 'convulsive legalism' endemic to state practice in Australia (Collins, 1985; Davidson, 1991), and of a strike of capital (Connell, 1977). Whatever the case, the brief social democratic interlude in post-war Australian politics was over; in a sense its demise had

been signalled by the last Whitlam budget of 1975, brought down by Hayden as Treasurer, which sought to cut back public sector expenditure. Australia was now in a period of stagflation with both inflation and unemployment increasing simultaneously.

The Fraser conservative government from 1975 until 1983 attempted to implement a new right, monetarist approach of cutting public sector expenditure and the social wage and redirecting expenditure towards investment incentives and industry support (Freeland and Sharp, 1981). Social wage expenditure as a percentage of total Commonwealth budget outlays went down (Freeland, 1987; Gibson, 1991). The Fraser government's focus was also on fighting inflation first as the inflation/unemployment nexus was "decoupled" and thus, so it was argued, no longer apparently susceptible to Keynesian approaches. In Offe's terms, the balance had once again been redressed towards capital accumulation over legitimization or social protection. Economic liberalism, in the guise of so-called "new right" ideology, was gaining ground against the earlier Keynesian consensus. The emerging consensus, with its prioritizing of markets over the state and accompanying call for a return to a minimalist or charity perception of welfare, saw the focus of economic policy change from demand management to supply-side questions (Beilharz, Considine, Watts, 1992, p.50).

In education under Fraser, there was a reduction in overall funding levels and redirection of funding towards the non-government sector within that reduced funding pattern, along with a new ideological focus on quality, rather than equality in the face of escalating levels of youth unemployment. The 1978 Fraser commissioned Williams Report on Education, Training and Employment, while exonerating education as the major causal factor in youth unemployment, also signalled a move to integrate more closely education with economic policy and needs, a move accelerated during the Dawkins period as federal Minister (1987–1991) under Hawke Labor.

The Fraser government did, however, retain the Schools Commission. There was, however, a move away from the tightly controlled education funding to the States, reflecting both a rejection of the centralisation of the Whitlam period and Fraser's so-called "new federalism". Under Fraser, Senator Carrick was both federal Minister for Education and Minister assisting the Prime Minister on federal/State relations. Dr. Peter Tannock, a member of the Schools Commission from the outset and Chair during the Fraser period, commented that in terms of public sector management there was more in common between the Whitlam and Fraser period, than between either and the new

managerialism and ministerially controlled practices of the Hawke time, particularly following the 1987 restructuring of the federal ministry into fewer mega-departments (IT14, 1991, p.1). Tannock also commented that, under Fraser, there was a move away from 'retailing' Commonwealth policies towards 'wholesaling' them (IT14, 1991, p.2). The Fraser period in education saw a continuing, albeit somewhat weakened, commitment to the range of Commonwealth equity programs and the creation of the Commonwealth Multicultural Education Program which remained in place from 1979 until its abolition in 1987 by Hawke Labor.

The 1982/83 recession, with increasing levels of unemployment, saw a belated return by the Fraser government to a conservative version of Keynesian demand management and more liberal public sector expenditure, but it was not enough to save it in the 1983 election, when the Hawke-led Labor Party with a reelection commitment to a neo-corporatist Accord with the Trade Union movement and to consensus after the divisiveness of the Fraser era, comfortably won the election.

Clearly then, the Keynesian consensus had collapsed at the political level and the old domestic defence strategy was no longer viable. That reality reflected the increased internationalisation of the economy (Camilleri, 1986, p.50; Cerny, 1990; Ross, 1990) with the move from monopoly to global capitalism (Ross, 1990; George, 1988; Aronowitz, 1992). As Camilleri (1986, p.50) explains it:

Keynesian theory and policy were most successful when applied to national economies susceptible to regulation by the state or to a world economy in which one superstate performed an overriding regulatory function.

Keynesianism also appeared no longer to offer a solution to the twin "problems" of high inflation and high unemployment. International agencies such as the OECD, International Monetary Fund, World Bank, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) also began to play a role in creating a new economic policy orthodoxy of a resurgent classical economics or economic liberalism, sometimes referred to as new right policies, combined with support for the liberalisation of trade barriers on a global scale. In this economic context, the notion of the nation became, in a sense, less central (Aronowitz, 1992), while the emergence of post-colonialism (Hodge and Mishra, 1990) also placed some small dent in its cultural viability. Furthermore, new right ideas were being implemented in Thatcher's Britain and supply-side economics applied by Reagan. Australia's cultural dependency and the internationalisation of the economy ensured that such ideas began to

get a hearing in Australia at this time. Fraser's time in government coincided with their emergence.

It is this confluence of developments which Lash and Urry (1987) refer to as the move away from 'organised' towards 'disorganised capitalism', as the modernist nation state is simultaneously disorganised from above via the internationalisation of capitalism, from within through the politics and practices of the tertiary educated, new middle class and from below with policy pressures from the new social movements. Such an analysis is not to deny the ongoing significance of class politics (Aronowitz, 1992). Lash and Urry (1987, p.300) point to the significance of an international division of labour, 'the declining distinctiveness of companies producing fixed products for a given national market', and importantly, 'the growth of new circuits of money and banking separate from those of industry and which are literally out of the control of individual national economic policies'. It might, however, be the case that global capitalism is simply being reorganised in a different fashion (Harvey, 1990). The collapse of the command economies of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe will facilitate further this disorganisation and perhaps subsequent reorganisation.

Hence, the Hawke government, as well as having to respond to pressures from the globalisation of the economy and new right ideological pressures, also had to accommodate continuing participatory demands from the new social movements, while still having to operate in relation to the organised voice of the working class in the trade unions. Yeatman (1990a) has argued cogently that the corporate managerialist restructuring of the Commonwealth public service can be seen to be a response to these pressures, emphasising an efficient rather than a smaller state, while being simultaneously the 'Trojan Horse' through which the state has managed the participatory demands from the new social movements. All of this was to be "managed" in a time of ongoing economic recession. The economic context in which the Australian state operated had changed substantially, leading to a reconsideration of both economic policy and state structures. As Head notes (1989, p.6):

First, the global recession from 1974, together with fluctuating prices for Australia's bulk commodity exports, contraction of employment in manufacturing, and intensified international trade competition, forced a major reconsideration of Australia's post-war reliance upon staples export and a protected manufacturing sector as the basis of economic growth.

The new consensus was that all Australian industries had to become more competitive and manufacturing had to become export oriented (Head, 1989, p.6). Domestic defence was no longer the answer.

In summary then, Australia's statist political culture developed out of the nineteenth century experience which with its extent of state involvement in the economy some have classified as colonial socialism. There was also a cultural aspect to this statism, reflecting a number of factors including the demographic spread over a huge land mass and the nature of the early population. State investment in the economy exceeded private investment until the 1930s depression. By the early twentieth century Australia had established its own profile of public sector policy which Castles (1988) has classified as domestic defence, which included a residualised provision of welfare, reflecting a labourist approach. This profile was also predicated upon a dependent role for women. This statist idiosyncrasy of Australia when compared with other comparable countries began to fade from about the time of the depression (Dow, 1992). After the second world war, the Australian Keynesian settlement followed in the somewhat abstemious tradition of domestic defence rather than in the social democratic tradition of some of the small northern European nations. The Keynesianism practised was concerned with managing demand more than controlling private sector investment, which had been central to Keynes' thesis. In Dow's (1992, p.277) words this was a 'bastardised version of Keynes' message'. As he puts it:

Instead of state institutions to control or monitor investment in the interests of permanent full employment, the Anglo Saxon countries got 'fine tuning', a combination of fiscal and monetary policy to regulate, at many steps removed, the investment proclivities of the private sector. (Dow, 1992, p.277).

Across the post-war period Australia became something of a low spender on welfare when compared internationally (Dow, 1992). The domestic defence settlement began to disintegrate in the late sixties and early seventies. Whitlam's brief social democratic interlude resulted in a return to the older statist tradition. However, the Whitlam government did not attempt to create the institutional structures necessary to the successful prosecution and longevity of social democracy (Dow, 1992). Subsequently, the Fraser period witnessed a substantial turning away from the Whitlam approach and the increasing impact of new right ideology with a brief moment of a return to a conservative Keynesianism in its last days of government in early 1983. In the context of ongoing recession (Dow, 1992), the globalisation of the economy and resurgence of economic

liberalism, the Hawke government came to political power promising a corporatist solution of the domestic compensation kind to the economic problems facing Australia.

Thus, in this new framework for policy-making at the nation state level, the Hawke government offered some hope (initially at least) that it would pursue a corporatist, 'domestic compensation' strategy (Castles, 1988; Katzenstein, 1985), *a la* the Scandinavian countries and thus internationalise the economy, while simultaneously institutionalising a new, more universal mode of social protection. However, as Castles (1988, ch.7) points out, utilising an image from Ibsen, 'ghosts' from the domestic defence past still keep floating between the lines, as it were. This has been particularly the case with respect to the labourist tradition of a selective and targeted residual welfare provision. Further, as Pusey (1991) has convincingly shown, economic rationalism took a strong institutionalised hold on the bureaucracy, or at least its central agencies, and of the right faction Labor ministers who controlled economic policy. It is to the Hawke strategy that the Chapter now turns.

4.4 THE HAWKE GOVERNMENT'S TENTATIVE NEO-CORPORATIST MOVE TOWARDS DOMESTIC COMPENSATION

Prior to its election in March, 1983 the Labor Party had signed a *Statement of Accord by the Australian Labor Party and the Australian Council of Trade Unions regarding Economic Policy*, indicating some support for at least a neo-corporatist approach to economic management in Australia. This Accord in its various manifestations was to provide one central policy component of the Labor governments across the period from 1983. The cornerstone assumption of the Accord was that wage restraint would be assured by the ACTU in return for price restraint and increases in the social wage, as the government managed the industrial restructuring and internationalisation of the economy in the political and economic context outlined briefly above. The short term aim was to overcome the 1982/83 recession, which had been a factor in the Coalition's loss and Labor's election victory, and to substantially reduce unemployment levels. In another sense,

The Accord became the vehicle for the problem of how to 'exit' the Fraser government's wage freeze (an emergency wages policy U-turn at the peak of the late 1982 labour market shake-out) without unleashing pressure for 'catch-up' pay claims. (Stutchbury, 1991, p.56)

The Hawke government's approach was neo-corporatist in character as signified by the Accord. As noted in Chapter 2, Boreham and Compston (1992) have suggested that there are three types of corporatism. One amounts almost to simply a wages policy with the peak council of the union movement incorporated into policy-making to the extent that some *quid pro quo* is required from the resulting wage restraint. The second conception requires the incorporation of capital and labour into the policy machinery by a strong central state with the goals of ensuring both economic stability and the conditions of capital accumulation. In these circumstances there is usually an emphasis upon consensus and social partnership geared to restricting industrial conflict. However, with the incorporation of the organised labour movement into the policy machinery of the state there is the progressive potential for subjecting economic policy-making to more democratic considerations. Boreham and Compston's (1992) third conceptualisation is classified as 'strong corporatism'. As such, it is basically a stronger, more broad ranging version of the second type and results in the creation of extra-parliamentary institutional arrangements which ensure labour participation in policy formulation and implementation in economic and other policy domains. Such an approach eschews simplistic notions of consensus and recognises conflicts in its attempt to move private corporate investment decisions into the political domain. With such strong corporatism economic policy-making is politicised and moved beyond considerations of simply profit. This is the social democratic version of corporatism.

The Australian tradition of centralised wage determination obviously makes it compatible with a corporatist approach (Head, 1989, p.5). Corporatism, however, operates on a wider policy plain than arbitration and conciliation, and as well, its emergence requires at the very least the existence of strong and representative bodies of both labour and capital at the national level. Boreham (1990, 1991) documents how conditions propitious for the development of corporatism in Australia emerged across the 1970s and early 1980s. Central here were the broadening of strategies by the ACTU away from industrial towards political unionism, which in some sense reflected the increased white collar presence within the ACTU (Boreham, 1990), and the attractiveness of the apparently successful Scandinavian corporatist example. The lessons learnt from the lack of formalised cooperation between the Whitlam government and the unions was another contributing factor (Head, 1989, p.10). Whitlam had not established the institutions which would have been able to defend his government's social democratic approach. Political

unionism was a strategy which sought a democratising of national economic policy-making by the establishment of institutional structures which incorporated union representatives and which went some direction towards 'strong corporatism' as defined above (Dow, Clegg, Boreham, 1984).

At the same time as the unions were considering a strategy of political unionism, business was moving towards the creation of a number of national peak councils, first with the Confederation of Australian Industry (CAI) in 1977, representing employers and manufacturers, then the Business Council of Australia (BCA) in 1983, formed in response to the 'conspicuous disarray of business' compared with 'the unity of trade union representatives' at the 1983 Summit held by the Hawke government shortly after winning the election (Head, 1989, p.11). Additionally, the National Farmers' Federation had been amalgamated out of a plethora of rural producer groups in 1979.

On winning government, Hawke held a National Economic Summit, from which resulted a number of tripartite policy-making bodies which were neo-corporatist in character. The creation of these bodies was part of the government's compliance with the Accord agreement.

The most significant of these bodies, the Economic Planning Advisory Council (EPAC), was established in May 1983, consisting of representatives from industry, the unions, the States, the federal government, welfare and consumer organisations. EPAC's function was to provide economic policy advice to the government and to oversee the implementation of the Accord agreement, including wage/social wage trade-offs. The Australian Manufacturing Council (AMC), with eleven subsidiary industry councils, was formed in 1984. These councils were tripartite in composition with representatives from government, unions and business. They were to provide advice to the government on policy options in response to specific industry problems. The Trade Development Council (TDC) had a similar advisory role and tripartite composition. It produced the important *Australia Reconstructed* document in 1987 in conjunction with the Department of Trade and with support from Minister Dawkins.

The point to note about these neo-corporatist institutions and one which has been documented in a body of research (for example, Boreham, 1990, 1991; Head, 1989; Stilwell, 1986) is that very quickly their roles were reduced to advisory ones, away from policy-making functions. In a short time, Treasury and the Treasurer exerted their policy control over these agencies which had not been adequately staffed and resourced to

function in the way many had envisaged, particularly the advocates of political unionism. Furthermore, Boreham (1990) shows how a tension developed between the professional staff of EPAC (mainly economists of a neo-classical persuasion) and the stances taken by Council members. Given this confluence of factors, EPAC became,

...a vehicle for finding common ground between business and unions and locking both parties into support for government policies, instead of an institution for bringing different criteria to bear on macroeconomic policy making. (Boreham, 1990, p.49)

The Accord thus became a mechanism through which the government ensured wage restraint. Thus what resulted in Australia was a weak version of corporatism (Boreham and Compston, 1992) and classified here as neo-corporatism, which worked simply as a wages policy. This failure of commitment to Accord principles is of real significance for a consideration of the social and educational policy approaches of Hawke Labor, for increasingly Treasury and the EPAC office espoused an economic rationalist philosophy (Boreham, 1990; Pusey, 1991; Stilwell, 1986) and commitment to the market over the state as the major coordinating structure within society. As Boreham (1990, p.51) notes, the marginalisation of EPAC and its use to legitimate economic rationalist policies weakened the government's 'economic and industry policy planning' and its commitment to redistributive policies, which were a central *quid pro quo* in the Accord for wage restraint. Furthermore, continuing vulnerability to international economic pressures, especially after the 1985 deregulation of financial markets, limited the policy options (Stutchbury, 1990).

However, up until Keating's "Banana Republic" speech of 1986 and its impact on policy directions, there were some positive achievements under Hawke Labor, including the establishment of a universal health care system, Medicare, the broadening of superannuation coverage for workers and the creation of a large number of jobs which placed a small dent in the unemployment levels. Unemployment, however, continued to run at levels beyond the imaginations of policy makers across the boom period. As shown in Chapter 9, a range of progressive legislation in the women's policy domain was also instigated, and the femocracy further institutionalised. In education, Susan Ryan pursued much of the old Whitlam agenda, but had to take account of high levels of youth unemployment and an increasingly tight budgetary situation. Having said that, she did achieve the first ever national policy in schooling with the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* (1987).

It is possible, then, within the obvious limitations of any attempt at periodisation, to see the Hawke Labor government operating in two broad phases of policy-making, that up until the 1987 election and the period after that election. The changes since 1987 are reflected in the apparent neglect of the social wage *quid pro quo* for wage restraint in the Accord (Gibson, 1990), the weakening of the neo-corporatist potential in the new government structures (Boreham, 1990), the corporate managerialist restructuring of the Commonwealth public service (Considine, 1988, 1990a; Yeatman, 1990a; Thompson, 1991; Pusey, 1991) and the promiscuous embrace of economic rationalism and support for the efficacy of an unrestrained market (Pusey, 1991; Boreham, 1990).

This division reflects changes in economic context and policy response across the period. It also reflects changes in the efficacy of the government's neo-corporatist approach. Fairly soon after achieving government, the economic "problems" facing the country moved away from the stagflation difficulties of the 1970s to problems associated with the impact of the government's float of the dollar (1983), deregulation of money markets and institutions (1985), and international economic developments, especially declining prices for commodities and barriers to free trade for them and the portability of international finance capital. The new problems resulted from a synergy of internal and external pressures and included the very substantial deficits on the external account, the escalation of foreign debt and the volatility of the exchange rate (Stutchbury, 1990, p.75).

Until the 1986 "Banana Republic" speech of Treasurer Keating, the government reasonably successfully managed demand and reduced unemployment levels. This speech was a response to the deteriorating external position of the Australian economy, in response to which it argued for the necessity of restructuring an export-oriented manufacturing industry and for reducing the budget deficit towards surplus. It is the tightening "grip" of economic rationalism on Treasury, the Treasurer, indeed the central agencies and their respective Ministers and the entire panoply of government policy, which witnesses the disciplined focus, particularly after the 1987 election victory, on surplus budgeting and on microeconomic reform. It is from that time that the tighter targeting and selectivity of welfare provisions occurs with the move to abolish universal provisions, for example, with the abolition of the Whitlam-initiated, universally provided Family Allowance in 1987. In this way, Labor was continuing its labourist, rather than social democratic tradition of public policy. It is also in that year that unemployment benefits for 16 and 17 year olds were abolished; thus, in many ways, constituting a *de facto* increase

in the school leaving age, in a policy jurisdiction ostensibly that of the States. The latter policy change was a manifestation of a quasi-privatisation of one area of welfare.

This is not to say that economic liberalism had not been manifest in some earlier developments, clearly it had been with deregulation of the financial markets. It was the restructuring of the configuration of the federal Ministry and the public service after the 1987 election victory which firmly institutionalised this economic liberalism, now referred to as economic rationalism (Pusey, 1991). From 1983, there had been moves towards a corporate managerialist restructuring of the Commonwealth public service (Considine, 1988; Yeatman, 1990a), including the 1984 instigation of an American style Senior Executive Service (SES) in an attempt to return the control of the policy agenda to the politicians. This trend peaked in the post-1987 election reorganisation of the public service with the move from 27 departments and ministries to 16 megadepartments, including the Department of Employment, Education and Training (DEET), which replaced the old Education Department.

Pusey's (1991) research on economic rationalism in Canberra provides a conceptualisation of the Commonwealth public service during the Labor period. This conceptualisation consists of a triangle, with the three central agencies (Prime Minister and Cabinet, Treasury, Finance) at the apex, and on the base at one side sit the market-oriented departments, with the program and service delivery departments (including after 1987 DEET) on the other side of the base (p.6). Pusey suggests that the economic rationalism of the central agencies has framed the policy options of the other two departmental groupings and that the Expenditure Review process of cabinet played an important role in that dominance, as the preponderance of the right in the complexion of caucus. He also outlines the ideological differences extant in the three department types. Firstly, he notes that the central agencies represented a commitment to a minimalist state and to laissez-faire economic policies, while the market-oriented departments contained some residual Keynesianism. At the bottom, he points out, are the program and service departments which contain residues of social democratic and "maximalist" welfare state ideals. In a sense, this is almost a structural institutionalisation of Cawson and Saunders' (1981) dual production and consumption tasks of the liberal democratic state, or Offe's (1975) accumulation and legitimation functions, but with economic liberalism taking priority over as well as reframing the political arm of each of these dichotomies. The reorganisation of the federal ministries resulted in "production" matters taking priority,

with, in education for example, an attempt to reframe it as part of the broader economic restructuring. Because of the broader economic context, the social protection role of the state has been weakened and reframed by the economic rationalist or liberalist ideology operating in respect of accumulation. The restructuring of the internal bureaucratic arrangement of the state contributed significantly to that situation. This matter will be pursued in the following two Chapters.

Wilenski (1986), Chair of the Commonwealth Public Service Board until its demise in 1987 and important intellectual architect of Labor's reforms to the public sector, has argued that such reform ought to be underpinned by a commitment to both efficiency and effectiveness, the creation of a more democratic and representative bureaucracy, and more equitable policy processes and outcomes for both its employees and clients. Such views were expressed in the *Labor and Quality of Government* document of 1983 which articulated the then Labor opposition's program for public sector reform. As shown in the next Chapter, there is now substantial documentation (Pusey, 1991, Yeatman, 1990a, Thompson, 1990, Beilharz, Considine, Watts, 1992) to show that fairly quickly the emphasis shifted to efficiency and effectiveness away from equity. With the increasing economic rationalist flavour of economic policy with its commitment to markets over the state, equity policies were, in a sense disfigured, for equity requires intervention in and against the market. As Sawyer (1989) has amusingly noted, putting free market advocates in charge of equity is akin to placing mice in charge of the cheese shop.

The product focus of the new managerialism, associated with the effectiveness goal, also influenced social policies in a potentially technocratic and narrowing fashion with its emphasis on the quantifiable and measurable over the potentially significant. As Beilharz, Considine and Watts (1992, p.152) note, 'New performance-measurement technologies have encouraged departments to give priority to product or commodity transactions and have overshadowed developmental, expressive and other qualitative objectives'. Furthermore, program budgeting and corporate planning have weakened the democratic participation of citizens in policy-making, while simultaneously strengthening the influence of the minister. Additionally, such processes have contributed to the conceptualisation of citizens as consumers, matters to be pursued further in the following Chapter.

Within education, as Pusey (1991) points out, after the 1987 Labor election victory, the existing Minister and Departmental Secretary, both Master of Arts graduates, were replaced by two economics graduates, following the restructuring of the bureaucracy. The

focus of education policy moved from social justice to human capital (Sweet, 1989; Marginson, 1990) and to education's implication in, and contribution to microeconomic reform (Knight, Lingard, Porter, 1991). Both the delivery and nature of education policy were subject to microeconomic reform, as education itself was conceptualised as a national industry, while at the same time it was to contribute to microeconomic reform in other industries through the provision of suitably skilled human capital.

The focus on microeconomic reform, and the attempt to create an efficient and effective export-oriented manufacturing sector after 1987, had considerable impact upon the nature and style of delivery of policies in the social wage domain. The new emphasis upon award restructuring, as part of the microeconomic reform process aimed to achieve greater productivity, also affected the management of policy in the social wage domain. The tight budgetary situation, combined with the productivity emphasis and its lack of clear definition, often meant that efficiency, defined simply as achieving more for less, became the focus of social policy delivery, including in education.

The move to non-tariff protected integration with the world economy without a 'domestic compensation' approach also affected these aspects of the state. The emphasis was on an efficient and effective public sector geared to restructuring the economy. Education policy was effectively linked to that strategy. Furthermore, the operation of federalism with its plethora of differences between States as to rules, regulation and so on in relation to the economy came into the sights of the reformers. There developed something of a broad consensus that a national economic infrastructure was essential if Australia was going to compete in a non-tariff protected fashion in the global economy and remain a reasonably affluent country. The impact of these policy changes on both federal and State bureaucracies and on federalism will be the focus of subsequent Chapters, as will their impact upon the nature and structure of policy delivery in education.

Clearly, there are broad phases in the Hawke government's approach to education policy-making, which turn on the changes following the third election victory in 1987 and which coincide with the earlier Susan Ryan time as federal education Minister (1983–1987) and the later Dawkins' period (1987–1991). The case study, which is one topic of this research, deals with a policy development, the *National Policy on the Education of Girls*, which had its gestation in the policy culture of Ryan's stewardship, but was implemented within the new culture and approach of Dawkins (Kenway, 1990), framed by the metapolicy status now granted to economic restructuring.

In education, for instance, Susan Ryan attempted to cojoin the old Whitlam agenda, particularly the commitment to equality of outcomes, with the need to respond to high levels of youth unemployment. The *Participation and Equity Program* (PEP) (1984–1987) is a good example with its dual aims of increasing retention for all students, but particularly for those from disadvantaged backgrounds, and attempting to achieve more equitable outcomes. This required a rethink of both the structures and content of post-compulsory schooling. The Ryan policy goals with PEP can be contrasted with those of the earlier Fraser Transition Education Policy (1979–1983) which, while also a response to unacceptably high levels of youth unemployment, simply consisted of "add on" programs at the year 11 level for those most "at risk" in the transition to employment. In this way, the Ryan policy can be seen to be more reformist in nature. As a feminist, and one might add encouraged by the feminist culture within the Schools Commission, she also achieved, through a complicated process of negotiations with the States, the first national policy in the schooling policy domain, notably that for girls in 1987. All of these policies, however, were to be implemented within a constant, rather than expanding budgetary framework.

Ryan also retained the Whitlam advisory structures for schooling policy-making with their pluralist and clientist character. Paradoxically perhaps, corporatist structures for education policy-making were not instigated until after Dawkins became Minister and when the approach seemed to have lost much of its progressive potential. Its utilisation by Dawkins seemed to be the way to incorporate (and as far as possible, given political and structural realities, control) all aspects of education policy within the economic restructuring agenda (Collins, 1992). Thus, while education policy-making under Ryan retained a clientist and pluralist character, under Dawkins there was a move towards a more corporatist and tripartite approach (incorporating government, business and unions) to policy-making with the autonomy of the advisory boards now more tightly circumscribed by ministerial guidelines and the overall microeconomic reform strategy of the government. In this way, the control of education policy was put in the hands of 'business, unions and politicians, rather than teachers, parents or other educators' (Wilson, 1990, p.2).

The second Karmel Report, the Quality of Education Review Committee (QERC) Report (1985), is an important transitional policy report which sits between the earlier and later phases of Commonwealth education policy formulation under Hawke Labor. This Report provided some inkling of what was to come in education policy-making with its assertion that increased funds would not be available to achieve even greater expectations

from schooling with respect to both quality and equality. This Karmel Report can be contrasted with the 1973 Whitlam one, for while the latter emphasised increased inputs to the system, the former stressed outcomes and their achievement within constant funding. The 1985 report was also reflective of the pressures for greater public sector accountability and the imminent corporate managerialist 'revolution' within the Commonwealth public service. In an interview for this research, Karmel asserted that:

...the Quality of Education Review Committee, which produced the second schools Report, was set up because the ... coordinating Departments (Treasury, Finance and Prime Minister and Cabinet) were into accountability and efficiency and effectiveness and so on. The Report was written in the context of saying ...what have we got for our money and what can we do to improve efficiency? (IT10, 1991, p.22)

It is also significant that the Schools Commission was not involved in the review. Smart (1989) has suggested that the efficiency focus of QERC also resulted from the concessions the government made to the private school lobby, after their negative response to Ryan's move to introduce a more redistributive character into their funding. The upshot of their pressure was a guarantee from the Prime Minister of no real term reduction in government funding for any private schools until at least 1992 (Kenway, 1990a). That guarantee meant, according to Smart (1990), that efficiencies had to be sought elsewhere in a constant education budget. Here, the Prime Minister's desire for "consensus" militated against an equity goal, while we can see the impact of the structure of the bureaucracy and the culture pervasive within it upon policy direction. One other important feature of QERC was its mention of the need to develop a set of competencies as the expected outcome from schooling for all students. This was linked to product accountability pressures and has been influential in subsequent moves towards skill definitions of schooling and national testing.

One useful way in which to get a clear understanding of the Hawke government's policy and administrative approach is by comparing it with that of the earlier social democratic Whitlam one. Pusey's (1991) study of the Commonwealth public service under Hawke provides an instructive comparison. At one level, Pusey (1991) contrasts the educational backgrounds of the liberal public service mandarins who were significant in the creation of the welfare state in the 1940s and who remained a liberalising force on conservative governments across the 1950s and 1960s and in the Whitlam social democratic experiment, with the highly, but narrowly, educated, classical economists who now manage the senior levels of the bureaucracy. That change is reflected in very

different perceptions in the two policy periods of the role of the state and its relationship with both the economy and civil society. Furthermore, those contrasts are reflected in the very different discourses of the two periods, that of civil society and the public sphere of Whitlam with the economic rationalism of Hawke (Pusey, 1991, p.170). The former discourse assumes and contributes to the creation of a public sphere, which then allows for a democratic intersection of the cultural order and policy-making in the state. The Whitlam policy approach, in the language of Habermasian theory, attempted to 'reconcile economic management and social integration' (Pusey, 1991, p.2). By contrast, and once again utilising Habermasian theory, contemporary economic rationalism gives priority to the economic order over the socio-cultural order and is concerned much more with system, rather than social integration. Here, culture simply becomes an externality to be managed while society is recast 'as the object of politics', rather than its subject with Whitlam's social democratic discourse. In Pusey's words (1991, p.171) the two central features of economic rationalist policy discourse are a 'hyper-objectification of the market' and 'the uncoupling of the economic and socio-cultural contexts and premises of state action'. The strengthening of this policy framework through the corporate managerialist revolution has resulted in the subordination of 'all policy and management decisions to the strategic imperatives of macro- and micro-economic management' (Pusey, 1991, p.193). This change reflects both the cultural fragmentation of postmodernity and new pressures upon the state stemming from the internationalisation of the economy (Pusey, 1991; Aronowitz, 1992; Jameson, 1992) and Australia's economic rationalist response to the latter.

As suggested earlier in this Chapter, in the early stages of the twentieth century Australia had been at the forefront internationally of welfare developments and until the depression government investment in the economy exceeded that of the private sector. These circumstances framed Australian political culture as statist. However in the post-war boom period with a conservative Keynesian settlement, Australia became something of a welfare laggard in international comparative terms, practising a residualised safety-net welfare state. The exception here was the brief social democratic interlude of the Whitlam Labor government (1972-1975). With the demise of that government, economic liberalism resurfaced, and Whitlam's failure to create the corporatist institutions necessary for a successful defence of social democracy resulted in the quick dismantling of many of that government's achievements. The Hawke government came to power in 1983 promising a

corporatist solution to Australia's ongoing economic problems. However, and as indicated above, by 1987 the progressive potential in strong corporatism (Boreham and Compston, 1992) was eschewed, as the Accord with the Trade Union movement became more a mechanism for wage restraint and for pulling the unions in behind the government's increasingly economic rationalist approach. The targeted and residualised approach to welfare of the labourist tradition was reinstated. After 1987, economic restructuring took on metapolicy status (Yeatman, 1990a) and the Commonwealth bureaucracy was restructured so that such a goal could be achieved through an economic rationalist approach. Increasingly education policy, including schooling, was conceptualised as central to that restructuring. Education policy was implicated in two ways in that new post-1987 agenda. First, it was itself as an industry to be restructured and second, through its programs it was to contribute to the multiskilling of the Australian workforce. This was deemed to be necessary to the development of export oriented manufacturing integrated in a non-tariff protected manner with the global economy.

The move towards and subsequently away from the Australian statist tradition has had implications for women in Australian society. The paradox here, and a political difficulty facing the women's movement, is that while it was that statist tradition (Eisenstein, 1991) which facilitated the successful engagement of the second wave of the women's movement with public policy, the engagement came at the moment state policies were moving in a more abstemious direction. It is to a consideration of women and the Australian state that the next section of this Chapter now turns.

4.5 THE CHANGING AUSTRALIAN STATE AND THE GENDER ORDER

Some summarising comment needs to be made of the changing relationship between the state and the gender order, a matter also considered in some detail in Chapter 9. The wage earners' welfare state which emerged with the Harvester Judgment of 1907 was clearly patriarchal in nature. Higgins's notion of a "fair and reasonable wage", which was to comfortably support a man, his dependent (sic) wife and three dependent children, reinforced a patriarchal dependence for women, while also denying comparative wage justice to women working in the public sphere until the equal wages for the same work case of 1972. The broader domestic defence strategy, of which centralised wage fixation was just one component, was also masculinist in its assumptions and effects. As Beilharz,

Considine and Watts (1992, p.21) put it: 'It was a minimal welfare state, the logic of which was that the market would look after men and their families if capitalists were kept to their side of the bargain'. This early twentieth century welfare state was only minimalist when compared with developments towards a social democratic welfare state in the post-world war two period. At the time, the inchoate welfare provisions in Australia saw it universally regarded as a progressive social laboratory. This domestic defence approach was, it should be added, also racist, both towards the indigenous Aboriginal population, who were denied even fundamental citizenship rights, and to the people of Asia at whom the White Australia Policy was mainly directed. The notion of citizenship implicit in the early twentieth century policy developments was an 'industrial citizenship', giving priority to male wage earners, rather than a universal citizenship (Beilharz, Considine, Watts, 1992, p.25).

In some ways, and particularly after the mid 1980s, the weak corporatism of the Accord could be seen to perpetuate this industrial citizenship with its emphasis on full-time unionised workers over, part-time workers, the unemployed and "domestic labourers," which reinforces gender hierarchies. However, more recently the ACTU has recognised this reality and has attempted to move towards gender fair conceptions of social protection. It must be said, however, that there is still very much a masculinist logic in current award restructurings.

Johnson (1990) has argued that consensus strategies pursued by federal Labor governments have basically been about consensus between male members of different social classes. For example, she argues that the Keynesian consensus of the 1940s Labor governments was one between the male working class and the male leaders of manufacturing capital, with women's role after the war perceived to lie in the domestic sphere. The assumption, not unlike that of the earlier Harvester Judgment, was that women, as dependants of male providers, would benefit from the full employment to flow from Keynesian demand management (Johnson, 1990, p.88). Johnson shows how some of those assumptions still prevailed under the Whitlam government, but she also indicates that changes in respect of women were also occurring. For instance, the Whitlam government attempted to improve women's position within society by providing community services as part of the positive equality strategy, through removing discrimination against women and supporting wage equality. Many positive achievements resulted. (See here, Johnson, 1990; Ryan, 1990; Sawer, 1990.) However, Johnson (1990) argues that once the

economy went into recession the abandonment of the Keynesian approach in the 1975 budget saw many developments in the women's policy area come under threat. As Johnson (1990, p.95) puts it: 'Gender issues were marginalised since they did not seem relevant to the problems of a capitalist economy in recession and the central issue of relations between business and labour'. However, as shown in Chapter 9, concern over the women's vote meant that gender issues at least remained on the agenda, an example of Offe's legitimation pressure upon the state.

The Fraser period (1975–1983) and the resurgence of economic liberalism and the emergence of new right pressures saw the policy gains for women made during the Whitlam era come under threat. The anti-feminist support for home-based and caring roles for women complemented the new right desire to peel back the state and residualise further welfare provisions. Sawer (1990, p.52) has encapsulated this as 'market roles for men' and 'motherhood roles for women'. However, defensive struggles went on in and around both the Liberal Party and the state against such moves (Sawer, 1990). The election of the Hawke government promised much for women and indeed many positive gains were made particularly when Susan Ryan was the relevant Minister (1983–1987). These gains are documented in Chapter 9. However, the metapolicy status granted to economic restructuring after 1987, combined with the reorganisation of the Commonwealth public service, threatened some of the achievements and increasingly spawned policies congruent with the new economic agenda. The justification for such women's policies was also narrowed to the economic.

The abandonment of Keynesianism in the context of ongoing recession was to have an important impact on the policy directions of the Hawke government. Johnson (1990) goes on to note that the Hawke government has further incorporated women into its social and economic policy agendas. The Women's Budget Program and Women's Budget Statements have been important in that regard, as are anti-discrimination and equal opportunity legislation and the achievement of a *National Policy for the Education of Girls*. The commitment to economic rationalism and budget surpluses, with the overriding concern for an internationally competitive economy, however, has resulted in a focus on those aspects of women's policy which closely link with the economic agenda. Thus equal employment opportunity is justified on efficiency, rather than rights grounds, as is the move to eliminate sexism in schooling and provide equal opportunities for girls. The emphasis on broadening girls' curriculum and career options has also been justified on such

an efficiency and wastage of talent basis. Residualising through targeting of some welfare benefits may have benefited the most disadvantaged women. However, the emphasis on getting women into paid work requires a range of policies concerned with unequal power relations within the domestic sphere. Overall, Hawke policy developments in regard to women's issues indicate the complex relationship between patriarchy and capitalism and the complexity of the relationship between the state and the gender order.

Pusey (1991) notes how the dominance of economic rationalism has flowed from the restructuring of the federal bureaucracy and from the congruence between the education and ideologies of the most powerful economic ministers in the Hawke government and their counterparts at senior levels of the bureaucracy. He refers to these two sets of power brokers as 'male age-mates' (p.8). Yeatman (1990a) also points up the masculinist instrumentalism of the technical rationality underpinning the corporate managerialist reforms within the public sector.

Much stress has been given to this point of the statism of Australian political culture from the nineteenth century onwards. Eisenstein (1991) in an eloquent thesis argues that the femocrat political strategy idiosyncratic to Australian feminism reflects this political culture. It also stems from the coalition between some feminists and the Labor Party and relates to the fact that the second wave of organised feminism in Australia emerged at the same time as the Whitlam Labor government, a point also noted by Sawer (1990).

In the previous Chapter, mention was made when feminist theories of the state were considered, of the 'informal state' (Connell, 1987, 1990), which referred to the most often female provision of private welfare outside of that provided by the state. Beilharz, Considine and Watts (1992, ch.4) refer to this 'informal state' as 'the other state', and document its significance throughout Australia's European occupation and the role women have played within it. This gendered other state reflects the public/private divisions of the societal gender order and the nurturing and caring expectations of women's role. Sometimes, conceptions of minimal welfare provision as charity wish to utilise the other state while withdrawing state provisions. There are obvious implications for women in such developments. Moves to privatise and residualise aspects of welfare provision since the mid 1970s often turn on the assumption of the availability of the unpaid caring role of women in the domestic sphere. Such welfare "privatisers" most often wish to see women "return" to the traditional role of unpaid domestic labourer and as such either implicitly or

explicitly deny women opportunities and choice. Economic liberalism in giving priority to the market over the state and in desiring a minimalist welfare provision reinforces both class and gender based inequalities and while a strong corporatist model would provide a better defence of a social democratic welfare state such an approach needs to become more inclusive of women and their interests.

4.6 THE STATE IN AUSTRALIA: CONCLUSION

This Chapter has provided an historical sociology of the Australian state as background to an understanding of the contemporary state. The statist and utilitarian character of the Australian political culture was shown to have its base in the nineteenth and early twentieth century experience. Australia had an interventionist and an embryonic welfare state from early in the century with its idiosyncratic policy approach of domestic defence (Castles, 1988). That statist tradition began to wane from the time of the depression (Dow, 1992). From the second world war Australia embraced a conservative Keynesian approach concentrating more on controlling demand, rather than private sector investment. During that time Australia developed a smaller welfare state than other comparable countries, continuing the labourist tradition of a residualised welfare provision.

The viability of domestic defence, with its complementary emphases on the export of primary products and protected manufacturing geared to the local market, began to wane across the sixties. The Whitlam government, elected to power at the *denouement* of the postwar economic boom, attempted to create a social democratic welfare state committed to the achievement of positive equality (Whitlam, 1985). This was a brief aberration within the Australian labourist tradition. Whitlam's 25 per cent tariff cut was another formal move away from domestic defence. However, Whitlam did not establish the corporatist institutions necessary to entrench this move towards domestic compensation. Since the demise of Whitlam, economic liberalism has been resurgent in Australia. The Fraser period of government resulted in the dismantling of Whitlam's social democratic experiment. Hawke Labor came to power in 1983 committed to a neo-corporatist, rather than new right, solution to Australia's economic difficulties and the move to integrate an export oriented manufacturing industry with the global economy.

The Chapter traced the rapid rejection of Keynesianism after 1986/87 by Hawke Labor and the weakening of the progressive potential of neo-corporatism so that it simply

became a wages policy and a way of managing political demands (Boreham, 1990). Further, the resurgence of what is now called economic rationalism saturated the government's policies after the 1987 corporate managerialist restructuring of the public service, which is the focus of the next Chapter. This resulted in an eschewal of any residuals of Whitlam's universalist welfare state and a prioritising of the market over the state in economic policies. Thus while domestic defence had been abandoned, only some aspects of a domestic compensation approach (Castles, 1988; Katzenstein, 1985) had been endorsed. In this respect the government failed to heed all the advice contained in *Australia Reconstructed*. After its 1987 election victory, Hawke Labor focused on economic restructuring and microeconomic reform. As will be shown in subsequent Chapters, the federal government attempted to integrate all levels of education and refocus them towards the broader policy goal of economic restructuring, which had implications for Commonwealth equity agendas in education.

Pusey (1991) has argued that the Hawke government has turned the Australian state away from its traditional nation-building function in its endorsement of economic rationalism in both policy and state structural terms. This Chapter has documented the historical backdrop to the tradition of a strong state. Pusey (1991), in his argument, also suggests a number of reasons, including the early emergence of a Labor Party, the importance of the state from the outset in interest intermediation, the potential power of the Commonwealth built into the Constitution, and the financial power of the Commonwealth *vis-à-vis* the States after its take over of income tax power in 1942.

The evidence would appear to suggest that Pusey (1991), while accurately documenting the institutionalisation of economic rationalism under Hawke, has over played the state's nation-building role in the postwar period. That is particularly the case if it is accepted, as argued here, that the brief Whitlam interlude of social democracy was an aberration. Indeed, the evidence as mounted in some detail by Dow (1992), would seem to suggest that the nation-building state, as measured by state investment in the economy including infrastructure, began to wane from the time of the depression. Further, while Australia's approach to welfare provision earlier in the century appeared generous, if somewhat masculinist in character, when compared with that of other nations, throughout the postwar Keynesian period Australia became something of a welfare laggard. The only area where Australia now continues its statist tradition is in the size of public sector employment. However, the statist tradition remains important in a cultural sense and in

relation to political struggles around welfare provisions, citizenship rights and tariffs. Given the contemporary situation, in a fashion similar to Pusey (1991), Dow (1992) argues that we now have,

... a 'stateless society' with few opportunities for a nation-building social democracy to take on responsibilities or 'state experiments' that once seemed to be accepted in our major institutions. (Dow, 1992, p.271)

Cerny (1990) has spoken of such changes as indicating a move from a welfare to a 'competitive state', which seeks to 'marketise' itself as well as 'to promote the competitive advantage of national industrial and financial activities' (p.241). That conception seems to reflect much of the rhetoric of contemporary politics with respect to an appropriate role for the state. However, it has been easier for economic liberals to argue against the welfare state, than it has been for them to actually dismantle it. Thus a much more pertinent account of recent developments in Australia would be to argue for a change in type of welfare state regime (Therborn, 1987; Pierson, 1991). This might be classified as a 'market oriented welfare state' (Therborn, 1987), which supports 'limited social rights' with a weak commitment to full employment (Pierson, 1991, p.186). In Australia, this follows in the abstemious labourist tradition. Such an approach has implications for women who are more dependent upon the state as workers, clients and consumers than are men. Further, economic rationalism has resulted in a reassertion of a more masculinist character to the internal gender regime of the state. While the current policy regime has links with the past, there is an added complexity to the current situation. That is the move towards non-tariff protected integration with the global economy, without the necessary policies of domestic compensation and institutions of strong corporatism.

While accepting that the Australian state has been substantially reconfigured under Hawke Labor, the remainder of this thesis indicates how that new state structure remains very important in mediating the policy production cycle in education. The next four Chapters outline and analyse the character of that reconstructed Australian federal state. Chapters 5 and 6 focus upon changes to the bureaucracy at the federal and Queensland levels and also consider the impact of those changes on the structure of policy formation in schooling. Chapters 7 and 8 concentrate on changes within federalism generally and in relation to the development of schooling policies. These Chapters define and analyse what this thesis calls the new corporate federalism. In a sense, these next four Chapters present a picture of an economic rationalist restructure of the Australian state. These developments must be located against the historical sociology provided in this Chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE COMMONWEALTH'S CORPORATE MANAGERIALIST REVOLUTION AND THE STRUCTURE OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY-MAKING

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Following on from Offe's (1975) observations that problems in the state's environment become problems for the state's own internal structure, and that such structures mediate the policy production cycle, this Chapter documents and analyses the corporate managerialist revolution within the Australian public sector throughout the 1980s (Yeatman, 1990a). The Chapter also considers the impact of these managerialist changes on the structure of educational policy-making at the Commonwealth level. These structural changes must be seen against the contextual developments outlined in the previous Chapter. Such an analysis is necessary given the reality that the state's structures mediate all aspects of the policy cycle.

The Chapter begins by considering the backdrop to such reforms in the experience of the Whitlam government of some intransigence of the Commonwealth bureaucracy to that government's reform agendas (Wilenski, 1986) and the related appointment of the Royal Commission on Australian Government Administration (RCAGA), chaired by Dr H.C. Coombs, which reported in 1976. One important goal of the latter Report was to increase executive control over the bureaucracy. Subsequent moves by the Fraser government (1975–1983) to increase further both Prime Ministerial and Ministerial control over the bureaucracy will be considered briefly, as will the related moves to make the bureaucracy more responsive to the public through administrative law reform, including the introduction of Freedom of Information legislation and Administrative Appeals Tribunals and the like (Thompson, 1991; Griffiths, 1985).

Specific attention will then be given to the substantial public sector reforms of the Hawke government, following the presentation of the *Labor and Quality of Government* (1983) report of Hawke and Evans prior to the 1983 election victory. These reforms can be categorised into two periods, those prior to 1986/1987, including, for example, the establishment of the Senior Executive Service (SES) and the implementation of the Financial Management Improvement Programme (FMIP) both in 1984, and the structural

'machinery of government' reforms after 1987, with their increased emphasis upon efficiency to the detriment of the equity and democratic agendas (Thompson, 1991; Considine, 1990a; Wilenski, 1988; McInnes, 1990). As noted in the previous Chapter, the move after the 1987 Labor election victory from 27 Commonwealth Departments to 16 megadepartments had the effect of increasing further the power of the central agencies of Prime Minister and Cabinet, Treasury and Finance over the other Departments, particularly the program and service Departments, including importantly, education (Pusey, 1991). While the influence of Prime Minister and Cabinet had increased under Fraser, it was probably Treasury and Finance whose influence increased under Hawke. This resulted in the dominance of economic rationalism in framing the approaches of the new Department of Employment, Education and Training (DEET) under the new Minister, John Dawkins. As such there were structural and policy implications for education resulting from the new managerialism. In Yeatman's (1990a, p.102) words, economic restructuring now took on metapolicy status. The corporate managerialist revolution within the Commonwealth was central to such an ascendancy (Pusey, 1991; Considine, 1988, 1990a). However, as will be shown below the inherent characteristics of corporate managerialism also complemented the tighter ministerial control over narrower and more efficiency focused policy parameters (Considine, 1988, 1990a).

The Chapter will also consider the corporate managerialist revolution within education policy-making at the Commonwealth level. Some brief comment will be made concerning the particular effect of that restructuring upon the *National Policy for the Education of Girls*, which will be dealt with in more detail in Chapters 9 and 10. The rationales for the recent reforms have always been ambiguous and supported by different political constituencies (Wilenski, 1986, 1988; Yeatman, 1990a). Wilenski (1986) has suggested equity, efficiency and effectiveness and democracy as the ideal rationales for this public sector reform. However, the evidence to date would indicate that efficiency, along with ministerial and senior management control of policy agendas, have been the most common outcomes, with equity and democracy being reframed and narrowed by the priority given to efficiency (Considine, 1988, 1990a; Yeatman, 1990a,b; Wilenski, 1988; Thompson, 1991; Sawer, 1989). As will be demonstrated in the next Chapter, the efficiency focus and a commitment to deregulation and privatisation were probably stronger in Queensland across the time focus of this thesis than at the federal level, where a Labor government for a variety of reasons had to retain some equity emphasis.

Within the changes to be analysed there is a shift from the language and discourse of administration to that of management (Ball, 1990b; Davis, 1989). Davis (1989) contrasts the old image of bureaucracy as operating like a well sprung clock with its stress upon process, with the more flexible outputs oriented approach of managerialism. This change applies generally in the public sector and specifically in education. In a sense, just as the discourse framing economic policy discussion has changed since the seventies, so has the discourse of public sector management. The two changes, of course, are not unrelated (Considine, 1988; Pusey, 1991). Economic liberalism is important to both sets of reforms. The corporate managerialist revolution within the public sector brings private sector management practices inside the state apparatus, as well as moves to commodify or re-commodify many state policies, through both user-pays approaches and some corporatisation and even privatisation of state services. Such developments often fail to acknowledge the differences between public sector and private sector goods and services and their differing rationales (Allison, 1988; Evatt Research Centre, 1989; Considine, 1988; Sinclair, 1989) and also differences between market oriented and program and service departments within the bureaucracy itself (Pusey, 1991; Boreham, Dow, Littler and Stewart, 1988). This corporate managerialist reform also grants priority to the central agencies in the policy process, particularly at the Commonwealth level (Pusey, 1991; Considine, 1988), and thus assists in the subsuming of programs and services within an economic rationalist framework (Pusey, 1991) directed towards economic restructuring (Considine, 1988, 1990a; Yeatman, 1990a).

Corporate managerialism has a significant impact upon federalism with its stress on achieving a narrower and more specifically defined set of outcome goals or objectives formulated at a senior level within the management structures (Considine, 1988; Lingard, 1991, 1992). The efficiency emphasis on integration across policy domains, so as to avoid duplication and fragmentation, and to achieve uniformity and consistency of programs (Considine, 1988), also has significant ramifications for the operation of federalism generally and in the area of education policy (Lingard, 1991, 1992). This is particularly the case when education is reconceptualised in human capital terms (Sweet, 1989), given the responsibility of the Commonwealth government to manage the economy. These matters will be pursued in the Chapters 7 and 8. However, brief allusions will be made in this Chapter to the effect of corporate managerialism upon federalism where relevant.

This Chapter deals with structural changes to the internal arrangement of the Australian state at the Commonwealth level. As such it relates to the research in a number of ways. It stands alone as a contribution towards an historical sociology of the Australian state which is one topic of the research. It also develops from the theoretical approach to the liberal democratic state outlined in Chapter 3, which acknowledges that state structures mediate policy agendas, policy formulation and policy implementation. The specific changes in the structure of the Commonwealth bureaucracy resulting from the 1987 restructuring had a very significant impact upon the *National Policy for the Education of Girls*, another topic of the research. The Chapter is also concerned to document and analyse the relationship between the corporate managerialist revolution and the structures of educational policy-making at the Commonwealth level and the effect those new structures had on the actual policy formulated. The following Chapter deals with the corporate managerialist changes in the Queensland bureaucracy and their impact within the Department of Education. Chapters 7 and 8 indicate how reduction in Commonwealth grants to the States was one important factor in precipitating the corporate managerialist changes within State bureaucracies, geared to achieve greater efficiencies and more effective policy outcomes. As will be shown, this was particularly the case for Queensland where the reforms came later than in most other States. The economic circumstances were, of course, another important factor. Those structural conditions were also a factor in facilitating the move to a number of national policies after the achievement of the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* in 1987. Thus there is a way in which the Commonwealth's corporate managerialist revolution is central to changes in educational policy-making, modifications in federalism and important in bureaucratic and educational developments at the State level.

In summary, this Chapter documents and analyses the corporate managerialist revolution within the Commonwealth bureaucracy, after consideration of the changes from the time of Whitlam until the election of the Hawke government in 1983. It provides a critique of this corporate managerialism in terms of its effect upon equity agendas and citizenship participation. It also analyses changes in the structure of educational policy-making at the Commonwealth level, in particular noting the substantial differences between the new arrangements after 1987 and those of the Whitlam era. The significance of those changes for actual policy is also considered in acknowledgment of the mediating impact of state structures upon policy.

5.2 BACKGROUND TO THE EMERGENCE OF CORPORATE MANAGERIALISM: FROM WHITLAM TO FRASER 1972–1983

This section of the Chapter documents changes in the Commonwealth public service from Whitlam, through Fraser to the election of the Hawke government in 1983. This documentation indicates the turning away from a social democratic agenda and the inchoate beginnings of managerialism. The changes across the period are listed in Table 5.1 (p.151).

As noted in the previous Chapter, the Whitlam government attempted to implement a social democratic reform agenda. The intransigence of some arms of the bureaucracy to that agenda, particularly Treasury until the 1975 budget, and the related difficulty the government faced in its implementation, resulted in the appointment in 1974 by Whitlam of The Royal Commission on Australian Government Administration, chaired by Dr H.C. Coombs (Wilenski, 1986). This was to be the first comprehensive review of the Commonwealth public service since 1920 (Whitlam, 1985). Unfortunately, in terms of the implementation of its recommendations, the Coombs Report was not tabled until 1976 under the Fraser government.

Whitlam suggests that the aim of the Coombs Report was to 'modernise' the Commonwealth public service (1985, p.698), presumably so that it was as able to implement a reformist agenda, as it was so evidently capable of implementing a conservative one. The earlier lengthy period of conservative political rule at the Commonwealth level had seen an increasing government dependence upon the bureaucracy, which increased the latter's power and independence (Beilharz, Considine, Watts, 1992, p.110). Subsequent reforms, including the Coombs Report and the later corporate managerialist revolution, could be seen as attempts to reassert political control over the bureaucracy. As a number of theorists have argued, it was difficult economic circumstances which turned governments towards new mechanisms of administrative control (Corbett, 1988; Considine, 1990a). Changing economic contexts, along with governments of different political persuasions, resulted in that control being utilised for vastly different policy purposes.

Whitlam (1985, ch.19) has documented the utilisation by his government of a range of innovative administrative practices outside the direct control of the public service, such as task forces and commissions of inquiry. The Whitlam government also heavily utilised

the quasi-independent commission in a number of social policy domains, for instance, the Schools Commission, the Health Insurance Commission which administered Medibank the universal health care system, and the Prices Justification Tribunal. These were policy domains in which the Commonwealth had expanded its jurisdiction under Whitlam. Such commissions followed in the tradition of state institutions established earlier in the century.

In the case of the Schools Commission, there was a clientist and pluralist approach to schooling policy-making which had some degree of independence from both the minister and the government. This was an approach justified on educational and equality of opportunity grounds. All of the interested parties in schooling policy-making were represented on the Schools Commission. The Commission was committed to achieving equality of outcomes from schooling through positively discriminating expenditure patterns and the creation of the Disadvantaged Schools Program (DSP), encouraging teacher autonomy in a diversity of curriculum and pedagogical practices, and supporting parental and community involvement in school governance. Schooling was conceptualised within this framework as involving a complex social process which was not amenable to bureaucratic rationalisation (Pusey, 1991, p.147) and one in which professional knowledge carried considerable weight.

In some ways, through the Schools Commission and its policies and practices, the Whitlam government could be seen to be attempting to centralise control over equity questions, while simultaneously devolving "control" over educational matters to the school level in an attempt to circumvent the State education bureaucracies. The latter aspect of the approach had a participatory democratic rationale, which can be contrasted with the managerialist rationale for much contemporary devolution at the State level (Lingard and Rizvi, 1992). This Whitlam conception can be contrasted with the more instrumentalist and human capital based approach to schooling policy-making under Dawkins as federal Minister, 1987-1991 (Lingard, Knight and Porter, 1992). The structures for schooling policy advice were also more tightly controlled and framed by the Minister during the Dawkins' era, while the strategy for Commonwealth impact was through the move towards national policies (Lingard, 1991, 1992). These matters are pursued in more detail in Chapters 7 and 8. The Whitlam incumbency, then, was one of a social democratic settlement in schooling policy-making (Freeland, 1986) with appropriately complementary policy advice structures, while under Hawke and particularly in the period with Dawkins as

Minister (1987–1991), there was a return to a more instrumentalist and economic construction of schooling and tighter political control of the policy agenda.

The Whitlam government, in attempting to strengthen the arm of the executive *vis-à-vis* the bureaucracy, also saw the appointment of advisers who worked in ministers' offices as a source of "independent" policy advice distinct from that proffered by the permanent service. Three Heads of Department were also appointed from outside the career service. Both developments provoked tensions within the bureaucracy and between it and the government (Wilenski, 1986). There are inklings here of later developments under managerialism with its modifications to the career service and to its ministerialisation of policy formulation.

The Coombs Royal Commission, while recognising the necessary link between means and ends in administrative practice and the social and political character of such practice, attempted to achieve two broad goals in its recommendations. Firstly, it believed that the bureaucracy should be more responsive to executive demand and secondly that the bureaucracy should be more representative, democratic and participative in its own structures and *modus operandi* (Beilharz, Considine, Watts, 1992, p.112). There is, of course, a real tension between these two policy goals, a tension manifest during the Whitlam period and also later in the Hawke government public sector reforms. And, of course, all governments desire greater control over the bureaucracy, particularly in times of resource constraint.

Thus, while the Coombs review operated within a different discourse from subsequent managerialist reforms, it can also be argued that the review contained within it some seeds of the later results oriented managerialism. For instance, the review asked Heads of Department for statements of their Departmental objectives to which they received some incredulous responses, for at the time the focus of public administration was upon inputs and processes, not on outputs (Weller and Smith, 1977; Davis, Weller, Lewis, 1989). Put another way, the emphasis was on administration, rather than management. Wilenski, at the time Principal Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, and later architect of the early Hawke public sector reforms, was seconded to the review as a special adviser (Whitlam, 1985, p.699). Pusey (1991, p.164) has summarised the Coombs' recommendations as embracing greater mobility across departments, a closer relationship between managerial and policy roles, new recruitment and promotion policies, and increased across department coordination, all of which have been subsequently

implemented in one form or another, but significantly without the accompanying expansive social democratic reform program.

Reform of the public sector was one component of Whitlam's social democratic agenda, which, however, with its desire to tighten political control, set the stage for subsequent more efficiency oriented reforms. However, these Whitlam reforms were also committed to democratising policy and administrative practice, through encouraging a more permeable and representative bureaucracy and bottom-up, as well as top-down sponsorship of reform. "Openness" and "responsiveness" pick up the "feel" of this administrative ambience. This was very evident in the *modus operandi* of the Schools Commission over the Whitlam period. Pusey (1991, p.174) argues that the 'norms of participation and openness', central to the reformist agenda of the Whitlam era, are reconstructed as 'distracting noise' by the new economic rationalist public servants who have controlled the bureaucracy under Hawke.

As Pusey (1991) notes, the conception of the senior public servant during the Whitlam period was of an intellectual of a liberal and democratic persuasion who was a 'committed centrist'. This was not a technocratic construction of the senior public servant, with its emphasis upon technique over *telos*, which was to come to some eminence during the Hawke managerialist reforms (Pusey, 1991; Yeatman, 1990a). Indeed, in its apparent prioritising of civil society and the social over both the economy and the state, it rejected outright such a technocratic construction of the role of the senior public servant and an instrumentalist perception of public administration. This was a long way from the context-free and content-less approaches symptomatic of the new managerialism and generic managers under Hawke. In Weberian terms, the earlier emphasis was obviously upon the substantively rational, rather than merely the formally rational. Coombs very well embodies this construction of senior public servants and their role (Coombs, 1981). Any substantive rationality in the later Hawke approach concerns the creation of a more market driven society, rather than a social democratic one as envisaged by Whitlam.

Additionally, the Coombs Royal Commission sought to reduce the power and dominance of Treasury so as to subsume economic policy and policy advice within a broader framework of social considerations and reforms (Pusey, 1991). Fraser attempted to weaken Treasury by creating the complementary Department of Finance and through strengthening Prime Minister and Cabinet. All of this was to change under Hawke Labor, particularly after the 1987 'machinery of government' restructure, when all three central

agencies espoused an economic rationalism which was "enforced" on the other departments of state.

The Fraser government sought to peel back many of the progressive reforms of the Whitlam period and to install a monetarist approach to budgeting, refocussing policy towards business incentives away from the social wage. The creation by the Fraser government of the Department of Finance was aimed to achieve tight control over government expenditure. Fraser also introduced a "new federalism", which attempted to reduce the extensive use of tied Section 96 grants to the States, which had been central to the Whitlam positive equality agenda. Some of Whitlam's reforms to the public sector had resulted from the more expansive role for the Commonwealth which his agenda necessitated. Public sector reform was not central to the Fraser government, apart from the demand that ministers gain tighter control over the bureaucracy so as to ensure the implementation of the government agenda, including more parsimonious government expenditure and a reduction in federal involvement in the social policy domain, the latter being a reversal of the Whitlam approach. Fraser also substantially increased the influence of Prime Minister and Cabinet, increasing its staffing complement and its capacity to "second guess" policy proposals from elsewhere in the bureaucracy (Wiltshire, 1990). There were, however, some impressive reforms to administrative law during the Fraser period (1975–1983) (Griffiths, 1985; Wilenski, 1986; Beilharz, Considine, Watts, 1992), which will be documented very briefly below.

The Royal Commission into Australian Government Administration (Coombs Report), appointed by Whitlam in 1974, was released in 1976 under the conservative Fraser government. As such, the political will to implement most of its recommendations was non-existent (Wilenski, 1986). One major concern of the Coombs Report was to reinstate political ascendancy over the bureaucracy, while simultaneously accepting that the breadth and extent of bureaucratic activity meant that ministers could not directly oversee all such activity. The latter was an endemic problem to the modern democratic state; a reality nicely encapsulated in Etzioni–Halevy's (1983) assertion that while bureaucracy creates dilemmas for democracy, democracy also precipitates problems for bureaucracy. The Fraser government responded to these problems through a limited public service restructure and through a package of administrative law reforms.

The Fraser government pursued public sector reforms in their own way, not so much as a result of the Coombs Report, but rather because of the political need to control

the bureaucracy to install an economic liberalist approach and because of the more general move towards administrative reform which had begun in the 1970s, to some extent outside of the party political realm. However, as Wilenski (1986, p.185) states, the Coombs Report was a 'watershed document' which continues to have influence with respect to public service reforms. One should add, though, that the changed economic and political contexts have considerably weakened commitment to many democratic aspects of its 337 recommendations, while strengthening the managerialist thrust.

Immediately upon winning office the Fraser government appointed Sir Harry Bland as the chair of a new Administrative Review Committee (ARC), which was furnished with the task of eliminating 'waste and duplication both inside the federal bureaucracy and between it and State government departments' (Beilharz, Considine, Watts, 1992, p.114). The latter task was clearly linked to Fraser's "new federalism"; it is a task which has been pursued further under the different Hawke policy regime and Hawke's "new federalism". Wilenski (1986, p.168) suggests that the Bland Review was more concerned with eliminating government activities, than with considering different ways of delivering them. The ARC ran parallel to the Coombs inquiry and thus indicated something of the sea-change in both context and government policy direction under Fraser. 'Bottom-line analysis had arrived to challenge the Whitlam-Coombs model of experimentation and community participation' (Beilharz, Considine, Watts, 1992, p.114). Bland had restructured the Victorian public service in the early seventies for a conservative government, where he had indicated his support for reducing the autonomy of semi-government agencies and also for increasing ministerial control over the bureaucracy and for the central agencies over other departments.

Following Bland, Fraser attempted to reduce or at least redirect the functions of government, which required stronger political intervention in the bureaucracy. The later Review of Commonwealth functions ("Razor Gang", 1981), chaired by Sir Phillip Lynch, was established to achieve such cuts in both policy coverage and expenditure. (The first moves towards amalgamations of tertiary institutions resulted from the Razor Gang recommendations, a task pursued much further and more relentlessly by Dawkins under Hawke Labor.) The cuts had a negative impact upon morale in the Commonwealth public service (Thompson, 1991). Such changes were accompanied by a return to more traditional notions of the role of the career public servant and of administrative efficiency. There was also increased intervention by Prime Minister and Cabinet in other policy

domains and in the affairs of the public service (Wiltshire, 1990), as well as an extended role for personal advisers (Thompson, 1991, p.128), developing upon the earlier Whitlam usage. These changes further dented public service morale. Some structural reform occurred with the bifurcation of Treasury into two Departments, Treasury and Finance.

A number of administrative scandals within the Commonwealth public service in the latter stages of the Fraser period, including the revelations of the Costigan Royal Commission concerning "bottom-of-the-harbour" tax avoidance schemes (Thompson, 1991), strengthened the resolve of the new Hawke government after 1983 to push for both efficiency-oriented public sector reforms and tighter political control (Thompson, 1991; Wilenski, 1986). These scandals also ensured some public and bureaucratic support for such reforms. They were an important factor in Fraser's appointment of the Reid Review of Commonwealth Administration which reported in January, 1983, shortly before Fraser lost government.

Overall, with the Fraser period we see a contradictory mixture of a return to traditional perceptions of the role of the public servant, combined with some attempt to strengthen political control over the bureaucracy, so as to instigate economic liberalist approaches to policy, albeit of a weaker and more tentative variety than that now being articulated by the Liberal Party in the *Fightback! Package*. Just as there are at least two "labourisms" on the Labor side of Australian politics, there are also the "wet" and "dry", and traditional and new right versions of conservatism. Fraser's policy approach and reforms in the bureaucracy and administration indicate an interesting mixture of the new harsher economic liberalism and older traditionalist strands within conservatism.

Perhaps Fraser's most significant reforms in relation to the public sector were in the area of administrative law. Such administrative reforms were a response to the increased complexity of state policy coverage and the incapacity of politicians to oversee all of its activities. The reforms to administrative law recognised this and the reality that the policy/administration, politician/public servant dichotomies were mere fictions (Wilenski, 1986). Further, they acknowledged the need for protection of individual rights against the bureaucracy, perhaps a manifestation of the individualism central to liberalism and particularly to the economic variety. Wilenski (1986, p.189) suggests that the impetus for these administrative reforms came from the legal profession, rather than directly from political or bureaucratic sources. In a sense, they follow in the legalistic tradition of Australia's Benthamite utilitarianism noted in the previous Chapter.

These reforms included the establishment of a Commonwealth Ombudsman in 1976, the creation of the Administrative Appeals Tribunal also in 1976, the passing of the Administrative Decisions (Judicial Review) Act in 1977 and the Freedom of Information Act in 1981. Each of these reforms attempted to redress the imbalance of power between the bureaucratic state and its citizens by opening up the relationship in a more democratic fashion. Judicial power was also brought into play so as to weaken bureaucratic power (Wilenski, 1986, p.186). The policy objectives of these changes included making administrators accountable to independent agencies, where possible to eliminate secrecy in administrative decision-making and ultimately to improve the quality of that decision-making (Griffiths, 1985, p.446). These administrative law reforms certainly negated the conception that questions of democracy and the bureaucracy only concerned the relationship between the minister and senior bureaucrats. They also modified the nature of that relationship beyond the usual Westminster construction. There was some bureaucratic opposition to these reforms (Wilenski, 1986), particularly where the cost of the democratic right to information under the reforms seemed to come up against questions of efficiency (Griffiths, 1985, p.460). In some ways the reforms were also excessively legalistic in their operation (Wiltshire, 1990) continuing the 'legalism' of Australian political culture as documented by Davidson (1991) and referred to in the previous Chapter.

Wilenski (1986, p.189) argues that this package of reforms had most impact upon those departments which had direct dealings with the public. Thus, in a sense, the central agencies remained somewhat immune from their impact and, as noted above, it was the central agency of Prime Minister and Cabinet which had its power and influence increased substantially by the Fraser government.

In an interview for this research, Dr. Peter Tannock (IT14, 1989, p.1), member of the Schools Commission from its inception under Whitlam, and Chair under the Fraser government and for a short time under the Hawke government, commented that in terms of public sector management, there was much more congruence between the Whitlam and Fraser periods, than between either and the Hawke period. He also suggested that the Hawke government was much less ambitious than its Labor predecessor in terms of the sort of social change it believed the state was able to effectively achieve. This distinction becomes even clearer after the 1987 machinery of government reforms with the move to 16 mega departments. Here we have a full-blown managerialism implementing an economic rationalist reform agenda.

An overall evaluation would see the Fraser period as installing economic liberalism over social democracy, and strengthening the arm of Prime Minister and Cabinet over the other Departments, as well as increasing, to some extent, political control over both the bureaucracy and policy agenda. Paradoxically, Fraser's attempt to weaken Treasury with the creation of Finance, was later to strengthen the impact of economic rationalism upon Hawke policies (Pusey, 1991). Perhaps the Fraser period is best seen as an interim between Whitlam and Hawke which manifested both the end of the social democratic reform agenda and the first inchoate beginnings of managerialism. (See Table 5.1 for the changes across the period.) These matters were to be taken somewhat further by the Hawke government with the return to a labourist construction of welfare and the embrace of a new managerialism, particularly after 1987. However, as noted above there were under Fraser some democratic advances in administrative law. There was also, as will be shown in the next section, a period of progressive bureaucratic and administrative reform in the early period of the Hawke government which was subsequently overtaken by economic restructuring pressures.

Thus, while from the last Whitlam government budget, federal governments have had to operate in a context of ongoing economic difficulties, the political and bureaucratic restructurings have sought either to reduce and redirect government expenditure as under Fraser, or in the post-1987 Labor period to continue those processes, as well as harness all aspects of public policy to economic restructuring. Above all, however, in this new context politicians have demanded greater 'steering capacity' (Habermas, 1975) over the machinery of the state. Whitlam sought bureaucratic reform through the appointment of the Royal Commission, but his goal was to ensure that the bureaucracy could better respond to a social democratic reform agenda. The democratic aspects of these reforms, with the effluxion of time and changed economic context, have been overwhelmed by the economic agendas and managerialism and ministerialisation of policy. Paradoxically perhaps, it was the conservatism of Fraser which to some extent inhibited the creation of a managerialist approach within the public sector, which would have better complemented his stated economic policy intentions. Hawke Labor was not so hide-bound. As a consequence, it instigated a managerialist revolution of the public sector, but one which eschewed the social democracy of Whitlam and instead embraced a narrower labourism and a focus on economic restructuring. It is to the Hawke reforms that the Chapter now turns.

TABLE 5.1

REFORMS AND SIGNIFICANT EVENTS IN THE AUSTRALIAN PUBLIC SERVICE, THE WHITLAM AND FRASER PERIODS, 1974–1983

1974	Appointment of THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION (RCAGA) by Prime Minister Whitlam, chaired by Dr. H.C. Coombs.
1975, December	Sir Henry Bland appointed by Prime Minister Fraser as Chairperson of new ADMINISTRATIVE REVIEW COMMITTEE (RAC) .
1976	THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION (RCAGA) , chaired by Dr. H.C. Coombs, reported under Fraser government.
1976	Establishment of COMMONWEALTH OMBUDSMAN .
1976	Establishment of ADMINISTRATIVE APPEALS TRIBUNAL (AAT)
1976, December	Department of Treasury split into Treasury and the new Department of Finance to oversee total government expenditure.
1977	ADMINISTRATIVE DECISIONS (JUDICIAL REVIEW) ACT .
1981	REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF REVIEW OF COMMONWEALTH FUNCTIONS ("Razor Gang") , chaired by Sir Philip Lynch.
1981	Freedom of Information Legislation.
1981	REDEPLOYMENT AND RETIREMENT ACT , granted the Commonwealth some power to sack public servants.
1982	PARLIAMENTARY PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE INQUIRY INTO SELECTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF SENIOR MANAGERS OF THE COMMONWEALTH PUBLIC SERVICE
1982	Labor Opposition appointed its own Task Force on Government Administration as a preparation for the "transition to government".
1983, January	REPORT OF REVIEW OF COMMONWEALTH ADMINISTRATION , chaired by J.B. Reid.

5.3 THE HAWKE GOVERNMENT'S CORPORATE MANAGERIALIST RESTRUCTURING OF THE COMMONWEALTH PUBLIC SERVICE 1983–1991

5.3.1 Background

In the economically difficult times experienced since the mid-seventies, both State and Commonwealth governments have pursued agendas of reform of the public service.

The Hawke government perhaps has been something of a leader in that respect with its corporate managerialist revolution (Yeatman, 1990a) even though the Labor model for such reforms was set in the Wran restructuring of the New South Wales public service in the mid-seventies (Considine, 1990a) and in 1980s reforms in Victoria under Labor (Halligan, 1988). Those reforms have also gone by different classifications, for example, 'public management', 'new management' or 'corporate managerialism' (Davis, Weller, Lewis, 1989); the latter nomenclature will be utilised in this analysis.

Sinclair (1989, p.383) has defined this corporate managerialism as 'a rational, output-oriented, plan-based and management-led view of organisational reform'. Weller and Lewis (1989, p.1) suggest that 'managing for results' best encapsulates the intention of the managerialist reforms. Corporate planning, program budgeting, program goals, performance measures or indicators, some performance-based employment contracts for senior management, the notion of generic managers, some move away from a career service towards a 'permeable' bureaucracy, efficiency audits and the like have characterised these reforms. At one level, corporate managerialism involves internal structural reforms to the administrative machinery of the state which supposedly attempt to counter fragmentation, inefficiency and lack of clear lines of accountability in policy formulation and delivery and which also counter resistance to change within the bureaucracy (McGuire, 1989, p.17). As will be shown, managerialism appears to have been most successful at strengthening political control over the bureaucracy and creating a more responsive senior management. Beilharz, Considine and Watts' (1992, p.100) description of these reforms as instigating a 'strategic state' appears to be most apposite.

Thus, such a private sector management style has been applied to the public sector across the eighties and into the nineties, mainly by Labor governments, but also by non-Labor ones. The distinction between the two different political manifestations of corporate managerialism, has been that while both stress efficiency and effectiveness, Labor also gives some emphasis to equity, which is stressed in a weaker form and usually accompanied by a call to excellence in non-Labor approaches. Further, Labor has tended to 'corporatise', rather than 'privatise' public sector enterprises (Davis, 1989; Wiltshire, 1990); the need to balance internal ideological factions has also been a factor in Labor opting for the former over the latter.

Corporate managerialism has been a response to the fact that demands upon governments for extended service provision have been increasing, at a time when there

have been both real and imagined economic and ideological pressures upon governments to reduce their size and expenditure levels. The Labor commitment to public sector reform in the direction of corporate managerialism has been underpinned by a number of political agendas, but an important one has been the notion that governments will have to do 'more with less'. This is where the efficiency and effectiveness and accountability focusses of corporate managerialism become most relevant. Clarification of goals and performance measures of their achievement (effectiveness) and stringent efficiency measures (carrying out tasks at the lowest possible cost) have been central to this Labor attempt to achieve 'more for less'.

Indeed, Yeatman (1990a) argues that the commitment of both Commonwealth and State Labor governments to corporate managerialism has been the Labor response to new right or economic liberalist pressures "to peel back the state". Instead of a full embrace of such ideology, Labor has sought to implement a more efficient and effective outputs-oriented, public management approach. Thus, according to Yeatman (1990a), Labor's goal has been to apply private sector management models (corporate managerialism) to the public sector to ensure efficiency, and consequently to deflect new right calls for smaller government. It should be noted that the public sector unions have also called for public sector renewal as opposed to privatisation (Evatt Research Centre, 1989). However, and as indicated in the previous Chapter, the period from 1987 to 1991 saw economic liberalism take a particularly strong hold on the Labor government, which resulted in the efficiency and effectiveness aspects of public sector reform overriding, or at least reframing the equity goals (Halligan, 1988; Sawyer, 1989; McInnes, 1990; Thompson, 1991).

Yeatman (1990a) has also argued that Labor's corporate managerialism was motivated by public, or perhaps new social movement, opposition to the 'over-bureaucratised' mode of public sector service delivery. There is some echo of the individualism and anti-statism of the resurgent economic liberalism here as well. Thus, within the corporate managerialist reforms, there was in addition to the centralising of the policy function, also a move to flatter structures, which granted some autonomy to the 'street-level' bureaucrats in the delivery of services, as well as encouraging some democratic participation by those involved in a given policy domain. The new metaphor here is of a 'clothes hanger' with its flatter structure, as opposed to the old pyramidal hierarchy (Evatt Research Centre, 1989, p.129). There are, of course, tensions between such a democratising agenda and the centralising and hierarchical tendencies inherent in

the new management as actually implemented, as will be shown (Thompson, 1991; Yeatman, 1990a,b; Beilharz, Considine, Watts, 1992; Sinclair, 1989). In some senses, the state administrative structure is attempting to take on board the 'loose-tight' coupling of successful private sector companies (Peters and Waterman, 1982). The devolution aspect is managerialist inspired, rather than resulting from notions of participatory democracy as with the earlier Whitlam period of reform.

Some have described the reforms as the 'ministerialisation' of policy-making (Painter, 1987, p.75), indicating where much of the power lies within the new framework. Considine (1988, 1990a) suggests that the effect of the 1987 structural reforms to the Commonwealth Ministry was to install tighter executive control over a narrower (economic) policy agenda.

Additionally, as noted previously, Yeatman (1990a) shows how the new approach has been the 'Trojan Horse' via which the state has sought to manage the calls for a more democratic state stemming from the new social movements since the seventies. In this way, corporate managerialism could be seen to be attempting a range of political work. It was supposedly a Labor government way of diverting calls for smaller government by ensuring greater efficiency. It also placed the minister and senior management firmly in control of policy agendas, so that government policy could be implemented. The efficiency press saw moves to eradicate duplication and fragmentation, which in turn resulted in a more tightly imposed and narrower policy focus, with a related impact upon pressures for change within federal/State relations. Federalism could, in some senses at least, be seen to almost institutionalise duplication and fragmentation in policy delivery (EPAC, 1990); thus the Hawke push to reform it to ensure greater efficiency and create a national economic infrastructure (Lingard, 1991, 1992). Further, corporate managerialism also sought to "contain" or "manage" pressures for a more democratic state. The tightening economic climate, particularly after the 1987 budget, meant that the ministerial control and narrowly defined efficiency and effectiveness thrusts became dominant in the manifestation of corporate managerialism at the federal level. For example, Yeatman (1990a, p.3) notes how:

A newly rationalised administrative elite has learnt a repertoire of symbolic gestures in the direction of consumer consultation, social justice and client rights, but has been barred effectively from more serious conversion to those values by being rewarded or sanctioned for conformity to managerialist-economic rationalist administrative agendas.

The economic and ideological context of the 1980s precipitated federal Labor's corporate managerialist revolution within the machinery of state. This sought to strengthen ministerial control of policy agendas, better integrate departmental policy with overall government goals and at the same time ensure greater efficiency and more effectiveness. Equity was to remain on the agenda but was reframed by the coupling with efficiency and after 1987 by the government's overarching concern with economic restructuring. In the next section a chronology of the reforms is provided, followed by a critical evaluation of corporate managerialism *per se* and its specific manifestation under Hawke Labor. In the final sections of the Chapter, the impact of these structural changes upon the machinery of educational policy-making at the Commonwealth level will be considered.

5.3.2 The Hawke Reforms

Before providing some critical commentary on the Hawke government's managerialism, a short outline of administrative reforms across the four Hawke governments (1983–1991) will be sketched. Such a chronology is necessary to an understanding of the emerging changes. Table 5.2 (pp.161–162) provides a succinct summary of these reforms, indicating the increased emphasis upon efficiency and tighter political control as the external economic contexts worsened. This is an analysis offered by a number of commentators (for example, Thompson, 1991; McInnes, 1990; Wilenski, 1988; Halligan, 1988; Pusey, 1991). It was suggested earlier in this Chapter that the 1987 "machinery of government" reforms provide the fulcrum around which broader and narrower administrative reform agendas turn. A quick glance, however, at Table 5.2 indicates efficiency and the assertion of ministerial control were concerns from the outset of the first Hawke government, but framed within broader equity and democratic agendas (Thompson, 1991; McInnes, 1990). Nevertheless, the machinery of government reforms installed, a fully blown economic rationalism and a managerialism with an efficiency focus.

Both the *Labor and Quality of Government* and the *Reforming the Australian Public Service* White Paper focused on three reform agendas (McInnes, 1990, p.108; Thompson, 1991). The first concerned ministerial responsibility and accountability; the second, an attempt to restore public confidence in public administration at both political and public service levels. The third and most substantive aim was 'to build a dynamic,

equitable and flexible structure that was capable of responding efficiently and effectively to Labor's programs and the increasing complexity of the modern democratic state' (McInnes, 1990, p.108). Neither document listed cost efficiency as the overriding theme of the proposed reforms (McInnes, 1990, p.109). For example, central concerns of the White Paper included equal employment opportunity and industrial democracy legislation. The passage of both the Public Service Reform Act 1983 and the Merit Protection (Australian Government Employees) Act 1983 in June 1984 implemented most of the reforms recommended in the two documents.

These pieces of legislation resulted in the abolition of the divisional structure within the public service and the creation of a Senior Executive Service (SES), consisting of about the 1500 most senior public servants. Responsibility for staffing numbers was transferred from the Public Service Board to the Department of Finance which was to increase its impact upon public service matters. Departments were also required to develop Equal Employment Opportunity Plans. Some other progressive personnel policy practices were also implemented, including commitment to the merit principle and open advertisement for Senior Executive Service positions.

At about the same time, the Financial Management Improvement Plan (FMIP) was instigated as a joint initiative of the Public Service Board and the Department of Finance. This initiative emphasised management by results and efficiency in the delivery of services and also saw the introduction across departments of corporate planning, program management, program budgeting and performance indicators for a measure of effectiveness. The managerialist revolution had begun!

The changes which flowed from the 1984 Public Service Reform Act created the notion of the generic manager with an emphasis upon generic policy and management skills. This was a move away from the requirement that senior bureaucrats have expertise in the policy domain of their portfolios. Dawkins, who was Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for Public Service Matters as well as Minister for Finance in the first Hawke government, has noted how these reforms ensured senior public servants were more disposed towards 'service-wide', rather than 'departmental interests' (Dawkins, 1985, p.64). Such a change also meant a public service more responsive to the overall goals of the government and less responsive to "special" departmental interests. As such, there was the potential for better integration of the government's policy profile. This was to become very significant after the 1987 "machinery of government" restructure. The notion of a

generic manager also increased the likelihood that senior public servants would become more technocratic in orientation with an emphasis on technique over *telos* as well as content (Yeatman, 1990a). This complements nicely any stress upon an economic definition of efficiency. It also strengthened the position of the technical over the humanistic intelligentsia within the bureaucracy and in career terms (Yeatman, 1990a, p.35).

The Hawke 1984 election promise not to increase total taxation revenue, government expenditure or budget deficits as a percentage of GDP effectively curtailed subsequent increases in government expenditure. As McInnes (1990, p.111) puts it: 'In maintaining this commitment, successive budgets have restrained public sector activity through staff cuts, program rationalisation, increasingly tight welfare targeting and privatised services'. It is, however, Australia's worsening trading position (balance of payments problem) from 1986 and potential blow-out in the federal budget deficit which served to refocus government public sector management upon efficiency over all else, and efficiency defined simply as economy. Subsequently, the Expenditure Review Committee (ERC) of cabinet sought about \$1000 million in expenditure cuts and placed a freeze on public servant numbers. The resulting cuts also had severe impact upon expenditure at the State level where new efficiencies were also sought in response to the resulting reductions in Commonwealth grants. The late 1986 package of public administration reforms (see Table 5.2) indicates the dominance of efficiency concerns, but the reforms also indicate a coming together of those concerns and managerial reform (Halligan, 1988). As Halligan (1988, p.56) points out, efficiency was being applied in financial and personnel contexts and to both structure and process.

In September 1986, an Efficiency Scrutiny Unit (ESU) under the direction of David Block, a Sydney merchant banker, was established within the Prime Minister's Department, responsible to the Prime Minister and through him to cabinet and the Expenditure Review Committee (ERC). The ESU was based upon the efficiency scrutinies introduced in 1979 in Britain by the Thatcher government under the tutelage of Sir David Rayner. The aim of the Thatcher scrutinies had been to reduce government regulation and to remove barriers to effective resource management (McInnes, 1990, p.117). The aim of the Australian reform was to review public sector management and administrative practices in the light of 'best private sector practice' so as to achieve 'greater efficiency' (Hawke, 1986, p.4). The creation of the ESU also placed some dent in the influence of the Public Service Board.

The Prime Minister made the link between the establishment of the ESU and the declining economic context and the related necessity for economic restructuring in his statement to parliament announcing the need for public sector reforms (Hawke, 1986). Until its demise in 1988 and the relocation of the efficiency scrutiny function to departments, the ESU conducted a large number of efficiency audits, which in 1987 were linked to the seeking of budget cuts. The ESU introduced a practice whereby departments which effected savings in any one year subsequently were able to have discretionary use over 1.25 percent of such savings. In its brief existence (1986–1988), the ESU contributed substantially to the new ambience within the Commonwealth public service.

The passing of the Public Service Legislation (Streamlining) Act and the repeal of Commonwealth Employees (Redeployment and Retirement) Act 1979 in November and December 1986 respectively provided both departments and the Public Service Board with the capacity to dismiss or move public servants on the grounds of either redundancy or inefficiency. In so doing, they increased the power of the department head in the personnel area and granted them the capacity to relocate funds from staffing to other expenditure domains, as thought necessary on efficiency grounds. The increased power of senior managers was deemed essential to the efficiency agenda. Further, appeals against promotion were removed for all but the most junior positions. Given the relative ease with which staff could now be dismissed, Thompson (1991, p.131) has described these late 1986 "reforms" as the: 'Most radical changes in the history of the Australian public service'.

