2012


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University of Wollongong

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LIBERALISM, HUMAN CAPITAL AND EQUITY:
AN
HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH
GOVERNMENT REPORTS ON UNIVERSITY EDUCATION,
1950 TO 2000

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

from

UNIVERSITY OF WOLLONGONG

by

KIM DRAISMA, B.A. (Hons), Dip.Ed.

FACULTY OF EDUCATION

2012
CERTIFICATION

I, Kim Draisma, declare that this thesis, submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy, in the Faculty of Education, University of Wollongong, is wholly my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. The document has not been submitted for qualifications at any other academic institution.

Kim Draisma
12 March 2012
ABSTRACT

This thesis provides an historical examination of the development of Australian university education, 1950 to 2000, a period of rapid population expansion and social and technological change. The thesis examines the variants of liberal ideology held by successive Commonwealth Governments that influenced the direction of changes in university education. In so doing it examines the relationship of liberal ideology to notions of what constituted a university education - and the kinds of people who gained access to it. Consequently, the thesis also examines concepts of human capital, equity and equality of access, since these are fundamental to an understanding of the variants of liberalism. The primary aim was to determine the extent to which an understanding of liberal ideology and human capital theory could explain both the expansion of university education and the constraints placed on entry mechanisms.

The theoretical framework draws on the theories: of cultural and social capital developed by Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam; and of credential inflation, developed by Hirsch. Notions of liberty, individual freedom and equality, core concepts of liberalism, are examined in relation to its variants, from Classical Liberalism to Modern and Welfare Liberalism, Neo-conservatism and Neo-liberalism. The relationship between political ideology and policy formation is examined, as is the relationship between liberalism and notions of egalitarianism, equity and equality of opportunity.

The thesis is arranged chronologically, with each chapter examining one of the five major reviews into and/or reports on Australian university education in the second half of the twentieth century: the Murray Report, the Martin Report, the Williams Report, the Dawkins suite of papers, and the West Report. These reports, and contemporaneous materials, provide the primary source evidential basis for the study. The evidence is examined in relation to: the ideological influences and pressures that effected change to the social mix of the entry cohort over time; and state and other stakeholder notions of university
education as a public good or private good, an opportunity for public service or capitalist opportunity for commodification.

The thesis demonstrates that the variant constructs of liberal ideology, which powerful individuals held as personal belief systems, directly influenced the development of university education in Australia. The thesis provides clear evidence that the outcomes of the - seemingly transparent - process of government initiating reviews and/or commissioning reports, is inherently influenced by the political ideology held by the initiator.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank the late Professor Ron King, Dr Jennifer Jones and Associate Professor Sarah Ferber for their supervision and support during the research and writing of this thesis. Special thanks go to Dr Dianne Snow, who was instrumental in the development of the central idea of the thesis and who invited me to understand that ‘everything’ was a variant of liberalism.

Dr Christine Fox has been a compassionate, understanding and inspiring supervisor, without whom the thesis would never have been finished. Only she fully understands all the hiccups that have occurred throughout the journey and her friendship is the true legacy of the process. I am in her debt.

I have been very fortunate in having the support of Prof. Robert Castle. Without his exhortations to ‘just get the thing done’ and his allowing me time to disappear to do exactly that, the thesis would not have been finished. I thank him for his trust in me – in so many ways.

I have wonderful friends and family members, who believed I would finish this thesis, even when I did not. Thank you to Gabrielle Draisma ASM, Dr Bronwyn Beecher-Heino, Bev Buchanan, Ivica Knezevic, Josipa Draisma, Dr Penney MacFarlane, Sandra Dove, Dr Sue Curtis, Dr Jeannette Stirling, Dr Heather Jamieson and Gabrielle O’Connor. They’ve all, in their own ways, helped me or kept me going.

Most importantly, thank you to my loves; Rin, Luke, Ben and Imogen Draisma, who bring joy and meaning to my life. Without Rin’s support over the last forty years, I would not have completed my undergraduate degrees or this thesis. And finally, this thesis is dedicated to my late mother, Jean Irwin Marheine Lamb, who loved me, and who taught me to love education.
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>Australian Bureau of Statistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANU</td>
<td>Australian National University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANZSSA</td>
<td>Australian and New Zealand Student Services Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASAT</td>
<td>Australian Scholastic Aptitude Test</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATSI</td>
<td>Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander</td>
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<tr>
<td>AUC</td>
<td>Australian Universities Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>AVCC</td>
<td>Australian Vice-Chancellors’ Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAEs</td>
<td>Colleges of Advanced Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRTS</td>
<td>Commonwealth Post War Reconstruction Training Scheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSIRO</td>
<td>Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTEC</td>
<td>Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEET</td>
<td>Department of Employment, Education and Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEETYA</td>
<td>Department of Employment, Education, Training and Youth Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFTSU</td>
<td>Equivalent full time student units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HEC</td>
<td>Higher Education Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>HECS</td>
<td>Higher Education Contribution Scheme</td>
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<tr>
<td>HSC</td>
<td>Higher School Certificate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NBEET</td>
<td>National Board of Employment, Education and Training</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NESB</td>
<td>Non-English-speaking background</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTEU</td>
<td>National Tertiary Education Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUS</td>
<td>National Union of Students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R&amp;D</td>
<td>Research and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAP</td>
<td>Special Admissions Program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEATO</td>
<td>South East Asia Treaty Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STAT</td>
<td>Special Tertiary Admissions Test</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAFE</td>
<td>Technical and Further Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEAS</td>
<td>Tertiary Education Assistance Scheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TER</td>
<td>Tertiary Entrance Rank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TORs</td>
<td>Terms of Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UAI</td>
<td>University Admissions Index</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNE</td>
<td>University of New England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNS</td>
<td>Unified National System</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEA</td>
<td>Workers’ Education Association of New South Wales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEL</td>
<td>Women’s Electoral Lobby</td>
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Orientation to the thesis and chapter outline

This thesis offers an historical examination of arguably the most significant period in the development of Australian university education, the fifty years 1950 to 2000, a period of rapid population expansion and social and technological change. The thesis examines the various liberal ideological underpinnings espoused by successive Commonwealth Governments that sought to direct change in university education. In so doing it examines the relationship of liberal ideology to notions of what constituted a university education - and who was entitled to access it. Consequently, the thesis also examines concepts of human capital, equity and equality of access, since these are fundamental to an understanding of the manifestation of variants of liberal ideology.

This chapter provides an introduction to the thesis from two perspectives: a brief historical background of the nineteenth century milieu in which Australian university education was founded; and a personal contextualisation that both inspired the study and situates my authorial stance. The chapter positions the contribution of the thesis, describes the methodology adopted, and details the focus and aims of the research. Finally, an outline of the entire thesis is provided.

Historical background

In the nineteenth century the object of British university education was to produce a Christian gentleman. The education system was designed for the privileged classes, and the Christian gentleman that it aimed at producing
was expected to assume his responsibilities as a member of the governing class, particularly in the church, in the state, in the armed services or in the colonies. In the best nineteenth century tradition education was liberal, but it was restricted and it aimed at producing leaders who would be competent to lead within the established social system. The Australian universities, established first in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide, were founded by pioneers who saw clearly that Australia should train her own professional men, and later women, and make her own particular contribution to learning and scholarship. William Charles Wentworth, in a speech to the New South Wales Legislative Council in 1849, expressed the goal of university education as being to educate the sons of the élite; specifically he described it as an education for ‘…the youth of the higher classes’. This may have been an entirely appropriate vision for the establishment of a university education in the tradition of Britain’s ancient universities, but whereas students in British universities were admitted on the basis of religion and class, in Australia, in what was seen as a ‘class-less and secular’ society, it was envisioned that men would be admitted to university on the basis of academic merit.

Whether it was a candidate from [the largely Roman Catholic area of] St. Mary’s or [the largely Anglican area of] Lyndhurst, the broad principle on which the University was [to be] founded was that it would admit all. … It was to be an institution merely for secular education.2

The link between education and training for citizenship was well established. In the New South Wales (NSW) colony from 1848 a weekly fee was charged for students to attend government day (later National) schools as they set about preparing students for ‘enlightened’ citizenship through the

---


2 Ibid.
introduction of subjects believed necessary to exercise the franchise.\textsuperscript{3} Children who were ‘unkempt and untidy or barefoot’ were excluded from the National Schools and sent to the Ragged Schools that operated on a charitable basis.\textsuperscript{4} Thus, it was likely that only sons of affluent members of society would have completed sufficient public schooling to be able to contemplate a university education and it was within the context of ‘youth of the higher classes’ that Wentworth saw the mechanism of merit applying.

The University of Sydney was established in 1850 and opened its doors to its first 24 students in 1852. Its first Principal used his inaugural address to define a university:

\begin{quote}
The idea of a university is two-fold; it is first, what its name imports, a school of liberal and general knowledge, and secondly, a collection of special colleges, devoted to the learned professions.\textsuperscript{5}
\end{quote}

The University of Sydney’s motto, \textit{sidere mens eadem mutato}, clearly defines its mission as continuing the traditions of Britain’s universities. Literally translated as ‘the constellation is changed; the disposition the same’, a modern translation offers ‘the traditions of the older universities of the Northern Hemisphere are continued here in the Southern’.\textsuperscript{6} Since that beginning, university education in Australia has undergone great change, most significantly in the admission of women (to the University of Sydney in 1881, decades before either of the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge). From the 1950s, a century after the first Australian university was founded, admissions have been driven by governmental responses to social and economic change and the need to meet the demands of a growing, technologically driven, modern society.

\textsuperscript{3} Snow, D.S. ‘The State, Youth and Schooling: The Social Construction of Studenthood in New South Wales 1788-1948’, Unpublished doctoral thesis, Faculty of Education, University of Wollongong, Wollongong, 1989, p.121. From 1848 reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography and singing were taught, all for the one weekly fee. Girls were taught sewing at the expense of several hours of geography and arithmetic each week.

\textsuperscript{4} Ibid.


\textsuperscript{6} University of Sydney. \url{http://www.usyd.edu.au}, accessed 10 October 2011.
Meeting the demands of a growing society is not a new idea, nor is it unique to either the twentieth or twenty-first centuries. Wentworth had been an early identifier of the potential that university education possesses for the development of individual human capital, the importance of university-educated men to the colony, and the relationship between the provision of an educated workforce and the needs of a growing economy. In the NSW Legislative Council in 1849 he stated that:

The time has come when we should have responsible government, that we should educate the people, so as to fit them for the high offices of state … the results [of education will] in themselves, in this colony, repay in a pecuniary sense, the outlay.7

Unlike Wentworth, Sir Charles Nicholson, the Vice-Provost of the University of Sydney, speaking at the commencement of the first academic course in 1852, sought to make clear that a university education was open to the children of any class, not just the rich. He referred to:

… an allegation that has, I believe, been made, to the effect that the university has been founded as an institution for the benefit, and as an exclusive possession of, the rich.

In relation to boys from the lower classes, he observed that ‘in the case of more than ordinary promise’ the university had made liberal provision for the endowment of scholarships of the annual value of fifty pounds each and tenable for three years.8

The political and social revolution that swept away the nineteenth century social and economic system inevitably impacted education generally, and it had impacted the universities. By the end of the nineteenth century, primary

education had been made compulsory for all white Australians and was available in state Government schools and Catholic parish schools. Secondary education was provided in high schools run by the states and the Catholic Church, and in grammar schools established by the Anglican, Presbyterian or Methodist Churches. Under Acts passed by the colonial legislatures, university education had been established in every state: the University of Sydney in 1850, the University of Melbourne in 1853, the University of Adelaide in 1874 and the University of Tasmania in 1890. The University of Queensland was established a little later in 1909, and the University of Western Australian in 1911.

By the end of the twentieth century, Australian university education had shifted its focus from educating the élite to educating the ‘mass’, and the entry mechanism had shifted from one of entitlement for those who qualified academically at the final secondary school examination to one that marketed the limited places available to those who could meet the price, a price paid in a ‘currency’ based on entry scores. The professionally élite degrees, such as Medicine and Law, set higher entry score requirements than degrees that were less professionally and socially valued. At the same time, there was a shift from the notion of university education as a state-provided entitlement for those who qualified for entry, to the notion of education as a saleable commodity, to be paid for like any other, by the consumer.

The current system of access to university education in Australia for Australian students is fundamentally a selective one, managed through a rationing system of place allocation between and within universities. Entry is not open to all but operated through a ‘market’ for places, with currency for the ‘purchase’ of a place within a particular faculty at each university being one of three things: for school leavers, a score above a threshold established
by the faculty from the scores of applicants, a threshold that moves according to the scores available to it and the number of places available to be filled; for those other than school leavers, a suitable score obtained from any one of a number of university entry mechanisms, such as the Special Tertiary Admissions Test (STAT) or an ad hoc Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Admission Test; a suitable score following completion of a university preparation program conducted either by the university itself or by another provider, such as a college operated by a university or an Institute of TAFE; or successful completion of a prior degree or other qualification, such as an Associate Diploma. Some universities provide provisional entry for high school students who achieve high scores on their ‘trial’ final year exam and some allow entry based on demonstrated work-place competency. For some years, universities were also permitted to provide a set number of places for full fee-paying Australian students, wherein the fee was said to both create and purchase the enrolment place, such that the place was outside the number of Commonwealth funded places.

However, in 2008 the then Deputy Prime Minister Julia Gillard stated that:

…full fee-paying undergraduate places [were to] be phased out in public universities for domestic students from 2009. [The Labor Government] will be consulting soon with all universities to work through implementation of this initiative, including a compensating increase in Commonwealth funded places.\(^9\)

To date the number of places for school leavers has always been in tension with those for non-school leavers: as the number of places in one category is increased, places in the other decrease within the overall number of Commonwealth funded places. From time to time, universities provide places

\(^9\) Such as the University Admissions Index (UAI) or Australian Tertiary Admission Rank (ATAR)

for students beyond those that are Commonwealth funded. These ‘over-enrolments’, whilst having the effect of allowing more students access to university education, are not an altruistic strategy on the part of the university; rather, they assist the university to maintain graduation rates, which is one of the outcomes measured by the Commonwealth, and ultimately affects Commonwealth funding attracted to the university.

In the last three decades there has been enormous change in Australian higher education, structurally, financially, in policy, and in matters of public accountability. In 1974 the Whitlam Labor Government took over direct funding responsibility for Australian universities and encouraged policy changes within the universities to make higher education more responsive to national social and economic needs and priorities. This was done through direct official communication of government policy expectations, underpinned and strengthened by its control of institutional funding through mechanisms such as enrolment targets and graduation rates, as described above.

Initially famed as financial assistance to talented but disadvantaged individuals, in the early 1980s the Labor Government’s espoused equity agenda shifted attention to the under-representation in higher education of whole groups in the community, and particularly those who were later to become groups identified and targeted by equity strategies: Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, people from language backgrounds other than English (LBOTE) – previously referred to as non-English-speaking backgrounds (NESB),¹¹ those with a disability, people from lower socio-economic backgrounds or living in remote and geographically isolated locations, and women with respect to non-traditional areas of study, including research degrees. In 1985 the Higher Education Equity Program and the Aboriginal

¹¹ Throughout this thesis, the acronym ‘NESB’ has been maintained in accordance with its usage throughout the policy documents under analysis. Note the choice of the term NESB connotes a deficit model, whereas the term LBOTE is positive.
Participation Initiative were established on advice from the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission (CTEC) and between 1985 and 1987 the sum of three million dollars was allocated to them. At the same time, the broader Australian community began to place expectations on higher education to accommodate greater numbers and a wider diversity of students.

In 1990 the Commonwealth government report *A Fair Chance for All* identified the same six ‘disadvantaged’ groups as being underrepresented in university education: Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, people from non-English-speaking backgrounds, those with disabilities, those from rural and isolated areas, those from socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds and women. But being underrepresented did not necessarily define each of these groups as disadvantaged. Since 1990, universities have gained experience in targeting a range of underrepresented groups and there have been improvements in access. In the five years from 1989 to 1994, women’s participation increased from 229,791 to 313,417 and in non-traditional areas of study women’s participation also increased: in Business, from 39.1% to 43.6%; in Architecture, from 32.2% to 34.2%; in Engineering, from 8.9% to 13.1%; and in Science, from 37.8% to 40.7%. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander participation increased 1.8 times from 3,307 in 1989 to 6,264 in 1994; and over the same period the participation of NESB people increased 1.5 times from 51,129 to 79,197. However, significant increases in the participation of people from socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds were not similarly secured.

---

... there was no improvement during the decade [1980-1989] in the relative position of the ‘wealthiest’ and the ‘poorest’ sub-groups of young people as far as participation in higher education was concerned.\textsuperscript{16}

Low socio-economic status (low-SES) or background has been identified as one of the most difficult of the six equity groups to define.\textsuperscript{17} From 1996 to 2010 the methodology to derive low-SES and the definition developed by L.M. Martin\textsuperscript{18} in the late 1990s was utilised by the Australian Government. This definition identified students as low-SES according to the postcode of their home location, with Australian postcodes having been allocated a low, medium or high ranking using the Australian Bureau of Statistics Index of Education and Occupation. Those postcodes that fell within the lowest quartile of the system were classified as low-SES. Martin determined this measure to be sufficiently robust for policy analysis, where substantial numbers were involved.\textsuperscript{19} The main criticism of this approach was of the assumption that postcodes are homogeneous and that significant variations in the socio-economic status of households in a single postcode area do not exist. Other approaches to addressing the issues of low rates of low-SES access have included universities targeting schools with the lowest rates of university applications and enrolments and allocating bonus entry points to students on the basis of their school of origin. Research from Victoria\textsuperscript{20} linked inequitable access to higher education of young people with school location and whether the school was in the public or private system.

\textsuperscript{18} See Chapter Three.
\textsuperscript{19} Martin, \textit{op.cit.} , p.135.
\textsuperscript{20} \textit{Ibid}. 
What is clear is that the barriers to entry to university that exist for individuals from low-SES backgrounds are not well understood. Most research in this area has focussed on quantitative studies and these have not gone beyond supposition in regard to the cultural, social and ideological barriers that may exist.\(^{21}\) The quantitative research has focussed particularly on the experiences of students from low-SES backgrounds whilst they were at university, and although that research provides information on the difficulties experienced during study,\(^{22}\) the core issue of low rates of enrolments in university of people from low-SES backgrounds has been largely unaddressed. Since class and socio-economic disadvantage are powerful predictors of who gains access to universities, it holds that redressing under-representation will go some way to removing disadvantage and building human capital.

The historical development of government policies that focus on removing disadvantage in regard to university entry, or at the very least seek to broaden the socio-economic base of the university cohort, is one of the foci of this thesis. The ideological underpinnings of the decision makers and policy makers is another. The thesis seeks to explicate the review and reporting mechanisms utilised by successive governments to institute change to the structure, funding bases, degrees offered, research undertaken, and student cohorts granted entry to Australian universities and to identify, where possible, the personal ideological standpoints of the main stakeholders involved.


**Personal contextualisation**

It is a truism that all theses begin somewhere and it is important on a personal level for me to begin at my own beginning – or to be more precise, to begin with what I see as the motivating influences that have driven this thesis. There have been five: stories of my mother’s poverty in the decade of the 1930s Great Depression and what this meant for her accessing higher education; my understanding of how basic educational opportunity was denied to students with disabilities and those who were Aboriginal, as late as the 1960s; my experience of enrolling as a non-matriculated, ‘special entry’, mature-aged female university student in 1978, when tertiary education was free; a decade of co-ordinating a university special entry preparatory program for mature-age, non-matriculated equity students (like myself) in the 1990s, where I interviewed thousands of applicants for places in the program; and the desire to understand how government policy on university admissions was driven ideologically.

In 1938 my mother and father both matriculated and won scholarships to Armidale Teachers’ College in the New England region of New South Wales. My mother had attended Cessnock High School and my father, Maitland Boys High School, both schools in the Hunter Valley. Both had just turned seventeen years of age. At high school both had been placed in the A Class, which required them to study two languages, Latin and French, as well as English, History and Mathematics. None of their parents was educated beyond primary school level and being selected for Teachers’ College was seen as the only available mechanism for social advancement and to climb out of poverty.

Times were tough for their families. It was less than ten years since the onset of the Great Depression and only months before the country would be plunged into World War Two. My mother lived with her extended family - maternal grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, sister, brother and aunt -
in a small, two-bedroom, weatherboard miner’s cottage, their only income ‘the dole’ and what could be grown and traded. Her father was a tradesman painter who had been contracted by the Department of Education to paint rural schools in NSW but on the eve of war, there was no painting work available as government and private funds were put to different use. Her maternal grandfather had been a highly productive ‘pick and shovel’ miner, but his lungs were dusted and he was a year short of death. So, there was no money for my mother to go to college, even though she had won the scholarship.

Winning the scholarship was the first financial hurdle, since it provided for all tuition and for females, residential college accommodation. The second and most important hurdle for my mother’s family was finding sufficient funds to pay the bond. In those days, the Department of Education bonded its male scholarship holders to teach for three years and its female scholarship holders to teach for six years, where they were sent in NSW, following graduation. Students were bonded by the payment of a deposit, to be forfeited in the event of failing to teach for the allocated years.

All students at this time were scholarship holders and were bonded to the Department of Education to teach for a given time (usually 3 years) depending on the length of their training. They also promised to go anywhere in the state the Department of Education sent them. In return for the scholarship and the bond provisions all teachers were promised a teaching position in the Department. [In the post-Depression 1930s, the then Minister for Education, Mr] Davies waived the Teaching Bond … if ex-students could prove they had permanent positions.

For females there was a further difficulty; if they married, they were subject to dismissal under the Married Women Teachers Act of NSW, thereby risking forfeiture of the bond. My mother was recorded as the last woman

dismissed from teaching under the Act, but because of the shortage of teachers during the war, she continued to be employed on a full-time basis as a ‘temporary’ teacher. As such she was able to fulfil the terms of her bond, which had been funded by her great-aunt, who had worked as a cleaner and who was willing to risk her life savings to provide her niece with the opportunity to leave poverty behind.

My father’s family were somewhat better off. His father was a weighman in a coal mine near Kurri Kurri and the family was used to a steady, though not large, wage. My father’s parents found no great difficulty in providing the money for his teaching bond, nor money for private board in Armidale. Male students were not provided with residential college accommodation and Armidale had come to depend financially on the income provided by each new intake of students that needed to find lodgings in boarding houses and guest houses. Both my parents graduated from Teachers’ College at the end of 1940 and began their teaching careers in 1941.

From the stories they both told, I grew up knowing that having a post-secondary education was one of the most important things in life, particularly for a woman, for it set my mother apart from her siblings and extended family by providing her with a qualification that led to continued employment for the whole of her adult life, making her financially able to provide for herself and her own family. But whilst I grew up knowing that educational achievement was important, I also knew that poverty had the capacity to slam the door of educational opportunity. Thus, at a very young age, and without a vocabulary with which to express the ideas that were forming, I became acquainted with issues of: class, in particular, social and financial difference and difference of opportunities; and human capital and social capital, in particular, how education could grow human capital, particularly economic and cultural capital, and how employment could grow social capital. Exposure to educational inequities as they affected others also

25 NSW Department of Education. Tribute letter on the occasion of her retirement from teaching in 1981.
occurred throughout my primary and secondary schooling, and these, too, have been a driving influence in contextualising this thesis.

My first experience as a learner in an Australian educational setting occurred in the latter part of the 1950s in Cessnock when, as a pre-schooler, I attended the local Spastic Centre conducted under the auspices of the Spastic Centre of NSW. Since I was neither officially enrolled nor ‘spastic’ [sic], my attendance at the Centre was irregular and happened as part of an informal arrangement established between my mother, who was then Teacher in Charge of the Centre, and the Centre. At a time when crèche and pre-school facilities were rare in NSW, generally, and non-existent in that particular country town, the way my mother negotiated her return to work as a teacher following my birth was by taking me with her. I was just two years old when I began attending the Spastic Centre and my five to eighteen-year-old student cohort was diverse: those who had suffered in the then virulent polio epidemic and those with mild to severe cerebral palsy, spina bifida, Down Syndrome, or ‘delayed’ intellectual development. Some were intellectually unimpaired but trapped in plaster body frames, steel callipers or wheel chairs: others were trapped in minds or bodies that were considered a social embarrassment in the 1950s. All were locked out of the public education system because of their perceived difficulties and disabilities.

At that time, a child with a physical or intellectual disability could be routinely excluded from school ‘… because, in view of his [sic] mental or physical condition, his attendance at school [constituted] a risk either to himself or to his fellows’.26 Such concern for children’s safety at the expense of basic education would seem disingenuous and a reluctance to offend contemporary social sensibilities would seem more apposite. A similar social attitude was demonstrated at that same time by the policy of the NSW Department of Education which excluded from schools a similarly

embarrassing group, Aboriginal children. These children could be excluded:

… if the principal of a school [were] of the opinion that there [existed] circumstances in the home conditions of aborigine children, whose enrolment [was] sought, which justify refusal or deferment of enrolment or if he [were] aware that substantial opposition to such enrolment exist[ed] in the local community.  

By 1957 a severe teacher shortage in NSW, particularly in rural and isolated areas, led to a personal invitation from the District Inspector of Schools to my mother to return to the public teaching service. He offered her a composite Kindergarten/First Grade class in one of the large local public schools. The teacher shortage meant she was able, to a certain extent, to “name her price” for returning to the teaching service, a price she set at permission for me to enrol early (I was then four years old) and permission to enrol three of the intellectually able but physically impaired children she had been teaching at the Spastic Centre. One was a six-year-old girl who wore callipers on both legs as a result of having contracted polio and the others were two boys who used crutches, one who had been born with mild cerebral palsy and the other with spina bifida. Each was intellectually unimpaired.

Continued enrolment in the public school system for these three children was a matter for agreement by the teacher to whom they were allocated in each subsequent year. Clearly, this was a fraught system that relied on a teacher’s compassion and her/him having a personal philosophy that advocated educational and social inclusion for the benefit of all children. If a teacher declined to have a child with a physical disability in her/his class because of the “… risk either to himself or to his fellows”, enrolment would lapse. It is significant that none of these three children successfully navigated the policies of the NSW public education system and none went

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27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.
on to complete primary, let alone secondary, school. In fact, all were returned to the Spastic Centre following my mother’s transfer as Teacher-in-Charge of a one-teacher school at South Cessnock at the beginning of 1959.

In the 1950s, NSW Department of Education provision for ‘physically handicapped’ children was limited to those who had hearing or sight impairments and even those provisions were scant. Hearing and sight impairments often occurred as a result of having contracted measles and no vaccine was available at the time. Sight impaired children were catered for at the Sydney residential facility, the School for the Blind, Wahroonga, for which the Department of Education had responsibility.\(^{29}\) In large metropolitan areas ‘Opportunity “D” classes’ were established in the 1950s as an adjunct to a centrally located public school to cater for the needs of hearing impaired students.\(^{30}\) Students with sight or hearing disabilities were not included in mainstream classes and, where there was no ‘Opportunity “D” class’ available locally, or if residence at the School for the Blind was not a favourable option for families of such children, access to the public education system was closed.

The first time I was aware of the existence of classes for hearing impaired children was 1967 when I transferred to Wollongong High School, a selective high school for academically gifted children in the Illawarra region of NSW. This was quite a discovery because I had been at the school for some months before I became aware of a small group of students who all wore electronic hearing aids. Not only were they not mainstreamed in classrooms with other students, they were kept separate from other students, taking their mid-morning recess and lunch break at times different from the main body of the school. Though otherwise able bodied and intellectually unimpaired, they did not participate in any academic classes, physical education, sports, or social or artistic activities with the remainder of the school. It was clear that 1950s social attitudes remained unchanged.

\(^{29}\) Ibid. p.381.
\(^{30}\) Ibid.
throughout the next decade and that educational and social exclusion was still advocated for those who demonstrated any difference. I learnt some very early lessons about the strong connection between admission to public schooling, government policy and social attitudes and the inherent inequities of an education system that made ‘equity’ provisions for minority groups rather than provide education for all. These early and very profound experiences of inequity in education provided the background (distant though it is) and part of the rationale for the focus of this doctoral thesis.

Another contextual underpinning was my own experience of being considered ‘non-traditional’ when I entered university through a special admission program. I began my university study at the age of 25, having married and begun raising two children, one of whom was three and a half years old at the time and the other eleven months. I had ‘dropped out’ of the academically selective school I was attending at the age of 16 and taken a job in what was considered superior employment for a working class girl, banking. By the time I was 24, no longer working and busy with motherhood and domesticity, I realised that ‘home duties’ was not a calling, or more accurately, it was not calling me. Like the protagonist in Willy Russell’s *Educating Rita*,\(^{31}\) I devoured three books a week and longed for something more.

At the end of 1977 I responded to a newspaper advertisement calling for applicants to enter a regional university through its ‘Special Admissions Program’ (SAP). Admission to the University was on the basis of successful completion of the Australian Scholastic Aptitude Test (ASAT),\(^{32}\) a test used to measure a range of abilities that were seen to be relevant to tertiary studies and which was used specifically for non-matriculated, mature age (that is, over 21 years of age) local candidates who wished to undertake

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\(32\) Australian Council for Educational Research Limited. *Australian Scholastic Aptitude Test*, ACER, Hawthorn, 1977. This test was later renamed the *Special Tertiary Admissions Test* (STAT) and was used by many tertiary institutions in Australia as part of admission procedure for mature age/special category applicants.
degrees in a restricted range of humanities or social science disciplines. Admission to Sciences, Mathematics or Engineering disciplines was not then available to candidates who had not satisfied the Higher School Certificate threshold for entry to MATH101, a Mathematics pre-requisite subject for all such disciplines. Admission to undergraduate degrees in Teaching and Education was, similarly, only available to candidates who had successfully completed the HSC in the previous 24 months. So, although my options for study were limited, the restrictions were of no consequence to me, personally, since I was intent on enrolling in English Literature, English Language and Social History subjects, and these were available within the restricted range of offerings. Under the University’s ‘Special Admission Program’ I was now a SAP – and very delighted to be one! In 1978 I was part of the second cohort of SAPs to enter that regional university, graduating with Honours in English Literature at the end of 1981 and a Graduate Diploma of Education in 1982. Like both my mother and Willy Russell’s Rita, ‘Because of what [university education had] given me, I had a choice’\(^{33}\) of direction in my life and I had gained a profound understanding of the effect of university education as a mechanism for growing my own (and others’) human, economic and social capital.

In 1992 I was appointed Head of a Unit (at the same university) that, among other things, provided a preparatory program for mature-age, non-traditional students, as defined under the Labor Government’s *Fair Chance for All*\(^{34}\) policy paper\(^{35}\) on university education: Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders; those of low-SES; women wishing to study in non-traditional areas; those with disabilities; those from non-English speaking backgrounds; and those from rural and isolated areas. I knew from personal experience how important gaining entry to university could be and I sought to provide the best possible preparation for my students in order to assist their transition to success at university. As Russell’s academic, Frank, says

\(^{33}\) Russell, *op.cit.* p.72.

\(^{34}\) Commonwealth of Australia (c11), *op.cit.*

\(^{35}\) See Chapter Six.
to Rita, ‘… you’ve barely had a basic schooling, you’ve never passed an examination in your life. Possessing a hungry mind is not, in itself, a guarantee of success’. 36

I was still co-ordinating the program in 1999 when, after more than a thousand students had gained university entry through that mechanism in the previous decade, the program was cancelled following a change in emphasis in government policy. Opportunities can be fleeting but I should not have been surprised, given the neo-liberal, ‘economic rationalist’ direction of the Federal Government at that time. This capacity for governments to make seemingly arbitrary decisions about funding and reporting decisions that affect university entry mechanisms, and ultimately the human capital of those who do or do not gain entry, has prompted this study.

Members of the working class have long understood that university education was for others who were better off, a view made real by the fictional Rita.

RITA d’ y’ get a lot like me?
FRANK Pardon?
RITA Do you get a lot of students like me?
FRANK Not exactly, no …
RITA I was dead surprised when they took me. I don’t suppose they would have done if it’d been a proper university. The Open University’s different though, isn’t it?
FRANK I’ve –erm---not had much more experience of it than you. This is the first O.U. work I’ve done.
RITA D’ y’ need the money?
FRANK I do as a matter of fact.
RITA It’s terrible these days, the money, isn’t it? With the inflation an’ that. You work for the ordinary university, don’t y’? With real students. The Open University’s different, isn’t it?
FRANK It’s supposed to embrace a more comprehensive studentship, yes.

36 Russell, op.cit. p.23.
Rita is very aware of her working class place within broader society, and although delighted to have been accepted into the Open University, she is nonetheless also aware that it is not an ‘ordinary’ university, that is, one with grand buildings and an established heritage. She would not have been welcome in an ordinary university, lacking suitable secondary school qualifications and the social and cultural capital to negotiate the mechanisms for entry. Frank’s euphemism ‘a more comprehensive studentship’ fails to mask the disdain he feels at having to teach such an uneducated and low class woman. Similar disdain was levelled at two fellow mature-age students and me in a 100 Level History class in 1978, when our (private school educated) tutor stated that we were ‘taking the place of real students’. Attitudes such as those expressed by the fictional Frank and by my History tutor are now usually a thing of the past but they serve to illustrate the values held by some within the university system at that time in regard to equity and equality of educational opportunity.

**Contribution of the thesis**

Contextualised within my own family history and personal experience, the thesis that follows goes beyond the first-person narrative to examine the ideological underpinnings of federal government policy that addressed Australian university education in the second half of the twentieth century. It seeks to make explicit those ideologies, values and attitudes that were implicit in government decisions regarding the expansion of the university sector, and specifically those that addressed considerations of equity, equality and equality of opportunity for entry. In so doing the thesis displays the two distinct arenas in ideology, the philosophical and the common sense, where a particular ideology has become part of the broad contour of historical development, widely diffused throughout society,

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forming the basis of philosophical reasoning and the naïve and spontaneous conceptions of the world held by ordinary people.\textsuperscript{38}

This thesis seeks to make a valuable contribution to understanding the ideological contexts of government decision-making in regard to university education in Australia. Most importantly, it provides a timely examination of past decisions that directed change to the cohort mix, contextualising the current twenty-first century attempt to expand the socio-economic base from which students are drawn as a mechanism for the development of human and economic capital on a national basis.

**Methodology**

In the 1980s and 1990s scholars in political science, historical sociology and political history called for renewed attention to the role of the state, political parties, ideology and institutions in different societies.\textsuperscript{39} Yet an inherent tension between the synchronic snapshot of the social scientist and the diachronic tapestry of the historian has often hindered this rebirth of interest in the state side of the state and society nexus. While the social scientist looks to test a hypothesis or build a model, the historian usually looks for the particulars to explain the contexts and changes that have occurred over time. The two approaches do not always work in concert but in this doctoral thesis an attempt is made to synthesise these two methodological approaches in order to understand better the impact of political ideologies


on institutions of the state; specifically, the impact of a variety of understandings of liberalism held by successive Australian governments on the development of university education.

The term ‘ideology’ has traditionally meant a well-defined political doctrine or creed, whose concepts are logically linked to create a system that has achieved internal consistency and been subject to rigorous philosophical elaboration. More recently, the term has included a wide range of concepts, ideas and images that provide the frameworks of interpretation and meaning for social and political thought in society, a notion that highlights the point that no ideology can be wholly logical or consistent. For example, whilst mid-nineteenth century liberals were committed to _laissez-faire_ and free trade, and new liberals of the 1880s and 1890s developed the early welfare state, this does not mean that the latter position was wholly inconsistent with the former. What it does mean is that some reinterpretation was necessary to make sense of emerging circumstances and new concepts in a new time frame. An ideology retains its relevance by constant revision of its basic concepts and at the same time maintaining a degree of internal coherence through distinctive core concepts and propositions.41

Italian Marxist theorist Antonio Gramsci argued that there are always two distinct arenas in ideology: the philosophical and the common sense.42 For Gramsci, an ideology only becomes part of the broad contour of historical development when it is widely diffused through society and forms the basis of philosophical reasoning and the naïve and spontaneous conceptions of the world held by ordinary people. For Marxists, meaning is produced through ideologies. The bourgeois, as the dominant class, has control over the relations and the forces of production and therefore the production of ideologies that mask the reality of social being to the working class. Philosophical currents become organic to society when they leave behind an

40 Hall, op. cit., pp.34-69.
42 Gramsci, _op.cit._
imprint in common sense as the document of historical effectiveness, the
signal that certain ‘ideas’ have influenced practical thinking, are present in
the actions of a group or class, and inform the spontaneous intuitions of life
and the world of the masses. In this way ideology becomes part of the
common sense or wisdom of the age but in being always disjointed and
episodic, it is historically specific.

This thesis is an historical and social examination of the relationships
between liberal ideology, governmental policies and university education in
Australia in the second half of the twentieth century. The implicit
assumption is that Australian universities developed within a liberal
ideological framework and used liberal values and prescriptions to create
theories of university governance, to propose policies on the admission of
students and to implement programs of study. The thesis questions how
liberal ideology has had real (and perhaps unintended) consequences for the
universities and for other main stake-holders in university education, in
particular the public. It also examines who could gain entry – and who
could not. Rather than provide a synchronic methodology aimed at
confirming a social science theory or model, the thesis recognises the value
of longitudinal historical study as a useful way of making sense of
continuity, consequences and change over time.

The thesis therefore utilises a broad historical, qualitative framework and
narrative method to examine and analyse the sequence of events and
investigate objectively the patterns of cause and effect that determined
events, enabling the nature of history and the lessons history teaches to be

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43 Ibid.
44 The term ‘liberal’ is derived from the Latin liberalis, and is used here mainly in its
adjectival form (eg liberal thought, liberal ideology). The terms ‘liberalist’ or ‘neo-
liberalist’, are applied to those who believe in or seek to further the tenets of liberalism or
neo-liberalism, just as socialists believe in socialism and communists believe in
communism.
is History?, University of London, http://www.history.ac.uk/ihr/Focus/whatishistory , cited
debated. Historical method, in particular its reliance on primary sources, is used here to investigate the changes in Australian government policy on university education over a fifty year period. This thesis relies primarily for its evidence on primary source documents, in particular Australian Government reports and related documents that were developed in response to the Terms of Reference of government initiated Reviews or Inquiries into university education. These official government records include Letters of Transmittal and submissions to the Reviews or Inquiries by third parties, such as the universities themselves, members of university staff, professional organisations, students, employers and others.

The thesis also relies on a range of other eyewitness or primary source documentation, such as memoirs, autobiographies and letters of involved parties, including Prime Ministers, Ministers of Education and Vice-Chancellors, addressing the subject of the Reviews or Inquiries. Primary sources of data also include statistical data on university or College of Advanced Education (CAE) enrolments or funding bases, for example, those compiled by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) or included in the Review documents or submissions to the Reviews. Secondary sources of documentation include contemporaneous academic articles written at the time of a Review, or thereabouts, by those who were able to establish credible viewpoints, such as those who had personal knowledge of the university sector or the effect of the outcome of the Review on their practice as academic staff. Reference to theories and ideologies based around globalisation, marketisation, internationalisation and other key terminology that proliferate the literature of the late twentieth century and into the twenty-first century are used sparsely here; instead, the majority of references are located within the timeframe of the documents under analysis.

In the second half of the twentieth century there were a number of major Commonwealth government reports into the provision and funding of higher education, including university education, in Australia; one major initiative each decade:

- *The Report of the Committee on Australian Universities* [Murray Report] (1957);\(^{47}\)

Set within different social, economic and political circumstances, each report sets the direction for change in university education, influencing a


wide range of matters from: the basis of funding; the type of courses that would be offered; the type of institution that would offer particular kinds of degrees; the nature of university education, generally; and most importantly for this thesis, who gained entry – or more precisely, what ‘kind’ of student gained entry. In examining the ideological underpinnings of Commonwealth Government policy, the thesis makes explicit those ideologies, values and attitudes that were implicit in government decisions that directed the expansion of the university sector, and specifically those that addressed considerations of equity, equality, and equality of opportunity for entry. These five major reports are at the heart of the thesis; they are the authoritative documents that set the direction for the expansion of university education in Australia and they are therefore the quintessential primary source documents from which this historical analysis of policy proceeds.

In assessing the extent to which the reports addressed matters related to the development of human capital and the creation of equality or equal opportunity, it is necessary to consider the indicators from which a conclusion can be drawn or a view can be inferred. Expansion of access generally, or equity of access to university education for particular groups, such as women, indigenous students, those from non-English-speaking backgrounds, those from rural or isolated areas or those with a disability, as well as the provision of student support – both financial and other, would indicate a commitment to both the development of human capital and the creation of equality and equal opportunity. Similarly, the establishment and support of conditions for the freedom and autonomy of institutions, academic staff and students, would imply support for liberal ideology. Absence of these indicators would mean opposition to broad liberal ideas and opposition to the notions of equality, equal opportunity and the development of human capital.

As well as an historical analysis of Australian university education, the thesis is also a select history of the policies that impacted university
education. The meaning of the term ‘policy’, a word in common use, is not necessarily self-evident, and in fact there is little academic agreement on a definition. Heclo suggests that ‘A policy may usefully be considered as a course of action or inaction rather than specific decisions or actions’ and therefore any study of policy decisions must include the examination of non-decisions. Easton extends the idea of policy to include both decisions and actions, stating that, ‘a policy … consists of a web of decisions and actions that allocate values’. Since political activity can be concerned with maintaining the status quo and resisting challenges to existing values, policy can also be concerned with the maintenance of values.

Jenkins describes policy as ‘a set of interrelated decisions … concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified situation’. Friend, Power and Yewlett define policy vaguely as a ‘stance which, once articulated, contributes to the context within which a succession of future decisions will be made’ and Cunningham, even more vaguely, quips that ‘Policy is rather like the elephant – you recognize it when you see it but cannot easily define it’. For Ham and Hill, actions can be produced over a long period of time from an often complex ‘decision network’ but for them, policy can also involve actions without decisions. On the other hand, policy can also be seen to serve symbolic or political purposes, giving the impression that government is taking the action and tackling social problems, when it is instead garnering or maintaining political support.

Of pertinence to this study is Ham and Hill’s understanding that the purpose of policy analysis is ‘… to draw on ideas from a range of disciplines in

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order to interpret the causes and consequences of government action, by focusing on the processes of policy formulation’.\textsuperscript{59} The social, political and economic contexts within which policy is derived and operates must also be considered. Minogue provides the insight that:

\begin{quote}
… ‘what governments do’ embraces the whole of social, economic and political life, either in practice or potentially. Public policy is self-evidently not a narrow field of enquiry, though policy analysts may well focus only on narrow areas of the broad field. Public policies do things to economies and societies, so that ultimately any satisfactory explanatory theory of public policy must also explain the inter-relations between the state, politics, economy and society.\textsuperscript{60}
\end{quote}

**Focus and Aims of the research**

The primary aim of the thesis is to examine the variants of liberal ideology held by Commonwealth Governments – or more particularly, high ranking members of government, that underpinned change in university education over the fifty years 1950 to 2000. In so doing it examines the relationship of liberal ideology to notions of what constituted a university education - and who was entitled to access it. The thesis also aims to examine concepts of human capital, equity, equality and equality of access, as they relate to liberal ideology, in enacting change within university education to either constrain or widen participation. In doing so, the thesis seeks to identify stakeholder interests and their underlying political ideologies. The specific research questions asked here are:

- What political ideologies underpinned the five major reviews into and reports on Australian university education in the second half of the twentieth century?
- How did these ideological influences and pressures effect change to the social mix of the entry cohort over that period of time?

\textsuperscript{59} Ham & Hill, *op.cit.*, p.11.

\textsuperscript{60} Minogue, M. *Problems in Teaching Public Policy*, Department of Administrative Studies, University of Manchester, Manchester, n.d., p.5 cited in Ham & Hill, *op.cit.*, p.17.
How has university education been viewed by the state and other stakeholders: public good versus private good; public service versus commodity?

These research questions are predicated on the understanding that the reviews and reports commissioned by government provide the strongest possible primary source evidence of the government’s own views. Governments commission reviews to respond to Terms of Reference set by themselves, under already established views that are framed ideologically, and which they have tested in the electorate. Thus, it is argued that, whilst there can be few surprises to government in the reports of the reviews they commission, the role and function of commissions and reviews are widely debated, and governments do not always have answers to complex policy problems.

The process involved in commissioning a review through to the implementation of policy based on review recommendations is, ineluctably, circular. First the government identifies stakeholder needs based on a priori ideologies, appoints a review panel and sets Terms of Reference (TORs). The government, itself, is a main stakeholder. Second, the review panel reports to government, responding to the TORs. Once the review report is submitted to government, the government chooses whether it will table it in Parliament or shelve it. Only in the event that the government opts to operationalise part or all of the report, will it be implemented. Finally, the government enacts legislation and/or implements policy based on the review report to address the identified stakeholder needs. An alternate process can involve the campaign for election of a political party outlining a predetermined policy or policies that they intend to implement if elected. On election the government is then in the position to claim a mandate to implement the policies that were taken to the electorate. Both of these processes occur in the period under analysis in the thesis.
Thesis outline

This introductory chapter provided the background and theoretical underpinnings of the thesis. It provided a rationale for the study and it also included the personal context that both fired my interest throughout the doctoral journey and provided a credibility check for what I was finding in the literature. It described how the two methodological approaches, historiography and analysis of social policy, are utilised in the thesis and outlined the types of evidence examined. Chapter Two provides a discussion of the three theoretical underpinnings to the thesis, the various understandings of liberalism, human capital and equity, against which the evidence presented is examined and explained.

Chapters Three to Seven interrogate the reports into university education, providing an historical and social examination of the relationships between liberal ideology, governmental policies and university education in Australia in the second half of the twentieth century. The implicit assumption is that Australian universities developed within a liberal ideological framework and used liberal values and prescriptions to create theories of university governance, to propose policies on the admission of students and to implement programs of study. This thesis questions how liberal ideology has had real (and perhaps unintended) consequences for the universities and for other main stake-holders in university education, in particular the public. Chapter Eight concludes the thesis, arguing that the seemingly transparent process of initiating a review and commissioning a report is inherently influenced by the political ideologies held by the powerful individuals that initiated it, and the other the participants in the process.
CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: HUMAN CAPITAL, LIBERALISM, EQUITY AND EQUALITY

Introduction

This chapter establishes the central importance of an understanding of theories of human capital in the historical analysis that follows. It does this, firstly, by drawing on Pierre Bourdieu’s, James Coleman’s and Robert Putnam’s theories of cultural and social capital and arguing that improved educational opportunity leads to the development of cultural capital, social capital and, ultimately, economic capital. Hirsch’s understanding of credential inflation as a mechanism for preserving socio-economic privilege in the context of mass higher education provides a counterpoint to a bold reliance on the centrality of human capital theory.

Fundamental to this thesis is an understanding of the ideological concept, liberalism. This chapter examines notions of liberty, individual freedom and equality; the core concepts of liberalism that provide an ideological spectrum or ideological variants, from Classical Liberalism to Welfare Liberalism, Neo-conservatism and Neo-liberalism, as well as economic rationalism. Finally, the chapter examines the relationship between political ideology and policy formation, linking liberalism to notions of egalitarianism, equity and equality of opportunity.

Human, cultural and social capital

In the same way that physical capital can be created from materials being formed into tools and equipment, human capital can be thought of as being created by the inculcation of skills, knowledge and capabilities in people,
enabling them to think and act in new ways.\footnote{Coleman, James S.  ‘Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital’, American Journal of Sociology, 94 (Supplement, 1988), S95-S120, cited in H. Halsey, Hugh Lauder, Phillip Brown & Amy Stuart Wells, Education: Culture Economy Society, OUP, Oxford, p.81.} Since the 1960s, economists have often focussed on the relationship between education and the development of human capital, but human capital theory had its origins in slavery and serfdom and later in the recognition of self-employed artisans and wage workers as the owners of their own human capital.

Published in 1651, Thomas Hobbes’ \textit{Leviathan}, held that ‘the value or worth of a man, is as of all other things, his price; that is to say, so much as would be given for the use of his power’.\footnote{Hobbes, Thomas. \textit{Leviathan} [1651] in C.B.Macpherson (ed), Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1968, p.151.} In 1691 Sir William Petty used the concept of human capital to estimate the national economic effects of migration and war,\footnote{Kiker, B.F. ‘The historical roots of the concept of human capital’, The Journal of Political Economy, Vol. 74, No.5, 1966, p.482.} a concept that was later satirised by Jonathan Swift in \textit{A Modest Proposal},\footnote{Swift, Jonathan. ‘A Modest Proposal’ [1729] in W.A. Eddy (ed), Jonathan Swift: Satires and Personal Writings, OUP, London, 1932.} a pamphlet suggesting that the children of the poor in Ireland could be turned into a tradeable commodity and eaten. In 1776 Adam Smith described the four elements that constituted the capital stock of society; tools and machinery, buildings used in business, improved land and,

\[\text{... the acquired and useful abilities of all the inhabitants or members of the society. The acquisition of such talents, by the maintenance of the acquirer during his education, study or apprenticeship, always costs a real expense, which is a capital fixed and realised, as it were, in his person.}\footnote{Smith, Adam. \textit{The wealth of nations} [1776], Andrew Skinner (ed.), Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1979, p.377.}

For Smith, education was seen as an investment in future earnings and as levels of human capital varied, this variation was necessarily reflected in wage differentials. In the following two hundred years, the idea of human capital was not developed further in economics and it remained described as acquired capacities, developed through skills and knowledge, or it was
described as human beings themselves, and in 1890 Alfred Marshall provided a methodology for calculating the private returns on investment in education.

In the twentieth century, human capital theory acquired a central position in describing the relationship of economic theory to production and later to education. Marginson states that:

Human capital theory [has been] the most influential economic theory of education, setting the framework of government education policies since the early 1960s. After a period of eclipse, there was a major revival of human capital policy after 1985 – in more free market guise than before – led by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

Brown and Lauder recount that in the United States since 1930, production worker output has tripled, while the proportion of the workforce involved in production has declined 12% from 27% to 15%. Moreover,

...for every production worker there are another 21 on-production workers who are employed in sales, marketing, clerical, technical, managerial and professional activities. Most of these non-production workers have received some form of tertiary education.

In the US white-collar work increased by 12% and blue-collar work decreased by 6% between 1949 and 1970. However, there was believed to be a ‘limited pool of talent’ available to service the increasing demand for technical, managerial and professional workers, a pool that needed to be identified and promoted through education, a process that is seen as adding value to, and developing, human capital.

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68 Marginson, *op.cit.*, p.31.
The only way forward is to invest in education and training to enable workers to become fully employable ... social justice inheres in providing all individuals with the opportunity to gain access to an education that qualifies them for a job.\textsuperscript{71}

Halsey and Floud express a similar viewpoint, arguing that:

… education is a crucial type of investment for the exploitation of modern technology. This fact underlies recent educational development in all the major societies … education attains unprecedented economic importance as a source of technological innovation.\textsuperscript{72}

In the 1960s, Pierre Bourdieu identified three kinds of capital:

...capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as cultural capital, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as social capital, made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility.\textsuperscript{73}

Bourdieu argued that together with the family, the education system maintains and stabilizes the class structure by inculcating within children a system of dispositions or 'habitus', which leads to the reproduction of class-appropriate behaviours, knowledge and attitudes, which he referred to as 'cultural capital'.\textsuperscript{74} Higher levels of education require and reward the behaviours, knowledge and attitudes that belong to the upper classes and eschew those that belong to the lower classes, thereby legitimating and assisting to reproduce the whole social structure. For Althusser, education was the key means by which reproduction of labour power and the world

\textsuperscript{71} Ibid.
view required for society to continue to believe in a particular economic system occurred. This happened by teaching knowledge and skills and by inculcating behaviours and attitudes that further the rules of the established order.75

Bourdieu described cultural capital as existing in three forms: in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body (the embodied state); in the form of cultural goods such as books, paintings, instruments, machines as the realization of theories or problematics (the objectified state) and forms of objectification such as educational qualifications (the institutionalized state).76 All three of the identified forms of cultural capital are of interest in this thesis since outside of inherited family wealth and socio-economic privilege, the achievement of educational qualifications is arguably the prime mechanism for acquiring both social capital and economic capital. At the basic level, the achievement of professional qualifications through university degrees enables direct conversion to economic capital through the significant salary levels attracted to graduate professions such as medicine, dentistry, veterinary science, law, architecture, engineering, accountancy and to a lesser extent, graduate professions such as teaching, nursing and pharmacy.

By conferring institutional recognition on the cultural capital possessed by any given agent, the academic qualification also makes it possible to compare qualification holders and even to exchange them (by substituting one for another in succession). Furthermore, it makes it possible to establish conversion rates between cultural capital and economic capital by guaranteeing the monetary value of a given academic capital. This product of the conversion of economic capital into cultural capital establishes the value, in terms of cultural capital, of the holder of a given qualification relative to other qualification holders and … the monetary value for which it can be exchanged on the labor market.77

77 Ibid., p.244.
Secondly, because of the totality of experience of attending a university, the formation of social capital occurs; a mechanism that is recognised in the adage, ‘It’s not what you know, but who you know’. Social capital is:

… the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership of a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital…The profits which accrue from membership in a group are the basis of the solidarity which makes them possible.78

Bourdieu’s understanding of social capital emerged from his general attempt in the 1960s to develop a cultural anthropology of social reproduction to describe class relationships and the use of material and non-material resources to advance and secure personal interests. For Bourdieu, cultural capital did not just mirror a person’s resources or financial capital but could operate independent of it or compensate for the lack of it.79 Similarly, his conception of social capital emphasized people’s use of resources to secure positional advantage, providing a general definition of social capital as:

… the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition.80

For Bourdieu, ‘economic capital is at the root of all other types of capital’81 and the various types of capital determine ‘the major classes of conditions of existence’ on the basis of ‘different distributions of their total capital among the different kinds of capital’.82 The cultural capital of dominant groups formed the dominant cultural capital in society – an ‘arbitrary dominance, linked to power rather than content.

