

Government Policies and Processes for the Support of the Education for Disadvantaged Students in Australian Schools

Roberta Ayres
University of New England, Armidale NSW
Australia

Abstract

Both public and private schools in Australia have access to policies and their accompanying funding to address varying needs of students. This paper focuses on arrangements in Australian schools to support learning for disadvantaged students who are at risk of failing at school. The background to the development of these policies in Australia is discussed.

Introduction

There are two levels of government in Australia, Commonwealth (national) government and States and Territory governments whose roles intertwine for Australian schools placing a strong reliance on the Commonwealth for policy and funding for a range of policies and programs. Historically education was an issue for Australian States and Territories until changes by the Menzies Government in the 1960s raised political issues for education and the Whitlam Labor Government in the early 1970s formed the Australian Schools Commission (ASC).

Australian state schools receive the major part of their funding from State and Territory governments while non-government schools receive the majority of their funding from the Commonwealth. These grants to schools include funds for “Commonwealth Targeted Programs” to address social justice and equity issues in schools. The programs relate directly to the Adelaide Declaration on National Goals for Schooling in the Twenty-First Century agreed to by all Australian State and Territory governments in 1999 (Ministerial Council for Education, Training and Youth Affairs, 1999). The National Goals include social justice elements in Section Three of the document.

Australia is a capitalist economy in which the accumulation of wealth is important. Consequently there is a constant shift in directions for Australian schooling between social democracy and training for productivity (White, 1987). Education and training for potential workers are part of a country’s economy, and are important factors in economic performance (Department of Education, Employment and Training, 1987). The need to boost the economy affects the development of policies for streamed education pathways in schools to create a labour force (Becker, 1975; Luke, Lingard, Green & Comber, 1999).

Disadvantaged Students

Disadvantaged students are identified and targeted by governments in Australia generally on the basis of their poor educational participation and performance (Henry, 2001). The term “disadvantaged” is an umbrella term in Australian education for students who are failing in school and who do not have equitable access to education. Particular disadvantaged groups have been identified over time as boys, girls, ethnic groups, students with disabilities and learning difficulties, Indigenous students, and students living in poverty. A number of studies have suggested that socioeconomic status cannot be represented by a single measure, as it

was, for example during the course of the Disadvantaged Schools Program¹. 'It is a patent oversimplification of the facts to suppose that the whole population may be placed unambiguously in intervals of a single scale of 'class' or 'status' (Graetz, 1995 p.49).

While acknowledging difficulties with identifying and measuring disadvantage, there are reports that reveal the significance of the problem in Australia by demonstrating that:

- There are estimates of around one-fifth of Australian school children who are struggling with the effects of socio-economic marginality and poverty that is increasingly 'spatialised' and focused on particular areas and regions;
- A highly mobile school age population of language-base other than English and a culturally diverse background;
- Persistent disproportionate levels of failure among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children
- Increasing numbers of students across the population identified with learning problems and disabilities

(Luke, Elkins, Weir, Land, Carrington, Dole, Predergast, Kapitske, van Krayeenord, Moni, McIntosh, Mayer, Baher, Hunter, Chadbourne, Bean, Alvermann & Stevens 2003, p.16).

Australian Governments' Involvement in Programs for Disadvantaged Students

Programs for disadvantaged students form part of Australian governments' social justice agendas but while social policy is consistently on governments' agendas there is also a persistent intrusion of economic policy into education. Australian schools provide traditional education in the primary years but, in high school, there are options for students to enter programs that include 'training' through the provision of vocational education for the future workplace, industry and the labour market, as well as options to continue within an academic program. The Commonwealth Government's 'Social Justice Statement' (1990-1991) included a determination to enhance equity through increased focus on developing workforce skills. This pervasive dichotomy of governments' orientation of Australian education fluctuates between government policies to achieve a labour force and policies for the development of a socially cohesive population. Underpinning this is the tension between democracy and governments' bureaucracy. Democracy entails egalitarian sentiments for equality in the community while bureaucracies are hierarchical and must focus on budgets (Beare, 1990). Each has different effects on how governments orient themselves for education policy development.

Until the 1970s Australian states and territories had made their own decisions for allocating resources for education. But pressures for education reform commenced during the 1960s under the Menzies Commonwealth government as a result of its' decisions to provide Commonwealth grants for tertiary education in the form of scholarships, the provision of science facilities in schools, and subsequently the formation of Colleges of Advanced Education and Technical and Further Education (Tomlinson, 1976). By the time of the establishment of the Australian Schools Commission in the early 1970s it was assumed, as a result of these activities around education, that progressive education policies would create greater social cohesion and equity for students (McKenzie, 1994).