The effect of both the ESU and the reforms to conditions of employment of public servants and the increased capacity of senior managers "to manage" was the redefinition of the task of the senior public servant as more managerial than policy oriented in nature (Thompson, 1991, p.131). The managers were free to manage within a tightly framed government policy agenda. Similar changes (tight government policy framework and capacity for the managers to manage) were mooted for statutory authorities in two discussion papers released by the Ministers for Primary Industry and Finance respectively late in 1986. In a sense, what resulted was the attempted reassertion of a policy/administration or means/ends dichotomy within a managerial framework.

The public service careers of senior personnel became more tenuous with a tendency for such personnel to focus more on their own careers than on older bureaucratic notions of service, with a consequent increase in mobility between private and public

sector management positions. The greater permeability and private/public cross fertilisation at the senior levels increases the emphasis on formal rationality within public service practice. These factors also increase the 'politicisation' of the senior service, not through partisan appointments so much, as through what Thompson (1991, p.133) calls 'ideological politicisation'. By that notion, she means that those in both political and administrative positions of power share a technocratic and scientific world view, which accepts a narrow role for government geared to economic restructuring with an overwhelming emphasis upon efficiency. This situation was to be reinforced by the 1987 public service restructure following Hawke's third election victory.

The Administrative Arrangements Act 1987 saw the move from 27 Commonwealth Departments to 16 megadepartments (and two non-cabinet ministerial portfolios), with a two-tier system of senior and junior ministers. At about the same time, the Prime Minister announced the abolition of the Public Service Board following a highly confidential report from the ESU. The Prime Minister took this action with very little consultation. Block provided the principles for its abolition, notably devolution, ministerial accountability, and the need for consolidation and cost-effectiveness (McInnes, 1990, p.118). The independent voice of the Public Service Board was lost in the preoccupation with efficiency, cost cutting and installation of a fully blown managerialism. The abolition of the Board also reduced the likelihood of the full implementation of EEO and other equity policies. Now the government was able to push through its policy agenda which increasingly was concerned with economic restructuring which took on metapolicy status.

As suggested earlier in this Chapter and also in the previous Chapter, the 1987 "machinery of government" restructure institutionalised further economic rationalism (Pusey, 1991). The creation of the Department of Employment, Education and Training (DEET) was an indication of an attempted integration of all education policy-making within an economic framework. The Prime Minister stated in announcing the changes that the integration of the two portfolios responsible for education and the labour market into one would 'ensure better coordination of education policies with labour market requirements' (Hawke, 1987, p.12)

Pusey (1991) has documented how the federation which characterises the Commonwealth bureaucracy can be conceptualised as consisting of a triangular hierarchy of public service departments. The central agencies of Prime Minister and Cabinet, Treasury and Finance stand at the apex of the triangle with the market-oriented

departments at one corner of the base and the program and service ones at the other. While a 'minimalist laissez-faire' ideology dominates within the central agencies, residues of Keynesianism still reside within the market-oriented departments, while a social democratic residue remains within the program and service departments (Pusey, 1991, pp.6-7). Pusey argues that the 1987 reforms tightened further the control of the central agencies and the economic rationalist agenda over both market-oriented and program and service departments and their policy profiles. The Expenditure Review Committee of Cabinet was important to this control. Put another way, the technical intelligentsia within the state had usurped control from the humanistic intelligentsia who had been significant in the earlier Whitlam reforms (Yeatman, 1990a). As a consequence, a new economic discourse began to pervade even the program and service departments and their policy approaches with consequent implications for educational policy.

Pusey (1991) has also shown how the role of the senior bureaucrat has changed substantially from the mandarin conception epitomised by Dr H.C. Coombs, and referred to earlier, towards a much more technocratic conception. Pusey (1991, p.78) documents how the most senior bureaucrats in the central agencies now are likely to have attended prestigious private schools, almost certainly are male, have Bachelors and higher degrees in economics, are around 40 years of age and have had some experience working for international agencies such as OECD, GATT, the World Bank etc. In reinforcing the point about the 'ideological politicisation' of the senior levels of the Commonwealth bureaucracy (Thompson, 1991, p.133), Pusey (1991, p.8) notes that 'ministers and their top SES staff see the world very much as male age-mates through a shared and restricting formative training in economics'. He also shows how individuals with such characteristics are most likely to achieve both promotion and accelerated promotion within the bureaucracy. The 1987 reforms saw some of these economists relocated in the program and service departments. These points will be pursued a little further when changes in the framework for schooling policy-making at the federal level are documented below.

TABLE 5.2

**REFORMS AND SIGNIFICANT EVENTS IN THE AUSTRALIAN
PUBLIC SERVICE, THE HAWKE GOVERNMENTS, 1983-1991.**

1983, February	LABOR AND QUALITY OF GOVERNMENT authored by R.J.L. Hawke and G. Evans.
1983, April	Labor election victory.
1983	The Minister for Finance, J.S. Dawkins also responsible for assisting the Prime Minister on public service matters.
1983, October	FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AMENDMENT BILL, 1983. (Strengthened earlier Fraser Bill).
1983, December	White Paper, REFORMING THE AUSTRALIAN PUBLIC SERVICE: A STATEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT'S INTENTION , Canberra, AGPS (RAPS). (Usually referred to as the "Dawkins' Proposals" after J.S. Dawkins, its chief instigator).
1984, April	BUDGET REFORM PAPER by J.S. Dawkins, an extension of RAPS.
1984, June	'Machinery of Government' Cabinet Sub-committee appointed.
1984, June	Instigation of the Financial Management Improvement Plan (FMIP), a joint Department of Finance/Public Service Board program emphasising management by results and efficiency; resulted in the introduction of Corporate Planning, Program Management, Program Budgeting and Performance Indicators; development given impetus by RAPS.
1984, June	Package of reforms flowing from THE PUBLIC SERVICE REFORM ACT 1983 and the MERIT PROTECTION (AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES) ACT 1983 . These included: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● abolition of the divisional structure within the public service; ● creation of the Senior Executive Service (SES); ● staff numbers responsibility transferred to the Department of Finance; ● Departmental secretaries required to develop Equal Employment Opportunity Plans.
1984, December	Hawke election promise to halt increases in total taxation, expenditure and budget deficits as a percentage of GDP; effectively curtailed future increases in public sector expenditure.
1986	REFORM OF COMMONWEALTH PRIMARY INDUSTRY STATUTORY MARKETING AUTHORITIES : A GOVERNMENT POLICY STATEMENT , instigated by J. Kerin, Minister for Primary Industries.
1986	Green Paper, STATUTORY AUTHORITIES AND GOVERNMENT BUSINESS ENTERPRISES, PROPOSED POLICY GUIDELINES , instigated by P. Walsh, Minister for Finance.
1986, May	Federal Treasurer, P. Keating's "Banana Republic" speech.
1986, July	Hawke "Razor Gang" appointed to achieve almost \$1,000 million in budget expenditure cuts.
1986, August	FREEDOM OF INFORMATION LAWS AMENDMENT BILL 1986 , introduced charges for freedom of information access.
1986, September	Establishment of EFFICIENCY SCRUTINY UNIT (ESU) of Cabinet, reporting directly to the Prime Minister.

- 1986, October **AFFIRMATIVE ACTION (EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY FOR WOMEN) ACT**, established an Affirmative Action Agency.
- 1986, November, Amendments to the Public Service Act via **PUBLIC SERVICE LEGISLATION**
December **(STREAMLINING ACT)** and repeal of **COMMONWEALTH EMPLOYEES**
 (REDEPLOYMENT AND RETIREMENT) ACT 1979.
- 1986, December Australia's International Credit Rating drops.
- 1987, August **BLOCK REVIEW OF THE EFFICIENCY OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE**, produced by
 David Block, Head of ESU.
- 1987, July,
'Bastille Day' Hawke Press Release on Public Sector Reforms, including abolition of Public Service Board on
 recommendation of 'Block Review' and restructuring the machinery of government from 27
 Commonwealth Departments to 16 megadepartments.
- 1987 **ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS ACT** created 16 megadepartments with two-tier
 ministry arrangement.
- 1987, October Stock market crash.
- 1989 **REPORT OF THE SENATE STANDING COMMITTEE ON FINANCE AND PUBLIC**
 ADMINISTRATION ENQUIRY INTO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SENIOR
 EXECUTIVE SERVICE, gave bipartisan support for SES and efficiency reforms.

5.3.3 Labor's Managerialism: A Critical Commentary

Peter Wilenski, former Secretary to Prime Minister Whitlam, Chair of the Review of the New South Wales public service for Premier Wran (1977), Chair of the Public Service Board for the Hawke government (1983–1987), was in many ways the intellectual architect of Labor's public sector reform agenda. As Chair of the Public Service Board, he contributed to the influential *Reforming the Australian Public Service*, produced by the Hawke government at the end of 1983. None of this is to suggest that what actually happened in practice was an exact playing out of his ideas. There was a greater congruence in the earlier, pre-1987 phase of bureaucratic and administrative reforms (Wilenski, 1986, pp.190–200). Moreover, in his critique, Wilenski (1988) has listed the shortcomings of the approach as implemented. However, a brief consideration of his arguments will allow for a better and more critical analysis of Labor's corporate managerialist revolution, particularly after the 1987 machinery of government restructure. It will also provide a framework for analysis of the Queensland public service reforms which are considered in the next Chapter.

The Whitlam experience with the Commonwealth public service had a formative effect upon Wilenski's developing approach to public sector reform, as had the recommendations of the 1976 Coombs Royal Commission, to which he had been a special

adviser. In particular, the Whitlam demand for a public service more responsive to the government's political agenda was of great significance, as was the desire for a more permeable and democratic bureaucracy linked to participatory citizenship goals. Finally, the Whitlam experiment had shown that the bureaucracy was much better at supporting the *status quo* and incrementalist change, rather than implementing the policies of a reformist government committed to a strong definition of equality. In 1974, Whitlam appointed the Coombs Commission on the public service to consider such matters. In its report, the Commission gave special attention to the desirable, democratic relationship between the minister and public service officials (Wilenski, 1986, p.185). Even though, it ought to be said that, throughout the eighties, with an imbalance between demands for increased policy delivery and the resources available to satisfy them, governments of either political persuasion sought increased control over policy agendas, as well as their more efficient delivery.

Wilenski (1986) argues for three sets of values to underpin progressive public sector reform agendas, namely, efficiency and effectiveness, democracy and equity. He notes, as does Self (1978), that the pursuit of such agendas is supported by different political constituencies located both within and outside the bureaucracy. As such, bureaucratic reform results from a complex intersection of social, political, and bureaucratic pressures (Wilenski, 1986; Self, 1978).

Efficiency and effectiveness reforms are most often supported by the bureaucracy itself, as they tie with traditional administrative concerns. In particular, they have substantial legitimacy with those who perceive administration as a purely instrumental activity and simply a matter of formal rationality in Weberian terms. In difficult economic circumstances, efficiency and effectiveness reforms will also have considerable political support.

The support for the equity agenda was originally located outside of the bureaucracy in political parties, trade unions, and new social movements. This agenda pursued a more representative bureaucracy through anti-discrimination and equal employment opportunity legislation and more equitable outcomes from public policy. There is now some support for this agenda within government and within the bureaucracy itself, for example, it is central to the femocrat project, as will be shown in Chapters 9 and 10.

One aspect of the democratic reform agenda concerns both politicians and senior bureaucrats and the appropriate relationship between them within an ostensibly

Westminster style of government. Freedom of Information legislation is also a central component of moves to democratise the bureaucracy, through the provision of citizen access to files and the basis of specific policy decisions, as is the creation of administrative appeals tribunals.

A consideration of the structure of power within public bureaucracies would suggest that those reforms with support within the bureaucracy, as well as political support, are those most likely to be fully embraced. In the recent past, this has advantaged the efficiency and effectiveness thrust over the other components of Wilenski's (1986) progressive public sector reform agenda.

Wilenski (1986) stresses that efficiency is a lower order value for public administration, while equity and a Kantian respect for all persons ought to be metaprinciples for democratic administration. Wilenski makes the significant point that efficiency should only be emphasised as a way of ensuring greater want satisfaction for more persons. He also makes the related point that efficiency has tended to become synonymous with doing 'more with less' or with the instigation of tighter economies, whereas efficiency could be effected if proportionally greater goals were achieved through increased expenditure. As the economic context of the Hawke government tightened, and as the commitment to surplus budgeting strengthened after the 1987 election victory, the efficiency rhetoric usurped the equity agenda. Here we see formal rationality substituting for a more substantive form in the practices of the bureaucracy.

More recently, Wilenski (1988) has written about the dangers when the latter occurs. In so doing, he points out how the new managerialism may eschew considerations of the specific and idiosyncratic character of public administration and policy in its "aping" of private sector models. The strength of the new managerialism, according to Wilenski (1988, p.217), is its emphasis upon outcomes and results, as opposed to the earlier public administration fetish with correct processes, and its concern to achieve those results in the most efficient manner possible. However, there are attendant weaknesses, including its potentially instrumentalist construction of the task of the public servant, which seeks to reinstate the naive and unrealistic policy/administration dichotomy (Wilenski, 1988, p.217). Such a situation can precipitate the down-grading of substantive goals such as equity, which fit less easily with bureaucratic culture and tradition, than does an instrumentalist efficiency focus. For Wilenski (1988, p.218), the latter focus also presents a potential danger to demands for democratic involvement and access of citizens to both the policy

process and to decisions. Wilenski's solution to the problems of a narrow and constraining managerialism is to argue for the reinstatement of the humanistic, caring components of the 'new public administration' of the 1970s (Frederickson, 1980), combined with the suggestions from a range of recent popular guides to better private sector management, for example, Peters and Waterman (1982), which argue for 'loose-tight' coupling between the centre and the periphery and for a greater emphasis upon people. Of course, the problem with such recommendations is that, to some extent, they deny the strength of bureaucratic culture and the power within its hierarchies, as well as underplaying the significance of the surrounding economic context on the potential for more equitable reforms.

In recognising the differences between public and private sector administration and management, Wilenski (1986, 1988) has raised a pertinent point about the validity of corporate managerialism within the public sector. At the same time, he recognises that such public sector reforms are part of the 1980s and 1990s context of economic austerity and support for economic liberalism, whereby greater faith was placed in the practices of the market, rather than in the other potential societal steering mechanism, the state.

The question of the applicability of private sector modes of managerialism to the public sector is an important one. McGuire (1989) points out some significant differences between the public and private sectors which place serious question marks over the direct applicability of managerialism within the public sector. She notes how the private sector application of managerialism (even within the biggest multinational) is concerned with 'coordination between business units within an autonomous organisation with a common mission or purpose' (McGuire, 1989, p.27). As she further points out: 'In contrast, public management is concerned with coordination between organisations in pursuit of the multiple and conflicting demands of the society as perceived by government' (McGuire, 1989, p.27). Public organisations also have more qualitative objectives such as equity which are difficult to quantify and measure (McGuire, 1989, p.27). This is a point made by a range of other commentators (for example, Sinclair, 1989; Evatt Research Centre, 1989; Metcalfe and Richards, 1987; Yeatman, 1990a). Sinclair (1989, p.384), for instance, notes the multiplicity and ambiguity of goals for the public sector, while Yeatman (1990a, p.35) stresses that the public sector mission means that it must be concerned with values. However, the management/control division between public servants and politicians, and the disparate pressures on the latter, ensure that public policy objectives are often 'effectively treated as short-term and unstable' (Sinclair, 1989, p.385). This is where the

narrowly political intersects with the rational in policy-making. Sinclair also points out the fragmented authority and decision-making structures within the public sector, which are subject to political pressures from a variety of directions, including the public, politicians, pressure groups, from within the bureaucracy and so on. As such, there are or at least ought to be multiple accountabilities within the public sector.

As with Wilenski (1986, 1988) and McGuire (1989), Sinclair points out how efficiency alone is not an adequate measure of public sector accountability and as such, suggests that the public sector is caught between 'economic and political value systems' (Sinclair, 1989, p.384). She also points out the limited autonomy and flexibility endemic to the bureaucratic culture of the public sector (Sinclair, 1989, p.384). The Evatt Research Centre (1989) in their call for public sector renewal have made similar points, notably that efficiency and productivity should apply to public sector operations, but importantly, they must be linked to a sophisticated consideration of the 'socio-political effect or utility value of public sector provision' (p.55).

The failure of much of the public sector application of corporate managerialism to acknowledge the idiosyncratic character of public sector management perhaps indicates something of its intentions. These include tighter control over a narrower policy agenda concerned with the economy, and an overbearing internal focus upon questions of efficiency.

Considine (1988) has provided an insightful account of the four central themes and underpinning epistemology of corporate managerialism. These themes are manifest in the specific public sector management reforms usually associated with it. They include *inter alia* program budgeting, corporate planning, performance contracts, program evaluation, and different forms of efficiency scrutiny (Considine, 1988). Considine (1988) sees the new managerialism as fitting firmly within the paradigm of technical and instrumental rationality, but operating as a new technology of power, a new framework of control within the state. The context of these reforms is the economic recession and its accompanying social uncertainty. Internal to the state is the attempt by politicians to gain control of the policy agenda geared to economic restructuring and parsimony in government expenditure. Within the bureaucracy itself, there is an acceptance that senior management is 'the rationalising force in organisations' (Considine, 1988, p.6).

One reason for the apparent universal support for this new mode of public sector management is its capacity to minimise uncertainty, to return the control of policy to the

minister in an apparent clarification of the Westminster system and to ensure greater efficiency and effectiveness in policy delivery. All of these promises are set against a context of difficult economic times and the economic liberalist call for a smaller state. What has been delivered is a putatively more efficient state, which stresses outcomes over inputs and which has moved beyond the legal rationality of process symptomatic of traditional Weberian bureaucracy towards purposive action. While legal rationality may have been relevant to public administration which emphasised allocation of goods (Offe, 1985) or the 'tasks of distribution and adjudication' (Considine, 1988, p.10), it was never suitable to the productive functions of the state (Offe, 1985). The current reforms attempt to construct all public policy in such a purposive and productive way and as such eschew the older form of bureaucratic operation with its fetish for correct procedures. Their goal is to clarify and increase the 'steering capacity' of the state (Habermas, 1975). As has been shown above, there are potential dangers herein for both the equity and democratic components of the reform agenda.

The four themes of corporate managerialism according to Considine (1988) are the product format, instrumentalism, integration and purposive action. The first is manifest in the new outputs orientation, wherein lies the danger that the stress will be upon the easily measurable and quantifiable with a potential narrowing of goals. There are presumptions here that public and private sector operate according to similar logics (Considine, 1988, p.7). This assumption, combined with the product or outputs emphasis, tends to neglect citizenship rights and instead conceives of citizens as consumers and basically as 'economic agents' (Considine, 1988, p.8). The product format attempts to achieve ministerial and senior management control of policy agendas through the compatibility between government policy, department corporate plans and program goals.

With the instrumental orientation of the new managerialism the department and its policies are regarded 'as a tool in the hands of executive management and the minister' (Considine, 1988, p.8). Control here does not operate through the older style bureaucratic procedures, but more through the agreement to output contracts. Instrumentalism is also manifest in the setting of goals by the government, which are then converted into 'operational targets' by executive management at the department level and then delivered by specific policy programs. Taking account of the reality that the public sector is more a federation of departments, rather than a single monolithic entity, the instrumentalism endemic to managerialism, sees departments as 'operational agencies carrying out decisions

made at the top or made by central agencies such as Treasury' (Considine, 1988, p.13). As Pusey (1991) has noted, this has the capacity to entrench economic rationalism across the program and service departments, including education. Furthermore and related: 'Instrumentalism promotes a severely hierarchical approach to the structuring of the public sector' (Considine, 1988, p.14), which carries serious implications for any democratic agenda and for professional service delivery at the 'street level'. The street level bureaucrats are granted limited scope to implement policy which has been determined at the centre, as it were (Lipsky, 1980).

Integration stresses 'uniformity and consistency among government services and activities' (Considine, 1988, p.8) and the abolition of duplication. Program budgeting is one resulting feature which seeks to ensure greater efficiency with funding linked to articulated outcomes. The desire for uniformity, consistency and the removal of duplication has the effect of reducing the objectives pursued and of lifting the level at which this narrower set of objectives is formulated (Considine, 1988, p.9). This has an impact across the range of government departments and within departments, as well as across the federal, State and local levels of government. On the latter point, there is a sense in which political federalism itself can be seen to be inefficient, particularly in terms of duplication of services, and also in relation to focusing all government policies on economic restructuring.

Better integration in this instance requires some reworking of federalism (EPAC, 1990). In federal/State relations in schooling policy-making, this has resulted in what this research classifies as 'corporate federalism' (Lingard, 1991, 1992), a matter pursued further in Chapters 7 and 8. The emphasis on integration can also result in the dominance of economic rationalism across the program and service departments.

The purposive action theme of corporate managerialism can be seen in the perception of public sector bureaucracies as 'output-producers' (Considine, 1988, p.9). This in turn links to the context of economic recession and pressures upon the state to be more efficient and more productive. Tighter government control over policies aimed to achieve economic and social restructuring is the end point. Herein lie economic rationalist assumptions about the size of government and its purpose and the related need for greater political 'steering capacity' (Habermas, 1975). The restructuring of the Commonwealth public service after Labor's 1987 election victory could be seen to have installed an institutional arrangement aimed at granting policy priority to economic restructuring

(Jennett and Stewart, 1990) and to economic rationalist ideology (Pusey, 1991). As Considine (1988, p.15) asserts:

Indeed it can be argued that as a form of purposive action corporate management has begun a process of reform aimed at displacing traditional Keynesian techniques as the means for governments to structure and direct the economy.

This shift towards executive authority, and to economic restructuring as a metapolicy, has serious implications for the democratic public sector reform agendas and probably also for the effectiveness of policies (Considine, 1988, p.16).

Thus, while Pusey (1991) has shown how the 1987 Commonwealth public service restructuring institutionalised economic rationalism, Considine (1988) indicates how the themes within corporate managerialism also serve such ends. Indeed, more recently Considine (1990b, p.177) has pointed out that corporate managerialism is an approach specifically geared to efficiency, simplifying and focussing goals in an ever more complex environment, and tying 'all activities to narrowly prescribed outputs', resulting in 'increased central control and greater homogeneity'. At the same time, he has observed how these reforms disfigure the democratic and citizenship agendas, apart from those concerned with appropriate relationships between governments and the bureaucracy. Questions of how a department, such as education for instance, ought to relate to an ever more complex environment and pressing problems, are "effectively managed" by corporate managerialism, but not appropriately dealt with.

5.3.4 Labor's Managerialism: A Summary and Evaluation

How does one evaluate the Hawke public sector reforms? Halligan (1988, p.70) has suggested that the Hawke government quickened and confirmed developments that had begun earlier. In this way, the reforms as well as drawing upon *RAPS*, also drew from the earlier Coombs Royal Commission and the Reid Review of Commonwealth Administration which reported in the last months of the Fraser government. Thus, Halligan (1988, p.70) notes that substantial reforms were instigated in relation to a shift to a managerialist paradigm, a redefinition of the relationship between the political executive and the public service, and a readjustment in the relationship between the government and the economy. The inherent characteristics of managerialism complemented the reassertion of executive power and the assertion of economic practices internal to the state and to the dominance

of economic restructuring as the desired outcome of the whole policy package of government. The preponderance of economic rationalists within the senior ranks of the bureaucracy across a whole range of portfolios, as documented by Pusey (1991), has contributed to this particular state of affairs. As Pusey (1991, p.193) puts it:

What the Ministers want from the new bureaucrats is a full partnership in subordinating all policy and management decisions to the strategic imperatives of macro- and micro-economic management.

The 1987 restructurings further contributed to the capacity of the federal government to enforce such a policy regime. The reduction in the number of statutory authorities and the weakening of the independence of those which remained were other factors in increasing the salience of the minister compared with that of the bureaucrats (Wettenhall, 1988). As Wiltshire (1990, p.39) notes, there is no doubt that the plethora of Hawke public sector reforms have ensured a bureaucracy much more responsive to political command.

That political command, particularly after 1987, has been driven by an economic rationalist ideology committed to ensuring Australia can compete in a non-tariff protected fashion in the world economy. Whereas Whitlam saw an interventionist state as central to improving the quality of life and equality of opportunity for Australians, the Hawke government increasingly saw the market as the greater contributor in that respect, and consequently created a different role for the public sector. The Hawke reforms also resulted finally in the demise of the traditional public service (Halligan, 1988, p.71) and as such sought to replace the old proceduralism with results-oriented management.

Across the Hawke period there was a weakening and reframing of both the equity and democratic components of these internal reforms and their external impacts (McInnes, 1990; Thompson, 1991; Sawer, 1989). All of which serves to confirm Offe's (1984, pp.103-104) observation that 'there is no such thing as an administrative reform which is nothing but an administrative reform'. Further, and as suggested in Chapter 3 and at the outset of this Chapter, the internal structure of the state mediates the framing of policy, its formulation and delivery. Dawkins, one architect of the public sector reforms of 1983 and 1984, recognised this when he acknowledged, 'that the effective, efficient and responsive working of the administration is as much a public policy issue as the programs that are to be administered' (Dawkins, 1985, p.59).

Thompson (1991) provides a useful summary of the character of public sector reform across the period from Whitlam until the 1986/87 changes under Hawke. Such

reform, she suggests (1991, p.127) was motivated by three challenges, namely, the need to make the bureaucracy more responsive to both government and to citizens, and to ensure a more efficient administration. After that time, an overriding concern for a narrowly conceptualised concept of efficiency has weakened those components of the democratic agenda concerned to provide access, participation and redress for citizens (Thompson, 1991). On the way, the commitment to external equity has also been weakened. In a like fashion, Considine (1988, p.16) notes that the new managerialism attempts to ensure, 'tighter control, reduced lateral participation, narrower definitions of legitimate actions, and expectations of greater levels of output on the part of less ambitious public programs'.

Yeatman (1990a, pp.40ff) points out that the move to managerialism relates to the internationalisation of the economy and the need for the state at both national and provincial levels to have the capacity for flexible response. Proceduralism and "red-tapeism" of the old style bureaucracy are thus replaced by a managerialism which seeks to ensure a bureaucracy which is both more flexible and obediently responsive to political command. The new ethos is 'management for change' (Yeatman, 1990a, p.40). The centre articulates a narrower policy framework and devolves the delivery of the same to the street-level, what Winkler (1981, p.99) has called the 'delegation of enforcement'. In schooling, there is a way in which that delegation also reflects the collapse of any value consensus and the proliferation of pluralities (Seddon, Angus and Poole, 1990, p.49), which are endemic to what some call the postmodernist condition (Lyotard, 1984).

Schooling policy-making at the federal level has been affected by these internal machinery of state reforms in process and structure with, for instance, attempts to reframe education as part of economic restructuring and a commensurate weakening of equity agendas. These matters will be pursued in the next section of this Chapter.

5.4 CORPORATE MANAGERIALISM AND THE RESTRUCTURING OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY MACHINERY

5.4.1 Structural and Personnel Changes

Until the 1987 restructuring of the machinery of government documented earlier, the Schools Commission created by Whitlam, remained the major policy advice body to the federal minister. As will be outlined in Chapters 7 and 8, some tensions had

developed between the Department at the federal level and the Commission, with the latter being weakened across its later years. From 1985, some detailed administrative work had been shifted from the Commission to the Department, with the May 1987 economic statement pointing out that \$1.2 million would be saved for 1988–1989 through this change, while two full-time positions on the Commission would not be filled once they fell vacant (Wettenhall, 1988, p.215). Smart and Dudley (1990) summarise the changing balance of power between the Schools Commission and the Commonwealth Department in the following fashion:

...between 1983 and 1987, an originally overshadowed, vulnerable and uninfluential Department of Education gradually strengthened its power base, budget and influence with successive ministers at the expense of the education commissions. Ultimately, it presided over the elimination of these statutory rivals. (Smart and Dudley, 1990, p.212)

Furthermore, the managerialist restructuring ensured stronger ministerial control over the Department.

The final 1987 restructuring resulted in the amalgamation of the Employment section of the pre-1987 Department of Employment and Industrial Relations with Education into the new megadepartment of Employment, Education and Training (DEET). Reference was made earlier to the Prime Minister's justification for the amalgamation. The new Minister, John Dawkins wrote about this Department nomenclature in DEET's first newsletter:

Employment has been placed first in the title...because it represents our ultimate objective – to help people, particularly the young, to get the best job possible. This is not only in their best interests as individuals, it is also an important national objective if we are to have a vibrant economy. This means that the Department will play a central role in gearing Australia to meet the new economic challenges of the late twentieth century. (DEET News, No.1, 26 August, 1987)

Education, including schooling was now to be conceived in policy terms as part of the economic restructuring agenda, particularly that of microeconomic reform. Schooling was to be restructured itself to be made a more efficient industry, while it was simultaneously to contribute to the broader economic agenda by producing suitably multi-skilled individuals. As suggested earlier, the 1987 restructuring facilitated the integration of the program and service departments into those economic rationalist and restructuring agendas.

It was also noted above that the Hawke government attempted to take a tighter control over policy agendas as the economic situation worsened and as all policies were subsumed under the rubric of economic restructuring (Jennett and Stewart, 1990). To that

end it sought to reduce the number of statutory authorities which had some autonomy from the government's policy regime (Wettenhall, 1988). John Dawkins had established, perhaps unprecedentedly, tight ministerial control over the statutory authority, the Australian Trade Commission which he had established as Minister for Trade (1984–1987). As minister in charge of the new megadepartment, Dawkins immediately abolished the statutory authorities of the Schools Commission and the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission (CTEC) and replaced them with a ministerially directed National Board of Employment, Education and Training (NBEET), which had several subsidiary Councils reporting to it. These included the Higher Education Council which replaced CTEC, the Schools Council which replaced the Schools Commission, the Employment and Skills Formation Council, and the Australian Research Council. The Secretariats available to each of these subsidiary Councils of NBEET were substantially smaller than those which had supported the Schools Commission and the other Commissions (Smart and Dudley, 1990). Indeed, the Board and its Councils are only supported by a 38 person secretariat (Marshall, 1991, p.8). The Chairs of each of the subsidiary Councils are members of NBEET, which works to ensure policy integration across educational sectors. Furthermore, through the managerialist and structural reform of the entire public service, education policy was closely incorporated into the government's microeconomic reform and economic restructuring agendas. This arrangement also increased ministerial control of the policy agenda and weakened the input of the relevant policy communities.

The Schools Council did not have such a broad ranging policy advice function as did the old Schools Commission. Additionally, it had virtually no program management and implementation functions which had been central to the Schools Commission.

The ministerial Guidelines to NBEET first published in September, 1988, incorporated a statement of the government's economic, social and budgetary priorities which were to frame the performance of its functions and those of its subsidiary Councils. In the Guidelines to NBEET, accompanying the 1990–91 Annual Report, the Minister stated in relation to the Board: 'In its work the Board should seek to generate outcomes from its advice that will maximise both social and economic benefits for the Australian community' (NBEET, 1991, p.75). Further, the Guidelines made clear that the Board would be asked to respond to ministerial initiatives to provide independent policy advice. This is a vastly different framing of educational policy possibilities from that which pervaded the Schools Commission.

If one traces the political and bureaucratic personnel involved in this restructuring of the Commonwealth's educational policy machinery, one can discern some continuities. For example, from 1983–1984 in the first Hawke government, John Dawkins had been Minister for Finance, but also Minister assisting the Prime Minister on Public Service Matters. In that latter capacity, he had set about implementing a reform agenda which had been articulated in the 1983 *Labor and Quality of Government* document and in the *Reforming the Australian Public Service White Paper* of December, 1983. One important goal of such reforms was a policy structure more readily responsive to the minister's and ultimately the government's policy demands. The 1987 reforms in the machinery of government, and the structures specifically within the new Department of Employment, Education and Training, facilitated further such ministerial direction and integration of policy across departments.

As Minister for Trade (1984–1987), Dawkins had cosponsored with the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) the production of *Australia Reconstructed* which articulated the need for a 'domestic compensation' policy approach akin to that practised in Sweden (Castles, 1988). *Australia Reconstructed* also briefly articulated a human capital approach to education and training which Dawkins was to take up as the Minister after 1987. The Metalworker's Union had been important in that debate and one of their number Laurie Carmichael, then Assistant Secretary of the ACTU, was to become a powerful player within the government's education policies. Unfortunately, the social democratic approach of *Australia Reconstructed* was eschewed by the government (Dow, 1992) and a narrow, microeconomic construction of education fully embraced (Knight, Lingard and Porter, 1991).

There are other personnel continuities which ought to be noted. Dr. Vince Fitzgerald, a Harvard educated economist, had been Head of Dawkins' Department of Trade from early 1986. He had been an important contributor to the key government paper at the Economic Summit held in April, 1983, shortly after Labor's election victory. After the 1987 restructure, he became the first Head of Employment, Education and Training. When he resigned in early 1989 to become a private consultant, he was replaced by Greg Taylor, also an economist, who came from the Industries Assistance Commission, but who had also worked in both treasury and Prime Minister and Cabinet, where he was in charge of the Economics and Social Policy Division (Beare, 1989, p.7). Pusey's (1991) research would suggest quite persuasively that such appointments facilitated the framing of

education policy within an economic restructuring framework. Such appointments were also part of the move towards generic managers who supposedly better understand the totality of the government's policy agenda, rather than one specific component of it. The professional emphasis is upon transferable managerial skills in financial, personnel and policy areas (Beare, 1989, p.5).

These specific appointments also reflect the move away from professional educators as heads of departments of education (Beare, 1989). Beare notes further:

Tight financial control and tidy management along the best business administration lines seem to be favoured in the appointments rather than educational insight and identification with the teaching profession. (Beare, 1989, p.8)

While Beare is speaking more generally about appointments at State levels, one could add that since 1987 at the Commonwealth level expertise in economics and a familiarity with, and a commitment to, the government's economic policies seems to have been an advantage. Corporate managerialism promised a better integration of the disparate policies of various departments within an overall government policy framework, which since 1987 has been ostensibly about economic restructuring. The structural and personnel changes under Dawkins appear to have worked in this way.

An important change to the structure of policy formation in schooling under Dawkins was the increased use of the Australian Education Council (AEC), the meeting of the State and federal ministers for education which had been created in 1936 (Spaull, 1987; Lingard, 1991, 1992). Under Dawkins, the AEC became more a policy body rather than simply an advisory and discussion forum. This policy function also indicated the ministerialisation of policy-making (Painter, 1987; Beare, 1989), which had accompanied the corporate managerialist reforms. Now, while it was the case that from the time the Commonwealth Minister became a full member of the AEC in 1972 that it tended to operate as a forum where the States responded to the Commonwealth schooling policy agenda (Spaull, 1988), its policy role in relation to schooling was substantially extended under Dawkins (Lingard, 1991, 1992). The existence of a large number of Labor governments at the State levels during the Hawke period facilitated such a use of the AEC, as did the Hawke government's generally more pragmatic approach to Commonwealth/State relations. (Chapter 8 expands this point.)

It is interesting that in an interview in 1991, Lyndsay Connors, a full-time Schools Commissioner (1983–1987) and subsequently first Chairperson of the Schools Council

(1987–1991), noted how during the time of the formulation of the *National Policy for the Education of Girls*, that the Schools Commission almost operated as an agent of the AEC, rather than simply as a Commonwealth advisory body (IT5, 1991, p.18). Such a perception is confirmed in the analysis of the relevant Queensland Department of Education files for this period, as indicated in Chapter 9. Lyndsay Connors also noted: 'I think Dawkins really saw the AEC rightly as the forum through which you operate with the States and he was going to make it work' (IT5, 1991, p.22). Further, she added that 'at the beginning of the Dawkins' days there was an explicit, anti-official kind of mood in the AEC' (IT5, 1991, p.22). In an interview with Dr Bob Vickery (IT15, 1989, p.6), former Director-General of Education in Western Australia, he pointed out the changes in the operation of the AEC across this time by suggesting that previously the meeting had been conducted with each State minister being assisted by advisers, whereas with the Dawkins time the meeting was much more controlled by the politicians with a reduced function for the public service officials. Indeed, Vickery noted the significance of the caucusing between Labor Ministers prior to and during the official AEC meeting. A long term officer of the Schools Commission noted that the AEC is a 'minister type of activity these days' (IT11, 1991, p.22) with caucus meetings held prior to the AEC meeting. This was a substantial change from the situation during the early eighties when the ministers met after the officials had conferred and basically endorsed most of what had earlier been agreed to (IT11, 1991, p.22).

Connors (IT5, 1991) perceived a similar change in the role of the AEC, with it becoming much more a body to determine ostensibly national policy goals and with very much more direct ministerial and politician input than had hitherto been the case. She believed that Dawkins was the major impetus behind this changed role for the AEC (IT5, 1991, p.21). By contrast, she stated that prior to Dawkins the AEC 'was just very much into noting; it was like a forum' (IT5, 1991, p.21). The use of the AEC as a policy forum was the ministerialisation of education policy writ large. Such a role for the AEC also facilitated the development of a national approach to schooling (Lingard, 1991, 1992). The difficult economic and funding circumstances for the States further encouraged such developments.

To this point, changes to the structure of policy-making in schooling at the federal level have been considered, along with the significance of personnel. Next, some

consideration will be given to the very significant changes in policy culture which complemented these structural and personnel changes.

5.4.2 Changes in Policy Culture

A concept to develop out of this research was that of policy culture which is dealt with in some detail in Chapter 10, which outlines some insights into policy-making within the state on the basis of interviews conducted for this research. As noted there, the concept was developed to refer to structures and policy goals, as well as dominant discourses and practices, which frame the possibilities for policy. The concept is useful here to denote some further changes which turned on the 1987 managerialist reforms and the related developments in the structures of educational policy-making, which have been considered in the section above.

As outlined in Chapter 1, one topic of this research was policy-making in girls' schooling policy at both national and Queensland levels. Interviews conducted as part of the research in relation to the development of the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* provide some evidence of the changes in policy culture which accompanied the structural and personnel changes in the Commonwealth's policy machinery, attendant upon the broader managerialist reforms. That evidence will be utilised here.

The evidence mounted in Chapters 9 and 10 concerning the gestation of the National Policy shows how a national feminist policy network, along with a feminist presence in the Schools Commission and a feminist minister, were central factors in the gestation of the policy, the first national schooling policy ever formulated. The interview evidence indicated quite clearly that the 1987 restructuring disorganised those networks, a situation also facilitated by restructurings at about the same time in the State systems of schooling. In an interview conducted as part of this research, Lyndsay Connors, suggested that such structural reforms have as their explicit goal the disruption of networks within the given policy community (IT5, 1991, p.10). Connors also noted the strong feminist tradition and culture within the Schools Commission and the support for that tradition which came from Susan Ryan as Minister. She noted how that tradition was considerably dented with the restructured move to DEET and the arrival of a new minister with a different reform agenda. In terms of policy culture she noted: 'DEET...let me say the whole ethos for women inside the portfolio changed amazingly' (IT5, 1991, p.11). She

added: 'I think in those viscious bureaucratic restrutures there's an attempt to trample all over the achievements of the earlier body' (IT5, 1991, p.10). Specifically on the girls' policy question Connors asserted that, 'The Minister himself was light years ahead of some of the new bureaucrats on the question' (IT5, 1991, pp.11-12).

The economists were now in control. There is a body of literature to suggest that economics has by and large been gender blind (Waring, 1988). In terms of Connell's (1990) concept of the gender regime of the state dealt with in Chapter 3, the creation of DEET resulted in the reassertion of a more patriarchal gender regime, as well as culture for schooling policy formation at the national level.

Thus the gestation of the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* occurred under Susan Ryan's political tutelage and within the feminist cultural tradition of the Schools Commission and resulted from political pressures and strategies arising from a national network of feminist policy activists. The "implementation" of the policy, by way of contrast, occurred within the new managerialist culture of DEET and the Schools Council. As illustrated in Chapter 9, the new managerialism was manifest in the rational framing of the policy. Further, Commonwealth funds made available in relation to the policy increasingly gave emphasis to encouraging more girls into non-traditional curricula and careers. The policy was increasingly justified on economic grounds in terms of expanding the pool of talent available to the nation, rather than upon an equity rationale.

Forming part of the change in policy culture was a significant modification in the discourse surrounding schooling policy. Ball (1990c) has documented changes in the discourse of schooling policy which accompanied structural changes in the delivery of education policy in the English context, following the 1988 Education Reform Bill. Lyndsay Connors exemplified this change in policy discourse in the Australian context in relation to the *National Policy for the Education of Girls*. Asked about the impact of the move from the Schools Commission to the Schools Council and DEET on that policy she stated:

At the philosophical level a much narrower utilitarian focus on the education of girls. I mean I haven't heard the word 'girls' said without maths and science. You'd think there was a new beast called 'girls, maths and science'! It's just immediately narrowed down to this narrow vocationalism. (IT5, 1991, p.11)

Earlier in this Chapter reference was made to the clientist and pluralist nature of schooling policy formulation at the Commonwealth level under Whitlam and the significance of the statutory authority of the Schools Commission in that respect. Whitlam

attempted to centralise equity concerns, while devolving other professional functions to the schools. This was to be both a top-down and bottom-up approach to schooling policy formation, what Elmore (1985) has called 'reversible logic' in policy formulation. With the 1987 changes, Hawke Labor's approach became ministerially directed within a corporatist structure and microeconomic reform framework and was totally top-down in character. In the whole Dawkins' reform agenda, across higher education, TAFE and schooling there has been very little consultation with those groups responsible for the actual professional provision of educational services. The review committees which Dawkins appointed have also tended to consist of representatives from government, big business and the unions, rather than being more representative of the educational policy community, as was the case during the Whitlam era. In a sense, there was also a reconstituting of the policy community. With the 1987 restructuring at the Commonwealth level, DEET was now as powerful as the advisory councils which operated more on a ministerially derived agenda. However, as with managerialism more generally, the minister was now certainly driving the agenda.

Thus, the 1987 restructuring precipitated a change in policy culture. Educational policy was now framed within an economic restructuring agenda and tightly directed by the minister. Policy was also structured in managerialist terms with an emphasis upon measurable outcomes. As is shown in Chapter 9, the *National Policy for the Education of Girls*, in terms of its gestation and subsequent "implementation", sat at the vortex of this structural and cultural policy change which had a considerable impact upon it. This is a specific manifestation of the structures of the state mediating policy.

5.5 CONCLUSION

This Chapter has been concerned with changes in the internal administrative and policy delivery structures of the Australian state at the Commonwealth level for the period from the early seventies until 1991. More specifically following Offe (1975, 1984) and Clegg, Boreham and Dow (1986), it has attempted to show the significance of that internal structure and changes to it for the nature of schooling policy developed. The Chapter has demonstrated the general impact of the corporate managerialist revolution within the Commonwealth public service and its impact upon schooling policy formation at that level. Utilising the work of Considine (1988), it has shown how the inherent characteristics of

corporate managerialism were conducive to closer government control over a narrower, outputs focused and integrated policy agenda, geared to achieving more with less and subsuming education policy under the metapolicy of economic restructuring. The necessity of that revolution to greater steering capacity for the state confirms the critique of Offe's unitary conceptualisation of the state. In a sense, those reforms were about trying to get the state to operate in a more unitary fashion with an integrated across portfolio policy profile. The notion of the generic manager with a commitment to overall government policy, rather than detailed knowledge of, and identification with, a specific department and portfolio interest, was integral to that goal.

In another way, the managerialist revolution within the Australian public sector is related to the rejection of Keynesian economic approaches, in the context of an economic liberalist response to the internationalisation of the economy. The 1987 corporate managerialist revolution complemented the government's embrace of economic rationalism and institutionalised it within the Commonwealth bureaucracy. The nature of managerialism guarantees the state greater steering and strategic capacity in the face of volatile economic changes. However, politics and history still mediate the economic pressures, while individuals within the state still have some agency as suggested by feminist theories of the state as noted in Chapter 3, and as will be shown in Chapters 9 and 10. In sum, despite attempts, the state is too complex an organisational structure to operate in a unitary fashion, driven by one agenda.

At the Commonwealth level, important social democratic residues from the Whitlam time remain within education, despite the structural changes considered in this Chapter. There is a way in which education has to respond to agendas other than the contemporary economic and managerialist ones. Further, a Labor government is still bound to some commitment to equity concerns. However, the managerialist reforms have seen a reframing of that equity agenda in a weaker direction.

The top-down and bottom-up, reversible logic approach to policy formulation and implementation taken by the Schools Commission during the Whitlam incumbency was an important factor in installing some changes at the school level within the State systems and in ensuring a policy commitment to a strong definition of equality. This was to change under Hawke Labor when the corporate managerialist revolution within the Commonwealth public service after 1987 had a substantial effect on the structure and delivery of advice and policy within education. Previously, the Schools Commission as a statutory authority

provided advice to the government. It had a big budget and a large staff and also administered resources through its programs. NBEET had a much reduced function in comparison, as did its subsidiary Schools Council. DEET took over most of the program functions, while NBEET and the Schools Council were to provide policy advice primarily in response to ministerial requests. Thus, the Schools Council in comparison with the Schools Commission had a weaker policy advice role, less independence and no program functions. As a consequence, the policy approach in education became much more of the top-down variety and framed by economic restructuring concerns. As intended, the new structure and culture of schooling policy formation and the new personnel facilitated this policy agenda.

During the Dawkins period as federal minister for Employment, Education and Training (1987–1991), reform at all levels of education (schools, TAFE, university) was set in train, as well as an attempt to integrate across sectors. Committees established by Dawkins as part of the reform agenda became less representative of the educational policy community, usually consisting of representatives from big business, the unions and the government. Often, in these committees, the views of the teacher unions were mediated through ACTU education policy, which was much more sympathetic to the Hawke government's economic conceptualisation of education as central to microeconomic reform and the creation of an internationally competitive economy.

Corporate managerialist reforms also occurred within the Queensland public service during the eighties. However, until the election of a Labor government in December, 1989, the Queensland reforms focused on efficiency and effectiveness, with equity constituting a deafening silence within the agenda, distinguishing such reforms from those at the Commonwealth level which at least retained equity on the agenda, albeit in a reconstituted and weaker fashion. The next Chapter considers the Queensland public sector reforms and their impact upon policy-making within education. As noted at the outset of this Chapter, such reforms at the State levels, like those at the Commonwealth level, were precipitated by economic circumstances. At the Queensland level, as will be shown in the next Chapter, reduction in Commonwealth grants to the States, particularly after 1987, was also a factor in the managerialist reforms. It is to the Queensland restructurings that the following Chapter turns.

CHAPTER SIX

MANAGERIALIST CHANGES IN THE QUEENSLAND PUBLIC SERVICE AND THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION: IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous Chapter considered the emergence of managerialist changes in the Commonwealth's machinery of government as part of the historical sociology of the Australian state which is one topic of this research. It also aimed to document how the corporate managerialist revolution within the Commonwealth public service after 1987 impacted upon the structure of educational policy-making at that level of government. This Chapter initially considers reforms in the direction of corporate managerialism within the Queensland public service, especially from the early eighties onwards. It then considers the impact of such changes upon educational policy and policy formation and delivery structures.

It was noted in the previous Chapter that the managerialist reforms under Labor at the federal level sought to achieve a number of goals, including greater efficiency and effectiveness, whilst retaining an equity commitment, albeit a somewhat weakened one. Within the Queensland public service until the election of a Labor government in December, 1989, the managerialist reforms focused on efficiency and effectiveness, without any concern with equity and with too little focus on the goals and character of the public sector (Boreham, Dow, Littler and Stewart, 1988; Lingard and Collins, 1991a,b,c). There were also stronger privatisation pressures at the Queensland level than with the Commonwealth reforms, reflecting the conservative, as opposed to Labor, manifestation of managerialism. As such, the Queensland managerialist reforms were about strengthening ministerial control over policy agendas and ensuring efficiencies. The upper levels of the Queensland bureaucracy had been highly politicised well prior to the emergence of managerialism. The cuts in Commonwealth grants to the States in 1987 placed considerable pressure upon policy at the State level, encouraging further an efficiency focused managerialism, and as will be shown in Chapter 8, made the States more vulnerable to the Commonwealth's policy agenda. The Savage Report (Public Sector Review Committee Report, 1987) and the subsequent legislation (Public Sector

Management and Employment Act, 1988) were central to the emergence of managerialism within the Queensland public service. After 1989 Labor in government instigated a fully blown corporate managerialist restructuring of the State public service, which also had equity as a policy concern. However, ongoing recession and managerialism's efficiency focus mediated gains in that respect.

In the previous Chapter, something of the ambiguous character of corporate managerialism was indicated. Nowhere is that ambiguous character more obvious than in the managerialist reforms within the Education Departments at State levels. From 1983 in Queensland, Powell as Minister for Education in the Bjelke–Petersen government sought to install managerialism within the Department of Education. As will be shown in this Chapter, these reforms, as with the more general public service ones, were more concerned to strengthen ministerial control over the policy agenda than anything else. The Bjelke–Petersen government had sought such control over education from the late seventies in opposition to the partial institutionalisation of progressive ideologies of education from the sixties, which had also been encouraged by the Whitlam agenda.

Chapter 4 documented the turning away from a social democratic reform agenda generally following the demise of Whitlam, while Chapter 5 indicated a similar process with respect to the structure of the Commonwealth public service and the processes of policy-making within it, particularly with the emergence of corporate managerialism. In a sense, equity politics moved into a more defensive mode with equity being reframed by both managerialism and economic rationalism. The Queensland situation was atypical in the Australian situation in that respect, for when Labor won power in 1989 it had to pursue equity reforms from scratch in a resource, economic and ideological context not particularly conducive to that agenda. There were no earlier social democratic gains to defend in the Queensland context because of the long period of conservative government (1957–1989).

This Chapter begins by considering the reforms within the Queensland public service from the early eighties until the end of 1991. It then considers the impact of those reforms upon the emergence of managerialism within the Department of Education and its policy structures, including a brief consideration of changes instigated after Labor's 1989 election victory. The Chapter will indicate the complexity of the organisational structure of the state and the way in which such structure mediates policy.

6.2 CORPORATE MANAGERIALISM IN THE QUEENSLAND PUBLIC SERVICE

The 1922 Public Service Act provided the foundation of the Queensland public service (Wiltshire, 1985, p.185) until its abolition and replacement by the 1988 Public Service Management and Employment Act which installed managerialism within the Queensland public sector (Boreham, Dow, Littler and Stewart, 1988; Fitzgerald Report, 1989, p.131). The former Act resulted from a 1919 inquiry chaired by J.D. Story into the Queensland public service; the recent legislation also resulted from such an inquiry. Writing in 1985, Wiltshire was able to state:

The basic structure of the service, its classifications, and personnel processes, in the shape of a career service, still bear the Story imprint especially in relation to the broad division of the industrial awards which splits generalists and specialists, and serves as a pseudo-divisional breakdown in a service which, unlike other State services, has never been fragmented into divisions of any kind. (Wiltshire, 1985, p.185)

It was not until 1968 that a single Public Service Commissioner was replaced by a Public Service Board which was subsequently abolished following the 1988 Act.

Until well into the Bjelke-Petersen premiership (1968-1987), Wiltshire suggests that the Queensland public service operated along the lines of a late nineteenth century Whitehall model based upon the (erroneous) assumption of policy/administration, politician/public servant dichotomies. Promotion was by seniority, at least for most levels. However, as will be indicated below, there was an increasing politicisation of appointments at the most senior levels across the Bjelke-Petersen premiership, particularly in the period from 1983 in which the National Party governed in its own right without a Liberal coalition partner (Wiltshire, 1985; Coaldrake, 1989). The base requirement for entry to the service was lifted from the Junior Examination level to matriculation only in 1974 (Wiltshire, 1985, p.193). The service remained something of a closed shop with very few appointments from outside the system (Wiltshire, 1985; Coaldrake, 1989); indeed until 1985 appointees from either the Commonwealth or other State public services could not have any of their entitlements transferred. Until the National Party governed in its own right (1983-1989), there were some central public sector coordination problems for the Coalition governments, as the most powerful portfolios were always divided between the coalition partners (Wiltshire, 1985). Such problems were obviated once the National Party governed in its own right with Bjelke-Petersen being both Premier and Treasurer. Until

the 1980s then, the Queensland bureaucracy could be seen to be operating in a fashion similar to that described for the Commonwealth bureaucracy for the period prior to the second world war by Boreham, Cass and McCallum (1979, p.51), that is, 'heavily imbued with notions of seniority' and concerned with 'administration as distinct from policy'. The specifically distinguishing feature was the politicisation of the upper levels of the service.

The 1922 Public Service Act was superseded by the 1988 Public Sector Management Employment Act which also resulted from two inquiries. The first was the Review of Queensland Business Regulations chaired by Sir Ernest Savage and submitted to the government in December, 1985. This Review, which was ostensibly about government regulations of, and ways to free up, the market, turned its focus onto the Queensland public service. It was most critical of the quality of management within that service, arguing that excessive use was made of regulations and that departments lacked clearly articulated policy goals. The Bjelke-Petersen government accepted the Savage Review recommendations and appointed the Public Service Board to coordinate their implementation. Departments had to prepare strategic plans and develop a corporate management style. They were also required to develop performance indicators as measures of successful policy outcomes, which in turn demanded a clear statement of departmental policy goals. Corporate managerialism had arrived in the Queensland public service! It was a managerialism which strengthened the arm of the political executive so that greater efficiencies could be achieved, but also so that a new right "small government", market-oriented policy regime could be installed (except in relation to primary industries). This was in the context of a state which already had a weak and parsimonious commitment to the social wage domain (Boreham, Dow, Littler and Stewart, 1988; Chamberlain, 1985; Patience, 1985; Lingard and Collins, 1991a,b,c). Furthermore, equity and other democratic administrative law reforms were conspicuously absent from the agenda.

In December, 1986, the National Party government appointed the Public Sector Review Committee, once again chaired by Sir Ernest Savage, which was to make recommendations for what could be seen as the "modernisation" of the Queensland public service to ensure greater productivity. The results or output focus of the new managerialism was apparent in the task set the Review Committee by the government, as it was in its recommendations which were a consolidation of those of the earlier Savage Review.

Before the Savage Report was submitted to the Premier, in July 1987 the acting Premier, Bill Gunn, had appointed a *Commission of Inquiry into Possible Illegal Activities and Associated Police Misconduct* chaired by Tony Fitzgerald (usually known as the Fitzgerald Inquiry). After two subsequent extensions of the terms of reference, the inquiry ended up being 'an investigation into Queensland's entire institutional fabric' (Coaldrake, 1989, p.157), which was to see the end of the Bjelke-Petersen premiership and ultimately the end of the long period of conservative rule in Queensland politics (1957-1989) with the Labor election victory in December, 1989. The Fitzgerald documentation of the politicisation of the public service was one significant factor in the demise of the conservatives.

Mike Ahern's accession to the premiership in November, 1987 resulted in the process of modernisation of the Queensland public service being accelerated. Ahern was committed to a fully-blown managerialism (Ahern, 1989). Indeed, it could be argued that Ahern was a moderniser of the National Party generally. He had been for a long time the only university graduate National Party member of State parliament and had been the Chair of the late seventies Parliamentary review of education in Queensland.

The Public Sector Review Committee Report (Savage Report) contained 93 recommendations, including granting both ministers and department heads greater capacity, responsibility and flexibility to carry out their tasks. Department heads were effectively redefined as managers; the approach was that of "let the managers manage". The move from an administrative to a policy and management focus at the senior levels within the bureaucracy was now to be formalised. It was recommended that the central agencies be exhorted to coordinate rather than control. This consolidated managerialism was to emphasise both efficiency and effectiveness and to ensure the eradication of policy and service duplication. Where possible services were to be privatised, in contrast with Labor's corporatisation approach. Finally, promotion was to be on merit alone; seniority was no longer the basis for promotion. Contract employment was also to be extended.

It was under Ahern's premiership that the recommendations of the 1987 Savage Review were passed into legislation with the May 1988 Public Service Management and Employment Act. As noted earlier, this Act replaced the 1922 legislation which until that point had been the basis of the Queensland public service. The 1988 Act abolished the Public Service Board and devolved personnel functions to department heads, in the process granting heads recruitment and dismissal powers much more akin to the private sector

model (Boreham, Dow, Littler and Stewart, 1988, p.86). Heads were also given the capacity to appoint casual, part-time or contract staff (Boreham, Down, Littler and Stewart, 1988, p.86). The Act also created an appeals procedure, but not for contract employees. Further, not all senior positions had to be advertised. The Fitzgerald Inquiry summarised the effect of the Act in the following fashion:

The Public Service Management and Employment Act 1988 considerably reforms the administration of the public service in this state. All the reforms are consistent with modern theories of public administration: the reduction in the role of central agencies such as the Public Service Board, the increase responsibility for efficient administration by chief executives, the employment of people by contract, the creation of a redeployment/redundancy scheme, and promotion by merit alone. (Fitzgerald Report, 1989, p.131)

It should be noted though that there were some serious shortcomings in the Act. Redeployment or retrenchment was not dealt with specifically under the Act, but rather in a related Redundancy Arrangement which had the force of a Public Service Regulation (Boreham, Dow, Littler and Stewart, 1988, p.87). These authors (1988, p.87) suggest that the Act confirmed a trend towards the demise of permanency of employment within the public service, given that contracts became effective to fairly low levels in the hierarchy. The new system was 'bought in' (Boreham, Dow, Littler and Stewart, 1988, p.87) with generous employment packages, continuing a tradition within the Queensland public service (Wiltshire, 1985). Furthermore, Boreham et al (1988) argue that the reforms (particularly contract employment) increased the potential for further politicisation, an endemic problem to the Queensland public service during the National Party years (Wiltshire, 1985; Coaldrake, 1989; Fitzgerald Inquiry, 1989). Coaldrake proffers a similar argument when he says:

... the move toward contracts in Queensland is widely interpreted within the public service not so much as a means to develop an efficient and flexible system of public management, but as a further and very blunt attempt at politicisation. (1989, p.76)

The Fitzgerald Inquiry was critical of some different aspects of the Act (1989, pp.131–132). The Inquiry stated that all public service positions should be advertised without exception and that an appeals procedure should be open to unsuccessful applicants for all positions. Finally, Fitzgerald argued that there was no good reason why all appointments and appeals should be subject to the decision of the Governor in Council and instead recommended that an independent body should be able to make such decisions, a recommendation subsequently implemented under Labor with the creation of the Public

Sector Management Commission. The use of the Governor in Council in this way followed in the Queensland "tradition" of close political involvement in public service appointments right through to fairly junior positions. In the police force, for example, cabinet handled appointments right down to senior sergeant level (Wiltshire, 1985, p.188). Fitzgerald (1989, pp.125–126) also pointed out the close cabinet involvement in fine detail decisions about land grants, mining tenements, property rezoning and so on across the Bjelke–Petersen period. In Fitzgerald's view (p.126), this blurred the boundary between the formulation and implementation of policy with the potential for political partisanship with such close cabinet involvement in what were ostensibly administrative decisions. While this might reflect a naive view of the nature of contemporary public policy formulation (Wilenski, 1986), the point about politicisation remains valid. As Wiltshire (1985, p.187) notes more generally, across the Bjelke–Petersen era no one reached the top of the Queensland public service without intense political scrutiny. At the same time, the administrative and policy processes were heavily politicised.

The Fitzgerald Report made those comments in the context of its findings of excessive politicisation of upper levels of the Queensland public service, a matter to be briefly pursued below. Before doing so some evaluation is required of the emergence of managerialism in Queensland, the basic developments of which have been outlined to this point in this section of the Chapter and in Table 6.1.

TABLE 6.1

**REFORMS AND SIGNIFICANT EVENTS IN THE
QUEENSLAND PUBLIC SERVICE, 1922–1989**

1922	Public Service Act passed; formed basis of Queensland Public Service until 1988.
1968	Creation of the Public Service Board (PSB).
1985, December	REVIEW OF QUEENSLAND BUSINESS REGULATIONS (Savage Report): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● critical of quality of management within Queensland public Service; ● identified problem with excessive use of regulations rather than management; ● lack of departmental goals.
1986, January	Government adopted Savage Report.
1986, May	Coordinator-General communicates to departments that the Public Service Board would coordinate Savage Report implementation. Departments to develop strategic plans.
1986, September	Premier announces PSB project. Plans to manage implementation of Savage Report. Guidelines prepared for departments (corporate management style, departmental goals, departmental strategic plans and performance indicators, departmental administrative systems).

- 1986, December Cabinet established the Public Sector Review Committee chaired by Sir Ernest Savage aimed to improve public sector productivity.
- 1987, May Appointment by Acting Premier, Bill Gunn, of Commission of Inquiry into Possible Illegal Activities and Associated Police Misconduct (Fitzgerald Inquiry).
- 1987, July **PUBLIC SECTOR REVIEW COMMITTEE REPORT** (Savage Report) submitted to Premier with 93 recommendations:
- ministers greater responsibility and flexibility;
 - department heads greater responsibility and flexibility;
 - central agencies to emphasise coordination rather than control;
 - elimination of duplication and overlap in programs and services;
 - privatisation of services where possible;
 - merit based promotion;
 - some contract employment;
 - emphasis on efficiency and effectiveness.
- 1987, September \$400 million cut to Commonwealth grant to Queensland increases pressure for corporate managerialism and an emphasis on efficiency and effectiveness.
- 1988, May 1988 Public Service Management and Employment Act legislated for Savage Report recommendations:
- abolished 1922 Public Service Act;
 - abolished Public Service Board;
 - devolved personnel functions to departmental level granting chief executives recruitment and dismissal powers;
 - contract employment for senior levels;
 - creates an appeals procedure but not for contract employees.
- 1988, December Release of **QUALITY QUEENSLAND: BUILDING ON STRENGTH** by Premier and Treasurer, Mike Ahern:
- outlined government strategy for Queensland economic development;
 - support for corporate managerialism, economic rationalism and privatisation.
- 1989, July Tabling of **REPORT OF A COMMISSION OF INQUIRY PURSUANT TO ORDERS IN COUNCIL** (Fitzgerald Report), recommended *inter alia*:
- creation of Criminal Justice Commission (CJC);
 - creation of Electoral and Administrative Review Commission (EARC).
- 1989, August Labor opposition releases two documents **MAKING GOVERNMENT WORK** and **RETURN TO WESTMINISTER** which outline the changes to the machinery of government and public service which would be made by a Goss Labor government.,
- 1989, October **ELECTORAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE REVIEW ACT 1989** created the Electoral and Administrative Review Commission (EARC).
- 1989, October **CRIMINAL JUSTICE ACT 1989** created The Criminal Justice Commission.
- 1989, December Labor election victory. Labor creates the Public Sector Management Commission (PSMC) as the third arm of the public sector reform triumvirate, the others being EARC and CJC; PSMC oversees the installation of a Labor style corporate managerialism; Labor committed to modification to machinery of government changes consolidating 27 departments into 19.

The Queensland move to managerialism came in the late eighties when economic problems combined with increased public expectations of government services caused a dilemma for governments of all political persuasions. Managerialism, with its support for

tighter political control over policy agendas and commitment to efficiency and effectiveness and more flexible management approach, was a "solution" of sorts to any government, irrespective of its political colour (Painter, 1987, p.179). The substantial cuts in Commonwealth grants to the states in 1987 (a cut of about \$400 million to Queensland's grant) increased pressure for an efficiency focused managerialist response within the Queensland bureaucracy. The ideological reaction against "big government" from the seventies also provided strong sponsorship for managerialism (Painter, 1987, p.177). However, the Queensland government did not need to be converted to this rhetoric. The paradox, of course, for this introduction of managerialism was that Queensland across the long period of conservative governments (1957–1989) had been the State with the most parsimonious public sector expenditure anyway. This was especially the case with respect to social wage items, including education where Queensland had the lowest *per capita* funding in Australia. Given Queensland's huge size and demographic spread, the infrastructure costs are probably greater than for the other States, thus indicating the stringent funding circumstances under which Queensland public sector workers had to labour across the Bjelke–Petersen premiership (Boreham, Dow, Littler and Stewart, 1988). Here the State government most often justified the parsimonious funding of the social wage on the grounds of the greater efficiency of the Queensland public service!

Managerialism in Queensland was about a tighter coordination and better focus of government policy to achieve greater efficiency and effectiveness. Whereas with public sector reforms at the Commonwealth level there had been progressive edges to certain reforms, particularly in the new administrative law reforms and in the early Hawke period, managerialism in Queensland eschewed such agendas and simply sought tighter political control and more efficiency in an already frugal and politicised public sector. Further, until the reforms of the late eighties, there was no government concern in Queensland for the apparent pressures upon Westminster notions when more and more tasks were in the hands of bureaucrats, so that the policy/administration distinction had obviously become a fiction (Coaldrake, 1989, p.72). Administrative law reform in Queensland had to wait the election of a Labor government which implemented the Fitzgerald reforms in that respect, including "Whistleblowers" legislation and somewhat belatedly, Freedom of Information legislation.

Bjelke–Petersen's "style" of government and relationship with the public service had been inimical to many of the thrusts of the new managerialism. Bjelke–Petersen held

tight political control over policy agendas through a substantial politicisation of the elite levels of the public service (Wiltshire, 1985; Coaldrake, 1989) and through an approach which threatened any who provided opposition to his policies (Coaldrake, 1989). At one level, the latter operated through what Laclau and Mouffe (1985) call a discourse of 'equivalence', whereby the world is conceived in simple binary terms, in this case for Queensland or against Queensland. Any opposition, often including that of the official parliamentary opposition, was branded as disloyal. This had a powerful effect in the public service, and particularly in the teaching workforce, of stifling any alternative voices. With the banning of sets of curriculum materials in the late seventies, a number of political and bureaucratic threats were made to teachers who dared to challenge the correct political line (Freeland, 1979; Smith and Knight, 1978; Scott, 1985). The full effect of such an ambience of fear was to ensure that public servants knew what was "expected of them" with the overall bureaucracy becoming 'a partisan institution of policy-making' (Coaldrake, 1989, p.80).

Additionally, across Bjelke-Petersen's time as Premier, the Treasury and Premier's Departments both opposed the introduction of program budgeting which was being sponsored by the Public Service Board (Wiltshire, 1985). This was to come with the managerialist reforms of the Ahern Premiership (1987-1989).

Bjelke-Petersen had politicised the senior levels of the public service through a system of political patronage in appointments (Wiltshire, 1985; Coaldrake, 1989; Fitzgerald Inquiry, 1989), combined with the use of contract employment, without the other (possibly redeeming) features of a managerialist senior executive service. Wiltshire (1985) and Coaldrake (1989) both emphasise that there were two routes to the top of the public service during the Bjelke-Petersen period. The first was the slow track via a career of devoted service. The second, the fast track, was via a period as secretary or press secretary to a minister (Coaldrake, 1989, pp.73-73), with the quickest route to career advancement being through a period working for the Premier of the day. Coaldrake (1989, pp.71-81) provides a documentation of a substantial number of cases of the politicisation of the Queensland public service during the Bjelke-Petersen era, a politicisation also acknowledged by the Fitzgerald Inquiry.

The Fitzgerald Report documented many of the effects of such a politicised public service; a politicisation which operated without a Senior Executive Service framework. The Report stated in relation to the absence of a quasi-independent body to oversee the

public service: 'A system which provides the Executive Government with control over the careers of public officials adds enormously to the pressures upon those who are even moderately ambitious' (Fitzgerald Report, 1989, p.130). A manifestation of those pressures in the Department of Education was referred to in a debate in the Queensland parliament on the introduction of Equal Employment Opportunity legislation. The speech was by the Labor member for Rockhampton North and former Teachers' Union official, Robert Schwarten.

I well remember one particular regional director's job in the Education Department which was advertised, and there were 14 applicants for the job. Out of those applicants, 13 of the 14 applicants listed under interests membership of the National Party. (Hansard, 10 March, 1992, p.3997)

The Fitzgerald Report went on to note the very real pressures upon all ambitious individuals within the public service once personal and political loyalties were seen to be rewarded. All become aware of the need to please politicians. As a consequence: 'the process of giving advice becomes incestuous. It is more about confirming opinions than challenging them' (Fitzgerald Report, 1989, p.130). Furthermore, as Fitzgerald noted (1989, pp.130–131) not only does poor decision-making result, but the potential for misconduct is exacerbated by the creation of a political closed shop, as it were. In this framework, those whose politics were in opposition tended to have a ceiling on their career advancement. In that context, association with equity politics was not the way to career advancement.

The disfiguring of the public service in Queensland so that it was unable to provide 'professional, impartial and fearless' (Coaldrake, 1989, p.70) policy advice to the government reflected the broader state of politics in Queensland, where because of the malapportioned electoral boundaries it was very difficult to achieve changes of government at the ballot box. This situation also narrowed and reduced the range of effective political pressures upon the government. This had seen a situation develop which Coaldrake (1989) refers to as 'institutional dryrot', where there was a debasement not only of the public service, but of the entire institutional paraphernalia of Westminster forms of government. This included a failure by the National Party government to distinguish between the interests of the government, the National Party, and the parliament and the denial of a legitimate role for the formal Opposition and a denial of more broadly-based democratic forms of dissent, as well as the utilisation at times of the police almost as an arm of government, along with some politicisation of the judiciary. A weak and navel-gazing

Labor opposition, a confused Liberal Party and a by and large tame media contributed to the perpetuation of, as well as reflected, such a situation.

The Fitzgerald Inquiry laid bare this 'institutional dryrot' in Queensland. Ahern on defeating Bjelke-Petersen for the National Party leadership in late 1987 set about implementing aspects of its recommendations, including the establishment of a Public Accounts Committee within the parliament. Ahern was also committed to modernising both the economy and the public service, albeit within a fairly conservative political framework. In early 1989, Ahern (1989) outlined the reasons for a managerialist reform in the public service and for his reforms to the machinery of government. He clearly articulated the need for a more flexible bureaucracy which was able to respond quickly to changing government demands in a context of a rapidly changing and competitive global economy. Ahern (1989, p.2) outlined his creation of a network of Strategic Policy Units to coordinate and facilitate government policy-making. These included an Economic Policy Committee of Cabinet, a Cabinet Budget Committee, three Ministerial Planning Committees (Resources, Infrastructure, Social Policy) and a Private Sector Economic Advisory Committee (PRISEAC) (Ahern, 1989, p.2). Ahern (1989) noted the strategic, coordination and integration purposes of these strategic policy units. Queensland thus joined other State governments in its policy *modus operandi* with these managerialist changes. These changes, like those in the other States, resulted in the streamlining of the cabinet processes, increased Premier's and Treasury's control of the government's policy agenda and rationalised 'budget, planning and auditing' systems (Considine, 1990, p.174), with a public service now focused on policy rather than constipated by proceduralism.

Interviews with senior officials in the Queensland Department of Education indicated the significant role of Treasury after 1987 in developments in schooling policy. In difficult economic circumstances and with substantial cuts in the Commonwealth grant to Queensland, Treasury sought efficiency savings in the delivery of schooling. State Treasuries usually look to education when they need to effect expenditure cuts, because educational expenditure accounts for at least one quarter of their total budget outlays. One result was a move towards some devolution of funding to schools. This is a clear exemplification of the notion that the structure of the state mediates the nature of policy output.

Russell Cooper replaced Ahern as Premier in late 1989, just prior to the December 1989 election, which saw Labor win government after 32 years in opposition. Cooper, for

a host of political reasons, was forced to accept a commitment to a more faithful implementation of the Fitzgerald reform agenda, which with its creation of the two statutory authorities of the Criminal Justice Commission (CJC) and the Electoral and Administrative Review Commission (EARC) followed firmly in the Australian statist tradition documented in Chapter 4. Cooper with his country background provided the National Party with some 'product differentiation' from the Labor leadership of Wayne Goss (Bulbeck, 1990; Lingard and Collins, 1990b,c), which had not been so apparent under Ahern with his more urbane commitment to modernisation.

The political instability internal to the National Party government following the revelations of the Fitzgerald Inquiry, the Ahern defeat of Bjelke-Petersen for the leadership of the Party and Cooper's subsequent challenges and defeat of Ahern, destabilised the government and contributed to the increasing coherence and strength of the Labor opposition. This situation probably resulted in some freeing up of political control of the bureaucracy for a short period prior to the National's election defeat. Certainly, Ahern's defeat of Bjelke-Petersen for the National Party leadership and thus the premiership resulted in a weakening of the far right influence on National Party politics. This was very obvious in education with the move from Powell to Littleproud as Minister, as will be documented later in this thesis. This is a confirmation of Archer's (1985) distinction between the high politics of personality and the broad politics of structure. Interestingly, though, and as will be shown below, Powell while being on what might be called the fundamentalist wing of the National Party, was also a managerialist moderniser (Lingard and Collins, 1991a,b,c).

Labor in opposition released *Making Government Work* and *Return to Westminster* in August 1989 during the election campaign which articulated, amongst other things, Labor's commitment to restoring politics in Queensland to the liberal democratic mainstream within a new managerialist framework. Of course, the paradox might be that the "Fitzgerald" institutions of the CJC and EARC, combined with Labor's Public Sector Management Commission (PSMC), may well inhibit the tight political control over policy agendas which managerialism was supposed to achieve. For the social wage domain generally and in education specifically, managerialism in a time of economic difficulty will possibly ensure the more efficient and effective delivery of services without the required increases in expenditure to overcome the long years of neglect (Lingard and Collins, 1991a,b,c).

A fully matured corporate managerialism only arrived in Queensland with the advent of a Labor government. Certainly Labor's move to implement across the board equity agendas indicates how little had been done in those respects during 32 years of conservative government. In an interview for this research, a senior bureaucrat in the Queensland Department of Education pointed out the difficulty of having to implement so many equity based policies simultaneously. Further, the interview noted how the previous culture within the Department had resulted in small groups of people being very aware and highly politicised in relation to each of the equity issues, while many still remained ignorant and blissfully unaware, because of Queensland's long term recalcitrance on such matters (Lingard, 1983; Lingard, Henry and Taylor, 1987; Lingard, 1990c). The case study documented and analysed in Chapters 9 and 10 will show how significant the role of the Commonwealth Schools Commission was in ensuring that these issues were at least on the edges of the education policy agenda in Queensland from the seventies (Lingard, 1990c). A potential paradox here is that changes in the operation of federalism outlined in Chapters 7 and 8 may very well reduce the Commonwealth's role in such matters, while Queensland's corporate managerialism and the economic circumstances of recession may also inhibit the equity strategy at the State level.

This section has shown how and why managerialism emerged in the Queensland public service under National Party governments throughout the eighties. As indicated, this was an idiosyncratic or conservative version concerned largely to tighten political control and ensure greater efficiency and effectiveness. However, as noted in the Fitzgerald Report, the upper levels of the bureaucracy had been highly politicised well prior to the emergence of managerialism and without a senior executive service structure. The emergence of managerialism within the Queensland public service was also linked to the new right rhetoric of reducing government intervention. There was no equity or progressive administrative law reform agenda within Queensland's managerialism under the National Party. Reductions in Commonwealth grants after 1987 strengthened the efficiency focus of this managerialism, while it must be noted that such efficiencies were being sought from what was already a somewhat frugal social wage domain. After the 1989 State election, the Labor government introduced a form of managerialism akin to that endorsed by the Hawke government at the Commonwealth level with the related problems considered in some detail in the previous Chapter. However, equity was now at least on the agenda of public policy in Queensland, but in a form compatible with managerialism.

Furthermore, equity gains had to be sought almost from scratch, given the neglect under the Nationals.

The above reforms impacted upon the Department of Education. During the National Party period, equity had at least tentatively made it onto the agenda in education because of the presence of Commonwealth policies and the availability of Commonwealth funding. The Chapter next considers the nature and effect of managerialism within the Queensland Department of Education, indicating some educational rationale as well as the effect of the broader public sector reforms.

6.3 CORPORATE MANAGERIALIST REFORMS, THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND POLICY

The restructuring of the administration and structure of delivery of schooling must be seen as part of the public sector reforms outlined above. However, such restructuring also must be seen as part of a broader 'structural reform movement' within schooling systems more generally (Beare, 1983), incorporating changes in the nature of senior educational managers, changes to the organisational structure of educational systems, and a changing conceptualisation of the processes of education (Beare, 1990, p.3). These education changes also reflect the impact of the metapolicy status granted to economic restructuring at the Commonwealth level, particularly after 1987, and the way in which that development has been reflected in the move towards a number of national policies in schooling, which will be analysed in Chapter 8.

The structural reform movement in schooling came to Queensland later than it did to the other States. Interviews with senior Queensland Department officials indicated that the slowness of Queensland's embrace of the features of the structural reform movement was a significant motivating factor in Powell, as Minister for Education, establishing a Task Force in July, 1983 to consider the 'organisational effectiveness' and 'operational efficiency' (Powell, 1985, p.iii) of the Queensland Department of Education, which led ultimately to the publication of *Education 2000: Issues and Options for the Future of Education in Queensland* (Lingard, 1985). Further, unlike the situation in, for example, Victoria, in Queensland the reforms were imposed top-down without much consultation with the policy community. Thus, while the managerialist reforms within the Queensland public service had considerable impact within education, there was nonetheless still an

education component, albeit of a fairly weak kind, to the reforms. However, this section will argue that the educational restructuring in Queensland was driven much more by the general managerialist reforms within the public service than by an educational agenda. In tracing such educational restructuring, the section turns first to developments in the late seventies.

The social democratic settlement in federal schooling policy of the Whitlam period had a liberalising impact upon schooling in Queensland, as did the liberal/progressive ideas of a few senior bureaucrats within the Department (Freeland, 1979). And of course the pervasive progressive liberalism of the late sixties and early seventies had an impact, as did the influx of more university educated teachers into the system.

In a worsening economic context it was that liberalisation and those bureaucrats which Bjelke-Petersen moved against in late 1977 and early 1978 with the banning of curriculum packages *Man: A Course of Study* (MACOS) and then the *Social Education Materials Project* (SEMP) (Smith and Knight, 1978; Freeland, 1979) and a substantial range of subsequent direct political involvement in schooling matters. (See Lingard, Henry and Taylor, 1987 for a full list of these drawn up by the Queensland Teachers' Union). With the MACOS and SEMP bannings, it seemed a minority Christian fundamentalist group had more influence with the Premier than those from the mainstream education policy community. The resulting public outcry against such overt political interference resulted in the appointment of an all-party Select Parliamentary Committee on Education in Queensland, chaired by Mike Ahern, later to be Premier (1987–1989). Lin Powell, then a National Party backbencher and a former school teacher, was a member of the Committee and later to be Minister for Education (1983–1987), losing his portfolio with Ahern's premiership.

In terms of subsequent developments in the structure of policy formation and delivery of education, there were a number of significant factors to come out of the Final Report of the Committee tabled in January, 1980. The Report supported moves to devolve a range of functions to schools and suggested that the role of principals be strengthened. Furthermore, support was also expressed for some parental involvement in school governance. In this way, the Report was much more liberal in orientation than the circumstances of the Committee's appointment and can perhaps be seen as a precursor of subsequent devolution developments during Ahern's Premiership, even though these later

developments were part of public sector reform spawned by the worsening economic circumstances.

Of additional significance was the dissenting Report tabled by Powell which strongly opposed the introduction of human relationships education into Queensland schools, which had been approved by the Report. The introduction of such courses into Queensland schools had to wait until Ahern was Premier. Here, Powell's position was much more in line with that of Bjelke-Petersen, representing the fundamentalist wing of the National Party (Patience, 1985), which in turn had much more in common with the Christian fundamentalist groups which had forced the banning of MACOS and SEMP (Smith and Knight, 1979; Scott, 1985; Knight, 1986). Powell, as will be shown in Chapters 9 and 10, also held very conservative, biologically determinist perspectives on the question of women in society and on girls and education.

What is most significant here is that Powell became Minister for Education in late 1982. He proved to be a very activist minister with a strong commitment to managerialist reforms (Kidston, 1989, 1990; Mathiesen, 1991; Lingard and Collins, 1991c). His fundamentalist views and sponsorship by Bjelke-Petersen, however, ensured that all of the reforms he pursued were regarded with real suspicion by much of the schooling policy community, particularly the Teachers' Union and Parents' body (Mathiesen, 1991; Knight, 1985b).

Powell was not only committed to a managerialist restructure of the Queensland Department of Education, he also took a fairly "hands-on" approach to some curriculum questions, demanding, for example, that "creation science" be taught alongside evolution (Knight, 1985a, 1986). Following the earlier curriculum bannings, this created an ambience of pervasive political control within the Department, the teaching profession and in the schools. This was just one manifestation of the "fear" within the public service about politicisation, alluded to earlier in this Chapter. What Powell brought to the Education Department then was a continuation of tighter government control over schooling, including over curriculum matters, combined with a strong commitment to managerialist reforms. In this particular way the Queensland education reforms were idiosyncratic.

Table 6.2 documents the changes in the Department of Education from the late seventies through until 1991. The sequence of events surrounding Powell's move to restructure the Department is also shown in that Table, beginning with his request to the

Public Service Board in July, 1983 for assistance in ensuring that Department structures operated in the most efficient and effective manner possible. As indicated in the previous Chapter, such instrumentalist and outputs oriented discourse became pervasive in the public sector managerialism of the eighties. However, unlike the situation at the Commonwealth level there was no mention at all of equity in the Queensland picture. In his actions, Powell was also influenced by the 'structural reform movement' (Beare, 1983) in other State systems of education, a point made by a senior Department official in an interview for this research. Powell was seeking to bring Queensland into line with educational restructures elsewhere and with public sector reforms. The utilisation of the Public Service Board expertise was part of the move towards generic managers and generic management structures.

TABLE 6.2

**MANAGERIALIST REFORMS AND RELATED DEVELOPMENTS IN
THE QUEENSLAND DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION**

1978, April	Appointment of all-party Parliamentary Select Committee on Education, chaired by Mike Ahern (later Premier 1987-1989). (Lin Powell, National Party Backbencher, member of Committee, later Minister for Education 1983-1987).
1980, January	Final Report of Select Committee on Education (Ahern Report) : 91 recommendations, including encouragement of devolution to schools of a range of functions, parental involvement in school governance, support for strengthening the role of the Principal.
1980, May	REPORT OF THE WORK GROUP ON DEPARTMENTAL ORGANIZATION , internal review appointed by C. Gilmour, Director General : emphasised poor policy coordination within Department.
1981, July	Inter-divisional committee on P-12 curriculum established within Department.
1982, September	Government budget commitment to implement Ahern Report recommendations on class sizes; placed pressure on an already parsimonious pattern of funding.
1982, December	Lin Powell appointed as Minister for Education.
1983, July	Lin Powell wrote to Public Service Board seeking advice and establishment of a Departmental Task Group to examine Department's structures so as to ensure increased efficiency and effectiveness.
1983, October	Two Senior Public Service Board Officers conduct preliminary investigation of Department of Education and provide a confidential report to the Minister. This report notes the absence of a formal corporate plan within the Department and the need for the new Director-General to be committed to change. Importantly, proposed a Task Group to conduct a full Departmental review to improve efficiency and effectiveness within Department and both horizontal and vertical coordination.
1983, December	C. Gilmour retired as Director General of Education.

- 1984, January G. Berkeley appointed new Director General of Education.
- 1984, January Task Group appointed, all members from Department of Education except for the Principal Consultant from the Public Service Board.
The Task Group was responsible to a Steering Committee, consisting of the Minister, the Director General and the Chairperson of the Public Service Board. The Task Group perceived corporate managerialism to be the solution to the Department's coordination problems.
- 1984, 6 April Information Statement 72A : first statement to schools about the Powell initiated review.
- 1984, May Appointment of an internal Departmental **WORKING PARTY TO EXAMINE IMPLICATIONS OF PROPOSED REARRANGEMENTS** to examine the implications of a move to a P-12 curriculum structure for the organisational structure of the Department.
- 1984, August Appointment by Commonwealth Minister of the **QUALITY OF EDUCATION REVIEW COMMITTEE**.
- 1984, November **REPORT OF THE WORKING PARTY :**
- envisaged problems with cross divisional projects necessitated by a P-12 curriculum.
 - perceived conflict between P-12 curriculum and a divisional organisation around preschool, primary and secondary education.
- 1985, February Task Force Report delivered to the Minister, entitled:
REVIEW OF THE ORGANISATION AND MANAGEMENT OF EDUCATIONAL SERVICES.
- lack of horizontal coordination across divisions within Head Office.
 - lack of vertical coordination across Head Office, Regions, schools.
 - saw corporate managerialism as the solution defined as (p.41):
"Thus corporate management emphasises:
 - (a) the need for continuous review of the effectiveness of an organisation's goals and objectives,
 - (b) the importance of the total organizational environment;
 - (c) and the maintenance of dynamic mechanisms through which competing needs and wants within the organization can be analysed and recommended."
- 1985, March **EDUCATION 2000 : ISSUES AND OPTIONS FOR THE FUTURE OF EDUCATION IN QUEENSLAND** released to the public by the Minister (the public face of Task Group and Working Party Reports):
- Ministerial response to Teachers' Union and public criticism of the lack of consultation regarding the work of the Task Group.
 - Minister sought public comment and submissions by 30 August.
 - Clear managerial focus on outputs rather than inputs and upon both efficiency and effectiveness.
 - Media speculation shifted to possible reorganisation of the provision of schooling into three types of schools (Junior K-3; Intermediate 4-10; Senior 11-12).
- 1985, April Release of **QUALITY OF EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIA** to the Commonwealth Minister for Education:
- signalled the move to a new managerialist framework with an emphasis on outputs, rather than inputs and upon efficiency and effectiveness,
 - concern about lack of program evaluation and lack of clarity of program objectives,
 - retained a concern for equality of opportunity.
- 1985, July Appointment by Queensland Minister of a Committee to review **EDUCATION 2000** submissions, chaired by Emeritus Professor G.W. Bassett and very broadly representative of the schooling policy community in composition.
- 1985, December Release of first **SAVAGE REPORT : REVIEW OF QUEENSLAND BUSINESS REGULATIONS**.
- 1986, January Government endorsed recommendations of the Savage Report.