78 Ibid.
82 Ibid. p.114.
For James Coleman, however, social capital can convey real benefits to otherwise poor and marginalised communities, since it represents a resource involving the expectation of reciprocity and wider networks, whose relationships are governed by a high degree of trust and shared values.\textsuperscript{83} He saw a mutually beneficial relationship between social capital and human capital, but unlike human and physical capital, which are normally a private good whose ownership and returns reside with an individual, he viewed social capital as a public good, created by and of benefit to all who were part of a structure, not just those whose efforts were required to realise it.\textsuperscript{84} Coleman defined social capital as:

\[ \text{… the set of resources that inhere in family relations and in community social organization and that are useful for the cognitive or social development of a child or young person. These resources differ for different persons and can constitute an important advantage for children and adolescents in the development of their human capital.} \textsuperscript{85} \]

The strength of Coleman’s argument is that he recognised that social capital could be an asset for disadvantaged social groups and not solely an instrument of privilege. Like Coleman’s, Robert Putnam’s definition of social capital stressed the role of social capital in supporting co-operation:

\[ \text{Social capital here refers to features of social organization, such as trust, norms and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating co-ordinated actions.} \textsuperscript{86} \]

Putnam’s portrayal of social capital as a positive, unproblematic public good is at odds to Bourdieu’s understanding of its contribution to social inequality. Taken together, they offer reciprocal insights at best and contrasting opinions at worst. Bourdieu and Putnam both recognised that the association between social capital and learning can be viewed as a process of dynamic mutual

\textsuperscript{85} Coleman, 1994, \textit{op. cit.} p.300.
inter-cognition. Bourdieu viewed the connections of the privileged as sites where people learn reciprocity and trust, and where they also learn to recognise the limits beyond which trust and reciprocity are not extended. Althusser saw education as the reproductive apparatus of the state and Putnam depicted civic engagement as an intrinsically educational process, which shapes the attitudes and behaviour of the public. Significantly, Althusser, Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam pay little or no attention to the gendering of social capital, despite the gendered nature of civic institutions.87

Addressing Putnam’s definition of ‘“social capital’ as referring to features of social organisation such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate co-ordination and co-operation for mutual benefit’, Lowndes concluded that:

Despite the potential affinity, there has in fact been little interest in gender within the social capital debate, and a simultaneous reluctance among those concerned with women and politics to engage with social capital models. Putnam’s path-breaking Italian study … made no mention of gender dynamics.88

The social reproduction theories offered here suffer from the dual weaknesses of determinism and sexism. The strength of the power of social structures, which is seen to determine human behaviour, is seemingly at odds with the capacity for social change to occur, or for individuals to change their own lives. People are seen as objects, to be acted upon rather than as active agents within their own lives. At the same time, the theories described here rely on what was, until the last quarter of the twentieth century, work or modes of production that were typical for males. They ignore gender in relation to power and outside of procreation, women are invisible or not considered.

88 Ibid, pp.46-47.
Despite the similarities and differences outlined here, the theorists referred to have provided a foundation for understanding the relationship between social capital and education, and thus the theoretical framework of this thesis draws on those aspects of their work. Another aspect is the understanding of how the labour market responded to the need for an increase in educated professionals for modern, technological society, which for some theorists, has had the effect of credential inflation, which has become a mechanism for preserving socio-economic privilege in the context of mass higher education.

**Labour market response to need or the rise of credentialism**

Credentials are literally letters that establish the authority of the bearer. The certificates, diplomas and degrees awarded by educational institutions establish the credentials of the bearers and perform the important function of conveying information to employers and users of their services. Such credentials protect the public and facilitate the social mobility of those who possess them. They increase the role of merit and achievement in education and when applied objectively, have the potential to reduce the role of family connections and wealth (cronyism) in the process of job selection. They can also be considered a manifestation of the achievement of social and cultural capital.

There is considerable literature on whether employers pay higher salaries to people with higher levels of education because education has made them more productive (the investment effect), or because the process of education makes it possible to identify certain attributes that are worth paying for (the screening effect). In 1776 Adam Smith described the investment effect:

> The difference of natural talents in different men is in reality much less than we are aware of; and the very different genius which appears to distinguish men of different professions, when grown up to maturity, is not upon many occasions so much the cause as the product of the division of labour. The difference between the most dissimilar characters, between a philosopher and a common street
porter, for example, seems to arise not so much from nature as from habit, custom and education.\textsuperscript{89}

This view of the difference of natural talents is the basis for proposals to extend education as an egalitarian measure. If credentials in education perform an accurate screening function they serve a useful purpose in the economic system. If education does not provide an effective screen to employment, then higher education is seen by some as wasteful and as having undesirable economic consequences causing functionless inequality by leading to employers paying more. Furth identified five lines of criticism of credentialling:

\begin{itemize}
  \item[a)] that the role of the education system in making it possible to base selection on merit is more apparent than real, because the usual indicators of educational performance are biased by the social and cultural background of students and help to reproduce and legitimate the existing social structure;
  \item[b)] a selection process which relies on credentials issued by education authorities is inefficient because the criteria used by the education system are often not the criteria that should be used by employers;
  \item[c)] that certification tends to be organized in the interests of specific groups, not in the interests of the public;
  \item[d)] an undue concern by parents, students and teachers for procedures designed to sieve, grade, rank and label individuals on the basis of ‘objective’ indicators of achievement in education often conflicts with the basic development functions in the processes of teaching and learning;
  \item[e)] because credentials are increasingly perceived as a necessary condition to get a place in the queue for entry to the well paid and satisfying jobs, an increasing proportion of students in the higher years of secondary schools and in universities and colleges lack interest in their studies and make the schools, colleges and universities less effective learning societies than they should be.\textsuperscript{90}
\end{itemize}

In the US in the 1980s, the incomes of college-educated males aged between 24 and 34 years increased 10% while they fell 9% for those with a high school diploma. The incomes of those who did not hold a high school diploma fell 12% over the same period. Since 1975, the incomes of males

\textsuperscript{89} Smith, \textit{op.cit.}, p.117.
\textsuperscript{90} Furth, Dorothea. \textit{Observer}, OECD, May-June, 1976 cited in Commonwealth of Australia (c8), \textit{op.cit.}, p.463.
holding a Bachelor’s degree rose 16% and for females holding a Bachelor’s degree, 22%. Education became central to the functioning of advanced capitalist economies, a technocratic view that conforms to the liberal theory of social mobility, where the level of technological development is taken to represent the defining feature of society. It has been argued that the more technologically advanced a society becomes, the greater the demand for technical, scientific and professional workers who require formal education and training, whilst the proportion of semi-skilled and unskilled jobs declines over time. Thus the expansion of higher education during the second half of the twentieth century can be explained in terms of the exponential increase in scientific and technical knowledge.

... it was seen as a key instrument in the promotion of economic growth and as a means of promoting social justice through the notion of equality of opportunity. These roles assigned to the education system were effectively two sides of the same coin. Equality of opportunity was defined in terms of the promotion of the most able through the education system, irrespective of their social background, and it was precisely the most able that needed to be recruited to the top industrial positions.

It is taken as common sense that the role of the labour market is to match the supply and demand for technical skills and competence, based on objective measures of future productive capacity. Similarly, it is expected that technological progression will lead to an increase in the number of workers in technical, managerial and professional careers; careers which had previously been restricted to an elite group of workers. However, this technocratic view that education expanded throughout the western world in an attempt to serve its role as provider of human capital for professional occupations and industry

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92 Ibid.
has been challenged as revealing, instead, a complex process of de-skilling, re-skilling and up-skilling\textsuperscript{94} and as an historical trend of social exclusion.\textsuperscript{95}

Hirsch described credentials as a positional good, one that is scarce in a socially imposed sense, where allocation occurs through ‘the auction of a restricted set of objects to the highest bidder’.\textsuperscript{96} Credential inflation increases the hierarchy of scarcity, which leads to individuals investing more time in ascending the hierarchy to the scarcest and most valued credential.\textsuperscript{97} Hirsch’s analysis of credential inflation may be seen as being in tension with human-capital theory in that it suggests credential inflation occurs as a result of competition, within which higher socio-economic groups preserve and reproduce their privilege by raising the educational levels demanded for élite occupations.

The theory of ‘social closure’, based on neo-Weberian sociology, recognises that there was in the second half of the twentieth century, a shift in the nature of social exclusion to include credentialism.

In modern capitalist society the two main exclusionary devices by which the bourgeoisie constructs and maintains itself as a class are, first, those surrounding the institutions of property; and, secondly, academic or professional qualifications and credentials. Each represents a set of legal arrangements for restricting access to rewards and privileges: property ownership is a form of closure designed to prevent general access to the means of production and its fruits; credentialism is a form of closure designed to control and monitor entry to key positions in the division of labour.\textsuperscript{98}


\textsuperscript{98} Parkin, \textit{op cit}. pp.47-8.
Rather than a collectivist method of exclusion that advantages group members on the basis of ancestry, caste, race, class or gender, credentialism has become an individualist method of exclusion, based on formal equality before the law, where entry into élite groups is provided through open competition for credentials, income and status. It has been argued, therefore, that the increased number of students gaining tertiary level qualifications in the latter part of the twentieth century is a symptom of credential inflation rather than a reflection of a growing class of managerial, professional and technical workers.99

The interplay of social capital and learning involves relations of power, which Bourdieu generally treats as vested only in élite groups who use their power over others. Field’s contrary view is that those ‘who are relatively disadvantaged in their access to financial or human capital can still turn to their network resources, using their social capital, and deploy them actively in promoting and advancing their interests’.100 Citing Sen101, Field argues that:

... network resources do not always or even constitute power over, but also and perhaps more frequently represent a power to – they constitute a capability that is in itself empowering, and network assets can also unleash other capabilities. They are therefore potentially a source for human freedom.102

As stated above,103 the varying theories outlined here provide a foundation for understanding the relationship between social capital and education, providing the theoretical framework for the thesis. Education is seen as one of the prime agents for the acquisition of human capital, both social and cultural, and networks are a tool to actualize that capital.

100 Field, op.cit., p.32.
102 Field, op.cit., p.32. Original emphasis maintained.
103 See p.38.
Liberalism

Even though liberalism is associated with different formulations of individualism and collectivism, the central focus of liberalism in this thesis is on empowerment, which for classical liberals meant empowerment of the individual and for modern liberals has included a shift to embrace empowerment of the state as a mechanism to guarantee power for the individual. This section examines notions of liberty, individual freedom and equality, the core concepts of liberalism. The section also examines liberal notions of equality and equity and identifies the inherent disjuncture between these semantically similar ideas.

In later chapters the variants of liberal ideology are used as an analytic tool to examine the development of tertiary education in the second half of the twentieth century. It will be argued that classical liberal ideology defined and positioned tertiary education and that individual power, a core concept of liberal ideology, is achieved in the modern setting through tertiary education. University admission policies defining who were to be admitted and who were to be kept out are central to an understanding of the practical application of liberal ideology to tertiary education. For now, however, this section of the chapter focuses on the core concepts of liberalism as a background to the later analyses.

Classical liberalism

Ideas drawn from liberalism have become deeply imbedded in Western society and Western political systems have been so shaped by liberal ideas and values that they are commonly described as liberal democracies, and liberal ideas and values have become so entrenched in Western economic

life that it is now difficult to distinguish between liberalism and ‘Western
civilisation’ in general.\(^{105}\)

The term ‘liberal’, in use since the fourteenth century, has been ascribed a
wide range of meanings. Based on the Latin word *liber*, meaning ‘free’, the
term referred initially to a class of free individuals who were neither serfs
nor slaves. Since the fourteenth century, usage of the term has broadened to
connote a sense of generosity, particularly as it relates to an expression of
social attitudes.\(^ {106}\) Resulting from the breakdown of feudalism in Europe
and the growth of a market or capitalist society, liberal ideas reflected the
aspirations of a rising middle class, whose interests conflicted with the
established power of absolute monarchs and the landed aristocracy. Liberal
ideas were radical, seeking fundamental reform and even, at times,
revolutionary change. Policies adopted by the state that leave ‘… the
individual as unrestricted as possible in opportunities for self-expression or
self-fulfilment’\(^ {107}\) have associated the term liberal with ideas of openness or
open-mindedness, freedom and choice.\(^ {108}\) By definition, Cranston points
out, ‘a liberal is a man [sic] who believes in liberty’.\(^ {109}\) Thus liberal
proponents are seen as:

… open-minded, tolerant, rational, freedom-loving people, sceptical
of the claims of tradition and established authority but strongly
committed to the values of liberty, competition and individual
freedom.\(^ {110}\)

The English Revolution of the seventeenth century and the American and
French Revolutions of the late eighteenth century embodied elements that
were decidedly liberal, even though the word ‘liberal’ was not at that time

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\(^{105}\) Hall, Stuart. ‘Variants of Liberalism’ in J. Donald, J. and S. Hall (ed) *Politics and

\(^{106}\) Heywood, *op.cit.*, p.15.


\(^{108}\) Heywood, *op.cit.*, p.15.

\(^{109}\) Cranston, Maurice. ‘Liberalism’, *The Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*, P. Edwards (ed),

\(^{110}\) Hall, *op.cit.* p.34.
used as political terminology. In place of the absolute power of the monarchy, economic privilege of the landed aristocracy and a feudal system in which social position was determined by ‘accident of birth’, liberals sought constitutional and, later, representative government. Emerging at the end of the eighteenth century, liberalism as a doctrine thus became linked with other struggles for national self-determination.111

As a political tradition, liberalism has varied in different countries. In England the liberal tradition in politics has centred on religious toleration, government by consent, personal and especially economic freedom. In France liberalism has been more closely associated with secularism and democracy. In the United States liberals often combine a devotion to personal liberty with an antipathy to capitalism, while the liberalism of Australia tends to be much more sympathetic to capitalism but often less enthusiastic about civil liberties. As well as a moral theory and a political philosophy, liberalism now can be understood as a political tradition, a political philosophy and as a general philosophical theory encompassing a theory of value and a conception of the person.

Classical liberal ideas took a variety of forms, the common characteristic of which is a belief in negative freedom or liberty. Liberty is defined in a negative way – as freedom from constraint wherein the individual is free in so far as he or she is not interfered with or coerced by others.112 Isaiah Berlin described a negative conception of liberty in the following way:

I am normally said to be free to the degree to which no man or body of men interferes with my activity. Political liberty in this sense is simply the area within which a man can act unobstructed by others. If I am prevented by others from doing what I could otherwise do, I am to that degree unfree; and if this area is contracted by other men beyond a certain minimum, I can be described as being coerced, or, it may be, enslaved. Coercion is not, however, a term that covers every form of inability … Coercion implies the deliberate

111 Ibid. p.35.
112 Heywood, op.cit.
interference of other human beings within the area in which I could otherwise act. You lack political liberty or freedom only if you are prevented from attaining a goal by other human beings.\footnote{Berlin, Isaiah. ‘Two Concepts of Liberty, Four Essays on Liberty, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1969, p.122.}

In two different ways, liberals hold the primacy of liberty as a political value. First, liberals have typically maintained that humans are naturally in ‘a state of perfect freedom to order their actions … as they think fit … without asking leave, or depending on the will of any other man’.\footnote{Locke, John. The Second Treatise of Government [1689] in Two Treatises of Government, Peter Haslett (ed), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1960, p.287.} John Stuart Mill, too, argued that:

\[T]\e burden of proof is supposed to be with those who are against liberty; who contend for any restriction or prohibition …. The \textit{a priori} assumption is in favour of freedom.\footnote{Mill, John Stuart. On Liberty and Other Essays [1859], John Gray (ed), Oxford University Press, New York, p.472.}

The fundamental principle of liberalism is that freedom is normatively based so the onus of justification is on those who would limit freedom. It follows from this that political authority and law must be justified since they limit the liberty of citizens. Consequently, a central question of liberal political theory is whether political authority can be justified, and if so, how. It is for this reason that social contract theory, as developed by Thomas Hobbes,\footnote{Hobbes, Thomas. Leviathan [1651], Michael Oakeshott (ed), Blackwell, Oxford, 1948.} John Locke,\footnote{Locke, op.cit.} Jean-Jacques Rousseau\footnote{Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. The Social Contract and Discourses (translated G.D.H. Cole), Dutton, New York, 1973.} and Immanuel Kant,\footnote{Kant, Immanuel. The Metaphysical Elements of Justice [1797] (translated John Ladd), Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis, 1965.} is usually viewed as liberal even though the actual political prescriptions of Hobbes and Rousseau have distinctly illiberal features. In so far as they take as their starting point a state of nature in which humans are free and equal and so argue that any limitation of this freedom and equality stands in

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need of justification (that is, by the social contract), the contractual tradition expresses the Fundamental Liberal Principle.¹²⁰

The liberal conception of liberty created a clear distinction between the state and the individual. The purpose of the state was to create conditions in which individuals could pursue their private affairs as equal members of society and a good society was one that guaranteed the liberty of the individual to maximise the self and freedom of action. The only legitimate government was seen as one to which individuals had freely ceded their inalienable rights and with which they had consented to contract political loyalty, consent and obligation in return for good government and the protection of individual rights of life, liberty and property. Locke held that:

The business of laws is not to provide for the truth of opinions but for the safety and security of the commonwealth and of every particular man’s goods and person.¹²¹

Locke not only advocated the Fundamental Liberal Principle, but also maintained that justified limitations on liberty were fairly modest. Only a limited government could be justified. Indeed, the basic task of government was to protect the equal liberty of citizens.¹²² The creation of a state, even through a social contract, inevitably involves the sacrifice of individual liberty because the individual is no longer able to act simply as he [sic] wishes. The state is seen as oppressive because it has the power to punish its citizens through seizure of property, imposition of fines, imprisonment or even capital punishment. Classical liberals, therefore, perceive the state as a realm of coercion, or at best a necessary evil, because it imposes collective will upon society and limits the freedom and responsibilities of the individual.¹²³ If government violated the rights of its citizens, they, in turn,

¹²² Ibid. pp.283-446.
¹²³ Heywood, *op. cit.* p.15.
had the right of rebellion. Hobbes, on the other hand, argued that drastic limitations on liberty could be justified.

For classical liberals, liberty and private property are intimately related. Since the eighteenth century classical liberals have insisted that an economic system based on private property is uniquely consistent with individual liberty, allowing each to live his [sic] own life. The individual’s rights included the right to own and dispose of property, to buy and sell, to hire labour and to make a profit. Indeed, classical liberals have often asserted that in some way liberty and property are synonymous. It has been argued, for example, that all rights, including liberty rights, are forms of property. Others have maintained that property is itself a form of freedom.124 Property became central to the definition of, and enhanced, the individual. It became the material expression of the power of the individual, and its accumulation and disposal represented the extension of the individual’s rights and liberties into the economic domain. A market order based on private property is thus seen as an embodiment of freedom.125 Unless people are free to make contracts and to sell their labour, are free to save their incomes and invest them as they choose, or to run enterprises when they have obtained sufficient capital, they are not really free.

It has also been argued that private property is the only effective means for the protection of liberty. Hayek states that:

There can be no freedom of press if the instruments of printing are under government control, no freedom of assembly if the needed rooms are so controlled, no freedom of movement if the means of transport are a government monopoly.126

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It is argued that the dispersion of power that results from a free market economy based on private property protects the liberty of subjects against encroachments by the state. As well as the acquisition of private property acting to protect individual liberty, it is claimed (perhaps dubiously) that the free market economy, in allowing all individuals to pursue their own interests, becomes a guarantee of social justice.

Classical liberalism held equality as a subordinate value to liberty. The belief was that all individuals were equal because they were born with the same rights. None, therefore, had higher status as a consequence of birth or inherited position and all had an equal chance to compete within a meritocratic society without barriers to entry. The classical liberal belief was that all energetic individuals could rise to respectability and success despite humble beginnings. While this concept of equality recognised all individuals as equal under the law, it ignored any real differences in power and wealth. Equality did not mean that people must have equality of condition to compete equally or that those in a poorer condition should be positively advantaged in order to compete on equal terms. Richard Cobden, for example, advocated an improvement of the conditions of the working classes but argued that it should come about through ‘their own efforts and self-reliance’, rather than from law. He advised them to ‘look not to Parliament, look only to yourselves’. There must be no intervention by the state to remedy the unequal consequences of market competition or to distribute goods, resources and opportunities more equitably between the competing classes. Thus a distinctive feature of classical liberalism was its attitude to poverty and social equality, an inherently egalitarian position, where many must lose in order for some to win.

127 Hall, op.cit., p.41.
129 Hall, op.cit., p.41.
Society was portrayed as a struggle for survival amongst individuals. Those who were best suited to survive rose to the top, while those less well suited fell to the bottom. Under classical liberalism, inequalities of wealth, social position and political power were natural and inevitable, and no attempt should be made by government to interfere with them. Indeed, any attempt to support or help the poor, unemployed or disadvantaged was seen as an affront to nature itself. If the state provided pensions, benefits, free education and free health care, the individual would be encouraged to be lazy and would be deprived of self-respect. If, however, individuals were encouraged to be self-supporting, they would enjoy dignity and become productive members of society. Those with ability and willingness to work would prosper; those who were incompetent or lazy would not.130

**New Liberalism, Modern Liberalism, Welfare Liberalism and Utilitarianism**

Historical developments in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and the establishment of economic and political dominance by the rising middle class changed the character of liberalism to an increasingly conservative ideology that stood less for change and reform and more for the maintenance of existing, largely liberal, institutions. What has become known as ‘new’, ‘modern’, ‘revisionist’ or ‘welfare state’ liberalism challenged the connection between personal liberty and a market order based on private ownership of property. The new liberalism arose during a period when the ability of a free market to sustain a prosperous equilibrium was being questioned. If the private property based market tended to be unstable, or could, as modern liberal economist John Maynard Keynes argued,131 become stuck in an equilibrium with high unemployment, new liberals came to doubt that it was an adequate foundation for a stable, free society.

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130 Heywood, *op.cit.*, p.15.
In the late nineteenth century, T.H. Green believed that the unrestrained pursuit of profit advocated by classical liberalism had given rise to new forms of poverty and injustice wherein the economic liberty of the few had affected negatively the life chances of the many. He argued that it was a new duty of the state to create conditions in which individual self-fulfilment could occur and where each individual would have the opportunity for ‘self-culture’ or self-development, to use a modern day term. In this argument lay the foundation of an important revision of classical liberalism, the extension of commitment to formal equality of the rights of all citizens to the broader idea of equality of opportunity.

Modern liberals argued in favour of ‘welfarism’ or the development of the welfare state on the basis of equality of opportunity. For example, if particular individuals or groups are disadvantaged by social circumstance, the state has a social responsibility to reduce or remove such disadvantage. Proponents of welfare liberalism interpret poverty not as a personal weakness but as resulting in large measure from the failure of economic institutions, and argue that public institutions have a duty to compensate the victims of this malfunctioning.

Utilitarianism is a comprehensive doctrine that can be applied to all spheres, both to the private actions of individuals and to the political structures of societies. It holds that the morally right option in any circumstance is the option which brings about the most good or the best consequences; any other option is wrong and what is good is ‘utility’ – human well-being or welfare. However, utilitarians disagree about what human well-being is. John Stuart Mill defined utilitarianism as,

\[ \text{... the creed which accepts as the foundation of morals, utility or the greatest happiness principle, holds that actions are right in proportion as they tend to promote happiness, wrong as they tend to} \]

\[ \text{\cite{Green1988}} \]

produce the reverse of happiness. By happiness is intended pleasure and the absence of pain; by unhappiness, pain and the privation of pleasure.  

Classical utilitarians held the view that human well-being consisted of pleasure and that community, self-development and wealth were either a means to, or associated with, pleasure. However, because of the difficulty of measuring and maximizing amounts of pleasure, this doctrine has been replaced among contemporary utilitarians by a variety of theories on what is good. Most often, utilitarianism is expressed as seeking the ‘greater good’ from any action or decision.

Two late-nineteenth century liberals, L.T. Hobhouse and J.A. Hobson, predicted a form of ‘liberal socialism’ involving the development of the welfare state and expansion of state intervention to achieve it. Hobhouse was influenced by biological thinking, which he saw as providing the basis for understanding social organisation as being more social and less competitive. He suggested ‘... society progressed towards higher stages of ethical value as it moved progressively from the competitive to a more co-operative ethic’. Hobson criticised the accumulation of private wealth because of its consequences for the poor and he argued for redistribution of wealth through taxation provisions.

Keynes was influential in advocating new forms of state intervention enhancing the role of the state in creating the economic conditions for welfare capitalism. Writing in 1936 in *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*, Keynes was not opposed to capitalism but argued that unrestrained private enterprise was unworkable within complex industrial

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137 Hall, *op.cit.*
societies. He argued that the level of economic activity, and therefore employment, was determined by the total amount of demand – aggregate demand – in the economy. He suggested that governments could ‘manage’ their economies by influencing the level of aggregate demand by ‘injecting’ demand into the economy. For example, in building a school, government created employment for construction workers and demand for building materials. The effects of the construction activity would have a ‘multiplier effect’ throughout the economy as construction workers had money to buy goods. On the other hand, Keynes saw taxation as reducing aggregate demand by dampening economic activity as it withdrew funds from the economy. For Keynes, the state had the ability to manipulate employment and economic growth levels and thus secure general prosperity.

Keynesian welfarism was based on the ‘historical compromise’ between capital and labour. This ensured that all state welfare policies embodied the basic belief in the citizenship rights of personal safety, health and welfare for all people, regardless of their social position. A regulatory state would ensure favourable conditions for profitable capital accumulation while assuming collective responsibility for public welfare through the provision of health, education, housing, income maintenance and other services. Similar compromises underlay the operation of most welfare states:

... natural rights, individualism and utilitarianism, property rights and human rights, liberalism and welfarism, capital and labour – a compromise which became increasingly embedded in economic policy.

Modern liberals have seen economic management and the provision of social welfare as constructive in bringing about prosperity and harmony in civil society. The main political compromise between capital and labour

138 Keynes, op.cit.
shifted the central issue underlying class conflict from struggles over control of the mode of production to those to do with the volume of its distribution and growth. This was premised upon the assumption that the interests of both workers and capital need to be served in order to maintain stable political and economic conditions so that production and profitable capital accumulation could take place.

In modern western society, citizens have acquired welfare rights and social and economic rights, such as the right to work, the right to an education, the right to decent housing. Classical liberals believed that the only rights to which the citizen was entitled were negative rights, those that depended upon the restraint of government power, as in the traditional civil liberties respected by liberals, such as freedom of speech, religious worship and assembly. These rights constituted a private sphere that should remain untouched by the state. To modern liberals, however, welfare rights are positive rights because they can only be satisfied by the positive actions of government through the provision of state pensions, benefits and publicly funded health and education services. The goals of modern liberalism therefore shifted dramatically from those of classical liberalism and may be best summed up in the notion that the powers of the state are to be used to achieve a redistribution of political and economic power in society.

**Neo-liberalism, Neo-classical economic theory and Economic Rationalism**

Neo-liberalism, a variant of liberalism attributed to Austrian Nobel Laureate Friedrich A. Hayek, is hostile to the creation of a substantial, generous and elaborate welfare state, the idea at the heart of contemporary social democracy.\(^\text{141}\) Although derived from the ideas of early liberalism, and maintaining a belief in the market, neo-liberalism holds that market forces are separate from the actual production of goods and services. A general

characteristic of neo-liberalism is the desire to intensify and expand the market, by increasing the number, frequency, repeatability, and formalisation of transactions. The ultimate (unreachable) goal of neo-liberalism is a universe where every action of every being is a market transaction, conducted in competition with every other being and influencing every other transaction, with transactions occurring in an infinitely short time, and repeated at an infinitely fast rate. The supreme, and usually the only consideration of neo-liberalism, is profit maximisation.\textsuperscript{142}

Hayek argued in favour of stripping liberalism of its social democratic elements,\textsuperscript{143} and that the social order should be based on individuals linked by contract and exchange; that individuals should take full responsibility for their own fate and the government should not interfere with the individual’s freedom of choice.\textsuperscript{144} Bourdieu expressed concerns that ‘neo-liberalism [had come] to be seen as an inevitability’.\textsuperscript{145} The impact of globalization and the colonization of higher education by economic rationalists from the 1980s was evidenced throughout the western world. New forms of power from ‘without’, including the World Bank and other trans-national organisations such as the International Monetary fund, portended a new global economic order nowhere more evident than in higher education. Australia was no exception.\textsuperscript{146}

Neo-liberals see humans as existing for the market, where every human being is an entrepreneur managing their own life. There is no distinction between a market economy and a market society; it is a market culture holding market values, with market persons marketing themselves to other market persons. In a sense, neo-liberalism returned to the position of early liberalism, which also combined notions of culture, values and ethics with

\textsuperscript{142} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{143} Ibid., p.108.
economic understanding, but neo-liberalism adopted a far more intensive understanding of the term 'market', replacing not only traditional social forms, but also the concept of private life. For economic rationalists, ordinary citizens have no role in political decisions since such participation tends to interfere with the activities of the marketplace.\textsuperscript{147}

Neo-liberalists place faith in neoclassical economic theory, which rejects the Marxian notion of exploitation of the workers and promotes the idea that the distribution of social resources produced through market exchanges is innately fair. Based in a reductionist psychological theory of decision making and rationality, it holds that the pursuit of individual pleasure and happiness drives all decision making. Pleasure is defined as ‘utility,’ man [sic] as a ‘utility maximizer’, and market exchanges are simple trades between equally powerless economic men trying to maximise their individual pleasure.\textsuperscript{148}

In neoclassical theory, those who become wealthy do so by hard work and frugality, while those who become poor do so by profligacy and laziness. Nevertheless, the best of all possible worlds … can only come about by unfettered market exchanges, allowing individual decision-making to occur without governmental interference ... In many ways neoclassical (neoliberal) theory has become a tool for the dissemination of public policies and international agreements that reduce the role of government in shaping economic activities …\textsuperscript{149}

It is therefore understandable that the growth of a neo-liberal philosophical world view, as evidenced in the rise of ‘Thatcherism’ in the UK and ‘Reaganism’ in the US, exerted an influence over the provision of university education in Australia in the late twentieth century. Nobel Laureate Milton Friedman had been the main economic adviser to US President Ronald Reagan and Friedman’s seminal text, \textit{Capitalism and Freedom},\textsuperscript{150} was at the

\textsuperscript{147} Hayek, 1960, \textit{op.cit.}, p.110.
\textsuperscript{148} See \texttt{<http://www.mtholyoke.edu/courses/sgabriel/neoclassical_theory.htm>}, accessed 27 January 2012.
\textsuperscript{149} \textit{Ibid.}
heart of economic policy, including policy that governed the development of education. For example, it was Friedman who developed the notion of ‘education vouchers’, an idea that held considerable traction for Australian government in the late 1990s.

Economic rationalism, an off-shoot of neo-liberalism, also gained ground in Australian governance in the late twentieth century. For Australian economic rationalists, a public good cannot be provided to one person without simultaneously providing it to others, a view that is at variance with Friedman. Economic rationalists hold with the decision making power of the market.

An economic rationalist is one who believes that there are very few exceptions to the rule that the market is the best way of deciding what is to be produced and how it is to be produced. Moreover, an economic rationalist holds that even when market failure exists … the consequences are usually of less importance than those of the government failing in this respect and are easier to correct.151

In Australia, the growing commodification of university education, as exemplified in the market in university places to international students and the growth of the sector to become the sixth largest export earner for Australia, became a feature from 1990 onwards. Neo-liberal influences on policy governing university education in Australia are taken up in later chapters.

Despite these significant philosophical complexities and contradictions that developed over time, liberalism has remained organised around certain key or core concepts that have given a particular structure to its discourses, and although liberalism has never represented the class interest of an identifiable whole class, it has articulated in different ways key conceptions that have come to be recognised as the precepts of bourgeois society. Prime amongst these concepts are attitudes toward economic intervention by government

and attitudes toward individual liberties. While early nineteenth-century liberal thought emphasised the expansion of individual liberties, including the absence of government intrusion in economic choices, by the late nineteenth century debate over the relationship of liberty and equality often focused on the proper role of government in acting to alleviate the perceived hardships of a capitalist economy. In the late twentieth century the key concepts of liberalism were identified in attitudes toward individual freedom and attitudes toward social equality.152

Liberalism as a socially and historically variable set of discourses has provided the philosophical context in which state policies have been both formulated and analysed. Although such discourses have been altered and reshaped to reflect modernity, they have never been completely divorced from their neo-classical origins. Indeed, they have provided the guiding principles and ideological rationales for the organisation of the social, political and economic reproduction of most westernised democratic states. The hegemonic power of such discourses has been particularly important in the justification and rationales for state education systems. The centrality of liberal discourses underpinning all social and educational relations has meant that they have been integral to the development of certain subjectivities and it is through them and other competing dominant and non-dominant discourses that people are positioned to shape the conscious patterning of their lives as thinking and reflecting actors in the world. Liberalism has been, and is, preoccupied with the creation and defence of a world in which ‘free and equal’ individuals can flourish with minimum political impediment.

The purpose of this section has been to provide a background understanding of the development of liberalism as an ideology in order to provide a foundation for later discussion and analysis. Specifically, the effects of variants of liberal ideology on developments in higher education policy in

Australia were addressed. The following section examines the formation of social policy, linking the variants of liberalism to different understandings of equality.

**Social policy and equality**

At the heart of debates on social policy is the principle of equality. For those on the political left, social policies can be used to create a fairer society that responds to people’s needs by equalizing social benefits, such as education, health and other government funded services. For those on the political right, social policies that provide these public services do so at the cost of individual freedom, higher taxation and a larger, more interventionist state bureaucracy. For philosopher Robert Nozick, a ‘more extensive state will violate the rights of individuals’. For modern liberal thinker John Rawls, a basic goal of all social policy should be equality, where the ‘good things’ of life, such as education and career opportunities, welfare services and leisure, are shared equally, but not to the extent that the rewards and incentives for those who are better off in society are lost; rather to the extent that those who are better off work at optimum efficiency, a notion Rawls termed the ‘difference principle’. The normative orientation of theorists such as Nozick and Rawls signalled the direction of debates in relation to egalitarianism, equity and equality of opportunity in relation to education in ensuing chapters.

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154 Ibid.


Just as there is no universal understanding of liberalism, there is no firm agreement in liberalism in regard to equality. It can not be said that all on the left hold to a position of equality and all on the right do not: some on the left believe that certain inequalities are unavoidable, while some on the right believe that there should be certain basic equalities among people. Amid this spectrum, three groupings of views on the definition of equality and how it is justified have emerged: egalitarianism, equity, and equality of opportunity.

**Egalitarianism**

For Nozick, egalitarianism can be seen as an ideal, an expression of equality in utopian form, which seeks to ensure that the same results or similar outcomes in life are enjoyed by all, for example, the same incomes, similar life span, similar levels of education and health. This was not the same understanding of egalitarianism held by Rousseau, who said that:

> By equality, we should understand not that the degree of power and riches be absolutely identical for everybody but that … no citizen be wealthy enough to buy another and none poor enough to be forced to sell himself [sic].

Differences in the views of egalitarians as to the justification for policies to bring about a state of near-equality are value driven. For example, in communism or Marxism, the goal is a society in which no one unfairly exploits the labour of another. It has been argued that a Marxist ‘would maintain that when production levels reach a certain point … we will be in a position to say that there is no longer scarcity and the causes of social

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conflict will be removed’ and only in a post-scarcity situation will we ‘be able to determine the correct distribution of resources’.

Ethical socialists stress that gross inequalities are morally wrong and a society of near-equals facilitates the development of community and fraternity. Marshall, a founder of the principles of the egalitarian welfare society, believed that, ‘the extension of the social services [was] not primarily a means of equalizing incomes … [e]quality of status [was] more important than equality of income’. For Tawney, a Christian socialist, social policy can help create a society in which people feel they belong to a community where they are valued equally and where they feel free to participate in making political decisions about their own future. Tawney noted that:

… to criticize inequality and to desire equality is not, as is sometimes suggested, to cherish the romantic illusion that men are equal in character and intelligence. It is to hold that, while their natural endowments differ profoundly, it is the mark of a civilized society to aim at eliminating such inequalities which have their source, not in individual difference, but in its own organization, and that individual differences which are a source of social energy, are more likely open to ripen and find expression if social inequalities are, as far as practicable, diminished.

**Equity**

Extending the concept of equality, equitable social policies seek to treat individuals differently, depending on need and circumstance, through targeted grants, benefits or facilities that have the object of compensating for the difference or difficulty experienced by the individual. An equitable approach means treating people differently to ensure that there is some equality of outcome. Whereas treating people the same way may be seen as

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161 **Ibid.**
164 **Ibid.**, p.49.
fair, treating people differently may appear unjust or involving special
favours. Applying the principle of equity also requires an ‘accurate and
accepted definition of people’s needs’, something that may be
problematic for government.

Bradshaw described four kinds of need: felt needs, expressed needs,
normative needs and comparative needs. Felt needs occur when
individuals are conscious of their needs, and they may be expressed or
remain unexpressed, particularly in situations where there are inequalities of
power and status. Of chief concern here are normative needs, which are
defined by external observers or experts, and comparative needs, that is, the
needs of a group relative to what some other group or groups have or do not
have. Normative needs and comparative needs effect equity provisions in
that they contribute to policy decisions applicable to who receives benefits
or services, such as welfare or education.

Equality of opportunity

Equality of opportunity is the use of policies to remove barriers of
discrimination and improve access to jobs, education and training, health
and social services. Like the ideological differences cited above, those on
the political right stress equality of opportunity, while those on the political
left stress the equality aspect of the term, and how equal opportunity
policies are applied are derived from these differences in emphases.

There are two forms of equality of opportunity: formal equality and fair
equality. Formal equality of opportunity requires that ‘advantageous
positions’, for example, university places and good jobs, are open to all and,
where appropriate, allocated on the basis of merit or talent. Fair equality of
opportunity requires individuals to have a reasonable chance of acquiring
those positions (as in the gendered notion of fair equality of opportunity for

girls and women). For Rawls, natural liberty, liberal equality, natural aristocracy and democratic equality explained the distinction between the two forms of equality of opportunity.\(^{167}\)

Natural liberty would maintain that careers should be open to all and wealth should be distributed through the operation of a free market, with no attempt to mitigate the effects of inherited social position. Liberal equality is concerned with the effects of class and family advantage, and maintains that benefiting from socially inherited advantages, such as expensive private schooling, is illegitimate. Rawls rejected liberal equality on the basis that patterns of income are determined by laws of demand.\(^{168}\) He also rejected it on the basis that:

It seems to be one of the fixed points of our considered judgements that no one deserves his place in the distribution of native endowments, any more than one deserves one’s initial starting point in society. The assertion that a man deserves the superior character that enables him to make the effort to cultivate his abilities is equally problematic; for his character depends in large part upon fortunate family and social circumstances for which he can claim no credit.\(^{169}\)

Rawls took the idea of ‘natural aristocracy’ from George Santayana, a conservative thinker who argued that an aristocratic regime can only be justified if its benefits radiate out to the least well-off.\(^{170}\) Natural aristocracy implies a natural hierarchy, where the duties of the higher social classes are owed to the lower classes (noblesse oblige), based on an organic conception of society. Democratic equality, on the other hand, was interpreted as ‘fair equality of opportunity its chief characteristic being that it entails the rejection of the idea that opportunities should reflect the distribution and exploitation of natural talents’.\(^{171}\)

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\(^{167}\) Graham, op. cit. p.55.
\(^{168}\) Rawls, op. cit. p.311.
\(^{169}\) Ibid., p.104.
\(^{170}\) Ibid., p.74.
\(^{171}\) Graham, op. cit. p.174.
Equal opportunity strategies can be easily thought of as involving either ‘minimalist’ or ‘maximalist’ principles, where minimalist principles align with classical liberal or conservative principles and values and maximalist principles align with social democratic or egalitarian principles. For minimalists, equality policies aim to ensure that people are treated fairly or on an equal basis, and discrimination on grounds of gender, race, disability, ethnicity, sexuality, age, religion, or any other ‘irrelevant’ criterion is unjust or illegal. For maximalists, policies aim to create equal outcomes, going beyond banning unfair or negative discrimination to encourage or discriminate such that minorities and disadvantaged groups benefit equally from employment, education or social opportunities.¹⁷²

This means that positive discrimination or positive action may be employed to ensure that under-representation by certain groups is overturned. Quotas or targets to bring the proportions of disadvantaged people in line with the proportions or people receiving employment, education and welfare are necessary to avoid in-built bias against women, disabled people and others. For minimalists, on the other hand, quotas or reserving a certain number of jobs, educational places of services for members of minority or disadvantaged groups are considered unjust. ‘Fair competition’ on a ‘level playing field’ marks this approach, where outcomes such as being employed or gaining a place at university or receiving a benefit must be decided according to merit or need.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided three theoretical frameworks for the analyses carried out in this thesis. Considerations of equality, and sub-themes of egalitarianism, equity and equality of opportunity, underpin government policies in relation to the provision of universal benefits versus targeted benefits, and at the heart of these considerations reside ideological positions

on liberalism. Whether some benefits or all benefits should be available to
the entire population or target people with special needs, and whether they
should be means tested or available as of right, involve liberal ideological
considerations and effect the development of human capital. How liberal
ideology and considerations of equality are applied to the distribution of
places in and resources for university education, are the subject of following
chapters of the thesis.
CHAPTER THREE

MURRAY: A FULL AND TRUE EDUCATION BEFITTING
A FREE MAN AND THE CITIZENS OF A FREE COUNTRY

Introduction

In Australia, the provision of university education expanded throughout the first half of the twentieth century but was subject to unprecedented and rapid expansion in the immediate post World War II period. The focus of this chapter is the identification in the 1950s of the need for university graduates and university research in the rapidly expanding, post-war economy. Two noted responses to post-war expansion and its effect on Australian universities were: a convention of invited stakeholders organised by the Workers’ Education Association of New South Wales (WEA) to examine patterns and future trends among the universities of New South Wales;\(^\text{173}\) and the establishment by the Prime Minister of a committee to inquire into and report on Australian universities, an initiative that resulted in the Murray Report.\(^\text{174}\) This second response, it is argued, provided one of the high points in university development nationally and set the direction for the next half century. The chapter argues that university graduates were seen as being the key foundation for development of all aspects of Australian society; the means through which the country would prosper and take its true place among the liberal democracies of western civilisation.

Problems of the growing nation and university expansion

Following World War Two, Australia experienced rapid growth in its population to nearly 10 million, 50 per cent of which was concentrated in


\(^{174}\) Commonwealth of Australia (c1), op.cit.
the six state capital cities. In the ten years after the war, the population increase was one of the highest rates in the world at 2½ per cent per annum, much of which was due to an ambitious Commonwealth Government immigration program begun in 1937 and the remainder due to natural increase, marking the beginning of the ‘baby boomer’ period. The population was 7.6 million in 1947\(^{175}\) and was expected to increase by a further 24 per cent and reach 12 million by 1967.\(^{176}\) With this rapid growth in population came a concomitant growth in primary, secondary and tertiary industries, building and construction, transport and communications, personal services, retail trade and commerce. The professions, too, expanded, requiring increased numbers of graduate scientists, technicians and other professionals.

The value of scientific research had increased as a result of the war and governments had a new found enthusiasm for investment in technological education and research. In 1946 the Australian National University (ANU) was founded in Canberra by the Labor Government of Joseph Benedict (Ben) Chifley, primarily as a research university that was to teach at postgraduate level in physical sciences, medicine, social sciences and Pacific studies.\(^{177}\) In speaking to the Bill to establish ANU, the Minister for Post War Reconstruction and Minister in Charge of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, J.J. Dedman, addressed the advent of atomic energy:

> Mishandled, these discoveries in the physical world can make peace and prosperity impossible. Properly used they may introduce an era of happiness and prosperity unparalleled in world history.\(^{178}\)

\(^{175}\) See Appendix A – Australian population data derived from Censuses, 1947 to 1996.
\(^{176}\) Commonwealth of Australia (c1), op. cit., pp.12-3.
In the post-war period, Australia’s external responsibilities also grew, in particular, its diplomatic corps expanded to 25 embassies and legations and many consular posts and Trade Commissioners’ offices. There was also an increasing role for participation in the work of the recently formed United Nations and its agencies and a call to provide permanent officers and numerous specialist advisers. Participation with the United Kingdom, Canada and other countries in the Colombo Plan, a multi-national aid program, involved the provision of technical labour, materials and importantly, educational facilities in Australia for thousands of Asian students, which marked a new policy and a new relationship with Asia.\(^{179}\) All these activities placed pressure on the expanding universities and increased the need for graduates.

New international commitments in defence also increased the need for university graduates. As a member of the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), Australia shared responsibility for defence of the area and maintained air and land forces on active service in the Malaya conflict of the 1950s. There were also active partnerships with the United Kingdom in long-range weapons establishments and an intensive program of scientific research and development. These responsibilities increased the demand of the Department of Supply for graduates and made them one of the major employers of research scientists and engineers.\(^{180}\) In response, Australian universities were to grow at unprecedented rates, as was state funding to provide resources to meet the demand.

In Australia in 1939 the six state universities were financed by state grants, private endowments and grants, and by fees paid by students. They all offered courses to matriculated students in the humanities, arts and sciences; most provided courses in law, medicine and engineering and the Universities of Sydney and Melbourne offered courses in agricultural science and veterinary science. After the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939

\(^{179}\) Ibid.
\(^{180}\) Ibid. p.16.
and the Japanese invasion of countries in Southeast Asia in 1941, moving south to Papua New Guinea by 1942, Australia became aware of the direct threat to the nation. Many young men and women who might otherwise have attended the universities enlisted in the armed services, as did many university staff. During the war, the Commonwealth government gave financial grants to students to make possible a rapid increase in the number of technically trained people\textsuperscript{181} and by the second half of the 1940s (post-war), enrolments in universities were more than double what they were (pre-war) in 1939 and enrolments in technical institutions and teachers’ colleges were similar.\textsuperscript{182} University enrolments, which stood at approximately 14,000 in 1939, increased to approximately 25,500 in 1946 and jumped to 32,500 in 1948, largely as a result of the influx of post-war ex-service students under the Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme.\textsuperscript{183}

During the war, on 16 October 1941, a Federal Labor government committee known as the Production Executive was formed under the chairmanship of J.J. Dedman, then Minister for War Organisation and Industry, and charged with the responsibility of organising the nation’s economic life and manpower to ensure maximum efficiency for the prosecution of the war. Dedman brought to the committee a high regard for education, a quality that was to make considerable impact on its outcomes.

Many of my ideas on education came from my early life in Scotland. We Scots value education very highly, you know … My father was a Scottish primary school teacher, and in our family there was an early and abiding concern for education. There was a strong belief in our village that at least one member of each family should obtain a university degree … There was also a widespread belief that no one


\textsuperscript{183} Australian Vice-Chancellors’ Committee. \textit{A crisis in the finances and development of the Australian Universities}, AVCC, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 1952, p.5; Williams, \textit{op. cit.}, p.123.
should be prevented from obtaining a university education because he lacked the money.\textsuperscript{184}

The committee was required to keep in mind the needs of post-war Australia and to see that war-time measures did not jeopardise the fulfilment of those needs. The government needed to decide: the number of graduates required for both the prosecution of the war and the return to peace; what criteria should determine the selection and reservation of students from war service; what the basis should be for allowing them to continue their courses of study; and what human and material resources were needed by the universities to fulfil their necessary war function and yet be able to carry on until peace was restored.

The entry of Japan into the war in December 1941 made urgent the need to know the output of trained scientific manpower from Australian universities and:

\dots led to the setting up of a liaison bureau to assist in the dissemination of scientific information and to the employment of scientific manpower advisory committees on which senior university staff members were represented. Sir Ian Clunies Ross (then Professor of Veterinary Science at the University of Sydney) was appointed an Adviser on Scientific and Technical Personnel and was asked to estimate the numbers of trained scientists and technologists required by the Services and other authorities and to recommend modifications to existing training facilities to help meet the [war] need.\textsuperscript{185}

Thus the Australian universities were harnessed to the war effort. Under the Australian Constitution, the provision of educational services, including universities, is a responsibility of state Governments. Section 107 provides that the states will retain those powers that they had before the


establishment of the Commonwealth, unless the Constitution exclusively vested the power in the Commonwealth. However, Section 51 of the Constitution refers to the provision of ‘benefits to students’, an amendment that was inserted in 1946 to enable the Commonwealth to continue to provide welfare benefits, including income support, to students. Enrolment quotas for particular courses were established by the Production Executive based on the number of graduates ascertained to be necessary for the maintenance of the war effort and to provide for post-war reconstruction. Students were to be allowed to enrol in the specified departments and would be ‘reserved’ (excused for the purpose) from call-up for war service by the manpower authorities. The basis for selection of students was ‘merit’ and the universities were invited to determine the criteria for the selection of students within the quotas, but it became apparent to Dedman that:

…some who were entitled to enrolment, on merit, had not the financial resources to permit them to pursue their studies without placing a heavy strain on them and on their parents.  

This was a unique opportunity for those who had previously been unable to access university education. Universities had long been considered by the working class as institutions devoted to serving the upper and privileged classes and from which they had been excluded because of lack of financial resources. One NSW Labor parliamentarian, H.P. (Bert) Lazzarini, summed up this viewpoint in 1949:

Under the conditions which existed when I was a boy, no worker had the slightest hope of ensuring economic or social security for his children. The children of all working men were obliged to go out and earn their living as soon as they reached an age at which they could work … The fact that I, or my brothers and sisters, or

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186 Australian Constitution, s.51xxiiiA.  
hundreds of thousands of other Australian children wanted the opportunity to be educated at a university ... counted for nothing in those days. We had no opportunity to obtain higher education. The lot of the great majority of Australian children was to go to a primary school and after reaching the highest class in those institutions, they were compelled to go to work in order to help keep their homes going ... The fact is that under the capitalist system of which the basis is production for profit, there is no alternative to economic slavery for the worker and his children.\textsuperscript{188}

To address the problem of worthy students being prevented from gaining a place in the quotas set for university courses, Dedman constructed an inter-departmental committee that recommended, among other things, that the serious deficiency and inequity in the Australian social structure might be overcome by the establishment of a scheme of ‘means tested’ financial assistance to operate in concert with the proposed scheme for the reservation of students selected in the university quotas in the key departments of Science, Medicine, Dentistry, Engineering, Veterinary and Agricultural Science. The amount of assistance varied and primarily it took the form of payment for all tuition and other necessary university fees, together with a living allowance proportionate to means. The Labor government did not propose to assist when it was clear that a student could meet the whole cost himself without hardship to his family. On the other hand, the financial assistance was to be sufficient to open for selection the whole field to those who matriculated, rich and poor alike. Though citing utilitarian reasons directly related to the war effort, Dedman, in a speech in the House of Representatives, addressed the social equality implications of the mechanism he was instituting.

Other countries, including England, the United States of America, Canada and Germany, have found it necessary, under the stress of war, to make radical departures in educational policy, but such decisions obviously have profound social implications. Once we have introduced the principle that university education in any course shall be open to the ablest students, however small their financial

\textsuperscript{188} Commonwealth of Australia (b5). \textit{Parliamentary Debates, House of Representatives}, 4 October, 1949, p.818.
resources, we have taken a long step forward. Personally, I hope that Australia will never go back on that principle, that we are big enough to regard this necessary war-time measure as a first instalment of a better order, and that it will be the forerunner of a scheme which will ensure that every deserving student shall get his or her chance for higher education, even though the parents’ means are slender. I am convinced that it is only by the adoption of such a plan that our nation can be assured of the service of those gifted with the best brains.\(^{189}\)

This was welfare liberalism, a radical measure in Australian terms to address the fundamental problem of funding university education on an equality of opportunity basis, but one served up to the nation under the utilitarian guise of addressing the war effort and port-war reconstruction. This was a unilaterally supported view as the then leader of the Opposition, R.G. Menzies showed when he moved that the House of Representatives express the view that ‘a revised and extended educational system [was] of prime importance in post-war reconstruction’.\(^{190}\) Moreover, for Menzies, education was an important factor in the deterrence of war, through its character-building capacity. In the tradition of classical liberalism, he saw university education as having the capacity to develop ‘the humane and imperishable elements in man’.\(^{191}\) Moreover, in one of his parliamentary speeches, he asserted that one of the chief causes of war was the ‘failure of the human spirit’, which he argued was a consequence of the decline in classical education, which had the ability to free the mind from ignorance and form character.\(^{192}\)

The Labor Commonwealth Government under the leadership of Ben Chifley (until 1949) saw the need to address the human and economic problems associated with converting the country to a peace-time society and for the

\(^{191}\) Menzies, R.G. The Place of a University in the Modern Community, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1939, pp.11-12.
\(^{192}\) Commonwealth of Australia (b2), op.cit., pp.4616-17.
first time began extensively to become involved in education. The Commonwealth Post-War Reconstruction Training Scheme (CRTS) was officially established when the Federal Parliament gave assent to the Re-establishment and Employment Bill on 28 June 1945. Herbert Cole Coombs, first Director-General of Post-war Reconstruction saw the principal emphasis in Commonwealth planning as being deliberately placed on the need to maintain ‘full employment in a free society’, a basic tenet of modern liberalism.