¹ The Disadvantaged Schools Program commenced in the 1970s and concluded in 1997. It was longest running Australian equity program, focusing on socio-economic disadvantage, schools practices and management.

Australian Programs for Disadvantaged Students

The development of equity programs for Australian schools commenced as a Commonwealth political agenda in the 1970s that had its beginnings in the Menzies Government's intervention in schools during the 1960s to expand financial support for the formation of Colleges of Advanced Education (CAEs) and Technical and Further Education Colleges (TAFE) and further to the construction of high and technical schools for streaming students based on their scores in tests at the end of primary school (Tomlinson, 1976). The second was an amendment to the Australian Constitution allowing the Commonwealth to "provide benefits to students" and to "have power in Commonwealth and States finances" (Lingard & Porter, 1997 p.2). These were significant events that still invoke debate about the roles of public and private schools, and particularly about the role of the Commonwealth in funding for education. Since that period, politics has continued to strongly affect Australian education, including educational provision for disadvantaged students.

Further pressures for educational reform emerged during the 1970s following the establishment of the ASC as a result of ideological directions for education (Tomlinson, 1976). At that time Australian schools "were active producers of inequality....exposing a thinly strung welfare safety-net" (Robertson, 1996 p.24). States school systems did not have adequate funds, inequalities in education were increasing, and the Commonwealth Government placated political opposition by increasing funding for non-government schools (White, 1987).

A new Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam, took an interest in the creation of programs for disadvantaged students, a move that then profoundly affected the education bureaucracy by expanding it (Nisaken, 1971; Shapiro, 1973). Part of this was the establishment of the ASC to investigate and establish programs that would address the needs of students within a framework of equality, diversity, devolution of authority, community participation and responsiveness to change. This direction was driven by politics and was supported by a large increase in government funding for education with a flurry of activity for teacher recruitment and development, the establishment of special programs and innovations (Jones, 1975).

The ASC reports "Nationwide Survey of Educational Needs" in 1970, followed by "Schools in Australia" in 1975, contributed to the development and implementation of programs for disadvantaged students. At that time political issues for education were inadequate funding for states schools, obvious rising inequalities in educational opportunity juxtaposed with an increase in Commonwealth funds for non-government schools that had been delivered to diminish political opposition (White, 1987). To address this situation, funding was increased by the Commonwealth for schools buildings and libraries, for teachers and for special education teachers, and for on-going teacher development programs (Jones, 1975).

The ASC reports of 1973 contained statements about the purposes and directions for education provoking changes to Commonwealth funding arrangements and affecting Australian education politics, policies and funds management (Young, 1981). Since that time, Australian equity programs have been funded by the Commonwealth and the State and Territory Governments. The ASC produced research reports on education and a position statement that declared support for equality of opportunity in education (Schools Commission, 1975 in Balmer, 1975). But these ideas had already been aired sometime before. In 1962, Karmel stated that education has beneficial effects on economic growth and, in this sense, education will pay for itself through future production, just as any investment in infrastructure does (Karmel, 1962).

During 1975 the ASC produced a report, "Girls, School and Society" that argued that girls were being directed to lesser status jobs than men and that this was an equity problem, not an

outcome of girls' choices or lesser potential. As a result, the Commonwealth provided funding for consultants, resources and committees of inquiry that produced reports defining the issue as a problem (Yates, 1987). The "National Policy for the Education of Girls" was the first national schooling policy to be created in Australian education history (Lingard, 1993). The Disadvantaged Schools Program (DSP) followed soon after and confronted the need for definitions of disadvantage to guide selection, placement and funding of schools in the program. A working party for the DSP undertook extensive exploration of data to develop an Index of Disadvantage to target both city and country schools for the program. The purpose of the DSP was to improve participation and outcomes for the poorest fifteen percent of students but, rather than focusing on individual students, this program targeted whole school change (Henry & Taylor, 1999). The program worked also as an action research program by generating research to meet emerging issues and needs. The Commonwealth discontinued its involvement with the DSP in 1997 but some states have demonstrated the esteem in which they held it by continuing to maintain elements of the program within their own versions of the program (Yates, 1987).