- 1986, May Public Service Board to oversee implementation of Savage managerialist recommendations, including need for departmental strategic plans, performance indicators, cost-benefit analysis in departmental policy formulation, a stress on efficiency and effectiveness. Departments had to furnish the Public Service Board with management improvement plans.
- 1986, June **REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF REVIEW : EDUCATION 2000 SUBMISSIONS** delivered to the Minister.
- Recommended publication of philosophy and aims of schooling in Queensland (Recommendation 2, p.80 Report).
 - Support for P-12 curriculum continuity, but not for institutional rearrangement.
 - Argued that implementation of all **ED2000** recommendations 'would have an undesirable destabilising impact on the system' (Recommendation 40, p.85 Report).
- 1986, November Ian Matheson appointed as Director General.
- 1986, December Release of Queensland Department of Education Statement of Purposes, Organisational Role Statement and Organisational Goals. (Pervaded by language of efficiency and effectiveness) (Limited Development of a Strategic Plan).
- 1986, December Appointment by Cabinet of Public Sector Review Committee, chaired by Sir Ernest Savage.
- Across 1986 Department moves towards corporate management structures.
- 1987, 6-8 March Fraser Island Retreat of Department of Education Senior Officers and Minister to consider Department restructure in context of other developments.
- 1987, 24 March Director General approved the establishment of SCINOS (Standing Committee for the Implementation of New Organisational Structures):
- to oversee organisational changes and implementation of corporate management structures
 - functioned until end of 1988.
- 1987, May Announcement of cuts in Commonwealth grants to the States.
- 1987, 12 June Release of **MEETING THE CHALLENGE I** as supplement to EOG 89:
- created to inform all those in Education Department of organisational changes underway.
 - foreword by Minister.
- 1987, 22 July **PUBLIC SECTOR REVIEW REPORT** submitted to Premier:
- Public Service Board abolished
 - Creation of Expenditure Review Committee (ERC) of Cabinet to oversee efficiency and effectiveness in Departments.
 - ERC pressures Department of Education for efficiencies.
- 1987, 30 October Release of **MEETING THE CHALLENGE II**, Supplement to EOG, 89, 21.
- Ministerial foreword states that education should 'provide a sound general education to all students while reflecting appropriately the wishes and needs of business, commerce and industry' (p.5).
 - Stress on 'greater economy and efficiency and corporate style'.
 - Outlined organisational principles and program structures at Head Office and Regional levels.
- 1987, October Release of **ENVIRONMENTAL SCAN** by Department of Education.
- 1987, November Mike Ahern defeated Bjelke-Petersen for leadership of the National Party and Premiership. Brian Littleproud replaced Lin Powell as Minister for Education.
- 1987, December TAFE excised from Department of Education and new Department, DEVET formed (Department of Employment, Vocational Education and Training).

- 1988, February Expenditure Review Committee (ERC) reviews Department of Education looking for efficiencies.
- 1988, July ERC Report completed:
Recommended:
- flexible staffing
 - individual schools to be given more freedom
 - by 1989 devolution of some budgeting to school level with more flexible school grants.
- 1988, September Premier Mike Ahern announced that 1989–90 state budget would be presented in a program budget format. Precipitated move to program budgeting in Education Department.
- 1988, Late Head Office of Department of Education reorganised along functional service lines.
- 1988, 12 December Release of **QUALITY QUEENSLAND : BUILDING ON STRENGTH** by Premier, Mike Ahern. Program for economic restructuring.
- 1989, February Release of **QUALITY QUEENSLAND : BUILDING ON STRENGTH - IMPLICATIONS FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION:**
- privatisation and self-funding emphasis
 - importance of educational links with business
 - endorsement of human capital conception of education.
- 1989 Queensland State Primary Principals' Association passed a motion of no confidence in the Department of Education (*Courier Mail*, 'headline', 'Principals Revolt' 16/03/89).
- Principals stated devolution of budget and creation of school Development Plans meant a substantial increase in their workloads.
 - Department agreed to review Principals' salaries and look at the Principals' Association call for additional support staff to implement devolution.
- 1989, October Corporate Management Workshop to develop Interim Strategic Plan.
- 1989, November Release of the Department of Education's Interim Strategic Plan.
- 1989, December Election of Goss-led Labor government after 32 years in opposition. Paul Braddy becomes Minister for Education.
- 1990, January Minister Braddy commissioned **SKERMAN REPORT** on Department of Education; recommended a review and reform of Department.
- 1990, April A Policy Unit established in the Department of Education to 'manage' a review of the Department of Education's structure and provision of educational services.
- 1990, May 'Education : Have Your Say' consultation:
All Department of Education staff and community given opportunity 'to express openly their ideas and opinions about the future organisation of educational services for students'.
- 1990, June Appointment of Professor Roger Scott as Director General of Education.
- 1990, July **THE FUTURE ORGANISATION OF EDUCATIONAL SERVICES FOR STUDENTS : A DISCUSSION PAPER** released publicly following the earlier consultations; (contained a questionnaire for responses to proposed changes).
- 1990, October **FOCUS ON SCHOOLS : THE FUTURE ORGANISATION OF EDUCATIONAL SERVICES FOR STUDENTS** released publicly; contained proposed restructure of Queensland Department of Education to be underpinned by the principles of equity, effectiveness, participation, responsiveness and public accountability (p.38) set against the backdrop of public sector reform being driven by The Public Sector Management Commission (PSMC). (The whole review process from May outlined on p.4 of **FOCUS ON SCHOOLS**.)
- 1991/1992 Department of Education restructured according to the **FOCUS ON SCHOOLS** model.

- 1991, February **TOWARDS EQUITY FOR STAFF : EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY REPORT** by Julie Cork, Department of Education, Queensland released.
- 1991, March Eleanor Ramsay took up position as Director of Equity in Department.
- 1991, June **CAREER OPPORTUNITIES FOR TEACHERS IN THE QUEENSLAND DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE UNDER-REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN SENIOR MANAGEMENT POSITIONS BY BRIGID LIMERICK, DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION QUEENSLAND RELEASED.**

The Report from the Public Service Board (PSB) to Powell noted the absence of a formal corporate plan and problems with both horizontal (across Head Office divisions) and vertical (across Head Office, Regions and schools) integration. The establishment of a Task Group, consisting of Department of Education officers and one consultant from the Public Service Board, and responsible to a Steering Committee consisting of the Minister, Director-General and Chair of the PSB, resulted from the report. Its task was to review the 'organisational effectiveness' and 'operational efficiency' of the Education Department. A related *Departmental Working Party to Examine Proposed Rearrangements* was established in May, 1984 to assess the significance of a move to a P-12 curriculum framework for the divisional structure of the Department. This Working Party reported in November and noted the potential difficulties in implementing a P-12 framework when a divisional structure operated along pre-school, primary and secondary lines, with all of its resulting interdivisional jealousies. The Task Group reported in February, 1985 (*Review of the Organisation and Management of Educational Services*), once again noting coordination problems and suggesting corporate managerialism as the solution to the problem as constructed. The need for Departmental objectives and goal statements was stressed, as well as the ongoing need to monitor Departmental effectiveness in relation to these. This Review was thus outputs, rather than inputs, oriented, in line with the character of corporate managerialism.

With the exception of an *Information Statement* to schools in April, 1984, these reviews were conducted without consultation with the major interest groups within the educational policy community. In this way they were very much top-down and managerialist in orientation and directed to some considerable extent by the minister, reflecting developments elsewhere (Beare, 1989). Much concern was expressed by the Teachers' Union about this failure to consult and the ministerialisation of policy formation. Similar opposition concerning the lack of consultation was expressed by the Western Australian Teachers' Union to comparable managerialist developments there (Angus, 1990a,b; Porter, Knight and Lingard, 1992). The result in Queensland was the production of the document entitled *Education 2000: Issues and Options for the Future of Education*

in *Queensland*, released publicly in March, 1985, to which the Minister called for public responses by 30 August.

The *Education 2000* document was outputs oriented and concerned with efficiency and effectiveness. The *Quality of Education in Australia* report was delivered to the federal minister in the following month. It too had such an orientation, but it was still concerned with questions of equality of opportunity. Powell would have been familiar with this review through his attendance at the Australian Education Council meetings. *Education 2000* was silent on such opportunity matters (Lingard, 1985). Indeed equity was only mentioned once in the entire document (p. 26).

Education 2000 has been compared with the Commonwealth policy document *Participation and Equity* (1984), perhaps the centre piece of Susan Ryan's time as federal minister, and described by way of contrast, as 'retention without equity' (Lingard, 1985). Both were responses to the collapse of the full-time teenage labour market and the need for upper secondary schooling to respond to the related fact of substantially increasing retention to the final year of secondary schooling. The Queensland document, however, appeared almost as a simple administrative response couched in the technocratic language of managerialism (Lingard, 1985). It also stressed the need for schools to be flexible enough to respond to local needs without the creation of a fragmented system. It thus appeared to implicitly support a loose-tight arrangement usually associated with managerialism and "best private sector practice" (Peters and Waterman, 1982). In educational terms, the emphasis was on the need for curriculum continuity across the twelve years of schooling. The media took up the possibility of the creation of three types of schools, junior K-3, intermediate 4-10 and senior 10-12, as the major issue and perhaps refocused the public debate to questions of symbolic "bricks and mortar".

In July, 1985, the Minister appointed a fully representative committee to review public submissions in response to *Education 2000*. It was to be chaired by Emeritus Professor Bassett, formerly of the Department of Education at The University of Queensland. Before that committee submitted its report, the first *Savage Report on Business Regulations* had been delivered to the Premier in December and endorsed by the government in January, 1986. From May, the Public Service board was to oversee the implementation of the Savage Report recommendations for the introduction of managerialism across the Queensland public service. Departments were required to furnish the PSB with their management improvement plans and also prepare strategic plans. These requirements cut across the *Report of the Committee of Review: Education 2000 Submissions* delivered to the Minister in June.

This Committee of Review Report inhibited the implementation of many of the *Education 2000* recommendations when it asserted unequivocally that such an implementation 'would have an undesirable destabilising impact on the system' (p.86). The Report, while supporting moves towards a P-12 curriculum framework, rejected outright the possible bricks and mortar rearrangement into junior, intermediate and senior schools, perhaps largely because of vocal public opposition. Significantly, the Report strongly supported the formulation and articulation of a Department philosophy and aims of Queensland schooling (recommendation 1, p.80), as rationales for any future changes. The need for such a goal statement had been made by many of the respondents. The need for such a corporate statement of goals had been suggested in the earlier PSB Report and was also a demand of the Savage Report strategic planning exercise. Thus there were pressures on the Department, coming from a variety of directions, for the creation of a philosophy and goals.

The Queensland Teachers' Union response to *Education 2000* was extremely critical of the Department's failure to consult about proposed changes and also emphasised the parlous state of funding for schooling in Queensland compared with expenditure in other States. The latter was an attempt to turn the debate from an outputs back to an inputs focus, pointing out that successful and desirable outcomes were contingent upon adequate inputs/funding.

The responses to *Education 2000* also reflected the lack of a broad consensus with respect to the appropriate role for schooling, a contemporary reality. This reality has thus precipitated some scientisation of goal statements and assessment practices as a more subtle form of deep structured ideological control (Habermas, 1971; Pusey, 1980, 1981, 1983; Lingard, 1990a).

From this time, structural reforms in the Queensland Department of Education were pushed along more by general public sector reform than by Education Department initiatives, though the move to corporate managerialism was facilitated by the Department's bureaucrats. Thus this account differs from that offered by Casey and Macpherson (1990), who suggest that the source of Queensland reforms differed from those in other States in that in Queensland departmental officers played a bigger role than politicians. Rather, the argument here is that from 1983 until 1987 with Powell as Minister, the reforms were ministerially driven with some education focus, but were slowly subsumed into the broader pattern of public sector reforms which affected the whole Queensland public service (Lingard and Rizvi, 1992). Angus (1990a, 1990b) has suggested that comparable reforms in the Western Australian system resulted from a mixture of public sector reform,

industrial restructuring and educational reasons. In Queensland, it appears to have been the need for curriculum continuity in the face of increased retention to Year 12 and public sector reform which spawned the changes in the Department of Education. Kidston (1989, p.67) has made a similar point about the impact of *Education 2000*:

Education 2000's role, therefore, was to help identify a preferred option that would guide curriculum change and institutional reform while at the same time provide the educational rationale to legitimate the finalisation of a compatible reorganisation at head office and regional office levels.

In late 1986, under pressure from the responses to *Education 2000* and implementation of the first Savage Report, the Department of Education released its 'Statement of Purposes', 'Organisational Role Statement' and 'Organisational Goals – Priorities 1987–1992', which was the first step towards the development of a strategic plan. These statements were pervaded by notions of efficiency and effectiveness with equity a notable absence. The appointment by cabinet of the Public Sector Review Committee, again chaired by Sir Ernest Savage, kept the pressure on the Education Department to fully endorse corporate managerialism and restructure along functional lines (Mathiesen, 1991).

In March 1987 the Minister and Senior Department Officers went to Fraser Island for a two day retreat to consider Departmental structures in the light of other developments. Following that retreat, the Director-General approved the establishment of the Standing Committee for the Implementation of New Organisational Structures (SCINOS), which was to oversee both organisational changes and the implementation of corporate managerialism. SCINOS functioned until the end of 1988 when the Department was restructured.

Mid 1987 saw the announcement of substantial cuts in Commonwealth grants to the States. This increased pressures for new management structures emphasising efficiencies. In July, 1987 the *Public Sector Review Report* was submitted to the Premier and subsequently endorsed. This resulted in a full embrace of a new managerialism (without an equity focus). It also saw the abolition of the Public Service Board and the creation of the Expenditure Review Committee (ERC) of cabinet. ERC was to ensure both coordination and integration of the government's policy profile and the achievement of efficiencies. Throughout 1987 the ERC turned its focus on the Department of Education, the biggest expenditure area for the government. The 1987 State budget reduced educational expenditure by 0.9%; this was a cut to what had been a reducing budget from the late seventies (Kidston, 1989, 1990). This worsening financial situation was another impetus to an efficiency focused managerialism. That point was made by a Director

within the Department when he commented that in his view 'decent management structures only arrived with the 1987 financial stringencies' (IT7, 1989, p.1).

During 1987, two *Meeting the Challenge* documents had been released as supplements to the Education Office Gazette which outlined the top-down developments within the Department and the new managerialism. They also indicated to some extent a human capital focus which brought the Queensland Department and Minister more into line with the emerging emphasis in DEET with its new Minister, Dawkins. There had been much less ideological congruence between Powell and the social democratic and progressive thrust of the Ryan era (1983–1987). The Queensland Department's attitude to multiculturalism was symptomatic of the change. The earlier community language and cultural thrusts of the Commonwealth's Multicultural Education Program (1979–1986) had been resisted to some extent by the Queensland Department (Lingard, 1983). However, once the focus became more economic and moved towards so-called "trade languages" and particularly the languages of Asia, Queensland more warmly embraced the Commonwealth's policy direction (Lingard and Singh, 1988; Singh, 1990).

In late 1987, the Department completed an "environmental scan" as part of its strategic planning. It was, however, political developments which slowed the managerialist changes, with the successful challenge of Ahern to Bjelke-Petersen in November, 1987. In education, Littleproud replaced Powell as Minister for Education. Littleproud, like Powell was also a former primary school teacher, although, he was a much less interventionist and confrontationist Minister and not from the fundamentalist wing of the National Party which Powell represented. With this change in Minister, TAFE was also excised from the Department of Education. The bureaucrats within the Department of Education from that time took greater control over the structural reforms as the new Minister operated in a less "hands-on" fashion than had his predecessor. However, the structural reforms were now framed very much by worsening economic circumstances and the need for efficiencies. As such, Department of Education reforms became closely tied to public sector reforms and to efficiencies being sought by the Expenditure Review Committee. Indeed, in February, 1988 the ERC reviewed the structures and operation of the Department of Education looking for efficiencies. The ERC reported in July, recommending that individual schools be given more budgetary autonomy, including flexible staffing patterns and that by 1989 some budgeting be devolved to the school level with a more flexible school grant. These moves were supported by both the Premier and the Treasurer.

In September 1988, Premier Ahern announced that for 1989–90, the State budget would be presented in a program budget format. This precipitated the beginning of the move towards program budgeting within the Department of Education. The mode of operation of Commonwealth specific purpose programs had much earlier placed some such pressure on aspects of the Department's operations (Kidston, 1990). Interestingly, George Berkeley, Director-General from the beginning of 1984 until the end of 1986, had written a Master's thesis on program budgeting in 1974 and had utilised some of this expertise in relation to Schools Commission programs (Henderson, 1990). In his 1988 budget speech, Ahern announced that there would be: 'a new flexible staffing policy for schools, giving principals, in consultation with parents, greater say in school staffing and expenditure of funds commencing with the 1990 school year' (Budget Speech, 1988, p.11). The move to flexible staffing ultimately was successfully opposed by the Teachers' Union.

By late 1988, the Department of Education was restructured along functional lines. This was the last task of SCINOS. However, equity concerns still remained 'buried within the bowels of the Department', as one Senior Department official put it (IT2, 1989, p.2).

In December, Premier Ahern released *Quality Queensland: Building on Strength*, a consultancy Report from Stanford University, which advised the government on how to move towards a value added, export orientation for the Queensland economy. In February, 1989, a Department of Education Report considering the implications of *Quality Queensland* for education was released (*Quality Queensland: Building on Strength – Implications for the Department of Education*). This endorsed an economic restructuring approach to schooling, further tightening the congruence between Commonwealth and State developments, while also emphasising the need for some entrepreneurial activities for fund raising, also comparable to some developments at the Commonwealth level. Ed Mart, a marketing unit within the Department, was created. However, there remained the deafening silence on equity matters and little consultation with the Unions.

In early 1989, devolution of a range of matters to schools began, including some budgeting and the requirement of the creation of School Development Plans. While secondary schools appeared to take these moves in their stride, as it were, there was considerable opposition from primary school principals. The latter had a much more curriculum oriented view of their role than did secondary principals. In March, 1989, the Queensland State Primary Principals' Association passed a motion of no confidence in the Department of Education (Harold, 1989). The primary principals felt that devolution and its associated demands meant a substantial increase in their workloads without commensurate salary increases or administrative support. They also believed that the

changes were being driven by other than educational rationales. The Department response was to agree to review both principals' salaries and the question of administrative support.

Mathiesen (1991, p.17), Director-General at the time, has pointed out that there was some considerable conflict between the Department of Education and the State government as to the desirable pace of the implementation of devolution. The Treasurer and the Premier were both major players here. Mathiesen (1991, p.18) notes:

An over-riding factor in 1989 which could be appreciated by only the most senior officers of the Department was the furious push by the government itself to place a maximum of decision making in schools. With an election looming no time was given to the Department to consult, cooperatively plan and provide supportive inservice programs for school communities. The best that the Department could do was provide full instructions, directions and guidelines that had been internally developed. (Mathiesen, 1991, p.18)

The matter of teacher and principal salaries also came into play in 1989 with the mooted award restructuring.

By June, 1989 the Department of Education reported its progress in the development of a strategic plan to the Premier as demanded of all government departments. In October/November 1989 senior Department officers participated in a corporate management workshop aimed to develop broad policy goals and a strategic plan. The five goals decided upon at that workshop were the need to prioritise policy changes, to emphasise productivity and efficiency, the need for the Department to market and raise revenue so as to reduce reliance upon direct government funding, the need to rationalise expenditure and policies and the need to endorse a corporate management style. The managerialist, rather than educational, focus of the restructure is clear from those goals. In early 1990 after the election of a Labor government, a senior Departmental official in an interview for this research gave the researcher a copy of the new goals, which were those listed above plus equity! At least this was a good indication of where equity previously stood under National Party managerialism.

Shortly before the December, 1989 election Russell Cooper successfully challenged Ahern for the leadership of the National Party and thus the Premiership. Indeed, the impact of the Fitzgerald Inquiry findings, plus the Ahern defeat of Bjelke-Petersen and subsequent challenges to Ahern, created some considerable instability within the National Party government. As a result, there was not such ideological control over what was being done in a variety of policy domains, including education, where Littleproud was a much less hands-on Minister than Powell had been and much less of a right wing ideologue. The result appears to have been some greater freedom for the bureaucrats in the Department of Education and certainly less direct ideological opposition to developments

in education policy emanating from Canberra. A somewhat economic conception of education was being articulated in both government spheres. As will be shown in the case study Chapters, Littleproud gave *de facto* support for the *National Policy for the Education of Girls*, which moved in a more instrumental and vocational direction in its implementation phase under Dawkins as federal Minister.

In the period from later 1987 until the defeat of the National Party in December, 1989, pressures upon the Department seemed to stem from efficiency demands coming from the Treasurer and the Expenditure Review Committee. They also came from the Ahern government's total acceptance of a corporate management approach to the public service, minus equity concerns. In a report written in late 1989 for the Department on developments in New Zealand education the Director of Planning stated:

I believe that New Zealand today provides a glimpse of where the Queensland public sector is headed. The signs have been present in Queensland, but there hasn't been the same urgency or articulation across the whole public sector. We have experienced a move to user-pays, marketing, corporatisation and privatisation; disbandment of the Public Service Board; review of regulations; program budgeting; strategic planning; introduction of contracts; and proposals for performance appraisal. We can expect an acceleration of these trends, driven by economic imperatives, with a focus on efficiency, return on investments, deregulation, market facilitation, delegation and accountability. Some government departments have undergone major changes in the past three years; almost all will change markedly in the next three years. (Division of Planning, 1989, p.19)

In the Queensland restructure there were moves for efficiencies and for privatisation of some services, but there does not appear to have been an overt move to create a competitive market amongst schools as with reforms in England, for example (Ball, 1990a).

In terms of educational policies, the *Budgetary Initiatives, 1989-1990 (B.I.)* paper prepared by the Department of Education for the Ahern government articulated the material educational policies of the government in the election year. There was surprising congruence between *B.I.* and the material policies supported in Labor's *Education Blueprint: Schools Policy* released in the election year, 1989. There was much less congruence between the more symbolic policies as articulated in the National and Labor Party Platforms (Lingard and Collins, 1991a,b,c), with the former pervaded by many of the central shibboleths of conservatism such as the family, the monarchy, the flag and the importance of non-government schools (Lingard and Collins, 1991c, p.100) and the latter more in line with progressive education and Teachers' Union policy. The striking difference between the two more material policy statements was the absence of equity

concerns in *B.I.* and a commitment to them in Labor's *Blueprint*, including support for full endorsement of the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* and for the establishment in Queensland of a Ministerial Advisory Committee on Women and Girls (sic). This Advisory Committee was 'to advise the Minister for Education on policy and program initiatives and establish a formal mechanism to involve the broad community, as well as teachers and parents, directly' (*Labor's Education Blueprint*, 1989, p.11). Further, Labor's policy platform was pervaded by equity concerns, with sections on 'Education of Students with Special Needs' (including to 'provide appropriate programs and/or resources to cater for the special needs of all students who are disadvantaged due to socio-economic or cultural backgrounds or geographic isolation'), the 'Elimination of Sexism', 'Multicultural Education', 'Education for Country and Isolated Areas' and 'Aboriginal Education' (*Policy Document and Branch Members' Handbook*, 1989, pp.32-35). The National Party Platform, by way of contrast, had a section entitled 'Education for Children with Special Needs', referring only to severely disabled students. There was a fleeting reference to Aboriginal students and to those from non-English speaking backgrounds (Lingard and Collins, 1990b, p.3).

When Labor won government on December 2, 1989, the picture of the Department of Education was one of a still highly centralised department that had begun to move to a corporate managerialist mode of operation, with some administrative, rather than political devolution to the school level (Brown, 1990). It had become a little more liberal in orientation with Ahern as Premier and Littleproud as Minister than previously and more so than its Platform might suggest. This was increasingly the case as the National Party grip on policy weakened as the Fitzgerald Inquiry and leadership challenges wrought considerable uncertainty upon the government. The move from the interventionist Powell to Littleproud who was much less so was also a factor here – an example of Archer's (1985) 'high politics' of personality. In fact with some very notable exceptions, namely equity, more community participation, and more union consultation, Department policies and practices were starting to move in the direction of those articulated in Labor's Platform and Blueprint. However, a deeply conservative culture still pervaded the Department (Preston, 1990) and the Departmental structure still indicated the low priority given to equity matters and the reliance of such policies in Queensland upon Commonwealth funding and support.

Queensland had joined the 'structural reform movement' (Beare, 1983) in Australian education with the embrace of a managerialism which had been strongly endorsed and pursued by Powell as Minister across the period, 1983-1987 (Kidston, 1989, 1990,

Mathiesen 1991). This was a managerialism aimed at strengthening ministerial control over policy and better coordinating education with other policies. The devolution aspect of it was more administrative rather than political in character (Brown, 1990), which was linked to efficiencies sought by the Expenditure Review Committee of Cabinet and the award restructuring for teachers and principals promised in 1989 by the Ahern government. This devolution had not come out of a social democratic commitment to participation, as had the reforms sought by the Commonwealth Schools Commission in the early Whitlam days. As Watt (1989) notes, such contemporary moves have more to do with economic efficiencies sought by the state and with free market ideologies. Without serious consideration being given to the appropriate relationship between core and periphery in schooling policy formulation (Lingard, 1990b; Porter, 1987), such reforms have the potential to exacerbate the discrepancies in educational opportunities available to students from different backgrounds (Watt, 1989; Apelt and Lingard, forthcoming).

Angus (1990a, pp.5–6) has listed the following as the characteristics of devolution and structural reform within Australian education:

- (a) a mandatory development plan in each school (the school's corporate plan);
- (b) greater use of block grants to schools containing funds previously allocated centrally;
- (c) formally constituted decision-making groups containing staff and community representatives, which endorse plans and budgets;
- (d) an external capacity with both educational and financial functions;
- (e) central office focused on defining policy parameters and outcome measures for accountability purposes;
- (f) decentralised support services based either in schools or regions.

When Labor won government in late 1989, Queensland education had already moved some way towards such a framework with school development plans and devolution of some budget to school level. However, there was not a move towards school councils and only the beginning of a central office auditing function. A report on structural reforms in New Zealand schooling by the Director of Planning within the Queensland Department, which was completed in later 1989, noted the lack of a history 'of local community decision-making' in Queensland education (Division of Planning, 1989, p.19) and thus cautioned against a fast implementation of further devolution. The Skerman Review of the Department (A Review of the Queensland Department of Education) commissioned by the new Labor Minister, Paul Braddy, in February 1990 argued that, 'the restructuring of the

Department in the last five years has become an end in itself with little positive impact being experienced in school classrooms' (p.17). Additionally, that Review asserted that 'management of change has been characterised by top-down directive processes with ineffectual consultation, loose timelines, little inservice, and lack of integrated planning and resourcing' (p.12). Central Office had started to take a more policy directed role, while the devolution of support functions had to wait upon Labor reforms with the creation of a number of State-wide school support centres.

The restructuring of the Department of Education under Labor resulted from a number of reviews. (See Table 6.2 for their chronology.) The first was the confidential Skerman Report which led to the establishment of a Policy Unit within the Department whose immediate goal was to establish a discussion paper (*The Future Organisation of Educational Services for Students: A Discussion Paper*, July, 1990) and set in train a broad ranging consultation process as to new structures for the Department. The final document, *Focus on Schools*, which appeared in October, 1990 formed the basis of the restructure which occurred across late 1990 and early 1991. This document was basically concerned with structures. *Focus on Schools* provided an educational rationale for the proposed changes. However, there was also a recognition that while education was once part of broad social policy 'it is increasingly a subsector of economic policy as well' (Department of Education, 1990, p.36). The articulation of the five organisational principles of equity, effectiveness, participation, responsiveness and public accountability also indicated the setting of the Report within the broader frame of Labor's public sector reform agenda. Indeed there was close consultation between the review process within the Department of Education and the newly-created Public Sector Management Commission. Subsequent legislative changes in relation to equal employment opportunity and anti-discrimination legislation have also impacted upon the Education Department. The tension between the managerial and the educational in subsequent developments has been an ongoing source of conflict.

The *Focus on Schools* restructure continued the restructuring begun earlier under the Nationals, but with a new equity emphasis, while the process involved in producing the Report was consultative in character. Arising out of that consultation there did not appear to be much of a push for more democratic parental involvement in schooling at the local level and as such, the devolution which has resulted stems more from a top-down managerialist, rather than social democratic, agenda. The overall education restructure was also framed by Labor's public sector reforms.

Labor restructured the Department of Education as indicated in Figure 6.3 with the creation of an Equity Directorate and Director of Equity at the senior levels, providing a clean break with the neglect of equity under the Nationals. This was a stronger structural commitment to equity than had been recommended in *Focus of Schools*. That Directorate has responsibilities in relation to both employment and students. The significance of that structural location to effective impact of equity policies was noted in several interviews conducted for this research and will be considered in later Chapters. A concern for equal employment opportunity had not reached the agenda under the Nationals, while equity for students resulted from Commonwealth programs and funding. The new position of Assistant-Director, Social Justice within the Studies Directorate, concerned with students and curriculum, was another important signifier of change and a good point of contrast with the earlier situation.

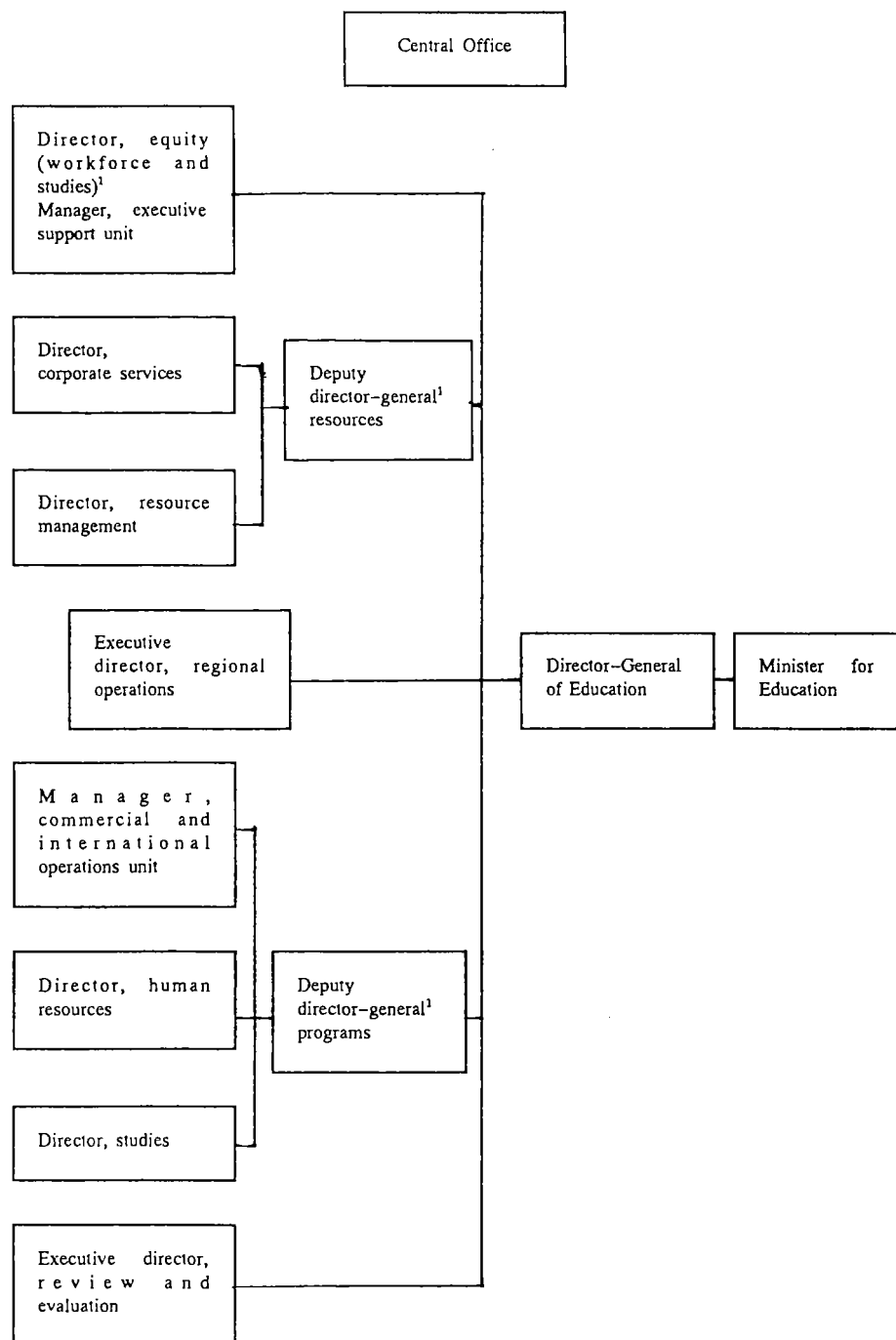
Regarding employment practices under the National Party government, two commissioned Reports under the new Education Minister indicated the existing patriarchal gender regime within the Department of Education. Those Reports, *Equal Employment Opportunity* (1991), prepared by Julie Cork and *Career Opportunities for Teachers* (1991) by Brigid Limerick, documented this gender regime and the way it reduced opportunities available to women. The Cork report also noted the extensive use of sexist language within the Department, another indication of the work culture.

Thus, since 1989, a Labor version of managerialism has been introduced in the Queensland public service which added a concern for equity in both employment practices and services to the managerialism which began to emerge under the Nationals. Until the election of the Labor government equity policies and personnel were located at a low level within the bureaucratic structure of the Department of Education. The Skerman Review noted this in its Report and also pointed out specific weaknesses in equity in relation to curriculum and policies for students and in employment practices.

Queensland Labor's managerialism has much in common with the reforms implemented at the Commonwealth level under Hawke Labor from 1987 and as such has the same potential for efficiency to override other policy concerns. In Queensland, the Department of Education restructure has now firmly embraced equity and social justice as manifested in its structures and policies. These have also been framed by legislative changes. However, once again there is the real potential for the efficiency focus of managerialism to reframe these agendas. That likelihood has been encouraged further by the national economic recession experienced since Labor won office in Queensland and which has kept constraints upon Commonwealth grants to the States. In education, the

conceptualisation of education as part of economic restructuring also holds some potential for a reframing of the equity agenda at the State level. However, with respect to gender equity policies which are a specific concern of this research, the new situation within the Department of Education represents considerable gains, as will be shown in Chapters 9 and 10. However, the research evidence documented there also indicates that while there have been substantial and important structural changes within the Department under Labor, something of the old anti-equity and anti-feminist culture still remains.

TABLE 6.3
QUEENSLAND DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
SENIOR MANAGEMENT STRUCTURE, 1992



Note: 1 Members of the executive management forum.

6.4 CONCLUSION

This Chapter has been concerned with changes to the internal structure of the state within Queensland for the period from the seventies. Following the theory of the state outlined in Chapter 3, it has attempted to indicate the significance of that public service structure and changes to it for the nature of schooling policy formulated. Managerialism began to emerge in the Queensland public service from the mid-eighties. In the first instance, this was concerned to reduce government regulations as part of the deregulatory and small state rhetoric of the National Party government. Very soon, however, the focus turned to the public service and a managerialism similar to that being instigated throughout the public sector across Australia, with the notable absence of an equity commitment in both policy and employment practices.

The emphasis was upon achieving greater efficiency and effectiveness from an already poorly funded state structure. Within education, managerialist reforms initially stemmed from an educational rationale of sorts, but were fairly quickly subsumed within the broader public sector reform, following the Public Sector Review Committee Report (Savage Report) and its implementation. The financial pressures upon the State resulting from cuts in Commonwealth grants in 1987 strengthened the efficiency focus of this managerialism and also served to pull the restructuring of the Department of Education into line with the pattern of general public sector reform.

From 1983, Powell as Minister introduced a new managerialism within the Queensland Department of Education. These reforms were motivated by the desire for strengthened ministerial control over policy and the achievement of efficiencies in a time of resource restraint. Queensland's managerialist move into line with the structural reform movement in Australian education was framed by a very conservative and interventionist policy culture and was achieved very much in a top-down managerialist fashion, largely eschewing consultation with the policy community. As noted above, from the late eighties reforms to the structure of the Department of Education were subsequently subsumed by public sector reform flowing from the two Savage Reports and the 1988 Public Service Employment and Management Act.

After 1987, with Ahern as Premier and Littleproud as Minister for Education, the policy culture within the Department of Education became a little more open and bureaucrats had something of a freer hand as the revelations of the Fitzgerald Inquiry and instability within the National Party itself took its toll upon the government. Ahern, as has been shown, was committed to a fully-blown managerialist restructuring of the Queensland

public service to ensure greater flexibility of government response to more volatile and changing national and international economic contexts. Ahern also embraced human capital and economic restructuring conceptions of schooling, thus ensuring greater congruence with developments at the national level under Labor. Some devolution of administrative functions to schools occurred during this time. However, it was a form of devolution structured very much by the new managerialism, rather than by the sort of social democratic agenda which had framed the Whitlam thrust for devolution in the mid-seventies (Lingard and Rizvi, 1992).

The Chapter also provided documentation and analysis of the restructuring of the Queensland Department of Education which has occurred under the Goss Labor government since 1989. The comparison between that new structure with its Equity Directorate and the structure under the National Party government provided a telling comparison of the impact of state structures upon policy. The new equity policies under a State Labor government are being developed in a time of economic recession and when the Commonwealth has embraced an approach to education which sees it as central to microeconomic reform and economic restructuring and the economic future of the nation. While elsewhere equity politics have moved into a more defensive mode, in Queensland policies have to be achieved in a difficult economic context and without the insights of an earlier social democratic settlement within the Department of Education. That situation, along with the inherent characteristics of corporate managerialism considered in the previous Chapter, will place some pressure upon the new equity agendas in Queensland. Some mention was also made of the resulting tensions as equity makes its way onto the education agenda against residues of the older conservative organisational and policy culture. Changing federal/State relations also affect equity policies at the State level.

It is to federalism and federal/State relations in schooling policy formation that the next two Chapters turn. These Chapters will indicate how federalism, as another internal feature of the Australian state, as with bureaucracy and corporate managerialist changes to it, affects the creation and implementation of policy. They will also show the effect of ongoing economic recession on the nature and operation of Australian federalism and the relationship between corporate managerialism and the Hawke government's call for yet another "new federalism". This will be pursued through the development of the concept of 'corporate federalism' (Lingard, 1991, 1992) generally and particularly in schooling policy formation.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE FEDERAL CONTEXT OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY FORMULATION: TOWARDS CORPORATE FEDERALISM

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter focuses on federalism. Here federalism is considered as another internal structural feature of the Australian state. Offe (1975) recognised that the state always has to deal with its own structure in dealing with a policy problem, while that structure is a factor in the policy actually formulated. Despite such a recognition, state theories appear to have neglected the significance of formal governmental structures, especially either federal or unitary arrangements, to policy-making. Such neglect has at times flowed from the overly simplistic, unitary and instrumental accounts of the state which have been provided (Head, 1983). Clearly, the Australian federal state is not unitary even in a formal organisational sense. One contribution of the analysis provided in this thesis is its acknowledgment of the significance of government structure, in this case, federalism, for state theory. As indicated in the next Chapter, it also recognises the significance of this structural feature of the Australian state in schooling policy-making.

While state theory has neglected federalism, the Australian policy literature has also done so (Galligan, Hughes and Walsh, 1991; Galligan and Walsh, 1992). Further, there has been a neglect of the significance of both formal and informal aspects of intergovernmental relations in policy formation in that literature (Wiltshire, 1986; Galligan, Hughes and Walsh, 1991; Galligan and Walsh, 1992). The research reported in this and the following Chapter shows quite conclusively the federal/State 'entanglement' (Chapman, 1989, p.55), overlapping jurisdictions (Painter, 1988, p.57) and processes of accommodation involved in schooling policy production. Such entanglement is very clearly evident in equity policies in schooling, and specifically in relation to the development of both Queensland's *Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys* policy (1981) and the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* (1987). Further, the research indicates the enhanced policy importance of the intergovernmental committee in education, the Australian Education Council (AEC), in the Dawkins approach to federalism in schooling with the development of a range of national policies.

The Australian federation has the greatest degree of "vertical fiscal imbalance" of any of the federations with the Commonwealth raising most revenue, while the States are responsible for most service provision (Whitlam, 1985; Keating, 1991; Galligan, 1989; Galligan, Hughes and Walsh, 1991). Commonwealth transfers make up about half of State government receipts (Wiltshire, 1986, p.181). That reality, combined with an expansive interpretation of the Commonwealth's functions by the High Court and the Commonwealth's "usurpation" of income tax powers in 1942, has seen the Commonwealth increase its policy influence *vis-a-vis* that of the States. Tied or conditional grants to the States have increased as a percentage of all Commonwealth transfers in the postwar period (Wiltshire, 1986; Head, Wanna and Warburton, 1990). However, despite such fiscal and Constitutional centralisation, Galligan (1986) has argued that politics still remain central to an understanding of the workings of Australian federalism. He rejects any argument which would suggest an ongoing, unidirectional, incremental centralisation within Australian federalism. Rather, he would suggest that fluctuating economic circumstances and their related policy regimes are important determinants of the balance between centripetal and centrifugal tendencies in the distribution of political power across the federal/State divide. Wiltshire (1986) and Friedrich (1978, p.173) also support a view of federal/State relations 'as an evolving pattern of changing relationships rather than a static design regulated by firm and unalterable rules'. Given the necessity to recognise the impact of changing economic circumstances and politics upon federalism, what is required is an historically grounded account of the federal state in operation.

This Chapter provides such an historical account of the development of federalism across the period from Whitlam to Hawke with special attention to developments under Hawke. Here, the relationship between the corporate managerialist revolution detailed in Chapter 5 and developments within federalism under Hawke will be noted. Both are related to the structural policy condition, which sees an attempt to manage policy demands within a funding ceiling combined with a focus upon microeconomic and supply side economics (Offe, 1985). Additionally, the economic rationalism institutionalised in the 1987 restructurings of the Commonwealth bureaucracy and its goal of creating an internationally competitive, non-tariff protected Australian economy, will be shown to be significant in the reworking of federalism under Hawke. The rhetoric of the competitive state (Cerny, 1990) requires a reworking of federalism. To oversimplify, while the Keynesian approach of the postwar boom period precipitated centripetal pressures within

Australian federalism, reaching their peak under the social democratic policy regime created by Whitlam, the subsequent eschewal of such an approach and the renewed policy significance of economic liberalism have resulted in a changed balance of centripetal and centrifugal pressures within federalism. While fiscal centralisation remains, there are significant centrifugal pressures flowing from the Hawke government's post-1987 economic and policy directions. In short, the Chapter, while analysing such pressures, provides a political economy of Hawke's 'corporate federalism' (Lingard, 1991, 1992), a reframing of federalism which, as will be shown in the next Chapter, has been most obviously manifest in schooling policy-making, particularly under Dawkins (Lingard, 1991, 1992; Lingard, O'Brien and Knight, forthcoming).

This Chapter first considers the Constitutional division of powers between the federal and State governments, including a consideration of the Constitution and responsibility for education policy-making. The following section documents and analyses the balance between centripetal and centrifugal pressures and tensions in post-war federalism. It is hypothesised that under changed economic and policy circumstances a new stage within Australian federalism began to emerge with Hawke Labor, which is classified as 'corporate federalism' (Lingard, 1991, 1992). This nomenclature is utilised to distinguish contemporary developments within federalism from talk by politicians of a new "cooperative federalism" and to reflect the structure and focus of Hawke's policy culture. Some consideration is given to intergovernmental relations which, from the Whitlam time, have become centrally important to the dual-jurisdictional policy-making reality of Australian federalism. These considerations then serve as a backdrop to the working of federalism in schooling policy formation, the focus of the following Chapter. However, where applicable, references are also made to education in considering the nature of Australian federalism.

7.2 THE CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENT AND THE DIVISION OF POWERS BETWEEN THE STATE AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENTS

Section 51 of the Constitution lists most of the major powers of the federal government; the others are listed in Sections 52 and 122. The residual powers, that is those not listed as specific powers of the Commonwealth government, lie with the States, a fact pointed out in Section 107 of the Constitution. A number of commentators (Galligan,

1989; Lindell, 1989; Zines, 1989) have suggested that the listing in the Constitution of the powers of the Commonwealth, rather than those of the States, has encouraged 'an anti-Constitutional method of expansive literal interpretation' of the Constitution by the High Court (Galligan, 1989, p.7). The 1920 High Court decision in the Engineers' Case utilised an interpretative approach derived from legal notions of the supremacy of parliament which had originated in the British context of a unitary form of government and no written Constitution (Zines, 1989). As such this decision rejected the necessity for the federal character of the Australian political arrangement to be considered in interpretations of the Constitution and thus sanctioned an expansive reading of federal powers which has since become the orthodoxy (Galligan, 1989, p.6). That situation favours the Commonwealth and according to Galligan (1989, p.7), almost of necessity plays up the political component of the operation of federalism. This Constitutional division of powers has been a fertile source of political, economic, legal, as well as bureaucratic and policy conflict between the Commonwealth and the States (Head, 1983, p.9).

At federation, education was not listed as one of the powers of the federal government and thus remained under the control of the States, each of which had passed their 'free, compulsory and secular' Education Acts in the latter part of the nineteenth century. In 1901, education or 'public instruction' (the Queensland department was called the Department of Public Instruction from the time of the 1875 act until the defeat of the Gair Labor government in 1957), was one of the major policy and expenditure concerns of the federating States. The creation of universal elementary schooling was just one social policy component of the interventionist practices of the colonial governments in the second part of the nineteenth century (Painter, 1987; Evatt Research Centre, 1989). The provision of elementary schooling was an important policy function of the States at the moment of federation.

The fact that education was not a power granted to the central government reflects this earlier history of education and the administrative arrangements in place at the time. By the 1890s education was a 'firmly entrenched colonial responsibility' (Birch, 1975, p.4). There was no mention of education in the House of Commons and House of Lords' debates concerning the Constitution and the establishment of the Commonwealth of Australia (Birch, 1975, p.1). Birch (1975) suggests that one needs to turn to a consideration of the debates at the conferences and conventions on federation held in Australia in the 1890s to understand why education was excluded as a Commonwealth power. Education did not

become an agenda item at those meetings, Birch (1975) argues, because there was a general satisfaction with the colonial provision, there were no pressures or mutual agreements that it be included, there were no suggestions that uniformity of schooling provision would be in the national interest, and constitutional models extant at the time, such as those of Canada and the USA, did not include education within the purview of the national government.

However, the exclusion of education also reflected the nature of federation itself. Despite the emergence of an Australian nationalist movement in the latter part of last century, manifest for example in the writings of the *Bulletin*, Henry Lawson, Banjo Patterson and in the paintings of the Heidelberg school and so on, federation according to both White (1987) and McQueen (1984) was a political compromise between such nationalism and the imperial interests of the British connection (and one might add, with the interests of the States). The new federal state was not the embodiment of the nation, but more a utilitarian tool as suggested in Chapter 4 (Rosecrance, 1964, pp.296–297; Collins, 1985).

Federation also met the economic interests of some Australian manufacturers and traders with the creation of a more extensive market (White, 1987). Davidson (1990, ch.8) has argued that the failure of colonial jurisdictions in the 1890s to have force beyond their borders in the face of national organisation of some groupings of labour, was another significant contributing factor to federation. It also needs to be pointed out that the economic need to establish both internal free trade and a common market was a very important determinant of the Constitution (Saunders, 1992, p.101). It appears not to be an exaggeration to suggest that the chief motivation for federation was economic in nature. More specifically, a central focus of the 1890s meetings was a concern to work out appropriate fiscal relationships between the Commonwealth and the States. Such an evaluation is supported by the recognition that both civil and social rights of individuals were excluded from the Constitution (Beilharz, Considine and Watts, 1992, p.20).

The changing perception of the nation's economic needs and the national interest at different times since federation has continued to be an important determining factor in the operation of federalism. At federation, education was not perceived to be central to Australia's economic needs, nor the national interest, and thus was excluded from the purview of the new Commonwealth government. That was to change across the post World War Two period, as first university education and then all areas of education, were

seen to be central to the creation of a productive economy, thus precipitating enhanced Commonwealth involvement. The policy regime established after 1987 by the Hawke government, as outlined in the previous Chapter, with its focus on economic restructuring and microeconomic reform and assertion of a human capital perception of schooling has seen a move towards national policies, as will be indicated below.

It is White's (1987, p.10) contention regarding the Constitutional framework that, 'its genesis in political compromise and economic advantage still shape its activities'. Rydon (1989, p.264) makes the related point that the pre-existing Constitutions of the States and their established bureaucracies were formative in the character of Australian federation and have continued to have an impact until the present. This point is certainly valid with respect to federalism and schooling policy formation.

In a recent paper, Sharman (1990) has argued that the preexisting colonies and the embrace of a federalist structure based upon the American model ensured a pluralist, division of powers character to Australian political culture. When combined with the British approach of strong executive parliamentary government, the result was a tension between such a division of powers and the majoritarian character of the British tradition. Sharman (1990) thus speaks of Australia's structural idiosyncrasy as a 'compound republic'.

The Constitution established the basis for financial relations between the States and the Commonwealth. It is under Section 96 of the Constitution (grants of assistance to the States for specific purposes) that the federal government has pursued financial involvement in education policy formation. White (1987, p.10) makes a relevant observation in this respect that: 'the structure of the Constitution, and the historical processes which made the Constitution, have also shaped the way the Commonwealth has acted in education'. This point will become clearer in the following Chapter. Wiltshire (1986, p.223) also makes the significant point that Section 96 grants to the States have been utilised by the federal government 'for activities which are clearly the Constitutional responsibility of the States'.

The use of Section 96 specific purpose grants is the major way the federal government has increased its influence over education policy formulation, though it ought to be pointed out that much of this funding goes to the States as block grants with limited accountability requirements (Jackson, 1985). Only about 13% of Schools Commission funding for schooling programs across the period 1973–1987 was directed to programs managed and controlled by the Commonwealth. Furthermore, such specific purpose grants have at times been provided at the request of a State. The Australian Education Council,

the intergovernmental agency in education, was established in 1936 by the State ministers for education to pressure the federal government to provide specific purpose funding for technical education, given the context of very high levels of youth unemployment in the aftermath of the depression (Spaull, 1987). The States' Grant (Youth Employment) Act, 1937 was the first time Section 96 grants were used to fund educational provision (Spaull, 1987, p.36).

The Whitlam government made extensive use of such conditional grants, constituting almost 50% of all grants to the States during the period 1972–1975 (Wiltshire, 1986; Head, Wanna and Warburton, 1990). It is through such conditional grants that Whitlam sought more substantial federal involvement in the planning and administration of what were perceived as ostensibly State functions. Such usage also reflected Whitlam's commitment to equity, or what he has called 'positive equality' in public policy and his conviction that Australians had a right to equitable service provision, irrespective of where they lived (Whitlam, 1985). Smart (1978) has argued that Menzies and Holt made overtly political use of such grants with the establishment of two schemes, Commonwealth Science Laboratories 1964 and the Commonwealth Libraries 1968.

Section 109 of the constitution points out that, where there is an inconsistency between a State and federal law, the federal law takes precedence: a clause which, potentially at least, increases the power of the federal government *vis-a-vis* the States.

There has been some suggestion (Tannock, and Birch, 1976) that Section 81 of the Constitution, usually referred to as the "appropriation power", might provide a legal basis for federal involvement in education. This section allows for the Commonwealth to use all revenues raised for the 'purposes of the commonwealth'. The argument here turns on the interpretation of the phrase 'the purposes of the commonwealth': does it mean purposes of the Commonwealth as defined in the Constitution or is it open to a much broader reading? In the Pharmaceutical Benefits Case of 1945, the High Court judgement ruled against the more expansive interpretation, while during the Whitlam period the more expansive reading was granted by the High Court.

The Whitlam government was the first federal government to utilise Section 81 for the distribution of grant monies. They were made for the purpose of granting funds directly to local government, thus bypassing administrative complications of initial distribution to the States. Specifically, the grants were made for the Australian Assistance Plan. The Constitutional validity of this policy decision was confirmed in a High Court

challenge. In writing about that decision, Whitlam (1985, p.718) quotes Justice Jacobs' finding that the functions of the Commonwealth were 'limited to those areas which are expressly made the subject matter of Commonwealth legislative power', but that the Commonwealth 'cannot be strictly limited to those subject matters' (quoted in Whitlam, 1985, p.718). Jacobs went on to assert that the Commonwealth had prerogative 'on all matters which are the concern of Australia as a nation' (quoted in Whitlam, 1985, p.718), a most expansive interpretation of Section 81. Whitlam (1985, p.718) argues that such an expansive reading is 'the key to effective Australian government in a modern society'.

It is, however, Section 51 (xxiiiA) which potentially at least, provides some more direct legal base (apart from Section 96 grants) for federal education policy-making, which ostensibly as noted throughout, is a residual Constitutional power of the States. The amendment to Section 51, with placitum xxiiiA, resulted from what is usually called the 'Social Services Amendment' passed by referendum in 1946 under the Chifley Labor government. This was to give the Commonwealth Constitutional power to construct the postwar welfare state to accompany a full employment policy based on Keynesian economic theories. In effect it confirmed federal social security legislation which had already been passed and served as an impetus and legal justification for further expansion of such benefits (Crisp, 1961; Whitlam, 1985; Watt, 1987). As Crisp (1961, p.314) puts it: 'the success of the 1946 referendum appeared to secure to the Commonwealth comprehensive Constitutional powers in social security matters'.

The general introduction to Section 51 reads as follows: 'The parliament shall, subject to this Constitution, have power to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of the Commonwealth with respect to' and is followed by sub clause xxiiiA which states.

The provision of maternity allowances, widows' pensions, child endowment, unemployment, pharmaceutical, sickness and hospital benefits, medical and dental services (but not so as to authorize any form of civil conscription), benefits to students and family allowances.

It is this 'benefits to students' phrase which appears to give the Commonwealth some concurrent power with the States with respect to education policy-making.

At the conclusion of the war, the Chifley government had created training schemes for ex-servicemen to attend university and had as a concomitant granted monies to the universities to operate this program. In 1945 in the first Commonwealth Education Act, the government also had established a Commonwealth Office of Education and a

Universities' Commission. During the campaign for the 1949 election, which Labor lost, Chifley promised to establish a Commonwealth Department of Education if Labor won the election (Spaull, 1982). (The subsequent creation of such a department did not occur until 1966.) The 'benefits to students' clause was included in the Social Services Amendment to ensure the Constitutional validity of these legislative actions (Whitlam, 1985, p.292), as well as the validity of any future federal legislation on education (Tannock and Birch, 1976). The inclusion of 'benefits to students' in the 1946 "Social Services Amendment" is an indication that Labor perceived education to be an important component of both postwar reconstruction and the creation of the welfare state (Spaull, 1982, ch.7, 1987, ch.4).

In the context of war, increased Commonwealth involvement in education, a perception of desired future links between education and post-war reconstruction and under some pressure from the AEC for Commonwealth financial assistance, the Labor government had established an Inter-Departmental Committee on Education in 1943, chaired by Dr E.R. Walker, Deputy Director-General of War Organisation of Industry. Dedman, the Minister for Post-war Reconstruction, had argued the necessity of such a review because of the role education and the Commonwealth were going to have to play in such reconstruction (Spaull, 1992). Dedman wanted advice as to whether the Commonwealth should simply rely upon the States to instigate the necessary reforms, or direct the agenda itself through either financial assistance to the States or 'by coming in over the top of them' (Spaull, 1982, p.258). Thus, one task given to the Committee was the provision of an opinion as to the Constitutional position on education. This advice stated:

We desire to record our view that the Commonwealth's inescapable responsibilities within the field of education could be most readily met, if the Commonwealth secured complete legislative powers. In the event of no additional power being obtained in relation to education, the Commonwealth will be forced, in the national interest, to utilise such channels as are open to it, such as grants in aid and action incidental to its various powers and functions, the scope of which may be modified at any time by judicial interpretation of the Constitution. (quoted in Spaull, 1982, p.259)

This opinion recognised a responsibility for the Commonwealth government in education, but acknowledged that Commonwealth action which was Constitutional at that time would have to utilise grants powers or action incidental to other Commonwealth functions. The most direct line of action recommended so that the Commonwealth could meet its 'inescapable responsibilities' in education was through the securing of 'complete legislative powers'. The question remains as to whether or not the subsequent 'benefits to students'

amendment to the Constitution grants such legislative powers. Spaul (1982, p.260) argues that subsequently this Committee pursued a pragmatic line of 'finding suitable administrative machinery to finance the discharge of those responsibilities which would not impinge upon State rights'. Such a strategy seems to have been the one desired by the AEC (Spaul, 1987). Others such as Coombs wanted a stronger role for the Commonwealth (Spaul, 1982, p.260; Stokes and Edmonds, 1990; Coombs, IT6, 1991). Spaul (1982, p.261) also quotes Walker, the Chair of the Committee, as suggesting that the most substantial achievement of the Inter-Departmental Committee was the fact that it combated the view that education was purely a matter for the States.

The important legal point here about the Commonwealth's concurrent power to legislate with respect to education relates to the interpretation of the phrase 'benefits to students' in either a narrow or expansive fashion. Birch (1975) and Tannock and Birch (1976) argue the validity of an expansive interpretation. Thus, for example, Tannock and Birch assert:

Certainly there are no grounds whatever for politicians, civil servants or academics to continue their refrain that 'the Commonwealth has no Constitutional power to legislate with respect to education', or that 'education is an exclusive State Constitutional responsibility'. (Tannock and Birch, 1976, p.38).

In taking such a stance, they show that the inclusion of the phrase in question was the work of eminent Constitutional authority and Attorney-General, Dr. H.V. Evatt, who intended the most expansive interpretation possible. On this point, they quote Calwell's recollection of Evatt's intention (1976, p.36):

This was written in at a cabinet meeting by Evatt. It was peculiarly his own and it was a clever piece of draughtsmanship. I remember him saying – writing the words and saying to Chifley, 'Well, benefits to students means everything. It's not limited.' A benefit is a benefit and students are students. There's no limit about it in the matter of benefits, and the question as to who was or wasn't a student was a matter for the parliament to decide. It could be a kindergarten student or it could be a post-graduate student. (Tannock and Birch, 1976, p.36)

Birch (1975, p.54) also shows how Evatt supported an expansive interpretation of 'benefits to students' in parliamentary debates of the 1950s. For example, in a 1958 emergency motion debate in the House of Representatives on education, he stated:

I have made a point, which I think is unanswerable, that the Commonwealth can act directly, under the new Constitutional power given by the Labor government of Mr. Chifley in 1946, in the matter of education. The Commonwealth would be free of restriction. (quoted in Birch, 1975, p.54)

He went on to assert that it was not a question of divided responsibility and legislative power, but rather that 'direct power and responsibility reside in this parliament' (quoted in Birch, 1975, p.x).

However, once a Constitutional amendment is passed through a referendum, its interpretation is then up to the High Court. To this point, the High Court has never been asked to assess the validity of the common refrain that education is a Constitutional responsibility of the States or to test the meaning of 'benefits to students'. In that respect, it is interesting that in the same debate in which Evatt asserted his expansive interpretation in respect of 'benefits to students', Prime Minister Menzies argued just as forcibly that education was a function of the States and a matter over which the Commonwealth had neither power nor responsibility (Birch, 1975, p.x). Smart (1978) notes that Menzies always doubted an expansive interpretation of the clause and instead believed that Commonwealth incursions into schooling were possible under the grants power of Section 96, which he subsequently utilised with the Commonwealth's move into university education and the 1964 school science laboratory scheme. It is interesting in that context, that in response to a question to him as Commonwealth Minister for Education in 1971, Malcolm Fraser noted that the introduction by the Commonwealth of university scholarships had been enacted in accordance with Section 51, placitum xxiiiA powers (Birch, 1975, p.xii). In that scholarships debate, Evatt argued the Commonwealth also had the Constitutional power to make grants 'to other students in their march to the universities' (Birch, 1975, p.51).

On the basis of relevant High Court judgements, Birch (1975, p.83) argues that 'the provision of benefits to students is a plenary power belonging to the Commonwealth', while any inconsistency with State laws in this domain would see the Commonwealth law prevailing. Further, he suggests that the Commonwealth must provide the benefits, that is, the Commonwealth cannot require the States to provide the benefits.

Birch (1975, p.84) also notes that a difficulty with the 'benefits to students' phrase lies with the interpretation given to the meaning of 'to'. He quotes an opinion from Sawyer for a narrow reading which argues 'to' 'presupposes a general educational system to which the federal government provides benefits'.

Another relevant point with respect to the Constitutionality of Commonwealth involvement in education concerns where the legal challenge to Commonwealth legislation would originate. The States, while at times being concerned over so-called 'States'

Rights", usually welcome Commonwealth funding, whether general or tied. While preferring general to tied grants, the States have been happy to accept the latter, because even here they appear to have some leverage over administration and delivery of such funds (Head, Wanna and Warburton, 1990, p.23). For example, it has been shown how the Queensland Department of Education was happy to accept Commonwealth funds for multicultural education (1979–1986), but the Commonwealth's intentions were clearly refracted (Freeland, 1981) in their implementation at the State level (Lingard, 1983; Singh, 1990). The States at times have appealed to the Commonwealth for funding, as was the case in 1936 at the first meeting of the AEC and during the 1960s, when the impact of the post-war baby boom, combined with increased retention to secondary schooling, placed real strains on the State schooling systems.

Irrespective of whether the High Court would accept a narrow or expansive reading of 'benefits to students', it would seem that, Constitutionally speaking, the federal government at least has some concurrent power with the States to legislate with respect to education. It would appear that the more federalist conservative parties in Australia have been happy to utilise Section 96 for educational purposes, and while the more centralist Labor Party has utilised conditional grants, it has also operated under a general assumption of the Constitutional validity of an expansive reading of Section 51, placitum xxiiiA. At the first meeting of the Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission in December, 1972, the new Labor Minister for Education, Beazley, pointed out that Section 96 grants would be the form through which much of the Whitlam educational agenda would be implemented (Birch, 1975, p.xii). However, he added that the government's policies and programs for schools would be an exercise of the Commonwealth's direct Constitutional power to grant benefits to students (Birch, 1975, p.xii).

In many ways, however, such complex legal and Constitutional questions about the justifiable extent of the Commonwealth's role in education are beside the point. Across the postwar period the Commonwealth slowly increased its role with respect to schools. In some senses, that reflected the vertical fiscal imbalance institutionalised after the takeover of the income tax power by the Commonwealth in 1942 (Mathews, 1983, p.147). The Commonwealth's approach to adjusting that imbalance through conditional or specific purpose grants increased its influence in the schooling policy domain. Its role was further expanded and systematised under Whitlam. While there have been some subsequent centrifugal pressures within federalism, the Commonwealth still wants a role in schooling,

while the States want access to Commonwealth funds. It would appear that the Commonwealth does not want the full responsibility for schooling, but rather some influence over it. Into the foreseeable future, the States will continue to be responsible for the delivery of schooling. As documented in the next Chapter, that situation has seen federalism in schooling operate in a political manner, with increasing importance being granted to the role of the Australian Education Council, the intergovernmental committee in education.

The notion of "the national interest" has been used at differing times by both the States and the Commonwealth to justify a more substantial role for the latter. For instance, at the inaugural meeting of the AEC in 1936, the State Ministers for Education called for Commonwealth funding for technical education because it was in the national interest (Spaull, 1987, p.11). In the 1983 *Labor Essays*, John Dawkins, argued that the Commonwealth must take a 'national' role in education. Specifically, he asserted:

Thus these two great themes, the need to take control of our own economic destiny and the need to give expression to our vision of a just and equal society provide the settings in which the education policies of the federal Labor government have been conceived. By their nature, these objectives require of the Labor government that it provides new forms of national leadership in education. This is a task which goes beyond the provision of grants of money to schools, school authorities and tertiary institutions. It requires the national government to be concerned with objectives of education and the structures through which it is provided and with the adequacy of our total educational efforts. (Dawkins and Costello, 1983, p.68)

When he became federal minister in 1987, Dawkins pursued such a national agenda. Senator Ryan, when she chaired her first AEC meeting in mid-1983, stressed the importance of a partnership between the Commonwealth and States in schooling, as well as the role of the Schools Commission as a 'genuine instrument of national policy development' (quoted in Spaull, 1987, p.262). The Dawkins era (1987-1991) resulted in the development of a number of national policies, including goals for schooling and curriculum frameworks, after the first ever national policy had been created under Ryan.

The political nature of federalism in schooling policy formation is also very clear in the consensual, neo-corporatist approach adopted by John Dawkins as Minister in the post-1987 election period. This is the argument, alluded to earlier, that incremental Constitutional and financial centralism have been emphasised by many observers, while the efficacy of politics in the State/federal relationship has until the fairly recent past been neglected (Galligan, 1986). As indicated below, any Constitutional "reality" obviously is

mediated by political considerations, which in turn relate to changing economic circumstances (Galligan, 1986). The following sections will consider such matters.

7.3 TOWARDS A POLITICAL ECONOMY OF POST-WAR FEDERALISM: THE CHANGING BALANCE BETWEEN CENTRIPETAL AND CENTRIFUGAL PRESSURES

This section begins by firstly considering centripetal pressures which have operated in Australian federalism across the period since federation. This will include a brief account of centripetal pressures in fiscal relations between the States and the Commonwealth briefly alluded to already and an account of the centralising impact of the expansive High Court interpretations of the Constitution. Attention will then be given to the postwar period and the way political factors also operated in a centripetal fashion, reaching a crescendo with the Whitlam era. Since that time, the period after the end of the postwar economic boom, the political has impacted upon federalism in more centrifugal manner. However, the reality of fiscal and Constitutional centralism has remained. Party political factors also have an impact within the general centripetal or centrifugal pressures.

7.3.1 Centripetal Pressures in Federal/State Financial Relations

The Australian Constitution and the federation which occurred in 1901 based upon it was a 'States' rights' document (Evatt Research Centre, 1989, p.3; Zines, 1992). However, the nature of the Constitution did set a path for increased federal control, especially via financial mechanisms, in relations between the Commonwealth and the States. At the time of federation revenue from customs and excise was the chief source of monies for the State governments. Section 90 of the Constitution granted this power to the federal government at the time of federation. Section 51(2) gave the federal government the power to raise other forms of taxation, provided there was no disparity in such a levy between the States. As Deakin said at the time of federation, this left the States 'financially bound to the chariot wheels of the central government.' While economic fluctuations and international developments have impacted upon the nature of these federal/State financial relations since 1901 (Evatt Research Centre, 1989, ch.1), potential

Commonwealth dominance in financial relations seems to have been built into the nature of the Constitution.

Summers (1985, p.99), amongst others (for example, Wiltshire, 1986; Saunders, 1992) has argued that three subsequent factors have contributed to the increased financial dominance of the federal government *vis-a-vis* the States. These three factors listed in chronological order are the control the Commonwealth has exerted over loan monies for the States since the establishment of the Loan Council in 1927; secondly the Commonwealth takeover of individual and company income tax power from the States in 1942; and thirdly across the post-war period the increased use by the Commonwealth of conditional Section 96 special purpose grants. Each will be considered briefly in turn.

Summers (1985, p.100) points out the difficulties the States had in raising loan monies during the early 1920s, so that in 1924 the States (with the exception of New South Wales) and the Commonwealth agreed to coordinate their borrowing activities so as to avoid competition for such monies. This process was formalised with the creation of the Australian Loan Council in 1927. The so-called "Gentleman's Agreement" of 1936 also brought local and semigovernment borrowings under the purview of the Council. Head (1989, p.251) asserts that over-investment by the States in rural public works during the 1920s was an important contributing factor to both developments. With the creation of the Loan Council, all government loans (with the exception of defence) were to be raised by the federal government on the advice of the Council. A referendum in 1929, which inserted Section 105 (a) in the Constitution, ensured the legal validity of the Loan Council. The establishment of the Council, and the concomitant verifying Constitutional amendment, increased the financial standing of the federal government *vis-a-vis* the States and saw a redistribution of power towards the centre (Wiltshire, 1986, pp.95-6). The federal government has the upper hand at Council meetings because it underwrites State loans, controls exchange rates, interest rates, the banking system and monetary policy and because of the voting arrangement on the Council, which gives it two votes to one vote for each of the States, as well as the casting vote (Wiltshire, 1986, p.302).

Section 51(2) of the Constitution granted the Commonwealth the right to levy taxes and under this jurisdiction they had levied a land tax in 1910, estates duty in 1914, an income tax in 1915 and an entertainment tax in 1916. However, it was the taking over of the sole right to levy individual and company income tax - the uniform tax arrangements - during the Second World War (1942) which very substantially increased

the financial powers of the Commonwealth, without any concomitant Constitutional amendment and which survived two High Court challenges by the States. In the year 1982–83, for example, 56.2% of all federal government revenue came from personal income tax, with about a third of that government's expenditure going in grants to the States, while in the year 1981–82 Commonwealth grants constituted 58.7% of all State government receipts (Wiltshire, 1986, p.177 and p.181). These figures indicate something of the importance of the federal government's income tax powers in ensuring the fiscal dominance of the Commonwealth, particularly when linked to vertical fiscal imbalance (the gap between revenue raising capacity and expenditure responsibilities). Overall in 1989–90 the Commonwealth collected 73% (well over half coming from income tax) of all revenue compared with 23% by the States, but the former was responsible for 51% of all government expenditure, with the States responsible for 44% (DeLacy, 1990). The Commonwealth had taken over the right to levy income and company tax during the war because of the view that uniform taxation was required across State boundaries for equitable support for the war effort. As Groenewegen (1983, p.184) puts it:

...the organization of the war economy and the later plans for post-war reconstruction under the Curtin–Chifley governments (1941–9) placed tremendous strains on federal–State relations, and provided the foundation for total States' financial dependence which has persisted in the post-war years.

The use of Section 96 specific purpose grants to the States by the federal government increased substantially in the post-war period, reaching a peak of 51.5% of all federal grants to the States in the last Whitlam/Hayden 1975/1976 budget. While the Section 96 proportion of Commonwealth grants to the States was reduced under Fraser with an increase again under Hawke, this proportion remains much higher than for any time prior to the Second World War (Head, Wanna and Warburton, 1990). Across the Hawke period for instance, federal transfers to the States through specific purpose grants reached almost 50% of total transfers (Head, Wanna, Warburton, 1990).

According to Wiltshire (1986, p.211), the basic reason for the use by the federal government of such tied grants is to: 'identify, establish, and monitor the priorities of the national government', while at the same time attempting 'to overcome the major weakness of unconditional funding which divorces taxation decisions from expenditure decisions'. The States obviously prefer unconditional grants. However, federal governments tend to prefer conditional grants; the utilisation of such grants is linked to the attempt by the party in government at the federal level to implement its platform and to achieve some

equity in the provision of services across the nation (horizontal equalisation). It is also linked to questions of accountability of federal monies. The use of such grants provides a fertile source of federal/State tensions, particularly when governments at each level are of different political persuasion with a consequent tension between national and subnational policy priorities (Wiltshire, 1986, p.246).

One reason for State government concern about conditional grants is the fact that Federal governments have used these grants to influence those State level policy areas which are clearly, in Constitutional terms, the responsibility of the States (Wiltshire, 1986, p.223). Furthermore, potential federal/State tensions are exacerbated by the fact that such federal inroads have been mainly in the big expenditure areas for the States, such as education, health and roads.

Section 96 grants have been the most flexible and vulnerable aspect of fiscal transfers from the federal government to the States, so that when cuts in federal expenditure occur they are more likely to occur in the specific, rather than general purpose area. Since the Whitlam period there has been a redirection of specific purpose funds away from capital programs to recurrent purposes (Wiltshire, 1986, pp.212–213). This reflects the parsimonious nature of government funding since the mid-seventies and the related neglect of the social and physical infrastructure in the context of a resurgent economic liberalism.

Education is very high on the list of State government functions which have been funded through Commonwealth specific purpose grants, accounting for about 10% of expenditure on education at the State level, but requiring considerable State administrative involvement. Herein lies a real potential for conflict, given the States', not unfounded claim, that education is their Constitutional responsibility, and the Commonwealth's apparent political motivation for not challenging such a claim under Section 51 (xxiiiA) of the Constitution. State governments also point out that because the Commonwealth's funds make up only about 10% of their education budgets Commonwealth perspectives should not dominate.

Wiltshire (1986, p.254) emphasises two political aspects of Section 96 grants, both of which are very relevant to the case studies under analysis in this thesis. First, he argues that via the use of such grants the federal government can impose its ideology upon a subnational unit. This can be attempted against the wishes of that unit. Second, that it is almost political suicide for a State government to refuse a conditional grant, an observation

also made by Cranston (1979). The first point raises interesting questions about the operation of liberal democracy and the legitimacy of goals for governments at the federal and State levels within a federation (Wiltshire, 1986, p.254, 1990). The use of conditional grants to impose federal ideology against the persuasion of a State government precipitates these questions, in the same way as does the 'refraction' (Freeland, 1981) of the federal policy intention by State government implementation. The States often will attempt a 'take the money and run' view of such grants, regarding them simply as 'administrative transfers rather than political interference' (Head, Wanna and Warburton, 1990, p.12).

Examples of this specific process at work can be seen in the development of the Queensland *Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys* policy (1981). One factor in the development of this policy was the desire by the State Department to have access to Commonwealth monies. With the policy on girls' education the federal approach was mediated by Queensland State government ideology and anti-feminist pressures (Lingard, Henry and Taylor, 1987), while in Queensland's implementation of the Commonwealth's Multicultural Education Program (1979-1986) there was clear assimilation of the federal government's liberal pluralism in the direction of residual multiculturalism, which emphasised superficial aspects of ethnic cultures (Lingard, 1983; Singh, 1990). These refractions of Commonwealth policy intention are just two examples of how the States at times have utilised discretion over policy management to 'offset the Commonwealth's financial dominance' (Head, Wanna and Warburton, 1990, p.2). They are also an example of how the politicisation of specific purpose grants most often occurs in situations where the policy and ideological priorities of the Commonwealth and the States do not coincide (Head, Wanna and Warburton, 1990, p.12). While there is clearly some 'compliance-assistance trade off' (Elmore and McLaughlin, 1982) in federal/State relations, that is, tied grants require some acquiescence to federal policy intentions, such intentions are mediated in the implementation process and that mediation often occurs within the policy regime of State bureaucracies.

Summers (1985) summarises these centralising developments in federal/State financial arrangements stating that,

By the 1980s, the Australian States had little of the financial autonomy that the Constitution appears to give them. The Commonwealth, by its ability to dictate the terms of the tax sharing arrangements, by its domination of the Loan Council, by its use of tied grants, has come to control Australian federal finances. (p.106)

(For a chronology of developments in federal/State financial developments see Evatt Research Centre, 1989, pp.11–13.)

At the present time then the States only have a narrow range of independent financial options open to them. However, they still retain the responsibility for the provision of a very broad range of services, but do not have the independent capacity to raise the revenues to support them, being very dependent upon federal grants. The Commonwealth has superior sources of revenue and the capacity to provide conditional grants to the States.

There is one other institution which operates at the intersection of Commonwealth/state financial relations. This is the Commonwealth Grants Commission established in 1933 to provide advice to the Commonwealth on ways to ensure horizontal equalisation in grants to the States. As the Queensland Treasurer has put it:

The principle of fiscal equalisation is designed to ensure that each State is able to deliver services to its residents at a standard not appreciably different from that of the other States, provided that a comparable revenue raising effort is made. (DeLacy, 1990, p.97)

This situation also increases the influence of the Commonwealth.

In an international comparative sense:

...Constitutionally the power to levy taxes is much greater and the responsibility to provide government services is much less in the case of the Australian federal government than in the case of any comparable federal government. (Whitlam, 1985, p.711)

This mismatch between capacity to raise revenue and responsibility for the provision of services is called "vertical fiscal imbalance". Such imbalance is recognised by a wide variety of commentators, particularly those writing from public choice or managerialist perspectives, as a source of inefficiency and lack of accountability in the expenditure of public monies (Mathews, 1986; Wiltshire, 1986; Saunders, 1992; Galligan and Walsh, 1992; Walsh, 1989; Stewart, 1991), as well as a source of irrationality in policy-making and infidelity in implementation (Grewal, 1981; Wiltshire, 1981, 1986, 1990; Economic Planning Advisory Committee, 1990). Others, such as the current Prime Minister (Keating, 1991) argue that vertical fiscal imbalance, while being a most infelicitous and value-laden nomenclature, is necessary to national unity and to the Commonwealth's capacity to manage the national economy and to ensure equity in policy provision. (See Barwise and Castles, 1991 for a tentative evaluation of this stance.) Such a position was also subscribed to by Whitlam (1985) and has been argued for by Head (1989) and Self (1989)

in relation to the necessity for the Commonwealth to retain economic functions in respect of both stabilisation and redistribution. That is also a position subscribed to in this thesis.

In the Queensland education context, it would appear to be the case that equity concerns only made their tentative way onto the policy agenda across the period of conservative political rule because of Commonwealth initiatives and the availability of conditional funds (Lingard, 1983, 1990c; Lingard, Henry, Taylor, 1987; Lingard and Collins, 1991a). Such Commonwealth initiatives also framed the mobilisation of political pressure in Queensland for such policies, as will be shown in Chapters 9 and 10.

For our purposes here, it is important to point out that vertical fiscal imbalance is also a potent source of State/federal conflict, with the States financially beholden to the Commonwealth and the latter increasingly prone to utilise tied grants in the big expenditure areas which the States see as being under their Constitutional jurisdiction. This dual jurisdictional reality in given policy domains may also contribute to infidelity and refraction in the implementation of federal policy intentions in areas ostensibly of State responsibility.

The use of tied grants by the Commonwealth has impacted upon the organisational arrangements and policy structure and culture of the various State departments. In education, for example, many State departments now have sections which deal solely with Commonwealth policies and programs. This was the situation in the Queensland Department prior to the Labor victory at the 1989 State election. Such an arrangement may sequester the influence of Commonwealth policies. This, along with 'political bargaining and administrative discretion' have been amongst the ways the States have 'sought to ameliorate the impact of federal fiscal domination' (Head, Wanna and Warburton, 1990, p.23).

Vertical fiscal imbalance has also increased the utilisation of intergovernmental committees in the working of Australian federalism (Galligan, Hughes and Walsh, 1991), as has the increased use in the post-war period of conditional grants in policy domains such as education over which both levels of government appear to have some jurisdiction. Thus while vertical fiscal imbalance operates in a centripetal fashion within federalism, one cannot simply assume that this equates with the dominance of the Commonwealth in all policy areas.

7.3.2 Centripetal Pressures and Judicial Interpretation

Centripetal pressures within Australian federalism also have operated via changes to the Constitution through both referenda and changing judicial interpretation (Saunders, 1986; Craven, 1992). The Australian people appear to have been reluctant to modify the Constitution through referenda, a fact which in some ways reflects the 'majority of voters in a majority of States' requirement for a successful referendum. Saunders (1986) also argues that this reluctance, in part at least, flows from the fact that the High Court has been amenable to expansive interpretations of the federal government's powers within the Constitution. Furthermore, she argues: 'The converse also is arguable: that the High Court feels a responsibility for the evolution of the Constitution through judicial review, in the face of strong evidence that the Constitution is very difficult, if not impossible, to amend' (1986, p.158).

It is broadening judicial interpretation, that is, one which has taken an expansive view of Commonwealth powers, which has strengthened the position of the federal government. This process began in 1920 with the famous *Engineers' Case*, where the High Court found that the powers of the Commonwealth, as outlined in the Constitution, should be given their "natural meaning", rather than a meaning constrained by the federal nature of the Constitution. Galligan (1989, p.6) argues that this legal interpretation resulted from an inappropriate application of British legal notions to the Australian federal system. More specifically, he notes: 'There is something incongruent about a court using an interpretative method that is derived from a politico-legal model alien to federalism to interpret a federal system'. Be that as it may, the fact is that the *Engineers' Case* of 1920 provided for an 'inexorable expansion of overall federal power and a corresponding reduction of residual State power' (Galligan, 1989, p.6).

The *Franklin Dam* case of 1983 in confirming and extending the external affairs power of the federal government is yet another indication of an 'expansive' interpretation of the Commonwealth's powers by the High Court. It is perhaps relevant here to note Justice Lionel K. Murphy's support for this interpretation in terms of the so-called "presumption of validity" argument. This particular argument suggests that there ought to be due deference of an unelected High Court bench to the wishes of the elected representatives of the people. Here the expansive view of the Commonwealth's role is argued for in terms of the federal parliament representing the will of more people than is the case with State

parliaments. This justification is proffered in terms of a democratic principle, but it is a justification, as with the Engineer's Case, which does not appear to take account of the federal nature of Australia's political structure.

As noted several times to this point, despite the centripetal pressures operating in both fiscal and judicial interpretation senses, political and economic factors also mediate such pressures. Across the post-war boom period they embellished such centralisation, while since then they have provided mediating and countervailing centrifugal developments. Thus, while the States remain financially dependent upon the Commonwealth (Craven, 1992) and while the High Court continues to bring down expansive interpretations of the Commonwealth's functions as a national government, the States continue to function as 'organized centres of countervailing power' (Zines, 1992, p.99). The States have not simply become administrative units of the Commonwealth. Indeed, since the end of the Whitlam period of government in 1975, there appears to have been something of a limited renaissance of the States, which has been fuelled by the reincarnation of classical economics in public policy and the new corporate managerialism outlined in some detail in the two previous Chapters. This has witnessed a more pragmatic utilisation of intergovernmental agencies, including in schooling policy the Australian Education Council, and the emergence of what this thesis classifies as 'corporate federalism', particularly in schooling policy formulation (Lingard, 1991, 1992). It is to a consideration of these political/economic influences upon the working of federalism in the post-war Australia that the next two sections turn.

7.3.3 Centripetal and Centrifugal Pressures in the Politics of Post-war Federalism

Galligan (1986) argues that the post-war long boom and utilisation of Keynesian economic policies had a centralising impact upon the distribution of political power between the Commonwealth and the States. By contrast, he asserts the subsequent resources boom and economic recession and restructuring have increased the political influence of the States. This thesis agrees with that basic assessment of the balance between centripetal and centrifugal pressures in post-war federalism. It should be kept in mind, however, that the States are always more than mere 'administrative agencies', rather they are at all times 'political communities' (Sharman, 1988, p.2), which ensures that federalism operates as a political relationship, as well as a fiscal and legal one. The

further point also needs to be stressed that fiscal centralisation has remained, despite the existence of countervailing centrifugal pressures since the end of the long post-war economic boom. Chapman (1988, p.101) utilises a notion of 'consolidatory federalism' to refer to what he perceives as concurrent centripetal and centrifugal pressures at any given time within Australian federalism. Given the continuation of the Commonwealth's fiscal dominance across the entire post-war period, this is probably a useful way to conceptualise the ongoing centripetal/centrifugal tension.

Since the seventies, it has been the reality of vertical fiscal imbalance and the increased salience of the States in a context of economic restructuring which has seen various attempts to rework federalism, first by Whitlam, then by Fraser and subsequently by Hawke. This has been particularly evident after 1987 with the focus on microeconomic reform as part of the strategy to ensure the export-oriented and non-tariff protected competitiveness of manufacturing within the global economy. It is also the context in which the importance of intergovernmental committees and agreements has increased, a factor pursued in the section below. The present time has seen either an apparent acceptance of federalism as a positive feature of Australian politics or a resignation that it is here to stay and thus a need to work within its confines (Galligan and Walsh, 1992). Changed attitudes of the Labor Party and Labor governments at both State and Commonwealth levels have been significant here (Galligan, 1989).

The changing balance between centripetal and centrifugal tendencies within Australian federalism has been reflected in the varying degrees of attention given to the States within political science and sociology. During the fifties and sixties there developed a view that the States were merely becoming administrative arms of the federal policy process (Davis, 1960). Indeed, even as early as the beginning of the war, a Chair of the Commonwealth Grants Commission stated that Australia was moving inexorably towards a unitary form of government (Bird, 1986, p.130). Centripetal pressures reached a crescendo with the Whitlam government (1972-1975). However, that high point of centralisation was an important subsequent factor in the rejuvenation of the States both in policy and political terms and within political science and sociology. The election of a large number of State Labor governments during the 1980s, combined with the consensual pragmatism, managerialism and the narrow economic rationalism of the Hawke federal Labor government (1983-1991), further contributed to that rejuvenation or at least resignation as to the acceptance of federalism (Lingard, 1991, 1992).

While the broader contexts of first economic boom and then economic downturn have framed the move towards and then away from centralisation, the ideologies of the conservative and non-conservative political parties in government have impacted differently within the frame of the broader tendency. Thus, for example, while the long period of conservative government (1949–1972) against a backdrop of the Keynesian settlement resulted in increased Commonwealth involvement in education and particularly in university education, the move into the schooling domain was *ad hoc* and tempered as much by political opportunism as anything else. By way of contrast and right at the end of the boom period, Whitlam instigated a systematisation of Commonwealth involvement in schooling which set the parameters for subsequent federal/State relations in that policy domain. A similar comparison could be made between Fraser's education and schooling agenda in the context of renewed centrifugal pressures within federalism and that under Hawke and the move to a range of national policies. Thus, the specific education policies of a given government also help set the stage for the working of federalism within the schooling policy sphere.

The Australian experience of the Second World War consolidated a focus on the idea of nationhood and the role the Commonwealth was to play within that conception. As indicated in the previous Chapter, Dr. H.C. Coombs in a research interview stressed how the Australian people were happy to hand over a range of policy powers to the Commonwealth in the 1940s so that the nation could effectively prosecute its war effort (IT6, 1991). The States were not so happy about this increased Commonwealth power. As Groenewegen (1983, p.184) notes:

The organisation of the war economy and the later plans for post-war reconstruction under the Curtin–Chifley governments (1941–1949) placed tremendous strains on federal–State relations and provided the foundation for total States' financial dependence which has persisted in the post-war years.