We were imbued with Keynesian economic theories and we hoped to use them to build a new society. The Department of Post-War Reconstruction [established in March 1943, prior to the end of the war] was a mixture of radicals and a few conservatives. Radical influences were probably strongest. … The presence of these members of what you could call the liberal intelligencia, in Post-war Reconstruction, made it an explosive place – pulsating with the energy generated by the many very bright young men who came there from the universities, the professions (particularly law), and industry. They came to make their contribution to the war effort, to ‘do their bit’ for the war. There was a unique gathering of talent in Post-war Reconstruction, one that had never occurred before, and, for various reasons, [was] unlikely to happen again.

The general purpose of the CRTS was to provide training or retraining opportunities for those members of Australia’s armed forces whose education had been interrupted by enlistment, and for those who, for a variety of reasons, could also benefit, such as becoming re-established in suitable civilian occupations. One of the most significant provisions of the Re-establishment and Employment Act, 1945 was that it allowed for the expansion of new buildings and equipment of the educational institutions involved in the scheme, including universities. A consequence of the application of the CRTS was that universities would become dependent on

193 Later Governor of the Reserve Bank from 1948.
195 Ibid.
the Federal government maintaining its financial contributions to their activities and facilities once the CRTS ceased.

The CRTS operated on a large scale for less than a decade and depended heavily on the application of principles of selection. Training was to be available to those ex-service personnel who, on account of war service, had been deprived of training necessary to enable them to establish themselves in civil life or who had been placed at a disadvantage in their trade or profession by their service in the forces. Eligibility to participate in the Scheme was therefore confined to certain categories of ex-service personnel, but was sufficiently wide to cater for an extensive portion of the discharged personnel and in particular provided for those who enlisted young or who had suffered war-caused incapacity. Benefits were offered to those whose education was interrupted by war service or who could show that they contemplated a full-time professional course prior to entering war service. Other categories made provision for those who had displayed conspicuous ability during war service or who were unable to return to their trade because of oversupply and those who were unable to resume their former activities. Widows, whose husbands’ deaths were accepted as due to war service, were also granted eligibility. Education and training under the CRTS were not regarded as a reward for service in the forces but a means of civil re-establishment.

CRTS-funded student numbers expanded dramatically, increasing from 3,814 in 1945 (the first year) to 6,206 in 1946. Individuals embarking on full time training had all tuition and other fees paid by the Commonwealth and received living allowances. The Commonwealth also made section 96 grants to the states to assist with the recurrent and capital needs of the

universities. Under section 96 of the Constitution the Commonwealth can grant financial assistance to a state on such terms and conditions as the Parliament thinks fit. For some years this scheme injected considerable sums of money into university budgets to employ more staff, erect buildings - often army huts or other temporary quarters - and install new plant and equipment. Nevertheless, these increases in buildings, equipment and staff were considered by the Australian Vice-chancellors’ Committee (AVCC) to be insufficient and inadequate to match the increase in student enrolments and to address the ‘serious overcrowding’ that was being experienced.

Prime Minister Chifley addressed the problem of on-going funding for the universities in a speech to Parliament late in 1948.

University education is a matter to which the Australian government, and particularly the Minister for Post-war Reconstruction, has given a great deal of thought. I have given some personal study to the financial position of universities. The government has made provision to subsidize the university education of the children of those in less favoured circumstances … That policy has permitted the entry into the universities of a great number of eminently worthy boys and girls who were denied that opportunity previously. In addition to the increased enrolments resulting from the policy, responsibilities under the Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme have also been imposed on the universities. These conditions have thrown a very great strain upon the resources, both physical and financial, of the universities, and … this government has given very material assistance in relation to capital expenditure to provide additional accommodation in universities for Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme trainees and in addition has made some other direct financial contributions … It is quite clear that, with the very wide development of university training and the greater opportunities now being offered to boys and girls as a result of the Commonwealth subsidy inaugurated by the

199 Australian Vice-Chancellors’ Committee, 1952, op.cit. p.123; A consultative body consisting of the administrative heads of all of the Australian universities and university colleges, whose main object was ‘to consider problems of common moment to the Australian universities’.
200 Australian Constitution, s.96.
201 Australian Vice-Chancellors’ Committee, 1952, op.cit., p.5.
Curtin government, the financial difficulties will become more and more obvious as time goes on.  

The AVCC sought to counter what it described as ‘public apathy’ in relation to university education and the development of the universities by publishing a monograph titled *A crisis in the finances and development of the Australian Universities* with the express purpose of:

… drawing public attention to the functions of the Universities, to their immediate financial difficulties and to the need for a co-ordinated plan for University development to meet the expected increasing demand on University facilities in the next decade [1952-1962].

The AVCC reflected on the doubling of student enrolments in the five year period from 1945 to 1950 (from 15,586 to 30,630) and predicted that enrolments would reach: 31,300 by 1955; 39,100 by 1960; and 47,500 by 1965. These figures were soon exceeded and enrolments reached the 1965 prediction six years early, by 1959. Over the ten year period 1949 to 1959, the percentage of full-time students decreased from 63.9 to 59.5 per cent as part-time and external enrolments grew 10.2 and 18.4 per cent, respectively. The percentage of female university students increased marginally, from 21.4 to 25.9 in the same period.

The intended audience of the AVCC document was not truly the general public, whom it had described as apathetic, but public representatives in state parliaments, which were the main funding bodies for universities and which the AVCC was urging to adopt a triennial or even quinquennial

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203 Australian Vice-Chancellors’ Committee, 1952, *op.cit.*, p.i.
204 *Ibid*.
funding basis to assist them in planning for expansion of student numbers, research intensification, and the development of physical facilities and infrastructure.\textsuperscript{207} The AVCC described the functions of the universities as four-fold: the provision of facilities in which learning and scholarship in the various arts and sciences may be fostered; the provision of specialist training for the professions; the conduct of research, which included the training of workers for applied research conducted by the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization (CSIRO) and industry; and preservation of:

\begin{quote}
[Australia’s] cultural heritage and of our democratic traditions of freedom of thought and speech and the development and exchange of new ideas.

Indeed the contribution of the Universities to society should not be reckoned only in terms of the professional proficiency of the graduates they produce or of the value of their contributions to research but rather in terms of their part in determining and moulding our way of life.\textsuperscript{208}
\end{quote}

These functions can be seen as embodying the ideals of modern liberalism, wherein the power of the state is best used to achieve a redistribution of societal political and economic power. The functions also maintain the liberal democratic tradition embodied in ‘freedom of thought and speech and the development and exchange of new ideas’, which the AVCC saw as coming under considerable risk by the humanities being ‘crowded out’\textsuperscript{209} by disciplines which offered a more immediate practical return. In the 1950s, the broad liberal education provided by the study of humanities and the exchange of ideas among students from all fields of study, was at the heart of the nature and structure of the universities. The public good, or social capital, to use Coleman’s\textsuperscript{210} and Putnam’s\textsuperscript{211} understanding of the term, created by university education could be seen to be becoming backgrounded

\textsuperscript{207} Australian Vice-Chancellors’ Association, 1952, \textit{op.cit.}, p.18.
\textsuperscript{208} \textit{Ibid.}, p.ii.
\textsuperscript{209} \textit{Ibid.}, p.3.
\textsuperscript{211} Putnam, 1993, \textit{op.cit.}, p.167.
as a more utilitarian focus on professional training courses and research for industry and nation building became fore-grounded. The AVCC worried that a ‘the whole concept of University education, which has its very foundation in a liberal rather than a specialized training,”212 was under pressure.

Public interest in university education and academic staff dissatisfaction grew simultaneously as the expanding universities were seen to be fragmenting, breaking up into separate faculties or schools between which there was often very little communication. The growth in public interest in university education can be seen in community action groups being formed in rural areas such as Newcastle, Wollongong and the Riverina, seeking the establishment of – if not Universities - then University Colleges. Newcastle and Wollongong were the two main industrial cities of NSW with large workforces and large populations to educate, and industry ready to employ new graduates. The Riverina area, too, had a significant population of young people to educate and like Newcastle and the Illawarra, its geographical remoteness from both Sydney and Melbourne meant ready access to university was difficult and accommodation costs for those who did enter university in Sydney or Melbourne were an added family burden. The gross inequalities of access to university education stimulated public interest in the development of new opportunities and made a significant contribution to this period of rapid growth in the establishment of more universities, marking the first phase of post-war expansion of tertiary education in Australia.213

212 Ibid.
Convention on the universities of New South Wales

In NSW the University of Sydney, which had been established in 1852 with 24 students, had 6,836 students by the end of 1953. There were another 4,044 at the University of Technology, which had been established in 1949 as the apex of the technical education institutions of the state Government.214 These figures included students at the Newcastle University College, which also provided Arts subjects, externally, for the University of New England (UNE). UNE was established in 1937 and had 243 students, and by 1953 a total of 11,123 students were studying in New South Wales universities.215 NSW government expenditure on university education rose from the 1939 pre-war figure of £110,000 to £2,930,000 in 1954, an increase of 2,657 per cent in 15 years.216 It was estimated by the Premier, Hon. R.J. Heffron, that by 1965, NSW would be required to accommodate at least 50 per cent more university students and that provision for this increase would entail expansion of existing universities and further decentralization.217

Public interest in university education also grew in the 1950s, as exemplified by pressure to establish more universities and colleges. In early 1954 the Education Committee of the Workers’ Educational Association of New South Wales (WEA) responded by seeking to open up public discussion by organising a Convention on the Universities of New South Wales to discuss the existing pattern and future trends in university education. The convention provided the first opportunity for stakeholders in tertiary education to come together to identify problems in the provision of university education and suggest potential solutions for those problems.

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214 The University of Technology was later renamed the University of New South Wales when its Act was amended in 1958 to allow the teaching of Medicine and Arts.
216 Ibid.
217 Ibid.
The convention attracted obvious public support, and because it was organised by the WEA, it was seen to provide an unbiased arena in which other stakeholder groups could overtly provide their own personal opinions. The WEA was not subject to government funding nor was it aligned to any university and as such it could be seen to represent wide community interest. Those who participated in the convention, whilst representative of a wide range of stakeholder groups (university administration, academic staff, residential colleges, university establishment groups, and the WEA, itself) spoke as individuals, and in so doing were able to provide candid opinions and advice, unfettered by government or university policy.

In his Preface to the *Proceedings* of the Convention, the President of the WEA, F.J. Griffiths stated that:

> Changes since the Second World War had been rapid and extensive. There had been some public controversy and a great deal more private expression of varying opinions. It seemed that university education in New South Wales could benefit by the bringing together of different points of view, and that some of the main issues could at least be opened up. Such discussions, if published, could help the interested public to understand some of the difficulties and some of the attitudes of those working in Universities, and such public understanding was important for the formulation of public policy on Universities.\(^{218}\)

The main factors disturbing the university world in NSW at that time were outlined in the Preface to the *Proceedings* and may be summarised as:

- the tremendous expansion in student numbers and costs;
- the quantitative increase in university facilities, including questions of their being provided in one place or in a decentralized university system, and if decentralized, to what degree and through what method;

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- the best way of beginning a new university college at Newcastle;
- different types of universities and specialized functions, such as the foundation of the University of Technology and the proposal for a rural university;
- the place of technological studies and liberal studies;
- the part played by governments in determining university policy, issues involved in university autonomy, and in the respective functions of the administration and the teaching body;
- the undertaking by a new university (University of New England) of correspondence work for external students and the question of external degrees; and most importantly,
- the nature and function of universities.\textsuperscript{219}

The Convention was chaired by Professor R.B. Farrell, Dean of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Sydney and the Vice-Chairmen were Professor R.M. Hartwell, Head of the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at the New South Wales University of Technology and Mr Norman Cowper, Vice-President of the Sydney University Arts Association. Four open sessions and three private, invited sessions were provided, with stenographic records being kept of each session and later published as the \textit{Proceedings}. The Committee invited to the discussion sessions,

\ldots a group of men and women from inside and outside the universities who would represent at a serious level, as many as possible of the main interests and views concerned with universities in New South Wales.\textsuperscript{220}

Fifty two participants attended the Convention, including: members of the executive of each NSW university; 19 Professors and Associate Professors and eight Senior Lecturers representing every academic discipline; several Heads of residential colleges; executive members of the WEA and members of university establishment committees for Newcastle and the Riverina.

\textsuperscript{219} \textit{Ibid.}, pp.4-5.  
\textsuperscript{220} \textit{Ibid.}, p.4.
Notably absent was any invited representation by current students from any university.

Convention invitees were asked to focus their discussions on two overarching issues: the nature and functions of a university; and the present pattern and future trends in university education. No firm conclusions were reached in the Convention, nor were they sought. Rather, the Proceedings recorded expressions of the individual opinions of the participants. What the Convention did do was open up for public discussion issues that had previously gone undiscussed, and it is notable that the other states did not hold similar conventions. The two overarching issues that were the focus of the Convention were to become influential when they were again taken up, two years later, by the Prime Minister when he established a Committee on Australian Universities. The Chifley Labor government fell in November 1949, shortly after, but not as a consequence of, announcing a decision to appoint a committee to enquire into the finances of universities.

**Prime Ministerial support for university education**

Robert Gordon Menzies C.H., Q.C., M.P\(^{221}\) became Prime Minister of the Commonwealth for the second time in December 1949. Menzies had an interest in education at all levels, but his interest in education at the university level had been apparent long before he became Prime Minister. While an undergraduate studying Law at the University of Melbourne he wrote editorials for the *Melbourne University Magazine* that addressed the topic of the necessity of a university education in the personally transformative process of becoming a gentleman. In one article, titled ‘The Place of the University in the Life of the State’, Menzies explained the duty of university men as being to use their talent and opportunities to serve society,\(^{222}\) implying that although education was a personal ‘good’, that is

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\(^{221}\) Later Sir Robert Menzies.

primarily for the benefit of the individual, it should be used for provide an indirect benefit to the community.

In a speech he made in 1939 at the annual commencement of the Canberra University College entitled ‘The place of a university in the modern community’ Menzies revealed his depth of knowledge of university affairs and his clearly formulated views on the role of the university in society. He cited true universities as having seven ideals, which he listed in order of importance. Laming summarises these:

… the university was to be a home of pure culture and learning, “one of those civilized and civilizing things” the world needs as never before. Scholarship was valuable because it “develops the humane and imperishable elements in man”. The university was a place with a sense of real values that would be available to its students. The university was a training school for the professions, and a training ground for future leaders. The university was to provide a home for research, not just because of the outcomes such research might produce, but because research was linked to the training of character. Menzies believed that every university-educated man should leave with the intellectual stamp of the university on him, concerned to do his part to enrich the whole community. Finally, the university was the custodian of mental liberty, and as such linked closely to the other cultural traditions, the British parliamentary system and the British legal system.

Menzies also described how, while Attorney-General in the Victoria Government, he had introduced the Bill that created the first full-time Vice-Chancellor of his old university, the University of Melbourne, a matter that obviously gave him some pride.

In 1945 as Leader of the Opposition in the House of Representatives Menzies expressed his conception of the part that the Commonwealth Government should, and ultimately did, play in the affairs of the nation. On

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223 Menzies, R.G. 1939, op.cit.
225 Ibid.
that occasion he advocated a revised and extended education system; the need for attention to be directed to secondary, rural, technical and university training; the need for special adult education and the problems of the qualifications, status and remuneration of teachers. He said that these reforms ‘may involve substantial Commonwealth financial aid’ and advocated the setting up of a qualified commission to advise the Australian Government.\textsuperscript{226} It was some years before Menzies was again in a position to influence affairs. He was well aware of the difficulties, indeed the crisis, of the Australian universities when he returned to power in 1949. Costs were rising, student numbers being financed by the Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme were falling as ex-service men and women graduated, and thus the universities were losing the benefits of the grants made by the Commonwealth on their behalf.

By law the universities were unable to refuse entry to qualified young persons and could not introduce quotas to limit entry to the different faculties. The salaries of the staff of the university were low compared with comparable qualified persons in the community. In particular, the level of research in the universities was extremely low, owing mainly to the lack of adequate funds to finance research students, research assistants and the purchase of equipment.

\textbf{Report of the Committee on the Needs of Universities}

Criticism of the government’s record on university education came from three sources: those who believed the government had exceeded its constitutional powers in providing funding directly to the universities; those who believed that the Commonwealth was forcing universities to raise tuition fees (in order to be eligible for direct grants), making access to university education more difficult for less affluent students; and those who believed that the Commonwealth should do more to meet the financial needs

of the rapidly expanding universities. Three months after his election success in December 1949, Menzies set up the Commonwealth Committee on the Needs of Universities under the Chairmanship of Professor Richard Charles Mills, a distinguished Australian economist, who was then the Director of the Commonwealth Office of Education, and who had been appointed to the committee under the Chifley Labor government. Menzies gave Mills the following Terms of Reference:

1. To examine and report upon the finances of the Universities having regard to their facilities for teaching and research including staff, building and equipment;
2. To examine and report upon the requirements of Universities in relation to the work at present undertaken and to the need for their future development; and
3. To make recommendations as to whether any, and if so what, action should be taken by the Commonwealth to assist the Universities.\(^{227}\)

He later added two more tasks:

4. To examine the financial position of the residential colleges attached to the universities; and
5. To make recommendations on the teaching of oriental languages and veterinary science in the universities.\(^{228}\)

Menzies sought and obtained an interim report.\(^{229}\) Mills recommended that the Commonwealth Government contribute towards the recurrent expenditure of universities, a recommendation that was accepted by the government. The Mills Committee, on the basis of weighted student numbers, allocated each university a ‘first level’ grant for which they could qualify by receiving a minimum income of state grants and fees. Universities could also qualify for a ‘second level’ Commonwealth grant equivalent to £1 for every £3 of state grants and fees above the set minimum

\(^{228}\) Ibid.
income. By December 1951 Menzies had passed legislation permitting the Commonwealth to provide funding in proportion to that provided by the state Governments. This was the first of a series of the States Grants (Universities) Acts, enacted in 1951, 1953, 1955, 1956, 1957 and 1958, and made possible under section 96 of the Constitution. These Acts enabled the making of grants to the states on condition that the states’ own expenditures on universities and the universities’ own incomes from fees reached certain threshold levels. The conditional nature of these grants frequently disadvantaged the states and university students, however. Whenever the state governments or the universities could not raise the prescribed level finance, the size of the Federal grant declined. For example, the University of Western Australia, which had not charged fees, did not qualify for any grant until it imposed a substantial tuition fee on its students in August 1961.

Menzies had instructed the Mills Committee to attend to the needs of the university residential colleges, an interest that had its origins in his own experience as a prominent member of a church-owned residential college while at the University of Melbourne. In a parliamentary speech in the ‘Education Debate’ in 1945, Menzies showed himself to be a strong believer in education with the kind of ‘moral flavour’ he considered denominational colleges possessed. His decision to provide Federal funding to private denominational university colleges marked a significant change in Australian educational history, breaking the tradition of separation of Church and state with respect to education. Speaking at a Roman Catholic function in NSW, Menzies described how he had overruled the Mills Committee on this matter:

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I was told … that the Committee took the view that the residential 
colleges at the universities ought not to be in the picture because 
presumably a university could exist without them or, alternatively, 
they were not really part of a university. It gave me singular 
satisfaction at that time to say to the Committee, ‘Unless there is 
some recommendation in your list for the residential colleges at the 
universities, I will ignore your report’… I have always been a 
tremendous believer in schools and in colleges at universities which 
have a background of religion, for … I would get no satisfaction in 
thinking that we had pledged ourselves to a highly intellectual … but 
highly pagan future. The world is full of talent. Not quite so full of 
character.232

In the years between 1951 and 1957, when Menzies was again prepared to 
act, the states had found it impossible to provide adequate finance for the 
growing demand for tertiary and technical education and even for education at the secondary level. Inevitably in this situation, agitation grew up in all directions. As stated above, in 1952 the AVCC published a pamphlet titled *A crisis in the finances and development of the Australian universities*, appealing for public attention.233 The Australian National Research Council, the predecessor of the Australian Academy of Science, organised a symposium in Canberra in 1954 under the chairmanship of the Chief Justice of the Commonwealth, Sir Owen Dixon, at which the plight of the universities was discussed, following which the President of the Australian National Research Council, anthropologist Professor A.P. Elkin, wrote to the Prime Minister outlining the plight of the universities and sending the text of a resolution passed at the symposium. As stated earlier, in New South Wales the WEA organised a convention in Sydney in 1954 to discuss the situation of universities in that state, invited the Premier to participate and provided its *Proceedings* to government. However, perhaps the most telling of the appeals came from Ian Clunies Ross, Chairman of the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation (CSIRO). Clunies Ross was a graduate of the University of Sydney and well known in academic and scientific circles for his liberal views and for the quality of his

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233 The Australian Vice-Chancellors’ Committee, 1952, *op.cit.*
public statements, such as his oration delivered on the occasion of the Centenary of the University of Sydney on 26 August 1952 entitled *The responsibility of Science and the university in the modern world.*

**Report of the Committee on Australian Universities**

After intense lobbying from university vice-chancellors and the Chairman of the CSIRO, Menzies in December 1956 invited Sir Keith Murray,235 Chairman of the University Grants Committee in Great Britain ‘… to head a Committee of Inquiry into the future of the Australian Universities’.236 Four Australian men were invited to complete the Committee: Ian Clunies Ross,237 Charles R. Morris, Alex. J. Reid and J.C. Richards.238 Menzies had met with Murray in London in 1956, foreshadowing both the establishment of the Committee and its Terms of Reference and seeking Murray’s willingness to participate.239

The Terms of Reference were listed in the Prime Minster’s invitations to Murray and the other men, both as specific and broad areas for investigation and leaving wide scope for the Committee to determine its own direction.240

We would hope that the Committee would take a wide charter to investigate how best the Universities may serve Australia at a time of great social and economic development within the nation.

The Committee is invited to indicate ways in which the Universities might be organised so as to ensure that their long-term pattern of development is in the best interests of the nation, and in particular to inquire into such matters as:-

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234 Capitalisation sic. Clunies Ross, Ian. *The responsibility of Science and the university in the modern world.* An oration delivered on the occasion of the Centenary of the University of Sydney, University of Sydney, Sydney, 26 August 1952.
235 Later Lord Murray.
236 Menzies, R.G. Letter of invitation to Sir Keith Murray, 19 December 1956, in Commonwealth of Australia (a), *op.cit.* Appendix A.
237 Later Sir Ian Clunies Ross.
238 Commonwealth of Australia (c1), *op.cit.* Letter of transmittal.
239 Menzies, *op.cit.* Appendix A.
240 Commonwealth of Australia (c1), *op.cit.*, p.5.
(1) the role of the University in the Australian community;
(2) the extension and co-ordination of University facilities;
(3) technological education at University level; and
(4) the financial needs of Universities and appropriate means of providing for these needs.

This list is not meant to be exhaustive and it does not set out to limit the inquiry to be undertaken by the Committee…

In brief I have in mind that the Committee might pay attention to what Australian Universities could reasonably be expected to do, how they might be organised to do this and how their activities should be financed. Some of the specific topics which interest me include: numbers which should be kept in mind in determining whether a new University ought to be established, machinery for ensuring that the creation of new Faculties and Chairs is done in such a way that existing resources are used adequately and needless duplication does not occur, and an analysis of the adequacy of the Commonwealth Scholarship Scheme whereby some 3,000 new scholarships are available annually for students at tertiary institutions…but I would prefer the Committee itself to retain a considerable measure of freedom in deciding which problems might be studied in detail to give the most useful type of advice.\textsuperscript{241}

The Murray Committee introduced to Australia the method of consultation that had been used by the University Grants Committee in Britain, requesting each university to fill in a questionnaire and to make written submissions on the university’s aspirations and financial needs. Each university was then visited by the Committee, which held discussions with representatives of the governing body, staff and students. This method of review was to set the pattern of further reviews throughout the latter part of the twentieth century.

During the three months of its existence in 1957, the Murray Committee visited ‘the Australian National University and Canberra University College, each of the eight state universities, the Newcastle University College and the Royal Melbourne Technical College’\textsuperscript{242} and sought responses from a wide range of individuals. It is clear from the ‘List of

\textsuperscript{241} Menzies (b), \textit{op.cit.} Appendix A.

\textsuperscript{242} Commonwealth of Australia (c1), \textit{op.cit.} p.6.
Those Who Made Submissions’ contained in the Report that there was considerable stakeholder interest in the issues Menzies had canvassed.\textsuperscript{243} Of the 231 submissions listed, 84 were in writing and 147 were oral presentations from: ten Ministerial Departments, Commissions, Councils and Boards of the Commonwealth Government; the Department of Education and Treasury of each Australian state, as well as Departments of Public Works, Public Instruction and Technical Education from three states; each of the ten extant Universities and Canberra University College; all Professorial Boards and Deans; sub-Professorial Boards and Boards of Graduate Studies; all university Staff Associations; all Student Unions, Associations, Representative Councils, and Guilds; and Heads of Residential Colleges. There were also submissions by ‘All-Australian [Federal] University Bodies’: the Australian Vice-Chancellors’ Committee; the Federal Council of University Staff Associations of Australia; Heads of residential Colleges affiliated to Australian Universities; the National Union of Australian University Students; and the Professors of Education in Australian Universities.

More than 50 organizations made submissions, including professional bodies such as Law and Bar Societies, Medical Associations, Dental Associations, Institutes of Engineers, Veterinary Associations, Schools Associations, Teachers’ Federations, Hospitals, University Establishment Committees, Orchestral Committees, Local Government and Shire Councils and Chambers of Commerce. Thirty individual submissions were received from noted members of the community, including professors, doctors, representatives of local government, teachers and Heads of public and private schools, members of religious faiths, including His Eminence Cardinal Gilroy, and interested members of the public. Some of these respondents had been invitees at the WEA Convention in 1954.\textsuperscript{244} This was

\textsuperscript{243} Ibid. Appendix B.

\textsuperscript{244} See List of participants in Commonwealth of Australia (c1), \textit{op.cit.} Appendix B; Universities of New South Wales, \textit{op.cit.}, p.8.
an enormous response and one that was indicative of the central place in which post World War Two Australia held university education.

The Report of the Committee on Australian Universities, 1957 (hereafter the Murray Report), was the first national, wide ranging inquiry into, and report on, Australian university education, reporting on nine areas of significance, summarised here as:

- the role of the universities in the community;
- general characteristics of the Australian situation, in particular, economic background, educational background and the state of public opinion;
- problems of the Australian universities in regard to undergraduate education, Honours, post-graduate education and research work;
- problems of the Australian universities in regard to accommodation, maintenance and equipment, recruitment, staff salaries and service conditions, and scholarships and grants;
- the special problems of scientific and technological education;
- problems of university expansion in regard to the expected increase in university enrolments, distribution among Faculties, co-ordination of development and new institutions;
- problems of university policy formulation and administration;
- the need for an Australian University Grants Committee; and
- the immediate financial needs of the universities.  

The Murray Committee reported to the Menzies Government, recommending sweeping changes to university education. Tabled in November 1957, its report revealed gross inadequacies in the standard of university education in Australia:

245 Commonwealth of Australia (c1), op.cit.
We had hoped to find the universities adequately staffed and equipped to discharge their existing responsibilities to the student body and the nation; but this is unfortunately far from the case … the paramount difficulty facing the universities is the pressure of student numbers, particularly in the first year … [there is a] lack of accommodation: class rooms and laboratories, libraries, individual staff teaching and research rooms, common rooms, student unions, sport facilities, residential colleges and hostels and staff common rooms and amenities.246

Most important of the recommendations was the continued injection of funds from the Commonwealth Government, the result of which was the allocation of 13.5 million pounds of Federal funding, supplementing the 15 million pounds it had already allocated. Money was spent on new buildings, staff salaries and Commonwealth scholarships that paid the course fees of twenty per cent of the student population. The additional recurrent assistance for universities had the effect of altering the ratio of Commonwealth grants to state grants and fees from 1:3 to 1:1.85. Other recommendations led to the introduction of triennial funding and the provision of capital grants on a 1:1 basis with state funding.247 As a result of these changes, one academic wrote to the Prime Minister thanking him for starting a ‘noble revolution’ in Australia's universities.248 The Murray Committee had also recommended that the number of university scholarships should be increased without delay, but Menzies refused on the ground that more scholarships would make the universities still more overcrowded. The proportion of new students receiving university scholarships declined from 39 per cent in 1951 to 24 per cent in 1961, when Menzies eventually raised the ceiling on the number of scholarships, increasing the allocation to 4,000 per annum.249 This was far from a ‘noble revolution’ in university education.

246 Ibid.
247 Jackson, op.cit., p.4.
249 Whitlam, op.cit., p.295.
Growth in demand for graduates

Participants at the Universities of NSW convention in 1954 had raised the issue of the utilitarian role of the university being to train graduates for industry. Typical was the comment by Dr. W.A. Merrylees, President of the Riverina Council’s University League:

… nowadays a university has to perform a social function. It is an organ of the nation, the community, or society … its function is to train the “cream” of the nation … to fit them for carrying out certain jobs for the community.250

Professor A.V. Stephens, Professor or Aeronautical Engineering at the University of Sydney, suggested that the ‘function of a university is to train people for leadership in the community’.251 Professor P.H. Partridge, Professor of Moral Philosophy at the Australian National University, disagreed with that view but recognised the common understanding held by large sections of the public and stated that:

… contemporary society is overwhelmingly utilitarian and technological in its interests … [with a] growing habit of thinking of the university as a public instrumentality which exists for the purpose of rendering to society specific and assignable services.252

A common view among participants was that this utilitarian view of university education was inappropriate and diverted energy and resources from other things, impairing the strength of the universities as centres of original thought and scholarship.253 Professor Partridge believed that the role of the university was ‘… the preservation, deepening and transmission to new generations of students of knowledge of ages earlier than our own, and of their culture’.254 Professor John Anderson, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Sydney believed that ‘the primary function [of the

250 Universities of New South Wales, op.cit. p.22.
251 Ibid., p.25.
252 Ibid., p.18.
253 Ibid., p.19.
254 Ibid., p.20.
university] in relation to society is social criticism: examining the principles of things and the basis of doctrines so as to criticise and counter current notions’. Mr. E.W. Tapp, Senior Lecturer in History at the University of New England, expressed a more esoteric view, stating that, ‘... the distinctive job of a university is to engage in the fundamental profession of learning for its own sake’.

It is not surprising that the themes elucidated by participants in the Universities of NSW Convention were also addressed by the Murray Report three years later. The Murray Committee considered the role of universities within Australia’s growing modern community to be threefold: firstly, to satisfy the increasing demand for highly educated graduates in an increasing number of fields; secondly, to conduct research and to discover knowledge for its own sake; and finally, to act as ‘guardians of intellectual standards and of intellectual integrity in the community’.

Murray and his colleagues openly expressed a utilitarian view of university education and recognised the post-war community as requiring more and more highly educated people.

Industry and commerce call for more graduates, government and public administration call for more graduates, and all the services of the welfare state call for more graduates.

As well as the need for graduates for the professions, generally, the need for large numbers of each kind of graduate was identified.

The graduates needed are of an immense variety of kinds: doctors, dentists, lawyers, economists, ministers of religion, teachers, scientists, engineers, agriculturalists, veterinary scientists, technologists, administrators, and many others. Not only do the

255 Ibid., p.22.
256 Ibid., p.25.
257 Commonwealth of Australia (c1), op.cit., p.120.
258 Ibid., p.7.
kinds proliferate, but the numbers needed in each kind continually increase.\textsuperscript{259}

The Murray Report also identified the need for large increases in broad areas of university education, in particular, increased provision of courses in mathematics, physics, chemistry, and humanities, since these disciplines formed the foundation of many of the specializations in science, medicine, medically related fields and law. Teaching was seen as one major area with a critical shortage of graduates. The output of science graduates from all universities in 1956 for all purposes was 524 but it was estimated that by 1960 and 1961, 450 secondary school mathematics and science teachers would be needed each year – a total of 900.\textsuperscript{260} The CSIRO, established in 1949 to carry out research on behalf of the Commonwealth,\textsuperscript{261} in 1956 drew 30 per cent of those it recruited from overseas because it was unable to fill positions with local graduates.\textsuperscript{262} The requirement to increase the number of specialist graduates was seen as vital to the survival and progress of the nation. ‘The technical and specialist requirements are without doubt in themselves no less than a matter of life and death to the nation’.\textsuperscript{263} It was estimated that by 1962, 90 per cent more graduates would be needed than were being produced in 1957.\textsuperscript{264}

The attention of the nation was on post-war reconstruction and development and the supply of a sufficient number of graduates to service this growth and development was seen as crucial. Australia’s need for graduates was also placed within the context of a world-wide shortage of graduates.

High intellectual ability is in short supply and no country can afford to waste it; every boy or girl with the necessary brain power must in the national interest be encouraged to come forward for a university

\textsuperscript{259} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{260} Ibid., p.17.
\textsuperscript{262} Commonwealth of Australia (c1),\textit{ op.cit.}, p.18.
\textsuperscript{263} Ibid., p.8.
\textsuperscript{264} Ibid., p.19.
education, and there must be a suitable place in a good university for every one who does come forward.²⁶⁵

Beyond a focus on increasing the provision of university education in order to educate graduates for the professions, the Murray Report was clear in its liberal democratic view that the function of the university was to offer not merely a technical or specialist training,

… but a full and true education, befitting a free man [sic] and the citizen of a free country … it is important to the interests of the country, and of humanity … that its highly specialized professional men [sic], technologists and scientists should … also be fully educated as rounded human beings … [with an] understanding and appreciation of human values … [able to] use their specialized powers to serve their generation in a free society. … University education has to be a preparation for a vigorous life in a free society.²⁶⁶

Liberal ideology was apparent in the attitudes of the Murray Committee to the central role education played in civilising the citizen and in advancing the ‘... understanding and appreciation of human values’.²⁶⁷ In the immediate post-war period, the Committee saw ‘...the most serious problems in the world [as] moral problems and [the] problems of human relationships’²⁶⁸ and they posed the solution to these problems as being the study of humanities.²⁶⁹ A broad university education, it was argued, prepared men and women to serve their generation ‘... in a free society’,²⁷⁰ a concept that was at the heart of both classical liberal ideology and modern liberalism.²⁷¹ Nonetheless, a utilitarian turn had occurred in the concept of university education and the previous liberal centrality of ‘the value of [graduates’] contributions …in determining and moulding our way of

²⁶⁵ Ibid., p.8.
²⁶⁶ Ibid., pp.8-9.
²⁶⁷ Ibid., p.9.
²⁶⁸ Ibid.
²⁶⁹ Ibid.
²⁷⁰ Ibid.
life”\(^{272}\) had been supplanted by recognition of the value of university graduates’ contributions to building the nation and its capital.

Apart from any desire for the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, university research is recognised as indispensible to the welfare of the nation … a good university is the best guarantee that mankind can have that somebody, whatever the circumstances, will continue to seek the truth and will make it known.\(^{273}\)

At the 1954 Convention, similar ideas regarding the importance of the humanities were put forward. Professor Marcus Oliphant,\(^{274}\) Professor of Physics at the Australian National University, was ‘convinced of the great value of an education in the Arts’\(^{275}\) and Professor Partridge stated that ‘the aim of university teaching in Faculties of Arts is the production of critical intelligences’.\(^{276}\) In his paper presented at the convention he was firm on the benefits of studying Arts.

Knowledge of past states of society and of their intellectual life is not justified because it merely satisfies a curiosity about what is strange and different. If is it worth knowing about the history of thought and social life, it must be because that knowledge contributes to our understanding of present existence; or because there are problems or “predicaments” of human life which recur at all periods, and we have a great deal to learn from what has been said about them in earlier high states of civilization; or because there are elements of great value in earlier and different civilizations which may be lacking in our own.\(^{277}\)

At the convention, Professor J.P. Baxter, Director of the University of Technology, among other things, took up the issue of the importance of research in the universities.

\(^{273}\) Commonwealth of Australia (c1) *op.cit.* p.10.
\(^{274}\) Later Sir Marcus Oliphant, Nobel Laureate.
The ideal university teacher is a man [sic] who is actively engaged in some branch of research related to the subject which he teaches, and whose work is so arranged that he has adequate time ... and opportunity to pursue his research. If university teachers are to do the job we require, they must not be so burdened with teaching and the administrative duties that go with teaching that they cannot carry out effective research, and maintain effective contact with those parts of the community, industry, government, commerce etc., which their teaching and their researches are likely to affect.278

Professor Oliphant, also, believed in the importance of research and argued that, ‘the pursuit of knowledge and its communication to others must be the twin objectives of equal importance of any body worthy of the name “university” ’.279

The Murray Report, too, focussed on research, advocating freedom for university researchers to pursue their own research interests. Acknowledging that various kinds of research are conducted in various kinds of organization, Murray advocated that universities were the best place for curiosity driven research to take place.

It is obvious that most of the basic secrets of nature have been unravelled by men who were moved simply by intellectual curiosity, who wanted to discover new knowledge for its own sake. ...Advances in knowledge have come because free inquirers have been pursuing their own ideas and insights, devotedly and with great persistence, in pursuit of enlightenment for its own sake.280

Like Murray, Professor Partridge at the 1954 Convention had stated that ‘the universities should be centres of original thought, of scientific exploration and discovery, of independent scholarship’.281

However, applied research or the application of the new knowledge was not seen by the Murray Committee to be the primary interest of the universities, but something which came later and as the focus of industry or specialist

278 Ibid., p.77.
279 Ibid., p.11.
280 Commonwealth of Australia (c1), op.cit., p.9.
281 Universities of NSW, op.cit. p.19.
organizations, ‘by other men, with different gifts and different interests’. 282

The research work of academics, on the other hand, was seen as being of high national interest, with the potential to make advances to science and defence, two areas of immediate concern in the immediate post-war period.

Every nation wants to enable its scientists to contribute a fair share to the total stock of human knowledge; and if there were any weakening in this high motive, no nation to-day dares on grounds of national defence alone to fall entirely behind or to be without its own good number of highly qualified men of science of the academic or university type. Apart from any desire for the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, university research is recognized as indispensable to the welfare of the nation.283

Research was also seen by the Murray Committee as being the inextricably linked to, and the driver of, good teaching, stating that ‘at the university level good teaching cannot live without research’. 284 Good researchers were seen as having a double value: as those who advance knowledge and as stimulating teachers of university students, advancing the welfare of the community and the nation as they engage in both pursuits.

Universities, as independent communities of scholars, were also regarded as providing one of the most valuable services to the country and for the world: advancing the Western tradition of intellectual inquiry.

… a good university is the best guarantee that mankind [sic] can have, that somebody, whatever the circumstances, will continue to seek the truth and to make it known. Any free country welcomes this and expects this service of its universities.285

Partridge was responding to the notion of the maintenance and preservation of the Western tradition of intellectual inquiry when in 1954 he stated that ‘it is obviously one part of the university’s duty to preserve the heritage of

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282 Commonwealth of Australia (c1), op.cit. p.9. No doubt, they were thinking, especially, of the CSIRO and of medical research foundations.
283 Ibid., p.10.
284 Ibid.
285 Ibid., p.11.
intellectual achievements and standards’.

Similarly, in 1957 Murray and his colleagues saw universities as having the function of acting as guardians of intellectual standards and intellectual integrity in the community.

In the post-war years, undergraduate enrolments increased nationally, rising from 28,791 in 1953 to 36,465 in 1957. Apart from the Universities of Tasmania and New England and the Canberra University College, the main difficulty in enrolment numbers was the large number of students in first year classes, particularly in Faculties of Arts, where large numbers of students were required to study English, history and psychology. At the University of Sydney, the English Department taught approximately 700 students in sixty tutorial groups of ten or twelve students with the consequence that each student could only have two tutorials per year. At the University of Melbourne, the maximum number of students that could be safely catered for in the Chemistry Department was 855, and that number was exceeded later. In 1958 limits were placed on entries to Science and other departments that made first year demands on Chemistry, at a time when the need for an increased number of science graduates was apparent.

The simple solution of reducing this pressure on the universities by raising the academic standard of matriculation or by more rigorous selection of students was either not lawful or seen as not acceptable, given the circumstances and traditions of Australia, where the practice in all universities was:

… to accept for enrolment any student who is qualified for entry. In fact, the University of Sydney has found it is compelled, because of the terms of its Charter, to accept any students matriculating in New South Wales.

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286 Universities of NSW, op.cit., p.18.
287 Commonwealth of Australia (c1), op.cit.p.12.
288 Ibid., p.30.
289 Ibid., p.32.
The universities fixed the matriculation standards determining the academic level below which students were not admitted for degree courses. The Murray Committee agreed with submissions by the universities that they should not use matriculation standards as a weapon for the selective admission of students, even though by being ‘morally obliged to accept all qualified students they imposed upon themselves a tremendous burden, a burden which contributes to high failure rates and poorly trained students’. However, even though students had qualified for entry via matriculation, there was a view expressed by some academics that ‘larger universities had too many students or too many whose attitude towards their studies [was] too much like that of reluctant school children’. For Professor Partridge, this attitude in students was linked to the utilitarian function of universities, being seen as places of training for work.

Democratic or egalitarian conceptions compel the universities to undertake the function of providing tertiary education and vocational training to large numbers of students whose interest is not primarily in education but in “bettering” themselves, in achieving a secure and comfortable career.

Universities were dissuaded from taking responsibility for providing educational opportunities for students who had not reached matriculation level, including those who sought entry based on recognition of prior learning. Further, universities were encouraged to make arrangements for such students elsewhere. Sub-professional courses were not seen as being part of a university’s primary responsibilities; rather they were seen as placing a burden on already over-crowded facilities leading to a lowering of the efficiency of teaching and academic standards.

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290 Ibid.
291 Universities of NSW, op.cit., p.19.
292 Ibid.
293 Commonwealth of Australia (c1), op.cit., p.34.
The Murray Report: liberalism, human capital and equal opportunity

There was, clearly, no notion of provision of university places for non-traditional or equity students in the thinking of Murray and his colleagues. Indeed, the late twentieth century liberal attitude toward social equality, as demonstrated through the aim of provision of access to all levels of education, was not yet an issue of discussion.

The fundamental liberal ideology underpinning the state was central to how university education was viewed or constructed in the 1950s. As argued in Chapter Two, the purpose of the state was to create conditions in which individuals could pursue their private affairs as equal members of society and a good society was one that guaranteed the liberty of the individual to maximise the self and exercise freedom of action. Other than the requirement that applicants matriculate, that is, meet the scholastic standards set by the universities at the final year Leaving Certificate Examination, all school leavers were free to apply to attend university in the Australian state in which they lived. Individuals were free to maximise themselves through university education, or as Bourdieu has put it, to increase their cultural capital.

‘Bettering’ themselves, however, was not necessarily seen in a positive light. Those who sought to improve their cultural capital, to achieve ‘a secure and comfortable career’ through university education, rather than having an interest in education for its own sake, were considered by at least one leading academic as potentially detracting ‘from other functions of the university which may be more important’. In particular, teaching large numbers of students was seen as a detraction from more worthy university pursuits.

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294 Rokeach, op. cit.
296 Universities of NSW, op.cit. p.19.
The provision of technical and professional training to very large numbers of men and women and of tertiary education of a non-professional kind to future teachers, clergymen, lawyers and the like, divert energy and resources from other things, and they do impair the strength of the universities as centres of original thought and scholarship.\textsuperscript{297}

This view harked back to a set of classical liberal social and cultural values that would have been better placed at the founding of Australian universities in the middle of the nineteenth century. It argued that universities should remain remote from the life of the community and cater mainly for the traditional professional needs of a social and neo-colonial cultural élite.

This was not the view favoured by Murray, nor Prime Minister Menzies, and ultimately, not the view that prevailed at the end of the 1950s. By that time there was some Commonwealth government commitment to equality of opportunity, as evidenced by the introduction of needs-based scholarships for university students in 1951, although the number of scholarships for beginning students did not keep pace with the increase in enrolments and the resultant decrease in the percentage of students holding scholarships could easily be interpreted as an attempt to return to a time when only those who could afford it would attended university. There was certainly no notion of egalitarian responsibility at work in the implementations of Menzies.

From the Murray Report there was also an acknowledgement of the need for the Commonwealth to provide reasonable physical facilities for university education, but not as an acceptance of the need to address another dimension of inequality. This was simply a utilitarian view that to do the work of educating people for the professions, universities required facilities. Menzies nevertheless was responsible for a major extension of post-war Commonwealth financial involvement and support for university education

\textsuperscript{297} Ibid., p.19.
in the adoption of the Murray Report recommendations for the overall development of universities in Australia.

Bourdieu’s, Coleman’s and Putnam’s works were not available in the 1950s, and it is not surprising that a discussion of cultural and social capital and the role that education plays in their development was omitted from commentary of the time. Nevertheless, one of the benefits of historical analysis is that it permits a ‘rear view’ observation of events, circumstances and documentation. With the benefit of that hindsight, it seems clear that Menzies and Murray were dealing with the concept of the development of human capital, albeit from an economic capital point of view, where the cultural capital gained from the experience of university education could be seen as ‘convertible … into economic capital and … institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications.’ For Menzies, the growth of the Australian economy in the post-war period was inextricably linked to growth in the number and kind of university graduates that could be produced. This was a modern liberal view, where economic management and the provision of social welfare, for example, through the ‘positive right’ of some subsidised university places, were seen as a strategy for economic prosperity and harmony in civil society.

**Conclusion**

The report of the Murray Committee proved to be a watershed for Australia’s nine universities and two university colleges. Critical of the academic programs, high failure rates, and poor accommodation and equipment of the universities, Murray identified inadequate funding as the principal cause. It recommended that the Commonwealth government contribute to the capital costs of universities for a three-year period to enable planning and recommended the establishment of an Australian University Grants Committee within the Prime Minister’s Department to

advise government on the level of financial assistance to be provided to universities.\textsuperscript{299}

The Murray Committee’s financial recommendations were accepted in full by the Menzies government and its recommendation for the appointment of a permanent universities committee to offer advice in the future was accepted in principle. The \textit{States Grants (Universities) Act 1958}, which allocated funding to the states for capital and recurrent university expenditure for the triennium 1958 to 1960, and the \textit{Australian Universities Commission Act} of 1959, which created the statutory body, the Australian Universities Commission (AUC), put into effect the recommendations of the Murray Committee.\textsuperscript{300}

The Murray Report coincided with a period of unprecedented growth in university enrolments, with bachelor degree graduations across Australia reaching 3,000 per year or 31 per 100,000 of population. For the next seventeen years graduations increased at an average annual rate of more than 12 per cent, while population was increasing at a rate of just under two per cent per annum, so that the number of graduations in 1974 was more than 150 per 100,000 of population.\textsuperscript{301} Higher degree graduations increased at an even greater rate.

This was a period of high growth in university enrolment and graduation numbers, but given that university students were drawn from a small section of the population, that section that had an interest in and sufficient family income to allow their children to complete high school and perhaps qualify for university entrance, it could not be considered a period of equal access. Whilst access to university could be seen as the result of formal equality of

\textsuperscript{299} Commonwealth of Australia (c1), \textit{op.cit.} Chapter VIII: The Need for an Australian University Grants Committee.
\textsuperscript{300} Martin, L.H. Letter to Sir George Paton, 4 May 1959, Staff Records of the University of Melbourne.
opportunity – the opportunity to matriculate in the high school leaving
t考试 – the opportunity to complete high school and sit the
t examination was not equal for all young people. University education
remained out of reach for the majority of families, a structural inequality
that had the classical liberal effect of maintaining the established social
order by limiting university education and access to the professions to a
broad section of the population.
CHAPTER FOUR

MARTIN: THE BENEFITS OF EDUCATION ARE THE VERY STUFF OF A FREE AND DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Introduction

The second phase of post-war expansion of tertiary education in Australia extended from the late 1950s to the middle of the 1960s, seeing university enrolments more than treble from 30,630 in 1950 to 110,250 in 1965; and more than double in the five year period 1960 to 1965, from 53,633 to 110,250. By far the largest increase in enrolments occurred in 1965, when 44,000 more university students than the previous year enrolled.\(^{302}\) This one-year increase represented more than the entire national enrolment of university students a decade earlier (30,792 students in 1955).\(^{303}\) The number of teachers being trained also doubled or trebled in some states, and in every state at least one new teachers’ college was established during this period of expansion.\(^{304}\)

Whilst there was considerable expansion in tertiary education, students were typically still drawn from a relatively narrow range of family backgrounds. In the years 1959-1960, only eight per cent of males and seven per cent of females attending university came from families where the father was either unskilled or semi-skilled. At the same time, thirty per cent

\(^{302}\) Commonwealth of Australia (c17), Department of Employment, Education & Youth Affairs, *Higher Education Students Time Series Tables*, AGPS, Canberra, 1988, Table 3.1 All higher education students by state, 1949-1997(a), p.10. These figures do not include CAE enrolments.

\(^{303}\) Ibid.

of males and forty eight per cent of females attending university had fathers in professional, administration and supervisory occupations.\textsuperscript{305}

As a result of the Murray Committee’s recommendations and the subsequent recommendations of the Australian Universities Commission (AUC), established in July 1959 by the Menzies government on the recommendation of the Murray Committee, this second phase of post-war expansion of tertiary education saw high levels of Commonwealth and state funding injected into university development as the ‘baby boomers’, children born after the Second World War, were by then in secondary schools and many would soon be seeking places in tertiary education. The state governments, which held responsibility for education, financed this expansion of tertiary education, but with an increasing level of Commonwealth assistance for universities. It was the task of the Commonwealth appointed AUC to formulate policy, at a national level, for universities. Menzies, writing some years later, stated:

\begin{quote}
This enormous growth has been, of course, associated with the modern doctrine that boys and girls who can pass the qualifying examinations have a right to university training... I can see the virtues of this, but I also see that the problem the doctrine presents to Governments and universities is a tremendous one. Governments may find that with all the other demands both external and internal made upon them, they may reach a point at which some limitation must be put upon the demands of tertiary education. I hope not, but it would be foolish to pretend that the problem does not exist.\textsuperscript{306}
\end{quote}

The rapid growth in student numbers, increasing costs and economic recession in 1961/62 led the Commonwealth government to seek a cheaper form of university education. Accordingly, the chair of the AUC, Sir Leslie Martin, was asked to head an advisory committee on the future of tertiary education in Australia.

This chapter examines the Report of the Committee on the Future of Tertiary Education in Australia, a sub-committee of the AUC. This committee reported to the Commonwealth government in August 1964, recommending wide ranging changes in the structure of tertiary education, in particular the establishment of CAEs. The chapter contextualises the Report within the *a priori* views of Martin and his colleagues, and argues that their view of university education as the province of pure research, rather than the site of technological training, was a significant factor in the drive to establish a cheaper alternative to university education. Secondly, the chapter identifies the Martin Report as embodying the first attempt in Australia to frame education as a mechanism for the development of human capital.

**The Australian Universities Commission**

The *Australian Universities Commission Act* of 1959 created the Australian Universities Commission as a statutory body to advise the Commonwealth government on university matters and to formulate national policy for the universities, even though education continued to be primarily the responsibility of state governments. In the following eighteen months, the Commission visited all Australian universities to discuss funding levels for the 1961-1963 triennium and to establish where the greatest pressure on universities would occur.

Sir Leslie Martin, previously Professor of Physics at the University of Melbourne, was appointed foundation chairman of the AUC from 1 July 1959. Menzies wrote to Martin privately in November 1960, indicating that there were financial problems with the policy of admitting all qualified students to university.

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307 Martin, *op.cit.*
The Government is by no means sure that this state of things – more and more students requiring proportionately more and more outlay – can proceed indefinitely. On the contrary, it is our view that the money which would be required is very likely to be completely out of reach.