The Development of Commonwealth Programs for Disadvantaged Students

As noted, education policy is a top-down process in Australia in which governments plan at both national and state levels in a socio-political context (Haddad, 1995). Much of the impetus for the development of equity programs for schools has come from the Commonwealth (Henry & Taylor, 1999).

Directions for Australian schooling were altered by the Report of the ASC in 1973, revealing differences in politics and power between Australian States and Territories and enabling the Commonwealth to further consolidate its power in education policy and finance, leading to changes in directions for the broadening of the development of education goals, skills, and philosophy and beliefs across national, state, system and personal levels (McCulloch, 1975). As a result of this direction, a current influence on Australian education is the "constitutionally complex relationship between state and federal economic and political environments and consequential attitudes towards spending on education" (Eltis & Crump, 1999 p.35). This structure is amplified by its intertwining through all education departments so that "it is hard to find either an area of Commonwealth activity that does not impinge on state policies, or state administration that does not entail some Commonwealth involvement" (Sharman, 1991 p.23).

The implementation of the recommendations of the ASC reports changed the power structure of the Australian education sector, providing funding for infrastructure and programs and policies (Jones, 1975). Schools funding became systematised, school infrastructure and resources were valued in economic terms to provide an objective basis for standardising resources for schools, and to provide additional resources to public and non-government schools that were deemed disadvantaged, leading to fuelling of a protracted debate over State Aid for private schools (Marginson, 1993).

Current Structures for Supporting Disadvantaged Students

The Commonwealth's States Grants (Primary and Secondary Assistance) Act, 1996 specifies funds to be provided by the Commonwealth and the conditions required by the Commonwealth for government and non-government schools and others eligible education groups. The grants include funding for Commonwealth Targeted Programs of which equity programs for disadvantaged students are a part (MCEETYA, 2001). Targeted equity program grants from the Commonwealth to the States for the current 2001/04 triennium must be focused on the Commonwealth's current priorities (literacy and numeracy for struggling students, languages and special learning needs).

The Australian Council for Educational Research uses indices to measure the socio-economic status of schools. The data, derived from occupation, education and income, is used to determine targeted programs funding under the “States Grants (Primary and Secondary Assistance Act 2000 Part Two)” and funds are distributed under legislation and on the conditions that the states and territories commit to the “National Goals for Schooling”, to performance measures, to meeting the conditions of the agreement and to financial and educational accountability (DEST 2001-2004 p.10).

The states and territories then become responsible for the administration of equity programs. They have the flexibility to identify schools and determine appropriate levels of the funding dispersed by the Commonwealth within the Commonwealth’s guidelines. This includes consideration of equity for students in greatest need, the effectiveness of methods of use of the funds and judicious spending of the resources (DEST, 2001-04). In turn, the States and Territories re-allocate the funds to government and non-government schools. The Commonwealth then requires the states to report, conforming to national data on student outcomes. The programs themselves are additional to regular school curricula and processes, and, while funding is provided to employ extra staff, they usually require additional and different arrangements for delivery and reporting.

Australian Programs for Disadvantaged Students

The Commonwealth Department of Education identifies the States and Territories as having the larger role in school education (DETYA, 2000). Following is a brief historical outline of the directions taken and structures provided to implement equity programs in schools.

As a consequence of the 1974 report by the ASC the Commonwealth moved to develop programs to address the educational needs of disadvantaged groups in Australian schools including addressing the needs of migrant children, children in country areas, Aboriginal children and the education of girls (Australian Schools Commission, 1975). The programs have moved through various forms over the decades, some to be disbanded, and others to be refocused. In addition, definitions of disadvantage are loose because of differing definitions of the causes of disadvantage that range from a focus only on socio-economic status to those that include complex social factors both at home and within schools (Burns & Homel, 1985).

Ten years later the ASC in the 1982-84 Report for the Triennium acknowledged that disadvantage in students should be treated differently and acknowledging the importance of promoting diversity while maintaining cohesion by stating that:

“disadvantaged students (have) a right to different treatment to foster their potential (that) has to be judged against the relative deprivation of others, in terms of foregone chances and an equitable distribution of resources” (ASC 1982-84 p.15)

This statement grapples with the differences between the ideologies of equality and equity that are now moving away from the ethos of the 1970s when focus was unambiguously on equity. The same report discusses different treatments of students as a challenge to maintaining social cohesion.