That experience, framed by a Keynesian approach to both economic and social policy, resulted in a strengthened role for the Commonwealth. Keynesianism of either a progressive or conservative character was predicated upon an interventionist state of varying degrees, while progressive politics of either social democratic or socialist hues was geared to "seizing" state power so as to implement a program of reform. The Keynesian orthodoxy extant until the mid-seventies then resulted in a strengthened role for the Commonwealth, as the Australian economy remained "nation state focused" with tariffs continuing to insulate it from international competition. The bipolar character of

international politics reinforced this focus upon the nation state and the centripetal pressures internal to Australian federalism. Butlin, Barnard and Pincus (1982) have argued that economic and social aspects of Australia's post-war international relations galvanised the role of the Commonwealth in relation to the States. Here they include the impact of foreign trade, investment and technology.

Conservative governments across the period from 1949 until 1972 operated within a conservative Keynesian framework (Freeland, 1986). They utilised the fiscal influence of the Commonwealth, while continuing to operate in an ostensibly federalist mode. The vertical fiscal imbalance created with the Commonwealth's control of income tax powers meant that the States often called upon the Commonwealth for financial support. This was the case as the post-war baby boom generation and increased retention rates placed real strains upon the States' capacities to meet the demands for adequate schooling at both primary and secondary levels. The conservative governments responded in the schooling domain with a number of *ad hoc* policy responses within a federalist framework, matters which will be considered in the first section on education in the next Chapter. It was in that context that a fully articulated and systematised role for the Commonwealth in education formed an important part of the Labor platform which took it to victory in December, 1972, after 23 years of conservative rule. It was under Whitlam that the centripetal pressures within the post-war Keynesian settlement reached their peak and which as an unintended consequence precipitated a renaissance of the States in a situation of economic decline and the internationalisation of the economy. Whitlam's 25% tariff cut made a significant contribution towards the latter.

The commitment of the Whitlam government to a progressive Keynesianism or social democracy required and witnessed a strengthening of the Commonwealth generally with a huge increase in public sector expenditure. That agenda also resulted in a substantially magnified role for the Commonwealth *vis-a-vis* the States. Whitlam systematised the Commonwealth's move into education and health, two of the biggest expenditure items for the States. Professor Peter Karmel noted how the task given to the Interim Schools Commission was to provide a systematic and rational approach to the distribution of expanded Commonwealth funds (IT10, 1991, p.21). Whitlam increased substantially the use of tied Section 96 grants, from 30% to 50% of all grants to the States, in an attempt to ensure 'positive equality', which was to be achieved through an increased social wage, requiring a more interventionist role for the Commonwealth (Whitlam, 1985).

Section 96 grants were utilised largely in those policy domains which had hitherto been regarded largely as the Constitutional province of the States. Such usage became the focus for the rhetorical weapon of States's rights, particularly by the Bjelke–Petersen government during the Whitlam period (Conroy, 1985).

Whitlam (1985, p.711) has noted how his government sought through Constitutional amendment to expand the power of the Commonwealth, while it also attempted to explore the limits of the powers the Commonwealth already held. Galligan (1989, p.12) has described that situation as the Whitlam Labor government 'versus the Constitution'.

The unification of the Australian political structure had been on the reform agenda of the Labor Party from federation because of its acceptance of a majoritarian perspective on parliamentary politics (Lijphart, 1984) and a related rejection of the conservative restraint inherent in the division of powers of a federal arrangement (Sharman, 1990, p.4). This perspective involved the view that a strong national government based on majoritarian principles was necessary as a counter to the strength of capital which could utilise a "divide and rule" approach, playing off different governments against each other to their advantage, rather than to the advantage of the Australian people (Groenewegen, 1983; Wilenski, 1983; McQueen, 1984; Horne, 1985; Pusey, 1988; Head, 1989). Painter (1988, p.58) has depicted that negative perception as suggesting that federalism frustrates the political will of the majority, leads to waste and unnecessary duplication with its overlapping jurisdictions, and facilitates 'buck-passing' and 'irresponsibility', given its multiple layers of accountability. In that context, Whitlam sought greater powers for the Commonwealth in the working of federalism.

Whitlam was, however, not only centralist in his approach. In the schooling area for example, while expanding and systematising the Commonwealth's role, he also sought a more inclusive and participative mode of policy-making through the utilisation of the statutory authority of the Schools Commission. He also sought to devolve some policy-making to teachers and their school communities. In this way, his reworking of federalism reflected the self-managing model of democratic socialism as articulated by Raymond Williams in *The Long Revolution* (1961) (Lingard and Rizvi, 1992). Whitlam created statutory authorities in those policy areas where his government increased the Commonwealth's presence, and gave these authorities the function of objectively determining needs which the Commonwealth would then meet through increased expenditure in an attempt to create positive equality between individuals and regions

(Groenewegen, 1979, p.56). Whitlam (1985, p.713) has noted that such actions were not those of 'doctrinaire centralists'. As well as being centralist, the Whitlam government was also avowedly 'regionalist' in orientation (Whitlam, 1985, p.712) and desired the democratic participation of people in decision-making processes (Groenewegen, 1979, p.55). In some instances this regionalism or localism appeared to be a strategy for bypassing the States, for example with the Australian Assistance Plan and in the working of specific purpose programs in the Schools Commission. However, such an approach was also about involving people in decision-making.

While clearly strengthening the Commonwealth, Whitlam at least implicitly recognised the legitimate role of the States within Australian federalism (Groenewegen, 1979, p.55). At the same time he sought to increase the involvement and significance of local and regional government in the operation of federalism. Whitlam (1985) himself pointed out that he had been responsible for deleting the Labor commitment to the unification of the Australian political arrangement from the Party Platform at the 1969 Annual Conference. Groenewegen (1979, p.56) summarises the Whitlam strategy in the following fashion:

In short, federal financial power plus the creation of local and regional government as important parts of the federal system were to be the instruments promoting equality of opportunity and participatory democracy and thereby to 'liberate the talents and uplift the horizons of the Australian people'.

The final Whitlam budget in 1975 signalled the end of the post-war economic boom and an incremental move towards economic liberal and monetarist policies. In that context, the government sought tighter control over its statutory authorities, setting the parameters within which they could make recommendations to the government. With the 25% cuts in tariffs Whitlam had taken the first step towards internationalising the Australian economy. These factors were to be precursors of the subsequent seeking for a new policy settlement generally and specifically within federalism as the economic downturn and restructuring continued from that time to the present.

The effect of Whitlam's centralised policy approach was to galvanise the States within the framework of federalism. As Galligan (1989, p.10) puts it: 'The Whitlam government's challenge to the States failed politically and also enhanced the States' financial budgets and the growth of their administrative expertise', a position also argued by a number of other commentators, for example, Sharman (1988), Galligan, Hughes and Walsh (1991) and Galligan and Walsh (1992).

In the post-Whitlam period, both economic and political developments contributed to the renewed emphasis upon the States. For instance, the minerals boom seemed to indicate a strengthening of the outer States, as did the ardent States' rights politics of Queensland's Bjelke-Petersen and Western Australia's Charles Court, which had first been articulated in response to the perceived centralism of the federal government. The fragmentation thesis of Australian federalism espoused in the late seventies and early eighties, postulated a transfer of power from the core manufacturing States of New South Wales and Victoria to the resource rich, peripheral States of Queensland and Western Australia (Stevenson, 1977, 1980; Crough, Wheelwright and Wiltshire, 1980; Head, 1983, 1984; Stilwell, 1983; Conroy, 1985). The move towards the internationalisation of the economy from Whitlam's 25% tariff cut of 1973 also precipitated a number of centrifugal pressures. These pressures were to gather apace during the post-1987 Hawke Labor era.

Fraser's new federalism had been articulated in the context of a backlash against Whitlam's centralisation of power. For instance, if one examines Commonwealth outlays under Whitlam, one sees not only a huge increase in government expenditure, but the largest growth in expenditure in those domains traditionally perceived as coming under the jurisdiction of the States (education, health, urban and regional development) (Groenewegen, 1979, p.57). Furthermore, it was those very domains which saw the increased use of tied Section 96 grants.

On achieving government, Fraser appointed Sir Henry Bland to chair a new Administrative Review Committee which was to advise on how to eradicate wastage within federal programs and in relations between the Commonwealth and the States. Fraser's new federalism sought to reduce government expenditure and policy coverage generally, as well as to reduce the extensive use of tied grants to the States. Fraser also attempted to return some revenue raising capacity to the States in a moderate, albeit, unsuccessful attempt to respond to the States' rights agenda and to appear to be doing something about vertical fiscal imbalance. New revenue sharing arrangements with the States were established, while they were also granted some capacity through enabling legislation to impose some income tax surcharge, which none of the States saw fit to implement (Groenewegen, 1979).

Fraser also ushered in the era of the ideology of small government and more parsimonious funding for the States. A reduction in capital grants to the States resulted, as concern over the economic infrastructure was reduced as market or economic liberalism once again was resurgent. Indeed, Fraser's new federalism could be seen as part of the

attempt to reduce the public sector (Groenewegen, 1979, p.68). Additionally, it had the effect of reducing government and thus strengthening the hand of private industry (Groenewegen, 1979, p.68). Economic concerns were now taking precedence over social ones. The Fraser period resulted in a broader acceptance of a positive evaluation of the dispersal of power characteristic of federalism. As opposed to the Whitlam stance of a majoritarian critique of federalism, there was now a positive evaluation of the pluralism endemic to federalism, as well as the 'quasi-market responsiveness' which is deemed to flow from overlapping jurisdictions and multiple points of political access and accountability (Painter, 1988, p.58). However, it needs to be stressed that despite some centrifugal pressures within federalism, the Commonwealth's fiscal dominance, the cornerstone of vertical fiscal imbalance, remained in tact.

It was in that context that the Hawke government came to power in early 1983. The country was in a recession, but one set against a backdrop of ongoing and structural economic difficulties and the apparent need to internationalise the economy, with a resurgent economic liberalism, rather than social democracy in the ideological ascendancy. Above, it was argued that consensual pragmatism, economic rationalism and managerialism were important factors contributing to the Hawke government's attempted reworking and implementation of yet another "new federalism". This was particularly the case after the 1987 election victory when economic restructuring through micro economic reform took on metapolicy status within the government's policy regime. Australia's balance of payments problems and Keating's 1986 Banana Republic speech were important in precipitating the push for a new federalism which would facilitate the economic agenda. However, it ought to be pointed out that the Hawke government was much more pragmatic towards federalism from the outset than had been its Labor predecessor. On that point, Galligan (1989, p.12) has noted: 'If "Labor versus the federal Constitution" aptly summed up earlier periods of turbulent Labor politics, "Labor working the federal Constitution" is now the unexceptional state of affairs.' The renaissance of the States, combined with the election of a large number of Labor governments at the State level across the Hawke time (Birrell, 1987), facilitated this pragmatic working of federalism, as did the coordinative structures for intergovernmental relations established during the Whitlam time (Mathews, 1976). Across the Hawke period there was no trace of Hawke's 1979 Boyer Lectures commitment to the abolition of the States, but rather a pragmatic attempt to lubricate federalism so the

federal policy agenda could be achieved, an agenda which across time became increasingly economic in orientation.

In late 1985 the Hawke government had established The Constitutional Commission to inquire into and report on the need for revision of the Constitution by the middle of 1988. Such an inquiry was to be a precursor to a number of possible Constitutional amendments to be put to the people as part of the bicentenary celebrations. There were five committees appointed to assist the Commission, one of which was given the explicit task of advising on 'the appropriate division of powers and responsibilities between the Commonwealth, the States, self-governing territories and local government'. Galligan and Walsh (1992, p.193) have argued that the appointment of the Commission was a reflection of 'horse-and-buggy' or 'short pants' perception of the Constitution, which asserts that a legal document formulated in the 1890s could not possibly be adequate or relevant 'for the unified nation Australia has become in the late twentieth century'. The resounding defeat of the referenda which resulted from Commission recommendations served to reinforce amongst the Hawke government the pragmatic need to work, rather than confront the Constitution. The economic, political, and administrative situation facilitated such a strategy, which was catalysed further by the post 1986 economic restructuring policy agenda.

As documented in Chapter 5, the Hawke government had instigated a managerialist reform of the public service from 1983. However, the equity and democratic components of that reform agenda were weakened, particularly after 1987, in favour of efficiency and effectiveness and ministerialisation of policy-making. The new corporate managerialism, extant at both Commonwealth and State administrative levels, and amongst both Labor and non-Labor governments, also precipitated a concern with the design of both government and administration, including federalism, a salient feature of the structure of Australian public policy formation and delivery. Indeed, it can be argued that the inherent characteristics of corporate managerialism (Considine, 1988) have serious implication for the working of the entangled policy structure of contemporary federalism. Considine (1988, p.9) suggests that in terms of policy, corporate managerialism 'reduces the variety of objectives which are pursued', while lifting the level at which these objectives are set. Both Tannock (IT14, 1989) and Karmel (IT10, 1991) noted the narrowed social policy goals for the Hawke government, especially when compared with the much more fulsome social democracy of Whitlam. Within State jurisdictions, corporate managerialism has

resulted in the pulling to the centre, as it were, of the policy-making function, while pushing to the periphery, the delivery of that policy. Laid across the dual jurisdictional reality of federalism, there is a move towards national policies agreed to in a variety of ways and through a variety of fora, including Premiers Conferences and Ministerial Councils. The development of a number of national policies in schooling has been one result of this reworking of federalism, as well as a result of the reconceptualising of schooling as part of human capital formation. These matters will be pursued in the the next Chapter on education and federalism.

The ministerialisation of policy inherent in corporate managerialism has also enabled the utilisation of Ministerial Councils in the consensual achievement of a number of national policies. As shown in Chapter 5, the ministerialisation of policy was achieved by, *inter alia*, the reduction in the number of quasi-independent statutory authorities and their replacement, as within education, by weaker policy advisory bodies.

The efficiency focus of managerialism has also been a factor in the attempt to eradicate unnecessary policy and administrative duplication and to achieve uniformity and policy consistency within Australian federalism. Policy integration is both a central characteristic and goal of corporate managerialism (Considine, 1988). For example, Gregor Ramsay (1990), chair of the National Board of Employment, Education and Training (1987-1991), has argued quite persuasively that a national approach to schooling and indeed to all education policy, can help reduce the national debt by reducing duplication and by ensuring a more efficient and effective utilisation of resources. The concurrent existence of a large number of State Labor governments with a federal Labor government has facilitated the consensual move towards national policies in a number of policy domains. The manner in which the federal structure has mediated the new policy agenda is a clear manifestation of Offe's observation that the structure of the state is a factor in determining what can and does become policy (1975, p.140).

The use of the term "national", rather than "Commonwealth", is important here in a pragmatic sense in the achievement of consensus. However, it is also important in an ideological sense, for in the policy culture of the present, with economic restructuring taking precedence and framing other domains, nation has almost been "reduced" in meaning so as to be synonymous with economy (Sedunary, 1991). Further, citizens have become consumers of public policies and students, human capital.

There is an important economic context to this rearticulation of centripetal and centrifugal pressures within Australian federalism. While under Hawke the labour market still remained regulated in accordance with the neo-corporatist Accord with the trade union movement, aspects of economic liberalism began to have an increasing impact on the structures of policy development and upon the policies themselves. International agencies were also espousing the necessity for the balance to move in favour of the market against regulation, both within nation states and between them. From 1987, all policy was subsumed under the prior goal of economic restructuring which took on, in Yeatman's (1990a) words, metapolicy status. The long term aim was to integrate a competitive and non-tariff protected Australian manufacturing industry within the global economy. Microeconomic reform geared to the end of increased productivity was central to that restructuring goal. In one sense, the corporate managerialist revolution was the result of the application of microeconomic reform to the policy and administrative structures of the Australian federal state. The creation of an efficient national economic infrastructure became a central policy goal, with implications for federalism in terms of the division of powers between the tiers of government. In that context, the Hawke government moved to renovate federalism through a series of Special Premiers Conferences and through consensual negotiation at a number of Ministerial Councils aimed to achieved national policies as part of restructuring. Additionally, there were a number of commissioned research papers on what was perceived to be inefficient jurisdictional overlap in policy formation and delivery, for example, two papers for the Economic Planning Advisory Council in 1990 (EPAC, 1990).

Wiltshire (1990), writing from a managerialist perspective in his EPAC paper, documents the institutional, attitudinal and political barriers to rationalising Commonwealth/State overlap. He asserts that the greatest hindrance to such a rationalisation is vertical fiscal imbalance. In addition, he notes there is no possibility for a return to a coordinate or layer cake mode of federalism. He argues that there will be a need for Commonwealth government involvement around the following issues, 'uniformity, accountability, portability, accessibility, horizontal equity, national standards, spillovers, mobility, nationality, and experimentation or initiative' (1990, pp.16-17). He goes on to suggest that State and local governments will need to be involved in 'delivery, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation' of policy (1990, p.17). His position is that a careful consideration of the 'roles of government within shared functional responsibility' is

the way forward for the rationalisation of Australian federalism, and that such reform can be achieved within the confines of the existing Constitutional framework.

Wiltshire's EPAC paper is accompanied by a research report from EPAC outlining State and Commonwealth government responses to the question of inefficient jurisdictional overlap. Education, health and housing were seen to be the three policy domains where greatest overlap existed. In the Commonwealth's response, DEET noted that the move to national goals and curriculum frameworks and to consider student mobility questions was significant in the rationalisation of schooling provision. The document asserts that the Hobart Declaration on agreed national goals of 1989 represented 'an historic agreement' 'to improve Australian schooling within a framework of national collaboration' (EPAC, 1990, p.23). The combined EPAC report, 'Towards a more cooperative federalism?' indicates the new agenda within federalism resulting from intertwined economic and managerialist factors.

The post-1987 economic scenario also resulted in the move to cut further government expenditure with the goal of surplus budgeting. In turn, there was a related reduction in grants to the States which strengthened the efficiency thrust and made the States more susceptible to the Commonwealth's reform agenda for federalism and the achievement of a number of national policies, particularly in the schooling domain (Lingard, 1991, 1992).

It was suggested in Chapter 5, following Yeatman (1990a, p.28), that the move to a flexible managerialism away from the 'proceduralism' and 'red tapeism' of old style pyramidal bureaucracies was an attempt to ensure a flexible and responsive state, adequate to managing change and to responding to pressures resulting from the globalisation of the economy. To this point, the symbiotic relationship between managerialism and economic rationalism in precipitating centrifugal pressures within federalism has been considered. It needs to be said that changes in federalism are also linked to the bipartisan party political support in contemporary Australia for the integration of the economy in a non-tariff protected fashion into the global economy and support from business (Business Council of Australia, 1991) and the trade unions (ACTU and TDC, 1987). Changes in federalism are deemed necessary to the creation of an efficient and competitive national economic infrastructure (Walsh, 1991; Business Council of Australia, 1991). To that end, Prime Minister Hawke called three Special Premiers' Conferences in October, 1990, July, 1991 and November, 1991 to reorganise functions and relations between the tiers of federalism

and to constitute a new revenue sharing approach. The November conference was cancelled by the federal government in the context of Hawke/Keating leadership challenge within the federal parliamentary Labor Party. However, the Premiers still met without the Commonwealth.

In speaking in parliament to the cancellation of the scheduled November, 1991 Conference, the Queensland Premier, Wayne Goss, noted the following "achievements" in the reconstituting of Australian federalism to result from the process set formally in train with the 1990 conference:

the establishment for the first time of a truly national market for goods and occupations;
 the establishment of national supervisory arrangements for non-bank financial institutions;
 agreement to establish a national rail freight corporation;
 agreement to establish a national road transport commission for the development of uniform regulations and charging principles for heavy vehicles;
 agreement to develop a national grid management council to coordinate future electricity requirements within Australia; and
 agreement in principle that a framework be established for national performance monitoring of government trading enterprises in order to compare data and lift competitiveness. (Queensland Hansard, 12 November, 1991, p.2673)

Verifying some of the argument to this point concerning Hawke's new federalism, Goss also noted that the Special Premiers' Conference strategy,

...sought to rationalise the financial relationship between the Commonwealth and the States, to rationalise functional responsibilities between the various levels of government in order to minimise duplication and to improve the economic efficiency of the country through the implementation of wide-ranging micro-economic reforms. (Queensland Hansard, 12 November, 1991, p.2673)

Within such a framework, the Commonwealth apparently wants to accrue to the centre all those policy components necessary to effectively managing macroeconomic policy and ensuring the achievement of the microeconomic reform agenda (Yeatman, 1991; Knight, Lingard and Porter, 1991). To achieve that goal, the Hawke government was prepared to cede control of some functions to the States for reciprocal agreement on national goals and the capacity to implement microeconomic reform. In addition, such an agenda for reform of federalism was to be accompanied by new financial relations between the Commonwealth and the States, with the Commonwealth guaranteeing funds and moving to more block, rather than tied grants, as the *quid pro quo* for the accrual of those

powers and policies necessary to the microeconomic reform agenda. Such a trade-off becomes necessary to the agenda because: 'It is in the States' sphere of Constitutional control, particularly over infrastructure, that much of the policy matter of microeconomic reforms falls' (Gerritsen, 1991, p.16).

Hawke's move to reconstitute Australian federalism in 1991 was caught up in his leadership battle with former Treasurer Paul Keating, who late in 1991 was successful in taking the leadership and Prime Ministership. The planned November Special Premiers' Conference was cancelled by the Commonwealth against the backdrop of the leadership challenge. In his second challenge to Hawke, Keating required some support from the Left to ensure victory. It is probably in that context that we need to consider his important 22 October, 1991 National Press Club speech entitled 'The Commonwealth and the States and the November Special Premiers' Conference'. It is also significant to note that the mid-year 1991 ALP National Conference had passed a motion which 'called for restrictions on the transfer of Commonwealth programs to the States as part of the Prime Minister's new federalism push' (Sydney Morning Herald, 27 June, 1991, p.6). Such a motion reflects the continuing strength of a majoritarian critique of federalism within the broad base of the Labor Party.

In his address, Keating articulated a much more centralist perspective on federalism than the Hawke position outlined during the time of the Special Premiers' Conferences. Indeed Keating stated unequivocally that vertical fiscal imbalance is central not only to effective economic management and the delivery of equitable services between States and regions and for individuals, but also to the unity of the nation and future success as a 'relatively small trading nation' (1991, p.2). On these and efficiency grounds, Keating vehemently rejected any suggestion of a transfer of financial powers, including the right to levy income tax, to the States. Furthermore, he argued that the Commonwealth must retain an interest in those policy domains where there are national and State dimensions, such as education. Keating accepted the need for the creation of a national economic infrastructure via a range of mechanisms, but argued this could not be bought at the expense of 'gutting' the Commonwealth's financial powers. In recognition of the centrifugal pressures within federalism, Keating conceded that the use of tied grants by the Commonwealth in the long term ought to be reduced and that the Commonwealth should be involved in broad policy formulation, rather than in 'detailed policy or administration or program delivery' (p.19). On tied grants he noted:

So far as I am concerned grants should only be tied while the necessary bureaucratic structures are being set up and the policies being put in place at the State level to achieve agreed national goals. (Keating, 1991, p.19).

The reorganisation of federalism has slowed under Keating's Prime Ministership. However, centripetal pressures remain in terms of fiscal centralisation and the Commonwealth's desire to create an efficient, national economic infrastructure. The title of Keating's Prime Ministerial policy program 'One Nation' is indicative of that agenda. However, the Commonwealth appeared happy under Hawke's leadership to cede more financial autonomy and policy control on questions of equity and welfare to the States, a reflection of the metapolicy status granted to economic restructuring. Yeatman (1991) has argued that such a position reflects the move towards Cerny's (1990) notion of a competitive state away from a welfare one. Here, the state seeks to 'act more and more like a market player, that shapes its policies to promote, control and maximise returns from market forces in an international setting' (Cerny, 1990, p.230). The move towards such a restructuring of federalism will have potentially negative effects upon equity matters (Yeatman, 1991; Knight, Lingard and Porter, 1991). This new market oriented configuration of the state has been referred to as the postmodernist state (Hinkson, 1991, p.15). As Australia has moved from its old 'domestic defence' strategy towards 'domestic compensation' (Castles, 1988), minus a universalist and interventionist welfare role, the gap between rich and poor has widened considerably. As Wheelwright reflects:

...it is important to note that the globalisation of capitalism does not necessarily change its character, except in one respect: it becomes less susceptible to the checks and balances of the nation-state and national trade unions and movements. Its freedom to expand and contract, to exploit and relocate is greatly enhanced, and its tendency to foster inequality is accentuated, for there is no world government, no world taxing authority, no global minimum wage or welfare state. World capitalism is therefore more unstable, and creates more inequality within and between nations because there is no countervailing politically responsible power to offset it. (Wheelwright, 1992, p.74)

It is the globalisation of the economy and the move beyond a bipolar geo-political arrangement, combined with the resurgence of economic liberalism, which have precipitated centrifugal features within Australian federalism. Such centrifugal pressures continue from a variety of directions, as indicated in the call by the Business Council of Australia (1991) to reduce Australia's three tiers of government to two by 2000, as well as to reduce the role of government through extensive privatisation, so as to ensure an integrated national economy which can compete effectively in open global markets. The

Labor approach has at least retained a minimalist commitment to equity with some differences between the Keating and Hawke regimes, while it appears that a coalition government would weaken further that already weak support. That position and that articulated by the Business Council of Australia (1991) would result in a reorientation of federalism to what could be called 'business federalism', as a concomitant of Pusey's (1991) 'business democracy'. This would see federalism operating to ensure economic enterprises were competitive in the international economy, backed by an even weaker and more residualised welfare provision.

7.3.4 Intergovernmental Committees and the Working of Federalism

The changes in the operation of federalism outlined to this point have suggested an increased dual-jurisdictional working of policy in a whole host of social domains, including education. That reality combined with the dependence of the States upon Commonwealth funding, about half of which comes in tied grants, has also contributed to the increased significance of intergovernmental committees.

In all federal systems there appears to be tension between a commitment to some form of regional autonomy and national unity (Dicey, 1915; Giblin, 1926; Groenewegen, 1983; Wiltshire, 1986; Head, 1989). In such a dual polity, one also sees the tension between a pluralist and consensual, as opposed to a majoritarian basis for policy-making (Lijphart, 1984; Painter, 1988; Sharman, 1990). As federalism has developed, however, it has become much more like a marble cake in its operation, rather than like the layer cake perhaps evident in a coordinate working of the early years of federalism, where each jurisdiction had its own clearly defined tasks. One's evaluation of this situation will depend to some extent on whether one accepts that federalism should manifest the independence of two spheres of government as with a coordinate model (Wheare, 1946), or the interdependence of those two governments (Birch, 1957). Whatever one's stance, the reality now is that policy-making is so interpenetrated and entangled between the Commonwealth and State levels (Sharman, 1991) that intergovernmental relations have become central to the working of contemporary federalism. As Wiltshire (1986, p.139) suggests, intergovernmental committees and agreements 'symbolize the symbiotic relationship' which now exists between the national and provincial levels of government within Australian federalism. In the Australian context they have worked to minimise

federal/State conflicts, which Warhurst (1987) argues reflects their origins in an earlier period of cooperative federalism.

In its hybrid political arrangement, Australia had a federal structure rather than a unitary one, but it is also a parliamentary democracy, where increasingly, in the context of a disciplined party system, power is concentrated in the hands of the executive. Once again there is a tension here between the dispersal of power inherent in a federal structure and the concentration of power inherent in executive parliamentary government (Sharman, 1990, 1991). When combined these two features give effect to what has been called 'executive federalism' (Smiley, 1987; Sharman, 1991), 'cooperative-executive federalism' (Warhurst, 1987) or 'administrative federalism' (Wiltshire, 1990). These concepts are used to depict a situation in which intergovernmental relations are dominated by State and federal executives from each policy portfolio, assisted by appointed officials. This takes such relations outside of responsibility to the relevant parliaments and as such has been open to criticism (Wiltshire, 1986, 1990; Warhurst, 1987; Galligan, Hughes and Walsh, 1991). Here we see the intergovernmental councils and the related standing committees of senior administrators. In education there is the Australian Education Council and the Standing Conference of Directors-General. The Premiers' Conference is the most significant of these intergovernmental committees (Sharman, 1991) and at times sets the parameters for possible agreements at other Ministerial councils. For example, in the slow move by the AEC towards national regulation of the teaching profession, the Premiers' Conference has agreed to a broad policy framework for national registration or deregistration of the professions which will set the parameters for the former (Bartlett, 1992).

Sharman (1991) has argued three reasons for the increased policy significance of intergovernmental committees in Australian federalism. First is the general expansion of both State and federal government policy coverage across the post-war period. The second factor in the importance of these committees has been more narrowly political, namely the expanded role for the Commonwealth in ostensibly State jurisdictions under the Whitlam regime and Fraser's subsequent attempt to reduce such involvement. Holmes and Sharman (1977) argue that Whitlam's reworking of federalism resulted in the institutionalisation of executive federalism through expanded functions for intergovernmental committees. They stress, though, an expanded role for administrative agreements outside of overtly partisan politics. Fraser's attempt to reduce the role of the

Commonwealth and cut back on expenditure generally, and specifically to reduce the percentage of Commonwealth grants going to the States which were tied grants, also entrenched the importance of the intergovernmental committees. As Sharman (1991, p.31) puts it:

This attempt to extract the national government from open-ended financial commitments to shared-cost programs led to an increase in the extent of Commonwealth involvement in intergovernmental relations and an increase rather than a decrease, in consultative machinery.

The commitment to parsimonious funding levels since that time has also ensured the ongoing significance of intergovernmental machinery.

In 1976 Fraser established The Advisory Council for Inter-governmental Relations (ACIR) to assist in the implementation of his so-called "new federalism" and more specifically to examine relationships between the three tiers of government constituting Australian federalism. Hawke abolished the ACIR in 1987, but under the impact of a fully embraced managerialism, continued to pursue questions of the design of Australian federalism and the role of intergovernmental relations (Sharman, 1991).

A related political factor in the significance of intergovernmental committees according to Sharman (1991) is that, in a dual polity, pressure groups work on both levels of government which in turn encourages dual-jurisdictional policy arrangements. Furthermore, he suggests that the Commonwealth level of government is almost inherently expansionist in its policy coverage (Sharman, 1991, p.31).

The third and final set of factors institutionalising the significance of intergovernmental machinery are those relating to managerialism. The nature of and reasons for the corporate managerialist revolution in Australian public administration were canvassed in some detail in Chapter 5. That revolution relates to the national government's commitment to economic restructuring in the context of economic difficulties. It also relates to that character of managerialism which is about reducing the goals for government, raising the level at which those goals are set and the attempt to ensure that such goals are achieved in an accountable way (Considine, 1988). Managerialism has also been part of the attempt to create a responsive, flexible public administration as against the red-tapeism and proceduralism of the older style pyramidal bureaucracies in the context of the globalisation of the economy. Reduced government expenditure is also an important component of that scenario which precipitates a concern with the structures of policy formation and delivery.

Sharman (1991, p.32) suggests that three specific features of the managerialist agenda relate to the ongoing significance of intergovernmental machinery in the operation of Australian federalism. These include the attempt to achieve goals at the least cost, a concern with coordination of all government activities so that there is coherence within the overall government policy program, and the concern over the design of both governmental and administrative organisation (Sharman, 1991, p.32). In that situation, Sharman (1991, p.33) notes that intergovernmental relations have become very important, as well as more administrative, rather than partisan political or financial in character, against the backdrop of 'a much more modest view of the role and extent of Commonwealth-sponsored initiatives'. Marshall (1991a) describes this change as 'intergovernmental managerialism'. Tannock, former chair of the Schools Commission, contrasted the Whitlam approach to Commonwealth schooling policies of 'retailing' policies with Hawke's 'wholesaling' approach (IT14, 1989, p.2). That change reflected both the managerialist revolution and more modest goals for governments. The existence of a federal Labor government and large numbers of Labor governments at State level has facilitated this administrative character of the intergovernmental component of federalism.

As noted earlier, in 1990, the Hawke government's Economic Planning Advisory Council (EPAC) commissioned two papers to document and make recommendations for change on the question of rationalising Commonwealth/State overlap (EPAC, 1990). It should also be pointed out that in this context, in a speech to the National Press Club in late 1991, the then backbencher, now Prime Minister, Paul Keating, outlined his objections to a managerialist perception of the way federalism ought to work (Keating, 1991). Keating argued that there was no inherent design fault in Australian federalism and that vertical fiscal imbalance was essential to effective economic and equity policies. Furthermore, on similar grounds he vehemently rejected what he called the managerial view of federalism with its desire to match revenue raising capacity with policy responsibility. He argued that revenue raising was itself a policy responsibility.

Peterson, Rabe and Wong (1986) in a recent study of the workings of intergovernmental relations in US federalism emphasise the frequently accommodating nature of such relations. On the basis of their research, they structure a two dimensional grid for considering the effectiveness of the implementation of federal programs at State level. The first dimension relates to the nature of the policy in question, whether or not it is developmental or redistributive in character. The second dimension concerns whether or

not those administering and implementing the program are professionals committed to the policy goals and free from local (State) political pressure or whether the implementation is politicised. They then go on to argue that federal redistributive programs are more effectively implemented at the State level by committed professionals, rather than in a politicised mode or ambience. By contrast, they argue that developmental programs are most effectively implemented in a politicised fashion.

The nature of federal/State relations in the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* is one important focus of this research. While the development of that redistributive policy resulted from the political commitment of the feminist federal Minister Susan Ryan, the national networking of feminist bureaucrats at both State and federal levels was also central to its gestation. Queensland's response saw a clear politicisation of its implementation and thus some distortion or refraction of the federal policy intention. However, and as will be demonstrated in Chapters 9 and 10, the involvement of Queensland femocrats in the creation of the National Policy and their work within the Queensland Department of Education ensured that more was achieved than might otherwise have been the case.

Galligan, Hughes and Walsh (1991, p.15) provide a grid for considering the changing dynamics of intergovernmental relations across time. The two dimensions of the grid consist of the degree of politicisation of the issue which is the focus of intergovernmental relations at both Commonwealth and State levels. Thus, when an issue is highly politicised at both levels, they speak of 'high intergovernmental politics' (p.15), while when there is low politicisation at both levels they speak of 'joint intergovernmental administration' (p.15). They hypothesise that there is a tendency across time for a trajectory from high politics to the low politics of intergovernmental administration. With the *National Policy for the Education of Girls*, initially there was a situation of high intergovernmental politics of both political and administrative kinds in both Commonwealth and State domains. After the achievement of consensus at the AEC between all States (except Queensland) and the Commonwealth, the policy moved out of the politicised realm to a position of intergovernmental administration for all of the participating States. With Queensland's refusal to endorse the policy, there was a situation of low Commonwealth politicisation intersecting with high politicisation at the State level of both ministerial and bureaucratic kinds. Following Queensland's *de facto* endorsement of the policy with the move to Littleproud as State Minister for Education and the formal

endorsement of the policy under Braddy as Labor State Minister for Education in late 1989, there was a resulting move towards intergovernmental administration of the policy.

A number of commentators (Grewal, 1981; Self, 1989; Head, 1989) have argued that within federal structures redistributive policies should be the province of the national government. Peterson, Rabe and Wong (1986), along with Galligan, Hughes and Walsh (1991) argue further that such redistributive policies which entail the delivery of services are best administered and implemented at the provincial level. Additionally, they add that such policies are most effectively implemented when the policy carriage is in the hands of professionals committed to the policy domain. This perspective provides a normative framework for evaluating the operation of administrative federalism at any given time.

Wiltshire (1986, p.159) lists ten types of intergovernmental arrangements, including councils or conferences or standing committees of administrators associated with those policy jurisdictions. Elsewhere (1990, p.6), he has suggested that there are now over 120 conferences and over 350 intergovernmental agreements. The Australian Education Council (AEC) is the second oldest of the forty extant councils, having been established in 1936, two years after the first such council, the Australian Agricultural Council. The State Directors-General of Education have met since 1916.

Intergovernmental relations do not only operate in a formalised manner. Writing about federalism in the USA, Kirst (1982) has listed six policy strategies utilised there by the national government to influence education policy at the State level. These include, general aid, targeted funding, regulation, dissemination of research findings, provision of services and the exertion of moral suasion. As Jung (1988, p.488) notes, such a catalogue of policy instruments only captures 'the most global characteristics of policy strategies', while only a few examples of a single, 'pure' strategy actually exist. The dissemination of research findings and moral suasion appear to have been the main federal strategies in Australia in the girls' education policy domain until the late 1980s. Subsequently there was the utilisation of tied funds and the process of negotiation at the AEC to achieve a national policy. Negotiation between federal and State governments at the Australian Education Council, the intergovernmental committee in education, has become another important policy strategy for the Commonwealth in education policy formation.

In a sense then, intergovernmental committees have arisen to accommodate the 'division of powers' and 'divided sovereignty' of federalism (Wiltshire, 1986, p.138). They are consultative in nature, lacking a Constitutional foundation (Saunders, 1986), except for

the Loan Council which has Constitutional underpinning in Section 105A. Today, in the situation of tight resources they also have an important policy function, witness, for example, the importance of the AEC under Dawkins (Lingard, 1991, 1992). Regarding their function, Saunders (1986, pp.172–173) notes:

In so far as they enable the Constitutional framework to be adjusted to meet perceived needs, in the face of the obvious problems of formal Constitutional change, intergovernmental arrangements make a valuable, and in some cases indispensable, contribution to the structure and operation of Australian government.

The Hawke Labor utilisation of intergovernmental machinery reflected that government's commitment to consensus politics, as also manifest in the Accord, the reality of a large number of Labor State governments across the eighties and early nineties, and Hawke's support for a pragmatic working of federalism, as opposed to the earlier Whitlam Labor government's approach of confronting the Constitution. They were also centrally important to the prosecution of Hawke's new federalism agenda.

7.4 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION: THE OPERATION OF AUSTRALIAN FEDERALISM

As implied to this point, a new stage of federalism began to emerge under Hawke Labor, which has been defined as corporate federalism. Before moving to explore this concept, it is necessary to consider preceding changes in federalism. Mathews (1977, p.ix) has written of three earlier stages in the operation of Australian federalism. The first he calls 'coordinate federalism' where the federal and State governments pursued their own independent functions, the layer cake metaphor of federalism. This was the case, he avers, up until the First World War and prior to the Engineers' Case of 1920. From that time until the Second World War he speaks of 'cooperative federalism', when the two levels of government cooperated, but bargained from points of equal strength. The first intergovernmental committees were established during this time, including the AEC in 1936, a factor according to Warhurst (1987) in their problem solving function in Australian federalism. Finally, Mathews speaks of 'coercive federalism' to classify the working of federalism from the time of the Labor governments during the Second World War until after Whitlam. He uses the term 'coercive' to refer to the situation of vertical fiscal imbalance with the increased financial dominance of the Commonwealth *vis-a-vis* the States and the increased utilisation by the Commonwealth of tied Section 96 specific

purpose grants. This thesis would reject Mathews' value-laden usage of 'coercive', while emphasising the simultaneous centralising and decentralising aspects of Whitlam's social democratic reform agenda.

The argument of this thesis is that there has been some break in the centripetal pressures within Australian federalism since the end of the post-war economic boom, which basically coincided with the last Whitlam budget in 1975, and that while fiscal centralisation remains, there are also some centrifugal pressures at work. Since 1983, these stem from the metapolicy status granted to economic restructuring and the related corporate managerialist restructuring of Australian bureaucracies at both State and Commonwealth levels. The Commonwealth wants to control all those aspects of both macro and micro economic policy necessary for restructuring and to possibly shed other responsibilities. There are some subtle differences in that respect between Hawke's approach and that of Keating, with the latter more favourably disposed towards a more expansive and centralist role for the Commonwealth as central to the achievement of one nation (Keating, 1991). In that context, this thesis argues that the Hawke Labor government put in place a new form of federalism what is here classified as 'corporate federalism' (Lingard, 1991, 1992).

The concept of corporate federalism has been created out of this research to describe developments in federalism under Hawke Labor. The concept is applied to the general approach to federalism pursued by the Hawke government, particularly that set in train by the 1990 and 1991 Special Premiers' Conferences, in the context of the goal of integrating the Australian economy in a non-tariff protected fashion within the global one. The restructuring of federalism is implicated in the move to create an efficient national economic infrastructure. It will be argued in the following Chapter, however, that the notion of corporate federalism best applies to developments in schooling under Hawke Labor. In schooling, as will be shown, corporate federalism emerged in a fully-blown manner during the period when Dawkins was Minister for Employment, Education and Training (1987-1991). This was manifest in the development of a collaborative national approach to schooling policy-making through the Australian Education Council, resulting in agreement on national goals and curriculum framework. That move was instigated as all aspects of education, including schooling, were regarded as an important part of the economic restructuring agenda and students conceptualised as a human capital component of microeconomic reform.

The development of corporate federalism fits within the context of centrifugal pressures within federalism, which have come to the fore since the end of the economic boom. Perhaps, though, it is best to see these recent changes in the light of a changed balance between and simultaneous manifestation of centripetal and centrifugal tensions as indicated in the notion of 'consolidatory federalism' (Chapman, 1988, p.101). In that sense, corporate federalism is part of the provisional policy settlement (Freeland, 1990) arrived at by Hawke Labor. There has been a fair degree of pragmatism in the Hawke government's working of federalism, supported by both the ascendancy of the small government ideology and related support for dispersals of power, and by the concurrent existence of a large number of Labor governments at State level.

Corporate federalism then is utilised to refer to the reconstituting of federal/State relations under Hawke Labor, particularly as a consequence of both the microeconomic reform agenda and the managerialist, efficient state strategy. Corporate is used here in a number of ways. The neo-corporatist (negotiated/consensual) strategies of interest representation within the state have been used by the federal Labor governments in both market and non-market domains. The construction of corporate federalism was the extension of neo-corporatist and consensual strategies to Commonwealth/State relations in the context of the ministerialisation of policy which resulted from the managerialist revolution. The descriptor "corporate" serves as a metaphor for the federal government as the policy centre of the "corporation" with the development of national policies and implementation devolved to the "branches" (States). It also alludes to the quasi-privatisation strategy of corporatisation utilised by the federal government, manifest in schooling policy, for example, in the creation of the Curriculum Corporation, a joint-company run by Commonwealth and State governments to produce and distribute curriculum materials on a cost-recovery basis (Kemmis, 1990). Corporate is also utilised to depict the way in which economic restructuring has taken on metapolicy status, with education being reconceptualised in those terms. The restructuring of federalism in the direction of what is here classified as corporate federalism has been a central plank of the strategy to create an efficient national economic infrastructure, in a situation where aspects central to microeconomic reform are under State jurisdiction. The next Chapter traces the emergence of corporate federalism in education.

CHAPTER EIGHT

FEDERALISM IN EDUCATION POLICY-MAKING: THE EMERGENCE OF CORPORATE FEDERALISM

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous Chapter dealt with the nature and operation of Australian federalism. The uncertain position as to the Constitutionality of Commonwealth involvement in education was also considered. However, the point was made that despite legal and fiscal realities, federalism also operated in a political fashion. Thus the question of whether or not Section 51, Placitum xxiiiA of the Constitution grants the Commonwealth concurrent power with the States in relation to education has, in a sense, been beside the point, because federalism in relation to schooling policy has evolved in a political manner. The Commonwealth's wish to play a role in relation to schooling, combined with the greater funding and provision functions of the States, has ensured such a situation.

The focus on federalism in schooling policy formation in this Chapter must be seen against those matters considered in Chapter 7 and specifically against the backdrop of fluctuating centripetal and centrifugal tendencies within federalism across the period from the seventies. It was the Whitlam reforms at the end of the long boom which resulted in the fully fledged systematisation of Commonwealth involvement in funding and policy for both government and non-government schools. That structure and provision, while subsequently remaining in place, was affected by Fraser initiated changes and then substantially restructured for new policy objectives under Hawke Labor, particularly after 1987. The analysis presented in Chapter 7 showed how a symbiotic relationship between economic rationalism and corporate managerialism precipitated a concern with the design of government, which resulted in a reconfiguration of federalism in the direction of what has been classified by this thesis as corporate federalism. This reconfiguration of federalism towards the creation of a national economic infrastructure has been most clearly manifest in the reworking of federalism in schooling policy formation. Thus while this Chapter begins by considering developments in schooling policy-making at the Commonwealth level, firstly during the period of centripetal pressures within federalism from the war until Whitlam, the emphasis will be on changes since then and particularly on the development of corporate federalism within schooling policy formation under

Hawke Labor. The specific analysis provided in this Chapter is framed by the theoretical recognition that state structures, including federalism, mediate policy. (Table 8.1, developed from Whitlam (1985, p.326) provides a chronology of federal involvement in education across the post-war period until 1974).

TABLE 8.1

**FEDERAL ENTRY INTO EDUCATION ADAPTED FROM WHITLAM
(1985, p.326)**

	<i>Budget Year</i>
Recurrent expenditures of universities	1951–52
Capital expenditures of universities	1957–58
Capital grants for technical education and school science laboratories	1964–65
Capital and recurrent grants for colleges of advanced education	1965–66
Capital grants for teachers' colleges	1967–68
Capital grants for pre-school teachers' colleges	1968–69
Capital grants for secondary school libraries	1968–69
Recurrent grants for non-government schools	1969–70
Capital grants for government schools (other than libraries or science laboratories)	1971–72
Recurrent grants for government schools	1973–74
Capital grants for non-government schools (other than libraries or science laboratories)	1973–74
Recurrent grants for teachers' colleges	1973–74
Recurrent and capital grants for pre-schools	1973–74
Recurrent grants for technical education	1973–74

8.2 THE MOVE TOWARDS SYSTEMATISATION OF COMMONWEALTH INVOLVEMENT IN SCHOOLING POLICY FORMATION

As noted in the previous Chapter, at federation education remained a residual power of the States. As also suggested there, the superior financial power of the Commonwealth *vis-a-vis* that of the States was inherent in the Constitution, a power which was to be enhanced, particularly after the Commonwealth's 1942 usurpation of the right to levy income tax. The resulting vertical fiscal imbalance in federal/State financial relations almost ensured that the States would ultimately be beholden to Commonwealth funding of some sort, and this was particularly true for education, the largest expenditure item for the States. Section 96 grants gave the Commonwealth the capacity to assist in that fashion.

Bowker (1972) and White (1987) have suggested that such a structural arrangement almost made a Commonwealth move into the education sphere inevitable. Both suggest that the emergence of a view that the extent and nature of educational provision was an important component of economic policy would also precipitate a move to Commonwealth involvement, for it is that level of government which is responsible for the management of the economy.

This was to be the case as the Commonwealth moved firstly into the university domain as part of post-war reconstruction and then in a policy sense with the 1957 Murray Report and the 1964 Martin Report which established the College of Advanced Education sector and thus the binary system of higher education which was to be abolished in the late eighties by Dawkins. The Whitlam government took over responsibility for funding of all higher education institutions in the early seventies. However, a State presence remained in that universities were established under State legislation, while most States retained a statutory authority to oversee the provision of courses within the CAEs. However, the reality of Commonwealth funding dominance meant that the Commonwealth, particularly given the restructured policy arrangements established after 1987 (Marshall, 1991a,b), could operate a 'coercive federalism' in that policy domain (Smart, 1991), as distinct from the largely cooperative federalism in operation until then (Marshall, 1991a,b). White (1987, p.15) has argued that the move to Commonwealth "control" of higher education reflected a transformation in the functions of universities from 'centres of learned culture' to institutions preparing workers for 'the new technologically based capitalism'. After 1987, it was the Hawke government's constituting of schooling as central to microeconomic reform that resulted in the corporate federalist strategy to achieve national collaboration in that policy domain.

However, the situation of Commonwealth/State relations in schooling policy has been vastly different from that in higher education with the Commonwealth becoming involved later, and despite the systematisation of its involvement under Whitlam, the States still remain the largest players, providing most of the funds and being responsible for service delivery. That reality means that a political desire for more Commonwealth control or influence over the nation's schools requires a different strategy. The nature of that strategy will also be influenced by the reasons for the Commonwealth's desire for more policy influence. With some considerable prescience, Bowker (1972, p.154) argued that from the time of the depression, Commonwealth involvement in schooling involved an

ongoing tension between what he calls a 'social welfare' role and the need to respond to changing economic pressures. The former includes, amongst other things, the provision of scholarships, equality of opportunity policies and the like, while the latter refers to funding levels, federal/State financial relations and the conceptualisation of education's link with the economy in changing economic circumstances. Both social welfare and economic concerns have the potential to operate in a centripetal manner in federal/State relations in schooling policy. That tension resulted in vastly different emphases in the schooling policy agendas of the Whitlam and Hawke governments. However, before analysing the different strategies and agendas of the Whitlam and Hawke governments, some brief attention will be given to developments in the Commonwealth's role in schooling prior to the 1972 election of the Whitlam Labor government.

White (1987) has provided a periodisation of the Commonwealth's role in schooling. For the time until 1963, he speaks of 'creeping intervention' (p.10). From the Menzies' Commonwealth Science Laboratory legislation of 1964, the first really substantive Commonwealth involvement in schooling, until the defeat of the McMahon-led conservative government in 1972, he talks of the 'federal handout to primary and secondary schooling' (p.15). The Whitlam era is then classified as constituting the 'systematisation' (p.20) of Commonwealth involvement, which has continued, albeit in modified form, until the present. The Hawke era, particularly after 1987, saw an attempt to establish a collaborative national approach as a component of an integrated system of schooling, higher education, training and labour market policies which would contribute towards the creation of a national economic infrastructure. The Hawke period might be adequately classified as "towards a national schooling system".

8.2.1 Commonwealth Involvement in Schooling Until 1972

Until the Second World War there had been very little Commonwealth interest in schooling. Despite some calls for Commonwealth involvement during the depression and the establishment of Lady Gowrie Pre-school Centres in 1938, such involvement was negligible until the advent of Labor governments during the war. In 1943, the Commonwealth had taken over funding of the Australian Council of Educational Research (ACER), which had been established under Carnegie Corporation money in 1930. Subsequently the costs of ACER were to be shared between the Commonwealth and the

States. However, the ACER had no role with respect to the day-to-day running of schools and school systems. While the Labor governments of the war and immediate post-war period had shown some interest in extending their role in schooling, for a variety of reasons connected with the immediate prosecution of the war effort, they focused their attention in the higher education area (Spaull, 1982; Stokes and Edmonds, 1990). However, in 1944 the Labor government had commissioned a study of the reasons for 'student wastage' in secondary schools, which indicated some potential policy move and which was to be a precursor of later Commonwealth provision of secondary scholarships (Bowker, 1972, p.156). They had also created a Commonwealth Office of Education in 1945, that both reflected and presaged an expanded Commonwealth involvement in education. The successful 1946 'benefits to students' Constitutional amendment resulted from the need to ensure the legality of these Commonwealth actions. It appears that if Labor had won the 1949 election they would have created a Commonwealth Schools Commission, paralleling the Universities Commission which had been created in 1942 (Spaull, 1982, 1992). They also were committed to establishing a fully fledged Commonwealth Department of Education. With their electoral defeat at the hands of the Menzies-led coalition, the latter was not established until 1966, while the creation of a Schools Commission had to wait until the election of another Labor government in 1972.

In 1945, Menzies as Opposition Leader had brought on an urgency debate in the Commonwealth Parliament in which he called for an expanded Commonwealth involvement in all areas of education, including schooling. However, at the 1949 election he campaigned against the centralism of the Chifley government and promised to return some Commonwealth functions to the States (Smart, 1979, p.297). On winning government, he appears to have retreated from his 1945 urgency debate stance, taking until 1964 to provide any Commonwealth funds for schooling and then only through a specific purpose grant to establish Commonwealth science laboratories in both government and non-government schools. As Smart (1979, p.297) notes, Menzies substantially cut the size of staff of the Commonwealth Office of Education in the period 1951-1953, and moved it into his own Department, in the context of federalist attacks on its continued existence by some of his colleagues. The symbolic message of that action was confirmed in the Commonwealth's lack of action in relation to schooling across the subsequent decade, despite continuing calls from the States through the AEC for financial assistance (Spaull, 1987). That was the case, despite the reality that because of vertical fiscal imbalance

adequate performance of State functions was now only possible with some form of Commonwealth assistance (Mathews, 1983, p.139; Blackburn, 1977). Until the Commonwealth Science Laboratory Scheme promised in the 1963 election campaign, and apart from minuscule steps such as allowing income tax deductions for education in 1952, for gifts for private school building purposes in 1954 and some assistance with interest on capital expenditure loans for ACT schools from 1956, the Menzies government appeared to operate on the assumption that schooling was a sole Constitutional responsibility of the States.

From the late fifties, the financially strained State systems of education began to mount real pressure on the Commonwealth for financial assistance. In 1958, the AEC decided to produce a listing of the shortcomings of Australian schooling. The matter was raised at subsequent Premiers' Conferences, but to no apparent avail. At the 1959 Conference, for instance, the Western Australian Premier called on Menzies to establish a national inquiry into the needs of Australian schooling. Menzies refused. The pressure from the States reached a crescendo with the publication in 1960 of the AEC report, *A Statement of Some Needs of Australian Education*. This report once again called for Commonwealth assistance and formed the basis of State Premiers' request for Commonwealth monies at their 1961 Conference. However, such assistance which did finally result, prior to the election of the Whitlam government, was *ad hoc* in character and seemingly political in motivation (Mathews, 1983, p.147).

At the 1963 election Menzies promised to provide funds for both government and non-government schools for science laboratories. This election promise must be seen against a context of continuing State demands for financial support from the Commonwealth for schooling and mounting pressure from teacher unions, parent groups and state aid lobby groups (Smart, 1977). It also reflected the Australian response to international Cold War worries over the Soviet ascent of Sputnik in 1957. It also must be seen against a narrower political context of the sectarian divisiveness within the Labor Party over the state aid issue and specific tensions between the New South Wales Labor government and federal executive on the matter and the fact that Menzies only held a two seat majority. The New South Wales Labor government had sought to introduce state aid for science laboratories for non-government schools, but the federal executive argued this was in breach of the Party Platform. In this context, Menzies' promise and its subsequent enactment in the States Grants (Science Laboratories and Technical Training) Act 1964

which continued to operate until 1975, was an attempt to ignite further tensions internal to the Labor Party and to retain the support of the DLP which had siphoned Catholic support away from the ALP in the 1950s "split" (Smart, 1978).

White (1987, p.19) suggests that while political opportunism played an important role in the introduction of Commonwealth science laboratories, their creation also had to be seen as part of Menzies' perception of the need to upgrade the quality of science education in the country. In that way, he argues the legislation should be seen in the context of the Menzies higher education agenda and the expansion of provision which would flow from the recommendations of the Martin Committee which had been appointed in 1961, but which did not report until 1964. However, a national policy to integrate higher, secondary and technical education would have to wait until the Dawkins' reforms of the late eighties and early nineties.

Smart (1982, p.22) argues that the science laboratory scheme was a 'crucial double-barrelled precedent'. This was because it introduced not only federal aid to schools, but because it also introduced state aid to non-government schools. By the late sixties, all State governments had introduced some form of state aid to non-government schools.

During the 1963 election campaign Menzies had also promised to introduce Commonwealth Scholarships for secondary and technical students. To oversee this expanded Commonwealth role in schooling, Menzies appointed John Gorton as 'Minister in Charge of Commonwealth Activities in Education and Research' (Smart, 1979, p.302). This appointment resulted in the creation of an Educational Division under Gorton's direction within the Prime Minister's Department. As Smart (1979, p.302) notes, the Commonwealth had now virtually created a minister in a domain in which Menzies had earlier declared the Commonwealth had no Constitutional validity. Gorton met individually with the State Ministers on relevant matters and Smart (1979) documents the resulting friction. The AEC response was mixed, with firm support for the availability of funds, but concern over the lack of consultation and some concern about possible future directions for Commonwealth involvement. That body decided against inviting Gorton to become a member of the AEC. Rather they decided to invite his attendance when considered relevant (Smart, 1979; Spaul, 1987).

Until the 1966 federal election, pressure continued from the States, non-government schools and education interest groups for more Commonwealth involvement, or more accurately more funding! In response to a 1966 AEC request for \$400 million for

education over the following four years, Gorton as part of his rejection elaborated the nature of federal/State relations in schooling. Gorton, noted as a centralist by conservatives, pointed out that while schooling remained the prime responsibility of the States, 'education...[was] tending to become, in effect, a partnership between the Commonwealth and the States' (quoted in Smart, 1978, p.80). This was a significant turning point and a perception even more accurately applied to national developments in schooling under John Dawkins as Minister (1987–1991).

Following the conservative election victory in 1966, in fulfilment of an election promise, the new government established a Commonwealth Department of Education and Science, with Gorton as first minister. Labor had promised such a department in 1949 and again at the 1961 election. This signalled an important step in the slow move towards systematisation of the Commonwealth's role in schooling. Furthermore, 'the creation of this new department rapidly provided a bureaucratic interest in developing new Commonwealth education programmes' (Smart, 1978, p.81).

At the 1967 senate election, Prime Minister Holt, in response to considerable pressure group lobbying (Smart, 1978, pp.81–95), promised to introduce Commonwealth Libraries based on the earlier science laboratory legislative model. Such grants were established under the States Grants (Secondary School Libraries) Act of 1969 which provided grants for libraries in both government and non-government schools and which operated until 1974.

Lobbying continued from all quarters for increased Commonwealth funding for schooling, while the Labor Party at its federal conference in July, 1969, "solved" its own state aid dilemma by accepting the principle of "needs-based" funding for both government and non-government schools (Whitlam, 1985, p.308). In the context of an election year, the Commonwealth Minister for Education and Science, Malcolm Fraser, announced the introduction of *per capita* recurrent grants for both primary and secondary non-government schools. Whitlam's response in the parliamentary debate on the legislation is pertinent. He asserted:

We could have destroyed this year, for all time, the twin shibboleths of state aid and State rights which have hindered educational advances for too long. The Australian Labor Party has proclaimed for three years now that non-government schools required Commonwealth assistance on the scale this Budget proposes. My Party has urged that such assistance should be made available as part of a comprehensive, considered, continuing Commonwealth commitment to all schools on a basis of needs and priorities. (Whitlam, 1985, p.310)

Whitlam also strongly criticised the inequitable *per capita* basis of Fraser's approach to funding, arguing instead for a differential approach based upon need. There were many signals here of Whitlam's later reforms.

The significance of the introduction of *per capita* recurrent grants for non-government schools was twofold. First, it extended Commonwealth funding to the primary school level and second it introduced general recurrent assistance, whereas Commonwealth funding for schools to that point had been specific aid for capital purposes. Smart (1977, p.33, 1982, p.25) notes that such a move made the Commonwealth vulnerable to continuing pressures for general purpose funding for all schooling. Blackburn (1977, p.178) argues that the provision of *per capita* grants to non-government schools dented the perception that schooling was solely a State responsibility, while it also firmly symbolised the lack of general Commonwealth financial support for government schools. With the introduction of recurrent grants for non-government schools, the Commonwealth was providing more funds for those schools than for government ones (Mathews, 1983, p.146). Smart also argues that the earlier science laboratory and library schemes had pathed the way towards public acceptance of state aid, as indicated in the generally muted response to the 1969 initiative.

In the late sixties, the Commonwealth also indicated some interest in joint State and Commonwealth curriculum development. For example, in 1968–69 the Commonwealth provided funds for five years towards the development of a Junior Secondary Science Project, sponsored jointly by Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania. In the context of that commitment, Malcolm Fraser (1968, p.8), Minister for Education and Science, indicated that the Commonwealth had an interest 'in reducing the unnecessary differences in what is taught in the various States' because of difficulties it caused for students who moved interstate. He added that while the Commonwealth wanted to break down such barriers, it was not 'seeking to impose uniformity or centralised control of education' (1968, p.8). Interstate mobility was an issue taken up again by Dawkins as part of his move to create a national system of schooling through collaboration at the AEC.

Until 1971 then, the Commonwealth had provided some specific purpose funding for both government and non-government schools through the science laboratory and library schemes. There had been a move to recurrent funding for non-government schools in 1969. In that year Labor had resolved its own internal problems in respect of the state aid debate by endorsing the establishment of a Schools Commission, which would fund

both government and non-government schools on a needs basis. In that context in 1971, Prime Minister McMahon announced the introduction of capital assistance for government primary and secondary schools and promised increases to this level of funding in his 1972 election speech. In that speech, McMahon vehemently rejected Whitlam's election commitment to the establishment of a Commonwealth Schools Commission because it would 'centralise control of every Australian school in a bureaucratic School Commission away in Canberra' (McMahon, 1972). Whitlam (1985, p.314) has suggested that these funding concessions for government schools were won because of the effectiveness of the Labor Opposition's campaign showing the inadequacies and inequities of the government's policies on school funding.

In mid 1972, the Commonwealth Education Minister became a formal member of the Australian Education Council. Spaul (1987, p.312), in his history of the AEC, notes that from that time the AEC has been 'dominated by the need to respond to Commonwealth agendas in education'. That observation takes on real significance in terms of the later Dawkins policy culture and reform strategy.

Two equity programs were introduced by coalition governments in the latter stages of their twenty-three year rule from 1949. The Commonwealth Migrant Education Program had been instigated in 1968-69 as part of the first official Commonwealth recognition of the disadvantages experienced by migrant students. A Scholarship Scheme for Aboriginal secondary students was introduced in 1970-71.

The coalition government thus still continued to respond to pressures for increased Commonwealth funding for schooling in an *ad hoc* fashion, while equity concerns were small and piecemeal. Bowker's assessment that the coalition's (1972, p.168) approach to schooling up until 1972 was 'make do and mend, of alleviation and stop-gap measures' seems most apposite. The government made no attempt to systematically evaluate the needs of all schools and to respond with a coherent package of financial support, while equality concerns were weak. The approach certainly resulted from a federalist perspective, but it also reflected the centripetal reality of post-war federalism with the Commonwealth holding the purse strings. The two principles worked against each other with the resulting *ad hoc* responses. As a consequence, quality provision of schooling required an infusion of Commonwealth funds.

8.2.2 The Systematisation of Commonwealth Involvement in Schooling under Whitlam

It was the Whitlam government which systematised Commonwealth involvement. It did so through the establishment of the Schools Commission and a huge increase in financial support for all schools with a commitment to a strong definition of equality of educational opportunity. Under the Whitlam government (1972–1975), total expenditure on education rose from 4.83 per cent of GDP in 1972–1973 to 6.18 per cent in 1974–1975, with the federal government's share of education expenditure rising from 22.5 per cent to 42.5 per cent in 1975–1976 (Whitlam, 1985, p.326). It is to the Whitlam reforms that this section of the Chapter now turns.

Whitlam had modernised the Labor Party (White, 1987). The formulation of a coherent, progressive educational reform package, embedded with a philosophy of 'redemptive egalitarianism' (Tomlinson, 1977, p.61), was one central component of that modernisation. Educational reform was important too in Labor's progressive Keynesian settlement and also an important factor in Labor's 1972 election victory, which came almost at the *denouement* of the post-war boom and at the moment of cultural effervescence and critique experienced in western societies during the late sixties and early seventies. Whitlam (1985, p.291) has noted that the most important and intense political debate of the late sixties was about education. He pointed out throughout the late sixties and early seventies that the federal parliament was flooded with petitions calling for Commonwealth support for schooling. Concerning the contribution of Labor's proposed educational reforms in the 1972 campaign, Max Walsh (1979) has suggested that the 'B.A.Dip.Ed. class' was central to their 1972 election victory. Certainly the support of teachers, the teacher unions and parent bodies was one important contributing factor.

The States had been calling for Commonwealth financial support from the late fifties and conservative Commonwealth governments responded in an *ad hoc* and parsimonious fashion. Whitlam was to change all of that with a full systematisation of the Commonwealth's role, with funding for both capital and recurrent expenditure for both government and non-government schools, backed by a number of specific purpose programs, informed by a commitment to a strong outcomes definition of equality of opportunity. That commitment was a response to the mounting research evidence and concern being expressed from the late sixties that schools reproduced inequalities, rather

than provided opportunities for all, irrespective of background. Australian research publications by Roper (1970) and Fensham (1970) were important in raising equality of educational opportunity as a political issue.

Thus, the Whitlam reform agenda responded to the call for a rational and equitable basis for increased Commonwealth expenditure for all schools and simultaneously attempted through positive discrimination in expenditure to move towards equality of educational opportunity. In his 1972 election speech, Whitlam announced that 'the most rapidly growing sector of public spending under a Labor government will be education. Education should be the great instrument for the promotion of equality' (1985, p.314).

On winning government, one of the first tasks Whitlam undertook was the appointment on 12 December 1972 of an Interim Schools Commission, which was given until May, 1973 to advise the government as to how to implement its school reform program. Advice was to be given on the needs of Australian schools and priorities amongst those needs so that all schools could operate at an adequate resource level. The terms of reference indicated the conjunctural policy rationale within which the Interim Committee operated; it was asked to recommend a rational and equitable manner for increased Commonwealth expenditure, which would be in addition to, rather than a substitute for, that already provided by the States (Karmel, IT10, 1991, p.21; Interim Committee for Australian Schools Commission, 1973, p.3). That committee was chaired by Professor Peter Karmel who had earlier conducted an influential review of education in South Australia (1969–1970). The resulting federal Karmel Report, *Schools in Australia* (1973) was to form the policy embodiment and operationalisation of the Whitlam principles for school reform.

Chapter 2 of *Schools in Australia*, while acknowledging that the Commonwealth was not responsible for running schools or school systems, outlined the principles which underlined their recommendations and which, the Report believed, ought to underpin schooling throughout Australia. Included amongst these principles were support for devolution of responsibility, a strong concept of equality, diversity of provision, the right of parental choice in schooling, community involvement in all levels of schooling and support for the notion of recurrent or lifelong education. These principles were manifest in the program and expenditure patterns recommended and subsequently implemented by the government through the Schools Commission created late in 1973.

The Karmel Report recommended a multi-program approach to the task it had been given. This included recurrent grants to both government and non-government schools, with the latter to be distributed on a needs basis, capital/building funds for both, a continuation of the libraries program, but extended to include primary schools, a joint disadvantaged schools program for both government and non-government schools, a special education program, teacher development initiative and an innovations program aimed to catalyse diversity and creativity within the ostensibly uniform State systems. The government basically endorsed all of the recommendations of the Karmel Report, including the substantial increase in Commonwealth funding, which amounted to a real increase in school expenditure of more than \$400 million in 1972 terms (Blackburn, 1977, p.185; Mathews, 1983, p.151). The recommendation not accepted by the government was that concerning the establishment of regional boards in each State to oversee programs and to involve more people in the work of the Commission. This recommendation reflected the decentralisation and participatory philosophy of the Report. Its rejection reflected State concern about Commonwealth encroachment (Spaull, 1987) and the concern that such boards were a way of bypassing the States.

In the light of 1980s moves in State school systems to a managerialist driven mode of devolution, it is important to comment on the Karmel Report's stance. Such a comparison provides some light on the differing policy cultures of two Labor governments elected at vastly different moments of Australia's economic history. The Karmel Report favoured less centralised control over the operation of schools. Specifically, it asserted:

Responsibility should be devolved as far as possible upon the people involved in the actual task of schooling, in consultation with parents of the pupils whom they teach and, at senior levels, with the students themselves. Its belief in this grass-roots approach to the control of schools reflects a conviction that responsibility will be most effectively discharged where the people entrusted with making decisions are also the people responsible for carrying them out, with an obligation to justify them, and in a position to profit from their experience. (Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission, 1973, p.120)

In that context, the Report suggested that a national bureaucracy to "interfere" with the running of schools was not required, but rather, in the interests of equality, a nationally applied, clearly articulated and equitable system of funding was essential to complement local "control" over schooling. Elsewhere, this has been classified as the 'social democratic' conceptualisation of devolution (Lingard and Rizvi, 1992), in contrast with the contemporary managerialist manifestation. This commitment to devolution would have

implications for federal/State relations in schooling which will be pursued below. The need to systematise funding for both government and non-government schools would also have the effect of almost creating a non-government school system, where one did not exist before, particularly in relation to Catholic schools. Thus, there was a pulling to the centre of equality of opportunity policy and funding, as well as general financial responsibility, determined by a statutory authority on a needs basis. Simultaneously, there was support for professional autonomy and community involvement in schools to encourage a diversity of provision aimed to provide better schooling within an equality framework.

Hence, the Karmel Report commitment to devolution was complementary to support for diversity of schooling provision. Here there was also a challenge to the bureaucratic and centralised uniformity of the State systems. This character of the State systems had resulted from a distributive notion of equality, which suggested that uniformity of provision was necessary to the provision of equality of educational opportunity. Karmel superseded this approach with a redistributive one, which argued instead for positive discrimination in expenditure and support for diversity of provision. Both were necessary, the Report asserted, to achieve equality of opportunity, now defined as more equal outcomes from schooling between students from different social class backgrounds. This was the older meaning of the debate over inputs and outcomes from schooling.

The Schools Commission was established under the *Schools Commission Act 1973* which was assented to on 19 December, 1973. This Commission was given the function of advising the minister with respect to the following, after consultation with State and non-government systems:

- (a) the establishing of acceptable standards in schools, and the means of attaining and maintaining those standards;
- (b) the needs of schools, and the respective priorities to be given to the satisfying of those needs;
- (c) matters in connection with the grant by the Commonwealth of financial assistance to the States for schools, and for schools in the Territories;
- (d) any matter relating to primary or secondary education.
(Jackson, 1985, p.10)

Such advice had to be given within the principles outlined in *Schools in Australia*.

In terms of recurrent expenditure, the aim was to increase funding for government primary schools by 40 per cent and secondary schools by 35 per cent and to have all schools beyond a resource level classified against an objectively measured community standard by 1979. The distribution of recurrent funds to non-government schools was to be on a needs basis, calculated against a resource index determined for this purpose. This was one manifestation of the redistributive philosophy built into the Whitlam approach. Given that the Commission had noted the neglect of Australian schools, and had been asked to prioritise expenditure, the recommendation was put forward that funds to the wealthiest private schools be phased out. This served as a stumbling block to the passage of the legislation through the Senate, which was not controlled by the government. Finally, support for the legislation was forthcoming from the National Party, in return for government assurance that financial support for the wealthiest schools would be continued. The argument from the Catholic Church that increased funding was necessary to the continuing viability of the Catholic system was a factor in eliciting National Party support.

The redistributive aspect of the Whitlam reform agenda in respect of schools was probably most obviously manifest in the Disadvantaged Schools Program (DSP) which has continued as a Commonwealth specific purpose program to this day (Connell, White and Johnston, 1991). This program provided extra funding for both government and non-government schools attended by the most socio-economically disadvantaged students as determined against objective criteria, covering about 15% of all Australian school students. The distribution of funds to classified schools was submission based and managed by State level Committees for both government and non-government schools. Programs which are supported are to be in line with the program's goals, which include the improvement of student learning, the provision of both more meaningful and more enjoyable schooling for disadvantaged students and the creation of closer school/community relationships (Johnston, 1992). These specific goals were framed by the broader one of achieving more equal outcomes from schooling between students from different social class backgrounds. White (1987, p.23) has criticised the Schools Commission operationalisation of the equality agenda as simply instituting equality through participation.

Johnston (1992) has suggested that the DSP developed out of, and was a response to, the 'boundary shifts' which were occurring in education at the time of the Whitlam election victory. These, in turn, were part of the cultural critique evident at the time. The first boundary shift was the slow move away from top-down and highly centralised State

education systems towards more participatory and teacher directed approaches. The second was the revival of child-centred progressivism and the third the emergence of a redistributive or compensatory approach to schooling provision (Johnston, 1992), which was accompanied by the outcomes reconceptualisation of equality of educational opportunity (Henry, Knight, Lingard and Taylor, 1988, p.228). Placing the DSP in its political context of the 1970s, Johnston argues that behind it lay:

... a modernising Labor Party, a parent movement that had developed new organisational skills in the campaigns around increased funding for public education, teacher activists who were extending the boundaries of teacher unionism beyond the traditional industrial model, and an emerging strand of sociological and educational studies that provided an intellectual rationale for a more radical interventionist program of reform. (Johnston, 1992, p.4)

Johnston's (1992) comments about the manner in which the DSP impacted upon Commonwealth/State relations in schooling are most useful here. He suggests three metaphors to trace the way in which the DSP sought to sponsor innovation and equitable practice in schools still ostensibly under the control of centralised State or centralising Catholic systems. His first metaphor is that of the DSP as a 'beach-head' for the Commonwealth into both government and non-government schools which were not controlled by the Commonwealth. The beach-head operated by putting the funds and decision-making about strategies directly in the hands of teachers and their schools and communities. Johnston (1992) notes:

In effect, the Commonwealth strategy was to side-step the cumbersome State education bureaucracies and empower those at the grassroots of the systems who it believed possessed the energy and motivation to bring about change. (p.4)

Johnston's second metaphor is that of the DSP as a 'conduit' from the broad educational reform movement into the centralised State and Catholic bureaucracies. The whole school, rather than individual focus of the DSP was idiosyncratic in the range of "compensatory" programs created throughout the world at the time, and appears to have been central to its success (Johnston, 1992; Connell, White and Johnston, 1991). It is this emphasis on organisation reform of a bottom-up nature which leads Johnston (1992, p.5) into his third metaphor for the DSP, that of a positive 'virus' within the system. As he puts it: 'With its built-in requirement for democratic decision-making and whole school planning, the Program became a democratic implant in a hierarchical body' (1992, p.5).

The creation of the Schools Commission without State representatives (the South Australian Director-General was on the Commission, but as an educationalist) created

some tensions between the Commission and the Australian Education Council (Spaull, 1987). For example, Queensland argued with the Commission's assertion that access to Commission funds was contingent upon the States continuing the same level of real financial support (Spaull, 1987, p.195). The Conference of Directors-General complained about the lack of machinery for State access to the Commission (Spaull, 1987, p.196). Indeed, a Queensland position paper at a 1973 AEC meeting argued the potential for the Commission to make the AEC redundant, while giving the Commonwealth rather than the States the capacity to determine schooling priorities (Spaull, 1987, p.197). Commonwealth/State tensions in schooling were also exacerbated by the manner in which specific purpose programs sought to bypass the State systems; these were regarded by the States as Commonwealth, rather than national policies. As such, they were seen by the States to be imposed, rather than arrived at through consensus. Thus from the 1970s, the AEC has been dominated by the need to respond to Commonwealth agendas (Spaull, 1987, p.312).

The Whitlam reforms systematised the Commonwealth's role in schooling. As Whitlam (1985, p.328) has noted, no one would now debate the necessity for the Commonwealth to be involved in funding of all levels of education. The commitment was to an uplifting of the quality of provision of Australian schooling towards the achievement of equality of educational opportunity for all students. Criteria for the distribution of funds were to be determined by a semi-autonomous statutory authority, namely the Schools Commission, thus taking the question of financial support apparently out of the direct political arena. However, some States saw this as an attempted Commonwealth takeover of an ostensibly State function (Spaull, 1987). The reforms were one component in the broader, progressive Keynesian settlement.

It was suggested in the previous Chapter that the centripetal pressures within post-war federalism reached their apotheosis during the Whitlam period. That perception is only partially true of Whitlam's schooling reforms. Just as it would be an oversight to simply see only centripetal changes in federalism under Whitlam, the same is true of the educational reforms. As well as the systematising nature of the reforms, they had a clear participatory, democratic character, as indicated in the depiction of the DSP outlined above. The reforms were about creating diversity of provision and school and community participation and thus took a bottomup approach to reform. The innovations program also had such a character. The aim was to enhance as well as recognise teacher

professionalism by providing grants directly to teachers in schools on their initiatives, an unheard of policy at the time. The Commonwealth attempted to implant a progressive virus within the highly centralised State systems. Thus the goal was improved standard of material provision, but also changed practice (Blackburn, 1977). While Whitlam systematised the Commonwealth's involvement, his reforms and needs-based support for non-government schools had the possibly unintended (or covert) consequence of systematising Catholic school bureaucracies in each of the States.

White (1987, p.22) has argued that Whitlam's reforms, particularly the creation of the Schools Commission, established a new role for the Commonwealth in schooling. First, he argues, it 'formulated a new form of control' through the ideological uses of funds without establishing a 'bureaucratic command system' (p.22). Second, White asserts that Labor sought to institutionalise an 'Australian-wide school system' on the pattern of the higher education system (p.22). Both of these evaluations would appear to be overstatements, but nonetheless contain a kernel of truth. It was the Hawke government after 1987 which attempted to create through collaboration at the AEC a national system of schooling as part of the broader agenda of establishing an efficient national economic infrastructure. Only a shadow of the earlier equality framework would remain.

In the first instance under Whitlam, most of the increased Commonwealth funding went in general recurrent and capital grants to both government and non-government schools. There were accountability requirements in respect of these monies, but basically they were block grants, despite their justification under Section 96 of the Constitution as specific purpose grants.

It was the specific purpose programs, including the DSP and innovations program, which were managed by the Commission and which did require State bureaucratic responses and which initially had the greatest impact upon the State systems. The Commonwealth basically controlled the money for new programs and as such had greater policy leverage than might appear to be the case, given that Commonwealth monies only accounted for about 10% of total State budgets on schooling. The Commission's management of specific purpose programs resulted in the creation of sections and bureaucrats in the State bureaucracies who "handled" Commonwealth programs, which potentially at least sequestered and quarantined the impact of Commonwealth philosophies within those bureaucracies. The increased administrative demands upon the State

bureaucracies resulting from the systematisation of Commonwealth involvement has continued to be an ongoing source of complaint from State administrators (Spaull, 1987).

A Western Australian Minister for Education from 1983–1987, Bob Pearce, has argued (Porter, Knight and Lingard, 1992) that the specific purpose nature of equity policies meant the Commonwealth only had an impact 'around the edges'. He asserted that the Commonwealth would have had more impact through longer funding cycles, so that the Commonwealth's equity policies could have been mainstreamed across the policy profile within the State system, and thus in his opinion had more impact. In an interview for this research, a former Queensland Director–General of Education argued that the quarantining of Commonwealth specific purpose programs resulted from the short funding term and fear by the State that funding would not be ongoing. The structural location within the State bureaucracies allowed for easy excision if the Commonwealth cut funding. It should be noted, however, that some short term funding was perceived by the Commonwealth simply as "seeding money." Pearce argued the reason for such administrative arrangements lay in the Commonwealth's desire for accountability and due credit for policy initiatives. Specifically, Pearce (IT, 1990, p.12) argued:

I think the Commonwealth wanted discrete programs because they wanted things for which they could get credit, for which they could have clear control. I think they always were fearful that mainstreaming was just a confidence trick to make all the Commonwealth money disappear into the State without any concomitant Commonwealth control. (Pearce, IT, 1990, p.12)

In the Queensland context, a number of senior Department of Education bureaucrats indicated the significance of the Commonwealth's equity programs in ensuring some support and funding in Queensland, where there was often overt political opposition to such programs and certainly no funding support. This was despite the fact, that 'Commonwealth equity programs were buried in the bowels of the Department' (IT2, 1989, p.1). The overall result in a number of Commonwealth sponsored policy domains, for example multiculturalism (Lingard, 1983; Singh, 1990) and gender equity (Lingard, Henry and Taylor, 1987), was some considerable refraction of the Commonwealth's policy intention in their Queensland implementation. However, as a number of those bureaucrats pointed out, the fact that there was a Commonwealth policy and monies available at least ensured some developments in Queensland and a framework which progressive teachers could use to legitimate their practice. This situation was different from the one the Western Australian Minister was talking about, where the policies of federal and State

governments were compatible. Thus the perception of the Queensland bureaucrats was different from that of Western Australian minister, Pearce, in that the discrete nature of Commonwealth equity programs was seen as central to their having any impact at all in a politically uncongenial climate. The point made in the previous Chapter about specific purpose funding being used for the imposition of a federal policy upon that of a State government applies here, as does the reality that the State has considerable discretion in implementation even of tied Commonwealth grants.

Some senior administrators within the State systems complained of the administrative and accountability pressures the expanded Commonwealth role under Whitlam placed upon the States (Berkeley, 1976, 1990). A former Director-General of Education in Queensland, George Berkeley, has commented on this impact:

The preparation of submissions to acquire funds, the administration of programs based on the funds and accounting of expenditure added considerably to the administrative load of the central offices of State systems, often, at least in the minds of State administrators, a load inordinately higher than should have been required by that proportion of total funding. (Berkeley, 1990, p.210)

Berkeley (1990, p.210) has also noted how this restricted the decision-making authority of Directors-General. In confirmation of Spaul's (1987) observation that the formal membership of the federal minister of the AEC changed the focus of that forum to the question of the States' response to the Commonwealth agenda, Berkeley (1990) also makes the point that from the Whitlam time:

... issues of centralism versus State rights, of Commonwealth or national goals, of Constitutional and local responsibility for delivery of educational services and of priorities for action assumed increasing importance on the agendas of Directors-General. (Berkeley, 1990, p.210)

This was to be an ongoing feature of federalism in schooling policy-making from the Whitlam time. Such matters took on even greater salience during the Dawkins period, following the abolition of the Schools Commission and the concomitant ministerialisation of policy which occurred at the Commonwealth level and that which had also occurred at State levels, following the managerialist revolution.

Some comment has been made above concerning Commonwealth support for collaborative curriculum development during the late sixties. A significant reform in curriculum development under the Whitlam government was the establishment in 1975 of the Curriculum Development Centre (CDC), which in the first instance moved to create curriculum materials. It did, however, provide some funds direct to schools for school-

based curriculum development which, as with the DSP, disrupted to some extent centralised State structures. MacPherson (1990) has argued that the CDC's involvement in a number of federal/State boundary disputes made it exceedingly vulnerable to a change of government.

The subsequent fate of the CDC parallels the changes in government and resulting changes within federalism. In 1981, as a result of the Fraser government's Commonwealth Review of Government Functions, known colloquially as the "Razor Gang", the CDC was considerably emasculated and its reduced functions returned to the Commonwealth Department (Kennedy, 1989a,b). That emasculation occurred as the Fraser government sought to reduce government expenditure and particularly to reduce those functions which duplicated State provisions, as part of new federalism. The CDC was resurrected under Susan Ryan, after the Labor election victory in 1983, with its functions once again repatriated to the Commonwealth Department, now Employment, Education and Training, after Labor's managerialist reforms of 1987. Kennedy (1989a,b) has documented how the mode of collaborative curriculum development changed against that history, moving from a materials focus to a collaborative approach in areas where there were some national perception of need for reform and agreement as to how this should be achieved. That change could be characterised as a move from a Commonwealth to a national approach. The latter strategy was to be taken up in the Dawkins period as federal Minister (1987–1991) in the move towards a national system.

Changing economic circumstances soon inhibited the extent of the Schools Commission autonomy in its recommendations to the Commonwealth regarding financial support for Australian schooling. Thus, because of budgetary constraints, the Whitlam government did not accept the Commission's mid-1975 expenditure recommendations for the 1976–1978 triennium. Instead, the government postponed the beginning of the triennium until 1977 and treated 1976 as a special year. As suggested earlier in this thesis, Whitlam's 1975 budget was a reflection of the end of the post-war boom in Australia and also the end of the Keynesian settlement and more pertinently, the end of the brief, social democratic experiment.

8.2.3 Commonwealth Involvement in Schooling Under Fraser

The newly elected Fraser government, from 1975, restored the pattern of triennial funding, for the Schools Commission's programs but tightened control over the Commission's recommendations, which now had to be formulated within government set parameters for both funding and policy priorities. Under this approach, the second and third years of triennial funding were reviewed in the light of the achievements of the first. In this way, the Commission became party to the government's political process of determining aggregate expenditure (Mathews, 1983, p.153). As worsening economic circumstances and ideology impacted upon government policy, so the Commission was affected. Important here was the Fraser government's support for parental choice in schooling and commitment to a guaranteed minimum grant to all independent schools. In a context of reduced overall expenditure, this appeared to advantage non-government over government schools, a factor which was soon the focus of teacher union activism. The reality that government schools had reached the agreed standard of funding earlier than originally anticipated was also another factor here. Whitlam (1985, p.322) has noted how in its first five years the Fraser government reduced real term funds to government schools by 14 per cent and increased those to non-government ones by 24 per cent.

The Fraser government retained the structure of Commonwealth involvement in schooling created by Whitlam, but operated within a different ideological framework as suggested above, supporting parental choice as a higher value than Labor's redemptive egalitarianism. Regarding the considerable continuity between the policy and advice structures between Whitlam and Fraser, Tannock, a long term member of the Schools Commission, pointed out that there was a greater continuity between the public sector management style of Whitlam and Fraser, than between either and Hawke's managerialism (IT14, 1989, p.1).

As noted in the previous Chapter, Fraser attempted to institute a new federalism, by reducing the usage of tied grants to the States, by returning some functions to the States and by granting the States some access to income tax raising, of which they did not avail themselves. Fraser's first Minister for Education was Senator John Carrick, who was also the Minister for Federal Affairs. As Spaul (1979, p.134) points out, education was a significant policy domain for the new federalism because it was the largest expenditure item for the States and had been a major showpiece of Whitlam's domestic reform agenda.

However, he also notes how in the first instance, Carrick had to defend his portfolio from Treasury cuts, which initially limited his attention to any restructuring. By mid-1976, Carrick sought to strengthen the advisory role of the AEC in Commonwealth/State relations in a context in which it became difficult to move to abolish the Schools Commission. Carrick also sought to reduce the number of funding categories for the Schools Commission which would help to free up State flexibility in spending and also allow for some transfer of monies between programs.