Therefore, the Cabinet takes the view that, beginning now and over the next 12 to 18 months, the most vital task of the commission will be to address itself, and find solutions, to the problems of providing the necessary amount of tertiary education within financial limits which are very much more modest than under our present university system.308

Martin had completed a bachelor’s degree and a master’s degree in Science at the University of Melbourne and won an 1951 Exhibition Scholarship to Cambridge University in the United Kingdom to study at the Cavendish Laboratory, where he was later awarded a PhD.309 At the Cavendish Laboratory he studied under Sir Ernest Rutherford (Later Lord Rutherford), who considered that fundamental research, pursued for its own sake, was the only worthwhile form of research, and research that served industry was to be eschewed.310 This was a view that was to inform Martin’s thinking when he was later in a position to make significant decisions and recommendations in regard to the funding and operation of tertiary education in Australia. Martin’s fellow research scientists, who also worked with Rutherford, expressed similar disdain for industry related research. One, Professor Blackett, said of himself and his colleagues, ‘… the world of industry was very far from our thoughts’311, and another, Sir Charles Snow, saw applied science as ‘an occupation for second-rate minds’.312 He added:

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309 Davies, op.cit. p.43.
310 Ibid.
We prided ourselves that the science we were doing could not, in any conceivable circumstances, have any practical use. The more firmly one could make that claim, the more superior one felt.\textsuperscript{313}

The men who trained under Rutherford (there is no mention of women) developed the view that pure science and its application to industry were two separate and distinct fields requiring different training, and they saw a dual system of higher education as best able to deliver this: university training for the best kind of students to discover new knowledge; and higher technical institution training for less able students to apply that scientific knowledge to industry. Sir Mark Oliphant, another Rutherford colleague, later made a submission to the Martin Committee to this effect, stating that: ‘The training of technologists is no part of the proper function of a real university’,\textsuperscript{314} the implication being that those who wished to be trained as technologists had no place studying in a university. In a paper on ‘Postgraduate Studies in Science and Engineering’, he stated that:

\begin{quote}
It is expected of any university department that it should strive constantly to become a centre of intense intellectual activity surrounding itself with that atmosphere which alone stimulates the birth of ideas.\textsuperscript{315}
\end{quote}

However, by 1955 Martin saw Australian universities as also having obligations beyond research, including the training of research workers; they were to train future teachers of science and technical subjects in high schools, who would teach the students who would, in the future, pursue these subjects in the university. Thus, he saw research and teaching as the principal activities of the universities, but he believed that the establishment of a different kind of university, a ‘technology’ university, would provide

\textsuperscript{313} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{315} Martin, L.H. ‘Postgraduate Studies in Science and Engineering’ in \textit{A Symposium on the Place of the Australian University in the Community and Post-graduate Studies in the Australian Universities}, Melbourne University Press for the Australian Vice-Chancellors’ Committee, Melbourne, 1955, p.60.
the proper place for the training of people for industry, a view he put in 1955 to the committee advising the Victorian Government on the establishment of a university of technology in Victoria.\(^{316}\) He argued that the establishment of a technology university provided the opportunity to remove responsibility for vocational education and service to the community from the technological faculties of the University of Melbourne. As Professor of Physics at Melbourne, he made no provision for vocational education within his department:

Now the education that I was aware of as a professor of physics was good for turning out men who were going to do research – the best of them – and of course there would be the rump, who would come out as B.Sc.s and become teachers and turn into engineers or what have you.\(^{317}\)

Martin considered that these students would be better placed in a technical college, technological university or a teachers’ college than in a traditional, research-focussed university. In a public address in 1960 he stated:

It seems inevitable that tertiary education will develop along more than one line [to train people for the] various specialisations demanded in the modern community [for which the] ‘classical form of university education [was] ill suited’.\(^{318}\)

Thus, Sir Leslie Martin brought an established viewpoint on the roles of the university and other tertiary education institutions to his chairmanship of the AUC, a view that favoured a dual system of tertiary education that separated students into two groups according to intellectual ability, as measured by the Leaving Certificate or similar examination. For him, universities should concentrate on research; and technological institutions should train people to apply those research findings to industrial purposes.

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\(^{316}\) Committee appointed to advise the Minister of Education concerning the establishment of a University of Technology in Victoria, 11 November 1955, p.4 in Victorian Education Department Archives, Proposed Institute of Technology file 3, 1955-1957.

\(^{317}\) Woods, Graham. Recorded interview with Sir Leslie Martin and David Dexter, Australian National University, 6 August, 1975.

\(^{318}\) Martin, Sir Leslie. ‘The Universities and the Commission’. Address to Legacy, Melbourne, 21 June 1960, p.3.
In 1960 in the AUC’s first report to the Prime Minister, fifteen months after its establishment, it requested the appointment of a committee of inquiry into ‘future university design’, pointing in the last chapter to the direction it wished the committee to go: ‘It would hardly seem to be practicable to continue creating new universities all patterned on the nineteenth century models’. The report estimated significant increases in the demand for student places by 1966 and predicted difficulty in finding the number of staff required to meet that demand. It also suggested a number of ways in which the universities might become more efficient, such as engaging in new methods of teaching, changing the academic calendar to achieve greater use of facilities and improving standards of teaching in an attempt to reduce failure rates. Significantly, the report contained a section on ‘The Establishment of New University Institutions’ in the form of university colleges, which was a clear indication that a dual system of tertiary education was being contemplated by Martin.

In granting the Commission’s request for a Committee of Inquiry, Prime Minister Menzies predicted the outcome of that inquiry in a speech to parliament on the States Grants (Universities) Bill for 1960, giving effect to the financial recommendations of the Commission’s report.

… after carefully studying the report of the Commission, the Government has taken the view, which it believes the Commission holds also, that unless there is early and substantial modification of the university pattern, away from the traditional nineteenth-century model on which it is now based, it may not – and I say it with reluctance – be practicable for Australian government to meet all the needs for university education in Australia and at the same time to achieve the best use of resources in the national interest. We think, therefore, that the development of alternative kinds of tertiary education is likely to be of the greatest importance.

The Prime Minister wrote to Martin in November 1960, making clear the government’s financial limitations to expanding the number of universities and requiring that a reduced cost solution to the need for more tertiary education places be found. It was clear that the government would be receptive to the establishment of a dual system.

The Government is by no means sure that this state of things - more and more students requiring proportionately more and more outlay – can proceed indefinitely. On the contrary, it is our view that the money which would be required is very likely to be completely out of reach.

Therefore, the Cabinet takes the view that, beginning now and over the next twelve to eighteen months, the most vital task of the Commission will be to address itself, and find solutions, to the problems of providing the necessary amount of tertiary education within financial limits which are relatively very much more modest than under our present university system.\textsuperscript{322}

\section*{Committee on the Future of Tertiary Education in Australia}

In August 1961 the Prime Minister appointed a Committee chaired by Martin to recommend ways in which the demand for university education could be met within financial limits, the terms of reference for which were:

\ldots to consider the pattern of tertiary education in relation to the needs and resources of Australia and to make recommendations to the Australian Universities Commission on the future development of tertiary education.\textsuperscript{323}

This committee of inquiry resulted directly from the high increase in funding for universities that had been won from state and Commonwealth governments in negotiations by the AUC. Menzies wanted no further increase in the number of universities so an alternative way of educating the

\textsuperscript{322} Australian Universities Commission, \textit{op.cit.}, Letter from Prime Minister to Chairman at CTEC:AUC:60/119.

\textsuperscript{323} Commonwealth of Australia (c2), \textit{op.cit.} Letter of Transmittal, 27 August, 1964.
large number of students who would be seeking enrolment in higher education in the later 1960s needed to be found.

In a paper Martin put to the first meeting of the Committee, he suggested a number of ‘topics which might provide [the] basis of [the] Report’, including (a) universities, (b) higher technical institutes and (c) colleges providing two to three year terminal courses. He also proposed a figure of twenty per cent of the 17-22 year age group to receive higher education, suggesting that ten per cent should attend university and the remaining ten per cent should attend some other kind of tertiary institution. This was to be almost a three-fold increase on the 1961 figure of 7.61 per cent of the 17-22 age group enrolled in tertiary education (universities and teachers’ and technical colleges). Menzies and his Cabinet rejected Martin’s original proposals, since their adoption would have meant a dramatic increase in the number of universities and at a cost that was not possible for the nation to support. Menzies was also worried about potential damage that could occur electorally if a large sum of money were to be spent on university education that most voters would not utilise.

In August 1964 the Committee delivered to the Minister-in-Charge of Commonwealth Activities in Education and Research, Senator John Grey Gorton, the first two volumes of its report titled *The Future of Tertiary Education in Australia*. Known as the Martin Report (after the Committee’s chair), it provided conclusions and recommendations on a comprehensive array of topics, stating that ‘public interest in, and government support for, higher education have greatly increased during the last decade. The climate of opinion favours further expansion’. Volume I provided eight chapters:

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327 Commonwealth of Australia (c2), *op.cit*. 

1. The nation and tertiary education, addressing: the increase in knowledge in the twentieth century; tertiary education as part of a wider system of education; education as an investment (private good and public good) and trends in tertiary education.

2. The Australian educational scene: describing the structure of education in Australia; providing population and student numbers; and outlining the pattern of higher education, including universities, teacher training and technical and other training.

3. The Universities detailing: the academic responsibilities of universities; enrolment figures and gender data on undergraduates; examination objectives, validity, reliability and consistency of standards; student progress and failure rates; admission policy; higher degree studies and external and part-time studies.

4. The training of teachers: addressing the current position on state and Roman Catholic teachers’ colleges and kindergarten and pre-school kindergarten training, including problems of supply of teachers and quality of preparation.

5. Technological Education: focussing on the education of engineers, specifically: the nature of university and diploma courses and postgraduate study in engineering; entrance standards; and technical colleges that provided engineering education.

6. A plan for the development of tertiary education in Australia: examining growth and patterns of development of tertiary education; describing the extant universities, institutes of colleges and boards of teacher education in Australia; and proposing an Australian Tertiary Education Commission.

7. Financial assistance to students: suggesting awards, loan schemes and teacher and post-graduate scholarships.

8. Financial proposals: examining past and future expenditure on tertiary education, including recurrent and capital expenditure, and relating expenditure to gross national product.
Volume II provided a further seven chapters that confined themselves to conclusions and recommendations in relation to specific academic disciplines: the land industries, Management, Law, Medicine, Para-medical fields, the Defence Services, and Theology. Conclusions and recommendations for other academic disciplines and courses of professional training were addressed in Volume III, which was presented in 1965: teaching and research in the Humanities; education for the Sciences; the training of teachers; training in Social Work; libraries and the training of librarians; the need for mathematicians; education in Music, Fine Art and the Theatre; a survey of higher degree students; and lastly, Engineering in the universities.

The final report upheld the view that tertiary education should be available to all qualified candidates, but it also made clear that expanding the number and size of existing tertiary education institutions, including universities, was not an appropriate strategy. Instead, it was argued that a range of abilities needed to be catered for and, further, that universities, alone, were not well placed to cater to that breadth of abilities. Martin proposed there be three distinct categories of institution: universities, colleges or institutes and teacher training facilities. This would preserve the élite nature of university education while addressing the training needs of industry and business through another type of institution that would provide further education.328

Encel argues that unlike the Murray Committee, the Martin Committee understood economic models and were of the opinion that education had the capacity to generate increased productivity and create economic growth.329 This was apparent in Martin’s statement330 that:

... the modern economy needs highly trained people in order to function smoothly and to cope with further growth. Consequently, a dynamic economy must be prepared to devote a relatively high proportion of its resources to tertiary education, and also to research and development programmes which facilitate the application of new knowledge to industrial and commercial enterprises.

One of the main recommendations of the Martin Report, one that was to be rejected by the Menzies Government, was the establishment in each state of an Institute of Colleges to develop tertiary colleges with a strong technological emphasis. Only in Victoria was an Institute of Colleges established. In each other state, from 1964 onwards, existing colleges or institutes of technology, teachers’ colleges, agricultural colleges and other institutions involved in tertiary education secured recognition by the Commonwealth as Colleges of Advanced Education (CAEs), which came into being in 1965. In addition, in a number of states and in the Australian Capital Territory, totally new institutions were created with boards or authorities being established to co-ordinate and supervise their development.

‘College of Advanced Education’ was a generic term used to describe a variety of institutions including institutes of technology, senior technical colleges, para-medical schools, colleges of pharmacy, agricultural colleges, conservatoria of music, and schools of art. Their titles varied, for example, the Canberra College of Advanced Education, Swinburne College of Technology, Warrnambool Technical College, the New South Wales College of Nursing, Hawkesbury Agricultural College, the Queensland Conservatorium of Music and the South Australian Institute of Technology. By 1970 there were nearly 50 recognised CAEs, but they varied greatly according to size of institution and courses offered. For

331 Ibid., Vol.1, Recommendations 6.2 to 7.27, pp. 182-204.
example, some were major institutions, such as the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, which was larger than a number of universities at the time; others enrolled a few hundred or even less than a hundred students. Some were considered multi-purpose, offering courses in fields as diverse as social science, humanities and teacher education; others were single purpose. The CAE sector grew quickly, with enrolments growing from 32,231 in 1967 to 42,813 in 1969, to nearly 70,000 by 1972 and to 140,312 by 1977.  

In the triennium 1967-9, the Commonwealth provided $3m to the CAEs and in the 1970-72 triennium, it provided almost $100m. It also provided financial assistance to students in the form of scholarships, awarding 2,500 in 1970.  

The establishment of the CAE sector created the ‘binary system’ of tertiary education that sought to differentiate higher education on the basis of university versus CAE and of ‘pure’ versus ‘applied’ research and study, with Martin arguing that it was important that students receive the kind of education best suited to their innate abilities and purposes in life. Behind this was an economic motive, prompted by the views of Menzies, but it was framed ideologically, ascribing different functions to different kinds of institution. The colleges were to offer a different and cheaper kind of tertiary education than universities, with a strong emphasis on vocational education. They were not permitted initially to award degrees and did not receive research funding. They also attracted academic salaries that were less than those in universities and did not enjoy the same level of autonomy. The colleges … provide two-year courses for the training of senior technicians as well as three-year or four-year courses for technologists. This is a highly important part of their function,
especially when it is remembered that in most professions several technicians are required as supporting staff for one technologist. … Trade courses survive in some colleges but these will gradually be transferred to technical schools.

… Universities and colleges have different functions in research. The universities, but not the colleges, have a responsibility to pursue knowledge for its own sake. The colleges have an important part to play in shorter term research and investigation closely related to the needs of industry, much of which will be supported by industry. Some of this research will demand knowledge and skills of a very high order, but it is not intended that the colleges should offer courses leading to the higher research degrees.336

The period from 1960 to 1970 was a period of very rapid growth for Australian universities, with enrolments rising from 53,000 to 117,000 and the number of universities rising from eight to fourteen. The range of degree courses and diploma courses also grew, as well as postgraduate diplomas. For example, in NSW there were four fields of postgraduate diploma study approved in 1961; by 1970 postgraduate diplomas could be undertaken in 17 fields. 337

Most of the CAEs were originally technical colleges or similar institutions, and the new concept welcomed by the Prime Minister had to do with a change in status for these colleges, and their co-ordination into a system that would provide an alternative to the universities. This development paralleled the earlier recognition of a binary system of higher education in the United Kingdom, which Burgess and Pratt 338 describe in terms of two persistent traditions: the ‘university tradition’, academic and exclusive, concerned with the preservation, extension and dissemination of knowledge for its own sake; and the ‘technical-college tradition’, concerned with vocational and professional education and emphasizing teaching rather than

337 Commonwealth of Australia (c17), op.cit. p.10.
research. By the early 1970s, statements by Ministers responsible for education in the Commonwealth and state governments referred to these two traditions and the characteristics associated with them in an attempt to draw the essential distinctions between universities and CAEs in what was becoming an uncomfortable system to administer.

Charged with responsibility to administer the binary system, in 1972 John Malcolm Fraser, then Commonwealth Minister for Education and Science, expressed the view that he was not in agreement ‘with an approach that would put these institutions into what might appear to be tidy compartments.’ He saw the need for flexibility so that the education system might develop in response to the needs of the community. Commenting in a public address, he said:

Detailing differences between the colleges and universities is not likely to be a fruitful exercise; it could create undesirable divisions. But it is clear that the colleges are more vocationally directed; in the main, completion of a college course is an end in itself.

The NSW government established three statutory boards and an advisory body to develop policy and control operations in higher education. Under the Higher Education Act (1969), the Universities Board and Advanced Education Board were established together with the NSW Higher Education Authority. A non-statutory advisory Board of Teacher Education was also established. Charles B. Cutler, NSW Minister for Education, outlined the differences between universities and colleges in the following way:

… While there are some differences in the courses … offered by individual institutions and in the provisions for part-time and external studies, the universities in [NSW] are generally fairly similar in the teaching and research tasks they undertake and in the

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339 Ibid.
342 Fraser, J. Malcolm, Minister for Education and Science. Address at Swinburne College of Technology, Melbourne, 11 February, 1972.
students they cater for… Traditionally, universities have seen their role in both research and teaching, in advancing the frontiers of knowledge and in passing on the fruits of research to new generations. While it is quite obvious that some of the research in universities is in fields which could be described as practical or applied, and that much of the teaching is in professional areas with a clear vocational intent, nevertheless a main thrust of university research continues to be towards pure rather than applied research while university teaching puts more emphasis in primary degree courses on the theory of the discipline than on practical skills. The stronger vocational orientation of colleges is seen not only in the type of institution but also in the approach to teaching within the discipline offered in the institution. Thus while some of the NSW CAEs have already become degree granting institutions their degrees will be of equal standard but of a different emphasis from the majority of university degrees.\footnote{Cutler, Charles B. NSW Minister for Education. Letter to Federation of Australian University Staff Associations, 23 December, 1971.}

The policy, as stated by Minister Cutler, is very close to that provided by the Martin Committee, referring as it does to differences in emphasis between the two types of institution rather than to clear-cut differences in function, using the notion of degrees from universities and colleges being ‘of equal standard but of a different emphasis’, and seeking to establish a distinction on the basis of pure and applied research and teaching and on the basis of professional and sub-professional courses.

Where university training is strongly vocational it is provided only at a professional level. In colleges, while some courses are aimed to give full professional qualifications there is in addition provision for a range of courses giving sub-professional qualifications. It is the view of the Government that these must be maintained and extended in colleges because of the needs in commerce and industry for large numbers of higher technicians and technologists with somewhat less than full professional qualifications.\footnote{Ibid.}

The Minister was concerned with the provision of sub-professional courses. However, the Martin Report had rejected the possibility that a division might be made in technical education on the basis of professional and sub-professional teaching with the universities catering for the former and
colleges for the latter. The Martin Committee position was a rejection of
the position advocated by the Murray Committee:

The ideal to be aimed at … is that professional training should be
the function of the universities and all forms of non-professional
training should be the function of the technical colleges... 345

Differences in approach occurred among the other states, with a number of
ministers suggesting that the differences between the roles of the university
and the CAEs were of diminishing significance. The universities continued
to represent the fixed and established sector of higher education while the
CAEs provided for growth and innovation and the development of new
relationships between education and the community. It may be argued that
the advent of the CAEs introduced a valuable new element into Australian
higher education and helped to meet the growing demand from students,
even though the philosophies that established the binary system could not be
sustained in the longer term.

The advanced education sector did not develop as planned by the
Commonwealth, which decided not to extend financial aid to teachers’
colleges, as they were within state Departments of Education and therefore
closely related to general plans for schools and to particular plans for the
supply of teachers. It did decide to extend financial aid to CAEs, which
were ‘institutions that were teaching to the standard of attainment at
diploma level but not at degree level’. 346 However, various responses by the
states frustrated Commonwealth plans to fully develop the CAE sector,
including NSW plans to remove teachers’ colleges from Departmental
control and to include teacher education in CAEs, making teacher education
eligible for Commonwealth finance. Teacher education had also been
firmly established in many universities for many years, which made it
difficult for the Commonwealth to maintain its stand not to finance teachers’
colleges. Another difficulty arose from the decision by the CAEs to award

345 Commonwealth of Australia (c1). op.cit., pp.78-79.
346 Turney, op.cit. p.437.
degrees. Although Commonwealth financial aid was to be made available only for courses approved by the Commission – and the awarding of degrees by CAEs was not envisaged by Martin nor approved in their establishment – the powers of statutory boards and colleges in states were sufficient to over-ride the views of the Commonwealth Commission. In a similar way there was pressure to upgrade Certificate courses to Diploma status in order to qualify for Commonwealth funding.

Further, the Martin Committee proposed a Tertiary Education Commission to ensure that the advanced education sector developed as a complementary partner to the university sector. The Commonwealth government decision not to establish a Tertiary Commission was influenced by its decision to exclude teachers colleges from the CAE sector. However, state responses to that decision meant that the two sectors did not develop in the complementary manner that the Martin Committee intended.

**Improving entry mechanisms**

Student success and failure are matters of concern to academics and university and government administrators alike, and questions related to selection processes governing admission to tertiary institutions are often raised, as are reasons for attrition. Following the Martin Committee’s recommendations and the establishment of the binary system, methods of selecting students for entry to the two levels of institution came under scrutiny.

The public examinations administered in the final year of secondary school, such as the High School Leaving Certificate in NSW, enjoyed a long tradition in Australia as the dominant instrument of selection for entry to university and other levels of tertiary education, including the teachers’ colleges and CAEs. From the 1940s onwards, many studies had attempted to identify the characteristics that distinguished between successful and
unsuccessful students by relating academic performance at tertiary level to antecedent conditions in the school and social background.\textsuperscript{347} By the late 1960s, mounting dissatisfaction with traditional final year school examinations as tertiary selection devices\textsuperscript{348} led to alternatives to the final year public examination coming under consideration: general and specific academic ability tests; content-based achievement tests; subjective judgment by teachers; and assessments based on the evidence of a pupil’s academic potential and performance accumulated throughout his or her secondary school years.

The Department of Education and Science was approached by the Tasmanian Minister for Education, the Australian National University and the University of Western Australia in 1967 for Commonwealth funding support to investigate methods of selection. Financial support for the project, which became known as the Tertiary Education Entrance Project (TEEP), totalled nearly $200,000 by the end of the 1971/72 financial year.


and eventually received the support of all Australian educational authorities and tertiary institutions.\textsuperscript{349}

The first stage of the TEEP project involved the Australian Council of Educational Research developing a battery of objective tests and an essay paper, which were administered to all final year secondary students in the Australian Capital Territory, Tasmania and Western Australia in 1968, and to small university and college samples in Queensland, South Australia and Victoria. This test battery, known as TEEP Series A, consisted of five papers that were administered over eight hours, and which sought to test: quantitative reasoning; comprehension and reasoning in the physical and biological sciences; written expression; comprehension and reasoning in the social sciences; and interpretation and appreciation of material chosen from art, literature, history and humanities.\textsuperscript{350}

In 1969, a modified form of the test battery, known as TEEP Series B, was developed and administered in secondary schools in the Australian Capital Territory, Tasmania and Western Australia and to samples in other states. This Series B battery involved five and a quarter hours of testing and three papers that sought to test: quantitative reasoning; comprehension and reasoning in the social sciences; and art, literature and humanities.

In 1970 there were two developments to the project. Firstly, TEEP Series C, consisting of six papers delivered over nine and a quarter hours of testing, was administered to all final year secondary students in Queensland. Series C battery tested: quantitative reasoning; comprehension and reasoning in the physical and biological sciences; written expression; comprehension and reasoning in the social sciences; interpretation and appreciation of selected passages from literature, history and humanities; and a test involving pattern, style and structure in visual material. Secondly, ACER developed a


\textsuperscript{350} \textit{Ibid.}
shorter, single test, known as the Australian Scholastic Aptitude Test (ASAT), which was administered in all states except Victoria. This test consisted of an omnibus test of general scholastic ability and it was less structured than TEEP Series A, B or C. Requiring three hours, the ASAT tested: deductive thinking in mathematics, science and social science, characterised by convergent thinking to a logically deducible answer; the ability to comprehend written material in the humanities, to make inferences from and be sensitive to the implications of the material presented, and to compare and contrast ideas; and sensitivity to pattern, form, style and structure in visual and verbal material. Analysis of university results for students who undertook TEEP Series A (not Series B or C) and ASAT found both to be less successful than traditional public examinations in predicting university performance.\textsuperscript{351} The emphasis in that analysis was on university selection and performance, not research in the colleges of advanced education.

These investigations were the beginning of several attempts to identify those qualities that typified successful university students, in order to select the best qualified candidates, who would have the lowest attrition rates and the best possible graduation rates. If this were achievable, then costs would be lowered. Ultimately these investigations were to lead to the development of a large number of formal and alternative entry mechanisms for university enrolment.

**Funding the development of human and economic capital**

The Commonwealth Scholarship Scheme began operation in 1951, with general provisions being laid down in Regulations under the Education Act, 1945-66.\textsuperscript{352} Originally providing awards for first degree and diploma courses at universities and certain approved courses at other institutions, awards for postgraduate courses were introduced in 1959. In 1965,


\textsuperscript{352} Commonwealth Scholarships Board, *op.cit.*, Appendix p.6.
following the recommendations of the Martin Report, the Commonwealth Scholarship Scheme was replaced by two schemes, the Commonwealth University Scholarship Scheme administered by the states, which would provide scholarships to students taking university courses; and a scheme of Advanced Education Scholarships, administered by the Commonwealth, through which awards would be available to students in approved courses at Technical Colleges and other institutions offering substantial training at the tertiary level. Following the creation of the Commonwealth Department of Education and Science in 1967, the Commonwealth took responsibility for the Commonwealth University Scholarship Scheme. In 1969 a new Scholarships Act replaced the Education Act of 1945-1966.

Students awarded Commonwealth scholarships were entitled to five forms of benefit: tuition fees, examination fees, matriculation fees, degree fees and other compulsory fees, such as Union and Sports fees and non-refundable laboratory fees. Three categories of award were available: Open Entrance Awards (OEAs) available to persons under 30 years of age in the case of the University Scholarship Scheme and under 25 years in the case of the Advanced Education Scholarship Scheme, which were made available competitively, on the basis of applicants’ results in the final secondary school examination; a limited number of Later Year Scholarships, which were allocated to students who had successfully completed part of a university or other approved course; and a small quota of Mature Age Scholarships, designed to provide opportunities to mature age persons over the age of 30 years who, for various reasons, had been unable to take tertiary courses at the normal age.³⁵³

The basis of selection for OEAs varied from state to state, depending on the examination system. In NSW up to 1967, selection for OEAs was based on the total marks a student received in the best six papers presented at the Leaving Certificate Examination. From 1967 selection was based on

aggregate marks in the best five papers presented at the Higher School Certificate examination. In Victoria, the award of an OE scholarship was based upon the aggregate score obtained by a candidate in the best three subjects in the Higher School Certificate examination, known as the Matriculation examination prior to 1970. In Queensland, OEAs were awarded to students on the basis of marks obtained in the best five papers presented in the Senior Public examination. Up to and including 1965, students in South Australia matriculated at the Leaving Certificate examination at the end of the fourth year of secondary school, but generally postponed enrolment at university until completion of a further year of study leading to the Leaving Honours examination. In 1966 the Matriculation Examination, held at the end of the fifth year of secondary schooling, replaced the Leaving Certificate examination. Until 1969, selection for OEAs in Western Australia was based upon the aggregate of the best five scores obtained in matriculation subject papers at the Leaving Certificate examination. From 1970, selection was based on the marks obtained in the best three matriculation level subjects presented at the Leaving Certificate. In Tasmania, OEAs were awarded on the basis of total marks in the best three subjects at the third level presented at one sitting of the Higher School Certificate.354

In the decade 1960 to 1970, scholarship assistance to students more than doubled, as did the number of students receiving support, as can be seen from Table 4.1. The number of OEAs nearly trebled from 3,000 in 1960 to 8,500 in 1971 and Later Year Awards more than quintupled from 700 in 1960 to 4,000 in 1970. Nevertheless, despite the large increase in the number of scholarships available in the years 1960 to 1970, when considered in relation to the size of the Australian population, this was still a small allocation of funding. When related to the Census data from the years 1961, 1966 and 1971355 (see Appendix A), it can be seen that in 1961 there

354 Ibid. pp.6-8.
was one scholarship available per 2245 people; in 1966 there was one scholarship per 1549 people; and in 1971 there was one per 1033 people, which is a slight improvement.

Table 4.1: Number of Commonwealth Scholarships awarded 1960 to 1971³⁵⁶

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Open Entrance Awards</th>
<th>Later Year Awards</th>
<th>No. of Scholars in training</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Commonwealth Scholarships</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>700</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>680</td>
<td>12,688</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>1,280</td>
<td>16,937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Commonwealth University Scholarships</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>20,570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>22,732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>7,500</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>27,230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>7,500</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>30,510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>8,500</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>34,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But despite twice as many scholarships being made available in 1971 than were available in 1961, when the number of students taking up a place in university is considered, it can be seen that there was no increase in real terms. The ratio of students in training to scholarships available remained steady at 2.7 students per available scholarship. See Table 4.2 below.

³⁵⁶ Ibid., p.5.
Table 4.2: Number of Commonwealth Scholarships awarded 1961 to 1971 compared to population and students in training

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Open Entrance &amp; Later Year Awards</th>
<th>Ratio of Scholarships to population</th>
<th>No. of students in training</th>
<th>Ratio of Students in training to scholarships available</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>10,508,186</td>
<td>4,680</td>
<td>1 per 2245 people</td>
<td>12,688</td>
<td>2.7 : 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>11,550,444</td>
<td>7,500</td>
<td>1 per 1549 people</td>
<td>20,570</td>
<td>2.7 : 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>12,908,241</td>
<td>12,500</td>
<td>1 per 1033 people</td>
<td>34,000</td>
<td>2.7 : 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The awards were only available to Australian students who were not bonded to a future employer. In more than 90 per cent of cases, students who won Commonwealth scholarships elected to undertake study on a full time basis.

The Martin Report: liberalism, human capital and equal opportunity

Of particular relevance to this thesis is the overt attention of the Martin Report to the development of human capital in all its forms, and its contextualisation of education within liberal democratic values. Chapter One, ‘The Nation and Tertiary Education’, provides the sharpest focus on these aspects of the Committee’s enquiry, beginning with its foregrounding of the ‘civilized man’ or democratic citizen, a notion that was shared by Prime Minister Menzies (see Chapter Three). Benefits to the individual were cast in terms of the classical liberal conception of liberty, where education is seen as enabling individuals to pursue their private affairs as equal members of society. This was a view that harked back to the writings of John Stuart Mill, who emphasized the importance of education as a key force in liberty and emancipation. For the Martin Committee:

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357 Ibid.
358 Commonwealth of Australia (c2), op. cit., Para 1.12, p.4.
The human values associated with education are so well recognized as to need little elaboration, but the Committee emphasizes that they are the stuff of a free, democratic and cultured society.\(^{359}\)

This was not a new idea, but one that had been given public voice two years earlier in 1962 by another member of the Martin Committee, Professor Peter Karmel, then Professor of Economics at the University of Adelaide,\(^{360}\) who directly linked the fundamental role of an educated citizenry to the sound workings of democracy. In delivering the ‘Buntine Oration’ to the Australian College of Education, Karmel stated:

I do not hold that the main virtue of education reposes in its economic consequences. Quite the reverse. I should tonight advocate a greater educational effort in Australia, even if its sole economic consequences were to reduce national production … I should do this since I believe that democracy implies making education opportunities as equal as possible and that the working of democracy depends on increasing the number of citizens with the capacity for clear and informed thought on political and social issues. Moreover, I hold that the areas of expanded activity which education opens should be made as wide as possible.\(^{361}\)

Karmel was expressing a view in favour of formal democratic equality of opportunity, where university places and good jobs are open to all on the basis of merit and talent. This was a view Menzies shared and one that must have grown out of his own personal experience and humble beginnings before studying Law at the University of Melbourne. He believed that university education should be available to deserving students, like himself, who had both intellect and sufficient self-discipline to make use of it. Once having received a university education, Menzies believed the individual had a responsibility to make a contribution to society.

\(^{359}\) Ibid., Recommendation 1(iv), p.1.

\(^{360}\) Peter Karmel served as Head of the Universities Commission (1971-77), the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission (1977-82) and the Interim Committee for the Schools Commission (1973).

Martin, too, took up the idea of the importance of education both to the individual who gains the education and to democratic society, which benefits from those who are educated. It is worth citing an early passage of the Martin Report in full, since it provides the landscape of classical liberalism against which the features of the report can be seen in relief.

It is hardly necessary to stress the benefits which the individual derives from education; they are the very stuff of a free and democratic society. By sharpening the analytical powers of the mind, education enables the individual to make choices and decisions at personal and political levels which are well-informed and objectively assessed; by stirring the imagination and developing a sense of values, education widens his horizons for the enjoyment and pursuit of the arts and the sciences; by teaching the language of letters and numbers, education permits him to take his place among those who are striving for the betterment of mankind.362

Beyond the role of education as developer of a democratic citizenry, it was also identified by Martin as a direct stimulus to the development of economic capital, both for the individual and society, a ‘form of national investment in human capital’.363

Education should be regarded as an investment which yields direct and significant economic benefits through increasing the skill of the population and through accelerating technological progress. The Committee believes that economic growth in Australia is dependent upon a high and advancing level of education.364

Further, from this investment in human capital through education, ‘the nation may expect a series of beneficial returns’,365 since ‘... the material benefits of education which accrue to the individual concerned, are only a fraction of the total benefits accruing to society’.366 This view was at odds with that of Karmel, who, although being a Professor of Economics, did ‘not

362 Commonwealth of Australia (c2), op.cit., Para 1.18, p.4.
363 Ibid., Para 1.17, p.4.
365 Ibid., Para 1.17, p.4.
366 Ibid., Para 1.21, p.5.
hold that the main virtue of education repose[d] in its economic consequences. 367 For him, the expansion of education was important politically, rather than economically, since it made opportunities more equal and would lead to a more informed citizenry. 368 This was an example of modern liberalism, which saw a socially responsible role for the state in reducing or removing social disadvantage and improving equality. Karmel believed that taxpayers would be prepared to increase their commitment to education, even though there would not be a direct benefit to all. 369

Conversely, the Martin Report identified education as providing tangible and measurable rewards to individuals through higher income, where ‘the literate are worth more than the illiterate, the highly skilled … have larger incomes than the unskilled’. 370 The investment in additional education through formal study was seen to yield a further monetary return, measured by additional income earned in later life. Thus, education was seen by the Martin Committee as the direct mechanism by which economic capital and human capital of the individual could be increased, and consequently, the economic prosperity of the nation. The expansion of the Commonwealth Scholarships Scheme, a significant recommendation of the Martin Report, could be seen as a direct investment in the development of the nation’s economic capital through the development of individual human capital.

At the 1964 Federation of Australian University Staff Associations (FAUSA) symposium on the future of higher education, Sol Encel argued that the expansion that was taking place provided an opportunity to assert a more independent and creative role for universities than they had yet achieved. He pointed out that the character of the universities had depended

367 Karmel, op. cit. p.4.
368 Ibid.,
369 Ibid.,
370 Commonwealth of Australia (c2), op. cit., Para 1.19, p.5.
too closely on the demands that employers, the state and the professions made upon them. He concluded that:

Any substantial improvement in the situation of the universities should be based on an attempt to assert that their functions are autonomous’ and ‘cultural’ as well as purely instrumental. The distinction is, of course, largely artificial. In practice, every institution of higher education exists because of social demands. Its quality depends not only on how well it fulfils these demands, but on the extent to which it can at the same time, and within the framework of its social purpose, develop the pursuit of learning for its own sake.

Moving beyond the largely utilitarian understanding of university education, this was an expression of the value of education in the development of individual human capital, especially cultural and social capital. Encel cited Abraham Flexner’s view that ‘universities must at times give society not what it wants, but what it needs’.

Marginson identifies the early 1960s as the first of three phases in which human capital theory was applied to government education policy, particularly from an economic standpoint. He cites the October 1961 OECD Policy Conference on Economic Growth and Investment in Education as strongly affirming the role of education in creating economic growth and equality. The Martin Committee, too, cited the Conference in its Report, and affirmed that, ‘… economic growth requires continued expansion of educational opportunities for the young people who will provide the trained work force of the future’. The basic assumptions of human capital theory as it relates to education were that education

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374 Commonwealth of Australia (c2), *op. cit.*, p.2.
determines productivity, productivity determines earnings, and therefore education determines earnings.

Whilst the Martin Report sought to meet the need for greater demand for places in tertiary education and expressed concern for ‘the waste of human capital’ among those who were less educated, it did not go so far as to position tertiary education as an equity strategy designed to create equal outcomes. There was not yet an attempt to redress the under-representation of disadvantaged people in tertiary education. Nevertheless, in the early 1960s, the fact that the sons and daughters of unskilled and semi-skilled fathers were under-represented in tertiary education generally, and in university education even more so, was beginning to be identified. These groups were seen in stark contrast to the proportion of those in tertiary education who identified as the sons and daughters of professional fathers. For example, the Report identified that 33 per cent of the fathers of male school leavers were in the classifications of unskilled or semi-skilled occupations. Of their school-leaver sons, 4.4 per cent entered tertiary institutions, where they represented 13 per cent of all male entrants. Of these sons, 30 per cent attended technical colleges, 36 per cent attended teachers’ colleges and 24 per cent entered universities. In contrast, two per cent of fathers were classified as university trained professionals, but 44.8 per cent of their sons entered tertiary institutions, where they represented eight per cent of all entrants. Of these sons, 13 per cent entered technical colleges, seven per cent entered teachers’ colleges and 80 per cent entered universities. The Report cited an OECD publication, affirming that, ‘in all modern western societies the phenomenon of ‘social class’ is a prime source of ‘unnatural’ inequalities in education; that is to say, of inequalities which do not rest on differences of endowment.’ This was a significant change and a step away from earlier held views that university education was for the rich. Laming describes the period from 1949 to 1972, under the Menzies

376 Ibid., Chapter 2, Appendix II, p43.
‘and subsequent Liberal governments’ as promoting ‘growth of the university sector as a means of personal advancement within the expanding economy’. 378

Conclusion

While some of the main recommendations of the Martin Committee were rejected by the government, most were implemented in the following twenty years. Commonwealth funding of teachers’ colleges began in the late 1960s, teachers’ colleges became CAEs in 1973, and the proportion of students enrolled in universities dropped to 50 per cent of all higher education enrolments in 1985.

The Martin Report provided no discussion of aims or principles underlying its enquiry and recommendations. The committee knew, a priori, that there would be an expansion of tertiary education and that the major part of that expansion would take place in non-university institutions, as a measure to contain costs. This was an act of political expediency, justified along educational grounds that sought to differentiate between institutions on the basis of the type of education offered. In the future, CAEs would not remain limited in scope nor would they be radically different from traditional universities.

Significantly, however, the Martin Committee marked the beginning of the transition from an élite to a mass system of tertiary education in Australia. Significantly, too, the Martin Report carved out the place of human capital thinking in tertiary education policy in Australia and began the identification of the under-representation in tertiary education of various groups within society. For Marginson and Considine, the Martin Report:

378 Laming, op. cit., p.239.
… showed how far Keynesian logic had stretched into all fields of public policy. The gains were economic, technical and very much about national position in the post-war economy. This was also the first clear statement of the commitment to treat skill and professional development as a national resource to be developed and exploited like any other.\textsuperscript{379}

CHAPTER FIVE

WILLIAMS: EDUCATION IS AN INVESTMENT BOTH ON THE PART OF THE COMMUNITY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

Introduction

In December 1972, the conservative Liberal/Country party coalition was swept from office in a landslide victory by the Labor Party. Under Prime Minister Whitlam, Labor focussed its attention on developing education at every level from pre-school to university, as a mechanism for widening social participation generally, and for developing an educated democratic citizenry, in particular. After three years of Labor and a doubling of government spending on education, within the context of worldwide recession, Labor was removed from power in the now famous ‘Dismissal’ event and government was returned to the coalition. Under Prime Minister Fraser, many of the advances in tertiary education achieved by Labor were reversed, undone, or truncated.

This chapter first addresses the period from the late 1960s to the end of the 1970s and examines the growing dissatisfaction with the binary system and tertiary institution entry mechanisms. It describes the ‘revolutionary’ expansion and development of education under Prime Minister Whitlam, including university education. Attention is then turned to the policies of the conservative coalition under Prime Minister Fraser and the Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Education and Training, 1979 (The Williams Report), that he commissioned. The policies that were established by that Report resembled those of Murray in the 1950s and Martin in the 1960s,
except that rather than being oriented toward expansion, they were designed to facilitate contraction of the sector.

Growing dissatisfaction with the binary system

Since the Martin Report in 1964, a rapid increase in the range and complexity of tertiary education was seen, especially in the development of CAEs, the granting of autonomy to teachers’ colleges, the establishment of new universities and increased funding for Technical and Further Education. Although there were state and Australian Government enquiries by various groups into specific aspects of tertiary education, no real consideration of overall tertiary needs was taken.

Despite the differentiation of higher education on ideological grounds created as a result of the Martin Report, ostensibly on the basis of pure versus applied research and study, the ascription of different functions to different kinds of institution led to confusion and predictions of a crisis in post-secondary education by the mid 1970s. In 1971 the Federation of Australian University Staff Associations (FAUSA), the peak union for academic staff and a stakeholder in university education, wrote to all Federal and state Ministers of Education and Science expressing concern about the apparent lack of planning for education at the post-secondary level. FAUSA expressed ‘fears of a crisis in post-secondary education arising from an absence of positive policies on which to base decisions’ and requested ‘a definitive statement on the policies which guide the Government in planning post-secondary education’ in each state and federally.

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380 Smith, G.W.F. Secretary, Federation of the Australian University Staff Associations, letter to Minister for Education and Science and the State Ministers for Education and Science in New South Wales, Queensland, Western Australia, Tasmania, South Australia and Victoria, 8 October 1971.

381 Ibid.
In the seven years after the Martin Report was handed down, little was done to allay the fears of university staff that a reduced quality and scope of tertiary education was being offered through the CAEs, under the superficial guise of providing a different, less theoretical, role in education. The Hon. Alan Fletcher, Queensland Minister for Education wrote to FAUSA confirming the lack of agreed criteria for defining the roles of universities and CAEs.

It is true that … many attempts have been made, by individual educationists and by groups at seminars and conferences, to arrive at a definitive statement of the roles of colleges of advanced education and universities. If a clear definition of roles is to be achieved, it seems to me that it will only come after a rigorous determination of criteria, the application of which would probably considerably reduce the present scope of university activities.

You have doubtless read the paper given by a Melbourne law professor in which he envisages the possibility that by 1990 Australian universities may be concentrating on general education and that students seeking tertiary vocational education such as a medical course would pursue these studies at a college of advanced education following completion of a university course.382

The NSW Deputy Premier and Minister for Education and Science, Hon C.B. Cutler, was more effusive in his support for a range of tertiary education provision, making generalizations on the different role and emphasis of universities and colleges. He confirmed that,

… the main thrust of university research continues to be towards pure rather than applied research while university teaching puts more emphasis in primary degree courses on the theory of the discipline than on practical skills.383

382 Fletcher, Hon. Alan. Minster for Education, Queensland, letter to Federation of the Australian University Staff Associations, 1 November 1971.
The Minister argued that a stronger vocational orientation could be seen in CAEs, not only in the type of institution but also in the approach to teaching within the discipline offered in the institution.

Thus, while some of the New South Wales colleges of advanced education have already become degree granting institutions, their degrees will be of equal standard but of a different emphasis from the majority of university degrees … the main emphasis of [higher] degrees is likely to be on applied research (such as industrial applications) rather than on pure research and advance in theoretical knowledge.\(^{384}\)

Further, he saw CAEs as providing opportunities for part-time study and for addressing the tertiary education needs of rural areas, where the population was insufficient for the establishment of a university.\(^{385}\) Other state Ministers for Education and Science provided similar responses.

**Whitlam: Modern Liberalism and creating opportunity for equality**

Edward Gough Whitlam was elected Labor Prime Minister of Australia on 2 December 1972 after 23 years of unbroken government by the conservative Liberal/Country Party coalition. After World War II, the notion of citizenship was extended from universal political suffrage and the common good to include the right (for males) to work, home ownership and the management of life.\(^{386}\) When Whitlam first entered the Australian Parliament in 1953, he made his first major speech on education, an issue that he saw as a national issue, and one that he saw as key to the achievement of social democracy and the exercise of citizenship.

> Education is absorbing an increasingly larger part of the Budget of each of the States. At present, education is the largest item in each of those Budgets. I have no doubt that, as with every activity in respect of which the Australian government makes finance

\(^{384}\) Ibid.
\(^{385}\) Ibid.
available, the Commonwealth will gradually be obliged to take over that function from the States. Everybody in Australia is entitled without cost to the individual, to the same kind of educational facilities, whether it be in respect of education at the kindergarten or tertiary stage or the post-graduate stage.\footnote{Commonwealth of Australia (b7). \textit{Parliamentary Debates, House of Representatives}, 1 October 1953, p.941.}

Two months later he returned to the issue of education, again raising the matter of education being a national, rather than a state, matter.

\begin{quote}
It is impossible any longer to regard education … as a State matter … education has expanding frontiers, and the Commonwealth is the only authority that has expanding financial frontiers … Education is a national and not a State matter.\footnote{Commonwealth of Australia (b8). \textit{Parliamentary Debates, House of Representatives}, 2/3 December 1953, p.941.}
\end{quote}

Whitlam’s vision for Labor party policy and for the citizens of Australia was one that he titled ‘the doctrine of positive equality’, which was not based on a primary goal of equality of personal income but one that required private affluence to prevent squalor.\footnote{Whitlam, Gough. \textit{The Whitlam Government 1972 – 1975}, Penguin Books, Ringwood, 1985, p.3.} Based on Abraham Lincoln’s writing, that ‘The legitimate object of government is to do for the people what needs to be done but which they cannot, by individual effort, do at all, or do so well, for themselves’,\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}} Whitlam later described his decidedly modern liberal approach as being the means to greater equality, particularly in relation to education, health, social welfare and urban development and transport.

\begin{quote}
\ldots a citizen’s real standard of living, the health of himself and his family, his children’s opportunity for education and self-improvement, his access to employment opportunities, his ability to enjoy the nation’s resources for recreation and cultural activity, his legacy from the national heritage, his scope to participate in the decisions and actions of the community, are determined not so much by his income but by the availability and accessibility of the services which the community alone can provide and ensure. The
\end{quote}
quality of life depends less and less on the things which individuals obtain for themselves and can purchase for themselves from their personal incomes and depends more and more on the things which the community provides for all its members from the combined resources of the community.\textsuperscript{391}

Whitlam held a strong belief in social democracy and, further, he believed that government had a responsibility to provide intervention services and programs such that ‘inequality of luck’ did not create personal or social disadvantage.\textsuperscript{392} His views upheld the fundamental principle of modern liberalism, where the purpose of the state was to create conditions in which individuals could pursue their private affairs as equal members of society and where a good society was one that guaranteed the liberty of the individual to maximise the self and freedom of action.

On 12 December 1972, ten days after the election of his government, Whitlam established the Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission under the chairmanship of Professor Peter Karmel and asked it:

\begin{quote}
To examine the position of government and non-government primary and secondary schools throughout Australia and to make recommendations on the immediate financial needs of those schools, the priorities within those needs and the measures appropriate to assist in meeting them.\textsuperscript{393}
\end{quote}

Under the Government’s modern liberal disadvantaged schools program, additional financial assistance was provided for more than one thousand schools whose students were identified as suffering special socio-economic disadvantage. The program recognised that policies of positive discrimination were required to offset the lack of educational opportunities open to some children by virtue of their personal background. In addressing issues that would now be termed ‘human capital and cultural capital’, the

\textsuperscript{391} \textit{Ibid.}  
program acknowledged that some communities were worse housed and worse served by public amenities of all kinds than were others where adults were more articulate, more socially powerful, better educated and more wealthy. The program addressed these issues by making extra funds available to eligible schools on the condition that teachers and parents devise a school plan to better meet the particular needs of students. This program was an attempt to create a level of equality in Australian schooling opportunities.

The Labor Government’s special education program was the first by a national Government to provide funds to improve the education of children with disabilities. In 1973, capital funds and assistance with running costs were provided for the education of children with disabilities and a training program was initiated for teachers and basic training and research were financed for the area of special education. Statistics on the ratio of students to teachers in schools during the Whitlam years illustrate the level of achievement of the Labor Government in significantly improving the level of staffing in both primary and secondary schools.

Table 5.1: Student-Teacher Ratios in Australian Schools, 1972 and 1975

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Ratio of students to one teacher, 1972</th>
<th>Ratio of students to one teacher, 1975</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Primary</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>27.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Private</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Secondary</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>19.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Private</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As well as highlighting the legacy of decades of inequitable and inadequate funding, the Karmel Report drew attention to the inequalities of educational

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opportunity evident in Australian schools. Of importance to this thesis is the Committee’s view that:

The test of whether equality of opportunity existed would be that those going on to higher education were drawn from all groups in the same proportion as each group was represented in the population.\textsuperscript{395}

The Karmel Report presented statistics that demonstrated that gross inequality existed, based on the test described above. For example, 49.9 per cent of students entering four professional faculties at six Australian universities in 1965 and 1967 had fathers who were themselves professionals or in managerial positions, while only 16.5 per cent of the male population aged 45 to 54 years held professional or managerial positions. At the opposite end of the spectrum were 28.8 per cent of students whose fathers were in skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled occupations, compared with 59.5 per cent of the male population aged 45 to 54 years who held such occupations. Because of these obvious inequalities among the backgrounds of tertiary students, the Whitlam Labor Government instituted a series of reforms that were designed to make the institutions of tertiary education more accessible for lower income groups.

In March 1973 the Prime Minister wrote to the state Premiers proposing that the Commonwealth assume full financial responsibility for universities, CAEs and teachers’ colleges, which would occur in conjunction with the abolition of tuition fees. Marginson comments that the decision to abolish fees was a powerful symbol of a universal rights-based approach to education.\textsuperscript{396}

At the Premiers Conference and Loan Council Meeting of 28-29 June 1973 the states accepted the Commonwealth proposal. There was no detailed published agreement beyond the statement by the Prime Minister attached to

\textsuperscript{395} Whitlam, 1985, \textit{op.cit.}, p.316.
\textsuperscript{396} Marginson, 1997, \textit{op.cit.}, p.225.
the Proceedings of the Conference noting that the states had accepted the Commonwealth offer to take over full financial responsibility from 1 January 1974 and that an amount equivalent to the additional grants for tertiary education would be deducted from the general purpose funds provided by the Commonwealth to the states.\textsuperscript{397} The agreement did not entail any changes to the relative constitutional responsibilities of the states and the Commonwealth in regard to universities and other institutions of higher education. However, the assumption of funding responsibility gave the Commonwealth the dominant position in the development of higher education policy.

From 1 January 1974 the Government assumed full financial responsibility for universities and CAEs and from the same date abolished tuition fees for students at universities, CAEs and technical colleges, since they were understood to be ‘a major obstacle to the entry of prospective students from lower socio-economic backgrounds’.\textsuperscript{398} An academic at the time recalls that the:

\ldots main beneficiaries were mature age students, especially women, who could study locally at no cost beyond their time and foregone income; particularly married women, who had more potential time on their hands, were able to claim a university place without it imposing an additional charge on the family household budget...

But it remained as essentially middle-class activity to attend university because of foregone income. There is always the price of one’s time. And the alternative to being out in the workforce, in a relatively high employment environment meant that many students in working class environments felt that they couldn’t afford to be out of the workforce for an extended period of time.\textsuperscript{399}

\textsuperscript{397} Jackson, \textit{op.cit.}, p.4.
\textsuperscript{398} Laming, \textit{op.cit.}, p.252.
\textsuperscript{399} Scott, Roger. Emeritus Professor, School of Political Science and International Studies, University of Queensland, Brisbane. \textless www.ebonline.org.au/Media/asja/ASJA_Highed_Education_Feature_Article.doc\textgreater , accessed 14 June 2006.
The merit-based Commonwealth Scholarship Scheme, which had funded the tertiary education of 17 per cent of students, was abolished and replaced by the Tertiary Education Assistance Scheme (TEAS), which was established by the Student Assistance Act (1973).\footnote{Whitlam, 1985, op. cit., p. 323.} TEAS was a means-tested scheme that paid a living allowance to eligible students.

Increased funds for tertiary education led to an expansion of student numbers and construction of several new institutions. From 1973 to 1975 the number of full-time university students increased from 109,600 to 127,300, an increase of 60 per cent, and the number of full-time college students increased from 69,800 to 109,700, an increase of nearly 56 per cent.\footnote{Commonwealth of Australia (c17), op. cit., p. 10.} In 1975, the University of Wollongong was granted autonomy from the University of New South Wales, Murdoch and Griffith Universities admitted their first students, medical schools were established at both Newcastle and James Cook Universities and the Government made a decision to support the establishment of Deakin University in Victoria.

Between 1972 and 1975, the Labor Government engaged in unprecedented expansion in spending on education. While expenditure on education in Australia increased from 4.83 per cent of GDP in 1972-73 to 6.18 per cent in 1974-75, the Federal Government’s share of funding almost doubled from 22.6 per cent in 1972-73 to 42.5 per cent in 1975-76. Table 5.2 shows that government spending on universities and CAEs, and on student assistance over the period 1972 to 1976 grew significantly: 116.6 per cent for universities; and 311.1 per cent for CAEs. See Table 5.2 below.
Table 5.2: Federal Government spending on universities and CAEs, 1972 to 1976, in $ millions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>UNIVERSITIES</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grants to universities</td>
<td>142.2</td>
<td>292.1</td>
<td>502.1</td>
<td>539.4</td>
<td>+158.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Assistance</td>
<td>46.1</td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>47.6</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>-8.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>+13.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aust. Universities Commission</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>+58.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>189.8</td>
<td>331.5</td>
<td>552.3</td>
<td>603.8</td>
<td>+116.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CAEs &amp; TEACHERS’ COLLEGES</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grants to colleges</td>
<td>64.4</td>
<td>175.6</td>
<td>360.7</td>
<td>386.8</td>
<td>+308.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student assistance</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>+314.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>+1,125.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commission on Advanced Education</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>+19.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>72.0</td>
<td>192.8</td>
<td>393.2</td>
<td>434.8</td>
<td>+311.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Whitlam Government saw education as being socially transformative and having the capacity to reduce ‘the traditional educational advantage of the middle and upper classes over their less wealthy neighbours’. The achievements of the government in education were considerable and reforming, which Whitlam evaluated as having:

… raised the community’s expectations about the role of government in securing the best possible future for Australia’s children. For the first time, national resources were harnessed for the express purpose of providing adequate standards in education. For the first time, all students could expect to achieve equal opportunities in education … There is no longer any question regarding the Federal Government’s responsibility for the funding of all levels of education. There are no longer any widespread objections to the development of needs-based education policies. The future of all Australians has been enhanced by a tremendous uplifting in our educational expectations and standards.