Commonwealth and States Politics for Equity Programs

The Commonwealth Government continues to set the agenda for education policies (Lingard, 1991) within a socio-political context that is affected by outside interest groups such as teachers

and their unions, parents and employees within education bureaucracies who have a tendency to value and maintain what they have developed. These interest groups participate in negotiations with the bureaucracies for directions for States and Territories education systems as expected in a democracy, but tensions develop around the discourses that form part of policymaking. Exacerbating these tensions, the Commonwealth makes arrangements for research projects and reports and committees of inquiry with a focus on their educational agendas (Harman, 1985).

Given that education in Australia is provided by Commonwealth and State Governments, then political agendas will intrude on their decisions and external pressures such as political events and economic prosperity will affect their decisions. Education is influenced by governments' focus on economic influences to the detriment of social values (Meadmore, 2001). There are political and economic dangers in this because, "to be truly effective, an education system must operate within the context of a social compact, understood and supported by all. Governments have a huge responsibility to act as the brokers of this compact, a process which should begin within the political system itself" (Manley p.3, in Delors, 1996).

Historical Outline of Equity Programs

By 1984 the ASC had supervised the development of equity programs that included: Participation and Equity Program (PEP), Education of Girls, Disadvantaged Schools Program, Country Areas Program, English as a Second Language, Ethnic Schools Program, and the Children in Residential Care Program (Schools Commission, 1984). But the social purposes of the ASC equity programs in the 1970s were now becoming to be seen as failing in their purpose and were replaced by competitive centralised curricula (Crump 1993).

During the 1990s, Commonwealth policy for education was again reformed with a shift of funds from higher education to schools with an intention to focus on equity and social mobility for disadvantaged students (Carnoy, 1995). The Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs (MCEETYA) was established in 1993 to replace the AEC. This move increased politicisation and ministerial control so that Ministers took a more prescriptive approach to policy and directions for education (Knight & Lingard, 1997). In 1994 the Commonwealth stated that educational opportunities for many young Australians are affected by factors such as geographic and social isolation that are beyond their control and need special assistance to enable them to maximise their learning outcomes (MCEETYA, 1994). These students are identified as disadvantaged on the basis of their race, ethnicity, gender, economic status, social class, disability, primary language and age (Keeves, 1987; Harvey & Klein, 1989). There was still a focus on girls education through the National Action Plan for Girls (1993-97) that was later replaced by Gender Equity: A Framework for Australian Schools (1989) and a literacy program, Strengthening Australia's Schools, in 1998.

The Commonwealth has developed three principles for allocating resources to schools: (1) that there is equity for students in greatest need, (2) there is effective use of resources, and judicious and effective spending of funds, and (3) ensuring that the states and territories conform with nationally comparable data on students' outcomes and accountability for reporting to parents (DEST 2001/03).

In 1994 the Commonwealth moved towards 'broadbanding' equity programs. A lump sum is now forwarded to the states and territories with flexibility to allocate funds rather than simply target it to specific identified groups or programs with requirements for reporting and accountability for expenditures. Broadbanding is intended to decrease the stereotyping of students who have some form of disadvantage but it is difficult to prove the results for

individuals or groups in schools, and more difficult to identify any effects of variations in education on Gross National Product (McKenzie, 1994).

A difficulty with equity programs is accountability for the investment by education departments. An issue for equity programs is how to validly measure and understand achievements. Usually student performance in Australian schools is measured by standardised tests. There are valid data systems that will provide evidence of change as a result of programs for disadvantaged students, and even if there are some forms of databases, they are not well maintained (Henry, 2001).

Part of the difficulty of determining program effects are the problems in determining satisfactory definitions for disadvantage and equity that will lead to appropriate measurements (Harvey & Klein in Borman, Cookson, Sadovnik & Spade, 1996). The most accessible form of measurement is to measure progress towards some defined standard that can be documented in simple forms. Another is to examine what teachers do to increase students' understanding and learning behaviours (Cohen in Borman et al, 1996). The measurement problem is further exacerbated by local school arrangements to compensate for poor learning by placing disadvantaged students in a smaller class, or with a particular teacher who has a particular teaching style, or to employ a specialist teacher but these kinds of arrangements may be difficult to ultimately relate to particular causes and effects in learning (Hanushek & Luque, 2001).

The allocation of funding for targeted equity programs to be delivered in states and territories schools is significant and the Commonwealth now requires increased accountability for the use of funds for these programs through 'commitment to performance measures' and support for the "National Goals for Schooling in the Twenty-First Century" (DEST 2001-2004 p.179). The systems currently in place for evaluation are 'not valid for collecting evidence which are comparative and verifiable, sophisticated in what they are judging' (Henry, 2001 p.58).