Carrick worked to upgrade the AEC against the Schools Commission, as the States expressed their frustration with the demands of the Commission and its non-consultative *modus operandi*. The tension between the AEC and Schools Commission remained throughout 1976, when the AEC reviewed the Commission. While accepting the need for both the continuation of Commonwealth funds and a national perspective, the AEC expressed real concern at intrusions into the State domain. In response, Carrick argued that the Commonwealth had to take a broader national perspective, rather than simple a "topping up funds" approach, as apparently desired by the States. It was in that context of Commonwealth/State tensions, that the AEC decided to upgrade its policy capacity through the creation of a full-time Secretariat in Melbourne, paid for jointly by the States and Commonwealth.

After failing to negotiate with the States on the appointment of the Williams review of education and training in late 1976, the Commonwealth subsequently tried to operate in a more consultative fashion (Spaull, 1987). Thus, for instance, in late 1978, the Prime Minister requested that the AEC debate the matter of school to work transition in the face of intransigently high levels of youth unemployment. The AEC subsequently produced a policy advice paper which supported the creation of the Commonwealth School to Work Transition Program (1979-1983). Such requests for a more policy oriented function for the AEC amplified its policy profile and contributed to the press for the creation of the Secretariat.

The Fraser government reduced public sector expenditure, including that on education. It contributed to the strengthening of the policy capacity of the AEC as it attempted to institute a new federalism. Under the new federalism, by the late seventies only about 13 per cent of Commonwealth grants to the states for schooling were of a tied character (Spaull, 1987, p.25). Two senior Commonwealth bureaucrats in interviews for this research suggested that under Fraser the Schools Commission had become more a

funding agency than a change agency, as it had been under Whitlam (IT5, 1991, p.25; IT11, 1991, p.24). From late 1981 the Fraser government instigated a system of Schools Commission funding which gave greater 'administrative flexibility' to the States and which concomitantly lessened Commonwealth 'financial control' (Spaull, 1987, p.261). By the end of the Fraser period, the AEC had emerged 'with the potential to become an important source of policy formulation in national education' (Spaull, 1987, p.154). In this way, Spaull suggests it became more like other intergovernmental committees, but while it was increasingly dominated by the need to respond to the Commonwealth's agenda, it was not dominated by the Commonwealth, as were the other Councils (1987, p.254).

The Schools Commission's redistributive policies had been dented somewhat by the reduction in overall funding and a redirection of that reduced funding towards non-government schools. Further, within that change the position of the wealthier non-government schools was improved in relation to that of the poorer, mostly Catholic systemic schools. While Whitlam's focus had been on equality, Fraser's was more on quality and choice (Henry and MacLennan, 1980).

Youth unemployment became an important policy concern in 1979, with the School to Work Transition policy encouraging special curricula provision in the postcompulsory years for those students thought to be most at risk in the transition to work. Fraser had also asked the AEC to consider the possibility of greater links between upper secondary schooling and TAFE education in the context of youth unemployment and the School to Work Transition Program.

Fraser also utilised specific purpose grants for ideological purposes with the introduction of the Commonwealth's Multicultural Education program, which ran from 1979 until abolished in the 1986 budget by the Hawke government. Across the latter stages of the Fraser government the AEC moved towards some uniformity of policy with respect to the education of the children of itinerant workers and on matters of copyright.

The Schools Commission remained a source of policy advice. It still managed a number of specific purpose programs. While it attempted to hold onto some of its original ideological positions, under different pressures from a conservative government and also under pressures from fiscal restraint, it began to articulate what Johnston (1983) has called a 'discourse for all seasons'.

8.2.4 The Commonwealth and Schooling in the Post-War Period until 1983: A Summary

In summary, across the post-war period, firstly the 'plans and visions' for schooling of the Labor governments of the 1940s were replaced by concern for 'economic progress and pragmatic politics' (White, 1987, p.24) of conservative governments (1949-1972). Whitlam Labor (1972-1975) systematised the Commonwealth's involvement in schooling, as clearly indicated in Table 8.1 adapted from Whitlam (1985, p.326). This enhanced role was committed to achieving a strong definition of equality of educational opportunity (Matthews and Fitzgerald, 1975). The quasi-autonomous Schools Commission provided advice to the government and managed specific purpose programs which had clear ideological intentions and which sought to fuel change in both government and non-government schools. This situation precipitated considerable tensions in Commonwealth and State relations. The Whitlam reform agenda was to be achieved via Commonwealth programs. The final Whitlam budget signalled the end of the long boom, as well as the end of unidirectional centripetal pressures within federalism. The conservative Fraser government retained the Schools Commission structure, but under the rubric of new federalism precipitated the conditions for an increased policy role for the AEC and the development of a number of national policy approaches. The Schools Commission became less interventionist in approach and less concerned to impose an ideological agenda upon the States. In its funding approach it favoured choice over equality. The Fraser government also had to respond to the collapse of the full-time teenage labour market. These two features, the improved policy strength of the AEC and the collapse of the teenage labour market were to have an impact on the schooling policies of the Labor government elected to power in March, 1983 in the context of the 1982-1983 recession. The Hawke government was committed to redressing the reduction in support for government schools and halting the reduction in overall level of expenditure on education. It is the move towards a national system of schooling under Hawke Labor that the Chapter now turns. Such a move resulted from the Labor attempt to establish a workable post-Keynesian settlement.

8.3 TOWARDS A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF SCHOOLING: THE EMERGENCE OF CORPORATE FEDERALISM IN SCHOOLING POLICY FORMATION

The Hawke reforms in schooling can be very clearly divided between those of the Susan Ryan period until the 1987 election victory, and those after, with John Dawkins as the Minister for Employment, Education and Training until the end of 1991. The first period saw an attempt to retain aspects of the older Whitlam equity agenda in the context of a collapsed teenage labour market and ongoing economic and budgetary difficulties. The Dawkins period must be seen in the context of the post-1987 microeconomic policy focus and managerialist revolution and the resultant restructuring of the federal bureaucracy outlined in Chapter 5. As suggested there, that restructuring institutionalised economic rationalism and ensured the residualisation of the earlier social democratic agenda.

Following the ACTU and Trade Development Council's *Australia Reconstructed* (1987) and the treasurer's 1986 Banana Republic Speech, economic restructuring took on metapolicy status for the Hawke government, with all arms of education policy reconstituted in economic terms. This strategy was geared to the creation of an efficient national economic infrastructure, which in turn had implications for federalism because many aspects of microeconomic reform cut across Commonwealth/State relations. The need for an efficient national economic infrastructure was deemed necessary so that Australia could compete effectively in a non-tariff protected fashion in the international economy. Manufacturing was to become export oriented. In that context, as argued in Chapter 7, in the period after 1987, Labor moved towards what this research has classified as 'corporate federalism'. The Constitutional arrangement and policy structures in schooling required a particular strategy, unlike the situation in higher education, where, because the Commonwealth basically controlled all the funds, it could move quickly and directly via 'coercive federalism' to instigate reform (Smart, 1991). In the schooling policy domain, the AEC became very important to the negotiations for national policies arrived at through consensus. As suggested earlier, the AEC's policy capacity had been strengthened in the latter stages of the Fraser period.

The second Karmel Report, *Quality of Education in Australia* (QERC) (1985), produced during Susan Ryan's time as minister, is something of a transitional policy document in the move from the Ryan policy culture and approach to that of Dawkins, who

on becoming minister immediately abolished the Schools Commission. Smart and Dudley (1990, p.206) argue that there have been three distinct periods of Labor's schooling policy, with the QERC Report marking the beginning of the transitional phase, while they also note the basic neglect of higher education across the entire Ryan period. From 1983 until the QERC Report of 1985, they argue Ryan implemented Labor schooling policy against a context of high levels of youth unemployment with an emphasis upon equity and access. During this time Ryan also sought to strengthen the Schools Commission as an agent of national policy-making. Smart and Dudley (1990) suggest that the period after *Quality of Education* and until the 1987 election is a transitional one between the earlier equity focus and the later, post-1987 economic one. However, it is probably best to see a tension between economic and equity agendas across both periods, with the economic agenda taking precedence after 1987 with consequent implications for federal/State relations and for equity matters.

There are, however, some links between the Ryan and Dawkins periods. For example, while Ryan created the first national policy for schooling, that of the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* in 1987, the consensual strategy at the AEC, through which this policy was achieved, indirectly provided a model for Dawkins' later national approach. Dawkins sought to create something of a national system of schooling, as part of a national economic infrastructure. It is these changes with which this section of the Chapter is concerned. It begins by considering changes during the Ryan period.

From the outset of the Hawke government, budgetary concerns were given high priority, particularly when the deficit inherited from the Fraser government was found to be much greater than anticipated. Thus, while in the first instance, educational expenditure was increased under Hawke, education was never going to have the expenditure profile it had achieved during the Whitlam years. Further, the structure of Commonwealth involvement had by then been in place for almost a decade, while additionally the Hawke government had a weaker commitment to a social democratic reform agenda than did Whitlam. These realities meant that the Commonwealth would have to pursue a strategy other than a funding one, if it wished to achieve greater leverage over State systems. The consensual achievement of national policies via the AEC was one possible strategy, which was pursued by Ryan with the 1987 *National Policy for the Education of Girls in Australian Schools* and which was central to Dawkins' corporate federalism in schooling policy formation after 1987.

8.3.1 The Hawke Government and Schooling: The Ryan Period (1983–1987)

The cornerstone of Labor's schooling package in the early Hawke years was the *Participation and Equity Program* (PEP) (1984–1986) (Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1984), whose title indicated some continuity between Whitlam's reforms and those of Ryan. However, Rizvi and Kemmis (1987, p.55) note that the original title proposed for the Program, *Participation and Equality*, was rejected on the grounds that the term "equality" was too politically contentious and too reminiscent of the Whitlam reforms. *Participation and Equity* was thought to be a 'more pragmatic, "politically saleable" title' (Rizvi and Kemmis, 1987, p.55), which probably indicated something of the Hawke government's pragmatism, as compared with the greater idealism of the Whitlam period.

Rizvi and Kemmis (1987) also show how PEP grew out of debates within the Labor Party about schooling in the context of some of the theoretical and implementation shortcomings of the Whitlam agenda. Firstly, they note the impact of David Bennett's (1982) critique which argued that the individualistic and meritocratic conception of opportunity embodied in the Whitlam reforms ensured competitive schools and the institutionalisation of the competitive academic curriculum. As such, Bennett argued, the reforms promoted opportunities for individuals, but did not improve the education of all, particularly that provided to working class students. Taking up some of these points, Dawkins and Costello (1983) in *Labor Essays 1983* argued that for both economic and equity reasons, the retention rates to year 12 had to be improved. The goal was to be greater retention, but with a particular emphasis on improving retention for disadvantaged students. This paper formed some of the intellectual rationale for PEP.

It can thus be seen that from the outset, the Hawke Labor government was concerned about the education/economy nexus, but in the early stages of the Ryan period, not in a narrowly reductionist manner. In seeking to improve retention, especially for disadvantaged students, PEP could appear to simultaneously achieve both equity and economic goals.

The PEP program sought to increase substantially the numbers of students completing a full secondary schooling and to ensure more equal outcomes for students from disadvantaged backgrounds. These policy goals sat against the context of very high levels of youth unemployment. While PEP, as with Transition Education which it replaced, was about ensuring more young people took the option of staying at school,

rather than joining the unemployment queues, it also threw down the challenge to post-compulsory schooling. Transition Education had simply been an add-on program for at risk students after the compulsory leaving age. PEP, by contrast, attempted to restructure the whole provision of schooling, including pedagogical practices and curriculum, so that more students had their options kept open for a longer period. PEP was also significant in that it gave recognition to the fact that the full-time teenage labour market had collapsed and there would not be a return to a demand for the labour of 15–19 year olds. An adequate response to that fact continued to be a central determinant of Labor's schooling policies.

PEP appeared to have a considerable impact upon retention rates, but such retention was encouraged even further with the abolition in the May 1987 *Economic Statement* of Unemployment Benefits for 16 and 17 year olds, thus effectively raising the school leaving age in a *de facto* way through a more coercive policy approach. Ryan early in her term as minister had sought a raising of the school leaving age from the States who were not prepared to do so.

PEP had an operational and implementation structure not dissimilar to that of the DSP, operating under the aegis of the Schools Commission, but with joint management committees at State level. However, it was not submission based, simply distributing funds to targeted schools, as well as attempting to achieve system wide change. As with the DSP, PEP attempted to impact upon State systems and disadvantaged non-government schools which the Commonwealth did not control. Rizvi and Kemmis (1987), in their evaluation of PEP in Victoria, show the ongoing tension between the need for bureaucratic patterns of accountability and the democratic, collaborative aspect of the policy, which eschewed a top-down conception of policy formulation and implementation. That tension heightened across PEP's history as the Commonwealth, in the period after the *Quality of Education in Australia Report* of 1985, which was a precursor to the later support for managerialism, strengthened accountability demands and began to emphasise outcomes.

Rizvi and Kemmis (1987) also show how PEP, despite its participatory character, could not escape bureaucratisation, given its location in the Victorian State Education Department. They also indicate how any program of change is to some extent constrained in its impact by currently existing structures, discourses and practices. Furthermore, as the economic circumstances tightened, in 1985 the Commonwealth government cut PEP funds, so that the funds made available in the first instance for 1986, actually had to cover two

years, notably 1986–1987. This weakened considerably the commitment to change of those implementing the policy, and retention rates were rising anyway either because of, or even despite of PEP.

The PEP change strategy and goals were similar to those pursued by the Whitlam government, but in a different economic context, where the focus was now upon increasing school retention for both equity and economic reasons. It also operated in a top–down and bottom–up fashion, as with the specific purpose programs instigated by Whitlam, attempting to catalyse change in schools which the Commonwealth did not control. However, the changing economic context precipitated a managerialist revolution within the Commonwealth bureaucracy and a new economic stress within all domains of educational policy. After 1987, change was very much imposed top–down and for a narrower range of purposes and within more parsimonious funding parameters. There were inklings of this new policy ambience in the 1985 *Quality of Education in Australia* Report, which can be seen as transitional policy document. The Report gave an indication that PEP, with its participatory approach, equity focus and commitment to change, was increasingly out of step with the emerging policy culture.

The Quality of Education Review Committee (QERC), chaired by Professor Peter Karmel, had been appointed in August, 1984 by the minister. Its task was to examine the effectiveness of the Commonwealth's involvement in primary and secondary schooling and to make recommendations as to more 'efficient strategies for directing its funds for school level education'. The appointment of the Committee must be seen against the backdrop of Labor's mid–1984 backdown on its policy commitment to reduce funding to the wealthiest (best resourced) independent schools. The settlement finally arrived at guaranteed no reduction in real term financial support for any private schools in the period 1984–1992 (Kenway, 1990a; Smart and Dudley, 1990). That commitment placed some pressures on the education budget, and strengthened the emerging efficiency focus. The QERC Report was about efficient use of resources and ensuring the Commonwealth was getting value for money from its schooling expenditure. Smart and Dudley (1990) suggest that the appointment of QERC resulted from the government's settlement in the private school funding debate.

The Report was delivered to the minister in April, 1985. Its recommendations and content are a clear indication of the move to a structural policy condition with an emphasis on achieving more without increased funding. In this way, it can be starkly contrasted

with the conjunctural rationale of the earlier Karmel Report of 1973, which was inputs focused and explicitly concerned to recommend how increased expenditure could be spent in a rational and equitable manner to achieve equality of outcomes without closely monitoring those outcomes. Thus, *Quality of Education in Australia*, the (second federal Karmel Report), in line with the emerging managerialism, stated that it was 'outcomes oriented'. It noted further (p.2): 'The focus on outcomes may be contrasted with the concentration on increasing educational inputs which has been characteristic of the past 10 or 15 years'. The Report went on to add that this outcomes focus should be seen 'against a background of increasing concern on the part of government to ensure value for money in a continuing climate of public expenditure constraint' (pp.2-3). The Report also indicated the tension between excellence and equity, which meant 'trade-offs at the margins' between the two goals and which indicated something of the changing ideological framework for Labor's schooling policies. More relevant here, though, were those recommendations which had implications for Commonwealth/State relations in schooling.

On specific purpose programs through which the Commonwealth effected leverage on the State systems, the Report argued that there had been too great a proliferation of these since the Whitlam time. It recommended that the number of specific purpose programs should be reduced, a recommendation also supported by the *Quality and Equality Report*, a Schools Commission Report of the same time which reviewed specific purpose programs. Further, four 'delivery mechanisms' in relations with the States were recommended. These included negotiated agreements, long term specific purpose programs, limited life specific purpose programs, and directly administered initiatives. The first three mechanisms were to be accompanied by 'clear objectives and effectiveness indicators' (p.174), yet another manifestation of the emerging managerialism. In effect, the Report was recommending that accountability criteria, somewhat akin to those usually employed in specific purpose programs, be applied to general funding. Resource agreements between the Commonwealth and the States with accountability requirements for general funding were implemented following *Quality*. This again flamed tensions between the Commonwealth and the States.

The Report also recommended that at any time the Commonwealth should pursue a 'limited number of concisely stated national objectives' (p.173), while 'direct Commonwealth involvement in program administration should be limited in favour of greater review and evaluation' (p.173). Here again is the managerialist method of

managing through goals and outcomes indicators. The subsequent move to resource agreements between the Commonwealth and States was one result. The Report also wanted proof of effectiveness of general recurrent funding in the form of performance indicators or competencies.

Interestingly, in the light of the focus of the next Chapter of this thesis, the Report recommended that the States should have as a goal 'obtaining approximately equal representation and attainment of girls in major subject areas' (p.177), while it also noted the significance of Schools Commission Projects of National Significance in the domain of girls' education in effecting change in schools. Projects of National Significance were Commonwealth managed projects which "seeded" monies for reform.

Quality of Education in Australia ushered in managerialism in the Commonwealth's involvement in schooling. As Dawkins was to argue in his 1988 document *Strengthening Australia's Schools*, the QERC Report resulted in a significant change of emphasis in the Commonwealth's *modus operandi* 'with less focus on the resources which are put into schools and more on gaining improved educational outcomes from schooling in selected areas of high priority' (Dawkins, 1988, Foreword). Commonwealth/State relations in school funding were to be handled through resource agreements and managed through objectives and outcomes indicators. In an interview a Commonwealth policy adviser suggested QERC attempted to turn the recurrent expenditure program into a specific purpose program with its accountability requirements (IT5, 1991, p.13), at the same time as the Schools Commission was trying to move in a partnership direction with the States. While the Report endorsed broad goals for schooling, there was also something of an instrumentalist orientation with emphasis given to technology, computer skills and science. The suggestion of the need for outcome measures of competence from schooling was also a precursor of later developments under Dawkins. There was still a concern with equity questions in the Report, but these were flavoured with an instrumentalist orientation. In summary, the QERC Report was an indication that, effecting change in the State systems and in non-government schools through the conjunctural policy rationale of increased expenditure, was no longer an option for the Commonwealth. Control was now to be effected through product accountability measures endemic to managerialism.

Sedunary (1991) has argued that key aspects of the QERC Report were retained in Dawkins *Strengthening Australia's Schools* (1988), which was to be the later *force majeure* of Labor's schooling reform strategy. These included new accountability mechanisms in

Commonwealth/State relations, emphasis on economic restructuring and the collapse of the youth labour market as the context for policy-making, the need for national coordination in curriculum, assessment, credentialling and teacher quality, and a skills/competencies orientation. Sedunary (1991) also suggests that the link between the QERC Report and the Dawkins strategy as expressed in *Strengthening Australia's Schools* worked via the last Schools Commission Report, *In the National Interest*, released in 1987. The link here is the emphasis upon national policies and the role of the Commonwealth. The move to national policies under Dawkins will be taken up later in this section. Suffice to say here, that Sedunary (1991) is suggesting that the gestation and lineage of national policies can be traced to the Ryan era, a point also argued below with respect to the development of the *National Policy for the Education of Girls in Australian Schools*.

The QERC Report had an impact upon the Schools Commission. Following the tabling of the Report, the administration of programs was removed from the Commission and relocated within the Department of Education. Staff were also relocated. A Commonwealth policy adviser involved at the time said in a research interview that the Commission became somewhat 'like a person swimming in shark infested waters' (IT5, 1991, p.20). As the new managerialism outlined in Chapter 5 emerged, the balance of power between the Commission and the Department moved in favour of the Department. The fully-blown managerialism after 1987 was to see the demise of the Commission. The Commission did fight back, as it were, in the period 1985–1987, particularly in its contribution to the creation of the *National Policy for the Education of Girls*, where as one respondent put it, the Commission acted almost as the AEC's 'agent' (IT5, 1991, p.18). That is also a significant indicator of the increasing policy importance of the AEC. The Schools Commission also continued the attempt to sponsor more cooperative partnerships with the States and to limit the instrumentalist agenda.

One of the most notable achievements in Susan Ryan's time as federal minister (1983–1987) was the establishment in May, 1987 of the *National Policy for the Education of Girls in Australian Schools* (Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1987). The gestation of, and politics surrounding, that policy will be one focus of the next two Chapters. Some comments in respect of the policy need to be made here, however, because of its significance for subsequent developments in Commonwealth/State relations in schooling.

The *National Policy for the Education of Girls* was the first national policy ever achieved in Australian schooling. That is significant, because, whatever the Constitutional

reality, the States have always asserted that schools were their domain. The policy developed out of the feminist policy culture of the Schools Commission, the feminist commitments of the minister and a sophisticated political strategy of a nation-wide network of feminist policy makers. Thus, while it was a National Policy, it had its gestation in pressures from both the bottom, and top, as it were. Senior policy advisers at both the Commonwealth and State level argued that it was achieved because it was largely symbolic in character, that is, in the first instance it did not require the expenditure of funds, while participation was voluntary (IT13, 1991; IT8, 1992). However, those advisers also stressed the material impact of this symbolism, because across the country there was an 'informed and committed constituency' for the policy (IT5, 1991; IT1, 1992). In that way, the policy gave legitimacy to and encouraged feminist practice in schools.

As noted above, the Schools Commission almost worked as the agent for the AEC in the policy's development. That work was vitally important in the achievement of AEC agreement to the policy. Two interviews also indicated that the negotiation and work towards the National policy emerged at a time, in the context of both the *QERC Report* and *Equality and Quality*, when there was a move, at least by the Commission, towards Commonwealth/State partnerships in schooling policy (IT5, 1991; IT11, 1991). There was a prolonged period of negotiation towards the achievement of the National Policy, the need for which had first been recommended in the Schools Commission report of 1984, *Girls and Tomorrow*. In a sense, the policy developed out of a congealing of the policy positions already extant within most of the State systems. It was a policy arrived at through a process of negotiation. As such, it was most definitely not imposed by the Commonwealth.

The use of the term "national", rather than "commonwealth" in relation to the policy is of great significance here. One Schools Commissioner indicated that the Minister wanted a quicker development of a nation-wide policy (IT5, 1991). As that commissioner put it:

From the very beginning Susan Ryan wanted a national plan of action, but when you heard her speak about what it was, it would have been fairer to call it a 'Commonwealth edict'. It was really going to say to the States, this is where you have failed and this is what you will do. It was difficult to convince her that not only would that not get up, but that it would set the whole thing back forever. (IT5, 1991, p.2)

The person then later added: 'So what you see with the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* is very much a compromise between Commonwealth and State directions' (IT5,

1991, p.2). That interview also indicated the significance of the Commonwealth/national distinction to the achievement of the National Policy (IT5, 1991, p.9). She also pointed out the meticulousness on this Commonwealth/national distinction of the then Director-General of Education in New South Wales, Dr Fenton Sharpe and the great deal of discussion which went on around this distinction.

The actual policy statement, which was produced by the Schools Commission and endorsed by the AEC, spends a full paragraph pointing out the difference between a national and a Commonwealth policy. That distinction is relevant here:

There is a necessary distinction between Commonwealth and national policies in education. Commonwealth policies relate specifically to the objectives of the Commonwealth Government, such as those addressed through the Commonwealth's general resources programs and its specific purpose programs. In contrast, a national policy in education addresses matters of concern to the nation as a whole in which a comprehensive approach to policy development and implementation is adopted by school and system authorities across the nation. A national policy, based on principles of collaboration and partnership, necessarily involves commitment and agreement from the various parties responsible for schooling, including Commonwealth, State and Territory governments and non-government school authorities. (Schools Commission, 1987, p.11)

That distinction was central to the achievement of the *National Policy for the Education of Girls*. While the Policy is significant as being the first National Policy ever achieved in schooling, the use of the AEC to achieve consensus towards a national policy was to have subsequent significance under the new policy culture of the Department of Employment Education and Training (DEET), with Dawkins as Minister. While those interviewed did not believe that the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* directly provided the model for the Dawkins' approach of collaboration towards national policies at the AEC, it was seen to have had some impact in that respect. As one Commonwealth Schools Commissioner put it: 'I think that there was a certain sense of achievement within the AEC that it had been possible in a civilised way to negotiate something national' (IT5, 1991, p.9). That person also added:

I don't think the model was effectively reused, but I think it [achievement of the National Policy] reduced the inhibitions of State bureaucrats to the idea that it could be done and that you could work collaboratively with the Commonwealth. (IT5, 1991, p.10).

A bureaucrat within the Schools Commission suggested that the processes were utilised again in the context of the 1990 and 1991 Special Premiers' Conferences which attempted

to rework federalism and to encourage a number of collaborative national policies or mutual agreements on goods and occupational qualifications (IT11, 1991, p.11).

The use of the term "national" was significant in the Commonwealth's rearticulation of its role in federalism in schooling policy formation. The concept was first used during the Ryan period, but was central to the subsequent Commonwealth strategy utilised in schooling during the Dawkins period, particularly the notion of "national collaboration". In the latter stages of Ryan's term, the Schools Commission produced the Report, *In the National Interest: Secondary Education and Youth Policy in Australia* (Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1987), which made use of "national" and which also attempted to cojoin a liberal education commitment with an articulation of the human capital notion that Australia's economic future was dependent upon the skills of its people. The Report was also concerned with equity matters. In its structure, *In the National Interest* can be seen to be transitional between the policy focus of the earlier and later periods of Hawke Labor's schooling policies. This Report can also be seen to have come out of the Schools Commission culture, which still attempted to articulate the older progressive agenda, which was increasingly at odds with that being articulated within the government and Department. The Commission attempted to achieve this synthesis through the use of the concept of a 'productive culture' (Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1987, p.93), which was outlined by *In the National Interest* and by the Chair of the Commission, Garth Boomer, in a paper delivered in 1986. Boomer's (1986) paper was entitled 'Toward a Productive Culture in Schools: curriculum and the economy'. In it there is an attempt to synthesise a liberal progressive conception of schooling with a more economic one via use of 'productive culture', which would ensure that the 'interests of individuals' would be 'reconciled with the interests of the nation'.

A particular function of *In the National Interest* was to recommend a new Commonwealth specific purpose program to replace PEP. Such a program was never instituted. After the 1987 election, John Dawkins replaced Susan Ryan as the Minister for the reconstituted Department of Employment, Education and Training, while the influence of an economic conceptualisation and human capital theory on schooling policy-making was to be considerably amplified. Thus across the Ryan period as minister there was the emergence of managerialism and national policies, as well as beginnings of a more instrumental, economic approach to schooling. Further, the ground was set for the demise of the Schools Commission, as the Department gained the upper hand, while that

changed power relation sponsored the demise for a short time of the Commission's attempted partnership relationship with the States for the more coercive resources and accountability approach. The new microeconomic policy focus after 1987 saw a move towards a restructuring of federalism, most clearly manifest in the Special Premiers' Conferences of 1990 and 1991 and the late 1991 meeting of Premiers and Chief Ministers. These developments were also reflected in modifications in the working of federalism in education. The Chapter now turns its focus onto these developments during the Dawkins era of corporate federalism, which resulted in the national policies approach to federalism in schooling policy.

8.3.2 The Hawke Government and Schooling: The Dawkins Period (1987–1991)

As noted above, the Ryan era basically continued the funding neglect of the higher education sector which had been installed from the time of the Fraser "Razor Gang" exercise in 1981. However, the success of PEP and the impact of continuing high levels of youth unemployment ensured very substantial increases in retention to year 12 and consequent increased pressure on access to tertiary education. This neglect of higher education was obviated when John Dawkins became the Minister for Employment Education and Training after Labour's 1987 election victory with his reforms of higher education which flowed from the Green (*Higher Education: a policy discussion paper*) and White Papers (*Higher Education: a policy statement*) of 1987 and 1988 respectively. The implementation of the White paper resulted in the demise of the binary system and the creation of a unified national system of higher education. The reform was deemed to be necessary so that Australia could effectively compete in international markets and thus increase the export orientation of the Australian economy (Dawkins, 1988a, p.6). Higher education was seen to be significant, through both teaching and research, to improving the 'conceptual, creative and technical skills of the labour force' (Dawkins, 1988a, p.6).

Such Commonwealth action was possible because, since the Whitlam time (1973), the Commonwealth, rather than the States, had basically been responsible for all tertiary funding. Smart (1991) suggests that as a consequence Dawkins was able to work a 'coercive federalism' in this educational policy domain. The Dawkins reforms reduced the number of higher education institutions through amalgamations. Commonwealth guidelines for both funding and research were tightened and became the framework within which

Vice-Chancellors (now Chief Executive Officers) were supposedly granted more autonomy to manage their institutions and seek funding sources other than government. This resulted in a new managerialism and entrepreneurialism within the institutions with a consequent impact upon collegiality. The Commonwealth now "controlled" the institutions through profiles and strategic plans, a classic example of the loose-tight coupling evident within private sector managerialism. The Commonwealth also ensured an equity focus for both staff and students through these mechanisms. Higher education was to be linked to economic restructuring through government setting of research priorities, and support for increasing the numbers of graduates in those subject areas thought to be most directly relevant to Australia's economic future, including engineering, science, technology, business and Asian Studies. The government also committed to increasing the annual graduate numbers to 125,000 by the turn of the century, compared with the 88,000 figure at the time of the Report. Effectively, Dawkins had instigated a mass system of higher education, geared to the government's economic agenda through a corporate managerialist form of control. This had been achieved in the most economically efficient fashion for the government and with minimal opposition from the States. Dawkins' subsequent reforms in schooling and TAFE were aimed to achieve an integrated national system of education.

The 1991 ACTU Congress adopted a Workplace Reform, Skill Development and a High Competence, Educated Workforce Policy. In that policy statement, the ACTU's view of the result of the Dawkins higher education reforms is evidenced in the preamble. This says: 'Higher education institutions have been transformed from elite institutions into a fundamental part of the public education system' (ACTU, 1991, p.16).

As noted earlier, Dawkins became the Minister for the newly amalgamated portfolio of Employment, Education and Training (DEET), a title which indicated the integrated education/economy policy approach taken. The policy-making and advice framework was restructured with the abolition of the quasi-autonomous Commissions, including the Schools Commission and Tertiary Education Commission, and their replacement by a composite National Board of Employment, Education and Training (NBEET), which integrated policy advice across the spectrum of education and training sectors. Its membership was also more corporatist in character than the clientist and provider character of the older Commissions. It also included amongst its membership representatives of its subsidiary bodies. These included the Schools Council which replaced the Schools Commission, the Higher Education Council which replaced the Commonwealth Tertiary

Education Commission, the Australian Research Council which replaced the Australian Research Grants Council, and the Employment and Skills Formation Council. Basically, NBEET was to provide integrated policy advice across the spectrum of education sectors, with the subsidiary Councils providing advice for each sector. The Schools Council was an advisory body, not a policy-making body, nor was it involved in the management of programs, as had been the Schools Commission. As indicated in Chapter 5, the minister provided tight guidelines for the policy advice given by the Board and all of its subsidiary councils.

This new policy advice structure reflected the managerialist revolution which occurred in the Commonwealth public service, following Labor's 1987 election victory. As outlined in some detail in Chapter 5, this resulted in the institutionalised strength of economic rationalism and the increased ministerialisation of policy-making. Ramsey (1991, p.36), the first chair of NBEET, has argued a weakness of the Commission structure was that it operated at too great a distance from 'the business of government and its social and economic concerns'. Significantly, the two heads of DEET to date have both been economists, not educators. As with corporate managerialism generally, the minister sought tighter control over a narrower policy agenda, with education conceived as part of both restructuring and microeconomic reform. As also indicated in the previous Chapter, there was a very substantial change in the policy culture of the new Department, compared with the earlier Ryan directed one. This was indicated in several research interviews and will be dealt with in Chapter 11. Certainly, the feminist culture in the Schools Commission was dislocated in the restructuring. Nowhere was this more evident than in the managerialism which impacted upon the implementation of the *National Policy for the Education of Girls*. Similarly, Johnston (1992) has documented the effect of the new managerialism upon the Disadvantaged Schools Program, now handled by DEET.

Dawkins moved firstly in the higher education arena, basically because the Commonwealth had more power there through its funding monopoly. After higher education, he moved on to schools, where his authorised statement, *Strengthening Australia's Schools* (SAS) (Dawkins, 1988), was to become the *force majeure* in the schooling policy domain through the strategy of corporate federalism. Such a strategy was necessitated by the funding and Constitutional arrangement in schooling as documented in Chapter 7.

In the forward to SAS, Dawkins noted the central role of schooling to both culture and economy. While acknowledging that the States have primary responsibility for schools, Dawkins asserted that the Commonwealth must take a 'national leadership' role. Further, he argued the Commonwealth was important to establishing national priorities, because the nation could no longer afford 'fragmentation of effort' (Dawkins, 1988b, Foreword). Thus he called on the States to combine with the Commonwealth in national collaboration towards strengthening Australia's schools.

In the text of SAS, Dawkins went on to note how the Australian economy is part way through a 'substantial structural change' (p.1). As part of that structural change, the schools have a most significant role to play in creating a 'more highly skilled, adaptive and productive workforce' (p.2). This goal, he avers, did not require more resources, a clear statement of the structural policy condition, but a clearer statement of goals and better coordinated effort towards achieving those goals. In that context, he documented the increased expenditure across the recent past of both the States and the Commonwealth, indicating that the States had increased their per capita expenditure on schooling from \$1470 in 1971/72 to \$2320 in 1986/87, and the Commonwealth from \$100 in 1972 to \$594 in 1988 (p.2). An appendix of SAS also outlined all Commonwealth programs from 1974. These are shown in Table 8.2.

SAS then listed the national developments which were required and which were to be the focus of national collaboration between the Commonwealth and the States. These included the need for all involved in schooling to take a national perspective and for agreement to national goals for schooling, which, in turn, would be the basis for a common curriculum framework. Increased interstate mobility was given as another reason for the necessity for a common curriculum framework. This framework was to emphasise literacy, numeracy and analytical skills and acknowledge Australia's 'orientation towards the Asian and Pacific region' (p.4). Within the common curriculum framework, priority was to be given to maths and science and the need for improved 'participation and achievement' for 'both boys and girls' (p.5). There was also a call for a common national approach to assessment and an emphasis upon teacher quality as central to the strengthening of the nation's schools. With respect to the latter, there was support for a national system of teacher registration. Additionally, the goal was set of a year 12 retention rate of 65 per cent by the early 1990s, with a concomitant commitment to increasing participation in post-secondary education and training. The former was

addressed in Dawkins' higher education reforms, while the latter was to be addressed in the subsequent Finn Report (Australian Education Council, 1991) on post-compulsory education and training. In terms of equity, there was a call for greater participation by girls across the curriculum, as a precursor to more female participation 'across the broad range of economic activity' (p.6).

TABLE 8.2

COMMONWEALTH SCHOOL PROGRAMS AND FUNDING 1974-1988
ADAPTED FROM DAWKINS (1988, p.10)

SECTOR/PROGRAM	Years of Operation	Total Expenditure \$,000
GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS		
General Recurrent	1974-1988	5,661,733
Primary Basic Learning	1985-1987	18,276
Participation and Equity	1984-1987	139,692
Computer Education	1984-1986	17,295
English as a Second Language		
- General	1976-1988	536,939
- Language Teaching	1987-1988	8,204
- New Arrivals	1982-1988	91,448
Disadvantaged Schools	1974-1988	504,838
Special Education		
- General	1974-1988	315,216
- Integration	1981-1988	11,832
Early Special Education	1985-1986	3,662
Capital	1974-1988	3,496,242
NON-GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS		
General Recurrent	1974-1988	8,241,178
Emergency Assistance	1977-1988	10,944
Primary Basic Learning	1985-1987	4,827
Participation and Equity	1984-1987	16,336
Computer Education	1984-1986	4,461
English as a Second Language		
- General	1976-1988	216,619
- New Arrivals	1982-1988	12,754
Disadvantaged Schools	1974-1988	85,662
Special Education		
- General	1974-1988	88,026
- Integration	1981-1988	3,392
- Support Services	1986-1988	40,506
Early Special Education	1985-1986	966
Capital	1974-1988	936,871
JOINT PROGRAMS		
Participation and Equity	1984-1987	4,460
Early Special Education	1985-1988	12,804
Multicultural Education	1979-1986	36,632
Ethnic Schools	1981-1988	45,576
Country Areas	1977-1988	124,896
Residential Institutions	1977-1988	30,756
Severely Handicapped	1981-1988	32,176
Professional Development	1974-1986	323,321
Education Centres	1974-1988	40,957
Project of National Significance	1974-1988	76,346
CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT	1975-1988	38,332

The structural policy rationale of SAS was indicated in the demand for improved outcomes from schooling without increased resources and the efficiency and effectiveness emphases that 'the greatest possible benefit is derived from the resources available' (p.6). On that basis, SAS asserted the need for national 'coordinating mechanisms', the 'removal of unnecessary differences in schooling across the nation', the need to ensure 'an integrated post-compulsory education and training process' and stronger links between 'schools, the community, the labour market and other educational agencies' (p.6).

While an equity concern remained in SAS, it was weakened by the stress upon efficiency. As pointed out in Chapter 5, Labor's strategy of cojoining equity and efficiency has reframed and weakened equity. SAS confirms this observation. As has been argued elsewhere:

The major justification for education policy is now its economic contribution to the restructuring of Australian industry. This emphasis has reduced the significance of equity and restructured its meaning in a weaker direction so that equity largely becomes synonymous with a notion of fairness for each individual. (Lingard, 1990c, p.157)

The ministerialisation of policy endemic to corporate managerialism has seen the Australian Education Council become a most significant policy-making forum in the schooling policy domain. The number of concurrent Labor governments at the State level has facilitated that development, a point made in several research interviews. Indeed, it has been the domain in which Dawkins has sought to implement the SAS agenda through corporate federalism. That development must be seen against the Hawke government's pragmatic working of federalism as pointed out in Chapter 7. The AEC has utilised corporatist (tripartite) approaches in the committees of review which it has appointed, such as Finn and with the National Project on the Quality of Teaching and Learning.

Given that schooling, ostensibly at least, remains a residual Constitutional power of the States, corporate federalism was the major Dawkins' strategy for increasing Commonwealth influence over schooling in a time of resource scarcity. The rationale for its development was the need for the Commonwealth to have a greater say in schooling policy, given its reframing as part of economic policy and given the responsibility of the Commonwealth to "manage" the economy. The conjunction here within corporate federalism of microeconomic reform, economic rationalism and corporate managerialism is not fortuitous. Together they represent Labor's response to the fiscal and accumulation crises of the state as Australia is integrated with the global economy in a non-tariff protected fashion.

In a lecture given at the University of Western Sydney on 29 August 1990, Dawkins (1990) articulated once again his perceptions of the required role for the Commonwealth in schooling. Interestingly, in that speech he also noted the link between the developments he had put in place in schooling and the Prime Minister's 1990 move to reconstitute federalism more generally. In the speech, Dawkins noted the relationship between the appropriate role for the Commonwealth in schooling policy formation and Labor's economic restructuring agenda. Specifically, he stated the goal of such an agenda to be 'to overcome structural inefficiencies and to transform the Australian economy into a significant, internationally competitive force' (Dawkins, 1990, p.40). He further pointed out the significance of a national approach to schooling to microeconomic reform:

...improving the flexibility and skills of our workforce ranks at least equally on the government's microeconomic reform agenda. To achieve this end, the sectors of school education, higher education, TAFE and training must all work together to provide an integrated and coordinated set of education and training opportunities for young Australians. (Dawkins, 1990, p.5)

In a very clear explication of an economic conception of education, Dawkins observed that the lesson learnt from other economically successful countries was that the 'capabilities and skills' of the workforce set limits to the productive capacity of a nation. He added further, 'And it is this lesson which is now driving the major reforms to our education and training system' (1990, p.5).

It is in that context that Dawkins argued the Commonwealth must take a leadership role in schooling beyond that of 'banker'. More specifically, Dawkins argued that the Commonwealth must act as 'catalyst, broker, communicator and leader' (p.5) in schooling. Additionally, he pointed out that the Commonwealth was well placed to play such roles because it was at some distance from actually managing and running schools. Dawkins also noted that the achievement of The National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education Policy (AEP) in 1990 through Commonwealth/State negotiation could serve as a model for the future developments in other domains: On federalism in schooling generally, Dawkins argued:

Since I became the Minister responsible for education in 1987, my approach to Commonwealth/State relations in schooling has been to work cooperatively to improve the quality of school education. With the AEP we have proved that innovation can be introduced without the necessity for direct intervention or establishing competitive services, but through cooperative planning and a common national strategic approach. (Dawkins, 1990, p.11).

Here is an articulation by Dawkins of what this research is calling corporate federalism.

In a journal article in 1991, Gregor Ramsey, the first chair of NBEET, also articulated the need for national policies in schooling. Ramsey (1991) argued that the size of the education industry, combined with its cost to the nation, demanded a national approach. Given the size of the national debt, he also argued that the nation could not afford the 'duplication of effort in the development and implementation of 16 education systems' (1991, p.34). Accepting an economic perception of all sectors of education, he also pointed out the need for a nationally integrated approach to schooling, higher education and training. Interestingly, Ramsey also noted the necessity for national policies in relation to social justice and equity goals.

Dawkins has pursued the development of a national system of schooling as articulated in SAS. The first achievement of the SAS strategy was the agreement by the States and the Commonwealth to a set of ten national goals for schooling. These were declared in The Hobart Declaration on Schooling (Australian Education Council, 1989) which resulted from consensus at the 14–16 April 1989 AEC meeting in Hobart. These goals are listed in Table 8.3. An informant for this research indicated that one concession to consensus was the removal of an 'equality of outcomes' commitment from the third goal. Apparently, the Queensland minister would not agree to such a definition. Goal 3 now reads: 'To provide equality of educational opportunities, and to provide for groups with special learning difficulties'. This is an indication of a possible lowest common denominator outcome from consensus approaches, involving participants of different party political persuasion.

The Hobart Declaration lists a number of other agreements and commitments to 'national collaboration' resulting from the April, 1989 AEC meeting. These include the publication of an Annual National Report on Schooling. The production of such a Report and compulsion upon both States and non-government school system to provide data for the Report was a new accountability mechanism imposed by the Commonwealth. The Hobart Declaration states:

The Annual National Report will, for the first time, provide a true and comprehensive account of Australian schooling to the nation. The Australian Education Council (of Ministers) will coordinate its publication. (The Hobart Declaration on Schooling, 1989)

TABLE 8.3

COMMON AND AGREED NATIONAL GOALS FOR SCHOOLING IN AUSTRALIA. THE HOBART DECLARATION ON SCHOOLING, AEC, APRIL, 1989.

Ten national goals for schooling will, for the first time, provide a framework for co-operation between Schools, States and Territories and the Commonwealth. The goals are intended to assist schools and systems to develop specific objectives and strategies, particularly in the areas of curriculum and assessment.

The Agreed National Goals for Schooling including the following aims:

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. | To provide an excellent education for all young people, being one which develops their talents and capacities to full potential, and is relevant to the social, cultural and economic needs of the nation. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● an understanding of the role of science and technology in society, together with scientific and technological skills; ● a knowledge and appreciation of Australia's historical and geographic context; ● a knowledge of languages other than English; ● an appreciation and understanding of, and confidence to participate in, the creative arts; ● an understanding of, and concern for, balanced development and the global environment; and ● a capacity to exercise judgement in matters of morality, ethics and social justice. |
| 2. | To enable all students to achieve high standards of learning and to develop self-confidence, optimism, high self-esteem, respect for others, and achievement of personal excellence. | |
| 3. | To promote equality of educational opportunities, and to provide for groups with special learning requirements. | |
| 4. | To respond to the current and emerging economic and social needs of the nation, and to provide those skills which will allow students maximum flexibility and adaptability in their future employment and other aspects of life. | 7. |
| 5. | To provide a foundation for further education and training, in terms of knowledge and skills, respect for learning and positive attitudes for long-life education. | 8. |
| 6. | To develop in students: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● the skills of English literacy, including skills in listening, speaking, reading and writing; ● skills of numeracy, and other mathematical skills; ● skills of analysis and problem solving; ● skills of information processing and computing; | 9. |
| | | 10. |
| | | To provide appropriate career education and knowledge of the world of work, including an understanding of the nature and place of work in our society. |

Providing a sound basis for a collaborative effort to enhance Australian Schooling, the agreed national goals will be reviewed from time to time, in response to the changing needs of Australia society.

The Declaration also announced a commitment to national collaboration in curriculum development, framed by the national goals. There was also agreement to establish the Curriculum Corporation of Australia as a self-funding agency or public company with directors drawn from the Commonwealth and States. Additionally, an appropriate handwriting style for Australian schools was accepted, along with the goal of a common entry age. There was, as well, support for AEC involvement in improving teacher quality and teacher education, particularly in respect of science and maths teaching. Indeed, the AEC commissioned the *Teacher Education in Australia Report* (Australian Education Council Working Party, 1990) which was tabled in February, 1990 (Bartlett, Knight and Lingard, 1992; Seddon, 1991), and which will be touched on briefly later in this section.

Dawkins had now achieved State agreement to the strategy and goals outlined in SAS. The Hobart Declaration concludes in the following fashion:

This declaration represents a major advance in developing a national collaborative approach to schooling in Australia.

The vision of Australia's Education Ministers in adopting this historic program of national collaborative action will serve to enhance the capacity of all Australian schools to meet the challenges of the 21st century.

In agreeing to address the above areas of common concern, the State, Territory and Commonwealth Ministers of Education have indicated their long-term commitment to strengthen Australian schooling. (The Hobart Declaration on Schooling, 1989)

This statement is a clear indication of the success of Dawkins SAS strategy at the AEC and of the emergence of a move towards a national system of schooling. The significance of 'national collaboration' to such a move is also clear from the above statement.

Jenkins (1991), Director of the Curriculum and Gender Equity Policy Unit within the Schools and Curriculum Division of DEET, in a recent conference paper has documented further developments in the 'national schools strategy'. She notes how at the April, 1991 AEC meeting agreement was achieved 'towards national collaborative curriculum development in the following subjects: English, Mathematics, Science, Languages Other than English, the Arts, Technology, Studies of Society and Environment and Health. This has proceeded since that time via a mapping exercise and a statement of common curriculum principles. This process is being jointly funded by Commonwealth and State governments with different systems responsible for different curricula. Some work has been done on common assessment, initially documenting patterns of assessment in the States. This is working via a 'subject profile' approach. The Gender Equity in

Curriculum Reform Project, announced by the Prime Minister on International Women's Day, 1990, provided funding to appoint gender equity consultants to each of the curriculum collaboration exercises. In this way, developments towards a national curriculum framework have provided a further inroad for the *National Policy for the Education of Girls*. The CDC has been replaced by the Curriculum Corporation (a jointly owned company of the Commonwealth, States and Territories), which will disseminate the outcomes of the national collaborative curriculum development exercise and facilitate future developments. The AEC has commissioned a Report on student mobility issues. An information kit outlining the structures of each of the systems in Australia has been prepared. The AEC has agreed to develop a national data base on career education, while another Report has documented cooperation in school/TAFE links.

The first *National Report on Schooling in Australia* (1989) appeared in 1990, while the non-government sector will be incorporated into the 1991 Report, currently being prepared. The 1989 National Report (AEC, 1990) outlines the Commonwealth's role in the following manner:

The Commonwealth plays an important national role in considering schooling more broadly, in the context of a nation undergoing significant social and economic adjustment and dependent upon a well-educated workforce. In cooperation with the States, the Commonwealth plays a significant role in addressing resourcing, equity and quality issues through its general recurrent, capital and specific purpose programs. In addition, it has specific responsibilities for Aboriginal people and migrants, and it is responsible for international relations in education. (AEC, 1990, p.1)

SAS had emphasised the importance of teachers to the quality of schooling. The April, 1989 AEC meeting, at which the Hcbart Declaration had been released, had also appointed a review of teacher education. This review, *Teacher Education in Australia: Report to the Australian Education Council* (hereafter Ebbeck Report after its chair) was released in early 1990. That the AEC had commissioned such a Report is indicative of its increased policy significance, a reality also confirmed by the greater emphasis granted to Ebbeck as compared with the Schools Council's (1989) *Teacher Quality*. It has been argued that teacher education, articulated between higher education controlled by the Commonwealth, and schools controlled by the States, is a central policy component of any Commonwealth desire to increase its influence towards national policies in schooling (Bartlett, Knight and Lingard, 1991; Bartlett, Knight and Lingard, 1992, p.20; Seddon, 1991). The emphasis on teacher quality also takes attention away from questions of the material provision of schooling.

The Ebbeck Report recommended the implementation of one model of teacher education across the nation within current funding parameters. Considerable opposition was expressed to the Ebbeck model, particularly from teacher educators, higher education institutions and to a lesser extent, teacher unions (Kennedy, 1991; O'Brien, 1991; Bartlett, Knight and Lingard, 1992). Kennedy (1991) has suggested that the success of such opposition was the first policy defeat suffered by Dawkins. However, the agenda has continued to be pursued through *The Shape of Teacher Education: some proposals* (hereafter the Ramsey Report after its author), a Report prepared by NBEET for the AEC, and which summarised or 'rationalised' the recommendations of a number of teacher education reports, including Ebbeck (Knight, Lingard and Bartlett, 1992, p.19). This Report (National Board of Employment, Education and Training, 1990) was discussed at the November, 1990 AEC meeting. The Ebbeck model was now only one option. The Ramsey Report claimed that the distinguishing feature of contemporary reforms of teacher education was their acceptance of a national approach to education.

There have been subsequent developments in the AEC's involvement in teacher education as part of corporate federalism. At its December, 1990 meeting, the AEC established the National Project for the Quality of Teaching and Learning (NPQTL). The NPQTL is sponsored jointly by the Commonwealth, the States and the Independent Teachers' Federation and the Australian Teachers' Federation, the two peak bodies of teacher unions in Australia. The Australian Vice Chancellors' Committee (AVCC) and the higher education industry more generally, including academics and teacher educators, have until recently been excluded from the NPQTL, an indication where the policy power now lies and also an indication of the neo-corporatist character of the new Dawkins' policy-making culture. The approach to reform of teacher education via the NPQTL has been an industrial one. Subsequently, two teacher educators were appointed to two of the NPQTL's working parties, but one as a tertiary union (FAUSA) representative, and the other as a representative of the AVCC. The NPQTL is linked to award restructuring within teaching and moves towards a national system of teacher registration. It is also considering competency based standards for teachers. Overall it is an innovation in collaboration in industrial relations, if not in terms of educational reform.

A significant factor in the move to national approaches and corporate federalism has been the national registration of the teacher unions and their affiliation with the ACTU and consequent involvement in the ACTU's Accord with the Hawke government.

Following the success of the Social Welfare Workers' Union in gaining federal registration in 1983, the Independent Teachers' Federation had been granted national registration in 1985 and the Australian Teachers' Union in 1986. Both had earlier affiliated with the ACTU. Such registration established or officially recognised schooling as a national industry. This was reflected in Dawkins' involvement in the process of award restructuring and the agreement of a national benchmark salary for the new career position of Advanced Skills Teacher (AST). The significance of a national profile for the teacher unions to the development of national policies is indicated in the statement by the President of the Australian Teachers' Union that 'the challenges and demands in the education and training area are of national concern and warrant a national approach' (Foggo, 1990, p.14).

Significantly, the affiliation of both teacher unions with the ACTU has also facilitated the incorporation of education policy within a human capital approach and as a component of microeconomic reform. It appears that the Metalworkers Union, and their former secretary and former assistant secretary of the ACTU, Laurie Carmichael, have become the central players in the ACTU's education policy and in the approach pursued by Dawkins. Carmichael is now Chair of the Employment and Skills Formation Council of NBEET. In the process, it would seem that the more expansive teacher union policies are refracted through the more utilitarian, and economic perspective of the ACTU's education policy, which has traditionally been more concerned with training. The congruence between the ACTU's 1991 education policy (Workplace Reform, Skill Development and a High Competence, Educated Workforce) and more recent developments in post-compulsory schooling and training and in the competencies agenda is symptomatic of the significance of the Accord to schooling policy-making during the Dawkins period. It is also important to the weakening of the old social democratic reform agenda in schooling as articulated under Whitlam.

The integration of schooling, higher education, training and labour market policies, including award restructuring has been pursued further in the *Young People's Participation in Post-compulsory Education and Training* (Finn) Report of 1991 to the AEC. The Finn Report (Australian Education Council, 1991) led to the subsequent appointment of the Mayer Committee (1992) which is concerned to extend Finn with the development of competencies in post-compulsory schooling and training (Porter, Rizvi, Knight and Lingard, 1992). The competencies movement had also been spawned by the process of Special Premiers' Conferences (SPC) established by Hawke in 1990 to renovate the

working of Australian federalism. As part of the move to create a national economic infrastructure, one of the concrete achievements of the SPC process was the agreement by the States and Commonwealth to a national framework for the portability of both goods and occupations, a clear indication of the infrastructural conceptualisation of education. Such portability is to be facilitated by the development of competencies for schooling, training, higher education and for all occupations, including the professions. Such developments have just begun, but it needs to be stressed that the achievement of such an agenda would result in a national system of education, despite any Constitutional niceties.

Hawke began the process of Special Premiers' Conferences in October, 1990. There was another SPC in July 1991, while the November one, scheduled for Perth, was cancelled in the context of an imminent challenge by Keating to Hawke's leadership of the Labor Party. Despite that cancellation, the Premiers and Chief Ministers held their own meeting in Adelaide. The communique which resulted from that meeting indicates the States' agenda in the renovation of federalism. It also indicates the economic motive for the attempted renovation of federalism. The Communique stated:

The governments of Australia's States and Territories and the Australian Local Government Association firmly believe that it is essential to the efficient functioning of the national economy and of the federal system that a fundamental restructuring of the current arrangements is achieved. (Premiers and Chief Ministers, 1991, p.1)

The Communique argued for a reduction in the use by the Commonwealth of tied grants and for a solution to vertical fiscal imbalance. It listed positive developments to come out of the SPC negotiative process, including mutual recognition of standards for goods and occupations, uniform road rules, a system for overseeing financial institutions, a national motor vehicle security register, moves towards the creation of a national electricity grid, and uniform environmental policies. The Communique then outlined its proposal for reform in federalism in education. It argued that the Commonwealth should take full responsibility for higher education and approved direct funding from the Commonwealth to the institutions, rather than through State treasuries. On schooling, the Communique argued for full State responsibility, but with conformity to national goals and objectives. The argument was then put that the Commonwealth should reduce tied grants for schooling and replace them with a transfer of most current funding to straightforward untied Financial Assistance Grants (FAG) to the States. Additionally, the Communique recommend the retention of two types of Commonwealth tied grants for schooling, the first for funding non-government schools and the second through a 'broadbanded' equity grant.

There was no consensus in the Communique regarding the appropriate responsibility level for TAFE.

In March 1992, the Schools Council produced a discussion paper, *Consultation on the Development of a Broadbanded National Equity Program for Schools* (Schools Council, 1992), which had been prepared in response to a request by Dawkins when he was still minister. Its development was also part of the restructuring of federalism to be undertaken through the SPCs. The AEC had constituted a working party in 1990 to consider the appropriate division of responsibilities across the Commonwealth and the States in education. The Schools Council consultation Report indicates that the Commonwealth spent \$216 million on equity programs in 1990, which only constituted 1.7 per cent of total outlays on schools (Schools Council, 1992, p.7). The Report recommends that Commonwealth equity programs be broadbanded in recognition of the interactive and synergistic nature of educational disadvantage. Such broadbanding was to be one *quid pro quo* for the States granting more power to the Commonwealth over TAFE. Dawkins had firstly reformed higher education and then moved on to schooling through SAS, while the current focus is TAFE training and its articulation with the other sectors.

Keating, on becoming Prime Minister, set about formulating a policy package which was released early in 1992 as *One Nation*, the Labor government's response to the opposition's *Fightback!* package. In *One Nation* Keating proposed that the Commonwealth take over funding of TAFE and as a *quid pro quo* more untied funds would go to the States generally and in other areas of education funding. The move towards broadbanding of equity programs by the Commonwealth must thus be seen in the context of the renovation of federalism. However, as indicated earlier in this Chapter, Keating saw vertical fiscal imbalance as central to nationhood and effective policy-making capacities for the Commonwealth government. As a consequence, under his leadership, moves in the reconstruction of federalism have slowed.

Thus, across the Dawkins period as Minister for Employment Education and Training (1987–1991), there was a move towards national policies in schooling. That move was intimately linked with the microeconomic reform agenda pursued by Labor after 1987 and by the metapolicy status granted to economic restructuring. Federalism, as an important structural feature of the Australian state, was very soon implicated in that agenda, given the need to establish an efficient and integrated national economic infrastructure. The impact of economic liberalism and small government ideology since

the end of the boom has halted the centripetal pressures inherent in the Keynesian settlement. Since the mid-seventies there have been countering centrifugal pressures, first in Fraser's new federalism and then in developments under Hawke after 1987. Dawkins' national policy agenda in schools became closely linked with reforms to federalism pursued in the Special Premiers' Conferences of 1990 and 1991.

Perhaps, though, the reconstituting of federalism in schooling under Dawkins is best seen as a reworking of the appropriate levels of responsibility for different educational sectors, that is, the simultaneous playing out of centripetal and centrifugal tensions, as has always been the case in federal political arrangements. In a sense, there has been an attempt to pull to the centre all those aspects of contemporary public policy deemed to be necessary to effective macroeconomic policy management for the Commonwealth and for the achievement of microeconomic reform (Knight, Lingard and Porter, 1991; Yeatman, 1991). Against that centripetal pressure there has been the move to relocate other aspects of public policy with the States.

The Dawkins reforms gave precedence to education's links with economic reform and as a consequence weakened the equity agenda which had been pursued by Ryan as minister. In a recent publication, Kenway (1990b, p.63) contrasts the dominant lexicon of education policy under Whitlam with that under Hawke in the period 1988-1990. For the earlier time, she lists words and concepts such as diversity, innovation, equality of opportunity, equality of access, equality of provision and socioeconomic disadvantage, which she contrasts with those of the later period, such as efficiency, effectiveness, accountability, performance indicators, productivity, equity, social justice, corporate management and so on. This changed lexicon is a manifestation of the shift from the conjunctural to the structural policy condition. It is significant, though, that equity and social justice still remain on the agenda.

Clark and Astuto (1986) have carried out a similar task for the United States, contrasting the dominant education policy lexicon in the period before Reagan came to office, with that of the Reagan period. From the earlier period, they list concepts such as equity, needs and access, the common school, and innovations, while for the Reagan period they document a new lexicon including, excellence, individual competition, selectivity, economic and productivity concerns, parental choice, deregulation and institutional competition. A quick comparison of the Kenway list with the one constructed by Clark and Astuto is sufficient to indicate the way new right pressures have been mediated in

their impact in the Australian context by a Labor government. As such, at least matters of equity and social justice remain on the Australian schooling policy agenda under Labor, but in a weakened form.

The question needs to be asked why was Dawkins successful in achieving a move towards national policies in schooling? There are a number of explanations. Marshall (1991a) has suggested that the States have been prepared to grant the Commonwealth almost full control of higher education because of the congruence between Commonwealth and State government goals for higher education and because of the universal acceptance among the States, irrespective of party political persuasion, of corporate managerialism. There is some applicability of such explanations for the States' agreement to national goals in schooling. In that respect, it is interesting how there appears to have been more congruence between schooling policies under Dawkins and those of the National Party government in Queensland, than during the earlier Ryan Ministry with its "taint" of the old Whitlam agenda and its stronger feminist commitments. The situation in higher education has also been facilitated by the more general developments within federalism and within federalism in education.

Within schooling, there has been agreement across the States that schooling needs to be integrated with the other education sectors and that such reform is necessary to the creation of an efficient national economic infrastructure, which will contribute to the successful internationalising of the Australian economy. The funding situation has also been very important here. Since the Fraser period the States have had their grants from the Commonwealth reduced. This is a reality continued under Hawke, but particularly after 1987 with the commitment to surplus budgeting. In some ways, such surpluses were achieved by cutting grants to the States. Such a situation enhances the possibilities of national developments, say in curriculum, because such processes are more cost efficient, spreading the costs across States and the Commonwealth. The fact of a large number of State Labor governments at the same time as a prolonged period of federal Labor government also has made a substantial contribution to the emergence of national policies. This has contributed to the pragmatic "working" of the Constitution of the Hawke era. The fact that the AEC has increased in policy influence with the ministerialisation of policy-making endemic to managerialism has also been significant here. A number of interviews conducted for this research indicated the caucusing which now goes on between Labor Ministers for Education prior to AEC meetings, a point also noted by Spaul (1987).

Additionally, there is a consensus concerning the human capital and economic conceptualisation of schooling which cuts across party political lines. There has also been something of a consensus concerning the managerialist restructuring of schooling which sees the move to national goals and a devolution within the State systems. The federal Minister for Education is responsible for both schooling and TAFE, while at the State level there are most often different Ministers for these two areas. This has also contributed to the upper hand gained by the Commonwealth in the move to national policies and an integrated national system.

More recently, the Commonwealth has sought more control over TAFE. To achieve such ends it has been prepared to provide more block grants to the States in other domains of education policy. The broadbanding of Commonwealth equity programs for schools has formed part of these developments.

8.4 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

As argued in the previous Chapter, there was a strong economic motive in the move to federation in 1901. At the moment of federation, schooling was not deemed to be of national interest, because it was not conceived in national economic terms. Furthermore, the colonies had created their own schooling systems twenty-five years before federation. Centripetal pressures within federalism in the post-war boom period resulted in the systematisation of Commonwealth involvement in schooling under Whitlam. Hawke Labor was to utilise that system to incorporate schooling within its economic reform agenda, particularly after 1987, but it was to work through national policies, rather than the imposition of Commonwealth ones as with Whitlam. An employee of the Schools Commission commented on the differing schooling policy strategies from Whitlam to Hawke as a move from 'retailing' to 'wholesaling' (IT14, 1989, p.2), implying that the move was from detailed articulation of policy and its implementation structures to a more general specification of policy. The expanded policy capacity of the AEC, which resulted from Fraser's new federalism, was a contributing factor in the subsequent national policy approach. In the period after 1987, the Labor commitment to economic rationalism had the effect of reducing the concept of nation to being almost synonymous with economy, at least as far as rationales for government policies were concerned. The new microeconomically focused perception of all areas of education policy was to have the

effect of making such policy central to national salvation, now defined as an internationally competitive economy. A series of national policies in schooling was to result as the 'ideological construction of schooling' was now 'integrated with the nation state as economic-unit' (Sedunary, 1991, p.7). Equity remained on the agenda, but reframed by the metapolicy status of economic restructuring.

The developments in federalism generally and within schooling policy formation as outlined throughout the Chapter are depicted in Figure 8.1. This depiction is framed by Offe's conjunctural/structural policy rationale distinction. In terms of schooling, the move from Commonwealth policies in schooling to national policies, against a backdrop, firstly of the centripetalism of the Keynesianism of the boom period, and secondly the centrifugal pressures of economic downturn, is clearly indicated. This has seen the reconfiguration of the federal structural feature of the Australian state. The rejigging of federalism complemented the corporate managerialist revolution, while together they have contributed to the reconfiguration of the Australian state under new policy conditions as outlined in some detail in both Chapters 4 and 5. As shown throughout the Chapter, this reworking of federalism has reframed how policies get onto the agenda, as well as the possible policy outcomes, a verification of the observation of the work of Offe (1975, 1984, 1985) and of Clegg, Boreham and Dow (1986) on the link between the state and policy-making.

FIGURE 8.1

OFFE'S TWO TYPES OF STATE POLICY AND THE RESTRUCTURING OF FEDERALISM.

	Conjunctural Policy	Structural Policy
Political Strategy	Satisfy demands	Shape and channel demands to make them satisfiable (New Right and corporatist alternatives)
Economic Strategy	Manage input, order priorities (demand-side economics) Policy focus: protected national economy	Manage output, keep supply constant (supply-side economics) Policy focus: unprotected integration into international economy
System Effects	Policy 'joins on' existing system	Policy 'restructures' existing system
Societal Effects	Increased State intervention	Increased politicisation
State Effects	'Compassionate' welfare state (Towards universal welfare provision)	'Efficient' competitive state (Residualising welfare provision)
Political Effects	Population as citizens	Population as consumers
Federalism Effects	Centripetal pressures 'coercive federalism': commonwealth policies	Centrifugal pressures, 'corporate federalism': national policies

Adapted and Extended from Codd (1990, p.213)

The thesis now turns in chapter 9 to consider federal/State relations in the area of gender policy, particularly with respect to the *National Policy for the Education of Girls*. That policy had its gestation under Susan Ryan and its implementation under the corporate federalism of John Dawkins. The interactive character of Commonwealth and Queensland policies will be documented. Queensland developments will be analysed, including the move from a refusal to endorse the National Policy to a *de facto* recognition, and finally to formal recognition under the new State Labor government, elected in December, 1989. The vital importance of Commonwealth suasion in the gestation of Queensland's policy of *Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys* will also be considered. The account provided will clearly indicate the entangled character of schooling policy-making within Australian federalism.

CHAPTER NINE

NATIONAL AND QUEENSLAND POLICIES ON THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS 1: BACKGROUND AND NARRATIVE

9.1 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter provides a narrative of developments in policies on the education of girls at both national and Queensland levels. The next Chapter provides an analysis of these developments, as well as documenting the struggles that went on inside the state in relation to the policies achieved. For the Commonwealth level there is a tracing of the lineage of girls education policies from the Schools Commission's *Girls, School and Society* (1975), through the *Girls and Tomorrow* (1984) report which recommended a national policy to the actual *National Policy for the Education of Girls in Australian Schools* achieved in 1987. The latter developed during Susan Ryan's period as federal Minister for Education, but was implemented under the vastly different policy culture of John Dawkins as the new Minister for the reconstituted Department of Employment, Education and Training. One specific focus is on the National Policy. Some attention is given to the impact upon the implementation stage of the Policy of the new policy culture of the Dawkins' era. There is also a focus on the development of Queensland's *Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys* policy of 1981 and the subsequent articulation of Queensland's policy implementation guidelines in 1988. Queensland initially did not endorse the National Policy, but did so later in a *de facto* fashion in 1988 under a new minister, albeit still a National Party one.

The argument of the Chapter is that, while pressures from Teacher Unions and women's groups were very important in the development of national policy as well as that in Queensland, it was largely constant pressure from the Commonwealth which ultimately ushered in Queensland's 1981 policy. However, as will be shown in the next Chapter, in both instances politics inside the state played an important role. Because of the close relationship between Commonwealth and Queensland level developments, the narrative deals with both in the same section. In a sense, developments at the national level were used as leverage in Queensland, an example of the entangled nature of federalism at work.

The Chapter begins by briefly constructing the backdrop to policy developments at both the Commonwealth and Queensland levels. It then proceeds with a narrative of these

developments and their intersection. The following Chapter then moves to present a picture of policy-making inside the state and concludes with an analysis of the gestation, formulation and implementation of the policies in terms of the theory of the state suggested in Chapter 3 and the history of the Australian state presented in Chapter 4. This and the following Chapter provide an account and analysis of national and Queensland developments in policy on the education of girls for the period from *Girls, School and Society* (1975) to the present. As such, both the account and analysis must be considered in terms of the corporate managerialist reforms analysed in Chapters 5 and 6, and the reconfiguration of federalism noted in Chapters 7 and 8. The narrative and analysis are constructed utilising documentary evidence as pointed out in Chapter 1 and evidence from a number of research interviews conducted with many of the major policy players involved in the development of national and Queensland policies on the education of girls.

9.2 BACKDROP TO COMMONWEALTH AND QUEENSLAND POLICIES ON THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS

The notion of "backdrop" probably presents an only partially appropriate picture of the relationship between economic and political developments and specific policy moves within the state. For instance, the state strategically and selectively responds to some contextual features, while ignoring others. Furthermore, societal developments may actually seep into emergent structures and practices, including policy culture, within the state itself. For example, Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 have shown how changing economic and political circumstances, notably the end of the post-war boom and the globalisation of the economy, have impacted upon both the bureaucracy and federalism as internal structural features of the Australian state. Indeed, economic rationalism is present within the contemporary Australian state in the form of managerialism. Those pressures are, however, mediated by existing structures and practices and by the actions of individuals. It ought also to be said that a strong social democratic residue remains within the education policy community. Nevertheless, backdrop serves as an easy shorthand to reference broad economic and political changes. Further, as Offe (1975, 1984, 1985) shows and as has been argued in Chapter 3, the state has a balancing act to perform in relation to capital accumulation, while simultaneously responding to political and social pressures for legitimation purposes. As such, managerialism is a specific state/structural

approach to managing both economic and political demands in a time of economic restructuring and downturn.

What this section does is outline briefly the broad moves in gender policy from the Whitlam time through to the Hawke Labor period. It also documents the intersection of those developments with those in Queensland which form a backdrop to Queensland's *Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys Policy* (1981) and subsequent rejection and then *de facto* endorsement of the *National Policy for the Education of Girls*, formulated in 1987. It should be noted that from 1957 until 1989 Queensland had conservative governments, and for the period 1968–1987 was governed under the authoritarian populist premiership of Johannes Bjelke-Petersen (Patience, 1985). Malapportioned electoral boundaries reduced the spectrum of political and legitimization pressures upon the government, particularly in the period after the 1983 State election, when the National Party governed in its own right, without the moderating influence of its usual coalition partner, the Liberal Party. That situation did not create a favourable climate for feminist pressure upon the state structure, whether the pressure was from the Teachers' Union, women's or other community groups. It is in that context that developments in girls' schooling in Queensland were very much framed by pressures from the Commonwealth, which in turn, resulted from feminist pressures articulated through a variety of institutions, some of which will be briefly considered below.

Sawer (1990) in her documentation and analysis of women and public policy in Australia notes that in 1968 there was no government policy machinery for women's policy at any level of government. In contrast, she points out the extent and nature of such policy machinery which exists at all levels of government in the 1990s. She shows, as others have done, for example, Ryan (1990) and Eisenstein (1991), that change began with the coincidence of the rise of the second wave of the women's movement and the election of a reformist Labor government in 1972, after twenty-three years of conservative rule. More specifically, the establishment of the Women's Electoral Lobby (WEL), as a formalisation of the women's movement, which in the Australian tradition was state focused in its demands for reform, coincided with the election of a Whitlam Labor government, sympathetic to some of these demands. In 1973, Whitlam appointed Elizabeth Reid as Women's Adviser to the Prime Minister. Sawer (1990) shows how most of the reforms Reid pursued in embryonic form through the Whitlam years have been achieved twenty years later, but are under some threat from the general (and Labor)

embrace of economic rationalism and the new managerialism. Here, Sawer (1990, p.11) includes women's refuges, rape crisis centres, women's health centres, child care provision, policies for equal opportunity for women in employment and education, non-sexist schooling, supporting mother's benefit and maternity leave for public servants.

International Women's Year (IWY) in 1975 was important in making federal monies available for a whole range of disparate women's issues. It was in that context that the Schools Commission produced its report, *Girls, School and Society* (1975), which, as noted earlier, was the first official federal policy recognition and documentation of the disadvantages experienced by girls in schooling. The report, imbued with a liberal feminism, demanded the breaking down of barriers to equal educational opportunities for girls. However, the media savaged many of the developments associated with International Women's Year (Sawer, 1990, pp.18–21). Reid resigned from her position when she was transferred from the Prime Minister's Office to the Prime Minister's Department (Ryan, 1990, p.77) and moves were set in train to establish a Women's Affairs Branch within Prime Minister and Cabinet, which was subsequently achieved under the Fraser government (1975–1983).

Sawer (1990) also documents the difficulties faced by Reid in the pursuit of her advisory and policy functions. Those difficulties were experienced in a context where Reid had the support of the Prime Minister. It is salutary to reflect upon the experiences of those pushing for change in relation to gender policy within the Queensland Department of Education under a National Party government, which was strongly opposed to feminist politics and supportive of the anti-feminism of groups such as Women Who Want to be Women and the Women's Action Alliance. Such a Department was also heavily gender segmented, imbued with masculinist culture, committed to 'homosocial reproduction' (Kanter, 1977) and overall could be seen to manifest a patriarchal gender regime (Limerick, 1991, Cork, 1991). The difficulties faced were articulated by many in this study and will be encapsulated in the following Chapter on the state as a terrain of policy-making. It ought to be said, though, that gains for women and the establishment of women's policy machinery at the Commonwealth level and in other States, did provide some network support for those women caught in the hostile policy culture in Queensland, particularly during the period when Powell was Minister for Education (1983–1987). In this context, Sawer (1990) is able to argue that federalism has been positive for feminist politics in the Australian context.

Electoral politics have been an important factor in keeping women's issues on the political agenda of the mainstream Australian political parties after the Whitlam period, despite the economic decline which has been experienced since and despite the related resurgence of economic liberalism. However, that decline, as will be shown, has had serious implications for women's policies within the state. Sawyer (1990) documents how, despite gains for women during the Whitlam time, the Labor Party did not actually insert a section on women into its National Platform until the 1982 national conference. An important factor in that achievement was the Party's review of its disastrous 1977 election performance. This review acknowledged that the six to eight per cent gap between male and female support for the Party had been a significant factor in keeping the Party out of government for much of the twentieth century (Sawyer, 1990, p.62). Clearly, perceptions of the masculinist culture of the Labor Party and its links with the Trade Union movement were important in that respect. Indeed, as Sawyer (1990, p.63) notes, it was at Labor's 1983 election victory that for the very first time Labor achieved the same support from women as from men, a point noted by Hawke in his speech to the 1984 National Labor Women's Conference. There were political implications here for the conservative parties also, in respect of what was increasingly being classified as the "women's vote". Thus, despite a worsening economic climate, and emerging support for small government ideology associated with economic liberalism, women's issues remained upon the agenda across the Fraser and Hawke periods. They were, however, reconstituted along the way and remained under threat.

There were both gains and losses for women during the Fraser period (Sawyer, 1990; Ryan, 1990). In 1976 Fraser abolished the position of Women's Adviser to the Prime Minister and appointed a Minister Assisting the Prime Minister in Women's Affairs, the first such portfolio responsibility in Australian political history. Funding for women's refuges and health care centres was extended. Struggle by women both inside and outside the bureaucracy was important in these achievements (Sawyer, 1990, p.37). Women's policy machinery was developed, but its significance somewhat downgraded, when it was moved out of Prime Minister and Cabinet to the low status (in terms of ministerial hierarchies) Department of Home Affairs after Fraser's 1977 election victory. In 1978, the Fraser government established the National Women's Advisory Council (NWAC) under the leadership of Beryl Beaurepaire, then a Vice-President of the Victorian branch of the Liberal Party and an influential associate of the Prime Minister. Sawyer (1990, p.44) argues

that NWAC 'played an important role in converting traditional women's organisations to support feminist demands'. NWAC was also important in limiting to some extent the impact of anti-feminist backlash upon government policy. Increasingly, however, economic liberalism and small government ideology took hold. The anti-feminist group, Women Who Want to be Women (WWWW), founded in Victoria in 1979 by Babette Francis, had gained some influence within the Liberal Party. As will be shown, it also had achieved some influence with the National Party government in Queensland.

Sawer (1990, p.52ff.) and Ryan (1990) document the struggle for women to hold the line within the Fraser government after 1980, as economic liberalism strengthened its impact. Moves for anti-discrimination legislation were not successful, while Ellicott as the relevant minister was not successful in getting the Plan of Action supported by NWAC onto the cabinet agenda. Sawer (1990, p.56) notes that these failures resulted from opposition from the National Party, particularly from Queenslanders. This was the same time in which there were moves to get a girls' schooling policy onto the agenda in Queensland, where in the conservative government there, the National Party was the senior partner to the Liberals.

One version of economic liberalism coalesced with an anti-feminism (as articulated by WWWW, for instance), which saw a return to home-based and caring roles for women as a way to reduce the welfare burden of governments and to supposedly expand employment opportunities for school leavers in the context of high levels of youth unemployment. Sawer (1990, p.52) encapsulates this ideological fusion as 'market roles for men, motherhood roles for women'. Changes in taxation policy and in social security under the Fraser government encouraged women to return to the home. Thus, by the time of the 1983 federal election won by Hawke Labor, the policy gains for women were under some threat, but policy machinery remained in place.

During the Fraser period the Schools Commission continued to sponsor improvements in the domain of girls' schooling, largely through funding Projects of National Significance. That support must be seen against a backdrop of inegalitarian developments, including increased funding for non-government schools and a weaker, access definition of equality of opportunity. The Fraser government, however, was slow to act in relation to the findings of the 1975 report, *Girls, School and Society*. Somewhat belatedly, a Schools Commission Working Party on girls' schooling was appointed in 1981. This Working Party also held an important conference dealing with girls' schooling. Its

report, *Girls and Tomorrow: The Challenge for Schools* was not published until July, 1984. That report recommended that: 'A comprehensive national policy which contains a strategic commitment to equality of educational outcomes for girls is urgently needed to transform rhetoric into reality' (Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1984, p.9). It was the supportive policy culture of Susan Ryan and her own feminist politics, along with a strategically sophisticated feminist policy network within education, which finally achieved the National Policy in 1987 under a Labor government.

As pointed out above, Labor had first formulated a women's policy at its 1982 national conference. Susan Ryan had been an important player in the achievement of that policy addition and had earlier in 1980 circulated a women's policy Discussion Paper as Shadow Minister for Women's Affairs, which, Sawyer (1990, p.63) notes, was drafted by Lyndsay Connors. Ryan was also influential in getting the federal parliamentary Labor Party to take the question of the women's vote seriously.

There was a related, albeit limited, increase in the influence of women in the Trade Union movement at the same time as membership in the blue-collar unions declined with the three largest unions being highly feminised, namely the Australian Teachers' Federation (ATF), the Shop Distributive and Allied Employees Association and the Australian Public Service Association (Sawyer, 1990, p.66). The Teacher Unions around Australia had a century long history of being a source of feminist political pressure upon governments. The ATF had formed an Elimination of Sexism in Education Committee in conjunction with International Women's Year, 1975 (Spaull, 1986, p.92). The ATF was to be an important source of pressure upon both the Commonwealth and Queensland governments for advances in girls' schooling policy, while the Teachers' Union was also to play an important role in Queensland. The first correspondence received by the Queensland Department of Education on the question was from the Teachers' Union on 18 April, 1978, asking that the 'elimination of sexism' become 'an official Departmental policy'.

The significance of the women's vote to Labor's 1983 election victory resulted in women's issues being given a fairly high profile in the early days of the Hawke government. Susan Ryan became Minister for Education, but also Minister Assisting the Prime Minister on the Status of Women. She held those portfolios as a member of cabinet from 1983 until after Labor's 1987 election victory. Significant policy and legislative developments for women and for girls were to occur during her time as minister. Importantly, Sawyer (1990, p.69) notes how Ryan's successful opposition to the

reintroduction of tertiary fees, which was supported by the economic rationalists within cabinet, was a significant factor in her losing her portfolio with the ascendancy of economic rationalism within the Hawke government after 1987.

The machinery of women's policy was given greater prominence under Ryan with the Office of the Status of Women (OSW) being returned to the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, an important symbolic move, and upgraded to a division. The head of OSW from 1983 until 1986 was prominent feminist author Anne Summers. The Hawke government had also ratified the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women shortly after gaining government. A nationwide campaign against ratification had been organised by Jackie Butler, the Queensland coordinator of WWW, who was also a player in the development of Queensland's *Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys Policy* (1981). Important legislative achievements under Ryan were the Sex Discrimination Act of 1984 and the Affirmative Action Legislation of 1986. The Sex Discrimination legislation did not apply to State employees, a concession made to conservative States such as Queensland. In that context, National Party members of parliament argued for the priority of States' rights over the right of an individual not to be discriminated against. The Fraser created NWAC was replaced in 1984 by a National Women's Consultative Council, with representatives drawn from most of the major women's organisations. The National Agenda for Women was launched in early 1988, with one goal being the achievement of fifty per cent female membership of government boards and advisory bodies by 2000. From 1987, however, it almost became the case that equity policies, now rephrased as social justice, took on a public relations character (Fitzclarence and Kenway, 1992). Further, despite substantial gains in the early Hawke period, women were still apparently excluded from participation in important economic policy advice and formulation mechanisms, with only two of the one hundred delegates to the 1983 Economic Summit being women! This was to take on increased significance as economic policy and goals began to override other policy domains. The corporatist approach to policy-making was a factor in excluding women from the policy process (Johnson, 1990).

After 1987, as has been shown at length in previous Chapters, economic rationalism was institutionalised in the managerialist restructuring of the Commonwealth public service, with economic restructuring thus taking on metapolicy status. As a consequence, all areas of education were reconstituted as components of economic policy. In education,

for example, students at all levels were perceived as mere human capital. Social justice in education was now seen in terms of ensuring employment through multiskilling human capital. Thus individual benefits and economic ones for the nation were to be achieved simultaneously.

A most significant policy development for women was the establishment in 1984 of the Women's Budget process, a mainstreaming strategy instigated by Commonwealth femocrats. This required all government Departments to indicate the impact of budgetary decisions, as well as policies and programs, upon women and also to indicate how they could more effectively meet the needs of women. This process has been in full operation since the 1985 budget. As Sawyer (1990) notes, however, last minute budget decisions and the use of May mini-budgets served to limit the effectiveness of the process, while from 1987 the Women's Budget Program had a considerably reduced print run.

Increasingly, however, as economic rationalism took stronger hold on the government, women's policies were redirected towards those which were more compatible with economic rationalism (Henry and Taylor, 1992). Henry and Taylor (1992) suggest that this is manifest in Labor's attempt to cojoin equity and efficiency goals, a process which strengthens the liberal feminist focus of women's policies. This strategy is nicely encapsulated in the following quote from *Skills for Australia*, an early policy statement from the third Hawke government:

This is not simply a matter of meeting social objectives related to equity. Rather it is an economic argument about increasing the pool of human resources available, especially in skilled occupations which have hitherto been largely restricted to men. The Government will continue to develop strategies to overcome the inefficiencies and inequities flowing from occupational segregation. (Dawkins and Holding, 1987, p.16)

More specifically, Sawyer (1990, pp.96–97), lists losses for women which flowed from a range of 1987 budget decisions, including the means testing of the Family Allowance, the tightening of means testing on other pensions and benefits, the abolition of the Community Employment Program, and the reintroduction of tertiary fees. From 1987 policy priority was given to economic goals, particularly in the wake of the Treasurer's 1986 Banana Republic speech and concern for Australia's balance of payments problems. Pusey (1991) and Yeatman (1990a) have shown the lack of social concern manifested in an increasingly residualised welfare provision, which flows from the impact of economic rationalism and which has serious consequences for women.

Pusey (1991) documents in some detail how the restructured public service increased the policy influence of the bureaucrats who were economics graduates, a reality patently manifest in the restructured Department of Employment, Education and Training as suggested in Chapter 5. Significantly, economics as a discipline has probably been less affected by feminism than any of the social sciences (Sawer, 1990). This is particularly true of classical economics, which has been resurrected as economic rationalism, and where women and their activities can be shown to count for nothing (Waring, 1988). In that context, Sawer (1990, p.250) argues that the gains for women achieved since the early 1970s are under serious threat from both economic rationalism and its administrative and structural partner within the state, corporate managerialism. Connell (1990, p.536) has noted how in that context, 'Reforms that have few budgetary implications but fit in with other state strategies, such as modernising the bureaucracy, become more prominent.'

Burton (1987), Sawer (1987) and Halligan (1988, pp.62-65), have documented the impact of the 1987 corporate managerialist restructuring upon the women's agenda and specifically upon Equal Employment Opportunity which had previously been overseen by the Public Service Board, which was abolished in the restructuring. (See Chapter 5 here.) Sawer (1990) outlines a four month struggle by women inside and outside the bureaucracy to defend EEO and retain some central monitoring agency for it. While this campaign was largely effective, the government's precipitous action did signal that EEO was no longer top priority for the government (Sawer, 1990, p.216). The restructuring, as indicated in a number of interviews, turned the focus from new policy goals to a defence of past gains and to personal survival. While women's issues were obviously on the agenda at last (Henry and Taylor, 1989, 1992), they were still precariously placed and ripe for reframing by the ascendancy of a narrow economism in both policy and structural terms. As Yeatman (1990a, p.134) notes, within this policy context, women become the 'policy targets', rather than being empowered by policy, which results from the character of economic rationalism (Pusey, 1991). In the process, citizenship and social justice justifications for equal opportunities for women have been superseded by economic ones.