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403 Laming, op.cit., p.252.
For Whitlam, the ‘most enduring single achievement of [his] Government was the transformation of education in Australia’.\textsuperscript{405} As well as establishing the Australian Schools Commission and the Technical and Further Education Commission, the first two years of the Whitlam Labor government focussed on delivering equality of funding to government, Catholic and other private primary and secondary schools on the basis of need. Whitlam’s clear aim in expanding and developing education had been to include ordinary citizens in the governing process, since to him, education equipped citizens to exercise their democratic role, a role that neo-liberalists viewed as a threat.

Good public education and a university system available to all who wanted it were a threat to public order since they raised expectations that might not be met. Governments that regarded education as a transformative experience were in danger of creating too much social mobility.\textsuperscript{406}

This was a view shared by the growing number of neo-liberals and members of the ‘New Right’. They argued that if education has the capacity to improve social mobility through the growth of cultural capital and social capital, then it has the capacity to threaten the social and economic status quo. Friedman and Hayek had suggested that government funded education had produced ‘too much’ merit and social mobility\textsuperscript{407} and Joseph and Sumption\textsuperscript{408} implied that the social order came under threat from good public education.

The importance of greater co-ordination of tertiary education had become very apparent, and in 1975 the Federal Minister for Education, Hon Kim Beazley (Snr), introduced a Bill to establish a Tertiary Education Commission in place of the Universities Commission and the Commission on Advanced Education, which would be replaced by two Councils advising

\textsuperscript{405} Whitlam, 1985, \textit{op.cit.}, p.315.
\textsuperscript{406} Marginson, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.123-124; Laming, \textit{op.cit.}, p.256.
the Government on the development and support of higher education in Australia. In a press release in April 1975, FAUSA had again expressed concerns about the educational consequences of fragmented, piecemeal development of the sector. At its Annual General Meetings in 1973 and 1974 FAUSA had called for the ‘establishment of a far-ranging investigation of the Murray type into the needs of tertiary education’. This call was reiterated in 1975, urging the Federal Minister for Education to take immediate action.

The onset of the 1974 world oil crisis and the 1975 worldwide recession, the first since the 1930s, very quickly led to a drop in production, development and investment and a concomitant rise in inflation and unemployment. The economic crisis was ultimately attributed in the press to gross financial incompetence on Whitlam’s part, including overspending on public projects, such as education, and following a significant event in Australian political history where the elected Labor government was dismissed by the Governor General, a general election was held and once more it returned a Liberal/Country Party coalition government.

**Fraser: Economic Rationalism and New Federalism**

The conservative, neo-liberal government of J. Malcolm Fraser that took office in November 1975 had an overarching policy focus: to reduce inflation, in particular through cutbacks in spending on social programs, including education, rather than utilise a Keynesian strategy of increasing funding to areas such as building projects and education to stimulate the economy. Laming states that Fraser was influenced by the neo-liberal ideas of Hayek and Friedman. Hayek had argued for ‘stripping liberalism of its social democratic aspects’ and Friedman argued for a reduction of the role of government. In response to these ideas, the Fraser government developed a policy of ‘new federalism’, through which it sought to restore

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409 Federation of Australian University Staff Associations, Press Release, 9 April, 1975.
the traditional balance of responsibilities between the Commonwealth and state Governments and thereby reduce Commonwealth spending.

The Fraser government hoped to renew State responsibility and accountability in public programs through new taxation reimbursements and replacements of much of the specific purpose grants with general reimbursements to the States. What better place to supervise the experiment than in the education portfolio: it was an important State function, the area of greatest public outlay by the State governments and the showpiece of Labor’s domestic activity between 1972 and 1975.411

Unlike Whitlam’s and Labor’s belief that education could equip citizens to exercise their democratic political capacity, and further, that this was desirable in a modern democracy, the neo-liberal or new right government of Fraser sought to create social conditions that would reduce social mobility and primarily meet the needs of business and industry. For Laming, the Fraser government’s policy on education ‘was vastly different, not only to Whitlam’s but to Menzies’ as well’.412 Scotton suggests that:

In its approach to social policy, the Fraser government has taken a position strongly opposed to the style and substance of the Whitlam administration which preceded it. The differences are not confined to the philosophy of social policy itself, but also flow from a radically different view of the roles of the public sector in the economic system, and of the Commonwealth government in Australian federalism.413

Fraser’s emphasis for education was on meeting the needs of business and industry, while simultaneously reducing the size and cost of education, including through the adoption of ‘user pays’ mechanisms. Although an increase of 3.2 per cent in funding to universities was provided for 1977, there was no commitment to increase funding in the following two years.

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412 Laming, op.cit, p.254.
Fees for second and subsequent degrees were introduced and the reintroduction of tuition fees for undergraduate degrees was flagged. At the level of secondary education, $13.8 million was transferred from government schools to non-government schools and funding was restored to the wealthiest schools on the pretext that they provided choice and diversity in education.\textsuperscript{414} Fraser’s strategy can be seen as a deliberate attempt to halt university expansion and return university education to upper middle class students. Laming states:

By cutting funding to public schools, and to the universities, Fraser effectively stopped university expansion by attacking it on two fronts. Funding for universities and CAEs was cut to the point where it could barely keep pace with inflation. Only the recently established Technical and Further Education (TAFE) sector received an increase in support. A decline in the growth of the university and college sector led to a decline in demand for places. Once again, getting a degree was a privilege largely restricted to the upper middle class, while the expansion of the TAFE sector was encouraged to provide a sufficiency of skilled technical workers for business and industry in precisely the same role that Menzies had envisaged for the CAEs.\textsuperscript{415}

\textbf{Committee of Inquiry into Education and Training}

Within less than a year of taking government, on 9 September 1976, Prime Minister Fraser announced the decision to appoint a Committee of Inquiry into Education and Training under the Chairmanship of Professor B. R. Williams, Vice Chancellor and Principal of the University of Sydney.\textsuperscript{416} Full membership of the Committee was announced in late October and the Committee held its first meeting in November. (A list of the membership of the Committee is provided in Appendix B.) In a statement to the House of Representatives, the Prime Minister provided five reasons for calling for a comprehensive review of tertiary education and training:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{414} Spaull, \textit{op.cit.}, p.137.
\item \textsuperscript{415} Laming, \textit{op.cit.} p.257.
\item \textsuperscript{416} Commonwealth of Australia (c8), \textit{op.cit.}, p. VII; 1.
\end{itemize}
a) It is more than a decade since the Martin Committee reported … there [have been] major changes in tertiary education … the number of universities [has] increased from 10 to 19 … the new system of colleges of advanced education was established … the boundaries between the sectors have become blurred, and there is a need to clarify the roles of the various institutions.

b) There is also a need to consider how post-secondary education as a whole relates to the needs of individuals and to the linkages between education and employment …

c) There is danger that as economic growth gathers pace it may be hampered by shortages of skilled workers …

d) There has been a growing interest in concepts such as open education, recurrent education and retraining, in the needs of special groups, and in the role of educational qualifications in credentialing … produc[ing] a vigorous debate about the role and purposes of education in our society.

e) … there is a need for a substantial share of the nation’s resources to be devoted to education. Because this share is so large it is vital that … unnecessary duplication … be avoided…

The Terms of Reference were divided into two broad categories: (a) the provision of education facilities and services; and (b) the relationship between the educational system and the labour market. Under category (a) there were eight sub-categories of enquiry cited and under category (b) there were six. Of these, two: (a,i) and (a,iii), addressed the questions that had been raised by FAUSA in relation to differentiation between universities and CAEs: ‘the overall pattern of institutions and courses including their objectives’; and ‘the magnitude of the provision including the desirable balance between sectors’. The Committee was also to:

… have regard to the Government’s objectives including widening educational opportunity, expanding educational and occupational choice, developing quality and excellence in education and encouraging community participation in education and training matters.

418 Ibid.
419 Ibid., p.3.
Williams took nearly two and a half years to report, during which time his Committee advertised in the national press inviting submissions relevant to its Terms of Reference from individuals and organisations, of which it received 581. It commissioned a number of further studies and surveys and sought further materials in response to various submissions. The Committee did not conduct public hearings; instead, it arranged a number of conferences and seminars and visited relevant organisations and educational institutions in each state and territory.

**The Williams Report: improving the competitiveness of the economy and limiting university expansion**

The Williams Report was released in 1979, having comprehensively reviewed most aspects of Education and Training. In assessing the extent to which the Williams Committee pronounced on matters of the development of human capital and the creation of equality or equal opportunity, it is necessary to consider the indicators from which a view can be inferred. Expansion of access and equity of access to university education, as well as the provision of student support, would indicate a commitment to both the development of human capital and the creation of equality and equal opportunity. Similarly, the establishment and support of conditions for the freedom and autonomy of institutions, academic staff and students, would imply support for liberal ideology. Absence of these indicators would mean opposition to broad modern liberal ideas and opposition to the notions of equality, equal opportunity and the development of human capital.

The Williams Report was issued at a time of high unemployment and this necessarily influenced the direction of the Report. Encel describes it as utilising a liberal-interventionist model and rather than continue to expand university education in the tradition of Murray, Martin and Whitlam, Williams proposed ways in which expenditure on education could become

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420 Encel, 1979, *op.cit, p.16.*
more efficient, including through rationalization of educational institutions by central control; enforcement of institutional accountability; the reduction of expenditure on courses that were considered non-essential; the use of ‘contract’ teaching; and greater use of educational technology. The Report spoke positively of the move that had occurred in the Whitlam years away from higher education being seen as the right or preserve of an élite few to the entitlement of most. However, in the manner reminiscent of Martin, it continued to stress the high levels of attrition that occurred among part-time and external students.

Williams affirmed the need for more and better vocational training and career guidance, particularly at the secondary school level. Recommending the expansion of the less expensive TAFE sector and the development of other institutions that would provide a closer relationship between work and education, Williams was focussing on supporting job mobility and flexibility in the event of an improvement in the national employment situation. The Report provided eighteen chapters, of which six are of particular relevance to this thesis:

- Chapter 1: Education in Australia
- Chapter 3: Growth and Expenditure to 2000
- Chapter 5: Universities
- Chapter 10: Credentialism
- Chapter 11: Access to Education
- Chapter 16: Planning and Administering Post-Secondary Education in a Federal System.

Williams summarised the evolution of the university sector in the previous thirty years as having been greatly influenced by four precepts that had emerged from either the Murray Report, the Martin Report or both.

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421 The remaining chapters (2; 4; 6; 7; 8; 9; 12; 13; 14; 15; and 17) address other sectors of education and matters not relevant to this thesis.
a) that every young person who desires a university education and has the intellectual capacity to profit from it should have a fair chance of getting it;

b) that universities should restrict their teaching activities to degree and higher degree work;

c) that to provide an adequate range of teaching and research at reasonable cost per student a university should have at least 4000 students in the Arts, Sciences and Social Sciences, and at least another 4000 where there are also Faculties of Medicine, Dentistry, Engineering, Agriculture and Veterinary Science;

d) that to ensure high quality teaching and research, universities of less than the optimal sizes for their range of activities should receive larger than average grants per student.

Williams dismissed the first precept that every young person desirous of a university education, and who possessed the intellectual capacity to profit from it, should have a fair chance of getting it, as being ‘so very general that it [did] not provide clear guidance for policy’. In similar fashion, he dismissed, through a series of seemingly facetious rhetorical questions, other notions that may have been implied in the first precept:

Is it university education in general or education in a chosen field such as law, medicine or social work? On what terms should it be available? Does access to part-time or external studies constitute satisfactory access? Why should the opportunity be restricted to young people? How should the precept be affected by the growth of the advanced education sector?

The answers subsequently provided to these rhetorical questions demonstrate Williams’ neo-liberal and antithetical attitude to broadening access to university study. For example, the Report cited attrition rates and graduation rates as evidence that the setting of higher minimum entrance scores would exclude students ‘who might have attained degrees but with the growth of the advanced education sector this no longer raises difficult issues of policy’. The second precept, ‘that universities should restrict their teaching activities to degree and higher degree work’ was re-affirmed

422 Commonwealth of Australia (c8), op.cit., p.191.
423 Ibid., p.193.
by Williams, except in instances where teachers’ colleges had amalgamated with universities and the award of a Teaching Diploma was still appropriate.

The third precept is related to the economic size of universities and prospects for growth, while also taking account of forecasts for the number of professionals needed in particular fields, such as law, medicine, and so on. Williams recommended that the Tertiary Education Commission continue to make projections of and place limitations on enrolments in highly specialised and expensive fields such as medicine, dentistry and veterinary science.\footnote{Ibid., p.197.} Utilising the notion of the market, providing for a large increase in the overall number of students was predicted by Williams as having the potential to ‘reduce the relative incomes and employment opportunities for graduates and the demand for places in universities’\footnote{Ibid., p.196.}. This was an argument in favour of limiting the number of graduates overall, and placing strict limits on the highly sought-after professional degrees, in order to maintain higher income levels for graduates and therefore make university courses more attractive. This was a recommendation in favour of returning university education to élite sections of the population.

The Committee addressed the fourth precept that universities of less than optimal size for their range of activities should receive larger than average grants per student and made a number of observations. These included the fact that retarded growth of some universities had occurred as a result of the establishment of CAEs and the decision that universities should not provide sub-degree courses. The Committee suggested the development of sub-degree courses in certain universities (for example, at James Cook University, citing additional education opportunity in North Queensland as the reason), and the rationalisation of courses and roles through amalgamations of universities with CAEs (such as the University of Tasmania and the Tasmanian CAE). Growth to an economic size in one
university, Murdoch, was seen as unlikely and Williams suggested its amalgamation with the University of Western Australia.\footnote{Ibid., p.205.}

The Williams Report noted that education in Australia had undergone major changes in the twenty years since 1956, with government expenditure on education rising from 2.1 per cent of GDP in 1956-57 to 5.8 per cent in 1976-77, of which the Commonwealth proportion grew from 2.6 per cent to 42.1 per cent.\footnote{Ibid., p.7.} Government grants to universities and CAEs were $642 million and $466 million, respectively, from 1976-77. The number of ‘full-time-equivalent’ (FTE)\footnote{FTE is defined as the sum of full-time students and one-half the number of part-time and external students.} students enrolled in Australian universities in 1977 was 130,987, of whom 9.6 per cent were higher degree students.\footnote{Commonwealth of Australia (c8), op.cit., p.136; Table 5.1.}

Williams noted that the Martin Committee in 1964 had pointed to the low proportion of women enrolled at universities and commented that this indicated a serious waste of talent. In responding to this issue, Williams noted that the retention rate for girls in final year of secondary school had risen from 18.7 per cent in 1967 to 35.3 per cent in 1976 and 36.6 per cent in 1977. Females as a percentage of all university students were 20 in 1951, 23.3 in 1961, 31.5 in 1971, and 38.8 in 1977. The significant increase in the number of girls staying on at school to senior years and enrolling at university is, in part, a result of the initiatives instituted by the Whitlam government. Despite there being a striking increase in the percentages of female students enrolled in Veterinary Science, Medicine, Dentistry and Agriculture, there were still large difference in the percentages of female students enrolled at different universities. For example, at both the Universities of New South Wales and the University of Wollongong, the percentage of female students was the lowest nationally at 28.9 per cent, which can be attributed to these two institutions having a high technological focus, especially offering degrees in Engineering, that did not attract high
numbers of females. The university with the highest percentage of female students was Macquarie, with 47 per cent. Macquarie offers a large number of degrees that are Arts and languages related, and these degrees have been attractive to women, historically. Despite the ‘serious waste of talent’ manifested in low numbers of female students in particular faculties, no recommendations were made by Williams to redress this issue.

The Williams Committee cited changing economic conditions and the Commonwealth government’s constraints (under Prime Minister Fraser) as responsible for the decline in the growth rate of both the university and CAE sectors. Williams recounted the Martin Committee’s emphasis on the capacity of education to generate economic growth through the workforce becoming more skilled and efficient, existing knowledge being applied more rapidly to improve existing methods of production and to create new products, more new knowledge being created and methods of management improved. This was countered by Williams, who rejected the Keynesian argument and instead argued that whilst economic growth may be fostered by growth in education, economic growth also generated expenditure on education and the current economic recession had led to a re-examination of the relationship between expenditure on education and participation rates as being dependent on levels of GDP per head. ‘In 1974-75 the growth in gross domestic product dropped below 1.5 per cent after a period of ten years when it had averaged almost 5.25 per cent a year.’ Projections of GDP (based on 0%, 1%, 2% and 3% increases in output per unit of labour force) were made for the period 1977 to 2001 and consideration of the sensitivity of expenditure on education in relation to growth rates of GDP were cautioned. If the GDP increased each year in step with increases in the labour force as projected for an assumed net annual immigration of 50,000, the projected GDP would rise from $86,346 million in 1977 to $119,171 million in 2001. The effect of increasing GDP by three per cent per year

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430 Ibid., p.45.
431 Ibid.
meant that GDP would rise to $240,002 in 2001. However, the Williams Committee settled on a prediction of approximately one per cent growth and projected that expenditure on education in 2001 would be 1.61 per cent of GDP (± 5 per cent).

Selection of student candidates was again a matter of consideration, with Williams recommending that universities and state examining boards discuss matters such as: the nature of information required for efficient selection into universities and CAEs; the period of time required by students to get adequate advice in order to make considered decisions about the selection of courses and institutions; the timing of the publication of final year school results; and the start of the university teaching term for first year students.

To what extent the incidence of student failures and withdrawals could be reduced by better methods of selection or improved methods of teaching and examining is not known. Some students decide that they are not suited to university studies or that they are not interested in the courses they have chosen … It would be easier to improve methods of selection if the universities were always given examination results in a form suited to the problem of selection.

Improved techniques for selecting students, such as the TEEP series programs (See Chapter Four), were seen as essential for graduation rates to rise.

One of the terms of reference for the Williams Committee was ‘the interaction between the labour market and rising educational standards of new recruits to the work force, including the role of educational qualifications in credentialling or selecting people for jobs’. The Committee undertook an extensive literature review on the matter of credentialling and credentialism, and received a number of related references.

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432 Ibid., p.51.
433 Ibid., p.198.
434 Ibid., Terms of Reference, Item (bi), p.2.
submissions, some of which were included in part or in full within the body of their Report. As well as citing ten recommendations that were designed to increase variety and accessibility in educational provision, the Committee recommended:

… that the growth in the role of educational qualifications be recognised as an inevitable consequence of changes in technology and greater access to education, and that this growth brings with it a need in the interests of efficiency and fairness to increase variety in the opportunities to gain credentials.  

The Committee acknowledged that education is a screening process, but declared that it is also ‘an investment on the part of the community and on that of the individual’, thereby implying that education is both a private and a public good and therefore should attract both private and public funding.

In regard to the matter of access to education, the Williams Committee sought to answer three questions identified in the Terms of Reference (a:v):

- How accessible are Australian education facilities and services?
- What provisions are there for re-entry and transfers?
- What special provisions are made for the handicapped, ethnic groups and Aboriginals?

In providing a general answer to these questions, Williams drew on the words of the first Vice-Provost of the University of Sydney, Sir Charles Nicholson, who in 1852 announced the provision of a number of scholarships for students ‘of more than ordinary promise’. In so doing, Williams was implying that there had been a continuing tradition of providing access to university education for all classes of student. He cited that fifteen per cent of full-time students in universities and twenty per cent of students in CAEs were children of fathers classified as tradesmen and labourers, who made up 37 per cent of the male population aged 45 to 54.

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435 Ibid., p.481.
years. ‘The percentage [of enrolments] would have been lower but for grants to students.’\textsuperscript{436} No recommendations were made to establish mechanisms that would broaden access for people from lower economic status backgrounds. On the contrary, the matter was dismissed as outside the scope of the inquiry. Williams summarised ANU Professor F. Lancaster-Jones’ views that the:

\[\ldots\text{years of education a person has is substantially influenced by social background, and that because for university entrance the crucial determinant is staying on at school long enough to satisfy university entrance requirements, the processes of social selection have largely run their course by the time a student leaves school.}\textsuperscript{437}\

This issue was investigated by Connell et al. in the seminal Australian sociological study of Australian schooling, \textit{Making the Difference: Schools, Families and Social Division}.\textsuperscript{438}

In most cases in our Independent school sample … most of the parents came from families that were already socially-established or wealthy, and most of them went to private schools, themselves. Hardly any of them left before the end of secondary school, and about half went to university or did some other full-time tertiary training. The rich did ‘go on’.

Their experience of schooling was not always very different from that of their working-class contemporaries. Mr Middleton, for instance, the child of prosperous capitalists, was sent to the Christian Brothers … While working-class Catholic lads were flogged on towards the Intermediate Certificate and apprenticeships or public service jobs, he was launched towards university; where, on his father’s instructions, he did a Commerce degree so he could go into the family firm.\textsuperscript{439}

Lancaster-Jones was resolute that:

\textsuperscript{436} Ibid., p.492-3.
\textsuperscript{437} Ibid., p.493.
\textsuperscript{439} Ibid., p.49.
... the only policies that would be effective in modifying such processes should be directed to offsetting the cost of staying at school for poorer families, and broader policies aimed at reducing attitudinal and value differences between social groups affecting educational intentions.\textsuperscript{440}

This was not a recommendation that Williams took up, nor did the Committee make further recommendations in relation to this issue.

In relation to broadening the participation of indigenous students in regard to university education, no recommendations were made. Those recommendations that were made were directed at the TAFE sector and the only professional horizon identified by Williams for indigenous students was in teaching. The implication was that indigenous teachers were needed to teach indigenous school students – there was no suggestion that indigenous teachers were be ‘mainstreamed’ in employment.

Similarly, the broadening of participation of students from non-English-speaking backgrounds was given scant regard. Despite citing a study\textsuperscript{441} on migrant school students that found them as having high educational aspirations, no measures to develop broader access to university education were foreseen. Turney \textit{et al}. found that:

\begin{quote}
The students and their parents expressed very high aspirations of this kind; aspirations in fact that are so high as to be probably unrealistic. Furthermore, students from migrant backgrounds revealed higher levels of aspiration than those not from migrant backgrounds. The teachers, on the other hand, assumed the students (and the students’ parents) held very low aspirations and expectations.\textsuperscript{442}
\end{quote}

The only recommendation made in relation to non-English-speaking students was to carry out more research into the problems of inner-city

\textsuperscript{440} Commonwealth of Australia (c8), \textit{op.cit.}, p.493.
\textsuperscript{442} \textit{Ibid.}. 
schools and other schools with significant numbers of migrant children with language problems. No attempt was made by Williams to capitalise on the high levels of aspiration and motivation for university education of this particular group. Instead, they were positioned as a ‘language problem’ to be addressed through ‘stronger efforts by teachers to involve parents (who, themselves would have language difficulties) with them in the education process’, a potentially futile recommendation.

Just two years ahead of the United Nations proclamation that 1981 was the International Year of Disabled Persons, the Williams Report made no recommendations for university education in relation to provisions that would assist enrolled students who had disabilities, nor in relation to broadening access for students with disabilities. It did suggest that:

Development in educational technology will play an important part in alleviating problems and the effect of physical barriers should be reduced if entrants to universities and colleges inform them of their disabilities.

Recommendations were made in relation to vocational training, vocational guidance and counselling for school aged ‘handicapped’ students.

Chapter 16, Planning and Administering Post-Secondary Education in a Federal System, recommended, among other things, that the co-ordination of the university sector continue to be predominantly a Commonwealth responsibility and that universities continue to make submissions directly to the Tertiary Education Commission.

Buried in the final three pages of the Report Vol. 1 (pp.812-814) was a reference to charging university tuition fees. The Report cited a submission to the Committee by Professor Blandy, who argued that the abolition of fees in 1974 by the Whitlam government had not widened educational

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443 Ibid.
444 Ibid.
opportunities; instead, it had ‘increased the community subsidy to young people who derive predominantly from middle and upper income socio-economic groups and added to the tax burden’. Further, he had argued that the re-introduction of fees and means-tested student allowances would be ‘more egalitarian, reduce the budgetary burden and restore a base of financial autonomy to the institutions, while acting as a deterrent to any frivolous use of costly services’. 445 Given that the Williams Committee recommended that there be ‘a study of the feasibility of a fee system based on costs, and [an appraisal of] the financial basis of Professor Blandy’s proposals for reform of education and training in Australia’,446 it gave credence to the idea of reintroducing fees.

Conclusion

In the early 1970s notions such as ‘equality of opportunity’ and ‘equality of outcome’ held general appeal and contributed to government expansion of higher education opportunities. In the late 1970s, which were harsher economic times, the emphasis upon expanding access was replaced by an emphasis on efficiency and effectiveness. Laming quite aptly labels the Fraser Government the ‘anti-Father Christmas’.447 She might easily have extended the same label to Williams. As stated above, the basis of Whitlam’s modern liberal social reforms was the desire to equip citizens, through expanded access to education, including university education, with the capacity to exercise their democratic potential and to increase their human capital. The Williams Report provides evidence that the neo-liberal government of Fraser sought to do the opposite.

No expansion in university education was provided for, although CAEs and TAFE were presumed to grow in line with growth in GDP of two per cent per annum in order to service the needs of business and industry. Encel

446 Ibid., p.813.
447 Laming, op.cit., p.254.
rejects this aspect of the report, labelling it ‘emphatic instrumentalism’, and argues in favour of a stronger modern liberal approach:

Any substantial improvement in the situation of the universities should be based on an attempt to assert that their functions are ‘autonomous’ and ‘cultural’ as well as purely instrumental. The distinction is, of course, largely artificial. In practice, every institution of higher education exists because of social demands. Its quality depends not only on how well it fulfils these demands, but on the extent to which it can at the same time, and within the framework of its social purpose, develop the pursuit of learning for its own sake.

The Williams Committee did not make pronouncements on matters related to the development of human capital nor the creation of equality or equal opportunity through university education. No recommendations were made that would lead to the expansion of access or equity of access for women, for disadvantaged groups, such as indigenous people, those from non-English-speaking backgrounds or those with a disability. A recommendation was made for the provision of student support via the appointment of Learning Support staff, but this was posed as a strategy to support the less able, not a developmental strategy that would apply to all students. Williams provided no commitment to either the development of human capital or the creation of equality and equal opportunity. Similarly, there was no support of conditions for the freedom and autonomy of institutions, academic staff and students. The absence of these indicators creates a picture of strong opposition to broad modern liberal ideas and opposition to the notions of equality, equal opportunity and the development of human capital.

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448 Encel, 1979, op. cit., p.17.
CHAPTER SIX

DAWKINS: HIGHER EDUCATION HAS A VITAL ROLE IN IMPROVING THE SKILL BASE OF THE POPULATION

Introduction

As a result of Australian Government policy and funding changes, the organisation of higher education altered significantly in the years 1983 to 1996. The binary system, instituted following the Martin Committee Report in 1964/65, was still operational at the beginning of the period, wherein universities and CAEs were overseen by two separate Councils of the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission (CTEC), and each sector operated under different policies, aims and funding arrangements. By the beginning of the 1990s the binary system had been replaced by a Unified National System (UNS) that focussed on achieving greater efficiency in the use of resource, through rationalisation of institutions and courses, brought about by the amalgamation and consolidation of institutions from 78 (in 1982) to 38 (in 1991).  

Between 1987 and 1990 the Labor Commonwealth Government issued several papers and statements, authored primarily by the Minister for Employment, Education and Training, John Dawkins, on its espoused fundamental goal of achieving social justice in Australia. The five documents most relevant to this thesis are:

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The Challenge for Higher Education in Australia,\textsuperscript{450} issued in December 1987.

Higher Education: a policy discussion paper (Green Paper),\textsuperscript{451} issued in December 1987.

Higher Education: a policy statement (White paper),\textsuperscript{452} issued in July 1988.


A Fair Chance for All: National and Institutional Planning for Equity in Higher Education,\textsuperscript{454} issued in February 1990.

As the Australian government transitioned to economic rationalism, the availability of education to marginalised groups continued to form part of its policy agenda, with their participation forming one measure of equity, but policies that addressed marginalised groups were no longer based on equal economic conditions. Marginson quips that ‘the right to an equal start now became reduced simply to the right to enter the race’,\textsuperscript{455} and Campion questions whether we would find in the educational reports of the late 1980s any reference ‘to the personal fulfilment and happiness of individual citizens’.\textsuperscript{456} This chapter explores the ideological and political drivers and the effects of the Dawkins’ suite of papers on higher education.

**Transferring from social justice to economic rationalism**

The Australian Labor Party, under the Prime Ministership of Robert James Lee (Bob) Hawke, assumed office in March 1983, the first of three successive Labor terms of government. The Hawke Government’s position

\textsuperscript{450} Commonwealth of Australia (c26), 1987, op.cit.

\textsuperscript{451} Commonwealth of Australia (c11), 1987, op.cit.

\textsuperscript{452} Commonwealth of Australia (c12), 1988, op.cit.

\textsuperscript{453} Commonwealth of Australia (c7), 1989, op.cit.

\textsuperscript{454} Commonwealth of Australia (c13), 1990, op.cit.

\textsuperscript{455} Marginson, 1997, op.cit., p.197.

\textsuperscript{456} Campion, Mick. ‘Have Australian universities attempted to keep distance education at a distance? And, if they have, should they continue to do so?’, HERDSA: Research and Development in Higher Education, Vol.10, 1996, p.391.
on university education was initially one of compromise between ‘encouraging limited growth and promoting equity, while rejecting the transformative nature of Whitlam’s model’.\textsuperscript{457} Cahill states that Hawke was influenced by the radical neo-liberal movement and that:

\ldots [his] economic adviser, Ross Garnaut, senior public servant, Michael Keating, and many within the leadership of the federal Labor caucus \ldots viewed the welfare state and Keynesian economic planning as inhibiting Australia’s economic development, [and] sought to deregulate capitalist markets and impose market mechanisms for the delivery of some public goods — such as education and health care — and yet \ldots still advocated a strong and positive role for the state in the management of the economy and the provision of services. While still broadly neo-liberal such policy makers and intellectuals did not abandon the central role of the state in managing the economy and were also willing to subordinate their neo-liberal ideology to political pragmatism or broader social goals.\textsuperscript{458}

The Hawke government is to be contextualised within the western economic tradition that prevailed at the time, which Cahill argues was radical neo-liberalism, and whose core values were: ‘\ldots the belief that state intervention to promote egalitarian social goals ha[d] been responsible for the present economic malaise, and \ldots represented an intolerable invasion of individual rights’.\textsuperscript{459} Cahill sees radical neo-liberals as: ‘defined by their absolute and unshakable belief in the ability of unfettered markets to create a harmonious, prosperous and moral society’.\textsuperscript{460}

From 1982 to 1988, expenditure on education fell nearly 32 per cent. One of the main legacies of governments over that period was the decline in government spending as a proportion of GDP: from 36.9 per cent in 1984-85 to 32.1 per cent in 1988-89. As an effect of economic recession, the

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\item \textsuperscript{457} Laming, \textit{op.cit.}, p.239.
\item \textsuperscript{459} Sawer, Marian (ed). \textit{Australia and the New Right}, George Allen and Unwin, North Sydney, 1982, p.3.
\item \textsuperscript{460} Cahill, \textit{op.cit.}, p.4.
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proportion rose to 34.6 per cent in 1990-91. It was a period of political change as a result of a changed economic landscape, and there were inevitable policy changes as a consequence. There were also significant changes in the higher education system, the most important driver of which was macro and micro-economic reform instituted by the Government as a strategy to widen the economic base of the economy.

The Government sought to increase funding for tertiary education in a small way, while pressuring institutions to identify and establish new sources of private funding and set limits to growth by way of student demand. An additional 3,000 tertiary places were created in 1984 and a further 2,000 per year in the following four years. Places for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, women, migrants, low-SES groups and people with disabilities were prioritised. Between 1985 and 1987, the traditional Labor commitment to social justice was overturned in favour of an economic rationalist approach to funding higher education. The Minister for Finance, Peter Walsh attempted to persuade the government to reintroduce tuition fees, given the difficult economic circumstances, and in the next two years Labor’s traditional commitment to social justice gave way to an economic rationalist agenda.

Senator Susan Maree Ryan, a modern liberal, had been part of the Whitlam Government and Minister for Education in the Hawke Labor Government from 1983 to 1987. Her removal from the Education portfolio was an essential step in the achievement of the Hawke Government’s new interventionist approach, since she stood in the way of those Ministers,

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463 Smart & Dudley, *op.cit.*, p84.
464 See Chapter 2, pp.55-59 for discussion of economic rationalism.
including Prime Minister Hawke, Treasurer Paul Keating and John Dawkins, who had been pushing for major changes to the higher education system in line with their neo-liberal, economic rationalist agenda. Ryan recognised the inevitability of the loss of priority of education within the current Government.

Cabinet in general had decided that Whitlam’s education largesse had not been electorally rewarded and that education was a 1970s issue that should be dropped a long way down the reform agenda.  

In 1986, in line with the worldwide movement toward neo-liberalism, the OECD revised its 1960s view on human capital theory as ‘too general, too quantitative, and based on too simplistic theories of both education and functioning of the economy’. It called on its member governments to form a new understanding of the relationship between private and social investment in education. In 1987 the OECD also recommended greater use of competition between educational institutions, which was seen as a strategy for encouraging better performance and market-style devolution in service delivery. The OECD recommendations were fundamental to the thinking of the Labor government in the next few years. Efficiency and economy became the catchwords of the government from 1985 to 1987 as it adopted education policies that related to the economic aspects of human capital theory and arguments for market reform, influenced by neo-classical economic theory and ideology.

Ryan and the Chair of CTEC, Hugh Hudson, had played a role in ameliorating the effects of Government pressure and demands that opposed

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modern liberal education values. They oversaw an enquiry into higher education and the production of a report titled ‘The Review of Efficiency and Effectiveness in Higher Education’,\textsuperscript{469} which provided considerable evidence that the higher education system had markedly increased its efficiency and responded well to changing social and economic demands over the previous decade, a view that antagonised the economic rationalists in the Labor Caucus. The Review Report cited evidence of this efficiency in an increase of 25 per cent in student numbers while funding remained unchanged in real terms for more than a decade. Ryan fought hard to retain an independent system, dedicated to social and cultural goals as well as economic ones, but her reluctance to accept proposals that: tertiary institutions derive as much income from the private sector as possible; new technologies be used alongside of or instead of traditional teaching and learning methods; and more effective use of institutional resources be developed, led to her removal as Minister for Education.\textsuperscript{470} The report was shelved and played little or no role in the ensuing debate over the Green Paper in the following year.

John Dawkins, one of the Government’s strongest advocates of neo-classical monetarist economics,\textsuperscript{471} replaced Susan Ryan as Minister for Education in 1987 in the expanded portfolio of Employment, Education and Training.\textsuperscript{472} From 1987, the government futhered the view of university education as a private good, subject to a user-pays system, in line with the purchase of any other commodity. Dawkins moved swiftly to restructure higher education and to tie it to the national interest. He disbanded the education commissions established by the Whitlam government and created the Department of Employment, Education and Training (DEET). Marginson states:


\textsuperscript{470} Ryan, \textit{op.cit.} pp. 252-3.

\textsuperscript{471} See Chapter 2, pp.35-59 for discussion of Neo-liberalism, Neo-classical economic theory and economic rationalism.

\textsuperscript{472} Laming, \textit{op.cit.}, p.262.
This eliminated the main source of potential opposition in the bureaucracy, freed the Government to reset the policy agenda, and weakened the capacity of education institutions and interest groups (which had invested in the commissions) to retard government initiatives.\footnote{Marginson, 1997, p.163.}

The Higher Education Council (HEC) within the National Board of Employment, Education and Training (NBEET) assumed an advisory role that was previously a function of CTEC, while the Department of Employment, Education and Training (DEET) took over the administrative and publication functions previously held by CTEC,\footnote{Ibid, p.22-24.} which had resisted the imposition of tuition charges and the commencement of overseas marketing of university education. It had also been a vocal critic of the decline in government funding to universities. NBEET had oversight of the Higher Education Council, the Australian Research Council, the Schools Council, and the Employment and Skills Formation Council, which were not statutory bodies, nor were they independent in the same way that the former commissions had been.

The functions of CTEC were transferred to the DEET under direct Ministerial control, the outcome of which was that higher education institutions were no longer at arm’s length from Commonwealth Government policy decisions and there was no longer a separate body to interpret, modify and implement programs according to general Government guidelines. The AVCC saw this as problematic and argued for NBEET to be a statutory body with academic membership, in effect arguing for re-establishment of what had existed under CTEC.

The AVCC recommends that universities should negotiate directly with the Commonwealth through NBEET and its Higher Education Council. NBEET should be a statutory body required to publish regular reports on the needs of the system and its performance. Its
members should include academics with a sound knowledge of the system and it should be adequately staffed.\textsuperscript{475}

It became clear, then, that the Government planned a far more interventionist approach to the funding and co-ordination of the sector, and intended also to use its new-found ‘hands-on’ approach to effect significant changes in higher education, in line with its economic priorities. These economic priorities have been described as ‘… a new form of Keynesianism – an imperfect mix of market forces and government intervention’.\textsuperscript{476}

The belief that there was a need to restructure the entire economy became the focus of the Labor Government from 1987 and it saw higher education as necessarily contributing to industry, the national economy and national interest. Dawkins wanted to expand tertiary education on the basis that more graduates with qualifications in areas deemed important to the national interest would contribute to Australia’s competitiveness, but he did not want the Commonwealth to fund that expansion. Recognising that it would be difficult to provide the resources necessary to significantly expand higher education without raising funds from those who would benefit from that education, Dawkins wanted institutions to raise a high percentage of their own funds and he wanted students to contribute to the cost of their own education.

In the 1987-88 Budget, the Australian Commonwealth Government announced that it would delay the start of the next funding triennium for higher education to 1989. Dawkins issued a monograph titled \textit{The Challenge for Higher Education in Australia}, which explained the reasons for the decision in the context of the Government’s longer-term plans for development of the higher education system. The Government was determined that the education and training system would play a central role

\textsuperscript{475} Australian Vice-Chancellors Committee. ‘Excellence and Efficiency: The Vice-Chancellors’ response to the Green Paper’, 6 April 1988, p.2.

\textsuperscript{476} Watson, \textit{op.cit.}, p.40.
in responding to major economic challenges facing the nation and suggested that Australia could no longer rely on established practices and institutional arrangements to meet these needs. Australia’s universities and CAEs were seen by Dawkins as the main source of highly educated people necessary to continued economic growth. Research activities within higher education also were considered vital. The paper outlined the Government’s reasons for believing that continuing with current funding arrangements for higher education would not be in the best long-term interests of either the system itself or of the nation in general, and would therefore embark on a process of policy development and consultation leading to the establishment of a new set of arrangements for Commonwealth support of higher education from the beginning of 1989.

**Dawkins’ Green Paper**

Rather than establish yet another committee of review into higher education along the lines of the original Murray Committee, in December 1987 the Government issued a Green Paper, titled *Higher Education: a policy discussion paper*. Laming (citing Smart) states that the Green Paper:

… was written in consultation with a core group of advisers from the public service and a group of 12 publicly unnamed advisers, nick-named the ‘Purple Circle’. Drawing on the work of Maslen and Slattery, Laming explains that:

Dawkins created his own advisory groups of senior academics to bypass the AV-CC and other recognised higher education groups whom he believed had prevented effective reform during Ryan’s ministry. The Circle included two vice-chancellors, … three directors of higher education institutes, … an economist noted for

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479 Laming, *op.cit.*, p.264.
her dry views, … and a senior bureaucrat … but Dawkins himself did much of the original work. 480

Historian, Geoffrey Bolton, recalls with some distaste how Dawkins eschewed advice:

Then came Dawkins. I can never think of regime without being reminded of the 18th century historian who wrote ‘King George III was like a conscientious bull in a china shop’. For most university academics Dawkins’ advent had much the same effect. He deliberately chose not to seek advice from the generation of experienced advisers such as Peter Karmel and Hugh Hudson who had previously influenced the shaping of Federal policy, and instead surrounded himself with new men from the college sector who had axes of their own to grind and were not much concerned about standards of excellence. 481

In the Green Paper, Minister Dawkins482 stated that the Government sought to: increase youth participation in higher education through steady and sustained growth; improve the opportunities for participation in higher education by disadvantaged groups; and make higher education institutions more responsive to the needs of industry. 483 This alignment with industry was to become the distinctive characteristic of the period after 1987. The aims of the reforms were stated as: making tertiary education more relevant to economic needs; releasing more of existing resources through increased efficiency; substantially increasing the number of graduates by the year 2001 from 80,000 to 125,000 per annum; 484 and increasing equity of access and participation in tertiary education.

The Green Paper applied an economic rationalist framework to higher education and marked the end of the Labor Government’s social-democratic approach to education as a social equaliser and pathway to opportunity for

483 Commonwealth of Australia (c11), op.cit., p.4.
people from all sections of society. In so doing, it rendered its previous policy aims of equality of access and the pursuit of liberal values to an ancillary role in government thinking. In what appears at first blush to be a cynical exercise, but mindful of growing public criticism related to the shift in Labor policy away from its stated social justice agenda, the Government issued *Towards a Fairer Australia: Social Justice Under Labor*[^485] in 1988. This document describes measures the Government was taking to overcome the difficulties that disadvantaged groups experienced in gaining equal access to a range of services and opportunities. Education and training were identified in that document as key elements in achieving equal access and social justice, towards which the Government asserted it had allocated considerable resources since its election in 1983.

The Green Paper characterised the changed higher education sector as a ‘Unified National System’ which ‘consist[ed] of a range of higher education institutions with missions agreed to, and funded by, the Commonwealth.’[^486] The term ‘unified’ referred principally to the idea of a unitary, rather than a binary, system, with institutions (universities, institutes or colleges) fulfilling roles in teaching and research according to their capacities, and according also to agreements between each institution and the Commonwealth government. The Green Paper implied that the binary divide, created between universities and the CAEs that had been established as an outcome of the Martin Report in 1964, would disappear. This did occur by Ministerial fiat through the abolition of the CTEC Act, which enshrined the distinction between the two types of institution. The abolition of the university-CAE distinction swept away much of the rhetoric about the differences between the two categories of institution and opened the way for researchers in the college sector to achieve recognition and reward. At the very least it was to lead to a more objective examination of the actual strengths and potential of individuals, departments and institutions as a

[^486]: Ibid. p.28.
means of determining funding and policy, than an appeal to classification or nomenclature.

As acknowledged in the Green Paper, many CAEs had excellent researchers and research facilities, so the established argument in favour of undifferentiated research advantages for universities was lost as it appealed only to traditional definitional grounds for a distinction between the two categories of institution. Thus, the unique role of universities as places of research and teaching was removed and universities had to fight hard to retain both their direct and imputed indirect research funding. For some university academics, the removal of the binary divide was to mean enhanced research opportunities; for others it would mean a reduction in research funding and an increase in teaching hours.

The Green Paper was issued as a ‘discussion paper’, but limits were set on any potential discussion to be focussed on mechanisms for bringing about the changes that the Government had identified:

The Government considers that it has correctly identified the broad directions of change required in our higher education system, but it recognises that there is considerable scope for discussion and debate on the details and appropriate mechanisms for change.\footnote{Ibid.}

The Green Paper was divided into three parts. Part I, entitled ‘Assessing the Challenge’, set out a rationale for change and targets for expansion in the higher education system. The term ‘higher education’ was used in the paper to include TAFE and to emphasise integration of the whole tertiary education system, including the removal of funding formulae that distinguished CAEs from universities, replacing them with individual ‘educational profiles’. A growth target based on unmet demand and comparisons with other OECD nations was identified as 125,000 graduates per year by 2001, compared with the 1986 figure of 88,000. The
implications for education were seen as the need to increase participation of school leavers and mature age students and to lower attrition rates, a discussion that led to questions of initial access, disadvantage, possible changes to the nature and length of courses, bridging courses, cross-accreditation, a longer academic year and more summer courses, mid-year intakes and increased geographical access through the use of TAFE facilities.

The AVCC agreed with the thrust of the Green Paper that there was a need to increase the number of graduates, and to increase both the number of school leavers and mature age students entering university education, but argued that the Commonwealth had a responsibility to fund university education at one per cent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). They argued that increasing equity in higher education was a national responsibility - as was its funding.

Part II, entitled ‘A Unified National System’ (UNS), outlined the Government’s agenda for change in structure and organisation, resource allocation, management, staffing and research, and postgraduate studies. The argument was put that the tertiary education system had outgrown its funding structures and organisation. The UNS was to include universities, CAEs, some TAFE facilities and those TAFE courses of two-year duration that had Year 12 prerequisites. It was proposed that ‘educational profiles’, to be negotiated with individual institutions, would replace existing funding classifications by institutional type and that rationalisation measures were to be implemented, placing institutions in competition with each other for student places. ‘Institutionally developed education profiles’ were to be ‘the principal mechanism for defining institutional roles’ under the ‘national unified system.’

These profiles were to identify and describe fields of study and research and proposed enrolment mix, define equity issues, and

489 Ibid., p.2.
490 Commonwealth of Australia (c5), op.cit., p.29.
record intentions on credit transfer arrangements, among other things. On
the basis of these profiles, the Government would negotiate a contract with
each institution specifying the funding levels that the Commonwealth was
prepared to offer, in light of ‘... the ability of the institution to meet the
higher education needs of its community and the institution’s contribution to
national priorities identified by the Commonwealth.’

The development of educational profiles was not to be a matter of choice;
rather, funding was to be used as a coercive device to bring about co-
operation.

Those institutions that prefer to remain in the present form may do so, but their levels of Commonwealth funding will decrease as
resources are moved from the current base.

Where agreement was not reached, funding was to be progressively reduced
by one per cent per annum in the 1989-1991 triennium and 2.5 per cent per
annum thereafter. As well as this, all institutions faced the potential loss of
2.5 per cent of operating grants. Those whose educational profiles were
approved would have the opportunity to compete for the return of their
share of the reduction in funding each year, while non-approved institutions
would not. The AVCC responded by accepting the concept of educational
profiles and the right of the Government to set overall goals and objectives
for higher education, but resisted what it saw as ‘detailed intrusion which
could lead to bureaucratic interference in university affairs’.

The proposals for the system, while being interventionist in terms of
relations between individual institutions and the Commonwealth
government on the one hand, were profoundly deregulatory on the other.
Overall responsibility for funding and planning in higher education would
devoke to the institutions themselves, with the government acting as a

491 Ibid.
492 Ibid.
contractor for services provided by the institutions on terms agreeable to the government.

The premise of efficiency and economies of scale or ‘bigger is better’ drove recommendations on amalgamation and close co-operation between institutions. A minimum student load of 2,000 EFTSU (effective full time student units) was to be required for an institution to remain independent and 8,000 EFTSU were required to maintain a comprehensive teaching profile and attract resources to undertake research in most teaching areas. ‘Consolidation’ of institutions or offerings was defined as complete amalgamation, formal collegiate arrangements or networking of geographically dispersed institutions into larger institutions and joint administrative arrangements. Newly consolidated institutions were to be given financial advantages to manage staffing matters, such as early retirements, and capital works resulting from the rationalisation. The AVCC rejected the arbitrary ruling in the Green Paper about the size at which institutions would become viable for research and teaching, but (echoing the mantra of the Government) for efficiency reasons, argued that no institution should have fewer than 2,000 EFTSU.494

The Green Paper stipulated that courses were not to be duplicated within geographical regions and, further, it suggested that the institution that could produce graduates at the lowest per capita cost should be the regional provider in a given subject area. The Government planned to extend the discipline review process, encourage institutions to establish minimum class sizes and establish more Key Centres for Teaching and Research. External Studies providers were targeted for rationalisation; from 48 in 1987 to ten eventually, a move that was not resisted by the Universities.495 Again, this rationalisation was based on an ‘economies of scale’ argument of 3,000 or more External Studies enrolments and a minimum of 50 per unit (or subject), with 150 desirable. The reduction in External Studies subjects

494 Ibid.
495 Ibid., p.3.
required institutional co-operation for specialist areas, little or no compulsory attendance at residential schools and increased use of TAFE infrastructure.

The Green Paper pointed out that 5,000 students were at that time studying at higher education level in TAFE,\(^{496}\) with this figure constituting two percent of total higher education enrolments. In addition, many thousands of students were enrolled in two-year TAFE Associate Diploma courses that required Year 12 as a prerequisite. The Paper concluded ‘There is no valid reason why these nationally registered TAFE awards should not be counted in our higher education statistics’.\(^{497}\) The Paper envisaged a system in which two-year Associate Diploma TAFE courses would become integrated into the higher education system by a system of standardised credit transfer to higher level courses. This system would extend to provide a universally-agreed set of conditions enabling students to gain credit for courses or parts of courses that would be transferable across the sector according to an agreed formula. This would reduce the need for students to repeat post-school studies as they moved between institutions of different status and type, thus enhancing mobility and flexibility, contributing to equity and cutting costs.

Existing credit and credit transfer arrangements were criticised as \textit{ad hoc} and wasteful of resources, with the Green Paper arguing that the issue should be addressed on a system-wide basis by placing the onus on institutions to demonstrate why credit should not be given. Funding would be attracted to institutions on the assumption that students would be fully credited and they would not be required to repeat parts of courses unnecessarily, allowing, where required, credit to be granted on a provisional basis dependent on performance in the new course. Institutional responses were sought on these related issues for effective arrangements to be \textit{in situ} for the 1989-91 triennium.

\(^{496}\) \textit{Ibid.}, p.94.
\(^{497}\) \textit{Ibid.}, p.7.
The aim to develop a funding system based on institutional performance in relation to educational profiles or agreed goals was based on the notion of ‘balancing the requirements for institutional autonomy and public accountability’, not classification as a university or CAE.\textsuperscript{498} The development of acceptable performance indicators was planned, but the intention was to use quantitative measures and peer review in the interim, with triennial base funding continuing, according to the agreed educational profile of each institution. The move towards funding based on output and performance would occur in the 1989-91 triennium, since it required expansion and revision of the statistical data base held by DEET. The aim was to gradually reallocate resources so that all institutions (existing universities and CAEs and/or future consolidated institutions) were to be funded at similar levels for similar course mix.

Changes to system wide management of higher education were announced as well as proposals for streamlining decision-making within institutions. More de-regulation of management was to devolve to Vice-Chancellors, Principals and other administrators, and governing bodies and committees were to provide broad policy guidelines only. These decisions were moving institutions toward a neo-liberal vision of management structures and away from the old modern liberal notion of democratically run institutions, where staff were elected to positions such as Dean or Head of School and where elected staff often held the balance of power on institutional Councils and Boards. Streamlining of management structures and processes were suggested, with pressure to move in this direction having arisen partly from the commercialisation of higher education through overseas marketing and other entrepreneurial activities. These ventures encouraged the growth of non-participatory executive decision-making structures that avoided time delays and exposure of commercial proposals to academic scrutiny.

\textsuperscript{498} Ibid, p.41.
There were also significant changes to staffing, with a neo-liberal emphasis on ‘productivity’ being introduced at the same time as increasing limited term appointments at the expense of permanent academic positions. This, too, was neo-liberalism, with an emphasis on ‘flexibility’ of staffing under the guise of making it easier to move academic staff resources into new areas of demand and to increase recruitment and retention in difficult areas by introducing differential salaries and reward structures. It could be argued that this was the beginning of the establishment of market-driven academia, with the intention being to create a deregulated academic labour system that would enhance commercial competitiveness and create incentives for excellence.

The Green Paper pointed out that the majority of academic appointments were to remain permanent but its emphasis on increasing the number of limited term academic appointments was at odds with its further statement that the principle of academic freedom was to be safeguarded. Reinforcing this view is the fact that: staff assessment was to become more rigorous, especially for appointments and promotion; probationary periods of at least five years were to be encouraged; flexible hierarchies were to be encouraged, where staff at Senior Lecturer and above would be permanently appointed at the base Senior Lecturer level and positions above this would be filled for set periods. It was clear that this would inevitably lead to a dearth of higher level academic staff. Limited term appointments and part-time appointments were recommended, with limited term appointments being recommended to comprise 20 per cent of an institution’s academic workforce at or above Lecturer level and a higher percentage being recommended for areas subject to rapid change in knowledge or student demand. Special allowances (higher salaries) were to be available for limited term appointees to compensate for loss of permanency and to attract able people. Many institutions titled these ‘attraction and retention’ allowances, and they were to be utilised to recognise performance, clinical responsibilities, market demand or additional responsibilities. Members of
humanities, education and social science disciplines would be at considerable disadvantage in attracting allowances, given the non-commercial and non-industrial nature of those disciplines. The payment of allowances did not attract federal funding; rather, institutions were to find the money to fund them themselves.