Conclusion

Australian governments' programs to support disadvantaged students have been formally in place in schools for thirty years. They were initiated by social and political concerns about the poor participation of this group of students in learning and their resultant failures in schooling. There are issues around the implementation of equity programs. They are additional to regular curriculum and when schools are allocated funds for an equity program, local arrangements, such as the employment of casual staff must be made to support requirements for their implementation. In addition there are issues around the provision of these programs in terms of identifying students, models for utilising the policies and their programs, funding and its use, and identifying and monitoring outcomes for students and schools.

References

Australian Schools Commission (1975) "A Summary" in 'Report for the Triennium 1976-78 Commonwealth of Australia

Australian Schools Commission (1981) Report for the Triennium 1982-84 Commonwealth of Australia

Becker, G.S. (1975) Human Capital: a theoretical and empirical analysis, with special reference to education

Balmer, C. (1975) "Implications of the Australian Schools Commission for Community Involvement in Education" Chapter 3 in Allwood, L.M. Australian Schools: The Impact of the

Australian Schools Commission Australian International Press and Publications Landmark Press, Drouin, Victoria

Beare, H. (1990) "Democracy and Bureaucracy in the Organisation of School Systems in Australia: a synoptic view" Chapter 1 in Chapman, J.D. & Dunstan, J.F. (eds.) Democracy & bureaucracy: tensions in public schooling The Falmer Press, U.K.

Becker, G.S. (1975) "Human Capital: a theoretical and empirical analysis, with special reference to education" National Bureau of Economic Research, Columbia University Press

Borman, K., Cookson, P. jnr., Sadovnik, A. & Spade, J. (1996) "Implementing Educational Reform: sociological perspectives in education policy" Ablex Publishing company, Norwood, New Jersey

Burns, A. & Homel, R. (1985) "Social Inequalities and Adjustment to School" The Australian Journal of Education Vol.29 (1)

Carnoy, M. (1995) "Structural adjustment and the changing face of education" International Labour Review 135 (6) 653-73

DEST, 2001 Commonwealth Programs for Schools, 2001-04 "Quadrennial Administrative Guidelines, Department of Education, Science and Training, Canberra www.dest.gov.au/schools/guidelines/quadrennial/2001-04/Guidelines2002.pdf

Crump, S. (ed.) (1993) "School Centred Leadership: putting educational policy into practice" Thomas Nelson Australia, South Melbourne, Victoria

Department of Education, Employment and Training (1987) <http://www.canberra.edu.au/civics/papers.policy.contexts.html>

Eltis, K. & Crump, S. (1999) "Raising the Standards of Teachers and Teaching" Report for the Ministerial Advisory Council on the Quality of Teaching Review of Teacher Education in New South Wales

Graetz, B. (1995) Socioeconomic Status in Education Research and Policy Chapter 3 in Ainley, J., Graetz, B., Long, M. & Batten, M. "Socioeconomic Status and School Education Australian Council for Educational Research, Commonwealth Department of Employment, Education and Training

Harman, G. (1985) "Handling Education Policy at the State Level in Australia and America" Comparative Education Review 29 (1) pp.22-46

Keeves, J.P. (ed.) (1987) "Australian Education: review of recent research, surveys for the Academy of Social Sciences in Australia

Harvey, G. & Klein, S. (1989) "Understanding and Measuring Equity in Education: a conceptual framework" Chapter 4 in Secada, W. (ed) Equity in Education The Falmer Press, New York

Hanushek, E. & Luque, J.A. (2001) "Efficiency and Equity in Schools Around the World" Stanford University, National Bureau of Economic Research, and University of Texas at Dallas

Harman, G. (1985) "Handling Education Policy at the State Level in Australia and America" *Comparative Education Review* Vol 29 No.1 pp.22-46

Haddad, W.D. (1995) "Education Policy Planning Process: an applied process, UNESCO, Paris

Henry, M. (2001) *Policy Approaches to Educational Disadvantage and Equity in Australian Schooling*, UNESCO

Henry, M. & Taylor, S. (1999) *From Social Justice to 'Literacy for All': Australian Variations on a Global Theme* <http://www.aare.edu.au/99pap/tay99032.htm>