There were gains for policy on girls' schooling during the Ryan period, most notably with the achievement of the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* in 1987. As argued by a Schools Commissioner, during that time the Schools Commission almost acted as an agent for the Australian Education Council in achieving consensus after a long period of negotiation (IT5, 1991, p.18). The 1987 Commonwealth public service

restructuring resulted in the abolition of the Schools Commission and a related boost in the ministerialisation of policy within an economic framework. That change in policy culture, documented in Chapter 5 and considered in Chapter 11 as well, had a substantial impact upon the implementation of the policy. The impact is perhaps best indicated by a statement from the Draft Action Plan of the five year review of the National Policy:

If we are serious about improving our social condition, and if we are committed to competing effectively in the international economy, the attention we give to the education of girls is of immediate importance. (AEC, 1992, Preface)

Kenway (1990b), commenting on the impact for the National Policy of its temporal location at the vortex of two policy cultures, summarises the situation so:

What is in clear relief here is the way that the gender reform program is being tailored to the ALP's cloth. Gender justice is coming to mean an education designed to prepare girls for the sorts of vocations that the government believes will enhance the economy. (Kenway, 1990b, p.73)

As Henry and Taylor (1992) point out, notions of gender equity and economic rationalism form an uneasy alliance in the current policy context, with the efficiency focus endemic to managerialism weakening and reframing gender equity goals.

If the history of developments in women's policies and policies on girls' schooling at the Commonwealth level has been one of tenuous steps forward, developments in Queensland have been much more tenuous and more marginal, particularly up until Labor's 1989 election victory. Feminist influence on the state across that time operated simply through the entry of feminist bureaucrats into the policy sphere (Eisenstein, 1991, p.40). Since Labor's election victory, a women's policy unit has now been created within the Premier's Department and a range of anti-discrimination and equal employment opportunity legislation has been passed, bringing Queensland more into line with other States. A managerialist restructuring of the Department of Education has witnessed the creation of an equity directorate, a significant symbolic indication of the changes afoot. However, there is the possibility that the rationalisation associated with the new managerialism might limit the gains (Lingard and Collins, 1991 a b c). Whatever the case might be, the pity in terms of gender equity policies in schooling is that Queensland did not have a government which was supportive of such policies, when it would have been easier to provide the resource support. The limited nature of Queensland developments in policy on girls' schooling, and indeed in other equity domains, was indicated in an interview with a senior Queensland bureaucrat who pointed out that one of the difficulties

now in Queensland under a Labor government was that all areas were basically beginning anew, whereas other State systems had been developing policies across the spectrum of equity issues for at least a decade (IT12, 1992, p.1). Thus, while at the Commonwealth level there is a feeling that past gains have to be defended under the onslaught from both economic rationalism and corporate managerialism, the situation in Queensland was that advances had to be sought in difficult resource circumstances. The point needs to be stressed that there was no specific Queensland funding support for equity policies until after the election of the Labor government. With respect to girls' schooling, the first State funds were made available in the 1990–1991 budget. That is not to denigrate the struggle of women involved in the Department of Education across the National Party period. Indeed, their struggle was very significant in the gains which were made, as will be shown in the next Chapter. It is rather to depict the hostile policy climate within which they worked.

Sawyer's (1990) account of the machinery for women's policy in Australia has a Chapter on State developments. The relevant point here about that Chapter is that all States are considered except Queensland, basically because under National Party governments there were no such developments in Queensland! A Table in Sawyer's (1990, pp.75–76) account documents women's policy machinery in all Australian governments, for Queensland it simply states 'no State bodies'. The same is the case for Tasmania. This is a good example of an absence indicating as much as a presence. Across the National Party period, the Commonwealth actually established a Women's Information Service in Brisbane because of the lack of State legislation for women.

As noted earlier, moves towards the establishment of women's policy machinery began during the Whitlam years. Those years were anathema to the Bjelke–Petersen government, which regularly harangued against the 'socialists in Canberra'. Regarding the 1978 bannings of *Man: a Course of Study (MACOS)* and *Social Education Materials Project (SEMP)*, Bjelke–Petersen had written in a letter to the *Goondiwindi Argus* on 5 March, 1978 that, 'I have found that many strange things arise in Canberra, especially if they were percolated during the Whitlam years'. From the time of Whitlam, Queensland politics under the National Party played out a strong version of States' rights, rejecting anything that came out of Canberra as tainted. That applied to changes in schooling sponsored by the Schools Commission and to developments in women's policy. At times, this also applied to developments under the Fraser government, for example, in 1976 the

State government failed to pass on Commonwealth grants to women's refuges in Brisbane and Townsville because Bjelke-Petersen alleged 'Marxist lesbians' were involved in the Brisbane refuge (Sawer, 1990, p.38).

There was an ideological component to Queensland's failure to develop women's policy machinery and its suspicion of policy pressures from Canberra. The Queensland National Party government was in the forefront of new right policy developments in Australia, seeking to weaken the union movement (McQueen, 1986) and being committed to low public sector expenditure, including on education and welfare (Chamberlain, 1985; Lingard and Collins, 1991a). Given the support for interventionist policies for primary industries, National Party governments obviously manifested an idiosyncratic variety of new right ideology. This new right character was particularly the case in respect of policies in the moral sphere, where it was exceedingly interventionist, eschewing any "free market" in lifestyles. (See Chapter 2.) At the level of rhetoric, it was supportive of the family and traditional home-based roles for women. Patience (1985, p.276) argues that the family was regarded as the fundamental social institution by the Nationals, which had to be protected against threats to its security. At times, however, there was conflict between such commitment and that to small government, for example, the 1985 Children Services Department Annual Report indicated that because of parsimonious funding the Department was not able to fulfil its legislated functions. In 1986, for instance, the Queensland government had unilaterally declared a "Year of the Parent", while the rest of Australia celebrated the "Year of Peace".

Accordingly, across the Bjelke-Petersen era there developed a simple, confrontational "good versus evil" dichotomy within the political culture, the politics of equivalence according to Laclau and Mouffe (1985), for example, Queensland (good) vs. Canberra (evil), development (good) vs. conservation (evil), right wing (good) vs. left wing (evil), small government (good) vs. big government (evil) and so on (Knight and Smith, 1984; Duncan and Fitzgerald (1986). Within that belief system, feminism of all varieties was located firmly on the side of evil. Furthermore, such a political culture encouraged the development of anti-feminist groups, which flourished during the Bjelke-Petersen era and which were able to have some influence on policy-making, including in education. Such influence was probably at its greatest during the period when the National Party governed in its own right under Bjelke-Petersen (1983-1987), and in education when his strong supporter, Lin Powell was Minister.

Anti-feminist groups such as Women Who Want to be Women (WWWW) and the Women's Action Alliance flourished across that time and had more impact upon public policy in Queensland than anywhere else in Australia. The Women's Action Alliance had a rural support base, much of which was coterminous with the support base of the National Party. The same was true of WWWW in Queensland, although its organiser, Jackie Butler was urban based. WWWW was the more successful of the two groups in policy formulation terms, being involved in much publicised opposition to the introduction of a gender studies strand of the B.A. degree at Griffith University (Bulbeck, 1986). Butler was also the spokesperson for the far right group, The Council for a Free Australia. In that capacity, she organised an anti-Labor newspaper advertisement (Courier-Mail, 20/10/83) for the 1983 State election. This advertisement attacked the Commonwealth Labor government's Sex Discrimination legislation. Amongst other things the advertisement asked:

Are you aware that our government has signed and ratified the United Nations Sex Treaty [sic] which is a blatant attack on the family, individual business and the personal freedom and liberties of all Australians? Are you aware that men could lose their jobs and be replaced by women in all areas of employment? (Courier-Mail, 20/10/83).

These questions indicate something of the ideological stance of WWWW. Furthermore, the group was committed to the perpetuation of the patriarchal sexual division of labour, which they saw as resulting from "natural", biological, gender-based differences (Webley, 1981, p.19). During the Bjelke-Petersen period (1983-1987), the Minister for Education, Lin Powell's conceptualisation of the schooling of girls fitted firmly within the same universe of discourse articulated by WWWW. For instance, in a Courier-Mail interview (23/05/1984), he asserted:

I think boys are boys and girls are girls and 'vive la difference'. As for this absolute and complete garbage about changing our language so there is no sexism in it, I will have no truck with it. As far as I'm concerned we have boys and girls and that's the way it ought to be; we don't want a neuter gender... (Courier-Mail, 23/05/83)

It was Powell who also demanded that creation science be taught in biology courses as an alternative to evolutionary accounts (Knight, 1986).

The political economy of Queensland with its emphasis on primary industries (including mining), significant lack of a manufacturing base, and increasing dependence on tourism, combined with a decentralised spread of population across a huge land mass, resulted in the emergence of an agrarian populism (Patience, 1985; Thornton, 1986). That

cultural formation was strongly reflected in the power base of the National Party which formed government from 1957 until 1989. The malapportioned electoral boundaries were important in ensuring the policy influence of this cultural formation, including the dominant constructions of masculinity and femininity. One component of this cultural formation has been the construction of a dominant old style version of masculinity and a concomitant version of femininity. It needs to be stressed that feminism has been an ideology most attractive to the urban, educated, professional middle class. As a class, this grouping has been weaker in Queensland than elsewhere and during the National Party period in government had less impact on public policy formation than has been the case elsewhere in Australia (Patience, 1985; Duncan and Fitzgerald, 1986; O'Neill and Fitzgerald, 1986). This is not to deny that some changes did occur within the National Party with female entrepreneurs joining the Party and female National Party members of parliament gaining cabinet portfolios. It was the case, however, that during the National Party era there appeared to be a large number of Queenslanders, particularly, but not exclusively in the country and country towns, who held to traditional and conservative views of women's role and who were the support base of the Nationals (Knight, 1986, pp.28–31).

As suggested in Chapter 2 and as noted above, there is a way in which within new right ideology, free market economics sit alongside interventionist politics with respect to moral matters, including the family, sexuality and male and female roles. Thus for the National Party government the economic commitment to encouraging capital investment, deregulating the labour market, ensuring low public sector expenditure and maintaining conservative social and moral values was complemented by their ideology concerning the family and the role of women. As Sawer points out:

Euphemistic talk about the 'family' always concedes the assumption that it is women who will sacrifice participation in the public sphere in order to carry out welfare functions within the family. (1982, p.10)

Low and residualised welfare expenditure has implications for women, because implicit in such policies is the assumption of home-based women carrying out unpaid "welfare" roles. Something of these attitudes to the family, women and welfare expenditure was articulated in the 1986 attack upon 'welfare mothers' by the then National Party Welfare Services Minister, Yvonne Chapman. In her statement (Courier-Mail, 19/04/86), Chapman called upon the federal government to cease welfare payments to unmarried mothers with more

than one child, at a time when the feminisation of poverty had been readily documented (Bryson, 1983; Cass, 1986). Chapman stated:

If the federal government cut off the funds tomorrow I would say we wouldn't have as many of these children being born.

Surely a woman would think twice about having more babies. I have never been in a bedroom with any man other than my husband. There must be a situation in a bedroom where an unmarried couple are making love and they say that if there is a mistake the federal government will pay for it. (Courier-Mail, 09/04/86)

The notorious government raids on "fertility" clinics in Brisbane and Townsville in May, 1985, when twenty thousand patients' records were seized, is an indication of how far the National Party government was prepared to go to uphold their version of traditional moral values (Thornton, 1986, p.8).

As Patience (1985, p.276) has pointed out, this situation led to the creation of a public policy approach which sought to 'counteract feminist demands for child-care facilities, equal opportunities legislation, women's shelters and the like'. Furthermore, he suggests that feminism was 'regularly linked to socialist and other radical threats to the stability of society generally, and the family unit' (1985, p.276). The development of Queensland's *Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys* policy must be seen in this political and ideological context. That policy was pursued by individual women within the bureaucracy. There was no structural change to the bureaucracy to accommodate girls' issues or indeed equity policies (Eisenstein, 1991). As a consequence, Queensland's 1981 policy manifested a very weak liberal feminist ideology (Lingard, Henry, Taylor, 1987; Laxon and Knight, 1992).

In late 1987 Mike Ahern defeated Bjelke-Petersen for the leadership of the National Party and thus Premiership. For a long time Ahern was the only university educated National Party member of parliament. He had been chair of the earlier influential Parliamentary Select Committee on Education in Queensland, which had been established as a result of the public furore following the government's 1978 banning of both the primary school social studies course, MACOS and SEMP, a set of secondary school social education resources produced by the Whitlam established Commonwealth Curriculum Development Centre. In the Select Committee's Report, Ahern had expressed support for a very weak version of liberal feminism, arguing for equal opportunity for girls in schooling, but at the same time opposing any denigration of home-based roles for women. When Ahern became Premier, Powell lost the Education portfolio to Brian Littleproud, who

certainly did not hold the fundamentalist views on a variety of topics, which had been the hallmark of Powell's time as Minister, and which had been important in creating a particular policy culture within the Department. Ahern set about modernising the National Party government through managerialist reforms as outlined in Chapter 6. The same was true to some extent within education, even though as shown in Chapter 6, Powell had restructured the Department along managerialist lines. It was in this context that in 1988 Queensland, in *de facto* fashion, finally endorsed the *National Policy for the Education of Girls*, which had been rejected under Powell. It was also the circumstances in which the more adequately conceptualised 'policy guidelines' for Queensland's *Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys Policy* were gazetted in 1988 (Laxon and Knight, 1992, p.18).

In that Queensland policy context as considered above, the reform agendas of the Commonwealth Schools Commission took on great significance. They ensured that equity at least got onto the agenda and that Queensland bureaucrats had some space on which to move in a policy climate hostile to equity agendas. As noted in Chapters 7 and 8 on federalism, State governments always want access to Commonwealth funds, but do not always want the policy and accountability requirements which accompany specific purpose funds. This has, at times, been the case with Commonwealth specific purpose schooling funds given to Queensland. Such a situation has seen a refraction (Freeland, 1981) of Commonwealth goals in the policy implementation. Such refraction has been documented in relation to the Commonwealth's Multicultural Education Program (1979–1986) (Lingard, 1983) and in relation to gender and schooling (Lingard, Henry and Taylor, 1987).

The next section considers specifically the development of policies on girls' schooling at both Commonwealth and Queensland levels and the interrelationships between them. The interrelationship between the two indicates something of the entangled nature of policy-making in the dual jurisdictions of federalism. What is said below must be read in the context of changes in government approaches to policy outlined above and to the changes in the Australian state documented in Chapters 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8.

9.3 THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL AND QUEENSLAND POLICIES ON THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS: THE NARRATIVE

Table 9.1 documents in chronological order developments in policy on girls in Queensland and at the Commonwealth levels and the interrelationship between the two. There have been accounts by Kenway (1990b) and by Connors and McMorrow (1988) of the creation of the National Policy, while Lingard, Henry and Taylor (1987) provide an analysis of the emergence of Queensland's 1981 *Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys* policy. There are a number of accounts which overview developments across the period since Whitlam, including Henry and Taylor (1989, 1992) and Byrne (1987), and one analysis of the backdrop to Queensland's policy (McHoul, 1984). Laxon and Knight (1992) offer a discourse analysis of the 1981 Queensland Policy and the 1988 Policy Implementation Guidelines. There has been one published study of the implementation of Queensland's policy at school level (Diamond, 1991). This section draws on the above mentioned research studies, as well as research interviews and documentary analysis of the Queensland Department of Education's relevant files.

TABLE 9.1

NATIONAL AND QUEENSLAND DEVELOPMENTS ON EDUCATION OF GIRLS POLICY

1975	<p>International Women's Year</p> <p><u>Girls, School and Society</u>, Schools Commission Report, first official federal policy recognition of the disadvantages experienced by girls in schooling.</p> <p><u>QUEST</u>, Professional Magazine for teachers, produced by Queensland Department of Education, Special Issue on girls' schooling.</p>
1977	<p>First national meeting of State Women's Advisers in Education, Queensland the only state not to participate; Queensland first participated in 1980, sending two male officers from the Curriculum Branch.</p>
1978 April	<p>First correspondence Queensland Teachers' Union with Queensland Department of Education asking that the 'elimination of sexism in education' be made official Department policy.</p>
1978 October	<p>Meeting Queensland Teachers' Union and Queensland Department of Education to discuss the 'elimination of sexism in education'.</p> <p>Outcome: appointment of Department person (male) to liaise with Teachers' Union on sexism in education.</p> <p>Also a 'watching brief' on literature in area.</p>

- 1979 January A woman appointed to liaison role.
- 1979 Report of The Select Committee on Education in Queensland (Ahern Report).
- 1980 Monitoring brief of above officer broadened. Designation now: 'Department Liaison Officer for Issues dealing with Equality of Opportunity/Elimination of Sexism in Education of Girls and Boys'.
- 1980 December The Director-General approved a Queensland Department Policy Statement: Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys.
- 1981 January The Queensland Department's Policy gazetted in the Education Office Gazette, distributed to all schools in the state.
- 1981 May Queensland Department 'circular memorandum' to school Principals advising not to purchase CDC anti-sexism materials.
- 1981 Schools Commission established 'Working Party on the Education of Girls', funded under Projects of National Significance; Queensland's Liaison Officer a member of the Working Party'.
- 1981 and 1982 Queensland funded out of Commonwealth Projects of National Significance: 1981 \$52,000: Guidelines for Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys, Stage 1. (Project on cue)
- 1982 \$32,000: Guidelines for Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys, Stage 2. (Project on cue)
- 1984 July The release of Girls and Tomorrow. The Report of the Schools Commission Working Party which recommended the creation of a National Policy for the Education of Girls as a priority.
- 1984 Commonwealth Sex Discrimination Act.
- 1984-87 Participation and Equity Program (PEP) of the Commonwealth aimed to increase participation to Year 12 and to achieve more equal outcomes for disadvantaged groups. Funding support to State systems required evidence of an equity (including girls) commitment.
- 1984 October Queensland appointed an Education Officer to Curriculum Services Branch utilising Commonwealth (PEP) funds. Function: education of girls and PEP.
- 1984 November Another special issue of Quest on girls' schooling, censored and release delayed because of cover 'With a Girl in a Militant Pose'.
- 1985 February Quest, released but content of articles censored.
- 1985 April Quality of Education in Australia report submitted to Commonwealth Minister; recommended a goal of 'obtaining approximately equal representation and attainment of girls in major subject areas'; also recommended that State collected data on student attainment by gender be an accountability requirement of States for Commonwealth recurrent funds.
- 1985 December Commonwealth Minister, Susan Ryan, announces interior to create a National Policy for the Education of Girls.
- 1986 Commonwealth Affirmative Action legislation.
- 1986 February Appointment of Senior Education Officer, Equality of Opportunity, Special Programs Support Branch, Queensland Department of Education.

- 1986 November Establishment of a Queensland Department Working Party on Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys.
- 1986 May Release by the Schools Commission of the Interim National Policy and Plan of Action for the Education of Girls.
- 1987 May Release by the Schools Commission of the National Policy for the Education of Girls.
- 1987 June Dawkins replaces Ryan as Commonwealth Minister; Managerialist restructuring from 27 to 16 mega departments, new Department of Employment, Education and Training (DEET), abolition of Schools Commission replacement with National Branch for Employment, Education and Training (NBEET) with a subsidiary Schools Council.
- 1987 November The Australian Education Council (AEC) endorsed the National Policy for the Education of Girls; Queensland 'reserved its position', being the only State not to endorse the Policy.
- 1988 Commonwealth Government announced National Agenda for Women.
- 1988 Queensland Department of Education received Commonwealth funding for Understanding Future Options Project with 2 officers appointed to project with Commonwealth funding; also received Commonwealth funding to produce a paper 'Retention Issues: A Gender, Social and Cultural Perspective'.
- 1988 Queensland, despite not endorsing the National Policy for the Education of Girls, participated in the National Reporting associated with the Policy for 1987 and coordinated the Report for 1989.
- 1988 June Publication of Queensland Department of Education Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys Policy Guidelines; Establishment of Queensland Department of Education Advisory Committee on Gender Equity to Director-General. (Recommendations of Queensland Departmental Working Party.) Publication of RAZZ magazine for junior secondary students and Ideas for Teachers kit.
- 1988 26 September Queensland Minister, Brian Littleproud letter to Commonwealth Minister, John Dawkins, indicating Queensland's de facto endorsement of the National Policy.
- 1988 12 December Commonwealth Minister, John Dawkins, reply to Brian Littleproud's letter, welcomes Queensland's 'acceptance of the Policy'.
- 1989 December Labor Election Victory in Queensland; Labor committed to full endorsement of National Policy and the establishment of a Ministerial Advisory Committee on Gender Equity.
- 1990 Ministerial Advisory Committee on Gender Equity established. Function: to provide advice to Minister on:
- . gender equity policy development and implementation for students;
 - . emerging gender equity issues on education
 - . resource needs for implementing student gender equity policy;
 - . the role of teacher education in supporting gender equity policy implementation.
- 1991 Establishment of Directorate of Equity (Workplace and Studies). Female Director appointed.
- 1992 March Release of new Queensland Department of Education Gender Equity in Education Policy. This Policy affirmed Queensland's commitment to the National Policy for the Education of Girls.

The 1973 Karmel Report which provided the specific schooling policy framework for the Whitlam government recognised the disadvantages experienced by girls in schooling. Specifically, it observed: 'Being a girl is an educational disadvantage except when it is also associated with high socio-economic status' (Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission, 1973, p.19). As a consequence of that recognition, the Schools Commission established a study group in 1974 to consider the educational needs of both girls and women. Susan Ryan, later to be federal Minister for Education under the Hawke government, was a member of the study group. The *Girls, Schools and Society* report of 1975, the subsequent Schools Commission review, was tabled in International Women's Year (IWY) and pursued at great length the documentation and explanation of girls' educational disadvantage, within a mainly sex role theory approach, imbued with liberal feminism. This report has been a significant one in the history of gender equity policies in schooling. However, most analyses would agree with that of Connors and McMorro (1988, p.257) that the 'social and educational values and philosophy which characterised *Girls, School and Society* were more influential than its formal recommendations'.

Most State systems, excluding Queensland, also undertook inquiries into girls and schooling around this time (Sobski, 1985). The policy pressures which had resulted in the Schools Commission Report were also present in these moves at State levels. International Women's Year also saw the Queensland Department of Education produce a special issue of its professional magazine for teachers, *Quest*, on girls' schooling. In recognition of IWY, the Australian Teachers' Federation appointed an Elimination of Sexism in Education Committee, which exerted significant policy pressure on State systems and the Commonwealth through until the eighties. This context resulted in the appointment of bureaucrats in the State systems who dealt with gender questions. Queensland did not designate an officer until late 1978. From 1977, these bureaucrats, typically called gender equity advisers, met on a regular basis. Queensland did not participate in these meetings until 1980 and in the first instance sent two men from the curriculum branch who were not regarded as having any particular expertise or interest in the area.

The first correspondence received by the Queensland Department of Education on girls' schooling was in April, 1978 from the Queensland Teachers' Union. This letter noted that an officer of the Union was funded for one-third of each week by the Schools Commission to work on policy on the elimination of sexism in education. After noting the

ATF's National Elimination of Sexism in Education Committee report, the executive of the Union called on the Department to make the elimination of sexism in education official Department policy. The letter also asked that a meeting between the Union and the Department be arranged regarding the need for the Department to employ personnel to 'develop non-sexist resources for schools and plan in-service programs for teachers'. A subsequent meeting between the Union and the Department on these matters took place on 12 October, 1978. As a result, the Department appointed an officer (a male) to 'obtain up-to-date information and literature, review materials, and to be the contact person between the Department and the Union'. In early 1979 a female bureaucrat took over that job. Subsequently, she became an important player in the move towards the development of a policy, remaining in the position until 1984 when she moved on to the Schools Commission to the Education of Girls Unit.

The Parliamentary Select Committee on Education, which had been appointed in the wake of public discontent over the bannings of MACOS and SEMP, in an interim report in 1979, referred to girls' education in just one paragraph:

We do not approve of discrimination on the grounds of sex. However, we believe that equality should be based on opportunity rather than outcomes. We also believe that the wish by a majority of women to accept family and caring roles should not be discouraged or in any way denigrated. We reject the concept of 'role reversal' featured in certain book and poster material and recommend that this material not be used. (Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1979, p.10)

This brief reference was to set the agenda for the next ten years in girls' schooling policy in Queensland, becoming a *force majeure* in policy and official discourse (McHoul, 1984).

The continuing and important presence of the ATF in the push for gender policies is indicated in a letter to the Queensland Minister for Education, then Val Bird, in January 1979. This letter notified the Minister of an ATF national conference on the elimination of sexism in education to be held in April and invited the attendance of 'your officers working on the elimination of sexism'. A subsequent letter in February to the Director-General specifically invited and named the officer in the Department who had taken up duties in early 1979. The January letter to the Minister was also about the February AEC meeting, which had as an agenda item, programs to assist in reducing the disadvantages of girls and boys. In that context, the ATF had sent as an attachment to the letter its submission to the February AEC meeting. The submission was basically concerned with the working conditions of State Department employees involved in the

elimination of sexism. The point was made that the duties of these positions were not commensurate 'with the small amount of structured support given by senior officers in the Departments or provided in the form of office assistance'. The attachment then listed three minimal requirements for these positions; the first was the need for a published policy statement; the second was the need for such a position and its portfolio of responsibilities to be made an 'integral part of the system'; and the third was the need for 'personal support groups'. The elaboration of this latter requirement could have been written specifically about the circumstances in Queensland at the time as indicated in interviews. The document stated:

Because the area is such a sensitive one; because there are extremist groups in the community seeking to hamper progress in the area; because the officer is often isolated within the Department by being seen as 'the feminist' or in some cases 'the woman', the pressures on the officer are great and she must have support systems to cope with those pressures. (ATF Submission to February, 1979, AEC Meeting, p.3)

In the light of the fact that Queensland's anti-sexism officer did not attend national meetings until 1980, the following was also significant:

Further, because of the isolation of the officer and the newness of her work she should have resources which enable her to meet with her counterparts in other Education Departments at least twice a year. (ATF Submission to February, 1979, AEC Meeting, p.3)

In the concluding paragraph, the submission noted: 'It is our view that some officers have been treated as aliens within their Departments'.

Interviews also indicated that the officer in Queensland almost sat at the pressure point of a pincer movement, having to deflect anti-feminist pressures from Women Who Want to be Women, to strategically manage feminist pressures from outside the Queensland bureaucracy, including from the Commonwealth, and to pursue her own feminist reform agenda. And all of this had to be managed in a non-supportive political, bureaucratic and cultural milieu.

Internal bureaucratic pressure continued for the clarification of the role of the Department's anti-sexism officer. An internal memo to the Assistant Director-General in October, 1979 pointed out the confusion concerning the role of that officer, particularly by the Schools Commission and the difficulties stemming from the fact that the Department had no policy on the issue. The memo called for two actions, the upgrading of the officer's position and the creation of a policy, both as matters of some urgency. The report which formed the background to the memo pointed out the virtual flood of correspondence

on the matter which the Department was receiving. While some of that communication was from community groups, most came from the Schools Commission, the ATF, the Queensland Teachers' Union and women's advisers in other States. The report noted the Schools Commission's perception that the officer's role was one of women's adviser. As a consequence, in 1980 the officer's title was "upgraded" to 'Department Liaison Officer for Issues Dealing with Equality of Opportunity/Elimination of Sexism in Education of Girls and Boys', a title somewhat different from that of 'Department Liaison Officer in relation to Sexism/Equal Opportunity in Education,' as recommended in the report prepared for the above mentioned memo. The new title was to have continuing significance in the battle towards a Queensland policy. Interviews with bureaucrats involved at the time indicated the new title was formulated as a signal to the Schools Commission that something was being done in Queensland, but it was also obviously a signal of the particular ideological approach in Queensland. The Schools Commission's draft proposal Education for Women and Girls – Priorities for the 1980s was important in keeping pressure on the Queensland Department and also as an internal leverage for the officer.

In mid-1980, a letter from the Director-General to the Queensland Teachers' Union clarified the duties of the Liaison Officer as involving the monitoring of developments in Queensland, interstate and overseas, advising the Director-General and senior officers as to problems in the area and liaising with the Schools Commission. Significantly, and as an indication of the political sensitivity of the matter in Queensland, the Director-General in that letter stated:

I wish to stress at this point that (name of person filling the position) is not a 'women's adviser', a designation used in some other States to describe a person with formal administrative responsibility in these areas. I have also made this quite clear to the Schools Commission indicating that, for the time being at least, I wish to retain this particular responsibility among my many others as Director-General of Education. (Letter from Director-General to Queensland Teachers' Union, 11/06/80)

Similar letters went to the Schools Commission and to the South Australian Director-General because of assumptions they had made in earlier communication that the role was a women's adviser one.

It was in that context, and also the context of the availability of Commonwealth funds under Projects of National Significance through the Schools Commission, that the Department policy statement was produced. A research interview (IT8, 1991, p.2) indicated that there was some considerable delay between the final formulation of the

policy and its approval. A long process of negotiation with the Council of Directors had been a precursor to the actual achievement of the policy. The policy, *Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys*, was finally approved by the Director-General in December, 1980 and gazetted for distribution throughout the Department and to schools in January, 1981. The short policy is reproduced in Table 9.2.

TABLE 9.2

QUEENSLAND DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION: POLICY ON EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN EDUCATION FOR GIRLS AND BOYS, 1981

'Queensland society is characterised by a diversity of values and wide-ranging social, economic and technological changes. These factors are contributing to an increasing range of roles for men and women in both the family and the wider community.

It is a societal responsibility, shared by the family and other social institutions, including schools, to provide equal opportunities for all girls and boys so that they can develop skills and abilities, and effective participation in such a society. Failure to accept this responsibility and provide equality of opportunity, limits the potential attainments of students and, therefore, of Queensland society in the future.

At times, an individual's potential attainments are inadvertently constrained by educational practices. The various roles and labels ascribed to students because of their particular sex, background or ability are illustrative of such constraining practices. These practices channel students in certain directions and contribute to discrimination contrary to the ideal of equality of opportunity.

Of increasing concern in this regard is discrimination on the basis of sex. An expression of such discrimination is sex-role stereotyping whereby students are expected to pursue interests, subjects, careers and life-styles which are based on sex differences rather than on individual potential and talent. Such expectations constrain the life views and experiences of students and are incongruent with the provision of equality of opportunity in education.

Education policies alone cannot be effective in eliminating sex-role stereotypes and their related inequalities. Nevertheless, changes can be effected in schools in such ways that the individuality and equality of all students are accommodated. Schools need to examine the assumptions and values underlying sex-related expectations and the limitations these place on students.

In particular, efforts need to focus upon the analysis and correction of stereotyping in curriculum development and implementation, the selection of resource materials, subject choice and career counselling, discrimination in school and class organisation, and in teacher practices.

Schools should assist all students to develop a sense of self-worth and a range of skills and abilities in order to meet their individual needs and interests. Most importantly, schools should open up rather than foreclose the range of life choices available to individuals in a changing society. The pursuit of these goals will help to promote the attainment of equality of opportunity in education.'

In the process of formulating the policy, feminist demands for an emphasis on girls were diverted into a focus upon equality of opportunity for girls and boys (McHoul, 1984; Laxon and Knight, 1992). As Laxon and Knight (1992) note, the schooling disadvantages

experienced by girls are 'subjected to a two-fold distortion and transformation' here. First, the problem is structured as one simply of opportunities and secondly there is a misrecognition of the peculiar disadvantages experienced by girls in the concern for opportunities for boys as well as girls. (See McHoul (1984) and Laxon and Knight (1992) for discourse-analytic accounts of this policy statement.) Elsewhere (Lingard, Henry and Taylor, 1987; McHoul, 1984) it has been argued that this idiosyncratic policy resulted from a strange amalgam of weak liberal feminist views, combined with a weak access definition of opportunity, in a context where anti-feminist perspectives as articulated by groups such as WWW had some salience. The political context as outlined in the previous section of this Chapter was also significant in terms of policy possibilities. As noted elsewhere,

Despite all of this, the reality is that the Queensland Department of Education, after much teacher union pressure, pressure from the agenda set by a more progressive federal government and pressure developing from broader developments, has felt obliged to develop a policy relating to the education of girls (and boys!); a weak policy, but a policy nonetheless. (Lingard, Henry and Taylor, 1987, p.146)

Pressure from women within the State Department was also a most significant factor in the achievement of that policy, as will be shown in the following Chapter. The creation of a policy provided the Department with some protection against accusations that nothing was being done and also with a way of managing the issue.

The Queensland Policy was the motivating force for the Department's application for Commonwealth Projects of National Significance monies for 1981 and 1982. There was also some relationship between the availability of Commonwealth monies and the gazetting of the policy. This money was sought and received (\$84000 for the two years) to implement the Queensland Policy. The resulting project known as On Cue developed resource materials throughout 1982 and 1983. The continuing sensitive nature of the question in Queensland politics is indicated in the Minister's (Bill Gunn) submission to Cabinet recommending acceptance of the Commonwealth Projects of National Significance money. There it is noted:

In addressing these concerns my Department has been anxious to ensure that equality of opportunity for girls and boys is achieved in a balanced and measured way, and that the objective to be pursued is the promotion of equality, rather than the aggressive elimination of what is perceived to be stereotyping on the basis of sex. (Cabinet Submission, 14/10/1981)

The submission went on to argue:

In my view, it is particularly important that the issue of equality of opportunity in education for boys and girls be addressed in a balanced way,

and that there be available to Queensland teachers appropriate alternatives to the blatantly aggressive techniques for the elimination of stereotyping being proposed by some teacher and parent organisations elsewhere in Australia. (Cabinet Submission, 14/10/1981)

There appears to be an expression here of the desire to produce materials over which the Department has control and which were to be in line with its 'balanced' policy statement. It also should be acknowledged that the balanced materials were to be produced utilising Commonwealth money.

The Liaison Officer and two seconded teachers funded out of the Commonwealth money worked on Project On Cue, producing a poster and a bibliography of resource materials. These materials were distributed to all schools with a brief and unsupportive memorandum from the Director-General of Education. The emphasis upon equality of opportunity for girls and boys and the cautious character of the Queensland approach is indicated in the introduction to the annotated bibliography of the resource materials:

The selection is biased toward girls, reflecting that much of the current literature in that area is concerned with the disadvantage girls have experienced in the past, and continue to experience. This bias should not be viewed as lessening the importance of the literature for a broader understanding of equality of opportunity in education. Rather, in highlighting the inequities in education experienced by one sex, a perspective is provided which assists in reviewing sex discrimination in education generally. (Queensland Department of Education, 1981b p.1)

Not all of the materials produced by Project On Cue were distributed to schools, although some of these were subsequently distributed by the Queensland Teachers' Union. Indeed a letter to the Union on the matter argued that the Department had benefited from simply being involved in the process. As also indicated in letters from the Minister, the existence of this Commonwealth funded project allowed him to argue that something was being done in Queensland beyond the formulation of the policy.

The cautious and "safe" character of the Queensland policy was clearly indicated in a letter in May, 1981 from the Acting Director-General to secondary schools regarding the use of Studies to Encourage Non-Sexist Education (SENSE), which had been developed by the federal body, the Curriculum Development Centre. The letter suggested that the materials not be used and in so doing invoked the Ahern Report and again made explicit the contrast between the elimination of sexism and the promotion of equality (also see McHoul, 1984):

When reviewed against the Departmental policy statement on 'Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys' (Education Office Gazette, 30

January 1981), the materials are inappropriate, given their focus on the elimination of sexism as opposed to the promotion of equality.

Given the statements made by the Parliamentary Select Committee on Education in Queensland in its Second Interim Report...which relate to teaching techniques including role playing and dilemma stories, the private lives of students and their families, and the consideration of controversial issues in schools, much of the student resource and work material in *SENSE* would be inappropriate for use in Queensland State schools.

Section ii of the materials, which encourages examination of the school by students in relation to sexism practices, presents the potential for conflict between students, staff members and principals and could contribute to an undermining of school organisation and authority. (Queensland Department of Education, Circular Memorandum to Principals of State Secondary Schools, 6 May, 1981a)

In a somewhat belated follow-up to *Girls, School and Society* (1975), the Schools Commission appointed a Working Party on the Education of Girls in 1981, funded out of Projects of National Significance. The more specific context of this Working Party was the Schools Commission Report for the Triennium 1982-1984 (Schools Commission, 1981). Its terms of reference were much narrower than had been those of *Girls, School and Society* and probably reflected the different political persuasions of federal governments at the two periods (Kenway, 1990b, pp.61-62). The Queensland Liaison Officer was a member of that Working Party, which eventually produced *Girls and Tomorrow* in July 1984, which expressed the need for a national policy.

The Queensland Department continued to receive letters from WWWW on the *Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys* policy. A reply to Jackie Butler from the Deputy Director-General, who was also a member of the Schools Commission at the time, gives a clear indication of the line the Department was taking:

In addressing this issue, the policy clearly adopts a balanced approach to the promotion of equality with no support for extreme or biased views. The policy should not be interpreted as advocating the elimination of sex differences. The statement recognises that biological sex differences exist. Combined with this recognition is also the appreciation that some differences are related to societal and cultural expectations. (Letter to WWWW 10/12/81).

This reply while conceding something to the biological determinist perspective of WWWW, also made some concessions towards a cultural explanation proffered by the liberal feminism of sex role theory. As shown above, the policy which was either being

defended or attacked was an amalgam of soft anti-feminist sensitivities and weak liberal feminism. As such, in Queensland, it did the political work required of it.

In late 1983, the Queensland Teachers' Union wrote to the Minister (now Powell) forcefully stressing its concern that Queensland had 'allocated the least resources to addressing these issues [gender equity] when compared with other States'. The Minister's reply suggested that the Union ought to wait to see what might result from the On Cue project, which, of course, was fully funded by the Commonwealth!

In mid-1984 the Schools Commission moved to establish an Education of Girls Unit. In a letter of June, 1984, Dr. Peter Tannock, Chair of the Commission, wrote to the Queensland Director-General requesting that the Liaison Officer be granted leave from the Department to be seconded to the Commission for two years to fill the position of Head of the new Unit. This was to operate under the Public Service Exchange Program. In rejecting that request, the Director-General in his reply to Tannock noted that for approval to be granted for such secondments there had to be 'benefits to Queensland' and those benefits had to be in 'accord with Departmental priorities for future action'. Clearly then Queensland was not about to give priority to the question of girls' education! Subsequently, the Liaison Officer resigned from the Department and took up the position with the Commission. A then Schools Commissioner noted in an interview that the former Liaison Officer's knowledge of the Queensland situation was an important factor in Queensland, despite political opposition, not taking a 'spoiling role' in relation to the National Policy (IT5, 1991, p.7).

The Liaison's Officer's role was subsequently filled by a male. The Teachers' Union wrote to the Director-General complaining of this situation and requested that the Department 'appoint a senior female officer to work in the area of equality of opportunity and the education of girls'. The Director-General's reply of 30 November, 1984 asserted: 'The fact that responsibility for this continuing activity is at present in the hands of a male officer would seem to be irrelevant'.

The *Girls and Tomorrow* report was released by the Schools Commission in July 1984. In its preface it noted the importance of a national seminar held in October, 1982 to the structure and content of the Report. It also stated:

A National Policy on the education of girls would provide a blueprint for change. We see this Report as a first step in the development of such a policy. We hope it will be widely read and discussed by teachers, parents, teacher educators and policy makers in schools, systems, and governments. (Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1984, p.vii)

In a letter of 10 October, 1984 to Dr.Tannock, then chair of the Schools Commission, in response to a letter about *Girls and Tomorrow*, the Queensland Director-General expressed his very real concern at the possibility of a Commonwealth imposition in this area. He argued instead for a 'Commonwealth-State partnership in education' which would be 'more productive' 'if the States are entrusted to translate policy into practice in ways which best suit the particular needs of the State'.

The election of a federal Labor government in March, 1983, with a feminist as the Minister for Education and Minister Assisting the Prime Minister on the Status of Women, provided a fertile policy context for the achievement of a national policy. Connors and McMorrow (1988, p.258) have argued that Ryan's 'presence as Commonwealth minister legitimated and encouraged the efforts of those within her portfolio who were committed to action on these issues'. Such an observation was confirmed in all interviews which dealt with this question.

The major schooling policy initiative by the Hawke government in the early stages of its tenure was the Participation and Equity Program (PEP) (1984-1987), which had as its goals the increased participation of students to Year 12 and greater participation by disadvantaged young people. While nation-wide, retention of girls to Year 12 surpassed that of boys in 1976, there was still a very much gender segmented participation in different curriculum areas. A condition of grants to the States under PEP funding was a commitment to gender equity. In October, 1984, Queensland appointed an Education Officer to the curriculum branch utilising PEP funds. This officer had specific responsibilities in relation to the education of girls. A then Schools Commissioner interviewed for this research noted the good work that was done in Queensland in the education of girls domain under PEP funding (IT5, 1991, p.8). Once again, however, it was Commonwealth monies which provided the impetus for positive developments in the area.

In 1984 the Queensland Department planned another special edition of *Quest*, its professional magazine, on the education of girls. It was planned to publish this number in November. At the final proof stage, with cover design completed, a senior officer refused to allow printing to proceed because of its supposedly controversial nature. After much discussion and consultation, it was finally released in February 1985 in a censored form. Changes made indicated something of attitudes at the political level and at the senior level of the bureaucracy. In an article by Taylor (1984), all references to federal government

funding were deleted, as were those to initiatives taken by any teacher union and to equal opportunity resource centres in other States. It was also significant that a review of research and progress on the education of girls written by the Liaison Officer, together with recommendations for future policy, were also removed. However, the *piece de resistance* in censorship was the change made to the cover. The original cover featured a photograph of a girl in class putting up her hand to answer a question. In her hand she was holding nothing more subversive than a pencil. The photograph was replaced by a line drawing of a demure school girl in what appeared to be a private school uniform. The reason for the change was that the original photograph was of 'a girl in a militant pose!' (Lingard, Henry and Taylor, 1987, p.142).

A set of edited proofs and the original cover were leaked to the Queensland Teachers' Union and subsequently appeared in an article in their journal which referred to the 'petty political censorship' (Hughey, 1985) of the Department. There was a Departmental inquiry into the leak. The Queensland Teachers' Union's Women's Coordinator was quoted in the Courier-Mail in an article on the matter as saying: 'The Education Department has adopted quite blatant obstructionist tactics to ensure that the education of girls does not become a recognised issue...' (Courier-Mail, 29/04/1985).

During 1985 the Schools Commission decided to proceed towards the creation of a *National Policy for the Education of Girls*, following positive responses from the States to the *Girls and Tomorrow* recommendation. As indicated in Department correspondence at the time and from interviews and the chronology outlined here, Queensland was more wary of such a development than were the other States. However, the year was quite tumultuous for the Commission (Connors and McMorrow, 1988, p.258), following the tabling in April of the *Quality of Education in Australia* Report (QERC) which was to usher in a new outputs, efficiency and accountability focus. As noted in Chapters 5 and 8, QERC resulted in a weakening of the standing of the Commission, as the first step towards its post-1987 demise, reducing its program management functions and staffing. The QERC Report did make mention of girls and education, recommending that State-collected data on student outcomes according to gender should be an accountability requirement upon the States for the receipt of Commonwealth funding.

During 1985 the AEC discussed the education of girls as an agenda item. Victoria produced a report for the Council on the topic. That report pointed out the idiosyncratic policy stance of Queensland:

Queensland: The question of equal opportunity has been handled in a different manner. The underlying principle is that compensatory programs should be based on the need of individuals and not based on sex, nationality or religion. Solutions need to be sought which give equal opportunities to every student. (Australian Education Council, 1985, p.85)

The limited commitment of Queensland to the issue was also evident in the documentation provided in the Report of developments in other States. Victoria, for example, at that time employed 15 staff in its Equal Opportunity Unit (AEC, 1985, p.84).

In late 1985 the Prime Minister and Susan Ryan announced the government's intention to establish a *National Policy for the Education of Girls*. This was in the context of the introduction of Commonwealth Affirmative Action legislation as part of the inchoate beginnings of the National Agenda for Women. A letter to the Queensland Director-General of 16 December, 1985 noted this decision. The letter also indicated the interesting interaction between the Commission and the AEC in the move to a national policy. Amongst other things, the letter stated:

At its recent meeting the Australian Education Council resolved that education systems should continue to support the development of a national policy on the education of girls and the elimination of sexism in education. The policy proposal outlined in this report [Girls and Tomorrow] included a basic statement of underlying educational principles and the identification of key areas and strategies for action. It is envisaged that the development of a national plan will proceed along these lines. (Lyndsay Connors, Schools Commissioner to Director-General, George Berkeley, 16/12/1985)

Additionally, the letter informed the Director-General that the Commission would be pursuing the National Policy agenda as 'one of its top priorities'. The letter also noted that consultations would be undertaken towards the achievement of that goal. Specifically, the letter said:

Consultation with system authorities, key interest groups and with others with expertise in the area will, of course, play a significant role in the whole process. I expect that consultations will be undertaken in early 1986 and will contact you later to make detailed arrangements. (Lyndsay Connors, Schools Commissioner to George Berkeley, Director-General, 16/12/85)

Research interviews suggested that this process of negotiation towards consensus was centrally important in achieving the National Policy. It was also noted that this, initially at least, was not the federal minister's desire. As one senior Commonwealth adviser noted:

From the very beginning Susan Ryan wanted a National Plan of Action, but when you heard her speak about what it was it would have been fairer to call it a Commonwealth edict. It was really going to say to the States, this is where you have failed and this is what you will do and it was difficult to convince her that not only would that not get up, but that it would set the

whole thing back for ever. So what you see as the National Policy for the Education of Girls is very much a compromise between Commonwealth and States' directives for it. (IT5, 1991, p.2)

Interviews also indicated the significance of the negotiative process to gaining support from Directors-General for the initiative. In respect of Queensland, it was observed that correct bureaucratic procedures were central in ensuring at least that Queensland would participate in the process, if not in the agreement to the policy in the first instance. The presence and acumen of Queensland's former Liaison Officer now with the Commission has already been mentioned as a significant factor. Here the point was also made of the difference between the position of some senior bureaucrats and the minister on the question with Queensland's 'sort of neutral to supportive attitude' (IT, 1991, p.5) coming from the bureaucracy, rather than the minister. On the Queensland minister's attitude one Commonwealth policy adviser noted:

I spoke to Powell at the AEC meeting. He wasn't mindlessly opposed. However, I guess one would have to say that the official thinking in Queensland at the time was some light years behind the official thinking at the political level in other States. (IT5, 1991, p.5)

In the context of the move to a National Policy, in February, 1986 Queensland appointed a Senior Education Officer – Equality of Opportunity to the Special Programs Support Branch of the Department. From the research it is not possible to be absolutely certain about why this position was created. However, the evidence, both documentary and interview, would suggest that the increased volume of communication from the Commonwealth on the matter was a significant factor, as well as the Commonwealth move in the post-*Quality of Education in Australia* (1985) period towards certain accountability requirements upon the States, including gender equity. Whatever the reasons, this position was at a much higher level than had been the Liaison Officer's, the significance of which was noted in a research interview. This Equality of Opportunity Officer participated in the negotiations during the lead up to the achievement of the National Policy. As well, she was to play an important role in pushing the Department towards more substantive implementation action in relation to its policy. With this appointment the Commission was notified by the Department that all matters in respect of the National Policy should still be addressed to the Director-General, but also to the new Equality of Opportunity Officer.

If a national policy was to be achieved it had to be approved by the Australian Education Council, the forum at which consensus could be negotiated on Commonwealth/State relations. However, it was the Schools Commission which was

handling the matter. Indeed, an interview with a Commonwealth policy adviser argued that during this period, 1986 until May, 1987, the Schools Commission almost 'stepped momentarily out of being a Commonwealth advisory body' and took on a 'national role' for the AEC in respect of the National Policy agenda (IT5, 1991, p.18). It was also suggested that the Commission's perceived expertise and long term commitment to gender questions were other important factors in taking on that role. Over and over again in the interviews with a wide variety of people the point was made that fact that there was no Commonwealth money and, hence no programmatic commitment, attached to the National Policy, was an important factor in its achievement. It was thus clearly a symbolic policy, (Anderson, 1975, 1983; Rein, 1983), a matter taken up in more detail in Chapter 11. The significance of "national", rather than "Commonwealth" to the achievement of the Policy was also regularly alluded to in the interviews. (See Chapter 8 on that topic)

The Schools Commission released the Interim National Policy and Plan of Action for the Education of Girls in May, 1986. The final version, *The National Policy for the Education of Girls in Australian Schools* (Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1987) was submitted to the federal Minister in May 1987 after twelve months negotiation, which, as interviews indicated, stood it in good stead with none of it subsequently being 'unpicked'.

On the 19 June, 1986, Ryan, the federal minister, sent a copy of the Interim Policy to the Queensland minister. In his reply of 8 July, 1986 Powell rejected the validity of the title of 'National Policy'. He stated:

Queensland does not agree that the National Plan of Action for the Education of Girls be implemented. As a consequence, it is incorrect to refer to it as a 'National Policy'. (Lin Powell, Queensland Minister for Education to Susan Ryan, Commonwealth Minister for Education, 08/07/86)

A number of research interviews pointed out the significance of the mediating role played by Queensland bureaucrats in ensuring that Queensland did not take a 'spoiling role' in relation to this.

The Interim Policy noted the consensual pulling together of already existing State policies as its methodology. Some have noted the potential for a lowest common denominator to result from such an approach (Ramsey, 1991; Lingard, 1991, 1992). Thus it argued:

There is a significant commonality among system policies in relation to principles, objectives, related priorities and strategies for action, although action varies in ways which reflect the distinctive characteristics of each system. This commonality provides a firm basis for an agreed national policy on the education of girls which would provide a blueprint for

incorporating goals, priorities and strategies for achieving equality of educational outcomes for girls. (Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1986, p.3)

One could note here that Queensland with its Equality of Opportunity for Girls and Boys Policy was the odd man out, as it were!

On the question of strategies, the Interim Policy envisaged an important role for the Commonwealth following assessment of achievements, needs and shortfalls at State system levels. In addition, it asked that State systems provide advice to the Schools Commission as to how the required 'educational strategies could be more beneficially coordinated' (Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1986, p.10). Advice was also sought as to how both non-government systemic and non-systemic schools could be incorporated into the national plan. Chapter 3 of *The National Policy for the Education of Girls in Australian Schools* steps back somewhat from the more involved role for the Commonwealth as envisaged in the Interim policy. On this point it notes:

The Commonwealth recognises that implementation of the policy framework must be undertaken against the pattern of responsibilities for schooling, and the relative roles of the Commonwealth, States, Territories and non-government authorities. For this reason, the strategies put forward below are illustrative. Endorsement of the National Policy does not entail a formal commitment on the part of the Commonwealth or of individual school systems or authorities to adopt particular strategies. (Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1987, p.37)

This weakened role for the Commonwealth in relation to implementation strategies resulted from the process of negotiated consensus towards the formal endorsement of the actual policy. It is also a firm indication that the policy as finally agreed to by the Commonwealth, all State systems, except Queensland, and by the Catholic and the other non-government school sector, was largely a symbolic policy (Anderson, 1975, 1984; Rein, 1983). As many interviews noted, this characteristic was important in its very achievement. However, it should be pointed out here that symbolic policies can operate in more material ways, particularly given a committed political constituency to utilise a policy to legitimate more progressive practices. This is a matter pursued further in Chapter 11.

The Interim Policy was discussed as an agenda item at the June, 1986 AEC meeting. The final Report (Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1987) was endorsed at the August/September AEC meeting, with Queensland reserving its position on the Report and failing to endorse the National Policy. Significantly, both the National Catholic

Education Commission and the National Council for Independent Schools endorsed the Policy in September, 1987.

The Queensland minister received a plethora of protest letters on this failure to endorse the policy. The letters came from the Teachers' Union, Queensland Council of Parents' and Citizens' Association, Council for Civil Liberties, the Association of Women Educators, Zonta Women International and from a number of individual female teachers. Interestingly, Powell in his responses argued a States' rights position, rather than asserting his opposition to the issue as such. In his letter to the Queensland Council of Parents' and Citizens' Association of 6 August, 1986 he noted: 'As I said at the recent meeting if the document were labelled "Commonwealth" policy, it may be closer to the mark'. He continued:

I view with growing concern the activity of the Schools Commission in formulating alleged national policy documents on a range of topics and endeavouring to impose these upon State and Territory systems and releasing them publicly as 'national policies'. To my mind 'national' policy on an educational topic could only be arrived at after discussion and agreement by the various educational authorities in the country. (Education Minister Lin Powell, letter to Queensland Council of Parents' and Citizens' Association, 06/08/1986)

This reply appears somewhat disingenuous to say the least, given the protracted period of negotiation involved in the ultimate achievement of the policy and the attention given to the Commonwealth/National distinction. As noted in Chapter 8 the National Policy appears to be sensitive to this issue, expatiating at some length on the difference. Maybe for political purposes, Powell was neglecting the Schools Commission/AEC symbiosis in the formulation of the Policy.

The actual *National Policy for the Education of Girls* is presented in Table 9.3. Something needs to be said briefly here about the nature of the policy. First, it should be noted that the Policy is concerned much more with structuring a framework for action, rather than documenting yet again the disadvantages experienced by girls through schooling, although the Prologue to the Schools Commission Report does provide an insightful and succinct account of 'Being a Girl in an Australian School'. The Policy is actually structured around a preamble, a statement of the educational values and principles underlying the policy framework, objectives and priority areas within each of the objectives and illustrative implementation strategies, along with a five-year reporting cycle. The policy stresses that meeting the educational needs of girls must be a mainstream professional responsibility. It also noted the strength of support for such a

policy across all of the involved parties of the educational policy community. The policy had four objectives, notably:

- (i) To raise awareness in schools and in the wider community of the educational needs of girls;
- (ii) To ensure girls and boys have equal access to and participation in school curriculum which contributes to full and equal participation in economic and social life;
- (iii) To provide a challenging and supportive school environment for learning in which girls and boys are equally valued and their needs equitably addressed...;
- (iv) To ensure that school resource allocation policies and practices operate in ways which are consistent with principles of equity and relative need. (Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1987, pp.70–71)

As part of the first objective, the Gen magazine subsequently has been produced and distributed across systems and schools by DEET.

The Policy is structured within a fairly strong liberal feminist framework, but it also recognises the need to disaggregate the problems facing different girls in schooling according to factors such as socio-economic circumstances, ethnicity, disability and rural location. Kenway (1990b, pp.67–68) has noted the borrowing from other feminisms (radical and socialist) within some of the discourse of the policy. For example, she points out the recognition given to class and Aboriginality. On the latter, the Schools Commission document includes an appendix outlining the views of the National Aboriginal Education Committee on the policy. That appendix argues that racism is more of a problem for Aboriginal girls than factors related to their gender. Kenway (1990b) also identifies the concern of the policy with the education of boys, particularly in all boys' schools and in relation to the construction of masculinity. Despite such recognitions, Kenway (1990b) argues the policy does not go far enough in considering amongst other things the curriculum significance of such awareness. However, she does acknowledge that in relation to the concept of an inclusive curriculum the 'policy has outrun the research base which is supposed to contribute to it' (Kenway, 1990b, p.69).

As documented in Chapters 5 and 7, the Hawke government was moving towards more managerialist and economic rationalist frameworks after 1986, which were fully embraced in the aftermath of the July 1987 election victory. The National Policy was tabled by the Schools Commission just prior to the 1987 election, and received AEC approval after the election, which saw the precipitous abolition of the Schools

Commission. As such, the policy was affected by this emergent policy culture, being one of the last documents produced by the Schools Commission. The changed policy culture in its last months is manifest in the managerialist framing of the actual Policy (Kenway, 1990b, p.67).

TABLE 9.3

THE NATIONAL POLICY FOR THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS

The National Policy for the Education of Girls

In Australia and throughout the world, attention has focused on the status of women generally, on the need to improve the conditions of their lives, and on the benefits of a society where women and men participate as equals in all aspects of economic, social and political life. Schools have a role and responsibility in contributing to the achievement of equality between the sexes and in improving the conditions of life for girls and women. All Australian schools should ensure that what is being taught and learned does justice to girls and women, taking account of their cultural, language and socio-economic diversity, and is equally valuable for girls and boys.

POLICY FRAMEWORK

Educational Values and Principles:

- Gender is not a determinant of capacity to learn.
- Girls and boys should be valued equally in all aspects of schooling.
- Equality of opportunity and outcomes in education for girls and boys may require differential provision, at least for a period of time.
- Strategies to improve the quality of education for girls should be based on a recognition that action is required at both the primary and secondary levels.
- Strategies to improve the quality of education for girls should be based on an understanding that girls are not a homogeneous group.
- Priority in improving the quality of education for girls should be given to meeting the specific needs of those groups of girls most requiring support to benefit from schooling.
- To improve schooling for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander girls, school authorities will need to take account of the unique culture of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities.
- A high quality education for girls is a mainstream professional responsibility for all educators in all primary and secondary schools and school systems.
- Schooling for girls and boys should reflect the entitlement of all women, in their own right, to personal respect, economic security and participation in and influence over decisions which affect their lives.
- Schools should educate girls and boys for satisfying, responsible and productive living, including work inside and outside the home.
- Schools should provide a curriculum which in content, language and methodology, meets the educational needs and entitlements of girls and which recognises the contributions of women to society.
- Schools should provide a challenging learning environment which is socially and culturally supportive and physically comfortable for girls and boys.
- Schools and systems should be organised and resources provided and allocated to ensure that the capacities of girls and boys are fully and equally realised.
- The effective change and lasting improvements needed in schools will require awareness and understanding of the educational needs of girls on the part of students, parents, teachers and administrators, and institutional support for addressing these needs.

Meeting the educational needs of girls is a mainstream professional responsibility throughout all schools and systems and requires preservice and inservice to accompany initiatives addressing the objectives and priority areas below.

Objectives:

- | | | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| I. Raising awareness of the educational needs of girls | II. Equal Access to and Participation in Appropriate Curriculum | III. Supportive School Environment | IV. Equitable resource allocation |
|--------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|

Priority areas:

- | | | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>A. Equal capacity for learning and equal rights in schooling</p> <p>B. Recognising the roles and status of women and the 'implications for girls' schooling</p> <p>C. Improving the information base and statistical collections including girls with special needs</p> | <p>A. Fundamental curriculum review and reform to broaden girls' options for understanding and participating in society</p> <p>B. Specific areas of curriculum reform:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● to remove stereotyping ● to enhance participation and achievement ● to develop new curriculum in significant areas of knowledge ● to include the contribution of women, from all ethnic backgrounds and social groups | <p>A. Teaching and learning processes and classroom management</p> <p>B. School organisation and practice</p> <p>C. The social and cultural environment, with particular attention to groups of girls with special needs</p> <p>D. The physical environment</p> <p>E. Examination of values and attitudes relating to gender, sexuality and school achievement</p> | <p>A. Review of resource allocation policies</p> <p>B. Recognition of need for general resources to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● redress effects of attitudes and practices ● take account of special needs and support specific initiatives |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Action

Education authorities to develop their own plans and strategies for action at school, system and national levels, consistent with the educational values and principles, objectives and priority areas above.

Reporting and Review

A five-year reporting cycle

Annual public report comprising co-ordinated reports from government and non-government school authorities and the Commonwealth.

Periodic review

In the final year of each reporting cycle, the report to consist of a comprehensive review of all elements of the Policy, based on consultation with government and non-government school authorities and interest groups.

As pointed out above, the policy argued for a mainstreaming approach to implementation. Specifically, the policy states:

The process of mainstreaming the National Policy into all aspects of schooling involves systems taking into consideration such areas as:

- . implementation of system policies for staffing, provision of resources and support services, research and school evaluation, curriculum and assessment review and development, and related decision-making structures and processes
- . development and application of resource standards and related allocation procedures
- . development of guidelines promoting practices consistent with the National Policy
- . development and application of measures to give effect to relevant Commonwealth and State sex discrimination legislation
- . development of advisory structures and procedures relating to the implementation of the National Policy.

(Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1987, p.39)

There is a sophistication here in policy implementation terms not evident in earlier reports. More relevant, however, is the managerialist framework within which the policy is articulated and to be implemented. This was also evident in the structuring of the policy. Thus, as argued by Kenway (1990b, p.67), 'the guiding administrative ideology for the National Policy is corporate management'.

The changed policy culture with the move to DEET at the Commonwealth level has been noted throughout this thesis. That changed culture resulted in a new, more instrumental, human capital and microeconomic reform approach to schooling. The *National Policy for the Education of Girls* did not remain immune from this new culture. The brashness of the new managerialist culture was noted by one Commonwealth policy adviser with the observation that in the early days of DEET whenever the National Policy was mentioned it was quickly denigrated as a process with comments like : 'Oh my God! You know that took them two years' (IT5, 1991, p.10). On the changed policy culture, the comment was made in a research interview: '..let me say the whole ethos for women inside that portfolio changed amazingly' (IT5, 1991, p.11). All the interviews noted how the DEET restructure, at the same time as many State Department restructures, also

fragmented the feminist networks, which had been important in the achievement of the first national policy in schooling. The new policy culture was also to have an impact on the actual content and focus of the policy. A federal policy adviser noted how the creation of DEET reframed the policy focus to girls and non-traditional subject choices and occupations:

...at the philosophical level a much more narrow and utilitarian focus on the education of girls. I mean I haven't heard the word 'girls' said without maths and science. You'd think there was a new beast called 'girls, maths and science'. (IT5, 1991, p.11)

Kenway (1990b) has also commented on this new focus, pointing out the 'restrictive consequences' of the new advice and policy structures at the Commonwealth level.

Subsequently, DEET has funded a number of CDC publications on girls, maths and science. The inclusive curriculum goal has also been narrowed through the Commonwealth's Girls into Maths and Science Project. As noted in the previous section of this Chapter, the rationale for expanding girls' school and post-school options within the new policy culture shifted to a need to expand the pool of talent argument. Questions of girls' schooling were now being tailored to the new human capital cloth, as it were. On that point Kenway (1990b, p.74) asserts: '...despite its potential the National Policy is in danger of being subverted by the changing face of educational policies'. Further, she argues that the policy is readily open to such potential subversion because of its 'dominant liberal feminist underpinnings' (p.74). However, it should be stated that this research has indicated that even symbolic policies can have an impact upon practice. (See Chapter 11.)

Associated with the National Policy was a yearly reporting procedure with States taking responsibility for the Report on a rotational basis. The first such report for 1987 was to be prepared by New South Wales. In December, 1987, Brian Littleproud replaced Powell as Queensland Minister for Education. This move in high educational politics (Archer, 1985) had important ramifications for girls' schooling policy. These implications were confirmed in both documentary analysis and through interviews. In March, 1988 the New South Wales Director-General wrote to his Queensland counterpart regarding the procedures for the compilation for the first national report. In his reply, the Director-General of Education, Ian Matheson, stated:

As you are aware, at the last AEC meeting, November, 1987, Queensland reserved its position as a whole on the National Policy for the Education of Girls. I wish to advise that Queensland will be participating in the 1987 national reporting procedure according to its own State policy on 'Equality

of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys'. (Queensland Director-General to New South Wales Director-General, 11/04/1988)

The presence of a new, less interventionist minister and the position of Equality of Opportunity officer were factors in the participation in the first national report. As an indication of the impact of Commonwealth initiatives, Queensland's contribution, after outlining its policy and the context of its development, then reported on developments utilising the objectives framework of the National Policy, outlined earlier in this section. The Queensland report also noted the continuation of the Commonwealth funded Understanding Future Options Project aimed to 'produce resources designed to assist Year 8 girls and boys to make informed decisions about their future options'. It also noted the intention to produce a magazine for Year 8 students for this purpose. The subsequent launch of that magazine (*Razz*) by the State Minister at Parliament House was another indication of a change in policy culture within the Department, following the replacement of Powell.

As indicated above, in February, 1986 a Senior Education Officer, Equality of Opportunity was appointed within the Queensland Department of Education. In November, 1986 a Department Working Party on Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys, approved by the Director-General, was established. This strategy was utilised by the Senior Education Officer to push for further gains in the girls' schooling area in the context of Commonwealth pressures. The Report of the Working Party was tabled in December, 1987, after having been submitted to the Director-General in June, 1987.

The Report contained a number of significant observations and recommendations. It noted that, although there was a policy statement, guidelines for implementation were lacking, resulting in an uncoordinated approach. It also suggested that girls' schooling had to become a mainstream issue, resonating here with the National Policy. The Report made a number of recommendations. These included that guidelines for the implementation of the policy be published as a supplement to the Education Office Gazette and that an Advisory Committee to the Director-General be established. In support for its recommendations, the Report outlined the findings of a brief questionnaire on the policy which had been distributed to a sample of schools, asking about the extent and nature of initiatives taken under the policy, and attempting to ascertain the level of commitment to the policy. About half the respondents indicated that their schools had taken some initiatives to implement the policy. Secondary schools appeared to be doing more than others with attempts to broaden gender-based subject selection. The commitment of the

Principal was seen as being centrally important in precipitating school-based action. The significance of teachers' tertiary education in raising awareness about the issues was also a finding. The Report also noted the importance of attendance at seminars on the education of girls run by PEP and the Queensland Inservice Education Committee. The Working Party recognised 'that policy guidelines were needed to assist in their interpretation and implementation'. Subsequently, the Policy Guidelines were published in the Education Office Gazette and distributed throughout the Department and to schools in June, 1988. The Advisory Committee was also established late in 1988.

The Guidelines were constructed around two sections: 'Interpreting the Policy' and 'Some Points to Consider When Implementing the Policy in Schools'. The former provided definitions of 'sex-role stereotyping', 'gender equity', 'self-concept' and 'self-esteem', indicating something of the individualistic focus. While the statement is silent with respect to the National Policy, there is clearly some resonance with its concerns. The statement retains its Queensland specificity with references throughout to girls and boys, men and women. Having said that, however, it does move in a more liberal direction (Laxon and Knight, 1992).

A range of subsequent Commonwealth funded projects were implemented in Queensland. New South Wales had prepared the 1987 Report on the National Policy, while Victoria did the 1988 one. It was Queensland's turn in 1989. In a letter of 26 September, 1988, the Queensland Minister, Littleproud, wrote to the federal Minister, Dawkins, notifying him of what amounted to Queensland's *de facto* endorsement of the National Policy. That letter stated amongst other things:

At previous AEC meetings Queensland has reserved its position on endorsement of the policy and the nature of its involvement in the implementation of the policy has been determined on a step-by-step basis. To date, Queensland's only commitment has been to report on initiatives it has taken to implement its own gender equity policy.

Now that the first stage of reporting on the implementation of the National Policy has been completed, I am satisfied that the national perspective and the Queensland perspective are similar. In particular, I am pleased to see that, while the national policy stresses the importance of considering what it means to be a girl in an Australian school, it also takes account of those reciprocal issues for boys. This is reflected in the activities reported on by States.

I now wish to inform you that the Queensland Department of Education will continue to participate in the annual reporting procedures for the National Policy on the Education of Girls in Australian Schools and I accept that the

policies of both the Commonwealth Government and the Queensland Government on this issue are similar. Nevertheless, the position will be closely monitored and the right to determine our own policies will be exercised. (Brian Littleproud, Queensland Minister for Education to John Dawkins, Commonwealth Minister for Employment, Education and Training, 26/09/1988)

Dawkins in his reply of 12 December, 1988 stated:

I welcome Queensland's acceptance of the Policy and your advice that Queensland will continue to participate in the annual reporting process, whilst appreciating Queensland's right to determine its own policies.

There is an inkling here of the way in which national policies as opposed to Commonwealth policies develop out of agreement across the States and Commonwealth. Nonetheless, both letters indicate some final success for a decade of feminist politics in and around the Queensland Department. However, that success came just when resources were scarce and economic rationalist and managerialist agendas began to narrow the possibilities for educational reform.

The Ahern defeat of Bjelke-Petersen for the leadership of the National Party and thus the Premiership in December, 1987, followed by the challenges and then Russell Cooper's defeat of Ahern in September, 1989 created an ambience of instability around the National Party government in its final years. As pointed out in Chapter 6, the impact of the Fitzgerald Inquiry, which was established in mid-1987 and which reported in mid-1989, was to amplify this ambience of instability. It certainly reduced the strength of ministerial control over departmental agendas and in so doing created more policy space for progressive strategy for bureaucrats. This appeared to be the case in education, a point noted in research interviews. The establishment of the Advisory Committee to the Director-General on Gender Equity and other related developments ensured that those involved in gender equity policy were well placed to seize the opportunity when the change of government came in December, 1989, ushering in the first State Labor government since 1957.

The Labor Party had formal endorsement of the National Policy as a platform commitment. The new Minister for Education, Paul Braddy, had been publicly supportive of gender equity issues. The Department of Education under Labor was restructured as part of a broader public service restructure, as outlined in Chapter 6. This resulted in an Equity Directorate with a Director responsible for equity for both students and employees. A Ministerial Advisory Committee on Gender Equity was established in mid-1990 and in

March, 1992 the Minister launched the new Gender Equity in Education Policy which was framed by the National Policy approach.

A draft of a five year review of the National Policy commissioned by the AEC was circulated for public comment in June, 1992. The fact that the AEC, rather than DEET or the Schools Council, organised this review indicates the importance of that intergovernmental ministerial council in the new national collaboration in schooling policy. While this draft pays obeisance to the new human capital framework, arguing that the education of girls is an important policy issue, given the economic goal of competing effectively in the international economy, its focus on eliminating sexual harassment in schools, examining the construction of gender, improving teacher practice, reforming curriculum, broadening work education, changing school organisation and management and addressing the needs of girls at risk, manifests again the feminist strategy of utilising policy space. The appointment of gender equity consultants to the curriculum mapping exercises which form part of the move to national curriculum frameworks has provided the National Policy with an inroad into a mainstream reform. As such, it has probably enhanced the potential for some material achievements.

As Kenway (1990b, p.59) has observed policies represent temporary settlements between groups and individuals with unequal power both inside and outside the state and between different 'discursive regimes'. The veracity of that perception has been confirmed in this chronicling of developments in girls' schooling policy at both Queensland and Commonwealth levels.

9.4 CONCLUSION

This Chapter has provided a narrative of developments in women's policy machinery within the Australian state at both Commonwealth and Queensland levels, indicating the achievements since the Whitlam period, and the changing economic, political and policy contexts for these achievements. That account provided a backdrop to the specific development of Queensland's *Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys* policy (1981) and subsequent policy implementation guidelines (1988), and the development of the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* (1987). Also noted was Queensland's initial refusal to endorse the National Policy and subsequent *de facto*

recognition under Littleproud as Minister for Education, and formal endorsement after Labor's 1989 State election victory.

The account indicated the significance of political pressure from women's groups and the teacher unions to the development of the National Policy, as well as the importance of a feminist minister, Susan Ryan, and a national feminist network within both State and Commonwealth bureaucracies. With respect to policy developments in Queensland, while political pressure from the union and women's groups played a mediated role, it was Commonwealth developments which provided the major impetus for Queensland's creation of a policy in 1981. The nature of that policy also indicated the political context in Queensland where because of malapportioned electoral boundaries and a National Party government, anti-feminist pressure groups had more political credence than elsewhere in Australia. Very significant in the emergence of Queensland's policy, and subsequent policy implementation guidelines of 1988, were the policy strategies pursued by femocrats within the Department of Education, and the sophisticated strategic way in which they utilised Commonwealth developments, including the availability of funding, as leverage for policy gains within the Queensland Department. The existence of Commonwealth equity policies and funding was centrally important in Queensland developments. The evidence has also shown very clearly the dual jurisdictional character of federalism, and the entangled nature of policy-making within a federal political structure. Additionally, the Chapter has documented the way changing state structures in response to the changing context of the state framed achievements in girls' schooling policy.

The next Chapter moves to provide an analysis of these developments. However, before doing so it utilises documentary and interview evidence to create a picture of the processes of policy-making involved in the achievement of the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* and Queensland's *Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys* policy. In so doing, it argues that the state, including its bureaucratic and federal structure, is a terrain of policy-making (cf Jessop, 1990).

CHAPTER TEN

NATIONAL AND QUEENSLAND POLICIES ON THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS 2: ANALYSIS

10.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 9 provided a narrative of developments in women's policy machinery and girls' schooling policy at both Commonwealth and Queensland levels. This Chapter is concerned to analyse those developments. However, before moving to an analysis in the final section of the Chapter, an account is provided of the processes involved in the actual formulation of the two policies. Drawing on the research evidence from interviews with many of the major players involved in the achievement of the two policies and documentary evidence from the relevant files of the Queensland Department of Education, a picture is created of the interior of the state as a terrain on which social relations are played out and from which policy results. The internal social relations are framed by the economic and political pressures upon the state, but in a way which is mediated by history, internal politics, agency and changing discourses. Consequently, those matters to do with the Australian federal state considered in Chapters 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 are most relevant to the discussion and analysis here, while the previous Chapter has provided the narrative with which this Chapter is concerned. This Chapter has heeded the call by Franzway, Court and Connell (1989, p.134) that any theory of the state must recognise its 'internal dynamics', while occupying a position which is neither lost 'in descriptive detail of policy development' nor 'in reified concepts of the state'.

Most of the policy makers interviewed for this research were female bureaucrats who justified their positions within the political rationale of liberal feminism. The state also justified such positions on similar grounds. In the interviews these women made constant use of the term "strategy" to refer to their actions. This is a notion of agency which takes account of organisational structure, policy culture and policy discourses. In a way, these were the factors which both constrained and enabled practice. One picks up the ambience of power here, experienced as Connell (1987) has put it, as the feeling of being up against something. From the interviews, one comes to an understanding of the difficulties facing the femocrats in terms of achieving their policy goals. Despite these difficulties, or perhaps because of them, they appeared to be very knowledgeable about

how the bureaucracy and processes of policy-making actually worked and how they could utilise such knowledge towards their policy goals. It is that notion of thought-out, yet constrained action, which they called "strategy."

Policy culture was a concept to develop out of the research. It will be considered in more detail in the following Chapter, which attempts to develop more general insights about policy-making within the state. Suffice to say here, that it refers to the bureaucratic structures and their internal differentiation, as well as discourses and practices surrounding a given policy domain at any time. As such, it operates as a structuring process. Given the specific policy domain which is the focus of this research, the more general culture associated with the broader structure of patriarchy will also contribute to the culture within the bureaucracy and within the specific policy area (Mills, 1989). As indicated in this research, in the period up until the achievement of the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* in mid-1987, there were very different policy cultures operating at Commonwealth and Queensland levels with respect to gender equity. The move to Dawkins and DEET after 1987 also changed the policy culture at the Commonwealth level, serving to instrumentalise equity agendas. "Strategy", as the femocrats' notion of agency, of necessity, takes account of policy cultures and their related discourses. Both policy culture and strategy will be considered in more detail in the following Chapter.

Noting Jessop's (1990) insight that the state is a terrain of strategy and struggle over policy-making, and drawing on interview and documentary evidence, this Chapter provides an account of the processes involved in the achievement of policies in girls' schooling, nationally and in Queensland. Firstly, Commonwealth/State relations as one important component of the state terrain of policy-making are considered. Secondly, the internal structure of the bureaucracy as another significant component of that same terrain is dealt with. The final part of the Chapter provides an analysis of these developments and those outlined in the previous Chapter.

10.2 THE TERRAIN OF COMMONWEALTH/STATE RELATIONS

In the policy domain which has been the focus of this research, namely policy on girls' schooling at both Queensland and Commonwealth levels, there has been a way in which the Commonwealth developments have framed those in Queensland. Those Commonwealth and National Policy developments were also utilised for leverage by the

relevant femocrat policy players within the Queensland bureaucracy who were committed to a feminist reform agenda. Moreover, Commonwealth pressures appear to have been centrally important in the progress, however limited, in the girls' schooling policy domain across the period of State National Party government until 1989. In this sense then, feminist pressures upon the state more generally were mediated by the Commonwealth in the Queensland policy context.

The presence of a Commonwealth agency committed to a reform agenda, such as the Schools Commission, was also very important in Queensland's somewhat glacial move to embrace liberal feminist policies in schooling. According to the documentary analysis of this research, senior bureaucrats within the Queensland Department appear to have been aware of the significance of the Commonwealth in this respect. The women in the bureaucracy certainly were. More generally, it makes the point that federalism can operate in a progressive fashion when there is a prolonged period of conservative government at the State level. The dispersal of political power inherent in a federal structure possibly increases the number of points for political leverage. Then again the federal structure was important in mediating the symbolic character of the policy which was actually achieved and thus operated as a constraint on progressive developments.

In what follows, Commonwealth/State relations as an important component of the terrain of policy-making within the Australian state will be indicated. This terrain is clearly framed by changes in the structure of those relations over time as outlined in some detail in Chapters 7 and 8, which in turn are related to the fluctuating settlements concerning the economic and political pressures operating upon the state.

In August, 1984, Dr. Peter Tannock, chair of the Schools Commission, wrote to the Queensland Director-General asking for the Department's view of the *Girls and Tomorrow* report and its recommendations. George Berkeley, the Director-General, replied on 10 October. In his reply Berkeley praised the content of Chapters 3 to 6 of the report. He specifically noted how Queensland shared with the report a 'recognition of the need for schools "to provide equal opportunities for all girls and boys so that they can develop skills and abilities, and effective participation in society"'. He added that such a recognition formed the 'basis of the policy statement on Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys, adopted by the Department in 1981'. Here the Schools Commission report is granted some legitimacy because aspects of it were in line with the Queensland policy. Further, the existence of a Queensland policy is utilised in an attempt

to negate the need for a national policy, as will be shown. This is yet another example of the political work which the Queensland policy was required to do.

Berkeley then went on to criticise the recommendations of Chapter 2 of the report which called for the creation of a National Policy. Specifically, he argued:

The proposals are, generally, prescriptive and presuppose that a unilateral decision by the Commonwealth Schools Commission is an appropriate course of action. I remind you of the prefacing remarks to the 1975 report, *Girls, School and Society*:

'Since the Commission does not run school systems, its role in assisting changes in them is necessarily indirect. It can stimulate people in those schools and systems to consider existing practices in the light of social change and within a framework of sex equality and make available necessary support, information and resources to enable action to take place.'
(p.iv)

It is, therefore, untenable for the Schools Commission to impose conditions which will result in the small percentage of Commonwealth funds predetermining how the States, as the principal providers of education, are to establish their priorities. (George Berkeley, Queensland Director-General to Dr. Peter Tannock, Chair Commonwealth Schools Commission, 10/10/1984)

Commonwealth/State relations as a terrain of policy-making are evident here. Berkeley "cleverly" utilises an earlier Schools Commission report to argue against any validity of a unilateral Commission move to create a National Policy. As suggested in Chapter 8, the Schools Commission under Whitlam sought to precipitate change in the State systems by directly funding schools for progressive practices and innovations and through the ventilation of ideas. As noted there, the Commission attempted to plant a progressive virus in those systems (Johnston, 1992). In the economically more restrained circumstances of the 1980s, the "buying" of reform was no longer an option. Clearly the achievement of a National Policy required the utilisation of the AEC as the specific site at which Commonwealth/State relations were played out. As noted in the previous Chapter, there was an interesting symbiotic relationship between the Commission and the AEC during the period of negotiation of the Policy, with the Commission almost acting as the agent for the AEC.

Interviews indicated that the feminist networks which were working towards the National Policy were very astutely aware of the stage of Commonwealth/State relations at the time and realised the need to "carry" the Directors-General before gaining AEC endorsement. As Connors and McMorro (1988) have also noted, the feminist network:

...understood the stage reached in Commonwealth–State relations: they recognised the need to secure a more practical commitment from States; they were aware of the limitations of continued reliance on Commonwealth intervention through specific purpose programs; and they saw national cooperation as one way to preserve and expand the limited resources available for research and development to improve the education of girls. (Connors and McMorrow, 1988, p.258)

Berkeley concluded his comments to Tannock on Commonwealth–State relations in the following fashion:

I reiterate my belief that a Commonwealth–State partnership in education will be more productive (that is, beneficial to students) if the States are entrusted to translate policy into practice in ways which best suit the particular needs of the State. (George Berkeley, Director–General to Dr. Peter Tannock, Chair, Commonwealth Schools Commission, 10/10/1984)

This observation was almost prophetic of the approach actually taken with the achievement of the symbolic *National Policy for the Education of Girls*. It was a concession that had to be made in the final achievement of the National Policy, as manifest in the weakening of implementation strategies involved in the move from the Interim Report to the final policy. As pointed out in Chapter 9, the final policy only contained illustrative implementation strategies.

As documented in the previous Chapter, the Schools Commission held a conference in October, 1982, organised by the Commission's Working Party on the Education of Girls and as a step towards the production of a report, which finally appeared in 1984 as *Girls and Tomorrow*. Queensland's Liaison Officer was a member of the Working Party and attended the conference. In a report to the Deputy Director–General of Education, who was also at the time a member of the Schools Commission, the Liaison Officer listed some concerns she had with the conference. These related to the fact that two conference participants were members of 'extreme groups' (WWWW) who disrupted the working of the conference and whose participation had future implications for the Queensland policy context where they had already had some policy influence. The Liaison Officer noted the potential damage to the credibility of the Schools Commission from their participation. In concluding her report, she noted:

Finally, at a personal level I am disturbed that my forced exposure through the conference to the two known affiliates of extreme groups with active contacts in Queensland, placed me in an unnecessarily compromising position. I consider that myself and Kath Tapperel in particular as Working Party members in public servant positions, are especially vulnerable to the potential excesses and abuses known to be the practices of such groups.

The Deputy Director-General's letter to the Schools Commission of 28 October, 1982 pointed out the Liaison Officer's concerns and appended a copy of her report on the conference. The letter noted a reason for concern was that 'one result of the participation of representatives of Women Who Want to be Women will be greater pressure upon her by local members of that organisation'. The letter concluded by stating: 'I am forwarding this for your information. I am not making any judgements'. Here we have a working of the Commonwealth/State terrain by the Queensland femocrat.

The idea of Commonwealth/State relations as a terrain on which policy-making was struggled and negotiated for is also very starkly indicated in a series of letters between the chair of the Schools Commission, Garth Boomer, and the Queensland Director-General, George Berkeley, in February and March, 1986. These letters were ostensibly about the development of a *National Policy for the Education of Girls* and the Commission's policy development for the period, 1986-1988. However, the communication ends up traversing the domain of Commonwealth/State relations.

In his letter of 17 February, 1986, Boomer indicated that the federal minister had asked the Commission to work with education authorities to develop a National Policy. He also noted that the fifty-second AEC meeting had established such an agenda for the Commission. That admission in itself is an interesting indication of the complexity of the working of federalism in policy on schooling, where the States provide most of the funding and also administer and run schools. The relationship between the Commission and the AEC on this issue also adds complexity to the terrain of federalism in schooling. The letter concluded by organising a date for consultation between the Commission and the Queensland Department on the development of a National Policy and the Commission's future policy plans.

Berkeley's lengthy reply of 6 March, 1986 expressed real concern over: 'A number of the propositions and sentiments expressed in the papers that were tabled'. He noted further that he had addressed many of these issues in early communications with the Commission, 'yet it would appear that they must be repeated in the context of these papers'. Berkeley began his attack in the following manner:

Yet again, the Commonwealth, through the Commission, emphasises a leadership role for itself. Indeed, any person unaware of the actual relationship between the Commonwealth and the State in the educational area could well, on the basis of the policy development paper, assume that the Commission was responsible for all educational policy-making in Australia. It asserts the need for national policies, protests that the

Commission is in a unique position to carry out certain policy development activities, and disregards totally the comprehensive policy and program endeavours of the States. (George Berkeley, Director-General to Garth Boomer, Chair, Schools Commission, 06/03/1986)

After having raised such questions as to the actual role of the Commission as the agent for the Commonwealth, Berkeley then went on to reject a leadership role for the Commonwealth and espoused instead a partnership alternative. He noted:

The truth of the matter, in respect of the role and status of the Commonwealth, is that it has a financial commitment to State education of the order of 7%, has no charter to provide leadership to the States, operates within a very clear framework of obligations and commitments, and will only be successful in achieving national goals when it is willing to present itself as a partner in the educational arena. I refer you to the Commission's own press release of 14 August, 1984, where these sentiments are expressed. (George Berkeley, Director-General to Garth Boomer, Chair, Schools Commission, 06/03/1986)

Berkeley continued by pointing out that unless the States agreed that a national approach was required in a certain policy area the Commission's efforts to create such a national policy would be wasted. Specifically, he argued:

I turn now to the specific proposition that the so-called major policy projects should be distinguished from other policy work of the Commission in terms of their being 'reflective of the Commonwealth's view of its national priorities and obligations' and its 'assessment of priorities'. I refer back to Queensland's view, noted above, of the relationship of the Commonwealth to the State. It would suggest that, unless the Commission aims to meet needs seen by States as having a high priority and for which there is an acceptance by States that a national approach is appropriate, the fruits of the Commission's labour will be wasted. (George Berkeley, Director-General to Garth Boomer, Chair, Schools Commission, 06/03/1986) (emphases as in original)

Berkeley then went on to criticise the proposals for some national developments in in-service teacher education, before turning to the *National Policy for the Education of Girls*' proposal. He noted that it was proposed that the National Policy 'would involve sets of principles, objectives, action strategies, review/monitoring procedures and specific commitments on the part of the Commonwealth and the States'. He added:

The national plan concept is a creation of the Commission. I accept that it has the right to posit, as it sees fit, certain principles, objectives, and action strategies. However, the Commission must not anticipate that Queensland will enter into any type of commitment regarding any educational thrust until the ramifications of such a proposal are fully considered in the context of the policies and practices pursued within the State. (George Berkeley, Director-General to Garth Boomer, Chair, Schools Commission, 06/03/1986)

Here we have a bureaucratic assertion of States' rights. There is also an indication that any national approach achieved by negotiated consensus between the Commonwealth and the States could result in a lowest common denominator policy. Berkeley added further that if any National Policy was to be achieved it would have to be consistent with Queensland's already existing policy for equality of opportunity for girls and boys. Furthermore, he stressed that the Queensland Department had no interest 'in relating educational policies and practices in this State to the arena of the Commonwealth Government Affirmative Action legislation'.