Part-time employment, including permanent part-time employment, was encouraged under the argument that it attracted specialists and allowed employment in the higher education industry to be combined with employment in industry. What it was really doing was providing a positive ‘gloss’ on reduced employment opportunities and reduced employment conditions. The Green Paper sought to establish ‘flexible hierarchies’ among senior academic staff, which in effect meant the establishment of limited term contracts among university executives.

Flexible hierarchies would require senior academics to reapply for their jobs every few years and were proposed by the Government as a way of overcoming staffing rigidities. 499

This was a managerial method of removing non-co-operative staff from the system. The AVCC strongly supported the idea of deregulation of academic staffing, generally, and given that the AVCC is comprised of senior university staff, they opposed the idea of flexible hierarchies among senior staff as being counter-productive.

Involvement and increased interaction with industry for research purposes was encouraged, with a target of five per cent industry funded research to be achieved by 1992, an increase of 3.7 per cent from 1.3 per cent in 1985. The Green Paper argued that while basic research needed to be supported, a greater proportion of research should be carried out in disciplines and fields relevant to national economic priorities. A utilitarian emphasis was placed on improving the rate of research translation into products or applications.

499 AVCC, op.cit., p.4.
This was not a new view, and echoed the utilitarian view of higher education that existed during World War II and afterwards, as part of the national rebuilding ethos. Whilst the AVCC agreed that there needed to be more industry responsibility for funding research projects and also for research and development (R&D), it argued for an increase in Commonwealth funding and cited as evidence the very large gap in research funding between Australia and other OECD countries. The AVCC also sought a ‘proper balance between basic and applied research, between funding for research in the sciences and humanities and between team and individual researchers’.  

A similarly utilitarian view was held of postgraduate education. While acknowledging the importance of research-based postgraduate degrees as preparation for professional researchers and academics, the Government wanted postgraduate education to ‘better reflect economic and social requirements’. Emphasis was placed on postgraduate training in professional areas through coursework, rather than through research degrees, and encouraged links between institutions and employers.

Further ‘efficiency’ measures were proposed. Emphasis was placed on improving the productivity of capital resources, in particular the extension of the academic year to two-semesters plus a summer term. Arguments for this change were based on the assertion that facilities were being drastically under-utilised, especially over the summer months. A longer teaching year could effect a considerable saving in capital outlays and the extra time could be used for bridging and remedial courses in order to reduce attrition, which was identified as one way to reduce wastage. The implications for staffing were significant and institutions were encouraged to consider ‘flexible timetabling’ or summer loadings (extra salary) for summer teaching. What was not acknowledged in the paper was the potentially negative effect increased teaching would have on staff research output.

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500 Ibid.
The Green Paper flagged a four per cent increase in funding to those higher education institutions that produced wide-ranging ‘reforms’ in academic staff conditions. This funding increase was described in terms of ‘promot[ing] incentives for change’, but is more clearly seen as an incentive or a reward to those institutions that co-operated with the changes being sought by the Minister.

Part III, entitled ‘Funding the System’, outlined a number of possible funding arrangements for expansion of the system other than a substantial increase in Commonwealth commitment. In particular, it cited the Ministerial Committee’s agenda to recommend a ‘user pays’ funding system to be in place by March in the following year. The Green Paper indicated that the Commonwealth had established a committee to ‘examine possible options’ for some user-pays funding ‘from individual students, former students and/or their parents’, 501 but it was not prepared to provide further tax incentives to encourage endowments, donations or bequests. Instead, an increase in commercial activities, including the establishment of university consulting and research companies, was encouraged, as was the attraction of full-fee paying ‘overseas’ students.

The Commonwealth made clear that its intention was not to reduce its own share of funding where institutions were to earn significant amounts through commercial endeavour: instead it would maintain its share as an incentive for institutions to engage commercially. The Government was not proposing to maintain the ratio of its funding to commercial earnings, where the more an institution earned commercially through both teaching and research, the more funding the Government would contribute. Instead, it was indicating that its ‘share’ would be maintained: in other words, its contribution would remain stable as commercial earnings potentially increased. This was a clear indication that the view of higher education as a governmental

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501 Ibid, p.87.
responsibility to the community and a public good had shifted. Higher Education was now seen as a commodity, like any other, to be bought and sold in a free market. The proposals for reform of the education system were essentially deregulatory, neo-liberal and economic rationalist in thrust. The proposals to fund individual institutions according to negotiated ‘educational profiles’ and of competition and fees for student places, clearly were at odds with equitable access and decreased government intervention.

Following the release of the Green Paper, the Government engaged in a process of discussion and debate on the roles and objectives of the higher education system. Over 600 written responses were received from major educational bodies, institutions, professional organisations, government authorities, employer groups, unions, academics and other interested individuals.

The Vice Chancellors described the purposes of universities as the creation and transmission of knowledge, the stimulation of love of learning, education for the professions, extending and enriching national culture, and making contributions to contemporary debates. They were opposed to the detailed intervention by the Commonwealth, generally, but supported the direction of the Green Paper where it strengthened their management role, particularly in relation to its position on academic wages and conditions. They endorsed the Green Paper as deregulatory and as enhancing university autonomy, providing ‘a rare opportunity to improve the higher education system’. 502

The question of equality of access to higher education appeared to be an after thought in the Green Paper. Despite its prominence in ALP policy and the priority given to it by the former Minister, Susan Ryan, the aim of increasing opportunities to participate in higher education was not integral.

Several submissions pointed out that it was not sufficient to widen access without providing support programs. One of the most apposite was provided by the Australian and New Zealand Student Services Association, the professional association for staff involved in fostering the well-being of students in institutions of higher education, such as counsellors, learning skills teachers, and accommodation and financial aid services. They stated that:

ANZSSA completely endorses the proposition that to provide a fair chance for all, attention must be given to both access and opportunity. However, it is not sufficient to open the door to all comers, appropriate support services must be established and adequately funded to ensure that those who enter our institutions from non-traditional backgrounds have an equal chance of success once they are admitted.  

They recommended that guidelines for the allocation of institutional resources for student support services be formulated and identified the priority areas for funding, including the expansion of existing services for learning skills programs, counselling, careers, health and accommodation

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services.\textsuperscript{504} The Vice-Chancellors singled out mature age students as needing access to ‘affordable child care’.\textsuperscript{505}

At the same time, ANZSSA argued that rationalisation of courses would reduce options for students who were less mobile, particularly those with family responsibilities, and the disabled. Changes created by rationalisation would reduce choice, including choice of institution, and make higher education less attractive to many. Amalgamations of institutions would likely create very large, possibly impersonal institutions, which had the potential to alienate students. The Vice-Chancellors argued there were ‘many examples of small but successful institutions’,\textsuperscript{506} that any rationalisation should provide ‘real benefits for students’, and be limited to nearby institutions.\textsuperscript{507} The most serious threat to equality in higher education was the potential re-introduction of tuition fees under the user-pays principle.\textsuperscript{508}

Despite the Vice-Chancellors’ view that the Green Paper supported and even enhanced university autonomy, the attack on university autonomy was a central theme. The challenge to universities and to those who had an interest in them was dichotomous: either hold that full autonomy was fundamental to the idea of universities, which are essentially private institutions, differentiating them from the CAEs, or accept greater public accountability and more direct Government control. The former position would lead to the requirement for private funding and a user-pays system, possibly involving full-cost fees; the latter would lead to a more ‘public’ higher education system but it had the potential to retain the principles of equality of access and of education as a public good, benefitting society, rather than a commodity to be purchased.

\textsuperscript{504} Ibid., p.6-7.
\textsuperscript{505} Ibid., op.cit., p.5.
\textsuperscript{506} Ibid., p.3.
\textsuperscript{507} Ibid., p.8.
Citing three other documents, the Government announced that its strategy for the development of the higher education system was part of a wider agenda of reform spanning all elements of the employment, education and training portfolio. *Skills for Australia*, authored by Dawkins and fellow Minister Clive Holding, was a government policy statement outlining the approach, program directions and priorities in employment, education and training for 1987-88. It focussed particularly on increasing participation in education and training, and the quality and structure of education and training. DEET document, *A Changing Workforce*, was a statement of the government’s intention to meet the employment education and training demands of structural adjustment. It focussed on the need to improve and expand education and training efforts and make more effective use of the skills of the workforce. *Strengthening Australia’s Schools* was an Issues Paper on teacher quality authored by the Schools Council for the National Board of Employment, Education and Training.

**Dawkins’ White Paper**

In July 1988, seven months after the release of the Green Paper, Minister Dawkins issued a White Paper titled *Higher Education: a Policy Statement*, which set out ‘the Commonwealth’s strategy for the long-term development of Australia’s higher education system’. Unlike the Green Paper, which encouraged responses from stakeholders and interested parties, the White Paper was a statement of policy intent, setting the direction for government implementation and tying university education to the economic needs of business and industry. Referring to the developing interactions between industry and higher education, Dawkins noted that:

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510 Ibid., (c11), *op.cit.*

511 Ibid., p.3.
... the Government will continue to encourage the development of close links between higher education institutions and employers in all sectors of the Australian economy ... [and the need for graduates to acquire] the conceptual, analytical and communication skills which are increasingly demanded by industry.\textsuperscript{512}

The Paper was divided into four parts, the first of which addressed the environment for reform and reflected on community responses to the Green Paper, noting there had been ‘strong support for a major expansion of higher education opportunities’ and for the ‘Government’s equity objectives’. Part II focussed on the framework, institutional structures, equity strategies, links with other sectors and consultative and advisory arrangements to determine priorities in the Unified National System of higher education. Part III discussed the allocation of resources and research and postgraduate education, while Part IV pronounced on organisational effectiveness, a euphemism for institutional management and staffing matters. The aspects of the White Paper of particular relevance to this thesis are Parts I and II.

Adopting the rhetoric of modern liberalism, the White Paper avowed:

As a nation, we have consistently voiced our demands for a fair and free society. All Australians expect and deserve an equal chance to succeed in life, with positive assistance given where necessary to make up for financial or other disadvantages.

Access to education is vital. Education is one of the principal means for individuals to achieve independence, economic advancement and personal growth. But in the past, the benefits of higher education have been enjoyed disproportionately by the more privileged members of our community. Those benefits need to be shared more widely and more equitably in the future.\textsuperscript{513}

The White Paper stressed the Government's commitment to achieving equity in higher education and ‘made a commitment to the development of a long-term strategy that would make equity objectives a central concern of

\textsuperscript{512} Ibid., p.67-688.

\textsuperscript{513} Ibid., p.6.
higher education management planning and review’.\textsuperscript{514} It expanded on the idea raised briefly in the Green Paper and announced the Government’s commitment to improving access to and success in higher education, where access was defined principally as the right to participate and equity was achieved through growth in the number of available places. The White Paper identified the usual six categories of people who encountered significant barriers to full participation in higher education, particularly young people in those categories (hereafter, the ‘six categories’):

- People with disabilities,
- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people,
- Women in non-traditional areas,
- People from non-English-speaking backgrounds,
- People from low-income families, and
- People from rural and isolated areas.

For Rizvi, targeting these groups to generate increased participation in university education is an example of a ‘deficit view of social justice’\textsuperscript{515} where the market compensates the disadvantaged through its agent, the state. Connell argues that targeting the disadvantaged creates the risk of stigmatisation and adds that the most disadvantaged 15 per cent at a given time ‘are not culturally distinct but have a great deal in common with a larger group of working class families’\textsuperscript{516} Marginson sees targeting as:

\[ \text{\ldots compatible with a universal system of education \ldots} \]
\[ \text{Through universal participation underpinned by targeting, equity in education became seen as the guarantor for equity in the labour markets, educational equity as vocational equity.} \textsuperscript{517} \]

\textsuperscript{514} Commonwealth of Australia (c12), p.1.
\textsuperscript{517} Marginson, 1997, \textit{op.cit.}, p.199.
Unlike the Green Paper, the focus on equity of access to higher education was both foregrounded and central to the focus of the White Paper.

The Government is committed to improving access to and success in the higher education system … Inefficiencies arise because significant barriers still exist to the full participation of disadvantaged groups in higher education. Capable and qualified people from families with relatively low income levels, from rural areas and the disabled draw less on the benefits of higher education than others. As well, for reasons related not only to income, Aboriginals face distinct disadvantages in terms of access and some migrant groups face particular cultural and language barriers to successful participation and inadequate recognition of qualifications gained overseas. Furthermore, women now account for more than half the total enrolment in higher education, but they remain heavily concentrated in a narrow range of courses and disciplines. This high degree of concentration is not only a significant barrier to women’s full and equal participation in subsequent employment but is also a major source of structural rigidity and inefficiency. … Equity concerns [are] central to the development of the policies outlined in this Statement.  

This was signalling a return to supporting the development of human capital through higher education. The paper also pointed out that the Government was moving to strengthen Australia’s economic base through the development of human capital:

… with a consequent shift in the traditional profile of our economic activity, so the nation needs a well educated, skilled and flexible workforce to adjust to these changes. People from disadvantaged groups form a large and diverse pool of under-used resources. They should be encouraged into higher education and contribute their skills to developing a more highly skilled and efficient workforce.  

The White Paper identified the need to develop a more flexible education system that provided multiple entry and re-entry points in both the TAFE

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518 Commonwealth of Australia (c11), op.cit., pp.20-21.
519 Commonwealth of Australia (c12), op.cit., p.7.
520 For an example of multiple entry points see Appendix F, Russell Gluck & Kim Draisma. Australian Department of Employment, Education, Training and Youth Affairs, Evaluations and Investigations Program, *The Pipeline Project: An investigation of local*
and higher education sectors. The multiple entry points approach recognised that people from disadvantaged groups, who formed ‘a large and diverse pool of under-used resources’, were often early school leavers, leaving before completion of the final year examination, and as such often could not meet the traditional entry requirements for CAE or university enrolment. ‘Multiple entry points’ was a re-branding and re-explaining of what already existed, a mechanism whereby institutions gave recognition to other institutions’ awards as an entry qualification to their own courses. What was different was that the White Paper placed onus on institutions accepting prior qualifications rather than requiring candidates to show cause that they should be accepted. This strategy was supported by the Australian and New Zealand Student Services Association (ANZSSA) response to the Green Paper, which encouraged the development of an appropriate credit transfer system that would be predictable, consistent and explicable to applicants.

Our experience has been that students are consistently penalised in attempting to move from one sector, institution or course to another and that credit arrangements are inconsistent and inexplicable. The proposal that the onus be put on the institution to show why credit should not be granted [p.40] is strongly supported.\textsuperscript{521}

The Vice Chancellors had opposed some credit transfers in their response to the Green Paper, citing ‘maintenance of academic standards and the interests of students, prospective employers and the community ... the structural integrity of programs of study’\textsuperscript{522} as being their main reasons. In particular, they argued that there was no rationale for granting credits for successful completion of TAFE courses.

FAUSA endorsed the Government’s requirements on equity and credit transfer and supported in principle the idea of a unified national system of higher education. It rejected what it saw as an unacceptable form of

\textsuperscript{521} ANZSSA, op.cit., p.6.
\textsuperscript{522} AVCC, op.cit., p.9.
Government interference and management control in what had been
democratic decision-making institutions. It also expressed the opinion that
the White Paper’s view was ‘short-term, narrow and instrumentalist, at the
expense of basic areas of knowledge, diversity of provision, and the long
term contribution of our higher education institutions’.  

Tertiary institutions were invited to join the Unified National System, with
acceptance being based on a commitment by the institution to meeting
several criteria.

Internal management was to be made more efficient, credit transfer
arrangements [were to be] negotiated, common term dates [were to be
established], equity goals and performance indicators [were to be]
agreed to. … Each new institution also had to develop an
educational profile, defining its mission and goals, following
negotiations with [DEET] relating to national priorities.

Acceptance of the criteria led to amalgamations of Universities with CAEs
(for example, the University of Wollongong and the Illawarra College of
Advanced Education – previously the Wollongong Teachers’ College) and
the conversion of some CAEs to university status (for example, several
CAEs amalgamated to become the University of Western Sydney). At the
end of the round of amalgamations there were no longer nineteen
universities and fifty-four CAEs but thirty-nine universities. The Unified
National System had replaced the binary system of higher education.

A fair go and a fair chance for all

The Government’s fourth document in its suite of papers on the topic of
equity and access to education was issued in April 1989; A Fair Go: the
Federal Government’s Strategy for Rural Education and Training, which
was authored by Dawkins and the Minister for Primary Industries and

523 FAUSA. Letter to Professor K. Marjoribanks, Vice-Chancellor, University of Adelaide,
15 September 1988.
524 Laming, op.cit., p.265.
525 Commonwealth of Australia (c7), op.cit.,
Energy, John C. Kerin. Drawing on the vernacular of rural Australia in its title, ‘A Fair Go’, in a clear attempt to develop reader empathy, the paper acknowledged that rural Australians have traditionally participated in education and training to a lesser degree than their metropolitan counterparts. Low population densities, widely disparate population and growth rates, economic and environmental diversity, and sheer distance, make access to education and training outside the capital cities difficult. Arguing that rural people should be able to be fully involved in the wide range of education and training opportunities available, the Government stated that it was keen to enhance the skills base of the primary industries.

The basis of the Federal Government’s approach to rural education and training was two-fold: (1) to ensure that broad-based education and training initiatives were appropriate and effective in non-metropolitan areas; and (2) to target specific initiatives directly at particular problems faced by rural Australians. The document drew on the same two fundamental rationales as presented in the Green and White papers: equity of access, which was a focus on developing human capital; and improving industry outcomes, which was a focus on improved economic potential:

… the Government is committed to giving rural Australians the opportunities needed to gain the skills that will give them a full and productive life and to contribute to the improved efficiency and effectiveness of rural industries.526

While offering a reworking of the ideas and strategies expressed in the previous three documents, this paper differed in its central focus on its reliance on TAFE courses to service the educational needs of post-secondary rural students.

The Government’s fifth document in the equity and access suite of papers was issued in February 1990 and was titled, A Fair Chance for All: National

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526Ibid., p.7.
and Institutional Planning for Equity in Higher Education. It defined the overall equity objective for higher education as being:

… to ensure that Australians from all groups in society have the opportunity to participate successfully in higher education … by changing the balance of the student population to reflect more closely the composition of society as a whole.527

This document set national equity objectives and targets for each of the groups identified as disadvantaged in gaining access to higher education and presented a range of strategies to assist institutions in their planning for these students. But despite identifying the six groups, no definition was yet provided, with the Government readily acknowledging that ‘disadvantaged groups within society cannot be clearly defined or differentiated, and that there will be areas of overlap on an individual basis’.528 The development of operational equity definitions and equity characteristics for the six groups and performance indicators occurred in March 1994.529 Although the groups remained undefined at the time of its issue, A Fair Chance for All set out the responsibilities of both the Commonwealth and the institutions in achieving national equity objectives.530 For example, specific targets were set for women’s access to university education in three areas by 1995.

• Other than in engineering, the proportion of women in non-traditional courses was to be at least 40 per cent.
• In engineering courses, the proportion of women was to increase from 7 per cent to 15 per cent.
• In postgraduate study, particularly in research degrees, the number of women was to increase relative to the proportion of female undergraduates in each field.531

527 Commonwealth of Australia(c13), op.cit., Executive Summary, p2.
528 Ibid., p.1.
530 Commonwealth of Australia (c13), op.cit., pp.9, 11-12, 50-54.
531 Ibid., p.27.
In relation to NESB people, it was suggested by NBEET that universities could increase enrolments through the establishment of: ‘support programs’, such as programs to assist with the development of English language; and ‘awareness programs’ to inform potential NESB students of the institution’s programs and courses. And Institutions should utilise curriculum reviews to make courses more relevant to NSEB people’s concerns.\(^{532}\)

System-wide equity performance indicators were to be adopted to monitor and measure performance that was seen as essential in determining progress towards achieving, re-assessing and modifying the Government’s objectives and strategies.\(^ {533}\) Institutional equity initiatives and services also needed to be targeted to ensure that they were to the benefit of students who were genuinely disadvantaged. These were also to be monitored and reported on. Higher Education Equity Program (HEEP) funds were to be provided as incentives to institutions with a demonstrated commitment to equity and to provide a source of funds for innovative projects or mainstream initiatives that could be replicated in other institutions.

Programs proliferated. National registers of higher education preparatory programs and special admission schemes were produced with the support of DEET to provide greater awareness of the availability of programs and to assist planners, student advisers, access and equity personnel and government officers. Special admission schemes facilitated entry of students under circumstances where they could not meet the usual entry mechanism and preparatory and bridging programs sought to increase the participation and success of disadvantaged students once enrolled. Of the then 37 universities in Australia, 27 had developed one or more programs for the 1992-94 Triennium and had made NESB persons a ‘priority’ area.\(^ {534}\)

\(^{532}\) Ibid., pp.37-38.
\(^{533}\) Ibid., p.53.
Australia’s national newspaper, *The Australian*, sponsored special editions of the *Good Universities Guide* that provided comprehensive guides to access and equity programs as information for potential students, providing an evaluation of a potential five stars for programs. The editor justified the newspaper’s involvement:

… because it believes that students should be able to make important decisions about themselves and their careers with the help of the best and most comprehensive information available, and that an open and accountable university system will make the most of our intellectual wealth.\(^{535}\)

In the five years following *A Fair Chance for All*, broad growth of university special admissions programs and preparatory programs occurred. Some universities favoured programs for disadvantaged school leavers, such as acceptance of students on the advice of the school principal or those who could demonstrate disadvantage during the school years. Others favoured programs for mature age students, as exemplified in Appendix D, which summarises the equity and access programs offered by NSW and ACT universities for 1996. There was no uniformity among university provisions, with each institution having responsibility for their own initiatives. Every NSW university provided a special admission program for indigenous students but only half provided preparation programs designed to improve success rates. Only three universities provided preparation in mathematics, opening up a range of disciplines beyond Arts, Education and the Social Sciences. Despite 27 universities citing in their Equity Plans the establishment of programs for NESB students, this did not occur as envisaged. Instead, NESB students were provided with support for English language development through Learning Development units, Study Skills units or similar, and pre-entry programs offered by the entrepreneurial arms of the universities, such as language colleges.

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Universities that saw themselves as catering to the intellectual élite, such as the Universities of Sydney and Melbourne, resisted government pressure to provide alternative entry mechanisms for non-traditional students, since they could easily meet their student enrolment targets and were focussed on maintaining the status of enrolling the brightest students – as determined from the secondary school final year examination. Non-completion of secondary school was interpreted by many academics as a deficit on the part of the student and this led to suspicion that the ‘special entry’ mechanisms and programs that the universities were establishing were ‘lowering the standards’. Even when students, who had gained enrolment through one of these programs, completed their degrees with outstanding results, the programs were challenged. There was significant pressure within the universities to divest themselves of alternative admission, special entry programs.

**Keating and Economic Rationalism**

Following a challenge in the Labor Caucus, Hawke lost the leadership and was replaced as Prime Minister by Paul John Keating in December 1991, a position he held until defeat in the General Election of March 1996. Keating furthered the economic rationalist agenda with vigour. One description of the advisers within the Prime Minister’s Office in 1992 was that they were all crusading ‘devout free-marketeers’ and ‘ideologues’.

… the term ‘ideological’ might seem misplaced. But no other word will do. Whatever name it goes by, supply-side economics, neoclassical economics or economic rationalism, it is no less an ideology for being expressed in the language of economics. Those who professed it were attached not just to the idea of the free market – all of us were attached to that – but to a whole worldview, a web of

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meaning and belief by which all events were interpreted and all potential actions measured. That was what they meant by the ‘main game’. They believed, furthermore, that they were on the side of history; their ideas were irrefutably the right ones, that what they did was the best hope for the nation and its people – the last hope, indeed of mankind. Their responses tended to be reflexive, as ideological responses are; and, like ideologues, they sometimes marginalised those who did not respond in the same way. They were believers, a little company with special knowledge, they knew what the game was. They shared a belief in a new order, and that they were the ones who would lead us to it.538

Under Keating, the government raised the number of young people completing secondary education from three in ten to eight in ten, but this was not achieved as a result of educational strategies designed to encourage school students to complete secondary education. It was the outcome of a period of economic recession, where jobs were unavailable for early school leavers.539 Economic recession, reduced job opportunities and the availability of alternative admissions programs for equity students led to strong demand for university places, particularly in the years 1991 and 1992. Watson, an advisor to Keating at the time, recalls resistance to the development of mass higher education and the lamentations of Vice-chancellors at the changes among their elite institutions:

…many in the universities said, with some justification, that the increase [in enrolments] had not only dramatically lowered their own academic standards but also destroyed institutions which had been the foundation of the nation’s research and knowledge.540

This was a period of consolidation of the reforms to education wrought by Dawkins, with an emphasis on ‘quality enhancement’ and ‘accountability’. It was also a ‘difficult and uncertain’541 period for universities, with the sector being steered ‘in the direction of privatisation, marketisation and

538 Ibid., p.39.
539 Ibid., p.257.
540 Ibid.
commodification’.\textsuperscript{542} Citing Marginson, Sol Encel describes the White Paper as making:

… great play with managerial efficiency and ‘productivity’ (higher pass rates and reduced staff numbers). Reporting and data collection became much more stringent and standardized. The balance between fields of study was deregulated. Growth, mergers, and competition were encouraged.\textsuperscript{543}

According to McGloin and Stirling, this terminology ‘mobilises the language of neo-liberal discourse’:\textsuperscript{544}

To be successful in attracting government funding, institutions are advised to foster innovative cultures that are nevertheless regulated at a semantic level by words such as ‘accountability’, ‘competitiveness’ and ‘performance indicators’, and at the policy level by the economic imperatives of the national and international marketplace.\textsuperscript{545}

Beyond the adoption of neo-language, Dawkins’ economic rationalist program has been described as a ‘quasi-market’ of competing institutions.\textsuperscript{546}

**Dawkins: Neo-liberalism, human capital, equity and access**

The Dawkins reforms had a direct effect on the expansion of access to university education for particular disadvantaged groups: women, indigenous students, those from non-English-speaking backgrounds, those from rural or isolated areas or those with a disability. By 1995 there were particular achievements. Women’s participation increased from 229,791 to 313,417 in the period 1989 to 1994. In non-traditional areas, women’s participation also increased: in Business, from 39.1 to 43.6 per cent; in Architecture, from 32.2 to 34.2 per cent; in Engineering, from 8.9 to 13.1


\textsuperscript{545} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{546} Marginson, 1997 *op.cit.*
per cent; and in Science, from 37.8 to 40.7 per cent. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders’ participation increased 1.8 times from 3,307 to 6,264; and participation of people from non-English-speaking backgrounds increased 1.5 times from 51,129 to 79,197. Citing DEET figures, and arguing in 1996 for the discontinuation of ‘women’ as an equity target group, Ian Dobson stated that ‘women … improved their relative position from 54.3 per cent of all higher education completions in 1988, to 57.2 per cent in 1994’.

The participation in university education of people from rural backgrounds remained low, relative to urban Australians. Calculated on the basis of postcodes of home address, the proportion of rural students participating in higher education in 1997 was 17.4 per cent, which represents approximately three-quarters of the reference population (estimated at 24 per cent in the 1991 Census). The proportion of geographically isolated people in university education was 1.8 per cent, compared with the reference population of 4.5 per cent.

A major policy problem in regard to access and accountability remained the appropriate recognition of diversity. Class, race, ethnicity, gender and disability are not separate categories in practice; they frequently overlap in individuals. Socio-economic advantage or disadvantage is a powerful predictor of who gains access to a university education and it interacts with the opportunities available on the basis of gender, race and other ascribed characteristics. James argues that low socioeconomic circumstances have a

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higher detrimental effect on university participation than distance from university campuses. In regard to NESB persons, Birrell et al. argue that:

... those who speak a non-English language at home are not disadvantaged as regards access to higher education. The group does slightly better than English-language speakers, despite the inference of disadvantage associated with English language difficulties and different cultural backgrounds.

They concluded that the crucial determinant of educational mobility was not NESB status, but ‘class’, one element of which is low-SES status. There were no identifiable programs provided in any university for students from low-SES backgrounds, nor any that overtly identified ‘class’ as a basis for support.

Dawkins’ aim was to increase the number and proportions of groups of people represented in society undertaking university education, and in achieving that aim he was largely successful, except for the participation of people from lower socioeconomic backgrounds and people from rural and isolated areas, whose participation did not improve. Broadly, the Dawkins reforms led to significant increases in levels of participation by women, as well as members of most of the other identified groups. However, significant increases in the participation of people from socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds were not secured by 1995. While access for these groups improved, their relative position to the advantaged did not. This was similar to earlier data reported by Carpenter and Hayden, who noted ‘there was no improvement during the decade (1980-89) in the relative position of the “wealthiest” and the “poorest” sub-groups of young people as far as participation in higher education was concerned.’

550 Ibid., p.455.
552 Ibid., p.9.
other target groups, those from advantaged socio-economic backgrounds similarly gained access.

The provision of student support, both financial and other, is an indicator of commitment to both the development of human capital and the creation of equality and equal opportunity. Appropriate support for students from disadvantaged backgrounds was not cost neutral, nor did it require such an insignificant level of funding that individual institutions or sub-units of those institutions were able to meet this without adjustment to existing funding regimes. In order to meet the selective demands for support to ensure that disadvantaged groups gained more than just access to institutions unmodified to meet their needs, there needed to be mechanisms established to address these funding needs both at a national level and at the level of the institutions. There was a need to recognise the funding requirements of providing equity beyond providing access, but by 1995, this had not occurred.

Because of the structural problems associated with funding access for ‘non-traditional’ disadvantaged groups, wherein universities were required to allocate funding from within their Operating Grants, many universities placed notional limits on the number and category of disadvantaged students that would be accepted. At the same time, the codification of the six categories meant that where a person could not meet the criteria of at least one of the categories, she or he was often deemed not eligible to apply for entry. Non-indigenous, English-speaking women from middle class socio-economic groups, who had not completed high school, and who wished to study Arts or Education, for example, were not eligible to apply for special access programs; nor were men who were earning reasonable incomes, who wished to enrol in Commerce, Engineering or Science. One of the only entry mechanisms open to these candidates was the STAT test for people over the age of 21 years, which was far more onerous than other entry programs and which provided no support to achieve success. Successful
completion of the STAT test, in those universities where it was offered, often did not provide entry to degrees that set pre-requisite knowledge for entry, such as completion of high level secondary school mathematics or science subjects. Unequal situations occurred where it became possible for one candidate to be advised to wait until reaching 21 years of age to apply to undertake the STAT test, while a 17 year old student, who could demonstrate disadvantage, or an indigenous applicant, may have been provided with a place relatively automatically.

A structural problem facing most equity areas in universities was that it was associated with various special services that were seen as ancillary supports to students. They were typically not part of the way universities organised their teaching and learning activities. Consequently, responsibility for equity was typically one of the few academic areas of responsibility that was ceded to administrative and professional staff, who often were not employed as academics. Alternatively, low level academic appointments (Level A or B) were established to provide low level services, such as study skills support. There were a small number of institutions where members of the Senior Executive had charge of equity, for example, the University of Adelaide, where a Pro Vice Chancellor (Equity and External Relations) had been appointed. The 1994 Reports on Quality in Teaching and Learning\textsuperscript{554} in Australian universities demonstrated that commitment to equity was mostly dealt with, and arose under, the student support services category and was not discussed in any substantial way as part of overall planning for and delivery of teaching and learning. While ever these activities remained supplementary to mainstream teaching and learning, the structural problem would remain.

Strong criticism of the Dawkins reforms, including how Dawkins used Ministerial fiat to bring them about, came from ex-Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser in 2007:

So now we have a situation in which government ministers think they know what ought to happen for Australian universities, which I think is an absolute bloody nonsense. I can remember Menzies, when we had the Murray Report in the 50s and the Martin Report [in the 60s]; if the Commonwealth is … the biggest funder of universities, it is absolutely critical that the Commonwealth not seek to use its financial power to limit academic freedom, to determine the course of experimentation, to establish priorities for research. The academic integrity must be inviolate. Therefore we must have a powerful and intellectually high-quality body that stands between the Commonwealth as the major funder and all universities, and that’s what we had … until Master Dawkins came along.

Dawkins was largely successful in implementing his reform package. The binary system was abolished, more competitive approaches to funding were introduced, while some funding was removed from universities and allocated to the new Australian Research Council for competitive allocation. Vice-Chancellors were encouraged to exercise more authority and take a stronger role in planning and priority setting within their institutions, while democratic decision making was reduced.

Fee-free tuition that was instituted by the Whitlam Labor Government in 1973 was abolished and student contributions were re-introduced through the Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS), whose chief designer was John Dawkins’ economic adviser, Bruce Chapman. HECS embodied the characteristics of both a graduate tax and a loan system, which offered students the opportunity to make ‘up-front’ payments at the beginning of each semester or to make an interest-free payment of the partial cost of tuition through the taxation system once their annual income after graduation reached a threshold level. Chapman explained that the scheme broke the nexus between students and their families’ financial circumstances and that it was preferable to charging tuition fees and providing scholarships.

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556 Watson, *op.cit.*, p.505.
for needy students.\textsuperscript{557} James and McInnis argued that this mechanism for ‘financing the expansion of the system … complemented equity goals by eliminating the potential barrier to access of upfront payment of fees for lower income students and families’.\textsuperscript{558} Total enrolments grew from 393,734 in 1987 to 485,075 in 1990, and then almost doubled to 722,816 by 2000.

Dawkins sought to develop human capital, particularly the human capital of disadvantaged groups in society by increasing their participation in university education. His view of human capital was an economic one, where education had the potential to increase an individual’s capacity to participate in the workforce. The initiatives contained in the Dawkins suite of documents all sought to develop human capital along the lines of the OECD definition of human capital, not the social application of human capital. Dawkins made no reference to possessing an understanding of the personal, cultural or social benefits that education can convey and none of his reforms were instituted for that purpose. He made no grand statements about education developing the democratic citizen, since to him a citizen was an economic citizen, and an integral part of market relationships.

The establishment and support of conditions for the freedom and autonomy of institutions would imply support for liberal ideology. Absence of these indicators would mean opposition to broad liberal ideas. Under the Dawkins reforms, academic freedom was seen to be threatened because the new structures were ‘top down’, and the likelihood of receiving research grants increased if applications were linked to the Government’s then current list of national priorities. Institutional opposition to the Dawkins reforms was


\textsuperscript{558} James, Richard & McInnis, Craig. ‘Equity Policy in Australian Higher Education: A Case of Policy Stasis’, in Gornitzka \textit{et al.}, \textit{op.cit.}, p.328.
met with reduced institutional funding and reduced autonomy in decision making.

Dawkins’ neo-liberal, economic rationalist agenda for higher education is to be contextualised within the broad economic rationalist agenda of the Keating Labor government:

For years Keating had talked about pulling the levers of economic policy. … It has been said that everything ordinary people want, economic rationalism opposes: they want jobs and secure employment, they want good wages and conditions, they want wealth to be distributed fairly, they want influence in their own lives, their communities’ and their country’s. They want recognition, which some people say is a primary human need, but economic rationalism recognises the bottom line instead. It is a reasonable supposition that they want history, at least insofar as they want to belong to a story, but economic rationalism is an ideology to accompany the end of history. Labor had not gone all the way down the economic rationalist road, but far enough to break the cords which bind a government to the social reality and the people’s mood.559

Conclusion

The Dawkins documents manifested neo-liberal ideology (focussing on supply-side economics, neo-classical economics and economic rationalism). Dawkins was attached to the notion of the ‘free market’ and committed to the establishment of market dynamics within the life of the universities. His achievements can be summarised as: abolition of the binary system that drew distinction between universities and CAEs; enforcement of amalgamations of smaller institutions and of universities and CAEs in the same geographic area; instigation of a period of rapid growth; establishment of limited and stringent accountability arrangements; and freedom for universities to conduct market-based activities. His reforms did little to address the inadequacy of public funding for university education and the Labor Government led by Paul Keating substantially reduced public funding.

559 Watson, op. cit., p. 91.
levels per student unit. Significantly, a large proportion of the cost of funding university education (15 percent of total institutional budgets)\textsuperscript{560} shifted to students, creating a financial disincentive to participation, particularly for those from low socio-economic backgrounds.

Historian, Geoffrey Bolton, proffers a scathing word on Dawkins’ legacy, in particular his introduction of HECS, which Bolton quipped ‘henceforth [guaranteed] the essential prerequisite for a university education would be a willingness to go into debt’:

The reaction of my own generation is best summarised by a friend of mine at the University of Western Australia whom I visited in 1989. As we entered the Economics building I commented on the fact that on one of the honour boards – I believe the one commemorating the best first-year student for each year – the name of JS Dawkins had been scratched out. I said I had only seen such a thing once before, and that was at Royal Portora School in Ireland, where the name of Oscar Wilde had been even more thoroughly expunged from the honour board. At this my friend replied, ‘Ah yes, but Oscar Wilde only buggered Lord Alfred Douglas.’\textsuperscript{561}

\textsuperscript{560} Harman, \textit{op.cit.}, p.10.
\textsuperscript{561} Bolton, \textit{op.cit.}, p.1.
CHAPTER SEVEN

WEST: ACCESS TO THE MARKET, MINIMUM STANDARDS, STUDENT CHOICE AND PRICE COMPETITION

Introduction

Participation in post-school education and training in Australia grew during the 1990s: from one in two school leavers in the 1980s to two in three by the mid-1990s. While this growth indicates greater access to higher education, the distribution of that access remained inequitable, and for some groups became inequitable. From 1989 to 1999, the proportion of students from low-SES areas decreased, as did the proportion of students from rural and isolated areas. The proportion of indigenous students increased slightly. At the same time that university education became valued more highly than other forms of training and education, even among the poorest families, the rise in HECS fees and the partial deregulation of the university system created further financial barriers for many students.

High rates of failure among poorer students, both at school and in the struggle for tertiary entrance tend to depress aspirations for university ‘thus partly reserving higher education for upper socio-economic status groups through a process of discouragement and self-exclusion’ [of lower socio-economic status groups].

Neo-liberalism was the single most influential political ideology of the 1990s and economic rationalism was the main strategy implemented by government

563 Anglicare Australia. ‘Education: Crucial to break the cycle of poverty’, Break the cycle, Anglicare, Melbourne, 2007, p.3.
and the business sector. Deregulation, privatisation and commodification of university education began under the Labor governments of Hawke and Keating in the 1980s, leveraged by the introduction of student enrolment fees, the student loan scheme, HECS, and reduced government funding. In 1987 Minister John Dawkins had made it clear to universities that if they wanted extra funding, they would have to raise it themselves through cutbacks or by turning to private sources. The Liberal/National Party coalition government, elected in March 1996 with John Winston Howard as prime minister, dramatically accelerated this neo-liberal agenda through the use of public policy, which included a focus on small government; limited government intervention in the workings of the economy; a willingness to allow the market to define procedural matters; a willingness to allow the market to reward innovation and punish inefficiency; and an emphasis on citizens as clients of the state.

Liberal Party historian and commentator, Judith Brett, states that the neo-liberal agenda enjoyed bipartisan support in Australia from the 1980s onwards and that both sides of politics, senior public servants and financial and business leaders agreed that the only way to secure Australia’s long-term economic prosperity was to ‘impose on the people a set of solutions based on the new neo-liberal orthodoxy’.\textsuperscript{565} For the Liberals this meant ‘the transformation of selfishness and greed from vices to dynamic, entrepreneurial virtues, the transformation of citizens into consumers, and changed meanings of the concept of the individual’.\textsuperscript{566} This was a new ideology that ushered in a ‘revolution in the understanding of government’s role as a service provider’,\textsuperscript{567} whereby ‘[m]embers of the public became customers and clients entitled to services tailor made to their needs’.\textsuperscript{568} Sociologist Michael Pusey agrees that the neo-liberal agenda enjoyed bipartisan support among Australia’s power-elites in the 1980s and 1990s and

\textsuperscript{566} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{567} Ibid., p.171.
\textsuperscript{568} Ibid.
argued that Australia was just one of many countries that, from the late 1970s onwards, ‘aimed at moving some of the coordination functions of nation-societies away from the states and bureaucracies to economies and markets’. 569

In 1996 the Liberal/National Party government cut $600 million from the university budget - the largest ever single cut to university funding - and by 1999 it had been slashed by $800 million – 15 per cent of total revenue. As a result, universities increasingly relied on student fees, with revenue from fee-paying students increasing from just under $200 million in 1990 to $630 million in 1999. 570

The Howard government’s first Budget in August 1996 delivered a cut to the universities [sic] operating grants of 4.9 per cent over three years – the first cut since the 1940s. The HECS charge was increased substantially, differential charges based on the cost of delivering courses were introduced and the threshold for repayment was reduced from $28,495 to $20,701. Changes to Austudy and unemployment benefits also required students and their families to absorb substantially more of the costs of their own education than under Dawkins’ original scheme. The understanding of higher education as a public good all but disappeared from government policy to be replaced by an emphasis on individual choice and individual payment. 571

From 1996 to 2000, fee based revenue increased more than double and in the decade 1990 to 2000 there was a five-fold increase in total income from student fees. This chapter examines the ‘West Report’, the product of the Howard government’s first term, which was marked by savage cuts in higher education, a focus on short-term utilitarian values, and a return to the notion of education for the pursuit of individual advantage, rather than education as a ‘common good’.

571 Laming, op.cit., p.269, emphasis added.
Kemp: Economic Rationalism

In January 1997, eight months following election to government, Senator Amanda Vanstone, Minister for Employment, Education, Training and Youth Affairs (DEETYA), announced the Terms of Reference for a Review of Higher Education Financing and Policy to examine the processes shaping the future of higher education, and to develop a policy and financing framework to enable the sector to meet Australia’s social and economic needs in the following two decades. The Review Committee was to be chaired by Roderick West, the retired principal of Trinity Grammar School in Sydney.572 (A full list of the members of the Review Committee is provided at Appendix C.) West’s appointment was a slight departure from the custom of appointing academics to chair committees of review into higher education: Murray, Martin and Williams were academics; Dawkins was an economist573 and career politician.574

Senator Vanstone was replaced as Minister in October 1997 by Dr. David Kemp, who endorsed the Review and ‘stressed its independence as a key source of advice to the Government’.575 Kemp, who had been educated at the University of Melbourne and Harvard University, where he received a Doctorate in Politics, had been a senior academic in Political Science at the University of Melbourne (1975-79) and Professor of Politics at Monash University (1979-90) prior to entering parliament.576 He was an avowed neo-liberal, who believed in a society where the role of the state was to facilitate the market, and where democracy and citizenship were reduced to ‘protective’ functions: the role of democracy was to protect citizens against the abuse of power. In 1999, in a speech delivered to an international audience on the

573 Dawkins studied Economics at the University of Western Australia, Perth.
574 Dawkins was elected to the House of Representatives in the seat of Tangney at 27 years of Age. In 1977 he was elected in the seat of Fremantle, WA. See <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Dawkins>, accessed 25 February 2012.
575 Commonwealth of Australia (c16 ), op.cit, p.1.
education and training policy lessons that could be learnt from the previous twenty years, Kemp rejected what he saw as an ‘ideology of the aging welfare state’:

In Australia we have seen it important to emphasize values of adaptability and entrepreneurship, civic mindedness and a recognition of our mutual obligations within a community, leadership and a willingness to take personal responsibility for our decisions and actions [sic]. Conversely, it would be damaging for the future of our youth if they were to grow up imbibing an attitude of welfare dependence, immersed in a culture of blame and victimhood, or inheriting a conservatism resistant to innovation.

In Australia, as in a number of other countries, we have concluded that the institutions and ideology of the aging welfare state inherited from the post World War II era, as it impinges on young people, can breed and reinforce such attitudes. Laming argues that Kemp was ‘one of the most ardent believers in neo-classical economic philosophy and its concomitant enthusiasm for small government’, and one of two men (the other was Peter Costello) responsible for the Liberal Party shift to the right since the 1980s.

At the time of the West Review, operating grants to universities no longer included supplementation to meet the Consumer Price Index and salary increases, so the salary increases of between 10 to 15 per cent, achieved through the industrial process of enterprise bargaining, were to be met from university resources. As well as this, a cut of five per cent to operating grants was announced in 1996, for implementation in the 1997-1999 triennium. This severely affected university budgets, and led to staff cuts, reductions in classes and rationalisation of courses. Harman argues that significant and sustained growth in student enrolments since the mid-1980s

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578 Laming, op.cit., p.270.
had placed pressure on public funding,\textsuperscript{580} but this argument fails to acknowledge that higher education is a national investment that pays a dividend to the nation in increased human capital and economic capital through higher levels of taxation paid by qualified professionals. The logical conclusion of arguments, such as Harman’s, is that if fewer people sought higher education, it would cost less, an argument that could be made about most things in society, but such an argument ignores the needs of the nation for educated professionals and ignores modern liberal notions of the need for an educated citizenry.

**The West Review of Higher Education Financing and Policy**

The West Review was the first wide ranging review of higher education since the Williams Review of 1979, but like the Dawkins Green and White Papers, the West Report was delivered in two tranches under the same name, ‘Learning for Life’. The first was a 45 page Discussion Paper, released in October 1997, and the second, the Final Report, was presented on 17 April, 1998. The main idea of the Discussion Paper was a proposal for a student funded approach to education wherein students would have an entitlement to education, at either the university of VET level, throughout their life. The proposal, based on an entitlement or voucher system, suggested the availability of a continuum of education from VET to undergraduate degree and post graduate qualification. The committee made the over-stated claim that its approach would lead to:

\[ \ldots \text{a culture of lifetime learning, develop a well informed and socially responsible community, inculcate respect for scholarship, enable graduates to play a role in wealth creation, provide industry with advanced skills, provide a wealth creating world competitive higher education system, and ensure that no Australian with intellectual ability to succeed was denied access to a place.} \textsuperscript{581} \]


Significantly, the Discussion Paper identified higher education as an important industry, beyond its domestic focus.


- A vision for higher education
- The future operating environment
- The current policy and funding framework for higher education
- The way forward
- Funding teaching and learning
- Research and research training, and
- Making the transition.

Of significance to this thesis are Chapters One and Two.

Chapter One, ‘A vision for higher education’, foregrounded a 1971 UNESCO paper recommending that lifelong education become ‘the master concept for educational policies in the years to come for both developed and developing countries’ but flagged that it saw the Australian educational structure as ‘static and operationally slow to adapt’. No evidence or further argument in support of this assertion was provided but it nevertheless established the central theme for the entire document. This was that in order to prosper in the new environment of the twenty-first century, Australia must become a learning society and in order to achieve this, higher education had a vital role to play, but three key changes were needed.

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583 Commonwealth of Australia (c16), *op.cit.*, p.44.
The first of these changes was student-centred funding. The Report argued that students should have a direct relationship with universities and a real say in what universities provided, particularly in relation to what courses were provided. The second change identified was the need to increase the responsiveness of higher education research to the needs of the users of that research. This change sought a strong alignment of university research and industry, including where possible, commercial alignment. In developing a world class higher education industry, the Report argued that it was necessary to ensure universities were able to make investments in information technology and infrastructure that would be required in the coming two decades. It argued for almost universal post-secondary education and training:

All Australians must have access to postsecondary education and training opportunities if they are to participate fully in the life of the nation. Participation in lifelong education, even to the most advanced levels, is accepted as part of the social and economic fabric.\(^{584}\)

Significantly, and of central interest to this thesis, Chapter One supported the development of human capital (defined as economic capital) and recognised both the public and private good that higher education produces:

The most important contribution that the higher education sector should make is to provide a learning environment that will enable its graduates to emerge with the skills and knowledge that will meet the economic, social and environmental challenges of the twenty-first century. It should enable individuals to grow intellectually, to achieve personal fulfilment and to contribute fully and at the highest levels to society, the workplace and the nation. Universities should contribute to the intellectual and cultural capital of their regions, the nation and the world. They should be truly international in their outlook, but also serve the needs of their local communities, be they metropolitan, regional or rural.\(^{585}\)

Foregrounding the issue of access to post-secondary education, the first Recommendation of the Report was:


\(^{585}\) *Ibid*, p.47.
That the Government should declare its commitment to the establishment of a learning society in which all Australian, of whatever social, cultural and economic background, have access to a postsecondary education of excellent value.\textsuperscript{586}

The West Report drew on what it termed ‘new growth theory’ and acknowledged the link between higher education and economic growth. Put simply, it argued that increased education levels directly improve the quality of the labour force, which would directly increase productivity and feed directly into the growth of the economy.\textsuperscript{587} In keeping with this economic theme, Chapter One acknowledged the role that higher education could play as an export industry.

As an industry, higher education should be a major wealth generator in its own right through exporting education and by facilitating the development of advance, knowledge intensive industries.\textsuperscript{588}

Thus, whilst the West Report did support the development of human capital, it was an economic understanding of human capital, and not a social understanding: human capital was seen entirely within the context of the capacity of education to directly grow the economy.

\textbf{West Report: equity and structural élitism}

The review committee noted the government’s emphasis since the late 1980s on equity as being a higher education policy objective, and that universities were required to include an equity plan in their educational profiles in order to receive funding under the Higher Education Equity Program.

One of the main aims of the equity framework [is] to ensure that students from all social groups have the opportunity to participate successfully in higher education, with the student population

\textsuperscript{586} Ibid., p.48.
\textsuperscript{587} Ibid. p.53
\textsuperscript{588} Ibid. p.47.
reflecting more closely the composition of society as a whole. Responsibility for pursuing national targets is vested in the universities.\textsuperscript{589}

Further, the review committee noted that while one of the strengths of Australia’s higher education system was its accessibility, its record on equity was less impressive, particularly in relation to indigenous students, students from low-SES backgrounds and students from rural and remote areas.

Individuals from these backgrounds continue to be under-represented in higher education, especially in certain courses. They are also less likely to complete secondary school, which limits their educational opportunities at post-secondary levels.\textsuperscript{590}

A fundamental shift in the Government’s approach to targeted support funding was proposed, suggesting funding support go to individual students, who were members of targeted equity groups, to enable them to make choices about their own support requirements and preferences. The review committee was of the opinion that low participation by some groups lay outside the immediate control of the higher education system and the disproportionate level of students from low-SES backgrounds reflected differences in academic achievement and family attitudes, rather than socio-economic status related differences in the accessibility of higher education. This view demonstrates a fundamental lack of understanding of the causes of low participation in higher education by low-SES groups and seeks to link poor academic achievement to low-SES status.

Under the West recommendations, all school leavers and adults accessing postsecondary education for the first time would have a notional lifelong learning entitlement (otherwise known as a ‘voucher’) for use on a university TAFE or VET education. This entitlement would pay for part of the cost of the education accessed by the student. Institutions were to be able to set their own tuition fees and a deferment of payment loan system, similar to HECS,\textsuperscript{589} \textsuperscript{Ibid.}, p.91. \textsuperscript{590} \textsuperscript{Ibid}, p.136.
with repayment contingent on future income, would be available to all students to cover tuition fees not met by the government entitlement. 591

Of central significance to later public perception of the West Recommendations was a comment related to the charging of a ‘real’, that is, commercial, interest rate on the loan scheme. Couchèd in hypothetical language, West cautioned, ‘…if a real rate of interest were charged … rather that a zero rate of interest as at present… it [should] not disadvantage students who never earn over the income repayment threshold’. 592 The Report predicted that a student’s debt could increase in real terms ‘and possibly never be repaid’. 593

Kemp, instead, decided to move beyond West’s hypothetical suggestion, toward the introduction of a commercially based loan scheme. His interpretation of the West committee’s recommendations was severely criticised by West, who saw the government’s proposal as destroying the whole vision of the report. One year after Learning for Life was delivered to government, Roderick West was interviewed on the ABC Radio program AM, where he stated that the Government’s recent proposals to abandon HECS in favour of a commercial loan scheme for students charging real market interest rates would ‘financially cripple’ students and any sense of equity would be destroyed. ‘Students will now be saddled with virtually unbearable financial burden for years into their professional life.’ 594

From 1997, HECS contribution rates had been differentiated according to the discipline studied by the student, and whist the West Committee stated that it was not satisfied that the differentiation between disciplines was soundly based, they stopped short of recommending that the system be changed. Instead, they acknowledged that the government needed to balance a number

591 Ibid., pp.122-129.  
592 Ibid., pp.128-129.  
593 Ibid.  
of competing policy considerations, including those that would embody incentives to offer low cost options, increase diversity and be fair to students who enrolled in inherently more expensive courses.

The West scheme arguably sought to create structural elitism, in that it sought to provide ‘students with real incentives to seek low cost options’ in higher education. Students who were financially well accommodated would be more likely to choose expensive disciplines, such as Medicine, Law, and Veterinary Science, and those who were less financially able would be more likely to choose the cheaper disciplines of Arts and Education. In potentially creating structural elitism, the West scheme inadvertently (or perhaps intentionally) returned to the traditional divide between the ‘haves’ and the ‘have nots’, where poor students could never afford to become doctors or lawyers. The West Report also proffered the view that undergraduate and sub-degree awards should have first call on public funding, as opposed to postgraduate coursework, and argued that school leavers should have priority over mature age students. Whilst eschewing established practice in regard to equity of access to higher education and equality of educational provision, the West Committee, argued that their approach to entitlement-based, ‘student-centred’ funding (vouchers) met ‘the criteria of equity, justice and efficiency’.