Jones A.W. (1975) Chapter 2 "Implications for the Australian Schools Commission for the Administration of State Systems of Education" in Allwood, L. *Impact of the Australian Schools Commission*, Australian International Press, Drouin, Victoria

Karmel, P.H. (1962) "Some Economic Aspects of Education" *The Australian College of Education* FW Cheshire, Melbourne

Keeves, J.P. (ed) 1987 "Australian Education: review of recent research" *Surveys for the Academy of Social Sciences*, Sydney: Allen & Unwin

Knight, J. & Lingard, B. (1997) "Ministerialisation and Politicisation" Chapter 2 in Lingard, B. and Porter, P. "A National Approach to Australian Schooling? Essays on the development of national policies in schools education" *The Australian College of Education*, Canberra

Lingard, B. (1993) "Emerging Approach to Policymaking" Chapter 2 in Lingard, B., Knight, J. & Porter, P. "Schooling Reform in Hard Times" *The Falmer Press*, London

Lingard, B. & Porter, P. (eds.) (1997) "Australian Schooling: the state of national developments" Chapter 1 in *A National Approach to Schooling in Australia?* Australian College of Education

Luke, A., Lingard, B. Green, B., & Comber, B. (1999) "The Abuses of Literacy: educational policy and the construction of crisis" *Educational Theory*: 763-787

Luke, A., Elkins, J., Weir, K., Land, R. Carrington, V., Dole, S. Pendergast, D., Kapitzke, c., van Kraayenord, K. Moni, K., McIntosh, a., Mayer, D., Bahr, M., Hunter, L., Chadbourne, R. Bean, T. Alvermann, D. & Stevens, L. (2003) "Beyond the Middle: a report about Literacy and Numeracy Development of target Group Students in the Middle Years of Schooling" Volume 1 Commonwealth Department of Education, Science and Training and the University of Queensland.

McKenzie, P. (1998) *Australia in The International Encyclopaedia of Education: research and studies in Husen, T.P.*, New York, Pergamon Press

Manley, M. (1996) *Education, Empowerment and Social Healing*, Section in Delors, J. "Learning: The Treasure Within" Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-First Century, UNESCO Publishing

Marginson, S., (1993) *Education and Public Policy in Australia* Cambridge University Press
National Goals for Schooling in Australia

McCulloch, R.W. (1975) 'Implications of the Establishment of the Australian Schools commission for the Administration of States Systems of Education Chapter 2 in Alwood, L.M. (ed.) 'Australian Schools: The Impact of the Australian Schools Commission.

Meadmore (2001) "Free, Compulsory and Secular? The Re-Invention of Australian Public Education" *Journal of Education Policy* 16 (2) pp.113-125

Ministerial Council for Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs (1994) "National Strategy on Equity in Schooling" Curriculum Corporation, Carlton, Victoria

Ministerial Council for Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs (1999) "The Adelaide Declaration" <http://www.curriculum.edu.au/mceetya/public/pub31.htm>

Ministerial Council for Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs (MCEETYA), 2001 "Quadrennial Administrative Guidelines 2001-04

Robertson, S. (1996) Teachers' Work, Restructuring and Post Fordism: Constructing the New Professionalism" Chapter 2 in Goodson, I. & Hargreaves, A. (eds) "Teachers' Professional Lives" The Falmer Press, London and Washington DC

Schools Commission (1984) Report for the Triennium 1982-84 Canberra Australian Government Publishing Service

Sharman, C. (1991) "Executive Federalism" in Gallaway, B., Highes, O. & Walsh, C. (eds) *Intergovernmental Relations and Public Policy* Allen & Unwin, Sydney

Tomlinson, D. (1976) The Role of the Liberal Party of Australia in Commonwealth Government Initiatives for Primary and Secondary education 1949-1972 Master of Education Thesis, University of Western Australia, Nedlands, W.A.

White, D. (1982) "Educational Policy and Social Control: teachers and the art of coping" in Young, R. Pusey, M. and Bates, R. *Australian Educational Policy: Issues and Critiques*, Deakin University Press

White, D. (1987) *Education and the state: Federal involvement in educational policy development* Deakin University Press

Yates, L. (1987) Chapter 9 in Keeves, J.P. *Australian Education: review of recent research – Surveys for the Academy of Social Sciences in Australia* Allen & Unwin, Sydney

Young, R.E. (1982) "Progressive and Degenerating Education Policy Theories" in Young, R., Pusey, M. & Bates, R. (eds) *Australian Educational Policy Issues and Critiques*, Deakin University