In ending his letter, Berkeley confirmed that Queensland would continue to participate, but would monitor its involvement according to directions taken. Berkeley concluded the letter in the following manner:

By way of summary, let me say again that the Commonwealth has misunderstood its role in education in Australia. Let me also say that, contrary to the assertion in Paragraph 37 of the national policy paper, there are no fundamental questions to be raised about the responsibilities of Commonwealth and State Ministers for Education for the quality of schooling provided to students. These responsibilities are very clear, and, as indicated above, the Commission would do well to consider them, and to ensure that full cognisance is given to them in the framing of its propositions. (George Berkeley, Director-General to Garth Boomer, Chair, Schools Commission, 06/03/1986)

The strength and tone of the letter suggest something of the States' rights approach expressed very strongly during the Bjelke-Petersen era and articulated in education by Minister Lin Powell. The letter also depicts federalism as a part of the terrain of policy-making in schooling on which policy struggles occur. One paradox is that the requirement that Queensland would only endorse a national policy which was in line with its own policy is that, as shown in the previous Chapter, that policy resulted in many ways from Commonwealth pressures. Certainly its implementation was funded by the Commonwealth through Projects of National Significance grants. The Liaison Officer was appointed to handle the welter of communication on the matter from the Commonwealth and then subsequently was able to utilise continuing Commonwealth pressures to articulate the need for a policy statement in Queensland. Further, the move towards a *National Policy for the Education of Girls* throughout 1986 appears to have been a factor in the appointment in early 1986 within the Queensland Department of an Equal Opportunity Officer, which was at a more senior level than that previously held by the Liaison Officer. This is an example of the interactive character of policy-making within federalism.

Boomer in his reply of 21 March, 1986 to Berkeley acknowledged the constraints upon the Commonwealth and the Commission in relation to the creation of national policies. He also acknowledged the policy and program advice functions of the Commission for the Commonwealth. He stated:

The Schools Commission is the Commonwealth Government's primary adviser on the needs of primary and secondary schools. (It cannot make Commonwealth policy in education but it is obliged to develop policy advice.) The Commission quite clearly understands that it has no mandate, indeed no power, to develop national educational policies in its own right. The only way in which it can help develop any national policy is through the consent and collaboration of the major systems participant in Australian education. (Garth Boomer, Chair, Commonwealth Schools Commission to George Berkeley, Director-General, 21/03/1986)

While conceding that the Commission had no power to develop national policy in its own right, Boomer went on to argue that nevertheless its independent structure placed it in a good position to coordinate the development of such policies. He asserted:

Because of the way the Commission is constituted and by dint of an Act which gives it a status of some independence, it is well placed to take up the role of coordinator of national policy development when there is agreement by the States and Territories that such national work is desirable. In this way, the educational services of the Commission are available to the nation. (Garth Boomer, Chair, Commonwealth Schools Commission to George Berkeley, Director-General, 21/03/1986)

Boomer concluded his letter in the following manner:

With respect to the Education of Girls policy work, I note your caveats and concerns. I am pleased that with these provisions you are prepared to remain involved.

As soon as possible I would appreciate the opportunity to talk with you at some length so that we can strengthen our understanding of what partnership means. I think we also need to be clear where we have clearly different mandates.

I can assure you of my commitment to partnership and of my desire to work closely, and appropriately, with you and your department in the interests of children. (Garth Boomer, Chair, Commonwealth Schools Commission to George Berkeley, Director-General, 21/03/1986)

These comments are significant in a number of ways. They acknowledge that the achievement of national policies will require partnership between the Commonwealth and the States. The need for the meaning of partnership to be clarified is also noted, perhaps implying that the Commonwealth and the State may conceptualise this matter differently. The passage also points out the fact that the Commonwealth and Queensland (as

represented in the letters being discussed here) 'have clearly different mandates'. The Commission had been given the task by the federal minister (of a Labor government) to develop advice and strategy towards a national policy which was subsequently endorsed by the AEC. The Queensland Director-General's letter clearly articulated the States' rights perspective reflective of the conservative government which he was serving at the time. Furthermore, the Director-General's position that Queensland would only participate in a *National Policy for the Education of Girls* if it was compatible with its own equality of opportunity and girls and boys focus, also reflected the stance on the topic of the Minister for Education of the day.

As noted in the previous section, Queensland did not endorse the National Policy in 1987, with *de facto* endorsement coming in 1988 and formal endorsement resulting after the election of a Labor government. The concurrence of a federal Labor government and a large number of Labor governments at State level had been significant in the actual achievement of the policy. However, under a new minister from late in 1987, it did participate in the production of the first national report on the policy. As noted earlier, its contribution there was framed by the structure of the National Policy. This was another example of the impact of the Commonwealth on Queensland developments. Further, there are some clear resonances in Queensland's June, 1988 policy implementation guidelines with the discourse within which the National Policy was framed. Particularly relevant was the notion that gender equity must become a mainstream professional issue.

Enough has been said to this point to indicate Commonwealth/State relations as a terrain upon which struggle for policy occurs. Commonwealth developments also were centrally important in precipitating developments in girls' schooling policy in Queensland. They were used for leverage in a variety of ways by Queensland femocrats. Further, the very structure of Commonwealth/State relations in schooling as a significant internal feature of the Australian state, framed how policy agendas were constructed and policies formulated, in a confirmation of Offe's perception of policy-making within the state. That was certainly the case with the development of the *National Policy for the Education of Girls*, as it was in a different way in Queensland developments.

10.3 BUREAUCRATIC STRUCTURE, POLICY CULTURE AND THE TERRAIN OF POLICY-MAKING

The public service officers (femocrats) interviewed for the research were not simply rule-bound bureaucrats as in the Weberian conception, but rather were also involved in policy-making. The research evidence paints a picture of the internal bureaucratic arrangement of the state as a terrain on which these women in the Queensland context struggled to develop policy. The research would also confirm such a view of national level changes, but these were achieved in a somewhat different policy culture and were supported by a feminist minister. Both the interview and documentary evidence present a picture of these feminist bureaucrats working the system so that the best possible outcomes could be achieved. During the period of the formulation of the Queensland policy and of the later National Policy, the policy culture as framed by the National Party in government was not conducive to even liberal feminist policy. As noted earlier, the Australian Teachers' Federation in their submission to the February 1979 AEC expressed real concern that policy officers responsible for girls' schooling within state bureaucracies were often treated as 'the feminist' or as 'aliens'. This appears an apposite perception of the experience of those with such responsibilities within the Queensland Department across the time in question. One interview noted that while during the National Party period the officer hid from the Minister, now, under a new Labor government there was ready and open access to the Minister. This is the context in which the struggle to achieve the best policy outcomes possible occurred. Strategy was essential if gains were to be made.

An important factor in the upgrading of the position of the person who took over the role of responsibility for gender equity in early 1979 and the related formulation of a Department policy, was the pressuring of the officer who filled that role for these things to occur. In applying such pressure, correspondence from the Schools Commission and from women's advisers in other States was used as a point of leverage to argue for a clarification of the role and the need for a policy statement. A Report from that officer was attached to the memorandum to the Assistant Director-General of 16 October, 1979, which finally resulted in some Departmental action being taken. In her Report the officer noted:

Liaison activities with the Schools Commission have increased. Clarification of my role in relation to the area of sexism appears necessary with the Commission. Correspondence suggests perceptions by the

Commission of my role as being that of a Women's Adviser, actively working in the area. (Curriculum Branch, 12/10/1979)

The officer also listed recent and relevant Schools Commission developments:

The Schools Commission Report for the Triennium 1977–1979 presents 'the removal of sexist bias from schools and systems and the active encouragement of greater confidence among girls as matters of high priority'. (4.23, p.33) No separate program of the Commission supports these efforts because the Commission believes that the most effective action is that which permeates all operations – the Disadvantaged Schools, Services and Development and Special Projects Programs provide opportunities for action. The Commission's consideration of sexist bias in education as a high priority is reiterated in the Report for the Triennium 1979–81 (Education of Girls, 7.48 – 7.53, pp.96–97). (Curriculum Branch, 12/10/1979)

The Report went on to list those current Schools Commission developments which required a Departmental response:

A copy of a draft proposal for 'Education of Women and Girls – Priorities for the 1980s' was received from the Schools Commission on 12 September, 1979. Comments are sought on the paper which presents an overview of issues which the Commission feels warrant consideration. (Curriculum Branch, 12/10/1979)

The Report also noted that a copy of non-sexist materials prepared by the South Australian Department of Education had been forwarded by the Commonwealth's Curriculum Development Centre asking for comment. The Report documented other local activities, namely the 'increased activity of the Queensland Teachers' Union Status of Women Committee' and the establishment by Kelvin Grove CAE of a Sexism in Education and Work Taskforce. The interview evidence showed that the officer negotiated with the Teachers' Union to keep such pressure upon the Department. This is clearly evident in some of the Union correspondence with the Department. On the basis of the evidence listed above, the Report recommended the clarification of the officer's role and the development of a 'Departmental policy statement in relation to sexism/equal opportunity in education be prepared as a matter of high priority' (Curriculum Branch 12/10/1979)).

The strategy was successful in having a designated Liaison position created and in the move to the establishment of a Queensland policy. One basic argument for these two developments was that communications from the Schools Commission on the matter and requests for responses to Commission initiatives required the clarification of the officer's role and the formulation of a policy. Until that point the officer had been handling such matters in addition to a full work-load.

The Liaison Officer was subsequently appointed in 1981 to the Schools Commission Working party on the Education of Girls. A lengthy Report on the activities of that Working Party was prepared by the Liaison Officer in July, 1983. The Report listed Schools Commission developments between 1974 and 1981. It also outlined the functions of the Working Party. This included the provision of recommendations on how the proposals for the 1982-84 triennial report could be implemented, ways in which those with an interest in the education of girls could be assisted and recommendations as to how the Commission's programs could meet the educational needs of girls. The Report also noted the significance of the election of a Labor government at the federal level with an increased commitment to women and girls. The activities funded by the Commission for 1982 for the education of girls were also listed, as were the specific activities of the Working Party, including the national seminar on girls' schooling and the move towards the preparation of a document which would review developments since *Girls, School, and Society*. Amongst the tasks listed for 1983 was the completion of such a publication. It was also noted that the new Minister Susan Ryan had met with the Working Party and had requested that the Working Party, through the Schools Commission, prepare advice for her 'on ways in which the Government's policy on the education of girls might be implemented with respect to the Commission and its programs'. Such advice was to be taken to the AEC meeting.

The Liaison Officer's Report concluded with 'some personal comments'. The comments also reflect upon the then existing situation in the Queensland Department, indicating quite starkly the policy culture of the time. Thus, for example, the Officer observes the legitimacy of the issue in the following fashion:

During the past two years in particular, a range of reports and research studies has confirmed the legitimacy of the issue academically to an undeniable extent. Generally speaking, interstate it seems that it is now more acceptable to recognise and discuss the issues without being ascribed a particular label or being seen to identify with a particular cause. It appears nevertheless, that for a variety of reasons, extreme groups who demonstrate a strongly negative emotional response to the issue will persist with their opposition and in their attempts to have their minority views seen as being the majority. There is good evidence that Queensland is currently the home base of much of this activity. (Report: Activities and Initiatives of the Commonwealth Schools Commission Working Party on the Education of Girls, July, 1983, p.7)

The Report then stressed the increasing gap between developments elsewhere and those in Queensland:

While the intrinsic differences of each of the States is acknowledged, there is nevertheless a widening gap between Queensland and the other States in coming to grips with the issue. During the last five years and the last two in particular in which the Working Party has been functioning, a marked increase in other States in both priority and commitment to the issue, is noticeable. (Report: Activities and Initiatives of the Commonwealth Schools Commission Working Party on the Education of Girls, July, 1983, p.7)

This statement makes a concession to the Queensland different perspective, which, as pointed out in research interviews, was often used in response to Commonwealth requests and policy developments. For example, the specific character of Queensland's demography was regularly used in State responses to the Commonwealth with respect to multicultural education (Lingard, 1983).

Reference is then made to employment issues for women. Specifically, it was noted:

Influences toward the more equitable participation of women in decision-making in education can also be anticipated through Working Party advice to the Commission and in generally implementing federal government policy. (Report: Activities and Initiatives of the Commonwealth Schools Commission Working Party on the Education of Girls, July, 1983, p.7)

No moves were made in Queensland across the National Party period towards equal employment opportunity for women. This is a very important issue in education with its very heavily gendered division of labour between largely male administrators and largely female teachers.

The Report concluded thus:

It is most disconcerting to observe the increasing initiatives and commitments in other States while in Queensland administrative interest in even discussing the issues or indeed planning toward addressing them appears to be non-existent. Contrary to earlier opinion, it is clear that this is an issue, which will not 'go away'. (Report: Activities and Initiatives of the Commonwealth Schools Commission Working Party on the Education of Girls, July, 1983, p.7)

Here is a plea for some Queensland initiatives, while one also gets a sense of the frustration felt by this woman in a hostile policy culture.

Femocrat strategy was also evident in the move by the Equal Opportunity Officer, appointed in February 1986, to have a Departmental Working Party established to consider the matter of implementation guidelines for the Queensland policy. A lengthy Discussion Paper was prepared which argued this position. This was a strategy which resulted from observation of how the system worked followed by an attempt to work it. The strategy was evident in the following excerpts from the lengthy Discussion Paper which obviously

pushed for change. However, the Paper also makes concessions to the institutional and political paranoia about materials from outside Queensland and the emphasis in the Queensland policy for a balanced approach:

Although there is a policy statement in place, there is a lack of clear guidelines for policy implementation and availability of professional and curriculum support materials. As a result schools and parents are calling upon interstate Departments of Education gender equity bodies, Commonwealth and independent agencies, and individuals to provide support. This situation presents a piecemeal input from a variety of sources and lacks total coordination. (Implementing the Queensland Department of Education Policy on Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys: a Discussion Paper, 1986, p.12)

The Discussion Paper went on to argue the need for a more coordinated approach to policy-making so as to ensure 'that gender equity is being addressed in a balanced manner'.

This strategy was successful in having lengthy policy implementation guidelines endorsed by the minister and tabled in the Education Office Gazette in mid-1988 for distribution throughout the Department and to all schools. An advisory group to the Director-General on the policy topic was also achieved. The significance of the policy implementation guidelines was noted in an interview, when it was pointed out that such guidelines served as a signal to schools of some system legitimation of the issue. Further, that officer also indicated that the guidelines were then able to be used as leverage to argue for funding. Also noted was the changed policy culture when Littleproud as Minister launched the Razz magazine which aimed to broaden subject and career options of year 8 students. This had been funded from a Commonwealth project. The political disarray in the National Party government across its last months enlarged the policy space for those working on the area within the Department. This was a point made in research interviews.

The documentary and research evidence indicated that the internal bureaucratic structure, including its processes and culture, was a terrain upon which femocrats developed strategies to make policy gains. Within the Queensland Department, as shown in some of the examples above, correct bureaucratic procedures, along with lengthy, well thought out and well researched documents, seem to have been essential components of successful femocrat strategy. Indeed, one interview noted the vast difference in documentation and argumentation required between gender equity and other domains with more support within the bureaucracy. The utilisation of Commonwealth developments for

leverage was also part of the strategy. The location of the person involved within the hierarchy of the Department appears to have been another important factor in the ease or difficulty of the femocrat's work (cf Cockburn, 1991). The Liaison Officer indicated that she was the only person at her level within the bureaucracy who met regularly with senior officers, and while this created some space it also created difficulties. The Equal Opportunity Officer's position was at a higher level which facilitated strategy.

10.4 ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

In Chapters 2 and 3 current approaches to theorising the state were traversed. An attempt was made to move towards an adequate theory through synthesising a modified version of Offe's work with insights from a number of feminist approaches. Offe's work (1975, 1984, 1985) pays attention to the manner in which state structures mediate policy agendas and outcomes. Further, his work notes that problems in the state's environment become problems for the state's structure. This is an observation borne out in the economic contribution to the restructuring of both the bureaucracy and federalism, as outlined in Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 respectively. Feminist accounts have drawn attention to the significance of the gender dimensions of the internal structure of the state, including the gendered division of labour and the gendered location of women's policy units, which together constitute the gender regime of the state (Franzway, Court, Connell, 1989; Connell, 1990). Other research has indicated the gendered (and most often patriarchal) nature of organisational culture, including that within the state (Cockburn, 1991; Mills, 1989; Sheppard, 1989). These theoretical and empirical insights serve as a corrective to Offe's approach which is gender' blind about structures. The research findings outlined in this Chapter confirm the appropriateness of this general approach to theorising the state.

However, there is still a way in which those theoretical insights do not account or allow for agency of state workers. This Chapter has shown that femocrats involved in developing policy on girls' schooling perceive of themselves as having some, albeit constrained, agency which they termed "strategy." The research evidence as documented throughout this Chapter would confirm their self perceptions. Thus any theory of the state must account for internal state practices, as well as noting the impact of structures. Jessop (1990) has referred to the state as a terrain of struggle and strategy for policy-making, while Burton (1985) has argued for a conception of the state as a complex process of

social relations. The research findings resonate with those accounts. To pick up on both the notions of structure and strategy, this research argues that a concept of the state as a terrain of policy-making is useful. The state as a terrain of policy-making appears to best encapsulate a picture of the structural and relational aspects of its inner workings which are significant in policy outcomes. Both bureaucratic arrangement and federal structure are components of the terrain of policy-making in schooling. Most certainly the research evidence would reject outright any account of the state which simply regarded its inner workings as a black box through which in a linear fashion inputs are simply converted into policy outputs. A consideration of the state as strategic terrain (Jessop, 1990) is central as an important mediating factor in the transition from policy inputs to outputs, to use the functionalist language of systems theory.

The external environment of the state also affects its operation. Indeed most state theory has been society, rather than state centred. Chapter 3 documented Offe's account of the dual capital accumulation and legitimation functions which the state has to balance simultaneously. However, again Offe is gender blind because clearly both processes are gendered ones (Connell, 1987). His account would conceive of feminist pressures upon the state as only political ones, rather than also being linked to economic processes. It was also noted there that legitimation had something of a negative tone to it and that perhaps Esping-Andersen's (1990) notion that the state had to balance economic and political pressures provides a more realistic account. It at least acknowledges that real political gains can be made in state policies, rather than simply perceiving them as necessary to legitimation. However, to avoid a slide into a pluralist position it needs to be acknowledged that the accumulation pressures upon the state mark the bottom line for the possibility and type of state policy response and funding. This is one indirect fashion in which class politics work through the state. This has very obviously been the case in Australia for the period since about 1975, as shown in Chapter 4, with a resurgence of economic liberalism in the new guise of economic rationalism. That has had serious ramifications for policies for women and for girls' schooling both directly and indirectly, as it has also had for the more general concept of the welfare state.

As noted earlier in this research, the state arrives at different settlements at different times in managing the dual pressures upon it. Utilising Offe (1985), it has been noted how the period of political history being considered has witnessed the move from the conjunctural to the structural policy condition. As such, increasing expenditure in response

to political pressures has become less of an option in the post-economic boom time. The Labor government in power federally since 1983 has attempted to arrive at a new settlement for managing the pressures upon it through a neo-corporatist approach, rather than an all out new right one as utilised in Britain and the US. However, and as shown in earlier Chapters, since 1987 economic restructuring has taken on metapolicy status and weakened the progressive potential of the neo-corporatist approach. As such economic restructuring has had important ramifications for women's policy generally and specifically for girls and schooling policy. In a sense, the capital accumulation demand has taken precedence and reframed the nature of the policy responses to other political pressures. The restructuring of the state as documented throughout this thesis has been central to the assertion of the new policy agenda. However, the state must still respond to those pressures.

The conception of the state as briefly summarised above provides us with a tool to analyse the policy developments in girls' schooling which have been the focus of this Chapter. Sawyer (1990) has pointed out how in the late sixties there was no women's policy machinery at any level of the Australian state, whereas now both the Commonwealth and the States have elaborate policy machinery. The gestation of the present arrangements can be seen in the historical coincidence of the second wave of the women's movement, its mediation in the Women's Electoral Lobby (WEL) and the election of the reformist Labor administration of Whitlam in 1972. The state-centric strategy of WEL reflected the historically statist character of Australian political culture as documented at length in Chapter 4. As Sawyer points out, by the end of the Whitlam period embryonic forms of current policies and policy structures were in place at the federal level. This was achieved through the appointment of Elizabeth Reid as women's adviser to the Prime Minister. According to Eisenstein's (1991) classification of feminist interventions within the state, this involved the first level, that of the 'bureaucratic-individual' strategy (p.40), which subsequently led to the 'bureaucratic-structural' (p.41) intervention with the creation of new policy machinery. The Schools Commission's *Girls, School and Society* (1975) was produced in that emerging context.

All of these developments, including the creation of policies and policy machinery, were responses by the state to feminist political pressure upon it; actions for legitimation in Offe's terms. Contrary to Offe's theory, they represent real political gains. As indicated

earlier in this thesis, the 1975 Whitlam budget signalled the end of the post-war economic boom and end of the Keynesian settlement. This ushered in the move to the structural policy condition, where governments seek to manage demands as much as respond to them. Thus historically, women's and girls' issues had specifically made their way onto the policy agenda at the moment when the state was drawing back from the conjunctural policy rationale and becoming meaner in its policy and funding responses.

Because of electoral factors, women's issues remained on the federal agenda across the Fraser period (1975–1983). However, as noted in Chapter 9, from about 1980 women were struggling to hold the line as economic liberalism increased its impact on government policy. Right wing anti-feminist groups had also emerged and began to exercise some political clout, while their ideology of familial and caring home-based roles for women complemented the new right view of a leaner and meaner state. The latter had serious implications for the opportunities open to women with its call for residualised welfare provision. Sawyer (1990, p.52) has encapsulated this position as 'market roles for men, motherhood roles for women'. Women's issues were kept to the fore across Fraser's time by positive developments in the Labor States.

During Fraser's period developments in policies on girls' schooling were slow. However, the quasi-independent structure of the Schools Commission was important in pursuing the issue in its triennial reports and in funding of Projects of National Significance. Further, in 1981 it established the Working Party on the Education of Girls which was a somewhat belated response to *Girls, School and Society* (1975). This Working Party subsequently produced *Girls and Tomorrow* in 1984, which was an important precursor to the National Policy finally achieved in 1987. These moves during the Fraser time must also be seen against the more general inegalitarian developments in educational policy with reduction in expenditure overall and a redirection of funds towards the private schools. This was backed by a weaker access definition of opportunity, as opposed to Whitlam's stronger outcomes one. This supported a less interventionist liberal feminism, which also was counterbalanced by anti-feminist pressures and some support for more traditional roles for women within the Liberal Party itself.

The Labor Party had taken a fully developed and articulated women's policy into the 1983 federal election which they won. Susan Ryan, who had played a significant role in formulating that policy and getting the Labor Party to acknowledge the significance of the "women's vote", became the Minister for Education and Minister Assisting the Prime

Minister on the Status of Women. Ryan was a feminist who had been involved in WEL, had been a member of the Schools Commission Study group out of which *Girls, School and Society* emerged and had been a member of the International Women's Year secretariat. With Ryan, we see another category of feminist intervention within the state according to Eisenstein's (1991, p.41) classification, namely 'political participation in a leadership role'. This research has indicated the significance of Ryan's feminism to policy achievements during her time as minister (1983–1987). While her very substantial portfolio commitments probably limited the attention she could give to both portfolios (Sawer, 1990), her list of achievements for women is impressive, including anti-discrimination legislation, affirmative action legislation, the women's budget process and the *National Policy for the Education of Girls*, the first national policy ever in schooling. A sophisticated feminist policy network, encouraged by a feminist minister, was very important in achieving the National Policy.

As shown in Chapter 8, schooling policy sits at a complex intersection of Commonwealth and State relations. The achievement of a *National Policy for the Education of Girls in Australian Schools* indicates something of the political acumen of femocrat strategy. This resulted from bottom-up pressure in a conducive policy culture, a situation which can be contrasted with the subsequent top-down character of the new managerialism.

The response of liberal democracies to the end of the post-war economic boom, and the related move to the structural policy rationale which seeks to manage or reduce policy demands upon the state, has been either neocorporatist or new right. The specific manifestation of these options within a given nation state is also framed by history and political culture. From 1983, Hawke Labor pursued a consensual neocorporatist approach to economic policy-making. By and large, that approach, while still including equity matters on the agenda in contradistinction to the new right situation under Thatcher, excluded women from many policy-making forums which incorporated the peak councils of the trade union movement and business with government. All of these groups are overwhelmingly male in composition. Until 1986, that structure of policy-making did provide some space for the achievement of progressive goals for women and in schooling, as indicated throughout this and the previous Chapter. Indeed, in education there was something of a resurgence of the social democratic perception of schooling as manifest, for example, in PEP. Across this time, Ryan attempted to cojoin a feminist version of the

older Whitlam agenda with a new concern for the links between schooling and the economy in the face of intransigently high levels of youth unemployment. Much of this was to change in the post-1987 schooling policy agenda driven by Dawkins as the new Minister for Employment, Education and Training.

The exclusion of women from the domain of economic policy-making took on even greater salience after 1986 with the deregulation of financial markets and the focus on micro reform as central to economic restructuring so that the Australian economy could compete in a non-tariff protected fashion internationally. After the 1987 Labor election victory, economic restructuring took on metapolicy status (accumulation pressure took precedence) and reframed other policy demands (political and legitimation pressures). However, Labor was very aware of the electoral significance of the women's vote. It was also concerned about the perception that in strongly endorsing economic rationalism it had betrayed its traditional support base. In that context, equity policies, including those for women generally and those for girls in schooling, had to remain on the agenda for both legitimation and political reasons, but in the process were themselves restructured.

As documented at some length in Chapters 5 and 7, economic rationalism, the new focus on microeconomic reform and the policy goal of successful incorporation of the Australia into the global economy, have resulted in a restructuring of both federalism, as in corporate federalism, and the bureaucracy, as in corporate managerialism. Those changes have further institutionalised the metapolicy status granted to economic restructuring and have increased the impact of a human capital and microeconomic perception at all levels of educational policy. This new policy context has serious implications for women and for girls' schooling, as does the economic rationalist response to the internationalisation of the economy which reduces the control the nation state has over its own internal politics and policy options. In a sense, with deregulation and internationalisation of the economy, the policy options open to the Australian state have been somewhat reduced. Furthermore, managerialism which has been the manifestation of economic rationalism and microeconomic reform within the state has been the Trojan Horse for managing equity demands, including those for women (Yeatman, 1990a). The cojoining of efficiency and equity has been to the detriment of an expansive equity agenda. Furthermore, the contemporary rearrangement of the state, including the simultaneous move to centralisation and devolution as the two arms of managerialism, has serious implications for the capacity of the state to enforce equity agendas.

Feminist policy strategies have had to change tack in this context. In the post-1987 period, the strategy has turned to a more defensive mode, attempting to defend past gains and to ensure individual survival, and to strategically work the new discourses which have accompanied the new policy culture. This can be contrasted with the expansive approach of the early days under Susan Ryan. Indeed, Ryan's demise from cabinet and ultimate resignation from the Senate served as a clear symbol of the change.

As argued throughout both Chapter 9 and this Chapter, developments in girls' schooling in Queensland have been framed by a different set of policy imperatives. The political economy of Queensland, combined with its demographic spread of population, has probably weakened the impact of feminism, which in turn reduced its policy impact. There was no coincidence in Queensland of the second wave of the women's movement and the election of a progressive government sympathetic to feminist policy demands. Indeed, Queensland had conservative governments from 1957 until 1989. Furthermore, the reforms of the Whitlam era strengthened the articulation of an anti-Canberra, States' rights approach to politics in Queensland, particularly after Whitlam's demise and particularly during the period when the National Party governed in its own right (1983-1989). The malapportioned electoral boundaries reduced the spectrum of political pressures upon the state and those which were granted some political salience. In this way, anti-feminist groups, which were regarded elsewhere as extremist, had a more significant policy impact in Queensland than anywhere else in Australia. Further, the government was committed to a pro-family ideology which included a favoured role for women as home-based carers and as such the government was firmly anti-feminist in its policy profile.

As shown in this and the previous Chapter, the gains in girls' policy which resulted in Queensland came grudgingly and against substantial political and bureaucratic opposition. As such, they were largely the result of the need to respond to a policy agenda which had been set in Canberra. Feminist pressures operated through the teachers' unions and women's groups, but in the Queensland instance such pressures upon the State were largely mediated via the federal structure. Further, astute feminist strategy across the terrain of the Queensland bureaucracy was centrally important in ensuring even modest policy gains for girls. Commonwealth developments were used for strategic leverage by femocrats within the Queensland bureaucracy with responsibility for policy on girls' schooling. The result in the first instance was the 1981 *Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys* policy which was imbued with a very weak liberal feminist

opportunity approach in a context where anti-feminist pressures were granted some legitimacy. This was strengthened a little with the publication in 1988 of policy implementation guidelines. Again Commonwealth initiatives served as an important impetus, as did femocrat strategy, and as also did the move to a minister who was less anti-feminist.

During the National Party period, no specific equal opportunity or anti-discrimination legislation for women was enacted, while no women's policy machinery was established. The femocrats in the Queensland Department of Education were thus pursuing their tasks as feminist individuals who had entered the bureaucracy. They did not have structural support units. Furthermore, for much of the period the political attitude to feminism was strongly antithetical and given the politicisation of the bureaucracy as indicated in the Fitzgerald Report and elsewhere (Coaldrake, 1989), the policy culture was not conducive to even liberal feminist reforms. As such, the gender regime within the Department was very patriarchal. Evidence collected in two research reports commissioned by the Department after Labor's 1989 election victory showed very clearly the gendered division of labour within the Department (Cork, 1990; Limerick, 1991). The *Focus on Schools Report* (Department of Education, 1990) showed that in 1989, 91.5% of Band 1,2 and 3 officers within the Department were male, with only 8.5% female (p.185), while Limerick (1991, p.24) notes that at 30 November, 1990, there were no females above band 3 holding a permanent appointment. At the school level, Cork (1990, p.22) indicated that for special schools, women had a 1 in 629 chance of becoming a class 1 principal, while for men the figure was 1 in 54. For primary schools, the comparable figure was a 1 in 2207 chance for women and a 1 in 35 chance for men. At the secondary level women's chances of becoming a class 1 principal were 1 in 1734, while men's were 1 in 46. Given the policy culture within which they worked, feminist support networks outside the bureaucracy and across the other States and the Commonwealth were very important for the individuals employed in Queensland on girls' schooling. Within this context, one cannot underestimate the significance of Commonwealth initiatives to developments in Queensland, nor should one underestimate the importance of femocrat strategy.

When Labor won government in Queensland in December, 1989 they moved to restructure the entire public service, including the Department of Education. (See Chapter 6 here.) Subsequently, an Equity Directorate was established with a Director responsible

for equity for both staffing and students with an Assistant-Director for Social Justice appointed within the Studies Directorate. The research indicated the great significance of the seniority of these appointments for the equity reform agenda (cf. Cockburn, 1991, p.232). A Ministerial Advisory Committee on Gender Equity was established in mid-1990 and the National Policy was formally endorsed with the Ministerial release of the new State Department gender equity policy in March, 1992. As indicated in the research interviews, Queensland is now embracing gender equity in schooling and has passed anti-discrimination and equal employment opportunity legislation bringing it at last into line with the other States. Women's policy machinery has also been established across the bureaucracy. However, as interviews showed, within education all of these developments have to be pursued simultaneously from scratch in a managerialist context and where substantial residues of the old anti-feminism, anti-equity culture still remain. In schooling, a more instrumentalist agenda has been precipitated by corporate federalist moves as shown in Chapter 8. Thus, while the situation federally is one of defence of past gains, the situation in Queensland is that gender equity policies and policy machinery are being established for both students and employees at a time when the context of managerialism and economic restraint together frame the possibilities for that agenda.

This new policy context documented throughout this thesis and briefly outlined above has resulted in reframing of policy agendas for women and girls. As noted earlier, it is liberal feminism which has basically underpinned state policy responses to women, with some other feminisms appearing tentatively on agendas at opportune policy moments. The new policy context has reconstituted the options within a narrow spectrum of liberal feminism. To oversimplify, state policies for women and girls now only reach as far as those liberal feminisms complementary to the new economic policy goals of efficiency inside the state and increased productivity and competitiveness in the work place. In the federal political sphere, they are to be achieved by either a weakened neo-corporatist (Labor), or even more market driven approaches (Liberal/National). As has been shown in Chapter 9 and this Chapter, girls' schooling policy has been refocused onto getting more girls into non-traditional subject areas in schools and into the related non-traditional courses and degrees in both TAFE and University. These subjects and courses are those deemed to be essential to Australia's economic future. Such policies are justified by an economic rationale which asserts that the nation cannot waste the talent of half its population. The market view as articulated at present by the federal opposition would see

an even weaker liberal feminism underpinning policy, but one which would also argue that equal opportunities in schooling and employment were necessary for economic efficiency and productivity reasons. The current situation has seen the weakening of the notion of equality to an individualistic one, which emphasises the right of all individuals, irrespective of gender, to compete in the market place for jobs and profit. Labor's neo-corporatist approach, involving the Trade Unions has more potential for protecting aspects of the social wage and women's position, than the market approach of the opposition. However, as shown in earlier Chapters, that approach has also lost much of its democratic potential in the post-1987 policy scenario. Further, such neocorporatism would need to become more inclusive of women's interests and involve women's participation.

The narrative provided in this and the previous Chapter concerning the emergence of the National Policy and Queensland's 1981 policy and subsequent policy implementation guidelines in 1988, confirms Kenway's (1990b, p.59) encapsulation of policy as representing a 'temporary settlement' between competing and unequal groups outside and inside the State and between associated policy discourses. The femocrats interviewed for this research were very aware of that reality in the conceptualisation of their practice as strategy. Such strategy was played out across the terrain of state structures. Since the mid-1980s, the language of economic restructuring and microeconomic reform, manifest in education policy as a new microeconomically focused human capital theory, has been the way in which accumulation pressures have taken precedence over and reframed political demands. That language has also provided the discursive regime against which feminists and femocrats have had to develop strategies to defend past policy gains and to seek new ones.

There is a way in which economic rationalism, and its accompanying corporate managerialist state, has reasserted the priority of the market and the interests of the few against those disadvantaged groups who benefited from the expansive social democratic responses of the state in the late stages of the post-war boom, including women. In effect, women's policy achievements have been won in the context of economic downturn experienced since the mid-seventies. The economic problems currently facing Australia and the policy options offered by the major political parties will continue to ensure that femocrats and their support outside of the state in civil society will have to be vigilant in defence of past gains. In schooling and education policy more generally the very recent past has witnessed a new economic and instrumentalist agenda around the notion of

competencies (Porter, Rizvi, Knight and Lingard, 1992), which has resulted to a very large extent from the metapolicy status granted to economic restructuring and from the neo-corporatist approach to policy-making (Collins, 1992). This move also has the potential, despite an ostensible commitment to equity, to reinstate a masculinist culture and perspective at the heart of the educational enterprise, which will have serious ramifications for the educational opportunities and futures open to girls. However, this research has indicated something of the success of femocrat strategies, even at times, as with Queensland, in hostile policy contexts. It would thus perhaps be too pessimistic to assume that such strategy might not be able to make further gains in a policy context increasingly consumed by economic restructuring. Liberal democratic governments have to respond to political pressures for legitimation purposes. However, in the emerging context, the deconstruction of the gender component of economics and economic policy becomes an essential political task for feminists.

This Chapter has utilised research evidence of both interview and documentary kinds to provide a state-centric policy analysis of developments in girls' schooling at both federal and Queensland levels from the seventies. In so doing, it has presented a picture of the internal dynamics of policy-making within the Australian federal states which, while recognising the minutiae of specific instances of policy struggle, still recognises structured pressures upon the state. The next Chapter utilises the interview evidence to provide some more general insights into policy-making within the state terrain.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

POLICY-MAKING WITHIN THE STATE: VIEWS FROM THE INSIDE

11.1 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter utilises the interviews undertaken for this research with senior policy makers and bureaucrats to reflect upon the nature of policy-making within the machinery of the modern state. The evidence mounted and analysed here must be seen against the backdrop of the changing historical account of the Australian state as outlined in Chapter 4. It must also be regarded in terms of the corporate managerialist revolution inside the state, which has occurred across the eighties and which was documented in some detail Chapters 5 and 6. The reconstituting of the working of federalism in the direction of what this thesis has classified as corporate federalism is also an important contextual reality.

Most of the major policy players involved in the gestation and development of Queensland's *Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys* policy and many of those involved in the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* were interviewed for this research exercise in the politics of policy formation. The purpose of this Chapter is to utilise the interview evidence to comment on policy-making within the state more generally. In that way, what is said here must be seen against the debates concerning policy and policy analysis outlined in the first Chapter. The specific policy focus of the research is tangential to this Chapter which documents some further insights on policy-making within state structures derived from the research interviews.

The extrapolation from the interview data to some more general insights into policy-making is possible because of the links between those individuals, their perceptions and actions, and the social organisation of the state, including the relationship and constraints between the state and the social formation, as considered in earlier Chapters. As Dorothy Smith puts it: 'The relation of the local and particular to generalised social relations is not a conceptual or methodological issue, it is a property of social relations' (1987, p.157). The same is true of the language and its framing discourses which these policy makers use. Smith again notes: 'The language of the everyday world as it is incorporated into the description of that world is rooted in social relations beyond it and expresses relations not peculiar to the particular setting it describes' (1987, p.156). The

data then can inform us of more generalised relations within the state and about the discourses which inform policy-making across the recent past within schooling and particularly in the domain of gender equity. Further, it can inform us of the changing nature of state, economy and society linkages and international pressures on those relationships.

At the outset, it ought to be stressed that these interviews strongly confirmed that an understanding of the state is central to an understanding of policy-making. There was overwhelming confirmation that the state is not a simple conduit for external political pressures. Its own structure, whether viewed in terms of bureaucratic hierarchy, corporate managerialism or federalism, mediates such pressures. The interview evidence also confirmed the view that the state is both a site of policy struggle and conflict, as well as having a stake in such political activity. That observation is particularly true of women working within the bureaucracy in pursuit of feminist objectives.

The interviews also confirmed Burton's view (1985) that the state is not a thing so much as a complex pattern of relationships, involving the exercise of power in all its nuanced complexity. Further, the interviews also supported Jessop's (1990, p.269) notion that the state is a 'strategic terrain' involving a 'complex dialectic of structures and strategies'. Location within the bureaucratic structure and the internal differentiation within that structure are both important features patterning relationships within the state. Interviews with women in the bureaucracy indicated the significance of the gender regime (Connell, 1987, 1990) of the state to either the ease or difficulty of achieving gender equity policy goals and to the resistance of the general policy culture. The interviews also give a distinct picture of the state and policy as processes and state workers as most significant actors, as suggested in the work on the state of Franzway, Court and Connell (1989).

At the outset of this thesis, it was noted that the approach to policy analysis taken was state-centric and that this is particularly appropriate for the Australian state. The evidence has supported such an approach for analysing the two policies in question. Indeed, the research interviews would suggest that in terms of understanding the gestation of state policy, and the move from there to formulation, such an approach is central. However, as also noted in Chapter 1, that does not mean that the state is the only site of policy-making. Particularly in a domain such as education, when policy is implemented by professionals, the policy ultimately is what happens in practice. Further, the

relationship between the state articulation of a policy and what happens in schools, while not tight and determined, is also not arbitrary. It is that relationship, which some of the goals oriented and product accountability approaches of managerialism, attempt to control. Clearly the nature of the centre/schools relationship reflects the nature of a given policy and its political or bureaucratic power base and the accountability and control mechanisms put in place. In the process of an item getting onto the political and then state policy agenda, through to its full articulation as a policy to be implemented, the state is an important site of policy politics. The research interviews overwhelmingly confirmed that observation of the state as a terrain of policy-making. However, it ought to be noted that policy-making does not stop at that point. Policy is never simply installed, there is always conflict, contestation, resistance and misunderstanding in the move between institutional sites and in the move to practice (McLaughlin, 1987; Rizvi and Kemmis, 1987), while that practice becomes the policy. Understandings from the implementation literature seem to have been neglected to some extent by those involved in installing the managerialist approach with its reinstatement of the top-down, two-stage conceptualisation and implementation methodology.

The emphasis on the state and its structure does not mean that individual bureaucrats and their agency are not important. On the contrary, the research evidence would indicate that bureaucrats do have some agency, but it is framed to some degree by the economic and political tasks which the liberal democratic state has to balance and manage, as well as by the structural location within which they work. What was a most significant finding from the research interviews with female bureaucrats was their understanding of the possibilities and limits for their own political and policy agency as framed by structures, policy cultures and power relations inside the state structure itself. Jessop's (1990) concept of the state as a strategic terrain comes to mind from a reading of the interviews. From those interviews, one gets a clear picture of policy itself as something which also is struggled over and which is a stake in the political struggle. "Strategy" was the term regularly used to refer to what the officers saw as agency. This finding might reflect the fact that the policy domain researched was a highly politicised one and that bureaucrats pursuing feminist objectives legitimately have a political agenda for policy, indeed that is the rationale for their appointment by the state. However, given the more general comments on policy-making which surfaced in the research, this notion

would seem to apply to a lesser or greater degree to any policy formulation inside the state.

In the first Chapter some reference was made to the Rizvi and Kemmis (1987) distinction between design effects and performance effects in policy, with the former referring to structures and the latter to the actions and behaviours of individuals. The interviews would confirm the importance of such a distinction, but would indicate that, in a sense, design is also structured by performance and as such is not simply a given. The research then provides a picture of both policy and structure as simultaneously the arena and stakes in policy formulation. Policy does not simply result from external political pressures, it is also framed by bureaucratic structure and politics inside the state itself. It is much less a linear process than an interactive one.

After close reading and analysis, the insights from the interviews have been dealt with around four themes, namely the state and bureaucracy, policy, Commonwealth/State relations (including Commonwealth policy), and femocrats. The latter theme results from the fact that most of the policy bureaucrats interviewed in relation to the two case studies were "bureaucrats with a feminist political commitment" – femocrats. "Femocrats" is a term used descriptively and analytically by some (Yeatman, 1990), pejoratively by others (Franzway, 1986) and assertively and positively by some of the female bureaucrats themselves. Their self-conception as political actors was very evident throughout the interviews. On the basis of the research interviews this would seem to be a feature which distinguished them from other bureaucrats, which is not to say that other bureaucrats did not see their activity as political, but it was defined as political in a narrower sense.

11.2 THE STATE AND BUREAUCRACY

A point repeatedly made or implied in many research interviews was the significance of the structural location of a particular bureaucrat or their policy unit within the overall bureaucratic hierarchy. This was a point made by both male and female bureaucrats alike, but was emphasised by the femocrats in terms of their perception of their possible impact and the strength of the resistance to gender based reforms. That finding confirms Cockburn's (1991, p.232) research-based observation that getting the 'equality initiative placed in a high and secure position' is central to its effectiveness. It is also confirmed by the mainstream research on power in organizations (Pfeffer, 1981).

Structural location also included internal differentiation, that is it included interrelationships and the playing out of power, not just a static conception of location. Interestingly and unsurprisingly, with the Queensland Department of Education power and status within the organisation are to a very great degree reflected in location from bottom to top in a twenty-two storey building.

A male bureaucrat within the Queensland bureaucracy, who was involved in equity policy generally, noted how during the National Party period 'equity was buried in the bowels of the Department', which limited its impact and made it easy to excise if continuing Commonwealth support was not forthcoming. He added that it also potentially quarantined the impact of such policies and programs. A further point made by that same bureaucrat, and which was also made by women working in the Queensland bureaucracy, was that a lowly location within the bureaucratic hierarchy created many potential blockages in the upward process of policy formulation and legitimation. This was also a reflection of the very hierarchical and tightly controlled Queensland bureaucracy during the National Party era and reflected the overt politicisation of much of schooling policy.

A senior officer within the Queensland Department of Education pointed out the significance of the Equity Directorate's membership of the Executive Management Committee of the Department to the influence of equity policies. This was a new directorate created following the Labor restructuring of the Department in 1990.

Membership of the Executive Management Team is profoundly important. And if it wasn't at that level they would run around and give the impression it was... it gives the issues legitimacy. (IT12, 1992, p.3)

Later in the same interview they added: 'It's not just a symbol. Being a Director means one's able to intervene on everything and be informed on everything' (IT12, 1992, p.3). Notwithstanding that comment, it could be said that material location also has a symbolic effect. Another Queensland female bureaucrat commented on the same phenomenon:

It just can't be underestimated how significant it is having the Equity Director on the Executive, both symbolically and materially. For example, there would hardly be a committee within this Department that would not have a representative from the Equity Directorate. (IT1, 1992, p.9)

A current policy adviser within DEET argued the same point about the significance of structural location with respect to the education of girls within the Commonwealth's policy profile. It was moved from Targeted Programs into the Schools and Curriculum Division which resulted in it being attached to the national curriculum mapping exercise.

It thus, potentially at least, had much greater impact through such "mainstreaming". This woman noted:

a clever-minded person argued ...it would be far more effective if that area [education of girls] was actually in the mainstream of things, rather than off with some of the fringe programs. So they brought it up here into the Curriculum Division. It is now called the Curriculum and Gender Equity section. They decided it would be really good to get in on the National Curriculum. So we've now got two sides to the program. One side is a gender consultant on each of our projects and the other is a gender equity consultant on each of the national curriculum mapping exercises. (IT9, 1991, p.1)

Such a changed bureaucratic location appears to have had the effect of making the policy more material, rather than simply symbolic, in nature. As a consequence, the National Policy will have a material manifestation in its symbiotic relationship with the national curriculum frameworks.

The first Senior Education Officer (Equality of Opportunity) appointed within the Queensland Department also stressed the significance of location to policy impact and the ease of achieving some positive outcomes in that position, compared with her predecessors. She argued:

It was significant in terms of its seniority which means that because of the protocol that was part of the bureaucracy at the time I was able to attend very senior policy making forums that previous officers hadn't had access to. And from that I got a pretty good understanding of the fundamentals of how the government and bureaucracy work. (IT1, 1992, p.2)

On the other hand, the contrary point was made by a number of interviewees that a lowly and non-mainstreamed structural location also gave some policy space. This was a point made in several interviews, specifically about gender equity policy and schools. As one Commonwealth respondent noted:

Every time they got a letter on the education of girls they couldn't wait to get it off their desks and send it down to the 'Girls Adviser'. So it got out of their hands in a way, because they hadn't kept it at senior levels in the men's hands. (IT5, 1991, p.16)

However, such a location also had its disadvantages. As one Queensland policy analyst, who had worked within the equity domain during the National Party period in Queensland, and now within the new structure under Labor, noted:

I find it hard to summarise just what a huge improvement it is to get something moving. In fact I've forgotten just what a contrast. I remember just the volume of material I had to write to get one proposal approved. Like with just a letter, I'd have to have a full explanatory legitimisation attached. It was just amazing. (IT1, 1991, p.10)

That person alluded to the significance of policy culture, as well as structural location, to the changed approach. Policy culture is a notion which will be taken up in the next section of this Chapter.

The male policy bureaucrat quoted previously also made the point about Commonwealth programs in Queensland that they were structurally not 'mainstreamed', but 'quarantined' from other policy domains. As suggested in Chapter 8, there are both strengths and weaknesses of specific purpose and mainstreaming approaches. Earmarked specific purpose Commonwealth equity programs were of paramount importance in Queensland where the political climate across the National Party period was hostile to such policies. This was a point made by all the Queensland bureaucrats interviewed for this research.

The interviews also suggested the reality of politicking between different divisions within the same bureaucracy and the impact that could have for policy. One Queensland female bureaucrat noted:

I think the separation of education and employment issues for women always causes problems. It always diminishes the overall effect.. You'd think that one plus one would still equal two, but it doesn't. There's something about the structure of bureaucracy which prevents you working together if you are in different divisions, even for very old friends and political allies. (IT12, 1992, p.9)

Chapters 5 and 6 of this research documented and analysed the corporate managerialist revolution in both the Commonwealth and Queensland bureaucracies during the eighties. One consequence was the abolition of the Schools Commission, a statutory authority which operated in a clientist and pluralist fashion, and which had both policy advice and program management functions. An important point made in several interviews was that this structural policy arrangement ensured that the policy focus was very professional and educational, rather than overtly political and tightly controlled by the minister. Such a reality created credibility amongst the educational policy community. A senior Commonwealth policy adviser argued that:

However grudgingly and whatever the tensions in Commonwealth/State relations, the Schools Commission was seen as having somewhat of an honest broker, independent educationist role. (IT5, 1991, p.18)

That approach was contrasted with the ministerialisation of policy which accompanied the corporate managerialist revolution. As noted in one interview about the transition from the Ryan and Schools Commission structure to the Dawkins and DEET/Schools Council arrangement and the changed *modus operandi* of the AEC:

...in the transition at the beginning of the Dawkins' days, there was an explicit anti-official kind of mood in the AEC, as if 'we've been snowed by these people in a Yes, Minister kind of way'. We must exclude them and meet ourselves. (IT5, 1991, p.22)

The directive nature of managerialism was also noted in relation to the vastly different approaches to Commonwealth/State relations involved in the creation of the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* and the approach in the early days of DEET. The development of the girls' policy involved a long term, negotiative and consensual process. One interview pointed out the distinction in this way:

With Dawkins coming in it became fairly crass. In his perspective he would see the Schools Commission approach with the National Policy for Girls as being wet and soft. What we need instead is some financial leverage to get the States to agree to do something or other. (IT11, 1991, p.24)

Presumably the contrast was with the perceived hard and dry approach of the economic rationalists and managerialists.

One interview mentioned the positive nature of the legal rationality of bureaucratic rules for appointments and how such articulation worked against nepotism. In her view, the flexibility of managerialism, one of its supposed positive features, potentially worked against the articulation of and adherence to rules and thus against equal employment opportunity. Specifically she stated:

Bureaucracy itself is a form of denigration in Australia, ... it was a French political scientist I read once, who said, 'It's always the underdogs who care about rules because if you know what the rules are you know when they're being broken'. Equal Opportunity people want strict selection procedures and to know that procedures are being followed. That gets us back to the new-wave public service where they want to break the rules and say it's being flexible, which is a reassertion by the boys and the in-crowd and very dangerous because it goes against accountability. (IT12, 1992, p.8)

A Queensland femocrat stressed the efficiency focus of the new managerialism and its potential to become the overriding principle:

... all the reason we were doing things went out the window. ... I often watch these people I'm working with and think nothing is informing the debate except some driven necessity we never describe - we've got to manage with less. (IT12, 1992, p.5).

Another comment picked up on efficiency overriding other principles:

It's all come down to complete pragmatics in its urgency of managing with less and efficiency... and the other principles are just sort of dropped away really. (IT12, 1992, p.4)

Here efficiency becomes the end in counter to the arguments proffered by the progressive public administration theorists that efficiency ought only be a lower order principle (Wilenski, 1986). Interestingly, another Queensland bureaucrat argued that the 1987 cuts in Commonwealth grants to the States precipitated improved management within the Queensland Department of Education (IT7, 1989, p.1). Those cuts were one factor in the managerialist reforms in Queensland.

In that same interview with a Queensland female bureaucrat, the point was made how the education bureaucracy is in many ways idiosyncratic and that very fact makes change difficult, certainly difficult simply to direct from the top. It involves a watching community as well as being an industry.

Education has a huge workforce, but also thousands of discrete work sites. These sites are semi-autonomous with the community close around and that's 'the electorate'. You try to change anything; that's really hard. (IT12, 1992, p.6)

Several women observed that a structural location at the top of the bureaucracy and involving work across the divisions ensured the development of bureaucratic and political acumen. In some ways the special role of gender equity bureaucrats facilitates their development in this way. As one Queensland bureaucrat stated:

...because we sit on all these committees and work across Directorates, we have an acute understanding of how it all fits together. And not only do we have a good understanding of how the system operates, but we also have a good understanding of people, because we get to see them in a whole range of forums, whereas they get to see us in only one forum. That's vital knowledge to have in terms of the politics of an organisation. It does put us quite a few steps ahead when it comes to political acumen. You learn to become politically strategic. (IT1, 1992, p.12)

The strategic nature of action was a point made over and over by all the femocrats interviewed. In these comments there is a feeling of bureaucratic agency framed by structure, culture, discourse, practice and existing power relations. With each of these, *a la* Giddens, enabling and constraining action. Clearly, the relationship between the 'local' and 'generalised social relations' is a 'property of social organisation' (Smith, 1987, p.157). While the resulting changes from femocrat strategy might be incremental in character, one does not get the feeling of organisational 'easy action' here, contrary to one argument proffered by Clegg, Boreham and Dow (1986) for the commonplace of incrementalism within state action. This situation reflects the nature of the femocrat role, a point taken up in the final section of the Chapter.

Several women pointed out how being meticulous as to the correct bureaucratic procedures was central to political success within the bureaucracy with respect to the equity agenda. One interviewee commented:

We are just so paranoid about the exactness of our work so that it cannot be picked to pieces. We have enough other things to defend. (IT1, 1992, p.13)

A Schools Commissioner made a similar point with respect to Schools Commission relationships with the Queensland Department during the period of negotiations for the *National Policy for the Education of Girls*. She noted how meticulous procedures were a factor in ensuring that Queensland bureaucrats were not obstructionist in the development of the policy, even though there was clearly opposition at the political level. Specifically she noted:

I think relations with Queensland were impeccably conducted from the point of view of the bureaucracy. I mean we were impeccable about how we dealt with Queensland. We were so meticulous so that nobody could say 'you put a foot wrong'. (IT5, 1991, p.8)

The Commissioner went on to argue that as a result of this bureaucratic correct action a Queensland policy officer participated in all the meetings and negotiations leading up to the actual formulation of the National Policy. The Commissioner also argued that situation meant the ground was well prepared for Queensland's subsequent acceptance of the policy following a change of minister. On this point she commented:

So every one knew Queensland would be a problem politically. We got a formal letter that they wouldn't participate, but I began to sense something was going on up there. We wrote back in conciliatory terms with the Minister's [Susan Ryan] agreement. What basically happened was that Queensland participated right through the exercise and sent fairly senior officers on a couple of occasions as observers to the process and it has emerged quite clearly that there was a deliberate policy not to be spoilers. I mean, politically, Queensland had the capacity to say this is not a national policy because we are not part of it. New South Wales has done that with the Curriculum Corporation. (IT5, 1991, p.5)

Interestingly, a Queensland bureaucrat working from the other end of that correspondence process noted:

There were a lot of, I guess, cunning ways of writing correspondence from our Minister to Susan Ryan, from our Director-General.... Like we weren't committed, but we were. (IT1, 1992, p.5).

Anne Summers (1986) in her paper on Australian femocrats argued that there were two options for such individuals within the bureaucracy, which she classified as either the mandarin or missionary positions. The former involved the femocrat moving up the

bureaucratic hierarchy to a position of more influence, but with less capacity to implement a feminist political and policy agenda, while the latter allowed the strong articulation of a feminist perspective, but ensured the femocrat remained more marginalised within the bureaucratic arrangement. The research evidence would suggest that such a dichotomous conceptualisation is a little too simple. As indicated above, the femocrats working in the restructured Queensland Department of Education, following Labor's election victory in 1989, argued that structural location enhanced political impact or missionary goals to use Summers' term. Such a structural location meant that equity could have an impact across divisions. As also noted above, that situation meant that these particular femocrats developed consummate bureaucratic skills and political acumen within the organisation. In a sense, because of that structural location and because of their political agenda, they became more knowledgeable and more effective bureaucrats. As a consequence, they were acting out simultaneously both the mandarin and missionary alternatives, which Summers has also acknowledged as central to effective femocrat strategy. The need to be meticulous in a bureaucratic sense for political reasons was also a factor here. As one respondent put it: 'You end up being a better bureaucrat and perhaps you also end up being more helpful to the government than the government realises' (IT12, 1992, p.7).

The quotes from the Schools Commissioner above on the meticulous character of action in relationships with the Queensland bureaucracy regarding the National Policy also implied a division between bureaucrats and politicians and some space for bureaucratic action even within a closed political climate. The policy and administrative space between the politicians and the bureaucrats was a repeated finding from the interviews. One gets the picture that senior bureaucrats have the potential to ensure that right wing political pressures when converted into policy are mediated in a slightly more liberal direction in the process, while the same would possibly be true in an opposite direction for left/progressive political pressures. Further, the policy options spill out across a liberal/progressive and liberal/conservative policy spectrum, eschewing other options. Here we see at work what Jessop (1990, p.260) has called the 'strategic selectivity' of state structures.

There is also some evidence from the research that on some policy matters the minister can be ahead of the bureaucrats, as to understanding of and commitment to an issue. This was a point made in one interview about John Dawkins in relation to the new senior DEET bureaucrats on the issue of girls' education. As one interview put it:

The whole portfolio with which education amalgamated was not, one would say, into gender sensitivity....The Minister himself was light years ahead of some of the new bureaucrats on the question. (IT5, 1991, p.12)

On the politician/bureaucrat distinction and division, a Queensland bureaucrat involved in the equity area during the negotiation over the National Policy, stated:

At the Minister's level there was quite open and public statements – 'No, we're not supporting the National Policy'. Powell was the Minister at the time. But at the Director-General's level and in the rest of the bureaucracy that was not the positional line that was taken. So there was a lot of discussion at the time as to when something went forward as a Ministerial statement and when something went forward as a Departmental statement. And so people tried to keep a delineation there and it was just an amazing line to try to tread. (IT1, 1992, p.5)

A Schools Commissioner commented how across this time of negotiating the National policy, the Queensland Director-General was 'tacitly as cooperative as it was possible for a Queensland bureaucrat at that stage to be' (IT5, 1991, p.6). Earlier in that same interview the following point was made about Queensland's stance on the policy formulation process: 'I think the impetus to adopt a conciliatory and even sort of neutral to supportive attitude came from the bureaucracy in Queensland' (IT5, 1991, p.5).

As noted in Chapter 1, not all the policy activity of the bureaucracy becomes directly politicised. The strength and nature of the views of the minister will be a factor here and so too will be the views of senior bureaucrats. As documented in Chapter 9, with the move from Powell to Littleproud as Minister for Education in 1989, but still with a National Party government, Queensland endorsed the National Policy in a *de facto* fashion. On that change, a Queensland Department of Education policy adviser pointed out:

I believe Littleproud was important because he didn't have the strong personal feelings against women's and girls' issues that Powell did. And he didn't have the strong allegiances with [a senior bureaucrat]. It was really a colluding with [senior bureaucrat] and the Minister's strong feelings that was so anti this area, that really determined a lot of public statements and decisions in this policy area. So, Littleproud wasn't pro or supportive, but he didn't have strong feelings either. (IT1, 1992, p.6).

Further, there is evidence from the research interviews that there is at times conflict between the minister and the bureaucrats as to how quickly something can be achieved. Such conflict may be evidence of political and administrative cultural conflict. The other side of this is that some interviewees implied that correct procedures and processes and care in achieving consensus are important in the ultimate duration and impact of a policy.

This appeared to be particularly the case with the negotiations towards the achievement of the first national policy in schooling. On this point one federal interview noted:

I think the time and energy we put into being explicit about the rules of developing the policy paid off very well. The States didn't feel they were being hooked into something. They didn't think we were going to pull a rabbit out of a hat. We negotiated. (IT5, 1991, p.3)

The thing is it was never unpicked. I mean I'm not saying that it was the most significant event ever, but it has never been challenged or unpicked. (IT5, 1991, p.10)

The significance of bureaucratic structure to policy-making has been documented to this point. Many of those interviewed for the research experienced substantial bureaucratic restructurings, particularly those associated with the corporate managerialist revolution. As suggested throughout this thesis, the central goal of the managerialist revolution was to tighten ministerial control over the policy agenda. With apparent cognisance of Wilenski's (1986) observation that structural change is important to instigating reform and Offe's (1975) point that there is no such thing as an administrative reform which is simply an administrative reform, several interview respondents commented upon the significant impact that the 1987 managerialist restructuring of the Commonwealth bureaucracy into fewer and larger bureaucratic units had on power structures and on policy culture and policy-making. A Queensland Department equity officer stated:

The restructuring to DEET had a huge impact. Initially there was a lot of insecurity and disruption at the Commonwealth level, which was essentially driving and keeping the whole thing [National Policy] together like a coordinating mechanism. There were changes in personnel. There were severe cuts in funding and there was a lot of concern among femocrats at the time of what's going to happen to the National policy? (IT1, 1992, p.7)

(It was this same cut in funding which another Queensland bureaucrat, quoted earlier, saw as important in improving administrative and management practices within the Queensland Department!)

As shown in the previous two Chapters, the National Policy had its gestation under Susan Ryan and its implementation under the new structure and policy culture of DEET, with John Dawkins as Minister. Kenway (1990b) has documented the significant impact of the implementation being caught at the vortex of a new policy culture. One Commonwealth policy adviser commented on this scenario:

Again, I think, I'm not being critical of DEET, just in the whole restructuring we lost to the last inch. I mean it would have possibly been

the same if the baton had been passed on from DEET to the Schools Commission. (IT5, 1991, p.4)

In that context, while Dawkins moved towards the goal of national policies, the processes utilised successfully in the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* were denigrated in the new managerialist structure. As one respondent stated:

I think in those vicious bureaucratic restructures there's an attempt to trample all over the achievements of the earlier body and there certainly was an explicit – any time in those first few months when – at the political level, the Minister or any of his staff mentioned favourably, the National Policy for Girls, which happened a couple of times, they sort of said you know we could go about it something like the Girls' Policy. The bureaucratic response was: 'Oh my God! You know that took them over two years.' 'We want to do it in two weeks' sort of thing. So it was actively denigrated as a process. (IT5, 1991, p.10)

The same point was made again in the following statement regarding the new mode of operation of DEET in relation to Commonwealth/State relations: 'You know there was this appalling brashness. Now the Schools Commission would have debated that for ages' (IT5, 1991, p.11).

The fact that one goal of the managerialist revolution was tighter ministerial and government control was indicated in an interview with a Chair of the Schools Commission. Here, he juxtaposed the Hawke approach with the Whitlam one and said that people who shaped the Hawke government believed that 'the whole structure of government was wrong under Whitlam' because 'there were too many elements of government that were able to operate reasonably independent of Cabinet' (IT14, 1989, pp.2–3). The Hawke government's 'really negative view on statutory authorities' was one result. The interview also noted that Hawke wanted 'a small team running the country' (IT14, 1989, p.3).

Pusey's (1991) documentation of how the post-1987 Commonwealth public service restructure institutionalised economic rationalism is a further confirmation of the point that structure of government has implications for minister/bureaucrat relations and for policy culture. Cabinet structure was also a factor here. The new structure of government after 1987 enhanced the possibility for economic restructuring to take on metapolicy status.

The narrative of the development of the National Policy for Girls was told in Chapter 9. The significance of feminist policy networks was very important in that process. They were important to the gestation and achievement of a national policy. They were central to the creation of an effective policy strategy, while they were also important as support structures for individual women. The previous two Chapters have shown how

such networks also included groups and individuals outside the bureaucracy. The managerialist restructuring involved in the creation of DEET was seen to have had the immediate effect of 'fragmenting' those networks. Several interviews acknowledged that simultaneous restructurings at the State levels also amplified this fragmentation. One interviewee put it this way:

The DEET restructuring fragmented networks. And it was meant to. ... And State restructurings, I think it has had the effect of blowing apart fairly well established networks. And yes it's been extremely disruptive. Well there's still a strong network of feminist educators, but I think, you know, they were positioned in a way and we capitalised on it. (IT5, 1991, p.17)

Another interview made the same point about the combined impact of simultaneous Commonwealth and State managerialist restructurings:

I think the networks are nowhere near as strong with the Commonwealth. And there seems to be more interest by people at State level, given the restructurings which have been happening within State public services as well, their interest in their own personal survival and so on during the restructuring process. Those things have diminished the time and energy people have to put into networking. So the national network has become less effective. (IT8, 1991, p.13)

There appears to be confirmation here of Wilenski's (1986) views on how one needs to act to implement a reform agenda quickly within an established bureaucratic structure. Restructuring is disorienting and takes up energy. In the girls' policy domain the result was a new instrumentalist focus conducive to the emergent policy culture. Bartlett (1992) has also noted the disorienting effect of both continual structural change and the ongoing flood of policy documents on political mobilisation around policy.

Overall, the interviews indicated the significance of structural location within the bureaucracy to likelihood of impact, particularly for equity initiatives. That finding confirmed other research on equity policy within state bureaucracies (Cockburn, 1991) and the mainstream work on power in organisations (Pfeffer, 1981). The interviews also noted the significance of bureaucratic restructuring, and more specifically the corporate managerialist revolution, to breaking up policy networks and achieving new policy goals. The ministerialisation of policy inherent in managerialism was also seen to reduce the input of professional expertise to policy-making within education at the federal level. The idiosyncratic character of the educational bureaucracy with many work sites in the community was also noted. Such a structure makes change quite difficult and in the current restructurings pushes questions of appropriate centre/periphery (central office/school) relationships to the fore.

Research interviews with femocrats involved in education policy indicated that the nature of their work, involving participation across divisions within the bureaucracy, meant they developed much political and bureaucratic expertise and acumen. In a sense, they became mandarins as well as missionaries (Summers, 1986). This enabled their strategic interventions in a number of domains. Women working in the educational bureaucracies on gender equity policy also stressed the significance of meticulous, bureaucratic practice to their success. Whatever the political context of work within the bureaucracy, there appeared always to be some space for bureaucrats to act. Clearly the interviews did not present a picture of the interior of the state as a "black box" simply responding to pressures upon it. On the contrary, the interviews established a picture of the interior of the state as a terrain of policy struggle which the femocrats categorised as strategy.

11.3 POLICY

The research interviews present a picture of actual policy documents as texts open to a number of, if not, multiple readings. Almost as post-structuralists or discourse analysts would, the interview respondents suggest that policy statements are in some ways polysemic. It is that very openness which reflects the contested nature of policy gestation, formulation, implementation and reception. Once again, however, the relationship is not arbitrary between the policy statement and what is actually done with it in practice. Nor, it should be said, are documents open to an infinite number of readings, rather the alternatives are shaped by the structuring of policy possibilities open to the state and its balancing acts and the discourses which result from such an arrangement.

In analysing the implementation of the 1988 Education Reform Bill in England and Wales, Bowe, Ball and Gold (1992, pp.10–11) utilise Barthes' distinction between 'readerly' and 'writerly' texts to comment on the nature of different policy documents. The former type of text reduces the number of possible readings, while the latter is open to multiple interpretations. They suggest legislation tends to be of the readerly kind, whilst policy statements, particularly in contentious domains, often tend to be of the writerly kind. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) have spoken of the 'magisterial discourse' in which much bureaucratic work is embedded. Such discourse is unidirectional and speaks from a position of authority and as such can be compared with Barthes' 'readerly text'. (See Rizvi and Kemmis, 1987.) The research interviews and document analysis indicate that

Queensland's policy reflected a strange amalgam of political pressures from feminist and anti-feminist directions. As such, while the title of the Policy – *Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys* – signifies something of the muted character of the feminism which informs it, the actual policy statement itself, through other readings, still provided a supporting framework and some legitimation for feminist teacher practitioners. This was a point made by the policy players involved across the time of the development of Queensland's policy. Such use was, of course, dependent upon the existence of a politicised constituency.

In Chapter 1 mention was made of a distinction between material and symbolic policy (Anderson, 1975, 1984; Rein, 1983). Rein (1983), for example, has noted that symbolic policy usually has diffuse, non-operationalised goals, limited or no resources attached and a complex arrangement for implementation. The assumption has often been that such symbolic policies are a political responses to defuse policy pressures. As such, there is very little real commitment to achievement of the policy goals, a factor which distinguishes such a policy from a material one. Conversely, however, the achievement of even a symbolic policy, especially in a hostile political context, can be seen as a political achievement upon which to build. This was a point made by many research respondents.

The research interviews made much use of the notion of symbolic policy, either explicitly or implicitly, in relation to both the National Policy and the Queensland one. The femocrats' perceptions of these policy achievements negate any naive acceptance that symbolic policies potentially cannot have substantial material effects. As one bureaucrat commented on Queensland's largely symbolic policy:

Certainly in terms of the intentions of the most senior bureaucrats within the Department at the time that Policy was purely symbolic. I have no doubt about that. But at the same time for those people who were activists in the field and for the bureaucrats such as myself and [other femocrat] who were charged with some official responsibility in the area, it did serve as a valuable leverage at times for even the smallest of gains. So even though it was symbolic, it was still able to be used by people who were strategic to make it into a material policy in some ways. Yes, so it was open to interpretation and used according to how cunning people wanted to be with it. (IT1, 1991, p.3)

This notion of strategic action was repeated over and over by the femocrats interviewed and appears to encapsulate the idea of political agency within the bureaucracy.

The above statement from a research interview indicates the strategic use which could be made of a symbolic policy once it had been formulated. However, the interviews

also indicated a femocrat perception of symbolic policies as the first step in a progression to something more effective, to future political gains. The person initially involved in the Queensland bureaucracy in the move to a State policy had this to say:

I saw the symbolic value. I mean I had seen in other States how it worked and I strongly recognised the value of it [even a symbolic policy]. I think the other comment I would make there, too, in terms of the symbolic value, maybe I'm naive in thinking this, but I really do believe a few of those Directors were totally naive in terms of what we actually said in the policy statement. I don't believe they really understood it. And had they done and even recognised the symbolic value of it in some of the ways that I was seeing it, they would not have agreed to it. (IT8, 1991, p.7)

Another Queensland femocrat talking generally about the significance of national policy statements argued:

Oh I think National policies are profoundly important. ... I think with a national policy you can see it as just a piece of paper. You know, people just say, 'What's the point of a policy?' Well, it gives a platform for intervention, for comment. You can say then we need to evaluate whether we've achieved it and what needs to come next. A handful of people can write a very good policy that can profoundly change people's hearts and minds. You hear phrases being repeated about treating people who are unequal as if they were the same creates inequality, which I think Jean Blackburn first said about a decade ago. It's like Holy Communion or something. It's a way of passing on a sacred message if you get it right. (IT12, 1992, p.9)

The idea that the policy statement was the first step in an ongoing policy strategy was repeated in a number of interviews. Furthermore, femocrats and bureaucrats saw the symbolic character of a policy as one way of getting notions onto the agenda initially. All of the interviews suggested that the largely and ostensibly symbolic character of both the National Policy and the Queensland policy were reasons for their successful creation in the first instance. On the National Policy, one respondent stated: 'It was centrally important that it didn't get caught up in the political debate about processes with the receipt and accountability of Commonwealth funding' (IT11, 1991, p.12). A Schools Commissioner made a very similar point: '...the Schools Commission wanted to put those principles into practice around something that didn't have Commonwealth money attached to it, but could be a joint action [with the States] of a voluntary kind' (IT5, 1991, p.14).

One femocrat argued that the National Policy, while being largely symbolic, still had an impact:

It's legitimated a lot of the gender issues worked in the National Curriculum. It's also put a lot more demands upon States to do work in this area because they have to respond to things that have come as a result of the Policy.

Therefore they have to find someone to do the work, because other people get sick of doing it when they're not a specialist in the area. So it puts pressure on the States to resource the area themselves. (IT1, 1991, p.6)

Another femocrat noted how the National Policy approach made the complex issue of gender equity more manageable:

I'm reluctant to just call it a symbolic policy, although clearly there was a strong element of that. I think it was practical and functional as well, in the way it broke up the issue into manageable pieces for people to address. I think that was very helpful...whenever you spoke with teachers...people thought well, aw, the issue it is so big, so bad, where do we start? (IT8, 1991, p.11)

Another feature of symbolism in politics was alluded to by many respondents in respect of the use of "national" for new policies cutting across the Commonwealth/State divide. Many noted how the category national was central to ensuring support from the States and as a signal that what was involved was not simply Commonwealth imposition. The importance of wording to the achievement of a policy in Queensland was also noted and how in that context 'sexism was an absolute no-no in terminology' (IT8, 1991, p.6) .

To this point, some positive aspects of symbolic policy have been stressed, namely their capacity to get contentious matters onto the policy agenda and thus serve as a stepping stone to later developments. However, there is a negative side as well. As one Commonwealth interviewee stressed: 'One of the criticisms of the National Policy, we make it ourselves, is that all it could do was provide a framework and it was then really up to the political process and those involved in it to ensure that the framework was utilised' (IT5, 1991, p.25). The comment was made by both Commonwealth and State bureaucrats that the effectiveness of a symbolic policy, as a first step in a prolonged political strategy, was only ensured through a committed constituency to utilise it at all levels of the system. This it clearly did have. As one respondent noted: 'I mean, as we know, the teaching force has been the heartland of feminism in Australia' (IT5, 1991, p.16). Regarding the necessity of a committed constituency to effective use of symbolic policy, one interview stated: 'I mean if they [the States] chose to trivialise it, our hope was that they would be picked up by a particular constituency. I mean, it was just a framework, but there was a fairly informed and committed constituency' (IT5, 1991, p.4). The same person made a similar comment about Queensland in relation to the National Policy: 'And there were some highly committed academics and teachers in Queensland; they were well up with thinking in other States' (IT5, 1991, p.6). The observation was also made about the

achievement of the National Policy that 'the State Directors-General could not actually throw themselves to the feminist movement' (IT5, 1991, p.15).

Indeed, the point was made several times that the politicisation of the gender equity issue in Queensland, through strongly articulated ministerial opposition and public denigration of the feminist agenda, was an important factor in strengthening the resolve of the teacher/feminist constituency in Queensland. As a Schools Commissioner put it:

So the Queensland thing was very interesting and the ground was set up at the time for the later approval of the Policy. And if anything, there was much more interest in the Policy in Queensland than nearly anywhere else. (IT5, 1991, p.8)

A senior feminist bureaucrat currently working in the Queensland Department noted the impact of the earlier hostile policy climate for gender equity on the polarised pattern of politicisation in Queensland around the issue:

But of course with regard to the education of girls there are people in Queensland that have been working on these issues. They have been exploring the intellectual, theoretical side and the practical side. Pockets of people in schools. You could get together a conference full of people whose understanding is as deep and sophisticated as anywhere in Australia, but then it drops away very quickly. And that's quite puzzling and deceptive too, because you'll go from a group of people that have completely up-to-date, latest knowledge about developments and people who have been struggling in schools. But I suppose when we get to the school level there's been no structure or policy support. That's not to put down the work of people who have gone before.

So, yes there are people who are completely there in the national scene in their levels of understanding and commitment and pockets of people for whom that's the norm, but then it drops away. And so it's almost...as if you are on a scale between one and one hundred and you're doing both at once. (IT12, 1992, pp.1-2)

A significant point is that there was general agreement that symbolic policies were only greatly effective in a political sense if there was a political constituency to utilise the policy in more material ways in practice.

A femocrat from another State who had been heavily involved in the development of the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* argued that policy statements of themselves were useless as to affecting practice in schools in a broad ranging fashion. Rather, she argued the need for some sort of policy leverage on personnel in schools and at other levels within the structure. Thus, 'In areas where there was that leverage ... you saw effective policy-making and probably practice shifts' (IT3, 1989, p.2). This person was subsequently involved in writing a report which led to the managerialist restructuring

of a State Department of Education against a backdrop of a complete public sector restructuring. In a research interview, she suggested that for equity to have effective impact upon school practices, that is, in her terms to have 'real impact' upon schooling, it had to be linked with an outcomes oriented relationships between the centre and schools. Specifically, and in the context of a managerial restructuring, she noted:

Well I'm hoping that it's a sort of policy setting mandate with central office targets and things built in, some sort of audit and resource agreement between the school and the centre, so that there are targets set and schools understand what they've got to achieve and determine how they're going to do it (IT3, 1989, p.3)

Further, she also argued there had to be a shift in responsibility for equity matters to the schools. She stated:

Whereas before when I was in the Equal Opportunity Branch they'd [schools] ring up and say you've got a problem because girls aren't doing science. Now they ring up and say we've got a problem at this school. Can you come and help us? It's that sort of shift in responsibility that I reckon is the real key that we never had. (emphasis added) (IT3, 1989, p.3)

Thus this person believed it was the type of control exercised between the centre and schools which would determine the extent of the achievement of equity goals and particularly in the new managerialist context. To this way of thinking, symbolic policies were just that, symbolic policies and not effective as broadranging change agents.

The question of centre/periphery relations has become a vitally important one in Departments of Education which have been restructured along managerialist lines with devolution of policy implementation. This is particularly the case for those concerned with the implementation of gender equity policy. A Queensland equity officer made this very point:

You can only have devolution if you have accountability.... We're not going to allow schools to discriminate, we're not going to allow schools to spend all their money on computers.... Well I'm for a certain measure of devolution within defined parameters and accountability....Now with good planning mechanisms, when your schools are expected to reflect Departmental policies and priorities and they're going to be reviewed against them. (IT12, 1992, p.10)

Another significant concept to develop out of the research was that of "policy culture". On the basis of the research, this concept is utilised to refer to the structures and policy goals, and dominant discourses and practices within a state bureaucracy, which frame the possibilities for policy. It is also utilised to refer to the political climate within that bureaucracy, which is determined to some extent by the policy agenda and ideological

persuasion of the government of the day and the more specific policy and ideological goals of the minister. The structure of the policy machinery in terms of minister/bureaucracy balance is also a contributing factor here. The policy culture shapes the ease or difficulty for achieving specific policies. In an interview with an officer of the Schools Commission in response to a question on the different modes of Commonwealth intervention in schools under Whitlam compared with that under Dawkins, the response was simply: 'They come from different policy cultures' (IT11, 1991, p.23).

The notion of policy culture was implied in a range of responses in research interviews. The notion was utilised, as above, to note the difference between the policy culture of Whitlam and Hawke, but also between the Susan Ryan and John Dawkins' eras, between the National Party period in Queensland and that of Labor, and between the Powell period as Queensland Education Minister and the Littleproud one.

In commenting on the shift from Ryan to Dawkins and the abolition of the Schools Commission, one respondent stated:

It was also Susan Ryan leaving ... There was a strong feminist tradition inside the Schools Commission and people to uphold it. (IT5, 1991, p.4)

Later on in that interview the changed policy culture under Dawkins was noted:

Well, DEET itself, let me say the whole ethos for women inside that portfolio changed amazingly. First of all the amalgamation, [senior bureaucrat] was not known for his gender sensitivity and that only unleashed the forces inside DEET. (IT5, 1991, p.11)

A Queensland bureaucrat argued that a feminist minister and feminist Schools Commissioner and their good working relationship was central to the policy culture out of which the National Policy developed.

If it had not been for the good relationship between Susan Ryan and Lyndsay Connors at the time I don't believe as much progress would have been made. (IT1, 1992, p.4)

Connors in a published article has noted the significance of a feminist minister to the achievement of the National Policy. She has stated:

A significant political impetus to a national approach to these issues was the appointment in 1983 of Susan Ryan as Commonwealth Minister for Education. With personal and active commitment to equality between the sexes, and with a history of participation in and political support from the organised women's movement, Ryan was crucial to the education of girls being treated seriously by the Commonwealth as a priority issue. Her presence as Commonwealth Minister legitimated and encouraged the efforts of those within her portfolio who were committed to action on these issues. (Connors and McMorrow, 1988, p.258)

A Western Australian femocrat made a similar point about Dr. Carmen Lawrence when she was Minister for Education in that State. On gender equity policy that person argued:

Things like who the minister is, I think, have made a lot of difference here because just the fact of Carmen being a women and having said publicly that she's a feminist has made a lot of difference in legitimising things and made things a lot easier in the schools. So if you had someone who wasn't committed to equity or was actually against it, it would be a dangerous thing. (IT3, 1989, p.6)

The latter point was made about the situation in Queensland when Powell was Minister. The nature of the policy culture for gender equity within the Queensland Department during the time with Powell as Minister was indicated in the following comment:

I mean all the correspondence that was to go from this Department whenever I'd write 'girls', it inevitably would come back to me with 'boys and girls' and 'men and women'. That was a reflection of the bureaucratic and political culture of the time. (IT1, 1992, p.1)

Reflecting the changed policy culture under Labor, the same person commented:

I mean it's certainly a massive change.... And the degree of activity around the State which we never had at that time. It was activity that people did, as you know, behind closed doors because they were really concerned about getting into strife, being disadvantaged. It certainly wasn't something people did which helped their careers. Whereas now I believe that there's enough precedence set to show that it's actually rewarded. (IT1, 1992, p.9)

It should also be pointed out, though, that another interview with a Queensland bureaucrat, indicated that while the culture had clearly changed under Labor, there were still 'residues' of the older culture evident, particularly in relation to gender equity questions. Thus there would appear to be an indication that while a change of structure, personnel and the existence of political will (Wilenski, 1986) are necessary to reformist agendas within public sector bureaucracies, policy culture is another factor which needs to be taken into account. Further, policy cultures can differ quite substantially under different ministers of the same political persuasion. Clearly, with respect to gender equity matters, policy culture is also framed by the structures and attitudes of the societal gender order.

In summary, the interviews presented policies as texts which were often open to a number of interpretations in the process of implementation. Actual wording was also seen as part of the struggle over policy. The distinction between Commonwealth and national was pointed out in that context. While the policy literature is replete with the material/symbolic distinction (for example, Anderson, 1975, 1984; Rein, 1983), the femocrats interviewed emphasised the significance of symbolic policies as an initial step in a thought through political strategy. It was argued that the very existence of a policy

granted some space for practice, a confirmation of the earlier point about policies being open to several interpretations. The symbolic character of a policy was often seen to be the reason for the policy to have been achieved in the first instance. The femocrats also noted the importance of a committed political constituency to the material usage of a symbolic policy.

Policy culture was an important concept to develop out of the research. It referred basically to the structures and policy goals, and dominant discourses and practices within a state bureaucracy, which framed policy possibilities. While such cultures often alter with a change of government, a new minister under a government of the same political persuasion may also precipitate a changed policy culture. Further, the broader change from the conjunctural to structural policy condition also reframed policy possibilities for governments of any political persuasion. The research also indicated that residues of older policy cultures usually remain in new structures. Furthermore, features of the broader social structure, for instance the patriarchal nature of the gender order, are also embedded within bureaucratic structures and impact upon policy culture.

11.4 COMMONWEALTH/STATE RELATIONS

A former Chair of the Schools Commission made the point in a research interview that the character of Commonwealth/State relations in a given policy domain was structured to a considerable extent by both the Commonwealth government's political agenda and its public sector management approach. The view was expressed strongly that the managerialism of the Hawke period worked against the 'multi-program approach to implementing policy' (IT14, 1989,p.2). More specifically, the point was put that the Hawke government 'wanted to wholesale policy not retail it' (IT14, 1989, p.2). That played out in federalism in the move to national policies resulting from consensual agreements from both levels of government.

In that interview, the former Schools Commission Chair praised the discipline of the government which resulted from the new managerialism. It was argued: 'It certainly has been a much more cohesive government, more efficient, much less involved in detail, much more directed towards wholesaling policy' (IT14, 1989, p.3). However, that pattern of governing and the related public sector approach impacted upon federalism and as a

consequence resulted in 'a diminution in the capacity of the federal government to effect and detail equity issues' (IT14, 1989, p.3).

With respect to schooling the point was made that special programs to deal with equity were a potential casualty of the new approach:

Exactly, strings attached, special programs. They [Hawke government] became more inclined to say that's a problem for the States. You can see it in the school funding stuff, and again I'm quite impressed with many aspects of the Hawke government's approach to the management of school funding. They are much less interventionist than the Fraser government and even vastly less interventionist than the Whitlam government tended to be. (IT14, 1989, p.3)

A little later in the same interview the point was elaborated:

They [Hawke government] tend to give money over to the States or to the non-government sector in blocks. They have devolved a lot of the responsibility. I think they've pumped up the accountability side of it. That's brought its own problems. They tend much more to be a kind of government which lays down broad guidelines and relies on the people at the other end to say, yes, we will pursue these and then to account for them, rather than breaking it up into bits and pieces. That's a philosophy I support. In fact, I did some of the work designing it. (IT14, 1991, p.3)

Another interview noted how the managerialist 'rationalisation' of Commonwealth/State relations weakened the former 'sorts of controls and influences that used to be exercised by the Commonwealth' (IT8, 1991, p.13). Both the above quotes are a clear statement of the Hawke government's managerialism which has obvious implications for the capacity of the Commonwealth for controlling agendas. This is another confirmation of the point that state structure mediates policy approaches as outlined in Chapter 3.