This view was taken up for critique by the press and stakeholder groups. The Women’s Electoral Lobby (WEL) issued a press release stating that ‘Dr Kemp’s plans for tertiary education “reform” spell disaster for women’s access to education’, arguing that deregulated fees and a commercial loans environment would see many women paying substantially more for their education than men doing the same degree, based on the fact that women take time out of the workforce to have children and on average carry the debt burden from education longer than men: ‘projections are that one in four will

595 Ibid., p.129.
596 Ibid., p.133.
be paying [their HECS debt] back at 65'. WEL also identified the gendered nature of the economic rationalist aspects of the report:

The policies of this government are steadily destroying the gains made by women for women in the name of the market. Women are suffering under the industrial relations changes and will suffer under the education changes.

Carolyn Allport, National President of the NTEU said the report added nothing to the debate about the future of higher education in Australia and ‘should be consigned to the rubbish bin of history’. Professor Ashley Goldsworthy, Executive Director of the Business Higher Education Round Table of corporate and university chief executives, said the West report should have started robust debate about the shape of Australia’s university system. Unfortunately, its ‘one-dimensional view aborts such a debate before it has even begun… the West paper leaves a lot to be desired in setting out an appropriate policy framework. It has failed in its task’. The National Union of Students (NUS) called on Minister Kemp to rule out vouchers for the ‘life of the government, not just until after the next election’. The *Green Left Weekly* pointed out that there were significant differences between the richest and poorest universities, with Sydney University having an operating revenue of $579 million and Ballarat only $43 million, and argued that ‘Smaller regional universities will miss out’.

As evidenced above, the public reaction to *Learning for Life* was extremely negative, leading to both Minister Kemp and the Labor Party spokesperson

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598 Ibid.
599 Ibid.
601 Ibid.
for higher education distancing themselves from the notion of vouchers, and
ultimately, from the West Committee’s report. Kemp’s higher education
adviser, Andrew Norton, stated that the Minister ‘thought the funding and
regulatory system so bad it needed to be almost entirely scrapped, but
regrettably, when he put his proposal to Cabinet they decided against any
structural changes’. On 18 October 1999, Dr Kemp issued a media release
in which he reaffirmed that the structure of tertiary education would remain
unchanged.

**Conclusion**

The Recommendations of the West Report were not adopted by government
and the issue of a ‘lifelong learning’ voucher system for higher education was
not revisited. The neo-liberalist, economic rationalist, thrust of the report had
raised the ire of the public and in a Federal election year, offered too many
opportunities for public debate and too much electoral risk. The West Review
was the final review of the fifty years 1950 to 2000 addressed in this thesis.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

This thesis has provided an historical analysis of the political and ideological framework that underpinned university education in Australia from 1950 to 2000. In doing so, it has made a significant contribution to better understanding the relationship between political ideology and the development and implementation of government policy that directed the development of university education over that period.

The primary aim of the thesis was to determine the extent to which an understanding of liberal ideology and human capital theory could explain both the expansion of university education and the constraints placed on entry mechanisms; and consequently, on programs designed to address equity of access and equality of opportunity, and to widen opportunity, particularly among under-represented sections of the community. Three research questions directed the analysis and sought to determine:

- the political ideologies that underpinned the five major reviews into and/or reports on Australian university education in the second half of the twentieth century;
- how these ideological influences and pressures effected change to the social mix of the entry cohort over that period of time; and
- How university education was viewed by the state and other stakeholders in relation to notions of public good versus private good, public service versus capitalist opportunity to commodify.

In this thesis I have argued that the variants of liberalism, from classical liberalism to neo-liberalism (and its economic sibling, economic rationalism), operated as core or fundamental belief systems that influenced
successive governments in the way they developed policy and funded and administered Australian university education.

In Chapter Two, the matter of the development of social policy and governmental reliance on one or other fundamental constructs of equality was described as necessary to an understanding of the notion of liberalism. The creation of a fairer society that responds to social need by equalising social benefits, such as education, health and other government funded services, by increasing taxation and the size of the state bureaucracy, was identified as the concern of those on the political left. For those on the political right, the loss of individual freedom created by the equalisation of social benefits and growth of state bureaucracy was seen as problematic and potentially a violation of the rights of individuals. For classical liberals, equality was seen as subordinate to liberty and any limitation on the freedom and equality of individuals as requiring justification and offending the Fundamental Liberal Principle. Liberalism, being preoccupied with the creation and defence of a world in which free and equal individuals can flourish with minimum political impediment, equates the notion of ‘free and equal’ to freedom and equality under law, rather than equality of circumstance. It is this core belief that is at the heart of liberalism, and therefore at the heart of government policy that developed and funded university education in Australia.

What emerged from the study was evidence - including trend evidence – that it was the powerful individuals at the helm of Australian government who brought their own personally held liberalist ideology to bear in the development of policy on university education and in its implementation. These powerful individuals included both those elected to government, in particular prime ministers, and those selected by prime ministers to carry out reviews, financial and otherwise, of university education.
Chapter Three addressed the period from 1945 and the end of World War Two to the late 1950s and focussed on the requirement for growth in both the number and kind of university graduates and growth in the diversity and application of university research in the rapidly expanding, post-war economy. University graduates were seen as key to the development and prosperity of Australian society and the means through which Australia would take its true place among the liberal democracies of western civilisation.

Rejecting arguments reminiscent of the nineteenth century that universities should remain remote from the life of the community and cater for the traditional professional needs of the neo-colonial social and cultural élite, Liberal Prime Minister, Robert Menzies, espoused a set of classical liberal social and cultural values that held university education had the capacity to develop humane qualities and form character. Menzies saw war as evidence in the decline of classical education and a concomitant decline in morality. It was within the context of post-war recovery and national expansion that Menzies initiated, in 1957, an inquiry into the future of the Australian Universities under the chairmanship of Sir Keith Murray.

The Murray Committee revealed gross inadequacies in the standard of university education in Australia and recommended sweeping changes, including the injection of Commonwealth Government funding to support the building of new physical facilities, increase staff salaries and extend Commonwealth scholarships. Other recommendations led to the introduction of triennial funding and the provision of capital grants on a 1:1 basis with state funding. Expressing a utilitarian view of university education, Murray recognised the post-war requirement for more highly educated graduates in each of the professions and the need for increases in the discipline areas of mathematics, physics, chemistry and humanities, since these disciplines formed the foundation of specialisations in science,
medicine, law and teaching. Australia’s situation mirrored the worldwide shortage of graduates.

Unprecedented growth in university enrolments occurred in the 17 years from 1957, with graduations increasing at an average annual rate of more than 12 per cent, while the population increased at a rate of just under two per cent per annum. Despite the growth in enrolments and graduations, students were drawn from a narrow section of the population: that section that had an interest in and income sufficient to allow their children to complete high school and qualify for university entrance. It was not a period of equal access to higher education: it was not even a period of high level completion of secondary education. University education remained out of reach for the majority of Australian families; a structural inequality that was to persist for many years.

The Murray Committee went beyond a utilitarian view of training graduates for nation building, and expressed a liberal democratic view that the function of the university was to offer not merely a technical or specialist training, but a ‘full and true education, befiting a free man and the citizen of a free country’. The concept of the free man [sic] in a free society was at the heart of both classical liberal ideology and modern liberalism, but it was a concept that was not yet applied to the entire population: 92 per cent of males and 93 per cent of females attending university came from families where the father was in a middle income or high income job (as academics, professionals, managers or skilled workers). Only six to seven per cent of fathers of university students were in low-paid, unskilled or semi-skilled jobs.

The Murray Committee introduced to Australia a method of consultation (utilised in Britain) that involved the broad range of stakeholders in university education; government, academic staff, students, professional

605 Commonwealth of Australia (c1), op.cit., pp.8-9.
associations, employers and business. This method of reviewing higher education was utilised in the reviews that occurred throughout the second half of the twentieth century, with one exception: the Dawkins’ initiatives under the Labor governments of Bob Hawke and Paul Keating. Dawkins eschewed stakeholder consultation and participation in setting the direction for university education, in favour of furthering his own personal views and enacting an economic rationalist agenda.

Chapter Four examined the 1960s situation, where this rapid growth in student numbers and increasing costs, coupled with economic recession in 1961/62, led the Commonwealth government to seek a cheaper form of university education. Sir Leslie Martin was invited by Prime Minister Menzies to chair the Australian Universities Commission, established in 1959 as a statutory body to advise the Commonwealth government on university matters and to formulate national policy on universities. In 1961 the Prime Minister appointed Martin to chair a committee on the Future of Tertiary Education in Australia, in particular, to recommend ways in which the demand for university education could be met within financial limits. Menzies had already identified the financial problem of admitting all qualified students to university, and was leaning in the direction of the formation of a second tier of higher education.

The Martin Report, delivered in 1964, upheld the view that whilst tertiary education should be available to all qualified candidates, university education need not. Martin proposed there be three distinct categories of institution: universities, colleges or institutes (later CAEs) and teacher training facilities, which would preserve the élite nature of university education and at the same time address the training needs of industry and business. The Martin Report led to the establishment of the CAE sector and the binary system of higher education in Australia, which differentiated higher education on the basis of university versus CAE and of pure versus
applied research. This was not a distinction or differentiation that could be sustained in the longer term.

Similar to Murray’s focus on the importance of education in the development of character and citizenship, Martin took up the classical liberal ideal of the importance of education both to the individual and to society, arguing that the benefits of education were ‘the very stuff of a free and democratic society’. This was an acknowledgment of both the private and public ‘good’ that education creates, and an acknowledgment of the role education plays in the development of human capital.

Martin identified education as having the capacity to act as a direct stimulus to the development of economic capital, both for the individual and society, which he termed a ‘form of national investment in human capital’. For Martin, education should be regarded as an investment that yields direct and significant economic benefits through increasing the skill of the population and accelerating technological progress. Education was seen as the direct mechanism by which the economic capital and human capital of the individual could be increased, and consequently, increase the economic prosperity of the nation.

In establishing the CAE sector, and the ‘binary system of higher education’, which expanded tertiary education beyond the university system, the Martin Report opened up post-secondary education for a broader cohort of students than had traditionally been the case. Although they were established as a cheaper option than universities, CAEs did not remain limited in scope over the longer term, nor were they radically different from traditional universities. By 1967, approximately 50 per cent of university students had fathers who were professionals or held managerial positions, a marked change from the 92 to 93 per cent of students whose fathers held similar positions. However, it was still not an adequate reflection of society.

606 Commonwealth of Australia (c2), op.cit.
Nevertheless, the Martin Committee marked the beginning of the transition from an élite to a mass system of tertiary education in Australia. Significantly, the place of human capital thinking in tertiary education policy had been established.

Chapter Five examined the policy changes to tertiary education in the 1970s, of which there were two distinct and oppositional phases: the first, a ‘revolution’ of sorts, brought about under the auspices of Labor Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam, a modern liberal, who sought to enact Labor’s ‘three great aims’: to promote equality; to involve people in political decisions, and ‘to liberate the talents and uplift the horizons of the Australian people.’ The second phase occurred under Liberal Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser, a new right conservative, who sought to align tertiary education with the economic needs of business and industry, and draw employer organisations into the role of policy determination.

Whitlam saw education as a socially transformative process with the capacity to reduce ‘the traditional educational advantage of the middle and upper classes over their less wealthy neighbours’. His government abolished tertiary education fees in 1974 and engaged in an unprecedented expansion of spending on education (see Table 5.2, p.150). From 1973 to 1975, the number of full-time university and CAE and college students increased 60 per cent, expenditure on universities increased 116.6 per cent, and expenditure on CAEs and teachers’ colleges increased 311 per cent.

Fraser saw the role of education as supplying the labour needs of business and industry and getting a degree as the privilege of the upper middle class. His government deliberately sought to halt university expansion in the name of reduced public spending and to limit enrolments in the élite professional.

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608 Laming, op.cit., p.252.
degrees as a mechanism for maintaining higher income levels for graduates in those professions.

The Williams Report, which Fraser commissioned, dismissed the notion that all qualified candidates for tertiary education should have a fair chance at gaining entry. Williams made no commitment to the development of human capital, nor the creation of equity programs for disadvantaged groups in society. Following Fraser’s lead, Williams argued that education was ‘an investment, both on the part of the community and the individual’. This statement should not be misunderstood: its intent was not to address the notion that education delivers both a public and private good: rather, it was to open up discussion about the reintroduction of fees for tertiary education. Despite the ‘serious waste of talent’ manifested in low numbers of female students in particular faculties, no recommendations were made by Williams to redress this issue.

Chapter Six explored the ideological and political drivers, and the effects of, the Dawkins’ suite of papers on higher education in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Dawkins stated that higher education had ‘a vital role in improving the skill base of the population’. It appears he made no modern liberal references to education facilitating the development of human capacity for leadership or citizenship. Instead, his neo-liberal focus was on rationalising resources, courses and institutions, and on achieving greater ‘efficiency’ in the business of university education, and on opening up university education as an export industry. Under his ‘unified national system’, CAEs disappeared through amalgamation with universities, or through amalgamation with other CAEs to become universities.

The Dawkins Green and White Papers identified six groups in society that were under-represented in university education, and made it incumbent on universities to develop equity programs to facilitate entry for individuals.

\[609\text{ Commonwealth of Australia (c8) op.cit., p.431.}\]
from those groups, and to provide support programs to assist their retention and success. A significant outcome of the Dawkins’ reforms was the increased participation of women and those from non-English speaking backgrounds. Dawkins’ reintroduction of tuition fees and a loan scheme (HECS) had a significant impact on low-SES students, in particular, whose participation did not increase.

The Dawkins documents were a manifestation of the neo-liberalist ideology of the Hawke and Keating Labor governments. Dawkins was committed to the notion of the free market and sought to establish market mechanisms and an economic rationalist agenda within university education. His understanding of human capital, and its development through education, was an economic, rather than a social, understanding. For Dawkins, education had a direct capacity to increase the economy. He did little to address the inadequacy of public funding to universities.

Chapter Seven examined the West Report, initiated by the Howard Liberal/National Party coalition government in the late 1990s. The West Report offered a neo-liberalist, economic rationalist understanding of university education, even more extreme than that of Dawkins, particularly in its support of ‘student-centred’ funding through a voucher system. West saw Australian university education as a mechanism to access the international market in students. He sought ‘access to the market’, to establish ‘minimum standards’ for service delivery, to have university education directed by ‘student choice’ and to engage ‘price competition’. Public odium and a fierce reception of the West Report by the press, in an election year, led to its recommendations not being pressed or adopted by the government.

Reflection

This thesis has provided an historical examination of Commonwealth government reviews into, and reports on, university education over the
period 1950 to 2000. Throughout the thesis, an examination of the relationship of liberal ideology to notions of what constituted a university education, was carried out. It was argued that a particular variant of liberal ideology contextualised, underpinned, and indeed, directed, each of the reviews and reports. It was not surprising that the variant of liberalism embodied by each successive government – Labor or Liberal coalition – was directly manifested in the commissions they established and the reports they commissioned (Murray, Martin, Williams and West) or wrote (Dawkins).

In the fifty years under examination, with the exception of the Whitlam Labor government (1972 to 1975), the liberal ideology of successive governments became progressively more right wing in orientation, moving from classical liberalism to neo-liberal economic rationalism. The Murray Report, initiated by the classical liberal prime minister, Menzies, exhibited a classical understanding of university education as a mechanism for the development of citizenship. University education enhanced the individual, who, through full participation in society, enhanced the life of the nation. For classical liberals, all people had an equal chance to compete within a meritocratic society, without barriers to entry, and all energetic individuals could rise to respectability and success. Real differences in power and wealth, which facilitated or impacted the success of individuals, were of no consequence under classical liberalism and were to be ignored. Thus, Murray, as a product of 1950s classical liberalism, did not address notions of equity or positive advantage. His report, did, however, establish university education as a central mechanism for nation building in the post-war years.

The Martin Report, initiated by Menzies in the early 1960s, exhibited elements of modern liberal ideology. In response to the rapidly expanding university sector, and Menzies’ request to find a less expensive method of providing higher education for the populace, Martin recommended the establishment of a binary system of universities and colleges. His report led
to the establishment of the CAEs and differences in the type of qualification undertaken, and research carried out, by the two kinds of institution. Modern liberalism held that it was the duty of the state to create conditions in which individual self-fulfilment could occur and where each individual could have the opportunity for self-development. The expansion of higher education, and the breadth of educational opportunities offered by the universities and CAEs, created conditions for self-fulfilment, and for the development of human capital. At the same time, the Martin Report provided a foretaste of what was to come: higher education as the training arm of business and industry.

The education reforms initiated by the Whitlam Labor government in the early 1970s were firmly in the modern liberal mould. Whitlam had long held belief in the transformative nature of education, and recognised the capacity of education to build human capital – social, cultural and economic – at the personal level and nationally. As a modern liberal, he understood that the state held collective responsibility for public welfare through the provision of services related to health, education, housing, and income maintenance. Whitlam significantly funded and expanded education at all levels, including tertiary level, and abolished tertiary education fees.

Within the context of economic recession, the Fraser Liberal/coalition government that ousted Whitlam, initiated severe cuts in university funding, instituted ‘administrative’ fees for students, and established the Williams review. Fraser was influenced by the neo-liberal ideas of Hayek and Friedman, and argued for a reduction of the role of government and a reduction in government spending. His government saw higher education as primarily related to meeting the needs of industry and business and deliberately sought to halt university expansion and return university education to upper middle class students. Williams made no commitment to the development of human capital or the creation of equal opportunities in
higher education and his report demonstrates strong opposition to broad modern liberal ideas.

The Dawkins papers and the West Report (the former, a Labor initiative and the latter, a Liberal/coalition initiative) both demonstrated neo-liberal, economic rationalist, approaches to university education. Dawkins did initiate equity programs for identified disadvantaged groups, but this was done as part of an economic understanding of human capital and its direct influence on the economy. His initiatives instituted economic rationalist measures of efficiency and accountability, and encouraged the privatisation, marketisation and commodification of university education. The West Report sought to extend the economic rationalist measures that were begun by Dawkins.

Reflection

The primary sources of evidence presented in the thesis were the five major Commonwealth government reviews into university education and contemporaneous documents that contextualised or elucidated the reports. These primary source documents provided a rich body of historical evidence and often offered insight into the ‘thinking’ and ideological standpoint of the report authors. Contemporaneous documents, and autobiographical and biographical materials provided another source of contextualisation. The political figures involved, most of whom were prime ministers, provided written reflections on their period of office, and this material was also drawn upon.

The study involved historical analysis of reports, which initiated policies, that, in turn, directed the development of Australian university education over the period 1950 to 2000. Limits to the study relate directly to the subject under study and the time frame in which it was set. Many of the main figures are now deceased, and those that are still living rarely engage
in private interviews. Thus, interviews were not included in the research method. A further limit to the study was the theoretical framework adopted. The thesis sought to understand the relationship between liberal ideology and policy formation, and to focus on matters related to the development of human capital and equity within Australia. Many matters that did arise in the course of the research, though often tantalising, were not included because they did not fit the central focus of the study.

In conclusion, this thesis has demonstrated that the variant constructs of liberal ideology, which were held as personal belief systems, directly influenced the development of university education in Australia. Further, the thesis has demonstrated that powerful individuals, such as prime ministers, exert sufficient influence within Australia’s democratic system of government, that they can direct significant levels of change in the university sector. The thesis has also shown that the seemingly transparent process of initiating a review and commissioning a report is inherently influenced by political ideologies of those who initiated it and the participants in the process.
POSTSCRIPT

On 13 March 2008 the then Deputy Prime Minister of Australia, the Hon Julia Gillard MP announced the commissioning of another major Review of Australian Higher Education, to provide a final report to Government by the end of 2008, with an interim report due by the end of October focussing on identified priority action. The Review Panel, Chaired by retired Vice Chancellor of the University of South Australia, Professor Denise Bradley, was to:

… examine the Australian higher education system against international best practice and assess whether the education system [was] capable of:

- contributing to the innovation and productivity gains required for long term economic development and growth; and
- ensuring that there is a broad-based tertiary education system producing professionals for both national and local labour market needs.  

Seven priority themes were identified as providing possible key objectives for higher education in Australia:

… creation of a diverse set of high performing, globally-focussed institutions, each with its own clear, distinctive mission; improving the sector’s contribution to increased economic productivity and labour market participation … tak[ing] into account current economic, workforce and demographic trends; the improvement of funding arrangements for the sector, taking into account public and private contributions and the development of funding compacts between the Australian Government and institutions; widening access to higher education and improving student support programs so as to promote social inclusion and individual opportunity; [ensuring] the highest possible standards…; the creation of a broad tertiary education system with proper articulation between universities and vocational education and training; and consult with State and Territory tertiary education authorities.  

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In her speech announcing the Review, the Deputy Prime Minister focused on the need for a national higher education policy that aimed ‘to exploit fully our human capital potential in order to spread opportunity [and] raise economic productivity … [providing] sustainable prosperity for all Australians in the future’. She made particular reference to the opportunities both the Prime Minister and she, herself, had received as a result of having been the beneficiaries of quality, affordable, public school and university education in Australia, personalising and heightening her comments with ‘… education made us. And, as a result, we care about it. Deeply.’

Beyond her personal understanding of the value of education as a mechanism for building human capital, reflected in her reference to the election of Kevin Rudd as Prime Minister and herself as Deputy Prime Minister on 24 November 2007, both of whom had been born into poor working class families, Gillard referred directly to human capital theory and human capital economists’ view that ‘… public spending on education and skills leads to high rates of return on investment for countries’. Further, she referred to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) analysis of human capital that suggested ‘…significant positive correlations [existed] between rising levels of educational attainment on the one hand and both economic growth and improved physical and mental wellbeing on the other’. Gillard was emphatic in her view that the moment had arrived for Australia ‘…to start seriously investing in human capital at all levels, including higher education’.

Gillard’s view from the Labor Government perspective of the power and importance of education was in stark contrast to the view of university education espoused by the previous Federal Government of the Liberal and National Party Coalition. In pre-federal election mode in 1996, at a

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612 Ibid. p.3.
613 Ibid. p.5.
614 Ibid. p.7.
615 Ibid.
616 Ibid. p.9.
television of working class Australians from the western suburbs of Sydney, the then conservative Liberal Prime Minister of Australia, John Winston Howard, attempted to argue in favour of the extension of the Neo-Liberalist, ‘user pays’ fee system for tertiary education. ‘You don’t want your taxes to go to pay for a university education for people from another section of the Australian community.’

From a neo-liberal point of view, education of the broad populace is dangerous, having the potential to threaten the extant class and political structure. Howard clearly resisted using the word ‘class’ but his meaning was clear; university education was not for the likes of his audience, members of the working class. His motive was to use wedge politics to set the scene for public acceptance of full fee-paying places in Australian public universities and his appeal was to the unfairness that working class taxes should pay for non-working class people to gain a university education. Howard’s and Gillard’s speeches highlighted the polarisation of political opinion and pointed to the need for analysis of the political and ideological framework underpinning university education in Australia. This thesis provided that analysis, and its significance rests on its contribution to an understanding of the relationship between ideology and government policy on university education.

Gillard, released the final Report of the Review of Australian Higher Education (Bradley Review) on Wednesday 17 December 2008, and indicated that the Government’s response to the report’s 46 recommendations was to be available in February 2009. The report made it clear that by international standards, Australia’s education sector lagged behind the rest of the OECD countries and therefore advocated urgent action to address the situation. Importantly, it acknowledged that if Australian universities were to remain internationally competitive, it was critical that

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they continue to pursue a broad teaching and research agenda, ruling out the possibility of ‘teaching-only’ universities.

Of significance to the thesis was the major emphasis of the report on the setting of targets to improve participation in higher education, recommending a target of 40% of all 25 to 35 year olds to have attained a Bachelor’s level qualification by 2020 (Recommendation 2). A further goal of 20% participation by students who have traditionally been underrepresented, including rural, low-SES (Recommendation 4) and indigenous students, was set (Recommendation 30). In order to achieve these targets, the report recommended improved student income measures by increasing family and student income thresholds (rather than a direct increase in student support allowances, such as AusStudy). Further, it recommended that it be incumbent on universities in receipt of government subsidies for teaching and learning to dedicate 4% of that income to the development of programs to improve the participation rates of students from disadvantaged backgrounds (Recommendation 31).
BIBLIOGRAPHY

This Bibliography has been arranged under four categories:

1. Australian and State Government reports, publications and communiqués
2. Letters, transcripts and items of personal communication
3. Contemporary materials
4. General Bibliography.

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APPENDIX A

AUSTRALIAN POPULATION DATA 1947 TO 1996

Tables A1 and A2 compiled by Kim Draisma, 2012

Table A1: Australian population data, 1947 to 1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Year</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Total Males</th>
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<th>Total Indigenous Population</th>
<th>Total Indigenous Males</th>
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<td>3,781,667</td>
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Table A2: Australian population data, 1947 to 1996: males, females and the indigenous as percentage of total population

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Australian population data in Tables B1 and B2 have been derived by Kim Draisma from the various Australian Censuses, 1947 to 1996, inclusive. Data for indigenous Australians include both Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders. Data on Torres Strait Islanders as a sub-set were only identified in Census data from 1954 onwards and have been conglomerated here with those for Aborigines - and described as ‘indigenous’. Data for indigenous Australians, 1947 to 1966, were derived from comparative data contained in the 1966 Census, which also contained a discussion on improvements in collection of data on indigenous Australians over consecutive Censuses. Thereafter, data for indigenous Australians were included in each Census. Bibliographic details for each Census are provided in the Bibliography.
MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY INTO EDUCATION AND TRAINING [WILLIAMS COMMITTEE]

Professor B.R. Williams (Chairman): Vice Chancellor and Principal, University of Sydney.

Mr. M.H. Bone: immediate past Director-General, Department of Further Education, South Australia.

Mr. C.O. Dolan: National Secretary, Electrical Trades Union of Australia, Senior Vice President of the ACTU, a part-time Commissioner of the Tertiary Education Commission and a member of the National Training Council.

Dr. A.M. Fraser: Director of the Queensland Institute of Technology, a member of the Advanced Education Council and a member of the Queensland Board of Advanced Education.

Commissioner Pauline Griffin: Australian Conciliation and Arbitration Commission, and a former member of the Council of Abbotsleigh School, Sydney.

Miss E.M. Guthrie: Regional director of Education, NSW, Department of Education.

Mr. J.A.L. Hooke: Chairman, Amalgamated Wireless (Australasia) Ltd. and a member of the Defence (Industrial) Committee.

Sir Peter Lloyd: former Chairman, Cadbury Fry Pascall Australia Ltd. and a member of the Council of the University of Tasmania.

Dr. W.D. Neal, Chairman, W.A. Post-secondary Education Commission.

Mr. D.R. Zeidler: Chairman and Managing Director, ICI Australia Ltd., and a member of the Defence (Industrial) Committee.
APPENDIX C

MEMBERSHIP OF THE REVIEW COMMITTEE FOR THE REVIEW OF HIGHER EDUCATION FINANCING AND POLICY [WEST COMMITTEE]

Roderick West (Chairman): Principal of Trinity Grammar School, an independent, Anglican day and boarding school for boys in Summer Hill, Sydney.

Gary Banks: Economist with degrees in economics from Monash and ANU. At the time of the Review he was Executive Commissioner with the Industry Commission. The Hon. Professor Peter Erne Baume AO: Gastroenterologist, he became a Liberal Party Senator in 1974. Previously Minister for Aboriginal Affairs and Minister for Health, he was Minister for Education until the Fraser government’s defeat by Labor in 1983. At the time of the Review he was Professor of Community Medicine at the University of New South Wales.

Professor J Lauchlan C. Chipman: Educated at Melbourne, Oxford and New England Universities, he held senior academic positions in Philosophy and Jurisprudence. At the time of the Review he was Vice Chancellor and Principal of Central Queensland University.

Dr. Doreen Clark AM: An organic chemist with degrees from Universities of Sydney and NSW. In 1969 she founded a commercial laboratory business. In 1990 she was elected to Fellowship of The Australian Academy of Technological Sciences and Engineering. In 1992 she became a Commissioner of The National Standards Commission and in 1994 she was the first woman to be elected to the office of National President of The Royal Australian Chemical Institute. She was made a Member of the Order of Australia in January 1997 for services to science and to education.
Clem Doherty: educated in Science and Engineering at the University of NSW, he completed an MBA at Stanford University. He was an investor in start-up technology based businesses and held Directorships and Board memberships, including Deputy Chairmanship of the Australian Information Economy Advisory Council, XT3 and Roar Film.

Professor Kwong Lee Dow AM: In 1966 he joined the University of Melbourne as a founding Senior Lecturer in the Centre for the Study of Higher Education. He was appointed Professor of Education in 1973, and Dean of the Faculty of Education faculty from 1978 to 1998. He was Chair of the Victorian Institute of Secondary Education 1976-84, and chair of the Victorian Board of Studies, later Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority, from 1997 to 2003. He was a member of the HEC of the NBEET 1988-94.
# EQUITY AND ACCESS PROGRAMS IN NSW AND ACT UNIVERSITIES, 1996

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<td>Educational disadvantage – school leavers</td>
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<td>Educational disadvantage – mature age</td>
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<td>Uni Preparation – mature age</td>
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<td>Enrolment for non-award entry</td>
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<td>Mature age – non disadvantage</td>
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<td>Mathematics preparation program</td>
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</table>
Preparation program - 17-21 years

Legend:
- ATSI prep program is a university preparation program for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander candidates.
- ATSI Special Admission is often a test program or interview program administered by a university’s Indigenous Centre.
- STAT is the Special Tertiary Admissions Test
- TER – Tertiary Entrance Rank is a score applied to outcomes of the Higher School Certificate (HSC) in NSW.
- Special Consideration could be applied on personal application based on specified criteria, such as: illness or misadventure in the HSC; or work based achievement.
- Local Bonus is a bonus number representing a TER applied to HSC candidates wishing to enrol in a local university. This bonus TER was intended to attract candidates to regional universities who might otherwise apply to metropolitan universities, or who might otherwise miss out on university entrance altogether.
- Recommendation of the school or college attended by the university entrance candidate. In practice this was usually the recommendation of the school or college Principal.
- Mature age candidates who could demonstrate educational disadvantage.
- Mature age candidates who had completed a university preparation program provided by the University itself, TAFE, or college.
- Enrolment for non-award entry. Some universities (e.g., University of Sydney) enrolled ‘non-matriculated’ candidates as non-award students. Successful completion of a number of subjects (usually two) entitled the student to full entry in an award program.
- Candidates who had reached 21 years of age but could not demonstrate educational or personal disadvantage.
# Appendix E

**Timeline and Elements of Liberalism, Human Capital and Equity**

**Table A1:** Timeline: elements of Liberalism, human capital, equity and equality evident in events affecting university education in Australia, 1850 to 2007 (compiled by Kim Draisma, 2012)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Political Party in Office</th>
<th>Prime Minister</th>
<th>Event affecting higher education</th>
<th>Elements of Liberalism, Human Capital and Equity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>Australian Colonies Government Act granted rep. government to NSW, VIC, SA and TAS.</td>
<td>n/a; British colonial rule under state Governors.</td>
<td>W.C.Wentworth, member of NSW Legislative Council (LC) petitioned LC to establish a university.</td>
<td>Modern liberalism; focus on educating upper class men to take their place in government and to develop the nation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>University of Sydney founded. First students enrolled 1852.</td>
<td>Some scholarships available to needy students.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>University of Melbourne founded.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>First women admitted to University of Sydney.</td>
<td>First step in achieving gender equity for women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>First women BA graduates: Mary Elizabeth Brown and Isola Florence Thompson (U.Sydney). First woman admitted to Bachelor of Medicine (Dagmar Berne -U.Sydney).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>First woman MA graduate: Isola Florence Thompson (U.Sydney).</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Party</td>
<td>Person</td>
<td>Event Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>First woman B.Sc. graduate: Fanny Elizabeth Hunt (U.Sydney).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>First women graduates in Medicine: Clare Stone &amp; Margaret Whyte (U.Melbourne) and Laura Fowler (U.Adelaide).</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Jane Foss Russell appointed first Tutor of Women at U.Sydney. Only female position.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>First woman enrolled in U.Sydney Law School (Ada Evans)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act passed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Australian Labor Party</td>
<td>Alfred Deakin</td>
<td>1902 Ada Evans first woman to graduate with LLB from an Australian university (U.Sydney).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Free Trade Party</td>
<td>John C. Watson</td>
<td>1905 first woman admitted to</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Protectionist Party</td>
<td>George H. Reid</td>
<td>1901 Alfred Deakin</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Protectionist Party</td>
<td>18/08/04 to 5/07/05</td>
<td>1901 Edmund Barton 1/01/01 to 24/09/03</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date Range</td>
<td>Person</td>
<td>Party</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>5/07/05 to 13/11/08</td>
<td>Andrew Fisher</td>
<td>Australian Labor Party</td>
<td>Victorian Bar.</td>
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<tr>
<td>13/11/08 to 2/06/09</td>
<td>Alfred Deakin</td>
<td>Liberal Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>2/06/09 to 29/04/10</td>
<td>Andrew Fisher</td>
<td>Australian Labor Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>29/04/10 to 24/06/13</td>
<td>Joseph Cook</td>
<td>Liberal Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>24/06/13 to 17/09/14</td>
<td>Andrew Fisher</td>
<td>Australian Labor Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>17/09/14 to 27/10/15</td>
<td>William M. Hughes</td>
<td>Liberal Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>27/10/15 to 9/02/23</td>
<td>William M. Hughes</td>
<td>Nationalist Party / Country Party Coalition</td>
<td>Establishment of Veterans Vocational Training Scheme under the Australian Soldiers Repatriation Act 1917. This Act remained the basis of Australian repatriation for next 25 years. First involvement of repatriated soldiers in professional courses at Conservative government. Focus on utilitarian outcomes – ‘vocational training’ of discharged men and return of soldiers to their occupational status quo of pre-war days. Labor Opposition supported this Government initiative.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Australian universities.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Party/Coalition</td>
<td>Person</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Nationalist Party/ Country Party Coalition</td>
<td>Stanley M. Bruce (Nationalist)</td>
<td>9/02/23 to 22/10/29</td>
<td>1921 First woman (Ada Evans) admitted to NSW Bar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Nationalist Party/ Country Party Coalition</td>
<td>Commonwealth Government provided funds for the establishment of the School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine at the University of Sydney.</td>
<td>Focus on the medical research needs of Australia in recognition of its situation in the Pacific region.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Australian Labor Party</td>
<td>Joseph A Lyons</td>
<td>6/01/32 to 7/04/39</td>
<td>Onset of the Great Depression reduced number of students in state secondary schools and universities.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>United Australia Party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of equity of access to schooling. Maintenance of upper class privilege. Fees introduced in most states for secondary schooling, which is the domain of the economically privileged or intellectually extraordinary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>United Australia Party</td>
<td>Earle C. Page</td>
<td>7/04/39 to 26/04/39</td>
<td>Commonwealth Government established research institutions in support of activities for which it had powers under Constitutional delineation.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>United Australia Party</td>
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<td>Direct relevance for the immediate development of Commonwealth Government’s role in Australian education.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Labor Opposition focussed on need to build human capital through technical and vocational training for youth as part of economic recovery from Great Depression.</td>
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<td>WEA supported wider educational opportunities for workers.</td>
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<td>Party/Coalition</td>
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<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>United Australia Party/Country Party Coalition</td>
<td>By 1940 in the Australian Capital Territory there had been established: Commonwealth Observatory at Mt. Stromlo; Australian Institute of Anatomy; Commonwealth Bureau of Statistics; Commonwealth National Library; Australian Forestry School; military and naval colleges at Jervis Bay and Duntroon; and Canberra University College. Medical Research Endowment Fund and Commonwealth Technical Training Scheme established. Australia ill-prepared to cope with industrial demands of WWII. Lack of skilled manpower – need to build human capacity and human capital.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>Australian Labor Party</td>
<td>Establishment of Walker Committee (Interdepartmental Committee on Education) by the Minister for War Organisation in Industry. Link established between national welfare during war and in peace time. Link also established between defence and economy. Increased</td>
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<td>Year</td>
<td>Party</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Importance</td>
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<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>Walker Committee</td>
<td>Recommended establishment of Australian National University (ANU) – to include focus on Pacific Affairs, Australian History and Literature, International Relations.</td>
<td>Modern liberalism – focus on the full development of the citizen beyond training for employment.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>End of WWII in: Europe 8/05/45; Pacific 15/08/45 (Japanese surrender 2/09/45).</td>
<td>Diedman declared personal interest in equity - education for the working class. He understood the relationship between education and development of human capital.</td>
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1944 Australian Labor Party

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<th>Date</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Details</th>
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<tr>
<td>6/07/45 to 13/07/45</td>
<td>Francis M. Forde</td>
<td>Walker Committee recommended establishment of Australian National University (ANU) – to include focus on Pacific Affairs, Australian History and Literature, International Relations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13/7/45 to 19/12/49</td>
<td>Joseph B. Chifley</td>
<td>J.J. Dedman appointed to post-war reconstruction portfolio. Basis for selection of university students to be ‘merit’. System of scholarships introduced. Education Act passed by Commonwealth Parliament setting up the Commonwealth Office of Education and the</td>
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<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Australian Labor Party</td>
<td>Universities commission as statutory bodies.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>Liberal/Country Party Coalition</td>
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<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>Liberal/Country Party Coalition</td>
<td>Appointment of committee chaired by Professor R.C. Mills to investigate into and report on the financial position of universities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Liberal/Country Party</td>
<td>Committee on Australian</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Party Coalition</td>
<td>Event / Comment</td>
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<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Liberal/Country Party Coalition</td>
<td>Commonwealth Government considered that university education for all qualified applicants was too expensive. This decision later led to the establishment of Colleges of Advanced Education. Government responded to rapid growth of post-war population by stepping away from previously held view that all who qualified (matriculated) were entitled to a university education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Liberal/Country Party Coalition</td>
<td>The Martin Committee established with Emeritus Professor Sir Leslie Martin as Chairman.</td>
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<td>Year</td>
<td>Party/Coalition</td>
<td>Minister</td>
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<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>Liberal/</td>
<td>John G.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Country Party Coalition</td>
<td>Gorton (Liberal) 10/01/68 to 10/03/71</td>
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<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>Liberal/Country Party Coalition</td>
<td>Establishment of the Australian Advisory Committee on Research and Development in Education.</td>
</tr>
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<td>Year</td>
<td>Party</td>
<td>Leadership</td>
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<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Australian Labor Party</td>
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<td>Year</td>
<td>Party/Coalition</td>
<td>Minister/Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Australian Labor Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Liberal/ National Country Party Coalition</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Party</td>
<td>Event</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Appointment of National Inquiry into Teacher Education under the chairmanship of Professor J.L.J. Auchmuty. |
| 1979 | Liberal/National Country Party Coalition | Reintroduction of triennial system of funding for recurrent expenditure in tertiary education.  
Williams Committee reported to Government.  
Parliamentary Public Accounts Committee established inquiry into tertiary education funding. |
Wal Fife appointed Minister for Education. |
| 1983 | Australian Labor Party       | Senator Susan Ryan appointed Minister for Education  
Encouraged limited growth in university sector while promoting equity of access. |
| 1987 | Australian Labor Party       | John S. Dawkins appointed  
Neo-liberalism/Economic |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Australian Labor Party</td>
<td>Dawkins issued policy statement on Higher Education (the 'White Paper') which stressed the Government’s commitment to achieving equity in higher education.</td>
<td>System of tied grants to universities. Receipt of grant related to provision of equity programs and reporting of graduation outcomes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Australian Labor Party</td>
<td>Dawkins issues ‘A Fair Chance For All’, a discussion paper on National and Institutional Planning for Equity in Higher Education. Re-introduction of student fees. Establishment of the Higher Education</td>
<td>Introduction of 6 categories of equity student. While having the appearance of widening participation, this measure marked the beginning of narrowing participation. Those who did not meet criteria for admission under an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Party</td>
<td>Person</td>
<td>Action Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Australian Labor Party</td>
<td>Paul J. Keating 20/12/91 to 11/03/96</td>
<td>All universities in the Unified National System requested to report annually on their Equity Plan and Aboriginal Education Strategy as part of the annual profile process.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Strengthening of neo-liberalism; beginning of commodification of university. Places made available to full-fee paying international students.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Universities to fund equity programs themselves. Reporting of graduation outcomes mandated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Ministerial reference to the Higher Education Council of the National Board of Education, Employment and Training to assess the progress of the higher education system towards meeting the 1988 White Paper equity objectives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Party</td>
<td>Person</td>
<td>Action</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Liberal/National Party Coalition</td>
<td>David Kemp</td>
<td>appointed Minister for Education. Establishment of a Committee of Review of higher education financing and policy with Roderick West as Chairman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Australian Labor Party</td>
<td>Prof. Denise Bradley reported on Review of Australian Higher Education.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and improving student support programs to promote social inclusion and individual opportunity.

Universities required to improve access, retention and graduation of students from low socio-economic backgrounds. Emphasis again placed on increasing Australia’s economic situation by developing human capital through university education.
APPENDIX F

E I P

The Pipeline Project: An Investigation of Local Infrastructures to Educate Aboriginal Professionals for Community, Professional and Industrial Organisations in the Illawarra and Surrounding Regions

97/6

Russell Gluck
Kim Draisma

University of Wollongong
Evaluations and Investigations Program
Higher Education Division
Department of Employment, Education, Training and Youth Affairs

Commonwealth of Australia 1997

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The policies and views expressed in this report do not necessarily reflect those of the Commonwealth Government or the Department of Employment, Education, Training and Youth Affairs.
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- 3. Pipeline, Community Development and Networking
- 4. Case Studies
- 5. Utilising the Nursing Pipeline Experience to Develop Learning Environments
- 6. Conclusion
- Appendix 1: Scenario—the Fledgling Advanced Flying Company
- Appendix 2: Students’ Issues With Their Learning Environment
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- Appendix 4: Excerpt from TAFE Handbook 1997—Aboriginal Community Education, Health
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List of Acronyms

AEC  Aboriginal Education Centre at the University of Wollongong
AECG  Aboriginal Education Consultative Group
ALSET  Australian Law School Entrance Test
ATAS  Aboriginal Tutorial Assistance Scheme
CAUT  Committee for the Advancement of University Teaching
COSI  Community of Special Interest
DEETYA  Commonwealth Department of Employment, Education, Training and Youth Affairs
EIP  Evaluations and Investigations Program
EN(s)  Enrolled Nurse(s)
H  Head of the Learning Development Centre at the University of Wollongong
IAHS  Illawarra Area Health Service
IE  Aust Institution of Engineers, Australia
L  Lecturer
LDC  Learning Development Centre at the University of Wollongong
LLB  Bachelor of Laws
Abstract

This EIP project reports on an investigation of infrastructures necessary to educate Aboriginal professionals for community, professional and industrial organisations in the Illawarra and surrounding regions. Continua, in the report described as ‘pipelines’, were established to align processes that facilitated the connection of community need for Aboriginal professionals, with education and employment. Development of multiple entry and exit points to the continuum of education and employment was a key focus.

Action research methodology was used to investigate the effectiveness of establishing a pilot pipeline that connected Enrolled Nurse and Registered Nurse education with professional employment as Enrolled Nurses and Registered Nurses. Pipelines for the fields of Mental Health, Education, Law and Engineering were also investigated.

Development of learning environments that facilitated learning is a major focus of the report. The process of shifting the tertiary education focus along the continuum from teaching/instruction to learning is addressed. Collegiate power, staff development and fear of change by students, teachers and researchers—central to the change process, are addressed. Theories of community development, socio-technical change and action science provided the tools for this part of the investigation.

The pilot pipeline project provided evidence of how learning research could be used to align the needs of students, researchers and teachers. The report defines cooperative, collaborative, structural and organisational spaces from which the learning research process can be initiated, developed, supported and delivered to students. This work provides a useful model for valuing and utilising the contribution of equity groups to the evolution of social arrangements that drive structural and systems change and benefit mainstream learning. It concludes that equity students’ learning needs provide a window to mainstream learning issues,
facilitate quality learning environments and provide directions for research into learning at the tertiary level.

This EIP report concludes that in educating Aboriginal people for professional roles in the Aboriginal and wider community, infrastructures need to be put in place that facilitate the connection between the various stakeholder groups. For tertiary education the implications are clear: quality learning environments that support students through the various stages of learning, from assisted to independent and collaborative learning, rather than environments that seek to overcome student deficits, need to be established if the number of Aboriginal graduates, and therefore Aboriginal professionals, is to be increased.

Acknowledgments

This project could not have taken place without the patience and willingness of a number of people. The Burrill Lakes Aboriginal Education Consultative Group were instrumental in raising areas for investigation. They were willing to discuss their ideas and persistently pursued creative directions, particularly in Law and Education. Nel Mooney requires special mention.

Members of the Illawarra Area Health Service, in particular, John Layhe, Nan Head, Iris McLeod, Joyce Donovan and Fay Allen, provided contributions to the establishment and implementation of an agreement that connected education and employment in nursing for Aboriginal people.

The Illawarra Institute of Education (previously TAFE) conducted the pre-vocational component of the pipeline. In particular, Judy Spooner provided the energy and focus required when establishing this new direction for education. Without her input the pre-vocational component of the pipeline may not have come into existence. Errolyn Strang, Chris Noel, Sandra Bolak and Dirk Stuber assisted in the conduct of the first pre-vocational course. Denise Lutui continues to develop and operate the program.

At the University of Wollongong, Brian Cambourne, Jan Hancock and Wilma Vialle were instrumental in nurturing a new direction of enquiry for teaching and learning. Irene Stein, assisted by Marian Martin, was a key partner in the development of the Nursing pipeline. Rodney Vickers, Will Price and Roger Kanitz were invaluable in their development of the Physics and Chemistry learning environments for Nursing. Peter Thomas and Jenny Budd were instrumental in developing the learning environment in Acute Care Nursing. Sue Curtis provided critical reflection on perceptions of teaching and learning and on the final draft of this document. Heather Spence played a key role in focusing reflection on a workshop which provided a basis for widening the project within the University community. Brian Gillett acted as a statesman in smoothing difficult relationships
between a range of interest groups across education, employment and professional cultures.

The relationship between Kim Draisma and myself provided a basis for fusing a range of theories on learning, community development and management of change for the conduct of this action research project. She was a key partner in the process of restructuring both the Science for Nursing and Acute Care Nursing learning environments and was joint author of this report.

Murat H. Polat introduced the theoretical perspective of Argyris and Schön (1974) and provided detailed review of Chapters 5 and 6 of this report. His input stimulated flagging energy as the project drew to an end.

Three Aboriginal students of Nursing were at the focus of this project. Without them a pipeline would neither have been developed nor confirmed as an effective strategy for addressing community need. Their reflections on learning environments and their preparedness for self-exposure, throughout the project, continue to enrich the learning environment of the University community.

Scholarships for Aboriginal students in Nursing were funded by the B’NAI B’RITH Anti Defamation Unit and the Uniting Church Ministry for the Ageing. Soroptimists International Harbour View Club also provided funds for student team development.

Without her insights into team work and relationship development networks, and the care of my partner, Cecily Boas, this project would not have begun, nor would it have been completed.

Russell Gluck (Project Director)
1. Introduction to the Field and Scope of Investigation

1.1 Introduction

Funded under the Evaluations and Investigations Program (EIP), this project adopted an action research methodology in order to facilitate processes in the Illawarra that would:

- develop Aborigines’ awareness of the levels of education, professional accreditation and registration required to perform professional roles in the Aboriginal and wider community;
- increase real opportunities for Aborigines to gain access to and connect with different levels of education, professional employment and accreditation; and
- increase Aborigines’ abilities to match formal education with professional training and employment.

In accord with these objectives, the project focussed on the development of processes that would connect community need for Aboriginal professionals in fields such as Nursing, Mental Health, Education, Law and Engineering, with education and employment. In so doing, the metaphor of a ‘pipeline’ was adopted to describe the alignment of educational sectors and employment in professional fields with needs identified by the Aboriginal community. The benefit of the action research method was that it enabled the spiral of investigation, evaluation and establishment to be undertaken.

1.2 Background

The project grew out of the ongoing work of the University of Wollongong Aboriginal Education Centre (AEC) in the establishment of cooperative processes involving education providers, employers and community groups in NSW. The University of Wollongong was in a key position to facilitate the development of these processes and infrastructures because of its established network with other stakeholders.

The pipeline metaphor was conceived in the course of an AEC strategic planning workshop that sought to identify and explore future directions to address the tertiary education needs of Aborigines in the Illawarra. The community of special interest (COSI) concept, which provided a means of defining the community of people and organisations holding a shared interest, was also generated during this workshop.

The AEC strategic planning workshop included a pre-reading scenario based on a mythical company. ‘The Fledgling Advanced Flying Company’ (see Appendix 1)
(Gluck 1992) scenario provided a description of the tertiary education environment in which Aboriginal students, learning developers and social and cultural support staff within the AEC perceived themselves as being positioned prior to the development of the initiatives in this project. The scenario parodied the situation and provided a base line from which to consider and to develop future directions.

The project initially sought to investigate processes necessary for the development of local infrastructures to train and supply Aboriginal professionals for community, professional and industrial organisations. However, the project went well beyond its initial investigation brief and, through its action research method, was able to establish an exemplar pipeline in Nursing. This pilot pipeline demonstrated the centrality of a particular process and infrastructure to the conduct of programs involving the Aboriginal community, formal education and employment.

Establishment and operation of the tertiary education component of the Nursing pipeline involved the AEC and the University of Wollongong Department of Nursing in development of successful recruitment strategies and learning environments to meet the needs of Aboriginal students. This work provided a direct window to a range of mainstream student, teaching and learning issues. In practice the co-operative activity of these stakeholders facilitated action which enhanced the quality of learning environments and presented a useful example of the value of equity groups in bringing about structural and systems change.

The Nursing pipeline investigation also highlighted the importance of relationship networks in transcending barriers to career advancement that are set by community experience and self limiting expectations. During the course of this project, stories and experiences of Aboriginal people were shared with the Project Director. For example, when discussion frequently focussed on what kind of positions people wanted established if a pipeline were to be set up in a particular profession, invariably Aboriginal people opted for a Liaison Officer’s position or similar low level position that was within immediate experience and was highly visible.

Aboriginal people also frequently rejected the idea of undertaking extra education or training, an idea that was succinctly and forcefully put by one individual:

Why should we upgrade our qualifications? I already have a job. The course is not compulsory. I won’t do it! I am not going to add to my collection of Mickey Mouse and Donald Duck qualifications that I have from other institutions; courses I was forced to take if I wanted my job and which led nowhere. F@## you and extra training!

The process of engaging with and developing relationships with people in these discussion situations led to the introduction of previously unconsidered possibilities and led to the self-limiting ceilings being addressed.

1.3 Legitimacy of Project Activity: Brokering Relationships

The grant provided an auspice for the Project Director to utilise his existing access to community, professional, employer and education networks to initiate and focus processes that would connect shared needs. Whilst access to networks and information is one aspect of this initiative; purposeful use of networks and information in order to broker structural arrangements to provide equity of
outcome for Aborigines, proved to be a challenging task. The establishment of agreement between the community, employers, professions and education providers was only one element of brokerage. More important, however, was the development and conduct of relationships between and within networks that would enable these cultures to adjust their positions in order to operate in concert. This aspect proved to be essential. For this reason the processes of relationship development and adjustment of stakeholder positions to produce equity of outcomes are addressed throughout this report.

It is unrealistic to assume that the project could have been undertaken, or that it could have achieved anything, without prior relationships and access to each of the cultures outlined above. Acceptance into and an understanding of the political terrain of each culture was necessary, as was trust. Existing connections to a range of Aboriginal community networks were used to ascertain what professionally based services were wanted in their communities and who they wanted to perform them. As well as this, employers in a variety of professions provided information on what services they wished to deliver to their Aboriginal clients. The outcome of this listening process was the identification that all sectors could intersect and the needs of all groups could be aligned.

The process of gaining the EIP grant provided a degree of legitimacy, within a number of the University’s sub-cultures, for the AEC to pursue the linking of community, professional, employment and education needs. For example, the application for funding required nomination of the project by the University. This, in itself, created a consciousness within the University that the direction of the grant submission was legitimate. Receipt of the funding helped to further establish legitimacy of the role of the AEC in addressing matters that were previously considered the province of faculties or academic developers. In successfully drawing together academic staff from faculties and student support areas, further legitimacy was created for the AEC to take a central role in the creation of quality learning environments, not just for Aboriginal students, but for all students.

1.4 Focusing Project Activity

The project enabled community, professional, employer and education sectors to define fields of investigation that could result in mutual benefit. Figure 1.1 shows the conceptual intersection of fields at point I when sectors are viewed in plan.
However, by rotating Figure 1., an alternative view of the sectors shows that they may not intersect. At the start of the project little, if any, practical connection existed between sectors (see Figure 1.2).

This figure demonstrates that there is no definition of field of investigation.
Figure 1.2 highlights the need for aligning the sectors if the proposed framework for investigation were to be possible. Effectively these sectors can be viewed as pipe openings that are not connected. The project work identified the need to develop and align relationship networks in order to connect the sectors so that pipelines could be developed and activated.