The argument was also proffered that the changing nature of Commonwealth/State relations reflected a government's perception of the role the Commonwealth ought to take with respect to change. In that way, for example, the Whitlam government with its fulsome social democratic reform agenda necessitated an expanded role for the Commonwealth. By contrast, the economic focus of the Hawke government, particularly after 1987, combined with the managerialist reforms, resulted in a narrower and more focused role for the Commonwealth. As a former Chair of the Schools Commission put it:

I believe there is one very big difference between the Whitlam government and the Hawke government. I believe the Hawke government would want to do all the good to improve the nation's schools and to support improving outcomes of schooling and improve opportunities for the disadvantaged. However, I don't think that it has any real belief that the federal government

should be the agent for achieving that. I think it is far more inclined to say that's a good job for the States in the government sector. Whereas Whitlam really did believe in that interventionist role of the federal government, in federal money being used, not just as the equaliser, but as the influence. (IT14, 1989, p.4)

The different economic circumstances generally, and with respect to government budgets, within which both governments came to power were also seen as contributing to managerialism and to narrower reform goals, which in turn had implications for federalism. As the former Schools Commission Chair observed:

The Hawke government's view has been due to these economic times. It has been dominated by the economic challenges it faces and it's worth remembering Mr. Hawke took up office and discovered he had a potential \$9 billion deficit. Whitlam inherited a government that was operating in surplus, no foreign debt – huge difference. (IT14, 1989, p.6)

The comparison between the Whitlam and Hawke governments was picked up in another interview, where the point was made that the Whitlam government utilised funding to bring about change. In policy domains where there was both Commonwealth and State involvement that had ramifications for federalism. The additional point was also made that, during the early Schools Commission years, the Commonwealth was seen to be a source of creative ideas. This was no longer seen to be the case. The interview respondent put her perception this way:

...my view is that the Commonwealth government in the post-Karmel years was very effective because it gave the system 'play money' and therefore people who were keen and eager and forward looking picked it up and so the ideas circulated, but in fact it made no real difference. It didn't dent the system. You had 9% of the funds, or less really, at the side. Most of that was topping up or doing marginal things, that people didn't really worry about, but it was very influential in setting a climate of opinion ...It's indirect impact was very substantial, although its direct impact I wouldn't have said was worth much. Now it's, in terms of ideas, completely barren. I don't think you go off to Canberra and pick up good ideas anymore. (IT3, 1989, pp.14–15)

It was in this new Hawke policy culture that, after restructuring higher education, Dawkins moved to develop national approaches in schooling. In many ways, as suggested in Chapter 8, some national agreement was possible because of the ideological commitment across party lines to a more vocationally directed schooling, the across the board move to managerialism, and the pressures upon resources at the State level resulting from cuts in Commonwealth grants. The presence of a large number of concurrent Labor governments also facilitated such a move. One State respondent noted how 'because we

were a Labor State they knew we'd fall into line' (IT3, 1989, p.15). There is a way in which the approach to Commonwealth/State relations then relates to economic circumstances, as noted in Chapters 7 and 8. On the changed nature of federalism in schooling under Dawkins, a Commonwealth respondent observed:

I also think there have been many fewer conflicts with the federal government and I have been genuinely surprised at the degree of cross-party consensus, the commonality that seems to have emerged on broad national policies. Dawkins has been very effective in getting ministers, who I would have thought would have been quite reluctant, to have committed themselves to national policy. (IT14, 1989, p.4)

There is a way in which the national policy strategy also reflected the way the Commonwealth sought to have influence in a context where such influence could not be bought through extra funding.

The ministerialisation of policy inherent in managerialism and the increased policy role for the Australian Education Council, the intergovernmental committee in education, were points made in several interviews. The move to national policies required a more substantive role for the intergovernmental committee. One interviewee stated:

The Australian Education Council has been going since the mid-1930s as a pretty ineffective body, a forum more than a decision making body. So it's not fair to accuse it of being ineffective. It's not meant to be effective. I think there has been more agreement around that table about directions, national policy and so on in the last couple of years than I've seen for a long time. (IT14, 1989, p.4)

Another policy adviser picked up on the enhanced policy significance of the AEC in the following fashion:

...speaking on the AEC which I've attended, I guess as an observer right back...The AEC completely changed and I think Dawkins has been the main impetus. I mean, it was just very much into noting; it was like a forum when I first went there. The most momentous things were just noted and a great unwillingness to commit oneself to anything. (IT15, 1991, p.21)

That same person added: 'I think Dawkins really saw the AEC rightly as the forum through which you operate with the States and he was going to make it work' (IT5, 1991, p.22).

Ministerialisation of policy was also reflected in the following from another interview: '[the AEC] is a huge ...Minister type activity these days and the officials are standing around talking' (IT11, 1991, p.22). A senior Western Australian bureaucrat made a similar point:

There was a very big difference in the flavour at AEC meetings also across the same time. In the early meetings that I attended it was very much a group of people from a State, the Minister and his senior advisers who, between items and between sessions of the conference, caucused: 'now how are we West Australians going to address this question?' And by the time I had left it had changed to a group of Ministers from Labor caucusing and saying 'now how are we going to stitch this up?' and the senior officers almost became an embarrassing impediment from time to time in the relationship. So there was quite a big shift. (IT15, 1989, p.6)

That WA bureaucrat also noted the significance of Labor politicians to the emergence of a national agenda.

Yes, I went through almost a total flip-flop in State/Commonwealth relationships. Jim Clark who was extremely vigorous as the State rightist was given to saying that we are not a nation but a federation and harked back to the earlier Constitution to State rights. And while Jim was Minister for Education our State stood out against anything that suggested that Canberra was taking over or absorbing rights of any sort. Bob Pearce who was very much more interested in a national agenda was instrumental in raising issues like national curriculum, saw himself quite clearly as part of a group of influential Labor politicians affecting the course of education around Australia. (IT15, 1989, p.6)

National collaboration also resulted from a tight resource situation. This was noted by one senior bureaucrat:

National curriculum stuff, I think that's a complete non-issue. What I think it will end up doing is giving a little bit of impetus to state collaboration...I was very hopeful about that because I think we need to collaborate, the State systems do and I don't think it [curriculum corporation] was like CDC or the Schools Commission which was an idea generating, free thinking, wonderful curriculum incubator. It [curriculum corporation] was never designed to be like that, because no one can afford to run it anymore. I think it was designed ... as a very hard-nosed mechanism for promoting money-saving collaboration between the States. (IT3, 1989, p.15)

The link between expansive ideas and the ready availability of funds is interesting in this observation and is seen to correlate with a more financially interventionist Commonwealth role. The parsimonious funding reality is seen to spawn national approaches as a way to efficient use of resources and to achieving more for less.

While the emergence of national policies reflected broader changes in Commonwealth/State relations, which in turn were related to changed economic circumstances, the emergence of the first national policy, that for girls, also reflected other political factors. The presence of a feminist minister was important and that precipitated the view amongst a national feminist network that a National Policy was achievable. Furthermore, the need for a national policy had been recommended in *Girls and Tomorrow*

(1984). There was also a perception that such a policy would provide important leverage on developments within the States. Thus there was also a strategic component in the policy's development. As one person put it, 'they needed the federal policy to help them bring change' (IT11, 1991, p.7).

The strategic component worked in a couple of ways. One woman centrally involved in the development of the National Policy commented in the following fashion with respect to the strategic importance of the Commonwealth/national distinction:

Now the women that conceived the National Policy for Girls did want it to be national. I mean there was very little support among that group to attempt to have some Commonwealth interventionist thing. They knew it wouldn't work and in fact they knew it would make their lives hell in the States and set back the cause. (IT5, 1991, pp.2-3)

The significance of national policies and programs in the equity areas seems to have been regarded more highly by bureaucrats in those States where there was a hostile climate towards such policies. The interviews provided arguments from Queensland bureaucrats that across the National Party period Commonwealth policies and programs were central to anything at all happening with respect to equity at the State level. As one Queensland femocrat stated:

I would like to conclude that I believe that the National Policy for the Education of Girls has been one of the most significant policy initiatives that have happened in education in the last ten years I guess. Significant in a moderate, indirect way that it will probably go unnoticed. But I really do believe that it's unlikely that many of the States, if any, would have taken any critical action in the area had it not been a Commonwealth, a major Commonwealth initiated thing, but eventually very cleverly reframed in terms of the National Policy. So that there was much less ring of Commonwealth/State tension. (IT1, 1992, p.12)

By contrast, a Western Australian femocrat did not believe the National Policy was of any great significance. It must be noted, however, that from 1983 the Labor government in Western Australia instigated a range of State supported equity programs. In the Queensland context there was no State money for equity until after the election of a State Labor government in December, 1989. Another Western Australian bureaucrat involved in the equity area commented on her mixed feelings about national policies:

I have had mixed feelings. There are times when the pressures to respond ... you almost become public servants of the Commonwealth system. What it means in reality is the two human resources we have in gender equity...but the time gets tied up in passing information on and writing reports for them. It does have its spin-offs, though. Schools will pick up on information in the Gen which we've fed in there, which somehow they

see as a national thing ... its headed WA and they are more likely to take notice of it than if we publish it here.But it does take a lot of effort. (IT4, 1989, p.11)

While concern is expressed, there is still a recognition of the significance of a national profile for ensuring salience for a policy issue.

A Queensland femocrat also stressed the importance of the Gen Magazine, the national newsletter which resulted from the National Policy and which is published and distributed by DEET. However, she also emphasised once again the importance of a national policy for keeping gender issues on the agenda.

I believe the amount of dialogue that went on at the Conferences of Directors-General and the AEC was healthy. It kept on bringing issues to the eyes of those people and creating a sense that it wasn't something that was going to go away. In fact it was a growing force. (IT1, 1992, p.6)

The more general point was made that agencies which exist at the intersection of Commonwealth/State relations over time move towards more cooperative modes of operating. This observation was made about the Schools Commission. Now, while the move from a more interventionist towards a more cooperative role for the Commission in relation to Commonwealth/State relations reflected both changes in government ideology and economic circumstances, such a change was also seen simply to reflect the long term process of institutionalisation. One Schools Commissioner noted on this point:

I mean, I think the interventionist role was appropriate and effective for a little while, but the Schools Commission itself was aware it had to evolve a new model. (IT5, 1991, p.13)

Additionally, several interviews noted how the fact the Commonwealth only ever provided about 10 per cent of funds for State schools meant they needed to consider different approaches if they wanted to have an impact. The tight funding circumstances increased the likelihood of collaboration with the States in the direction of national policies.

The *National Policy for the Education of Girls* was the first national policy in schooling ever negotiated in Australia. As shown in previous Chapters, the Policy was formulated under the Ryan policy culture and implemented in that of Dawkins. The substantial changes to the working of federalism in schooling came under Dawkins, with the emergence of a range of national policy initiatives documented in Chapter 8. The question of the significance of the National Policy for Girls as a precedent for later national policies was considered in Chapter 8. The relevant point to make here, however, is that a number of interview respondents argued that the success of a policy approach does have, either directly or indirectly, implications for later policy strategies. No

respondent suggested that the National Policy was the model for later developments. Quite the contrary, they all argued that the new managerialism scorned the negotiative process which took over two years. Nonetheless, all of these respondents believed that the success in achieving a National Policy did have an indirect impact on subsequent developments. One senior policy adviser articulated that observation in this manner:

It's hard to make any direct correlation there. Clearly, nevertheless, I think in subtle ways it probably did prepare the ground in that what happened – we went around, we consulted with all those State departments. The government and non-government school authorities were all involved. And what you found was – if you considered your process carefully, and this is where I come back to marketing, the way you put the idea forward to them and the way you handle that process – you could probably get people to agree on things that, just in the ordinary course of events, you would never imagine possible. So, I think, okay, after people had got together and experienced that, then it would make it easier for any future consultation and negotiation. (IT8, 1991, p.10)

Another respondent made exactly the same point noting that the girls' policy model was not picked up consciously, but that it probably had an impact anyway. On the relationship between the National Policy and subsequent moves for other national approaches under Dawkins, a former Schools Commissioner noted:

...probably not a huge amount. I mean, I don't for one minute think those other developments wouldn't have happened. But I think there was a certain sense of achievement within the AEC that it had been able to negotiate something national. Now let's face it we weren't negotiating something with millions of dollars attached. I mean it was a good place to start in a way because it had two facets. It was socially and politically very sensitive and they came through it without getting their skins ripped off. And I think there was a certain amount of appreciation that there was a certain safety in numbers and that you could move forward by getting a sensible national articulation of an issue that was prickly and thorny, that could smooth the path a bit. If you could find the right words, you know, put our heads together, find words that Directors-General could say.... I think it gave them confidence that it could be done. And to that extent smoothed the path a bit. (IT5, 1991, p.9)

One distinct difference between the achievement of the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* and subsequent Dawkins developments was that with the former the Schools Commission as a statutory authority played an important role. By way of contrast, the latter were negotiated through processes directed by the ministers. Interestingly, a Schools Commissioner argued that during the negotiating period for the National Policy that the Schools Commission took on a 'national role' and as such, began to "represent" the nation. She added further:

...certainly the Schools Commission chair used to attend AEC meetings as one of the advisers to the Commonwealth Minister...but it started to take, to my mind, a more prominent role in Commonwealth/State relationships at the AEC around that time....It stepped momentarily out of the role of being a Commonwealth advisory body and into doing that role for the whole AEC. (IT5, 1991, p.18)

The relationship between the Commonwealth government's political agenda and approach to public sector management were both seen then to have an impact on the working of federal state relations generally and specifically in relation to schooling policy formation. Changed economic and political circumstances were also seen to play a role. The interviews made a contrast between the Whitlam and Hawke Labor governments and the former's expansive social democratic goals and the latter's narrower goals and expectations and its related desire to have tighter control of the government's agenda. The latter situation was seen to have been a significant factor in the reworking of federalism. As observed in a number of interviews, under Hawke Labor, in schooling, the constrained funding situation, interacted with these different expectations and goals and new managerialism, to precipitate a move towards a number of national policy initiatives. The *National Policy for the Education of Girls*, while having developed out of the policy culture of the Ryan period as federal Minister for Education (1983–1987), was seen to have indirectly provided some impetus towards the national policy approach in schooling pursued by Dawkins as Minister for Employment, Education and Training (1987–1991). It was noted that, within the reworked federalism, the Australian Education Council (AEC), the intergovernmental council in education, took on a more significant policy role, reflecting the ministerialisation of policy endemic to managerialism. The presence of a large number of State Labor governments was also noted as being significant to the use of the AEC to achieve some national collaboration.

11.5 FEMOCRATS AND POLICY-MAKING WITHIN THE STATE

In Chapter 3 an account was given of the femocrat role and how its rise in Australia probably reflected the coming together of the second wave of the women's movement and the election of the Whitlam Labor government in 1972, combined with the statist nature of Australian political culture. Utilising Eisenstein (1991, pp.40–41), consideration was also given to types of feminist interventions within the state. Yeatman (1990a) has noted how the position of femocrat reflects the professionalisation of a social

movement, in this case feminism. Femocrats are appointed to their positions because of their political commitments. Their bureaucratic and policy function is to ensure the implementation of a feminist reform agenda. Obviously their objectives may represent different "feminisms". Nevertheless, in that way their role is obviously political and as such different from that of most other bureaucrats, at least as articulated in official position statements. That was picked up in the following interview statement from a senior femocrat interviewed in the course of the research.

Well it's a profoundly political role because you're placed there to change the structures that you're in, as well as the power relations in that structure and those that have put the structures there. So you're always working inside and outside the camp, as it were. Always, and it's a very dangerous strategy. There are two forms of danger. One is that you'll become so much part of the structure ... there was a lot of discussion about five years or so ago about the danger of corruption, coercion, cooptation. Critiques of what we wore. That was a sign that we'd been taken over by the culture, and that couldn't be 'true feminism.' I think we've moved past that now. The other danger, the second one, is that you'll have no credibility in the organisation, within the structures, the minister's office, the government and so on and if that's the case you won't influence them. So you have to have very adequate bureaucratic skills. You have to have sufficient credibility in their terms to cause an impact. So it's very tricky and you have to know every thing they know. You have to be able to influence every major activity and policy change that's going on. So that you have to have knowledge that none of them have. (IT12, 1992, p.7)

A little further on in the same interview, the political character of the role was again elaborated:

I'm a total pragmatist. In some ways you've got your toe in the door. You've damn well been kicking and you push it a bit further open. We are also learning it's like being in an underground movement. You are learning how a system works. (IT12, 1992, p.8)

In another interview the same point was made:

...our role is one hundred per cent political... every move is being turned to supporting a political strategy. It's part, I guess, of some sort of movement. It is a movement. Like every judgement I make about what is good or bad is in terms of what I see as being an end goal of what would be an ideal way of operating, an ideal society I guess. (IT1, 1992, pp.11-12)

An important conclusion of this research is that any notion of a minister/bureaucrat dichotomy around a policy/administration or political/non-political construction clearly does not hold weight in relation to femocrats. The reality of policy production is much more complex.

The tension for femocrats between accountability to the organisation and the related need for legitimacy there, to the successful achievement of policy goals and accountability to the feminist movement has been noted in the literature canvassed in Chapter 3. This tension was alluded to in the following perceptive comment by a senior feminist bureaucrat:

The critical dilemma is the relationship between the wider movement – the women's movement – and these positions that the wider movement has fought for and achieved. I accept the accountability there, but I really don't know how to fulfill my acceptance of the need for such accountability. I don't know where to find them in the phone book to ask if I'm doing the right thing. There's also the dilemma of how much you can talk about confidential information and who will view it in the same light as you will. It's all dangerous stuff. That's the central dilemma. (IT12, 1992, p.8)

In terms of the accountability to the women's movement, that interview also pointed out the suspicion with which femocrats are regarded by many women because of their 'trappings of high incomes and the ability to make policy decisions that would affect other people' (IT12, 1992, p.8). The ambiguous connotations of the term "femocrat" are part of that perception.

Mention was made earlier of the Summers' (1986) distinction between the mandarin and missionary alternatives for femocrats. The point was made there that the research indicated that the situation was more complex than that dichotomous distinction suggested. However, such a dichotomous perception of female bureaucrats still appeared to be evident amongst other bureaucrats. This had the potential effect of narrowing the career options for femocrats. As one Commonwealth femocrat put it:

It's unfortunate for women that you, so often, are not taken as a person. You're seen as a woman in the bureaucracy, rather than a person. And the women, the mandarins are obviously there, and the missionaries and the peripheral nature that's there too. It's hard when you don't fit within either mould. Because whether you like it or not you tend to get put into one or the other. People classify you that way. (IT8, 1991, p.15)

That classification is then seen to have an impact upon career options, even despite the claim and evidence that such femocrat experiences improve bureaucratic knowledge, as indicated in number of research interviews. The same person continued:

I found it very difficult when I went to OSW [Office of Status of Women], from DEET where I'd been working in general recurrent getting out of working on women's issues. And I'd sort of got into women's issues by default anyway. The thing I least liked about general recurrent was the lack of people focus. I like working with people and interacting and networking. Liaison suits me fine. And being able to be a bit more creative and

divergent in what you do. Basic program management doesn't basically allow for that or encourage it a great deal, so I moved on to OSW. A number of people thought that was a silly move on my part. Now I learnt a lot more about women's structures at OSW and how they can and cannot work in the bureaucracy. There are all sorts of other learning experiences for me from shifting there. Now, while I believe that would translate into my working anywhere, I'm still seen as a women's issues person. (IT8, 1991, p.15)

The person-oriented nature of some women's issue politics is also picked up in that quote.

That dichotomy of a single focus on gender issues versus a broader bureaucratic role and function was also picked up a number of times in the interviews. As a former Schools Commissioner noted:

I think that point is an important one...something I've always felt strongly about people going into schools on the gender issue. You should have a general interest in educational programs and things. I mean schools don't take very kindly to someone who comes in and they're not interested in one thing except gender. (IT5, 1991, p.8)

That same person made a similar point with respect to the effectiveness of negotiations with Queensland on the National Policy, that is, the fact those involved had broader agendas and were involved in other policy matters enhanced legitimacy. In her words:

...that's probably an important comment with Queensland... the team that went there was known in other capacities. I mean they didn't pick this as a group of people who only wanted to come and deal with this issue [National Policy] (IT5, 1991, p.8)

The point was made in one interview that a broader policy interest than just gender equity made it easier for a specific bureaucrat to escape narrow categorisation as simply a gender equity person. One interviewee stated:

[Senior Commonwealth policy person] is fortunate that she has always worked on other issues at the same time. And so while she's known to be strong on women's issues she's seen as an equity person and concerned for the disadvantaged and she's not labelled as easily. (IT8, 1991, p.15)

Yeatman (1990a) has noted that it has usually been women who have fulfilled the broader equity functions within the state and as such the state double distances itself from the disadvantaged. The fact that women tend to fill most equity positions within the state, beyond just gender equity was evidenced in the research and a point made in a number of interviews. As one respondent observed: 'It's interesting that it's more likely that someone like myself who's culturally women's and girls' issues will be taking the generic job' (IT12, 1992, p.4). This point was also made with respect to the impact the DEET restructure had on women in the system and also on the gender equity question. Increasingly in the latter

stages of the Dawkins period the focus turned to TAFE training and the integration of training and award restructuring. This further marginalised women and gender questions. The following comment was made in regard to that matter:

It may be that women haven't operated in those spheres in so far as you call it influencing those spheres. You've at least got to correct your networks because the old women's networks worked on the educational issues and the social issues and so on. (IT11, 1991, p.17)

The same point was made by another interviewee:

I think you would find that it is the same if you talked to people who worked in multicultural education. That too is now being obscured because in many ways those issues were worked through primarily by women. (IT5, 1991, p.17)

In the second section of this Chapter on bureaucracy, some mention was made of the femocrats' self-perception of their work as involving strategic action. Such action was seen as linked to the political function of the femocrat role. Most of those interviewed argued that they had to continually take account of changing policy culture if their goals were to be achieved and if questions of gender equity were not to be marginalised. For example:

The femocrats were then starting to think of ways of reframing or rearticulating the goals of the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* that was much more in tune with Dawkins' economic agenda. (IT1, 1992, p.7)

Another femocrat noted, when talking about equal employment opportunity reforms and the need for more representative bureaucracies, the necessity for rearticulating a policy within the emergent policy discourse:

One effect, of course, is that you do change your arguments. Now one of the things about working in these areas is you happily redress your arguments and say it's about efficiency, but it's also about productivity and it's about better service delivery. But the interesting thing is, I believe all that's true. I don't know that I did when I first started out. Some years ago we used to say it's about good human resource management.... we were thinking – if we could get women into management and Aboriginal people and so on – but we weren't critiquing the context in which they were being promoted. Whereas now it's more a redefinition of merit. They actually know and can do some things that you or I mightn't be able to do. (IT12, 1992, p.6)

Herein, of course, lies the possibility of cooptation referred to by so many femocrats with respect to the dual character of accountability which they experience. There is also an indication that the political work of the femocrat is wide ranging, not simply involving the opening up of current structures for women, but also requiring a whole range of

reconstructions and redefinitions. And femocrats do not structure the dominant policy discourses, rather they tend to have to work within them and resist or challenge them.

Another point made in relation to strategy was the use of what one woman called 'magnification'. She noted how giving the appearance that more was being achieved than was actually the case was used in newsletters and the like as part of the political strategy. Of course, there is a danger built into this strategy as well.

And I'm sure that what's happening at the school level has been magnified beyond its reality in publications...I think it's the old mirrors' trick that has always been used in the area, but it is very powerful. (IT1, 1992, p.8)

Some note was made earlier in this Chapter of the significance of networks to feminist politics within the state. This was a point regularly made in the interviews. Networks were seen to be important in at least three ways for femocrats. First, they were seen to be an essential component in successful policy strategies inside the state. Here particular mention was made of the significance of national femocrat networks to the initial achievement of the National Policy. As one interview observed:

...there were a number of very politically aware women who were in influential political positions by then and who worked very well together. (IT8, 1991, pp.8-9)

The same interview continued a little later:

...on reflecting on it since, I think a number of those women had learned strategy from having to work the system and fight the system. (IT8, 1991, p.9)

Another interview stressed how in relation to the National Policy, the Schools Commission was 'very well-placed to activate that network' (IT5, 1991, p.16). This networking, combined with strategic sophistication was seen as central to the achievement of the National Policy.

Networking was adjudged to be important in a second way, that of a support system for women bureaucrats. That system operated in respect of moral support and for the ventilation of ideas. As one femocrat noted:

I think a number of other women, you know, and friends who were active in the union and just others like, you know, people like [other femocrat] who were ordinary rational people who could see there was an issue that needed to be addressed and it was just being ignored. People were refusing to address it. In talking with people like that helped me to keep my sanity and in just talking with them it helped me to reflect more on what I was doing so that I became more strategic in what I did. (IT8, 1991, p.4)

Clearly, the hostile policy culture in which this woman worked, required such supportive networks for the struggle to continue. The significance of these support structures was stressed in most of the interviews with femocrats. Most of the women also pointed out their "stick at it" trait. Supportive networks enhanced such individual traits. Furthermore, such networks have a strong element of being gender support groups for women and, as such, work to share and support the similar experiences of women in interactive public and private spheres (Grant and Porter, work in progress).

The third feature of networks relates to their impact outside of the state. In several interviews the point was made that once the feminist policy agenda has been opened up there is no closing it down. In an indirect fashion, this also provides a supportive constituency for the femocrats. Internal state politics obviously intersect with politics and structures external to it. As one woman asserted:

It's also a source of amusement to me sometimes, that they have no idea what they've unleashed. And that the changes...even if they changed their mind and abolished the job, the changes they've let loose... (IT12, 1992, p.3)

Several women commented that the apparent success of the femocrat strategy was also due to the fact that the women involved were outstanding individuals. '..they are super people. They're very good... they're very supportive of each other and very knowledgeable' (IT9, 1991, pp.7-8).

The idea that the equity domain was one requiring expertise was a point made again and again in the interviews. In the context of a comment supporting specific positions for equity, rather than mainstreaming the issue, one femocrat suggested:

I think there is still a need for recognition that there are some specific expertises that it takes a long time to develop. ... And I believe for the health of society it is important to have those specific expertises continually feeding, reflecting, critiquing structures and society... (IT1, 1992, p.11).

On the role of the Schools Commission in the development of the National Policy, one Schools Commissioner of the time pointed out how a perception of the Commission as a repository of expertise in the gender equity area was a significant contributing factor. As she noted:

And I think that's partly because it was the gender area...I think they did genuinely see the Schools Commission as being expert in the area. (IT5, 1991, p.18)

Several interviews noted the need for femocrats to walk a fine line between radical feminism and weaker liberal varieties in their practice. This point was also made about

appropriate strategy, given the different levels of awareness and commitment amongst the constituency. The women interviewed acknowledged that there were highly politicised women with sophisticated understandings of the issues involved and a commitment to radical feminism, but at the same time there were also women who had to be introduced to the issues. Such a situation meant that policies and reports in newsletters had 'to tread that line', attempting to retain and extend support (IT9, 1991, p.10). In one interview in regard to the Gen Newsletter, which comes out of DEET, as a result of the National Policy, the point was made:

...That's a very interesting newsletter. I mean it's very popular and I think it's a wonderful newsletter. ... a lot of the more radical feminists out there think it's a bit wimpy and it doesn't get the real message across. And there are the other people who say well if we went that way ... perhaps it wouldn't be as popular so we should ... we're trying to tread that line. (IT9, 1991, p.10)

The femocrats interviewed for the research raised the issue of what could be classified as mainstreaming versus specific program approaches to gender equity and other equity domains. The strong consensus appeared to be that there was still a need for both types of programs. One respondent saw the strength of the National Policy stemming from the fact that: 'It's like a big mainstreaming exercise' (IT1, 1992, P.12). Further, the interviews suggested that in education, employment and schooling questions needed to be pulled together. In that way the implications of each agenda for the other would become more apparent. Additionally, the point was made that mainstream and specific programs are also still required for each of the equity policy domains, for example, gender, socio-economic disadvantage, disability, ethnicity, and Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders. On the latter point, one woman, talking about the situation in South Australia some time ago, said:

That's because at the time there weren't structures attending to the particular needs of the different groups that had been neglected, and it was a way of total tokenism that one position was going to cover all the groups and then the rest of the Department was going to be for white, Anglo-Saxon, physically and intellectually abled men. And so we fought it, but there did come a time, and you can trace it through the legislation. There was the Anti Sex Discrimination Act, Race Discrimination Act, Handicapped Persons' Equal Opportunity Act. But there comes a time when it is right politically, in terms of the movement, I suppose, the understanding of the issues, to come together and form an Equal Opportunity Act which covers all the grounds. (IT12, 1992, p.4)

A senior Equity Officer in Queensland argued the need for both mainstream and specific purpose programs. Thus she commented:

Now on the educational side in Queensland, of course, there are large sections dedicated to the specific specialist curriculum and pedagogical issues for each of the currently disadvantaged groups. So that makes a lot of sense. And I've always said that our equity management plan will consist of four discrete employment strategies. Now the PSMC [Public Sector Management Commission] doesn't talk that language. Whereas I think it is very important that we can lift out and say this is the employment plan for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and they can just work on this and the network grows around that. So I suppose I'm having a bit both ways. And I've fought for these four specialist jobs. ... I think it is inconceivable not to have someone working on each of those issues on their own. So I suppose I'd be the equivalent of a mainstream Director. (IT12, 1992, pp.4-5)

That observation was combined with a view which acknowledged that for equity matters to be effective they had to impact across the Departmental structure and in schools. Thus, in the same interview, emphasis was given to the significance of the appointment of an equity person to all Department promotion committees. The interview noted:

...having the equity reps on every selection panel...that intervention is a symbol to everybody...it gives us an insight into what's going on with hundreds of activities throughout the Department and a massive new network. And all those people's consciousnesses, by being called an equity rep...that will radicalise them just by being placed in the role. (IT12, 1992, p.3)

The femocrats appeared to have a sophisticated perception of the stages involved in change in large public bureaucracies. Several pointed out that in the early stages of the implementation of a gender equity policy that the person or persons involved in the policy area were expected to operate as some sort of 'moral police', pointing out to others when they were being sexist or discriminatory in their words and actions. One woman noted how a changed culture was reflected in a situation where she did not have to pick up a senior male bureaucrat because of his language, but when other male bureaucrats did so and informed the person that his language was unacceptable. As she put it:

They weren't looking at me saying you've got to say something, but rather that was part of their understanding of the world by then. They were actually saying that really, you know, we don't do it. So that is a big consciousness change. (IT12, 1992, p.2)

Another woman also noted:

...they know I come from OSW and so often we've had presenters from within the public service who are outright sexist in comments and addresses that they make to the group, and the eyes, they move immediately to me, to

expect me to say something, and I, deliberately this year, have not taken, an active role on the issue. I believe other people have to, but even my own peers, they know that's my background, that's their perception and they're going to still box me the same way. (IT8, 1991, p.15)

As noted in Chapter 3, Connell (1987) has described cathexis, the organisation of emotional attachments, as one component of the gender regime of an organisation such as a government department. This embeds a hegemonic notion of relationships as being heterosexual, as well as ways of being male and being female, within the culture of the organisation. This was alluded to with respect to a masculinist culture within the upper echelons of bureaucracy, or what Yeatman (1990a) has called the patriarchal culture of power. One woman stated in regard to a senior male bureaucrat: 'His language is very macho. He's always grabbing things by the balls and shoving it up them' (IT12, 1992, p.2). The complementary side of that macho image was the politeness with which women were treated. One person stated:

Those people ...find it very difficult to say 'get out' to a delegation headed by a woman when they've always been taught to be polite to women. (IT5, 1991, p.8)

The same woman also noted the potential impact of family relations on male bureaucrats' perceptions and attitudes:

Another thing we shouldn't neglect too is that a lot of those difficult to deal with male bureaucrats themselves had daughters growing up and were getting the rough end of the pineapple at home, you know, so they were often being subjected to forces outside... and if you could hit some note with them, sometimes accidentally, with their wife or daughter... (IT5, 1991, p.8)

The notion of strategy is also implicit in this statement.

Several mentions were made of the significance of dress as part of the gender regime. As one woman argued, dress possibly helped her credibility within the bureaucracy with senior males, but also placed a question mark against her commitment with the more radical feminists, including those in the union. As she put it:

I talked and worked with the union a fair bit. I think once they got over the fact that although I didn't conform to a radical sort of image in terms of my dress or feminine presentation, describe me however you will, and I do think – although it was never verbalised directly to me – that may have been a factor in, you know, the Departmental thing, officers being sort of able to tolerate me a bit more. (IT8, 1991, p.30)

The pressure for conformity to the male culture at the senior levels was also commented upon. As one woman stated:

He was supportive of me on the equal opportunity issue, but up to a point where he couldn't overstep because he'd be out of line with his buddies. (IT8, 1991, p.6)

More generally, she commented:

They didn't want to seem to be softening up to the issue. They didn't know how they'd stand with their buddies. (IT8, 1991, p.4)

Comments about the sexuality of femocrats was another manifestation of cathexis as part of the gender regime. Questions of appearance were important here as well, as alluded to in the following statement concerning the male attitude towards a prominent feminist activist:

You know the sorts of criticisms ... they go into physical verbal descriptives of individual people. That was the sort of comment you got from the senior officers in the Department and its a way, obviously, of avoiding addressing issues and talking about them. (IT8, 1991, p.3).

It is clearly much more than simply a way of avoiding the issues. It is a manifestation of power and cathexis as a measure of the dominant departmental gender regime. The experiences of the femocrats interviewed in the course of this research indicate the existence of a dominant mode of patterning emotional attachments which has had a significant impact upon their working lives. As one woman noted regarding these negative experiences:

...after I'd learnt how to deal with those Directors I felt I could deal with anyone. I really did! No, seriously, although it was an awful experience in many ways, it was very empowering and confidence building. (IT8, 1991, p.8)

While there has been much work describing the centrality of work to male identity, this aspect has historically been neglected for women. Work in progress, however, clearly indicates that for women in positions similar to those of the interviewees in this research (middle and senior level bureaucrats) work is very central to their identity, resulting in a consequent high commitment to their occupations. Such women see work as central because it enhances self-esteem, respect and self worth; gives a sense of achievement, competency and financial security; and provides essential stimulation (Grant and Porter, work in progress).

The femocrat role was seen to be a deeply political one, but also one in which there was an ongoing tension between the necessity for credibility within the bureaucracy to positive achievements and the need to retain credibility with women's groups outside of the bureaucracy. Some of the difficulties the femocrats experienced were seen to result from

the fact that their role was to change the power structures of the bureaucracy to which they were, in a sense, beholden. The interviews confirmed a perception that successful femocrat strategy utilised both the mandarin and missionary approaches, while they tended to be pigeon-holed by other, mainly male bureaucrats, who took a narrow view of their career options. The interviews also stressed that gender equity was an area of expertise and that into the foreseeable future both special purpose and mainstream approaches would be required. Paradoxically perhaps, equity as expertise serves to reinforce the narrowing of career options for femocrats. The significance of feminist support networks was noted by all the femocrats interviewed. The male character of the structure of power at senior levels of the bureaucracy was also pointed out by a number of femocrats in interviews. While, for example in the Queensland situation, a change of government had precipitated very important structural and policy changes within the bureaucracy, residues of older policy cultures remain, as do those patriarchal aspects of the broader gender order which have been embedded in bureaucratic hierarchies. Most of the female bureaucrats interviewed in the research used "femocrat" as a positive term of self-identification.

11.6 CONCLUSION

This final section of the Chapter summarises the findings from the research interviews according to the four themes considered above.

The research interviews emphasised the significance of both bureaucratic structure and location within that structure to effective strategic action. Strategic action was of particular concern to femocrats. The notion of "strategic action" appears to denote the agency available to bureaucrats, while also depicting something of the constraints within which they work. While the exercise of power at all levels of the bureaucracy was acknowledged in a somewhat Foucauldian fashion, there was also very clear recognition that more power resided at the top of the structure. As well as all individuals being involved in the micro exercise of power, power was also seen to be exercised over others by those at the senior levels of the bureaucracy. Discourse was also acknowledged as reflecting and framing such power. The importance of bureaucratic correct action and meticulousness to effective political strategies for bureaucrats was often noted.

Clearly the evidence would suggest that there is never direct correlation between ministerial desire and bureaucratic action. Nonetheless, ministerial interest in a policy

domain was seen to be of significance in either encouraging or hindering policy developments. There is much interview evidence to disaffect us for good from the distinction between policy and administration, and particularly to disaffect us from any minister/bureaucrat dichotomy structured around it. Such dichotomisation is even less relevant in the managerialist context where the Senior Executive Service has become more politicised. The ideological proclivity of a minister was seen to have an impact upon policy and the extent of the policy space open to bureaucrats. In turn, the commitments of the minister were framed by the policy agenda of the government overall.

The disorienting effect of bureaucratic restructurings was pointed out in many interviews. However, such disorientation was seen to enable those who were in control of the restructuring to push through reforms. Restructuring appears to take the focus away from strategic action for many bureaucrats towards questions of survival within the new structure. Many interviews asserted that the breaking of networks and the realignment of power were important motivations for bureaucratic restructuring.

As shown in Chapters 5 and 6, the new corporate managerialism operates on an assumption of the appropriateness of generic managers. The point was made in the research interviews that the educational bureaucracy is in some ways *sui generis*, with its 'thousands of discrete work sites', containing both professional practice and community involvement. It was pointed out that this structure has implications for reform or change strategies.

The ministerialisation of policy resulting from managerialism was noted over and over again. This was seen to enhance the direct politicisation of schooling policy production, while also encouraging the abolition of expert statutory authorities and their pluralist and clientist, as well as educational and professional orientation to schooling policy. As a consequence, the new policy approaches could not ensure professional support. Indeed, there appeared to be some incommensurability between the new managerialist culture and teacher ideologies.

The research interviews confirmed a view of policy statements as sometimes open to a range of meanings. This was reflected in the struggle over the wording of policies. It was also indicated in the use made of policies by activists. Several interviews showed how even Queensland's very weak gender equity policy provided some legitimation for teacher activists in schools.

Much importance was given in the interviews to symbolic policies and their potential material effects. Symbolic policies, like the National Policy and the first Queensland one, were seen to be the initial step in a prolonged political strategy. Further, for symbolic policies to be utilised materially, the existence of a politicised constituency was seen to be essential. In the area of gender equity such a constituency existed.

The significance of the wording in terms of achieving a policy in the first instance and in ensuring that it had some subsequent political impact was a firm finding of the research. For example, there was much noting of the significant ideological work which the use of the term "national" did in relation to federalism and Commonwealth/State relations in educational policy.

Another most significant finding of the research was the importance of a concept which this research has called "policy culture." Here policy culture was seen to allude to the structures, goals and dominant discourses and practices within which policy is formulated. Above, mention was made of the significance of the wording of policy. It should also be pointed out that a change in policy culture is accompanied by a move in the dominant policy discourse. The significance of a concern for policy culture to the efficacy of change is readily apparent. For example, the observation was made several times that despite a changed bureaucratic structure and discourses and goals for schooling in Queensland after the Labor election victory, residues of the older culture remained, especially in relation to equity concerns. Much comment was made about the substantial change to policy culture at the federal level in the move from the Ryan to Dawkins. Mention was also made of the significant impact of that change in policy culture to the implementation phase of the National Policy, a point also noted in other research (Kenway, 1990b,c; Henry and Taylor, 1992).

Earlier in this thesis reference has been made to the microeconomic reform discourse which has underpinned national policy developments in all areas of educational policy during the Dawkins era (1987–1991). The interviews noted how this new discourse as part of the new policy culture framed their policy strategies. The femocrats resisted, but were still "required" to utilise the new discourse if they were to continue to have a policy impact. It must be said, however, that they expressed opposition to the narrowing effect of a human capital perception of schooling and opposition to the broader economic rationalism underpinning government policy-making. As one femocrat asserted: 'I've just got to hope, too, that economic rationalism itself is now a debased currency' (IT12, 1992,

p.6). The language of managerialism (economic rationalism focused on the state) also became part of the new policy discourse.

The importance of an adequate conceptualisation of relations between the core (head office) and periphery (schools) in contemporary educational administration and policy-making was regularly made in the interviews. The new administrative arrangements result from the managerialist revolution. There are ramifications for equity policy agendas in the new structural arrangements, a point made in a number of interviews. Accountability arrangements are required if equity is going to be achieved within the new structural configuration. While the new structures appear, on the surface at least, to grant more autonomy to the periphery (here schools), there is some real incommensurability between the managerialist and outcomes approach to such devolution and teacher culture.

The interviews indicated a relationship between a government's reform agenda and its approach to public sector management and the nature of Commonwealth/State relations and the general working of federalism. These interviews also pointed out the link between economic circumstances and changes in the operation of federalism. The Whitlam government, elected towards the end of the post-war boom and committed to a social democratic agenda, was centralist in practice, and in schooling attempted to achieve reform through the leverage of increased expenditure. Further, its approach to policy-making meant that it availed itself of the best ideas through an expert statutory authority. By contrast, the Hawke government was seen, particularly after 1987, to be pursuing a narrower economic restructuring agenda and a national approach in education. The national approach reflected the move to what Offe (1985) has called the structural policy condition, where the government attempts to manage demand. The overtly economic aspect of the national approach in schooling was indicated by reference to the resource savings which would potentially flow from collaboration between the States and the Commonwealth. Paradoxically, the straitened resource situation of the States, which encouraged support for national approaches, had resulted to some extent from cuts in Commonwealth grants to the States after 1987.

In the policy culture after 1987 and the move to national policies, the Australian Education Council became more of a policy-making forum. The significance of a national policy to leverage within the States was also pointed out in a range of interviews. More specifically, the importance of the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* to leverage upon the States was noted. The existence of progressive national level developments was

seen to be of real significance in those States which were politically recalcitrant on such matters. However, the existence of such national policies and indeed of Commonwealth programs was seen to take up time within the State bureaucracies.

Specific political circumstances were also involved in the emergence of the *National Policy for the Education of Girls*, including the presence of a feminist minister. Several interview respondents argued that the achievement of that National Policy in a politically sensitive area was an indirect precursor to subsequent national policy developments under Dawkins. Following the achievement of the first national policy in schooling, the Directors-General and the AEC realised that national agreement was at least possible. In some ways, politics has always been the art of the possible.

Most of the individuals interviewed in the course of the research were femocrats working in bureaucracies. It should be said that for these women, "femocrat" was a form of self-identification. As a form of self-identification, these women did not perceive the term in a pejorative sense. Indeed, there seemed to be some positive regard for it because it encapsulated the success of the Australian women's movement's state strategy.

The political nature of the femocrat role was articulated in many interviews and implied in all others. Indeed, this is not an exceptional observation, given that such positions have resulted from successful feminist political pressure upon the state and their rationale is directly political in character. The interesting aspect of the femocrat role is the tension between effective bureaucratic politics and achievement of a feminist agenda. That tension is also reflected in the vertical and horizontal gender segmentation within the gender regime of the state. The Equity Directorate in the Queensland Education Department has a Director who is a woman and who is a member of the Executive Management Committee of the Department. Additionally, all of the positions within the Directorate are filled by women, reinforcing a horizontal gender segmentation at the senior level. Such segmentation both reflects gender regimes and the "strategic" approach of femocrats. Such senior equity positions have also precipitated the entry of women into the senior levels of the bureaucracy.

The evidence from feminist bureaucrats would reject any notion that they were always condemned to marginalisation through either the mandarin or missionary alternatives. Rather, the femocrats themselves argued that their structural location and broad ranging role, including its political character, ensured that they became consummate bureaucrats. However, other (male) bureaucrats tend to narrowly categorise femocrats'

expertise. When this is done by senior bureaucrats it can potentially close off femocrats' career options. Paradoxically, perhaps, many femocrats noted that equity policy was an area of expertise. This would appear to be the case, but it would also appear to possibly narrow career options. Most of the femocrats also noted that meticulous bureaucratic behaviour and an interest in other policy domains were essential to effective practice within the bureaucracy. In this way, there is a sense in which femocrats are caught in a bind. This may be moderated by the fact that equity knowledge and experience are increasingly criteria for promotion in the public service. This situation probably results in more male efforts to get "runs on the board" in this area.

Feminist networks were seen to be important in keeping policy pressure upon the state and for providing an informed constituency which utilised policy statements for progressive practice. Such networks were also an important source of support for those women who worked in hostile policy cultures. Even in non-hostile policy cultures, there was still something of a masculinist culture at the senior levels of power, which was noted in a number of interviews.

The femocrats also argued the continuing need for both specific equity policies and for mainstreaming. Emphasis was also given to the need to integrate equity policy concerns with personnel policies so as to maximise the effect on practice in schools.

Overall, the research interviews confirmed a perception of the state as a site of struggle over policy formulation and outcomes. The conditions of the struggle appear to be set by the tension between economic and political demands which the state has to manage. The structure of the state very clearly frames how items get onto the policy agenda and how they come out the other side, as it were, as policy. In the Australian context, those structures include both the new corporate managerialism and corporate federalism. The state is not a "black box" for policy-making, as this research evidence so clearly indicates. Thus it cannot be regarded as such for theorising the state. Jessop's (1990) conceptualisation of policy-making within the state as involving inputs, within puts and outputs, while obviously too linear, picks up on the significance of internal state processes. Clearly, bureaucrats have some strategic agency with respect to these 'within puts.' An adequate theory of policy-making within the liberal democratic state must allow and account for some bureaucratic agency framed by structures and policy culture.

Economic and ideological pressures on the state across at least the last fifteen years have been reflected in the move to the structural policy rationale. They have been

manifest in changes in the operation of both federalism and in the managerialist restructuring of the state at Commonwealth and State levels. They are reflected in and determinative of a new policy culture and its related policy discourse. However, all of this is mediated to some extent by the ideology of the government in power, the proclivity of a specific minister and political pressures upon it and within it.

Further, the interviews have provided the concept of "strategy" to encapsulate femocrats' perception of their actions within the state. The concept was utilised by most of the feminist bureaucrats in interviews. It is a most useful notion because of its connotation that femocrats, despite ostensible government support for equity reform agendas, are up against the single-minded commitment of governments to economic restructuring and efficiency in government policy activity, and the longer standing gender regime and culture inside the state. These connotations that femocrats are fighting an uphill battle in a new policy culture pick up the essence of the evidence from the research interviews. Strategy probably has some broader utility in theorising the activities of most bureaucrats. It also has some resonance with Jessop's (1990, p.360) 'strategic-relational' approach to theorising the state.

Ball (1990) has theorised economic, political and ideological determinants of educational policy and has argued that tensions and contradictions exist between these determinants. The interview evidence would suggest that economic circumstances and the accumulation demand together frame the options for state policy and are currently manifest in the human capital underpinning of educational policy and in the managerialist emphasis upon efficiency. The interviews would also indicate that political and ideological struggles go on inside the state as well as at the point of intersection between the state and society and as such and, to varying degrees, mediate external pressures.

CHAPTER TWELVE

CONCLUSION: THE CHANGING FEDERAL STATE AND GENDER EQUITY POLICIES IN SCHOOLING

12.1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis has documented and analysed changes in the structural formation of the Australian federal state. Those changes have included the impact of corporate managerialism upon the nature of the bureaucracy at both Commonwealth and State levels, as well as developments in the character and functioning of federalism. The manner in which the corporate managerialist and corporate federalist aspects of the state structure have mediated policy production has been illustrated. The case study also demonstrated the significance of political struggles upon the terrain of the state to that policy production. The data on the strategies of femocrats were most useful in that respect. As such, the research has shown the mediating role played by the internal dynamics of a non-unitary state structure which never acts in a straightforward or instrumental fashion. That has been illustrated in relation to the interactive nature of the policy production processes involved in the creation of girls' schooling policies at the national and Queensland levels during the period from Whitlam to Hawke. Furthermore, the evidence has indicated the significance of the state despite its reorganisation. At a more political level, the research has been underpinned by an acceptance that the nation state still has a very important function in the face of the globalisation of the economy for, as Jameson (1991) has argued, the impacts of the global economy cannot be challenged effectively simply at the local level. The historical sociology of the Australian federal state which has been provided has also indicated the significance of history to present policy options and the necessity for Australia to adopt a democratic corporatist approach of domestic compensation, rather than the present economic rationalist one.

Dale (1986) distinguishes between the topic of research and the resources which are used to provide an analysis of the topic. This research had two topics. The first was the production of gender equity policies in education with specific emphasis on the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* (1987) and the Queensland policy of *Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys* (1981). The second topic was theorising policy-making within the liberal democratic state as part of a broader project of producing

an historical sociology of the Australian federal state. The emphasis in both topics was on the period from Whitlam until the end of Hawke's prime ministership, with particular stress on the latter. The second topic was also utilised as a resource to provide an analysis of developments in gender equity policies, while the first topic was likewise used as a resource towards theorising policy production within the state and creating an historical sociology of the Australian federal state. Interviews, reports and documentary evidence from the relevant Queensland Department of Education files were also resources for the first topic, while the interviews also worked in that way in respect of the second topic.

One research topic then was to document and analyse developments in girls' schooling policy at both Commonwealth and Queensland levels of government across the period from Whitlam until 1991. As such, the focus was upon policy production within two sites in the Australian federal state. This analysis was established utilising interviews with many of the policy players involved in these developments and the relevant policy files of the Queensland Department of Education. More specifically, the research focused upon the emergence of the Commonwealth's interest in girls' schooling and the subsequent development of the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* (1987) and the recalcitrance of Queensland in developing State policies. Substantial documentation was provided of the internal bureaucratic struggles of the relevant policy officers in the Queensland Department of Education towards the development in 1981 of the *Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys* policy and the subsequent establishment of policy implementation guidelines in 1988. As shown, formal endorsement by Queensland of the National Policy only occurred after the election of a State Labor government.

The interviews and analysis of the documentary evidence from the Department of Education's files presented a picture of an entangled and interactive relationship between the Commonwealth and Queensland developments. Indeed, as indicated at some length in Chapters 9, 10 and 11, the women bureaucrats involved in girls' schooling policy within the Queensland bureaucracy effectively utilised Commonwealth developments as leverage in a hostile policy culture, particularly during the period of Powell's incumbency as Minister for Education (1983–1987). At the same time, the analysis provided in these Chapters indicated the way in which the policy situation in the States also framed to some extent the possibilities for the achievement of a national policy. The Australian Education Council (AEC), in conjunction with the Schools Commission, became very significant in that achievement. Thus policy production at two sites within the Australian federal state

was demonstrated to involve a complex interaction upon the terrain of federal/State relations. The evidence indicated Commonwealth/State relations as a terrain of struggle in schooling policy-making and the entangled character of policy-making in federalism with its dual jurisdictions. The significance of changes in federalism aimed at developing a national economic infrastructure, including a national economically focused system of schooling, was also documented. The development of an historical sociology of policy production within the Australian federal state has also shown how past structures, practices and policies frame contemporary possibilities. Closer to the present, the impact of the changes in the bureaucracy and federalism after 1987 upon gender equity policies and the schooling policy options for the states has also been demonstrated.

The gender equity in schooling research topic was particularly useful as a resource in relation to theorising policy production within the state and establishing an historical sociology of it. That topic was useful as a resource for a number of reasons. The development of the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* sat at a significant point of intersection between the policy culture of Susan Ryan's period as federal minister and that of the vastly different policy culture under John Dawkins. As shown in Chapter 4, by 1987 the progressive potential in Hawke's neo-corporatist approach had been lost. Indirectly, as noted in Chapter 8, the achievement of this first national policy in schooling served as an impetus for later post-1987 economically driven moves towards national collaboration and national policy development. The gestation and implementation of the National Policy were also framed by different bureaucratic structures of policy-making. Thus while the gestation involved the expert statutory authority of the Schools Commission and the AEC, the implementation occurred within a fully developed corporate managerialist framework directed by DEET, NBEET and the AEC. The congruence of a federal Labor government with a large number of State Labor governments was also a contributing factor here, given the ministerialisation of policy accompanying the new managerialism. Feminist policy networks and a feminist culture within the Schools Commission were significant to the creation of the policy, but were fragmented to a considerable extent by the post-1987 Commonwealth managerialist revolution and its coincidence with significant public sector and educational restructurings at State levels. All of those aspects served to provide data which fed into the topic of theorising policy-making within the liberal democratic state. They also contributed to an understanding of

the working of the Australian federal state and the formulation of schooling policy within it.

In terms of theorising policy production within the state as both a research topic and resource, an attempt was made to cojoin a critiqued version of Offe's theory of the state and policy-making with feminist accounts, also taking cognisance of Jessop's (1990) and Burton's (1985) insights that the interior of the state is a terrain of struggle and relationships which mediate inputs to the state, policy production within the state, as well as policy outcomes. Accepting that state structures also mediate the policy process, and given the specific research focus on the era from Whitlam until the end of the Hawke Labor period in 1991, an analysis of changes in Australian federalism and bureaucratic arrangements across that time period was also provided. The importance of the structure of government, for example, either a unitary or federal form, has been neglected within the literature upon the state and policy-making. The research reported here has shown the significance of federalism to schooling policy-making in Australia, and particularly since Whitlam's systematisation of the Commonwealth's involvement in the early seventies. The analysis has also indicated the symbiotic relationship between the corporate managerialist revolution within the bureaucracy instigated by the Hawke government after 1987 and changes in federalism towards what has been classified here as corporate federalism. Both those structural changes were important in the reframing of educational policy within the economic restructuring and microeconomic reform agendas.

Most of those interviewed for this research were women with feminist views and goals working within the bureaucracy. The Australian neologism, "femocrat", has been coined to refer to these women for whom a commitment to feminist ideology is a requirement of the positions they hold. Yeatman (1990a) refers to this situation as involving the professionalisation of a social movement. These positions, as noted throughout this thesis, resulted from the coming together historically of the second wave of the women's movement and the election of the social democratic and reformist Whitlam Labor government in 1972. Both the nature and success of the state "entrism" strategy manifest in the femocrat positions, reflected to some extent the statism which formed part of Australian political culture from the nineteenth century, but which has come under threat particularly since the mid 1980s. The perception that there was something called "the women's vote" was important in keeping feminist issues on the political agenda at a time when the state moved into a less expansive, economic rationalist mode.

The role of femocrats is overtly political, a reality manifest in their formal job descriptions as well as in their self-perception of their bureaucratic and policy agency as "strategy." That situation creates tensions for femocrats both within the bureaucracy and between them and feminists outside the bureaucracy. Such tensions are manifest in the ambiguous connotations associated with the very term "femocrat", which feminist women in the bureaucracy appeared to use positively, but which carried some negative connotations for other feminists outside the state. The research-derived insight of strategy confirmed the need to consider the interior of the state as a terrain of policy struggle and conflict in theorising the state and policy production. In such a theory, some allowance must be made for bureaucratic agency, or strategy, as the femocrats called it. The historical sociology of the Australian state, including the account of changes to its federal and bureaucratic structures, indicated the changing context of policy-making for femocrats. As Yeatman (1990a) has suggested, corporate managerialism has been one attempt to manage politically the demands of social movements, including feminism, upon the state. As indicated in the thesis, the institutionalisation of economic rationalism, which a consolidation into fewer Commonwealth Departments and corporate managerialism attempted to achieve, has also reframed equity agendas generally and within education.

More generally, this research and thesis relate to a number of cognate developments within contemporary sociology and sociology of education. While there has been a concern to theorise the liberal democratic state within sociology, there have also been recent attempts to ground such theorising in an historical sociology of a specific state and in particular instances of state policy-making (Simmie and King, 1990; Jessop, 1990). The research reported here meets this requirement for an empirically based state theory developed from case studies of actual instances of policy production. As such, it attempts to escape both from being buried in the minutiae of the specific and the reification of the state inherent in much abstract theorising. Recognition is also granted to the gender blindness of such theorising through a consideration of feminist state theories (Franzway, Court and Connell, 1989; Connell, 1987, 1990; Sassoon, 1987), while the focus on femocrats ensures that some agency over policy within the state is recognised in theoretical terms. Feminist theories of the state, Franzway, Court and Connell (1989) and Connell (1990) for example, stress the gender-based internal differentiation within the state and the way accumulation and political pressures are mediated in their effects upon the various

arms of the state structure. This allows state theory to move well beyond a totalising, unitary and instrumental account.

The thesis also fits within the concern of contemporary sociology of education to theorise the state and educational policy-making (Bates, 1985, 1988; Dale et al, 1981; Dale, 1989; Ball, 1990c). Further, the research parallels the recent focus upon policy sociology within the sociology of education (Ozga, 1987; Prunty, 1984; Kenway, 1990b; Ball, 1990c; Bowe, Ball and Gold, 1992; Rizvi and Kemmis, 1987). The approach to policy sociology adopted here has been somewhat state-centric in character, which reflects both the statist aspects of Australian political culture and the research topic of femocrat policy-making inside the state. It also results from an acceptance that an understanding of the liberal democratic state is central to an adequate understanding of policy production. Indeed, Offe's work has been useful to this thesis because of the recognition that he grants to the mediating role played by state structures in the policy cycle. While the research has illustrated the changing character of the Australian federal state, it has also demonstrated the ongoing significance of its structures and practices to state policy production.

Recently, Bowe, Ball and Gold (1992) have critiqued 'state-centric' approaches to educational policy analysis offered in accounts such as that of Dale (1989) and as in this thesis. They also reject the linearity of policy formulation and implementation implicit in much state-centric theorising of policy-making. The research reported here also rejects the linearity implicit in the formulation and implementation dichotomy, as indicated for instance in the interactive character of Commonwealth and Queensland developments. However, the thesis confirms the necessity of considering practices inside the state in the processes of policy formulation. Such a consideration needs to focus on the roles and practices of ministers and bureaucrats inside the state in policy production. Bowe, Ball and Gold (1992, p.19) argue for a notion of a 'continuous policy cycle' instead of the formulation/implementation dichotomy, as Rizvi and Kemmis (1987) also do. They also argue that this cycle consists of three contexts of policy-making. These include the 'context of influence' (p.19), which refers to the political pressures of various kinds which work upon the state to elicit policy. The second context within their cycle is that of 'policy text production' (p.20), which involves the processes of actually producing policy texts, which goes on inside the state. Finally, they speak of the context of practice to include schools and classrooms, where educational policy texts are recontextualised in the

processes of implementation. This research has clearly been concerned with 'the context of text production', namely the structure and practices of the Australian federal state.

While the thesis would stress the need to allow for some agency for policy makers within the state, and that agency has been documented at some length in the case study Chapters, it would also want to stress that state structures frame the influences upon the state, the possibilities for policy production and implementation. That is a theoretical insight derived from Offe's work. It is, however, also confirmed by the empirical data and analysis reported in this thesis. Furthermore, this thesis would also stress, in a position somewhat different from that expressed by Bowe, Ball and Gold (1992), that the relationships between state policy production and the external contexts of influence and implementation are not arbitrary. The non-arbitrary character of those relationships is indicated through an adequate theorising of the liberal democratic state and its relationship with both the class structure and the gender order and the nature of the relationship between the centre and the periphery in the reconfigured contemporary state.

Thus, while accepting and confirming the inappropriateness of a linear formulation/implementation conception of the policy cycle, this research has indicated the importance of the way in which state structures mediate all aspects of the policy cycle. It has also indicated how the interior of the state, including bureaucratic structure and federalism in the Australian context, is a terrain of policy struggle affected by both accumulation and political pressures and by bureaucratic action and policy culture. There does appear to be a way in which some contemporary theorising about policy-making fails to recognise that the reconfigured state, which has been documented in this research, still mediates all aspects of the policy process.

The remainder of this concluding Chapter is concerned with drawing the implications from the policy case study for theorising policy-making within the liberal democratic state. It then provides some final comments on the actual nature of policy-making within the Australian federal state, as well as some evaluation of the contemporary situation in federal/State relations in schooling policy-making. Some concluding comments derived from the case study are also proffered in relation to gender equity policies and the role of femocrats.

12.2 THEORISING POLICY PRODUCTION WITHIN THE STATE

At the conclusion of Chapter 2 which overviewed mainstream theories of the liberal democratic state four substantive criteria developed by Franzway, Court and Connell (1989) for an adequate theory of the state were listed. These were then subsequently utilised in Chapter 3 which moved towards an amalgam of a critiqued version of Offe's work and that of a number of feminist accounts. Those criteria will be recapitulated here.

The first is the need to see the state not simply as a set of institutions, which of course it is, but also the need to regard it as a process. The second criterion is the recognition that the state itself is an actor in its own right, constituting, as well as balancing interests. This is a negation of an instrumental view of the state as simply responding to pressures upon it. The third criterion is the need to recognise the internal complexity and differentiation of the state. This is a rejection of a unitary account of the state and the way it operates. Indeed, as suggested earlier in this thesis, the corporate managerialist revolution and the consolidation of the Commonwealth bureaucracy into fewer megadepartments after 1987, was a recognition of the non-unitary character of the state and an attempt to get it to operate more as if it were a unitary structure (cf. Pusey, 1991). The final criterion noted by Franzway, Court and Connell (1989, p.34) is a recognition of the complexity of the intersection between the state and its 'enviroming structures', namely, the class structure, the gender order and the structure of racial and ethnic relations and the complex intersection between them. Franzway, Court and Connell (1989) conclude their consideration of criteria for an adequate state theory by noting that a recognition of different interests within the state and their interplay with different structures external to the state means that 'simple formulae' (p.34) will not do for theorising the state. The review of state theory literature provided in Chapters 2 and 3 and the research reported in this thesis have confirmed that perception.

It ought to be said, however, that there appears to be something of a contradiction within the Franzway, Court and Connell (1989) criteria between the notion that the state is an actor and the idea that the state really consists of a whole plethora of processes within its highly differentiated structure. The former, while clearly recognising that the state is not simply an instrument or conduit for external pressures, tends to reify the state. While this thesis has indicated the significance of politics inside the state, it would argue that the state collectively is not so much an actor, but rather that the state, given its own internal

differentiation, has effects (cf. Jessop, 1990). Clearly the state is not a simple instrument responding to external pressures. Neither is it unitary in form, while there is some space for bureaucratic strategy in policy production within its internal terrain, which always ensures that policy outcomes are contingent.

An account of the historical operation of the Australian federal state has been provided. A detailed, research-derived case study of the interactive character of policy-making within the Australian federal state was also outlined. An attempt will be made in this section to synthesise the insights from that empirical data base with more theoretical insights considered in Chapters 2 and 3, while taking some cognisance of the criteria discussed above.

Offe's work was utilised because of the stress it places on the way in which state structures mediate policy processes. The case study and the historical sociology of the Australian state have both confirmed the veracity of that insight. Indeed, they have shown the significance of bureaucratic structures and changes to them, in the policy process. They have also indicated the importance of federalism, and changes to it, in those processes. Both structures in their corporate managerialist and corporate federalist manifestations have contributed to the actual post-1987 reframing of educational policy in relation to the economic restructuring agenda, with consequent implications for gender equity policies.

Offe's (1985) distinction between the conjunctural and structural policy rationale for state policies was also useful for understanding actual changes in the Australian state and policy-making from the end of the post-war boom in the mid-seventies until the present. Clearly, tightening economic circumstances have moved governments to a strategy of managing demands, rather than simply responding to them with increased policy coverage and expenditure. However, there is a way in which Offe's account of either new right or weak corporatist response to this situation, while providing an adequate account of what has actually happened, does not provide much purchase on more progressive alternatives or possibilities. For example, he perceives corporatism as simply a left approach to managing demand and fails to see that a strong corporatism can operate in a progressive fashion by placing some economic policy-making within the democratic and public realm, rather than leaving it in the private sphere of the economy (Boreham and Compston, 1992). Further, the empirical evidence (Boreham and Compston, 1992; Dow, 1992; Katzenstein, 1985; Castles, 1988) would confirm that for small economies such as Australia, a democratic

version of strong corporatism would appear to be the best guarantor of national independence and defence of an equitable and just social arrangement.

As noted in Chapter 3, Offe's "problem" here stems from his failure to acknowledge that real political gains, beyond considerations of legitimation, can be made from the state (Esping-Andersen, 1985, 1990). The case study has shown quite clearly that real gains can be made from the state even in a hostile policy context, which is not to deny the way in which state structures frame the policies, nor to deny structural pressures upon the state stemming from accumulation demands. Offe's failure to perceive the possibility of real political gains from the state stems from his failure to give enough recognition to the different bases of power in the political and economic spheres (Korpi, 1989; Esping-Andersen, 1985, 1990). In that sense, Weber was correct; political power cannot simply be read off from economic power (Clegg, Boreham and Dow, 1986).

The case study research has shown the significance of the accumulation pressures upon the state in confirmation of Offe's position. However, implicit in Offe's notion of the state having to balance competing accumulation and legitimation demands is a unitary account of state structure. The case study in contrast showed quite clearly that even despite the changes in the operation of the federal bureaucracy in the direction of corporate managerialism and developments in federalism towards corporate federalism, the state structure remains internally differentiated. Furthermore, within the Australian federal structure, there is differentiation across levels of government, as well as between departments. Not all aspects of the state's structure have accumulation as their major concern. Hence, despite the intentions of the bureaucratic restructuring, the accumulation pressure is mediated in terms of its impact upon DEET. It is certainly mediated in the process of implementation in schools and classrooms, with their appearing to be a real incommensurability between managerialist cultures, economic conceptions of schooling and teacher culture and practice (Porter, Knight and Lingard, 1992). However, the structural rearrangement in the move to DEET has weakened that mediation, as did the abolition of the statutory authority of the Schools Commission and the shift from a clientist and pluralist approach to policy-making to a more neo-corporatist one. Nevertheless, some mediation through professional cultures and practice still remains. The accumulation pressures have worked in two ways in relation to DEET, firstly through the constraints upon resources and secondly through the reconceptualisation in policy of the function of education as economic. Such pressures affected gender equity policies in

education. However, such policies still must respond to political or legitimation pressures, while they remain a site of policy struggle.

Offe fails to grant any space for bureaucratic agency within his account of policy-making within the state. His account is structural in that sense. The research reported here has indicated quite clearly that bureaucrats have some agency within the state in the processes of policy-making, as do ministers. This is why in terms of theorising the state it is more appropriate to speak of the state as having effects, rather than perceiving it as an actor. As noted, the femocrats interviewed for this research classified that agency as "strategy", denoting the way the structures and policy culture both constrained and enabled their practice. Such a concept must be acknowledged within any theory of policy-making within the state. In terms of theory, what is required is a retention of Offe's insights about the policy mediating role of state structures, including form of government, while also allowing for agency within the interior terrain of the state. It should also be added that the processes of accumulation and the pressures they place upon the state must be understood in historical terms, for such pressures do not work in the abstract. Such a recognition was the basis for the historical sociology of the Australian state provided in Chapter 4.

Finally, in relation to Offe's work, it must be pointed out that it is blatantly gender-blind, only being able to deal with questions of gender politics as part of the politics of legitimation. As noted throughout this thesis, both accumulation and legitimation are gendered processes, given the nature of the gender order in Australian society (Connell, 1987). They are, of course, also classed processes. Thus a viable state theory would have to reconceptualise both processes, taking account of their relationship to the gender order and the class structure.

As pointed out in Chapter 3, feminist theories of the state rectify the weaknesses of Offe's approach, provide some important insights of their own and when combined with his approach move towards a more acceptable general theory. Feminist accounts of the state have also been very useful for understanding the specific case study of this thesis. They focus our attention on the gendered division of labour, one feature of the state's broader gender regime (Connell, 1990), within the internal structure of the state, both individually and in terms of collective units. A consideration of the gender regime of the state is central to understanding the policy struggles documented in the case study. In focusing our attention in this way, feminist approaches indicate how the economic policy/social policy dichotomy reflects and reinforces male/female and public/private divisions. The

Women's Budget Program was a strategy which recognised that very situation. The Commonwealth corporate managerialist revolution with its institutionalisation of economic rationalism can thus be seen to have very serious implications for women and equity policies more generally. Such institutionalisation primarily encouraged equity policies which complemented the efficiency and productivity thrusts of the broader agenda.

The fact that liberal feminism has underpinned most of the state's gender equity policies also informs us of the nature of politics in the state and the way it mediates political pressures. State structures mediate oppositional needs talk as it is incorporated within state policies and practices (Fraser, 1987, 1989). In this way, specific policy language and its accompanying discourse, become one focus of politics. As Kenway (1990b) has noted, different policy cultures are usually partnered by different discursive regimes.

The femocrat strategy reflects an acceptance by the Australian women's movement of the possibility of policy gains from the state and of the opportunities for some strategic agency of femocrats within the patriarchal gender regime of the state. The case study most certainly indicated the veracity of both perceptions, that is, that real policy gains could be made from the state and that the structural location, combined with the political rationale, of the femocrat positions, ensured some agency within the internal terrain of the state. Such a strategy also related to the historical character of the Australian state.

The case study would indicate that federalism was an important structural feature of the Australian state which mediated the processes of policy-making. It also showed how both bureaucratic structure and federal/State relations were terrains upon which bureaucrats and ministers developed strategies. The position of ministers also must be included in considerations of agency within the state, as indicated, for example, by the vastly different achievements of Susan Ryan and John Dawkins as federal ministers for education and in the differing responses to the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* in Queensland under Ministers Lin Powell and Brian Littleproud. Broad government policy, as determined by party platform and through cabinet decisions, also plays its role. The case study confirmed Jessop's (1990) argument for a strategic-relational conception of the policy process internal to the state. The concept of policy culture was one to develop out of the research as indicated in Chapter 11. That was seen to frame policy possibilities. It is a notion which can usefully be incorporated into a theory of policy-making within the liberal democratic state which recognises the internal dynamics of the state.

In summary then, an amalgam of the above theoretical and empirically based insights can allow us to outline the requirements of a theory of policy-making within the liberal democratic state. Consideration must be granted to the accumulation and legitimation pressure upon the state, as well as to political ones. Recognition also needs to be given to the different bases of power in those spheres. Collectively the state is a complex arrangement of institutions and practices through which these ongoing accumulation and political pressures are balanced, arriving at temporary settlements at different historical movements. These pressures are mediated in their impact upon the institutions and practices of the differentiated internal state structure, for some arms of the state are specifically concerned with accumulation, while others ostensibly have different purposes. Further, political pressures upon the state do not go away simply because of economic problems facing the state. In turn, state structures, including bureaucratic and organisational arrangements, as well as form of government, mediate those processes. The agency and strategy within the state of both ministers and bureaucrats mediates yet again those pressures. Within the government, the bureaucracy and within specific departments, policy culture structures those strategies. The processes of accumulation and legitimation as well as political pressures upon the state are gendered and classed processes, while the state itself at the present time has a deeply embedded gendered division of labour, reflecting the broader gender regime of the state, which relates to the current nature of the societal gender order. In this way the state becomes a site of policy struggle, as well as having a stake in those struggles.

As such, Kenway's (1990b) perception of the nature of policy production within the state appears most apposite when she observes that:

Policy represents the temporary settlements between diverse, competing and unequal forces within civil society, within the state itself and between associated discursive regimes. (Kenway, 1990b, p.59)

It is certainly a perception in line with the empirical data reported in this thesis and with the framework of the components of a theory of policy-making within the liberal democratic state outlined above.

Two final points need to be made in relation to theorising the state and policy-making. The processes referred to above are not static. Rather, they change over time, as do the structures within which they occur. Thus an historical dimension must be built into the account. Further, some consideration needs to be given to the relationship between

international agencies and the state within a given nation. These agencies have been neglected to this point in state theorising.

12.3 POLICY PRODUCTION WITHIN THE AUSTRALIAN FEDERAL STATE

As noted in Chapter 7, the structure of government, in the Australian instance, federalism, has been neglected by state theorists, largely because of their unitary perceptions of the state (Head, 1983). Clearly, a federal structure ensures the state is not a unitary arrangement. Chapters 7 and 8 documented changes in the operation of Australian federalism generally and in relation to schooling policy formation for the period from Whitlam to 1991. Those Chapters indicated the significant manner in which the federal structure mediated policy pressures, production and outcomes. As such, this thesis, while providing an historically grounded account of the operation of the Australian state, has also stressed the necessity to consider government structure in state theories.

In Chapter 7 it was also shown how the policy literature has neglected both the informal and formal aspects of intergovernmental relations within the Australian federal political structure (Galligan, Hughes and Walsh, 1991; Galligan and Walsh, 1992; Wiltshire, 1986). This research has provided some account of the formal aspect of intergovernmental relations in education in its indication of the changing significance of the policy function of the Australian Education Council (AEC), the intergovernmental council in education. It has also demonstrated the importance of both formal and informal networks established around the Commonwealth's schooling policy advice agencies, until 1987, the Schools Commission and since, the Schools Council.

It was shown how the managerialist revolution, documented at some length in Chapter 5, resulted in an increased ministerialisation of policy-making and a concern for the design of government. The efficiency aspect of that agenda was also an important contributing factor after 1987 in the development of a number of national policies in schooling. While the creation of the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* provided an indirect impetus for these subsequent national developments, it resulted from a vastly different policy culture. With a large number of Labor governments at State level, along with a federal Labor government, the situation was propitious for an increased policy significance of the AEC. Spaul (1987) has argued that after the Whitlam period the AEC became a forum at which the States responded to Commonwealth agendas. For the Hawke

period, that perception is even more accurate, while after 1987, under Dawkins as federal Minister for Employment, Education and Training, the AEC became a forum at which national policies were negotiated and at which the first moves towards a national system of schooling began. This was an agenda motivated to a considerable extent by the Dawkins' attempt to integrate all levels of education, training and labour market programs and subsume them within the economic restructuring agenda.

The case study Chapters provided a picture of the informal working of intergovernmental relations within Australian federalism. The entangled nature of policy-making was very apparent in those Chapters. The case study also confirmed that despite the fiscal centralisation which has occurred across the period since federation, federalism continues to operate politically with the States continuing to be separate political entities, not simply administrative arms of the Commonwealth. That situation, combined with the greater revenue raising capacity of the Commonwealth, has increased the significance of intergovernmental arrangements in the working of federalism, a situation also encouraged by both the managerialist restructuring of the machinery of state and ideological concerns about efficiency and the design of government.

In relation to the specific educational policies in question, a complex and entangled interaction between the Commonwealth and the Queensland Department occurred. Until the election of the State Labor government in late 1989, femocrats within the Queensland bureaucracy used Commonwealth developments as a point of leverage in Queensland. The move in Queensland from an initially limited policy to some concern with the next stage of implementation was funded out of Commonwealth Projects of National Significance monies. The Schools Commission had built something of a reputation for expertise in the area of gender equity, while that situation resulted in the existence of a network of female policy makers at both Commonwealth and State levels who seized the policy moment under a feminist minister, Susan Ryan, and negotiated the move towards the *National Policy for the Education of Girls*. Policy developments at the Commonwealth level were also framed by relationships with the States, whose consent was necessary to the achievement of any national policy. Chapter 11 presented an interview based account of Commonwealth/State relations as another aspect of the terrain of the Australian state on which policy was struggled over.

The analysis of developments in Australian federalism across the period from Whitlam to Hawke indicated something of the symbiotic relationship between the corporate

managerialist changes to the Commonwealth bureaucracy, the post-1987 support for economic rationalism and the move towards what this thesis has classified as corporate federalism. That has seen a halt to the centripetal pressures which accompanied the Keynesian settlement of the postwar economic boom period, which reached a crescendo under Whitlam. For Whitlam, increased Commonwealth influence was deemed to be essential to the broad policy goal of positive equality. After 1987, changes to federalism were seen as necessary to the creation of a national economic infrastructure, as part of the economic restructuring which would see Australia competing ultimately in a non-tariff protected fashion in the global economy. As part of that agenda, the Hawke government sought to pull to the centre all aspects of policy deemed critical to that restructuring and to push out to the States other policies. It is the emerging rearrangement of federalism, precipitated by economic infrastructural goals, which this thesis has called corporate federalism.

Keating's late 1991 critique of the Special Premiers' Conferences, established by Hawke to rework federalism, argued a more centralist position than that put by Hawke, who appeared to be prepared to return some revenue raising capacity to the States to rectify so-called vertical fiscal imbalance. In contrast, Keating (1991) argued strongly that vertical fiscal imbalance was necessary to the creation of a cohesive nation and for the effective management of the economy. Keating (1991) also asserted that such a revenue raising capacity was necessary for an equity agenda which had to be established nationally, in line with the argument of most economists that the national government within a federation should be responsible for redistributive policies (for example, Self, 1989). This thesis would support those Keating criticisms of the process set in train by Hawke. However, it would also be most critical of federal Labor's failure in ten years of government, at a time when there were large numbers of Labor governments at the State levels, to establish broad ranging and effective national equity policies. While Keating as Prime Minister may have staunched some of the centrifugal tendencies within Australian federalism, as treasurer, Keating also contributed to this economically driven reworking of federalism.

As argued at some length in Chapter 8, corporate federalism has manifested itself most fully in the domain of schooling policy. The AEC has negotiated a number of national approaches, including a statement of goals, curriculum frameworks, national salary benchmarks for advanced skills teachers and so on. There appear to have been two basic

motivating features of this move which dove-tails with broader developments within federalism. The first was the Dawkins move to integrate nationally all levels of education, training and labour market programs, as part of the establishment of a national economic infrastructure. Further, the move has been linked to efficiency drives and the potential cost savings resulting from national collaboration.

That situation can be contrasted with the Whitlam approach towards a systematised Commonwealth involvement in schooling. Whitlam's reform agenda was motivated as much by his government's commitment to positive equality, as anything else. The Dawkins' move to corporate federalism was about integrating educational reform within the economic restructuring agenda. Equity questions were of minor importance, not central to that agenda. Indeed, the status of the equity agenda has been indicated in the Commonwealth's recent move to 'broadbanding' equity programs as indicated in Chapter 8. Thus, similar criticisms can be made of that situation as were made of developments in federalism generally under Hawke.

The Queensland aspect of the case study documented in Chapters 9 and 10 indicated the very real significance of Commonwealth programs, reports and funding for the developments in gender equity policies during the National Party era. Without that situation at the Commonwealth level, even less would have occurred in the Queensland Department of Education. This thesis would argue that the Commonwealth must continue with specific purpose equity programs and that such Commonwealth involvement ought to be central to the schooling policy agenda at that level. At times, however, developments at State level can be ahead of those at the Commonwealth level. One interview with an equity policy adviser from Western Australia argued that Commonwealth equity policies were not of great significance. However, Western Australia had its own equity programs and funding. Interviews with policy advisers within the Queensland Department of Education who worked in the equity areas during the National Party era emphasised the absolute centrality of Commonwealth policies, programs and funding to any moves in the Queensland context. That situation has changed somewhat since the election of a Labor government. However, Commonwealth equity policies should continue to focus on equity questions so that they are not mainstreamed out of existence, but also have an impact across the system. Such Commonwealth involvement will continue to be of importance, particularly when there are conservative governments at the State level. There is also a way in which it is easier for the Commonwealth to retain equity programs as part of their

national function in schooling, because they do not carry responsibility for the actual management and delivery of schooling. The research reported in this thesis also indicated how the presence of a national policy gave particular salience to a policy issue.

Commonwealth involvement in broad and specific equity policies since the Whitlam era have been critically important in framing debates and informing educational policies and practices at State, school (both government and non-government) and classroom levels. A weakening of such commitment would be an abdication by the federal government of its national policy responsibilities. It would be an even more irresponsible abdication by a Labor government committed to an equity agenda.

12.4 GENDER EQUITY POLICIES AND FEMOCRATS

The case study Chapters showed the importance of a feminist minister, feminist policy networks and femocrat strategy to the achievement of the *National Policy for the Education of Girls*. They also indicated how gender equity policies are shaped by the structure of policy formation, the dominant policy discourses about education and policy culture. The significance of national feminist policy networks and Commonwealth policies and programs to achievements in Queensland were also demonstrated.

Until the election of a Labor government in Queensland in late 1989, the feminist policy advisers working in the Department of Education had little structural support for their work. There was the first feminist political strategy noted by Eisenstein (1991, p.40), that of a feminist individual entering the bureaucracy. The creation of bureaucratic-structural changes within the Queensland Department had to wait until the Labor establishment of an Equity Directorate in 1990. In the earlier political and bureaucratic context, feminist networks within the bureaucracy, across the nation, as well as outside the state, including the unions, were very important in providing support for Queensland's policy officers.

All of the feminist bureaucrats interviewed stressed the importance of meticulous bureaucratic and administrative behaviour as a bottom-line to their practice. Such actions allowed the debates to be focused elsewhere. A version of the strategy was very apparent in the thoroughly researched and argued documents prepared by the two women who had responsibility for gender equity policies in Queensland during the National Party period.

The attitudes, values and policy agendas of a minister were also noted as being important in contributing to the pervasive policy culture and the possibilities for practice. That was the case in the comparisons often made in the research interviews between Susan Ryan and John Dawkins, and between Lin Powell, Brian Littleproud and Paul Braddy in the Queensland context.

The profoundly political character of the femocrat role was very apparent from both documentary and interview evidence. One aspect of this was evident in femocrats' perception of their practice as strategy, which this research has utilised as a concept of agency within the bureaucracy. There were many pressures upon such women, including those stemming from the patriarchal culture and practices and assumptions of the gender order of the differentiated state structure. An important tension resulted from femocrats location within structures which they were committed to changing.

The research indicated how feminist women bureaucrats utilised symbolic policies as the first step in a prolonged and thought through political strategy. Cockburn's (1991, p.216) distinction between the 'short' and 'long' agendas of feminist politics in a variety of organisational settings is most apposite here. It was stressed how the symbolic character of a policy was often central to its achievement in the first instance. Symbolic policies were shown to have real potential for impact when there was an aware and committed political constituency to utilise them. In gender equity, the National Policy worked in that way, as did Queensland's weak *Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys* policy. It was thus shown how symbolic policies can have material effects.

The nature of the work of femocrats was seen to develop sophisticated political and bureaucratic acumen because of their involvement across divisions within the bureaucracy, and in education because of their contemporary role in relation to both employment practices and student and curriculum matters. However, despite that acumen, other (male) bureaucrats viewed their career trajectories in a narrow fashion. The evidence reported here supported the research based observation of Cockburn (1991, p.232), that a 'high and secure' location of the equity initiative 'in relation to the male hierarchy' within an organisation is vitally important to its effectiveness. In that respect, the position of gender equity within the Queensland Department of Education during the National Party era was sharply contrasted with its location, profile and effectiveness in the restructured Department of Education, following Labor's election victory.

12.5 THE CHANGING STATE AND GENDER EQUITY POLICY REVISITED

This thesis has been an exercise in policy sociology (Ozga, 1987; Ball, 1990). It began from an interest in policy production within the state and particularly from an interest in the production of gender equity policies in education. The first topic of the research was the interactive character of developments in gender equity policies at the federal and Queensland levels, including the *National Policy for the Education of Girls* (1987) and Queensland's *Equality of Opportunity in Education for Girls and Boys* (1981) policy. The second topic was theorising state policy production as part of providing an historical sociology of the Australian federal state.

Drawing upon a review of existing theories of the state and the empirical evidence mounted in relation to the case study, it has been argued that any useful theory of policy production within the state must allow and account for several factors. These include a consideration of the impact of the classed and gendered processes of accumulation and politics upon the state. Both those processes and their impact upon the state must be analysed historically. Consideration needs to be given to how the structure of the state, including form of government, mediates the contexts of policy agendas, policy production and policy implementation and outcomes. However, account must be taken of the internally differentiated structure of the state, including its gender regime, and how accumulation and political pressures have differential impacts on the various arms of the state machinery and thus are mediated in a variety of ways. Account must be taken of the policy struggles which go on inside the terrain of the state and the roles played by both bureaucrats and ministers in those struggles. The gender regime and policy culture within departments and across the government, which form an important part of the structure of practice, must also be considered in an adequate state theory. Overall, this thesis has argued the necessity for a consideration of the internal state context and strategies of policy production as an important mediating factor between the creation of policy agendas and the implementation of policy outcomes. While the research has demonstrated the changing nature of the Australian state, it has confirmed its continuing importance in mediating current policy production, but also has argued that the reconfigured Australian federal state has a reduced capacity to implement the required policies.

The historical sociology of the Australian state has shown how it has turned away from the social democratic approach of the Whitlam period. The embrace of economic

liberalism, now usually called economic rationalism, has seen Australia caught between policy settlements, as the traditional approach of domestic defence has been eschewed without a full move towards a corporatist domestic compensation approach (Castles, 1988). Such an approach would entail an interventionist state, including industry policy, universalist welfare provision, and corporatist policy institutions. On the basis of the evidence (Boreham and Compston, 1992; Dow, 1992), it would seem to be the most effective policy approach for small manufacturing economies wishing to integrate in a non-tariff protected fashion with the global economy. Consideration must be given to how such an approach can become more participatory and inclusive of the population. What potential there was for such an approach in the early Hawke days seems to have been lost. It has been argued that while Whitlam had appropriate policy approaches, he did not move to construct the institutions necessary to the longevity of his project, while Hawke potentially created the institutions, but abandoned the required social democratic policy approach. Femocrats have achieved some gains for women and in girls' schooling policy in that deteriorating policy context and as such also demonstrate the contingent nature of state policy production.

The Hawke government's support for economic rationalism manifested itself after 1987 in the corporate managerialist restructuring of the federal bureaucracy and in the emergence of corporate federalism. After that time, corporate federalism in schooling policy saw the Dawkins' inspired move to integrate all levels of education and training nationally and to integrate that national system with the metapolicy of economic restructuring. Those processes have reduced equity concerns and the Commonwealth's capacity and apparent interest in equity matters.

The significance of the Commonwealth's equity agenda to developments in Queensland in gender equity was clearly demonstrated, as was the impact of a narrowed Commonwealth concern with education as part of the economic restructuring agenda. The idiosyncrasy of Queensland's situation with minor gains in gender equity during the National Party period achieved largely through effective femocrat strategy, and the move to embrace a more complete agenda after Labor's election in 1989 was also pointed out.

The research has indicated the effectiveness of the femocrat strategy of working within the state to achieve gender equity goals. However, the managerialist revolution and the reframing of education as part of the economic restructuring agenda has meant the need for continuing vigilance by femocrats to keep strong definitions of equity on the

political and policy agendas. There is also a need to keep to the fore the social and cultural aspects of schooling. The changes outlined have seen a weakening of the role of citizens. A strengthening of that role is central, while education has the potential for producing such critical citizens. The desirable nature and structure of the state and of schooling ought to be on the political agenda of progressive political groups, while there is a pressing need to oppose those aspects of contemporary developments in and around the state which reduce the rights of all citizens and which exacerbate already existing social and economic inequalities. Such debate would then push us towards a consideration of the appropriate structure for the Australian federal state. It has been demonstrated in this thesis that the state must remain one very important focus of any politics interested in achieving a more equal, just and pluralist society with a less patriarchal gender order. It has also been shown how the reconfigured Australian state has reduced the likelihood of achieving such a society.

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