The process of matching community desire for professional personnel, such as the need for Aboriginal nurses, teachers, lawyers and engineers, the desire of Aboriginal people for employment within professional service areas, and the need of employers and professional groups to incorporate Aboriginal people in their service portfolios, led to actions for mutual benefit.

1.5 Scope of the Project

The project direction went well beyond the traditional concepts and practice of educational and professional articulation in which agreements are made to enable people to go from vocational to tertiary study or from tertiary study to membership of a profession. Instead, investigation of continua (‘pipelines’) involving pre-vocational, vocational and tertiary education in the context of professional employment and community need were pursued and, in the case of Nursing, established.

Development of multiple entry and exit points to the continuum was integral to the project if a continuum of learning and employment environments, involving Enrolled and Registered Nurse education and employment at Enrolled or Registered Nurse levels, were to be established in the Illawarra. The result of the pipeline initiative was that Aboriginal Enrolled Nurses and Registered Nurses emerged from the pipeline and more are currently in the pipeline.

1.6 Organisation of the Report

The following chapter provides insight into a range of educational considerations that are at the root of many Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students’ difficulties with tertiary learning environments. The chapter addresses a range of issues that stem from a ‘deficit model’ approach to facilitating Aboriginal students’ learning. It also provides an alternative model that draws on Vygotsky’s developmental approach to learning, a model which was successfully used to establish the Nursing pipeline. The chapter also highlights the potential of equity students to contribute to the development of quality learning environments that benefit all students.

Chapter Three introduces the metaphor of a ‘pipeline’ to describe the structural arrangements developed under the EIP project to support the connection of Aboriginal communities, education providers and professional employment. While the immediate focus of activity began in the higher education sector, it facilitated changes in overlapping sectors. Discussed here is the application of the community development process, including networking, to the establishment of the pipeline. The community of special interest (COSI) concept, which provided a means for defining the community of people and organisations holding shared interest in a field, is addressed. The chapter also re-emphasises the importance of people and relationships to the structural adjustment that underpinned the pipeline project.
Chapter Four provides an in depth case study of the Nursing pipeline. It details the agreements underpinning the connection of community, educational and employer organisations that support the operation of the pipeline. It also addresses teaching and learning issues that are at the core of successfully implementing the tertiary component of the pipeline. In doing so, Chapter 4 presents in depth reflection on teaching and learning issues. An exemplar of how student, teacher and research roles were brought into relationship to develop quality learning environments for all students in Acute Care Nursing studies demonstrates what the pipeline concept looks like in practice. Details of investigations of pipelines for the discipline areas of Education, Law and Engineering are discussed.

Chapters 5 addresses processes that were employed to extend the educational initiatives developed in the Nursing pipeline to other areas of the University. The central role of collegiate groups and the importance of developing cooperative, collaborative, structural and organisational spaces are also detailed.

The potential intersection of learning development and staff development is identified as a key area of interest for the transformation of tertiary level pedagogy. The nexus between personal development and learning development is identified as providing a means of addressing the reorientation of tertiary education to a learning focus. The chapter further identifies research as a context for aligning the needs of teachers, students and researchers in a manner that enables the parties to engage in action for mutual benefit.

Finally, an analysis of action taken by the Project Director to address student learning issues in a field dominated by teaching-centred teaching strategies is presented. It reports on an intervention in a ‘problem subject’, and concludes with an observation of the state of the change process in the learning environment and the power relationships in the collegiate group, two years after the initial intervention. The chapter concludes by drawing on processes used in the Nursing pipeline and a particular area of concern to address the central role of collegiate groups in facilitating learning and generating a culture of learning.

Chapter Six concludes the report and highlights the central importance of having a clear understanding of the role of politics in the development of pipelines that enable Aborigines to obtain equity of access to professional education and employment. It provides a summary of the conceptual framework and the theoretical tools used to frame the project and implement the understandings that derived from collaborative enquiry and action.
2. Educational Theory Underpinning the EIP Project

2.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the educational theory underpinning the EIP project. It provides an historical perspective on the ‘deficit model’ approach to facilitating the success of Aboriginal students in tertiary learning environments and describes a system of beliefs about learning and testing that are widely used to support the educational process. It argues that these beliefs are flawed in their implementation and offers an alternative to the ‘deficit model’ by adopting Vygotsky’s approach to teaching and learning, as encapsulated in the ‘Zone of Proximal Development’.

This theoretical base is used to:

- view the culture of the tertiary learning environment in which teachers and Aboriginal learners historically have been positioned;
- assess the goodness of fit between the espoused theories of teaching, teaching practice and student learning needs;
- underpin processes for aligning teacher and learner needs so that a learning environment is developed for mutual benefit; and
- present a basis for viewing equity groups, such as Aboriginal students, as a resource for the development of mainstream quality learning environments.

2.2 Educating Aborigines: Historically a Deficit Model

A major assumption underpinning strategies for increasing Aboriginal student participation in tertiary education has been the need to deal with knowledge, learning, language and cultural differences, construed as ‘deficits’. Some Aboriginal students lack specific school based knowledge, in particular, appropriate discourses to successfully communicate within discipline specific environments and within a university context. Some lack experience in seeking and supplying information, some either lack specific literacies related to testing or lack control of discourses that are necessary for the demonstration of knowledge acquisition. Whilst many Aboriginal students have achieved great success in tertiary education, others demonstrate a belief in their own deficits and this manifests itself in the need for support.

Universities have traditionally sought to determine student deficits by establishing individuals’ levels of knowledge through conventional means, such as:

- possession of a Higher School Certificate or TAFE Diploma; or by
- setting entrance tests.
Deficits exposed in this way have been addressed by: a range of mini courses in preparation for real learning tasks, for example:

- preparation courses in Law, Science, or Mathematics;
- provision of extra tuition in subject matter, essay writing and language/vocabulary;
- provision of classes that address skills through repetitive drills; and
- provision of concurrent academic support in discipline specific areas.

Table 2.1 illustrates five common beliefs about the relationship between learning and testing that are at the heart of the deficit model.

**Table 2.1: Beliefs Underpinning the Educational Process**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Belief</th>
<th>Beliefs Underpinning Learning and Testing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belief 1</td>
<td>Learning is an increase in a person’s corpus of knowledge. This belief is manifested in tests which seek to determine the size of a person’s knowledge base in an area of learning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belief 2</td>
<td>Learning is storing information through memorisation. This belief is manifested in tests which seek to determine whether information can be reproduced. This testing lends itself to establishing ‘levels’ of knowledge which are equated with student development within a knowledge field. A logical extension of these beliefs is the search for the perfect test.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belief 3</td>
<td>Learning is acquiring facts, skills and methods through practise. This belief is based on the understanding that competence and eventually proficiency in an area are transmitted from expert to novice. This belief is manifested in testing of expertise on demand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belief 4</td>
<td>Learning is deducing or abstracting meaning. Learners seek to establish relationships between parts of the subject matter and real situations. Testing determines whether learners have the ability to make abstractions and apply these to a range of real world scenarios.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belief 5</td>
<td>Learning is hypothesising and theorising and testing these against reality. Testing involves whether learners can question and reframe knowledge which involves a process of synthesis and development of new knowledge.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Beliefs 4 and 5 underpin university education and serve to separate it from other modes of learning. Nevertheless, testing and preparation for ‘university readiness’ is based on beliefs 1, 2 and 3, which underpin the deficit model. After enrolment students are required to demonstrate ability to operate according to beliefs 4 and 5 but when they do not perform at these levels they are commonly offered remedial tuition along the lines of beliefs 1, 2 and 3. This highlights a fundamental conflict between university practice and approaches to preparing students for success.

The Australian Government, through the Department of Employment, Education and Training also funds the Aboriginal Tutorial Assistance Scheme (ATAS) which provides additional subject tuition for both secondary and tertiary students. In
practice, the major focus of the scheme is the provision of content rather than successful acquisition of skills and processes. At the level of educational practice ‘the student is given a fish rather than being taught to fish’ and in this way, the deficit model is reinforced. Whilst addressing immediate needs, this does not make students self sufficient by equipping them with discourses and strategies for immediate or long term success. Universities have invested in the deficit model by providing preparatory and supplementary classes rather than probe student needs or examine the effectiveness of teaching processes.

Reflecting on teaching strategies and consequent learning outcomes has not been at the forefront of teaching evaluation. The core issue for universities is teaching and teaching is evaluated in most cases in terms of the quality of didactic instruction (breadth and depth of material covered; logicality and flow of delivery style). From this viewpoint, teaching is not equated with learning or whether learning has taken place as a consequence of instruction given.

2.3 Aboriginal Learners’ Needs: A Window to Mainstream Learning Issues

The EIP project endeavoured to foster a new vision which shifted emphasis from Aboriginal students being identified as the most difficult students in need of remediation of deficits or as ‘patients’ needing special services, to a focus that emphasised the needs of Aboriginal students as highlighting the needs of mainstream students. In this shift of focus, Aboriginal students were viewed as key indicators of mainstream needs and key resources for improved processes of evaluation and development of quality teaching and learning environments.

This approach owes a debt to the work of Mindell (1988) who worked with psychiatric patients who were identified as experiencing extreme psychiatric states. Mindell developed the metaphor of ‘the city shadows’ in which clients considered to be the most difficult cases for social services departments were viewed as a reflection of the sickness of the society of which they were part. In Mindell’s shift of focus, ‘... these clients [are] meaningful for the city they live in’ (Mindell 1988, p. xiii).

The idea that Aboriginal students could be ‘viewed as key indicators of mainstream needs and key resources for processes of evaluation and development of quality teaching and learning environments’ was not greeted enthusiastically by some members of the University. One academic’s statements regarding Aboriginal students typify similar sentiments expressed by others, both before and during the project:

‘We have done everything we can;
‘We can’t do more!’;
‘This is not TAFE’;
‘Look at our teaching evaluations’;
‘It’s those students not us [who have problems’];
‘Well, we’re not going to drop academic standards.’ (Gluck & Spence 1994, p. 20)

Whilst students could be viewed as having ‘deficits’ requiring remediation and were seen by some to be a disturbance to teaching, the educational institution did
not have to address the notion that its teaching and learning environment needed to change for the benefit of all. Mindell suggests that:

Such concepts are not always greeted enthusiastically by city officials. Like any family housing an ‘identified patient’, the city itself resists and will continue to resist the idea that it, too, may have to change if its ‘patients’ are to get better. The city’s attitude is understandable, yet it ignores any potential responsibility it may have in generating the difficulties in its communal family (Mindell 1988, p. xiii–xiv).

It is clear that the challenge to change tertiary teaching processes creates considerable personal and group discomfort. It would seem a more comfortable position to view Aboriginal students (or any equity group) as depleting resources, because to do so directs the focus for development away from teaching staff and away from the University as a whole.

... it is easier in many ways and perhaps less time consuming ... to describe disease characteristics and to recommend medicine for them than it is to determine, consider and probe the potential meaning and evolution of a ... process which so rambunctiously interrupts every normal state of communication and harmony (Mindell 1988, p. 11).

When so much has been invested in the current system in which equity students are perceived as identified patients needing remediation, it is easier to dismiss attempts to revisit the basis on which the remedial programs were developed. Mindell argued that:

Emotionally, it is difficult for a practitioner ... to review and speculate about the foundations of his [sic] work. This difficulty undoubtedly inhibits some professionals from thinking more deeply about their professions (Mindell 1988, p. 11).

Many university educators lack a background in pedagogical and androgogical theory and practice. The university ‘professional’ has, until recent times, been seen as an expert within a discipline rather than an expert educator within a discipline. Consequently, teaching has not been seen as a rewarding focus for reflection and it is this, it may be argued, that lies at the heart of the problem for tertiary education, as highlighted by the teaching needs of equity groups.

In order to address this environmental context, quality teaching was seen by the Project Director as needing a quality research base and it needed to include all stakeholders, equally. This project therefore adopted and adapted elements from a participatory and collaborative approach to evaluation, action research. According to Kemmis (1986), action research is research by people on their own work to help them improve their own teaching practices, improving their understanding of these practices and improving the situation in which these practices are carried out. In a practical sense, action research is a collective enquiry where individual teachers come together and share experiences and insights with others. Thus, action research is an enquiry undertaken by educators, learners and other community members who are interested in making the educational experience better through the creation of a reflective teaching and learning environment.
2.4 Shifting the Focus to a Developmental Model: Vygotsky’s Zone of Proximal Development

This EIP project directly addressed teaching and learning strategies drawing on Vygotsky’s (1930) educational theory outlining a ‘zone of proximal development’ (ZPD) as a basis for reflecting on the alignment of current teaching models and practices with Aboriginal student learning needs. This model was selected because it provides an alternative conceptual framework to the deficit model and because it focuses on learning by equipping students to have control over their own learning. In so doing Vygotsky’s model provides a context for bringing learners and teachers into relationships that define the learning environment as student centred and empowering.

For Vygotsky, pedagogy creates learning processes that lead development and result in zones or areas of nearest (proximal) development. This is a view that is at odds with Piagetian emphasis on maturity as a precondition for learning or Binet’s assumption that development is always a prerequisite for learning; that if mental functions have not matured to the extent that they are capable of learning a particular subject, then no instruction will prove useful (Vygotsky 1978).

... [Binet’s] approach is based on the premise that learning trails behind development, that development always outruns learning, it precludes the notion that learning may play a role in the course of the development or maturation of those functions activated in the course of learning (Vygotsky 1978, p. 80).

Concentration on maturation of the learner as a necessary prerequisite for learning development forms the basis of the deficit model and underpins Beliefs 1 to 3 as described in Table 2.1 above. For universities, maturation has been linked, traditionally, to completion of twelve years of schooling wherein to have missed schooling is equated to lacking intellectual maturity.

According to Vygotsky, learning is development. Psychological development does not precede instruction, but essentially depends on it.

...the zone of proximal development ... is the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under ... guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers (Vygotsky 1978, pp. 85–86).

For Vygotsky the ‘zone of proximal development’ was related to the process of interaction between scientific and everyday subjects, however, more recent scholars have focussed their attention on the establishment of a shared world, or the inter subjectivity between a learner and an instructor through the process of negotiation of meanings (Wertsch 1985, pp 158–66). It is this process of developing and achieving shared meanings that formed the methodological base of the teaching and learning processes investigated by the EIP grant.

The ZPD may be described in geographic terms as (learning) terrain to be crossed (by the learner) in order to reach some (knowledge) position predetermined (by others); a position of mastery that may include the attainment of certain skills or
the acquisition of certain knowledge. Using a similar geographic metaphor, Bruner (in Wertsch 1987, p. 24) described the ZPD as having to do with:

... the manner in which we arrange the environment such that the [learner] can reach higher or more abstract ground from which to reflect, ground on which he [sic] is enabled to be more conscious.

The zone is a zone of potential cognitive development which shifts or advances as the learner achieves some predetermined goal, either independently or with assistance from a teacher or more competent peer. As the learner reaches one goal, another is offered.

Vygotsky’s theory of cognitive development relies on the key concept of ‘internalisation’. He argues that all higher psychological processes are originally social processes, shared between people, such as children and adults or between instructors and learners. The novice first experiences active problem solving activities in the presence of others but gradually comes to perform these functions independently. The process of internalisation is gradual; first the instructor or knowledgeable peer controls and guides the learner’s activity, but gradually the instructor and the learner come to share the problem-solving functions, with the learner taking initiative and the instructor correcting and guiding. Finally the instructor cedes control to the learner and functions primarily as a supportive and sympathetic audience.

Wertsch (1978, pp. 15–18) describes this developmental progression from other-regulation to self-regulation as the essence of mother-child learning dyads, but it may be argued that age and the nature of the social agent are to some extent irrelevant. Teachers, tutors and master craftsmen in traditional apprenticeship situations all function as promoters of self-regulation by nurturing the emergence of personal planning as they gradually cede their own direction (Brown & French 1979, pp. 255–277).

Gallimore and Tharp (in Moll 1990) describe the process of internalisation as occupying four stages in the zone of proximal development, a gradual process through which the learner moves from assisted performance to unassisted and self-regulated performance:

Stage I: where performance is assisted by more capable others;
Stage II: where performance is assisted by the self, ... [but where] performance is [not] fully developed [n]or automatized;
Stage III: where performance is developed, automatized, and fossilized; and
Stage IV: where deautomatization of performance leads to recursion through the zone of proximal development (Gallimore and Tharp in Moll 1990 pp. 184-186).

Assisting the learner through the ZPD is Gallimore and Tharp’s definition of ‘teaching’. They state that:

Teaching consists of assisting performance through the Zone of Proximal Development. Teaching can be said to occur when assistance is offered at
points in the ZPD at which performance requires assistance (Tharp & Gallimore 1988, p. 56).

Individuals’ learning experiences throughout life are made up of ZPD sequences, from other-assistance to self-assistance, in a recursive loop that facilitates the development of new capacities. For every individual, at any point in time, there will be a mix of other-regulation, self-regulation, and automatised processes (Gallimore & Tharp 1990).

The advantage of using the ZPD model is that it equips learners to move from one learning field to another without being considered to have ‘deficits’. The deficit model is avoided because it provides the teacher with a context for determining at what stage of learning, within a field, the learner is currently placed. It also identifies a direction to facilitate the student’s movement to the next stage. Consequently the focus is on the student’s learning process, rather than on content to be learned.

This EIP project addressed the relevance of university teachers’ existing teaching practice by assessing its congruence with the ZPD approach. The appeal of the ZPD model is its student-centredness and its fit with the Aboriginal student population learning needs. Its appeal also rests in its application to mainstream students’ learning issues.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter provided educational theory and a direction to pedagogical practice used in this EIP project. The process investigated and developed relationships that enabled alignment of the needs of community, education, professional and employment sectors for Aboriginal professionals.

Simplistic notions that agreements between sectors, accompanied by intensification of current deficit-base instructional practices, will produce Aboriginal professionals needed by the community, employers and professions were rejected. Aboriginal students’ needs were recognised as a window to mainstream learners’ needs and provided a leading edge resource for restructuring tertiary learning environments for the benefit of all students.

Theoretical perspectives on learning and pedagogical processes were an essential ingredient in framing and implementing agreements to articulate the needs of all sectors. They provided a basis for explicitly recognising learners’ needs and learning environments as an essential fibre of frameworks to address the need for qualified Aboriginal professionals. They also supplied a context for the pipeline metaphor, community development, networking and social capital (Coleman 1994) considerations that were central to the success of the project in producing Aboriginal professionals. These considerations are presented in Chapter 3. Detailed reports on their application to Nurse education are presented in Chapter 4 and to other fields in Chapter 5.
3. Pipeline, Community Development and Networking

3.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the metaphor of a ‘pipeline’ to describe the structural arrangements developed under the EIP project to support the connection of Aboriginal communities, education providers and professional employment. The pipeline connects members of Aboriginal communities with pre-vocational and vocational training, tertiary education and employment in specific professions, such as Law, Engineering, Education and Health.

The community development process employed in the EIP project utilised the overlap between education, professional and community sectors to develop the pipelines. While the immediate focus of activity began in the higher education sector, it facilitated changes in the overlapping sectors. Discussed here is:

- the application of the community development process, including networking;
- the formation of social and human capital; and
- the central importance of human relationships to the establishment of the pipeline.

3.2 Definition and Establishment of the Pipeline

The structural arrangements linking the Aboriginal community, education institutions and the professions led to the creation of a metaphoric pipeline (see Section 1.2). For the purposes of this project it was viewed as an entity, a real construction as opposed to a construct, so that people would be more able to identify the potential of the project as having direct benefit to themselves.

When more people come to share a common vision, the vision may not change fundamentally. But it becomes more alive, more real in the sense of a mental reality that people can truly imagine achieving (Senge 1992, p. 212).

The pipeline directly addresses the phenomenon in which Aboriginal people are encouraged into post-schooling educational opportunities only to experience disappointment, which can lead to a lowering of self expectation, a lowering of opportunity by educational agencies and furthering of the myth that Aboriginal people can not be educated to attain professional status. Examples of the effect of this phenomenon are where people:

- enter post-schooling education and complete successive pre-vocational courses that do not lead to professional outcomes and employment;
• undertake a range of certificates and diplomas that are not directly connected to mainstream qualifications and awards;

• complete certificates, diplomas and degrees and are not able to obtain professional employment because they have not had appropriate work experience; and

• face an educational experience that results in no clear direction for further education and employment within Aboriginal and mainstream sectors.

3.3 Pipeline Structure

Pipelines allow multiple entry and exit points to a range of professional education and employment positions. Those who completed any section of the pipeline were connected to professional employment in the related employment sector and to further professional education possibilities. An example of a pipeline in the health sector is provided in the Figure 3.1. As can be seen, multiple entry and exit points facilitate on-going educational and professional opportunities.

Figure 3.1: An Example of a Pipeline in Nursing

3.4 Professional Qualifications Accessible Through the Nursing Pipeline

The significant and specific educational outcome facilitated by the pipeline was that existing professional qualifications were made accessible and achievable for Aboriginal people. (See Section 4.6.4 for data on retention rates and graduates.)

The educational qualifications being obtained by people who enter the health pipeline are the Advanced Certificate of Nursing and the Bachelor of Nursing. These qualifications are offered by the Illawarra Institute of Technology.
(Advanced Certificate of Nursing) and the University of Wollongong (Bachelor of Nursing). Post graduate degrees in Nursing and Public Health are accessible through the Bachelor of Nursing.

3.5 Communities of Special Interest

In 1992 the AEC developed a Strategic Plan that contained a vision for the future of Aboriginal tertiary education in the Illawarra. This Strategic Plan outlined the usefulness of the concept of communities of special interest (COSI) in bringing together the interests of Aboriginal people, tertiary educators and members of professions to develop shared visions.

Shared visions emerge from personal visions. This is how they derive their energy and how they foster commitment ... people with a strong sense of personal direction can join together to create a powerful synergy (Senge 1992, p. 211).

The community development process (Gluck 1985) was employed to investigate, build and strengthen these COSIs, collections of interest groups for whom the investigation and development of pipelines were the objective. For example, the COSI in Nursing included Aboriginal family groups and Aboriginal organisations who had specific interests in health and education, pre-vocational, vocational and tertiary educators with a direct interest in nurse and Aboriginal education and the Nursing profession.

The following is a list of those who contributed to the COSI concept by facilitating the establishment of the pipeline in Nursing. As can be seen, the COSI includes stakeholders from the Aboriginal community, the education sector, the health and nursing professions.

- Members of the South Coast Region, Aboriginal Education Consultative Groups
- Acting Aboriginal Health Coordinator, Illawarra /Shoalhaven Area for the Illawarra Area Health Service
- Aboriginal Health Workers (2), Illawarra Area Health Service
- Principal, Illawarra Institute of Technology, Shellharbour Campus
- Head, Aboriginal Development Division, Illawarra Institute of Technology
- Head, Counselling Service, Illawarra Institute of Technology, Shellharbour Campus
- Head Teacher, Nursing, Illawarra Institute of Technology, Shellharbour Campus
- Chairperson, Illawarra Area Health Service
- Chief Executive Officer, Illawarra Area Health Service
- Area Director of Nursing, Illawarra Area Health Service
- Senior Nurse Educator, Illawarra Area Health Service
- Head, Aboriginal Education Centre, University of Wollongong
- EIP Project Director, Aboriginal Education Centre, University of Wollongong
- Lecturer, Department of Nursing, University of Wollongong.

A COSI is a concept and not an acronym for a constituted meeting group. That is, the COSI never met. Instead its members acted as an informal reference group on
whom the Project Director drew. COSIs came to represent the Aboriginal community in the project.

The community development process was particularly relevant to the establishment of COSIs and pipelines because it implied a commitment to action. Community development leads to actions that shape relationships and determine practices used to assist communities in their survival and growth (Gluck 1985). This focus provided a basis for operationalising the EIP grant while shaping relationships and determining practices that could yield operational pipelines.

The community development direction provided a framework for orienting people to the production and consumption activities that exist in their communities, institutions and organisations (Gluck 1985). For example, stakeholders in the health field were engaged in reflecting on their role in the planning, resourcing and delivery of health and health education services. Conflicts arose when values related to these activities were challenged but the community development process provided a strategy for translating these conflicts into goals related to the establishment of the pipeline. For example, at the time of the establishment of the project, industrial issues were of concern to some TAFE personnel, who saw the establishment of a pre-vocational course (leading to the Advanced Certificate in Nursing—for ENs) as the de facto establishment of a fourth level of the Nursing profession (which consisted of Registered Nurses, Enrolled Nurses and Nursing Assistants). The resolution involved the pre-vocational course being construed as a means of preparing Aborigines to undertake the Advanced Certificate, rather than as a qualification in its own right.

3.6 Networking

The establishment of the pipeline involved processes that may be thematically linked under the headings of ‘networking’. Three kinds of networking were utilised in this project: as a means for establishing and utilising social capital; as a means of initiating social action; and as a schematic representation of cultural groups or organisations involved in the pipeline.

Working within a social action framework, Dethlefs and Kelly (1984) described networking as:

... purposefully mobilising and linking people together about their concerns, their work, their struggles ... an alternative to impersonal organisations. It is an attempt to substitute SPACE for organisation and to link NEED with RESOURCE in as direct a manner as possible, with as little spatial separation as possible between need and resource (pp. 1–10).

[Original emphasis retained.]

The COSI was too large to formally network but it was comprised of smaller networks both within organisations or cultures (for example, the Illawarra Area Health Service, the University of Wollongong or the Aboriginal community) and between organisations and cultures. The COSI consisted of multiple interests, related concerns and directions within a field (such as health or education) and the pipeline was made up of relationships that were developed in a network that focused joint concern. Networking provided a means of developing shared visions...
and relationships across cultures and organisations that was necessary to create the energy and resources required to construct and pilot a pipeline.

3.6.1. Triadic Relationships Within the Network

Through triads people can direct and shape action. A triad is the basic building block of a network and the point from which action is instigated. Because three people (or organisations) relate to one another for the purpose of action, strength of purpose is created. ‘The strength of the ‘threefold cord’ is as strong as trust given and received’ (Dethlefs and Kelly 1984, p. 18). The bringing of three people into relationship for a common objective creates a ‘space’. This space provides a focus and a basis for generating the time energy and resources necessary to pursue the objective. For example, the bringing of students, lecturers and the AEC into relationship provided a precursor for co-operative and collaborative space to address the learning needs of Aboriginal students.

The following diagram shows the smaller triadic networks of cultural and organisational groups involved in the establishment of the pipeline. These smaller networks frequently overlapped because of the multi-dimensional relationships of the individuals concerned.

**Figure 3.2: Example of Triadic Relationships within the Pipeline**

3.6.2 Anchorage in the Pipeline

Standard network diagrams (as in Figure 3.2 above) were particularly useful in determining switch points/gate keepers or controllers of access to groups that were important to the development of an aspect of the pipelines. As well as this, the Boissevain network diagram (see Figure 3.3 below) was particularly useful as a tool for identifying, directing and networking cultural groups and individuals within those groups, essential to the formation of a pipeline.
Boissevain (1974, p. 3) suggested the value of an ‘anchor’ in a network in facilitating identification of key controllers/power brokers in relation to information and resources, many of which exist within the context of different ‘cultures’. An anchor in a network is an individual who relates, in some way, to all cultural groups and all other individuals in the network. Because of this pivotal position in the network, the anchor is able to locate power brokers within each cultural group to secure resources to establish and operate the pipeline. Figure 3.3 below shows the cultural networks within the Nursing pipeline and identifies the Project Director as the anchor.

**Figure 3.3: Boissevain Network Showing the Nursing Pipeline**

3.6.3. Network Catalysts

Two types of catalyst are present in a functional network: external and internal catalysts. The role of the external catalyst is to start with identified concerns, to introduce new ideas at the level of the stakeholders and to link interest groups with others involved in the change process. An important role of the external catalyst is to phase out his/her involvement when stakeholders are networked and the pipeline is operational. In this way a hierarchical structure is denied within the network as all members are equally important to its functioning. In the Nursing pilot project, the Project Director operated as the external catalyst as well as anchor to the network in order to bring about brokerage.
Internal catalysts operate within stakeholder groups, which may themselves be hierarchical, to organise and to mobilise resources. Within the Nursing pilot project, internal catalysts were drawn from the Illawarra Area Health Service, the University of Wollongong Department of Nursing and Aboriginal Education Centre, the Illawarra Institute of Technology School of Nursing and Aboriginal Development Division. Effective external and internal catalysts recognise that shared visions ‘take time to emerge. They grow as a by-product of interactions of individual visions... visions that are genuinely shared require ongoing conversations ...’ (Senge 1992, p. 217). In developing the relationship networks that constitute pipelines, both internal and external catalysts in this project sought people to adopt and operationalise the vision.

3.7 Brokering Social Capital

The processes of networking and brokering enabled social capital to occur. Brokerage ‘addresses the recurring problems of service delivery and the wider problems of resource development and distribution’ (Kelly & Sewell 1988, p. 90). It goes well beyond representation or campaigning to expose injustices. Brokerage involves development of relationship networks and social arrangements that drive structural and systems change; structural change that will provide a permanent access route for the disadvantaged to the resources they need is the goal. This leads to permanent access for ‘the most disadvantage people to the social systems that have been set up to serve them’ (Kelly & Sewell 1988, p. 90). In this way the social arrangement underpins the structural arrangement.

The broker works best with the problems that decision makers in service development can’t predict and often don’t see. The real talent is to go beyond the one off-grant (which may be the immediate need) to devise a mechanism whereby the problem is unlikely to occur again because its solution has been incorporated into the system of procedures (Kelly & Sewell 1988, p. 91).

Brokerage works between two parties; with advocacy on behalf of one party to exert influence on the other.

When people work between groups, or between groups and systems, they need to have a thorough knowledge of both. They need to be acceptable to both and have a workable relationship with both. They need to have entrance to the networks of both, as well as be able to work across the gap between them, as in conflict resolution and mediation. Brokers build pressure, and then take off the pressure when a redefined service or structural change is in place. They do this by giving information, resources time and energy, and by devising ways to exert influence on the target system. The work will be that much more effective if the broker does it in concert with others. Working alone as a broker can mean little more than running messages (Kelly & Sewell 1988, p. 91).
3.8 Social Capital and Human Capital

Broadening the base of Aboriginal people’s social capital was a key strategy in this EIP project. Coleman draws the distinction between human capital and social capital in the following way:

Just as physical capital is created by changes in materials to form tools that facilitate production, human capital is created by changes in persons that bring about skills and capabilities that make them able to act in new ways.

Social capital, however, comes about through changes in the relations among persons that facilitate action. If physical capital is wholly tangible, being embodied in observable material form, and human capital is less tangible, being embodied in the skills and knowledge acquired by an individual, social capital is less tangible yet, for it exists in the relations among persons. Just as physical capital and human capital facilitate productive activity, social capital does as well. For example, a group within which there is extensive trustworthiness and extensive trust is able to accomplish much more than a comparable group without that trustworthiness and trust (Coleman 1988, p. S101).

Aboriginal people have strongly developed social capital within their community relationships, but frequently lack connection to educational and employer organisations. This limits the extent of the social capital available to them within these organisations, which in turn limits the extent of the human capital they are able to develop throughout a life time. Intergenerationally, this lack of social and human capital leads to ‘... a declining quantity of human capital embodied in each successive generation’ (Coleman 1994, p. S118).

This project developed human capital in that it enabled Aborigines to obtain mainstream professional qualifications. However, this human capital depended upon the development of social capital which was formed by creating triadic relationships between mentors, lecturers and students. Social capital was also generated in triadic relationships that formed between members of educational communities (the University or TAFE), members of external organisations (IAHS as a service provider or the AECG) and employers. The quality and sustainability of social capital is maximised when the attitudes underlying the relationships of those involved in the network move toward what Senge (1992, p. 219) describes as ‘commitment’, ‘enrolment’ and ‘genuine compliance’.

The social capital developed within this project was established because of the mutual trust that grew between individuals. Trust is what led to its formation and trust is what made the pipeline operate within the broad organisational cultures that it spanned. Social capital is also what enabled the project to move beyond the pilot stage for the long term benefit of all stakeholders. Where the trust was strong, the pipeline continued to operate. Where trust was not strong there was a lack of social capital.

The following diagrams summarise the sequence of social capital formation that occurred in the University Nursing component of the pipeline. In particular they highlight what Coleman (1994) refers to as closure, where social capital is formed in the mutual ‘space’ created between the members cultures. In Sequence 1,
(Figure 3.4) the community and its students related to the Department of Nursing through the AEC. They were not directly linked to the Department and social, cooperative, collaborative, structural and operational spaces have not been networked and social capital does not exist between Aboriginal students and the Department of Nursing. Information feedback between the AEC and the Department, in relation to student learning, was negligible.

**Figure 3.4: Formation of Social Capital—Sequence 1**

![Diagram](image)

In Sequence 2 (Figure 3.5) the students, AEC and the Department of Nursing were brought into direct relationship. Social arrangements developed that enabled cooperative, collaborative, structural and operational space to be generated. The sequential generation of these spaces resulted in a state in which access and equity for Aboriginal students in Nursing had been brokered. Closure occurred and social capital was developed and operated within the University.
3.9 The Central Importance of People and Communication to Pipelines

The long term commitment of individuals over a number of years enabled the Nursing pipeline to be established and remain operational. The location of internal and external catalysts was critical to its success. These people mobilised the ‘visible’ project team to actively run the project and influenced the ‘invisible’ project coalition upon whose contribution the existence and success of the project depended.

Reflection on the Nursing process underscored the importance of establishing continuing communication with the invisible project coalition because its members projected attitudes that provided an auspice for the development of processes and an environment in which social capital could be continually generated and sustained. The need to communicate up and down and across the hierarchies of groups involved in the project was ever present. This was partially due to the diverse nature of the cross cultural terrain in which the pipeline was conceived, constructed and operated. It was also due to the reality that teams were constantly changing organisms; pipelines are not static entities. The endogenous and exogenous factors that influenced individual team members’ life circumstances, relationships and desire to be members of a team were constantly changing and beyond the collective control of its membership. Teams changed constantly.

Awareness that teams are constantly changing highlights the importance of social capital to the development of pipelines. Creation of social capital enabled the Nursing pipeline to absorb changes in teams and operate well beyond the project life. It created social arrangements that changed the way in which the Aboriginal community, Aboriginal students, the profession, educators and employers related.
3.10 Conclusion

This chapter introduced the metaphor of a pipeline to describe the structural arrangements to support the connection of community, education, professional and employment sectors. It presented concepts and tools of analysis which were used to develop relationship networks that resulted in agreements and cross sectoral arrangements to form a Nursing pipeline that is providing Aboriginal professionals.

The discussion of concepts and tools included community development, Community of Special Interest, networking, brokerage, social capital and human capital and the central importance of people to alignment of sectoral needs. The tools and concepts presented in this chapter enabled the educational theory presented in Chapter 2 to be woven into the fabric of the Nursing pipeline. Chapter 4 presents a detailed account of the Nursing pipeline.

4.1 Introduction

The establishment of pipelines were investigated for the academic and professional discipline areas of Nursing, Education, Law and Engineering. The Nursing pipeline was piloted. The Education, Law and Engineering pipelines were investigated but did not reach the stage of piloting.

Negotiation of an Agreement detailing the connection between the cultures of community, education and employer organisations provided a base for the development and conduct of a Nursing pipeline. However, an agreement will never enable community members to qualify and take up employment if the educational culture is unable to align the learning environment to meet the students’ learning needs. In investigating and developing ‘pipelines’ under this EIP project, it became obvious that pipelines could not be created without addressing the central issue of teaching and learning within the total University teaching and learning context.

This chapter presents a case study which details the Nursing pipeline and which includes in-depth reflection on teaching and learning and processes that were used to align learning and teaching needs in the Bachelor of Nursing. Mentoring is presented as a major tool for re-alignment. An example of these processes is provided in the context of the subject, Acute Care Nursing. This case study utilises ‘thick description’, a technique of naturalistic research described by Lincoln and Guba (1990) as needing to ‘specify everything that a reader may need to know in order to understand the findings’ (Lincoln & Guba 1990, p. 125) and which is ‘necessary for judgments of transferability’ (Lincoln & Guba 1990, p. 359).
... judgments of transferability depend upon a sufficient knowledge base for both sending and receiving contexts. It is the responsibility of the inquirer to provide a sufficient base to permit a person contemplating application in another receiving setting to make the needed comparisons of similarity (Lincoln & Guba 1990, pp. 359–60).

Details of investigations into the establishment of Education, Law and Engineering pipelines are also presented in this chapter.

4.2 Nursing Pipeline

The process of the Nursing pilot project highlighted the need to align the educational and learning culture of tertiary education providers with the needs of Aboriginal students and the professions they wished to enter. The need for alignment was stark. In 1992, eight Aboriginal students entered the Bachelor of Nursing and none of these students progressed to the second year of the degree.

Reflection on the process of recruitment, student support and the teaching and learning environment led to a vision that connected community, educational and health organisations for the purpose of recruiting, educating and employing Aboriginal people as nurses. The Project Director and the Coordinator of 100 level Nursing joined together to recruit and retain Aborigines in the Bachelor of Nursing degree.

Attention in the project was focussed on developing a Nursing pipeline in the Illawarra by networking:

- Illawarra Aboriginal community members who had a desire to educate and employ Aborigines to deliver health services. Membership of the Aboriginal community included Aboriginal people employed by the IAHS, Aboriginal clients of the IAHS and Aboriginal people affiliated with the regional AECG and Inter agency and employment groups;
- IAHS executive staff who recognised the need to service appropriately Aboriginal clients’ health needs; and
- members of the University of Wollongong and the Illawarra Institute of Technology (TAFE) who had a commitment to Aboriginal education and employment.

Joint development and conduct of nursing and education events by the above groups provided a basis for bringing people and organisations into relationships that were then able to cooperatively focus on the development of a pipeline. Shared events included nursing education field days, career market days and selection panels for Enrolled Nurse education.

The bringing of people into relationship for the purpose of meeting these needs through group action, provided the foundation for establishment of social capital necessary for creating conditions that facilitated recruitment, education and employment of Aboriginal nurses. It was recognised that cooperative action would lead to mutual benefits through:
identification of shared interests of individuals and organisations; 
location of internal catalysts in the different organisations; 
agreement of stakeholders for approach to all parties; and 
bringing together all stakeholders for the purpose of generating a shared 
direction and an agreed path of action.

The Project Director acted as an external catalyst. It is sometimes easier for an 
external catalyst to seek the cooperation of organisations than for individuals 
within an organisation to offer ideas and gain the support of their organisation in 
following a course of action that is new, different or controversial. There is also the 
very real possibility of risk and loss of face for individuals within organisations who ‘put up’ new ideas for approval and funding as projects. When a decision 
maker rejects ideas, there is the possibility that this rejection may be misinterpreted 
as a rejection of the person proposing the idea. External catalysts are frequently 
able to gain access to senior positions in potential stakeholder organisations that 
staff from within are, because of hierarchical structures or past experience, unable 
or unwilling to approach. The external catalyst creates a safety net for those who 
have ideas but who are unable to take the risk of initiating new directions. All of 
these factors existed in the development of the Nursing pipeline.

The external catalyst may also undertake the role of internal catalyst within his or 
her own organisation. Shifting between the internal and external catalyst roles can 
create significant contradictions and pressures because the very situations the 
catalyst is able to facilitate outside his or her own organisation are unable to be 
facilitated within. This occurs because of hierarchies and collegiate power groups 
within the organisation that are, nevertheless, outside the sphere of influence of the 
internal catalyst. In establishing the Nursing pipeline, the Project Director was able 
to work very effectively as an external catalyst for the IAHS, TAFE and 
community organisations, but was disempowered, to various degrees, within 
sections of the University, particularly in the way sections of the University 
impacted on the relationships that were established within the pipeline. It is 
important to note that the social capital established within a pipeline or network is 
fragile and susceptible to derail by those who do not share the social capital of the 
group. Maintenance and continued operation of any pipeline are dependent on 
maturition of the relationships that underpin the operation.

The process of development experienced by the Project Director could be likened 
to navigating a ship through treacherous waters. Diversions had to be made to 
avoid territorial mines and submerged reefs. The journey was frequently halted for 
development of new treaties and repairs to essential relationships so that the 
ship could pass through new territories and unanticipated challenges. Success 
depended on a shared direction rather than a fixed goal and a plan that frequently 
changed as the ship inched forward. A number of casualties were sustained and 
crew were lost overboard. The project also survived a number of coup attempts for 
the control of the navy.

4.2.1 Structure of the Nursing Pipeline

As described in Chapter 3 the pipeline connected pre-vocational education, 
Enrolled Nurse education, Registered Nurse education, Aboriginal Health Worker 
education and professional employment in the health services sector. The following 
organisations formed the pipeline:
The Illawarra Area Health Service; The University of Wollongong; and The Illawarra Institute of Technology (TAFE).

The pipeline was structured in a manner that allowed for multiple entry and exit points to a range of professional health education and employment positions. Employment outcomes for a maximum of four individuals per year were negotiated and a critical focus of the management of the project ensured that people who completed any section of the pipeline were connected to professional employment in the health sector and/or further education.

This arrangement, known as the ‘tripartite agreement’ negotiated between the organisations participating in the Nursing pipeline ensured that:

- all Aboriginal people completing the pre-vocational course at TAFE would be granted an interview with IAHS for a trainee Enrolled Nurse position;
- the best four candidates from the interview would be offered a position as a Trainee Enrolled Nurse;
- upon successful completion of the Advanced Certificate of Nursing (Enrolled Nursing qualification), these candidates would be offered two years employment as Enrolled Nurses with the IAHS;
- upon completion of the Advanced Certificate in Nursing, the candidates could opt for the two years work and/or be considered for entry to the University of Wollongong’s Bachelor of Nursing degree; and
- upon completion of the Bachelor of Nursing degree, candidates would be offered a further two years work as Registered Nurses with the IAHS. Thus, under the pipeline agreement, candidates had the opportunity to obtain a maximum of four years professional employment.

This agreement provides a model for all discipline areas, for all students because access to employment is no longer solely on the basis of objective criteria such as qualifications. Rather, a person’s locatedness in a network is more likely to yield employment possibilities because of the establishment of social capital.

Figure 4.1 below shows the organisations and individuals that were networked to establish the nursing pipeline.
4.2.2 Extended Outcomes of the Pipeline

Extended outcomes that arose from the pipeline included:

- orientation of Health Service Chief Executives to directions that can be taken when considering the conceptualisation, development and implementation of plans for equipping Aboriginal people and health services to meet Aborigines' health needs;

- educators and health administrators becoming aware of the potential benefits of developing and delivering educational programs that focussed on the needs of health service organisations' client base;
Aboriginal Education Centres appreciating and utilising their potential to facilitate innovations which simultaneously met community and service organisation needs;

creative ways of utilising the resources of educational institutions, the employment contracts of health service chief executives and documents of the NSW Department of Health to initiate discussions that promoted and created pipeline possibilities. For example, the following notions were put to the Chief Executives of the IAHS:

– Chief Executives’ contracts required Aboriginal health needs to be addressed;
– the NSW Department of Health desired Aboriginal illness to be addressed; and
– The University of Wollongong, through its Aboriginal Education Centre, had a direct interest in developing directions and opportunities to enable Aborigines to gain access to professional education, qualifications and employment;

education service providers recognising markets for educational services that articulated vocational, undergraduate and graduate courses with employers’ needs for health professionals with the capacity to service the needs of Aboriginal people;

Aboriginal health organisations gaining experience in initiating courses to produce health professionals for work within the Aboriginal and wider health sector; and

a raised awareness of the need for the development of a quality process which meaningfully engage community organisations, education sectors and employers.

4.3 Pre-vocational Recruitment

The Aboriginal Development Division of TAFE utilised its established community contact networks to recruit and enrol Aboriginal students in the pre-vocational education section of the pipeline. Initial response by prospective students to the opportunity resulted in insufficient people being recruited to conduct the course. Rather than abandon the pre-vocational part of the project and lose momentum, the AEC, in partnership with the Aboriginal Development Division of Illawarra TAFE and IAHS, initiated and pursued a change of direction for recruitment. Consequently, the following occurred.

– The closing date for enrolment in the course was extended to accommodate changes in recruitment direction.

– TAFE, the IAHS and the AEC prepared a media release and canvassed every local newspaper and radio station in the Wollongong region and obtained free newspaper space and air time for advertisement of the pipeline project, in particular to attract recruits to the pre-vocational course in TAFE. The cooperation of local media was a major factor in the recruitment effort because it enabled the training and education
opportunity to reach the homes of potential students quickly. Local media also donated photographers and journalist’s time to assist with recruitment.

- A talk-back session was conducted by the Project Director on the *Koori Hour* on Community Radio 2 Vox FM which detailed the pre-vocational course, the pipeline and its connection to employment possibilities. Material for the talk-back session was prepared by the AEC, the IAHS and the Aboriginal development Division of Illawarra TAFE.

- Every Aboriginal Liaison officer in the Commonwealth Employment Service and the Department of Social Security within the Wollongong region was contacted by phone and told of the ‘education and employment opportunity’ of the pipeline and directly asked for their assistance in recruiting people for the pre-vocational course.

- Several Aboriginal health workers and Aboriginal Enrolled Nurses working within the IAHS also participated in identifying, attracting and enrolling students.

The course and its direct connection to formal education and professional employment was significantly different from community members’ experience and expectation of education opportunities. The extra recruitment time and use of innovative advertising strategies were required to access community information networks. What was being offered was beyond the community’s experience. The ‘Koori Hour’ talk-back session highlighted the importance of social capital in enabling information to be provided and acted upon. For example, the program presenter and the EIP Project Director were already acquainted through prior involvement in education activities. Consequently the rapport before and during the talk-back session was conducive to presenting a positive image of the Nursing opportunity.

### 4.3.1 The Pre-vocational Course

The tripartite agreement (see Section 4.2.1 and qualitative outcomes of this agreement in Sections 4.3.3. and 4.3.4 below ) directly linked the NSW TAFE Commission’s ‘Certificate II in Aboriginal Community Education, Health’ with education and career opportunities. The Certificate, first developed in 1992 in response to requests from Aboriginal communities for a community based health course, provided the pre-vocational component of the pipeline. Appendix 4 provides a full description of the course.

Whilst the course does not train Aboriginal people for a paid vocational career in Community Services or Health, it is important to recognise that for many Aboriginal communities, ‘vocational’ employment is unpaid community support and service. Learners are provided with a range of skills that enable them to become advocates for health lifestyles and to use these skills in their families and communities. Learners are also provided with skills to identify vocational opportunities in Community Service and Health sector. Thus pathways are created into several vocational areas for those students who have the opportunity to pursue them.
4.3.2 Initial Outcomes of the Pre-vocational Course

A combination of the original recruiting direction, an extension of enrolment date and the new initiatives resulted in attracting 12 Aboriginal students to the first course. Nine students completed the first program and four gained employment as Enrolled Nurse Trainees. Three students completed the Advanced Certificate of Nursing [Enrolled Nurse] and took up employment with the IAHS. Following resolution of a personal health problem, a further student was accepted into the Advanced Certificate of Nursing.

At the completion of the first pre-vocational course, the Aboriginal Development Division of TAFE continued the pre-vocational end of the Nursing pipeline.

4.3.3 Longer Term Results of the Pre-vocational Course and Enrolled Nurse Course

The IAHS Senior Nurse Educator provided perceptions of the longer term outcomes of the pre-vocational course and Advanced Certificate in Nursing (Enrolled Nursing) course—a direct result of the pipeline:

More Aborigines have been educated and qualified as Enrolled Nurses than would have been possible without the pipeline. The pre-vocational course has increased the number and standard of Aboriginal community applicants for Enrolled Nurse education.

People undertaking the pre-vocational course have a realisation that they can successfully undertake Enrolled Nurse [EN] education. For example: I was interviewing applicants for Enrolled Nurse trainee positions last week. Three Aboriginal people who had completed the pre-vocational course were interviewed, all of whom did well at the interview. Discussion with one of the candidates revealed that she did not think she had the ability to do the [EN] course, but her experience in the pre-vocational course gave her the awareness that she had the ability to do it at the same level as everyone else [all Enrolled Nurse students]. She knew she could do the course as a mainstream course, not a special course [for Aborigines], and has the ability to succeed.

The relationships developed [at TAFE] between the pre-vocational and Enrolled Nurse education component of the pipeline has led to an enriched relationship between TAFE and the IAHS. We now have Aboriginal ENs, who are employed by the IAHS, teaching in the pre-vocational course and the Enrolled Nurse education program. They also mentor the pre-vocational students and EN students when they are in the hospital system, on the wards. The relationships developed through these links is a key factor in the success of the pipeline.

You know, the agreement between the Uni, IAHS and TAFE is one thing; but the real success is possible because of the relationships that have developed between the community, people within TAFE and the IAHS [social capital]. For example, the participation of Aboriginal ENs from the IAHS in the pre-vocational course helps students to maintain a focus on what is achievable. Pre-vocational students are encouraged to look to the possibilities and prior to the completion of the course, they work with the IAHS Aboriginal ENs to complete and lodge their applications for the EN course. Relationships that link people in and between the courses are
keys. We could have all the agreements in the world but the system we have is working because of the relationships that have been developed.

The first time you [EIP Project Director] suggested the mentoring system it was rejected [because some people said it would upset the nursing on the wards]. Well times pass on and the idea has come into vogue. That’s one of the good things. We have had time to develop things, let them take their course. You know, good ideas are often rejected the first time they are put up. People fear change, but mentoring is happening.

Since the agreement was established, the Illawarra School of Nursing has trained 14 Aboriginal Enrolled Nurses. We see this agreement as a very positive event. The agreement has been beneficial to both the IAHS and TAFE. There has always been a good working relationship between both organisations, which has been enhanced by our involvement with the TAFE Aboriginal Unit for the purpose of assisting the students into the Trainee Enrolled Nurse program. [The Aboriginal Development Division coordinates the pre-vocational course.]

...the quality of the Aboriginal applicants has greatly improved over the years since the agreement commenced. The Aboriginal Health program is responsible for this improvement. By quality, I am referring to the academic ability, general and health related knowledge, plus general presentation and commitment of the students - a very positive outcome from the program.

The agreement has also involved setting up of a mentoring network for the students to access two of the early trainees for help, assistance and general support. This is now paying great dividends for the students.

The process has been slow and methodical since its inception and it is now showing signs of success for both the [TAFE] Illawarra School of Nursing and the Aboriginal students. We by no means are in a situation where we can sit back and pat ourselves on the back but we are seeing enough success to encourage continued work and involvement in the program [pipeline].

We have come a long way since we started (Head 1996).

4.3.4. Results of the Pre-vocational Course and Enrolled Nurse Course –A Student’s Perspective

The following story of a person who completed the pre-vocational course provides an indication of the qualitative outcomes that were produced as a direct result of incorporating the Certificate in a pipeline context.

I got out of jail and started a Gateway [University preparation] course at Wollongong Uni. I didn’t give it my best shot as I had a few other issues to deal with. It probably was one of the worst periods of my life and I was into the grog at the time. I hit my rock bottom during the course.

I did the Alternative Admission’s entry course [for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people] at Wollongong Uni and got accepted into Primary Education. I had to wait for six months until I could start. So I went to TAFE and did a computer course.
While I was doing the computer course I heard about the nursing pre-vocational course and how it could lead to a tranship in Nursing, professional qualifications and employment. When I found I could be paid while training as an EN I became really interested. The connection of training and employment was the key for me. What people want is a qualification and job. There was no guarantee that if I completed the primary education degree that I would get a job.

The motivation provided by the possibility of an EN tranship that paid me while I trained and led to qualifications was great. It gave me a goal. People coming off the dole really get motivated when traineeships pay while you train, lead to qualifications and are connected to jobs and careers in areas of community need. The possibility to get paid, learn, and do something in an area of community need; to be able to work with the health of our own people—that was a real plus.

So after the computer course, I did the Aboriginal Community Health, Education Certificate and received the NAIDOC [National Aboriginal and Islander Day Organising Committee] Education Encouragement Award. I was then accepted as an EN trainee and deferred primary education at uni.

Now I have completed the EN training and am employed in the hospital system under a two year placement covered under the ‘Tripartite Agreement.’ I am also doing a Diploma in Health Science (Mental Health) at Charles Sturt [University]. I get two weeks out of every six weeks to do the Diploma on site. So I am getting a Diploma at the same time as doing my two year placement. Once I complete my Diploma, I can do a further year’s study and get a Degree in Public Health. The health service is also getting a qualified mental health worker.

The pre-vocational course’s direct connection through the tripartite agreement to further education and employment gave me a focus. The connection with University has given me a long term direction. I have more than a job. I have a career, lifestyle and education path that I never knew was possible.

The tripartite agreement has given me the opportunity to develop a personal philosophy and career path that was not a possibility with two years of high school. I previously had work as a spray painter.

The path I am on gives me the opportunity to work with white people and my own people so that we are able to develop and deliver the services that meet the needs of Aborigines. The need to work together is clear and the direction I am going on is providing me with the qualifications and experience I need to make a contribution.

To make a difference is now part of my way of thinking. It has changed from self destruction to getting educated and getting on with my life. Three years ago you would not have been asking to talk with me. You would have told me to go away.
I spend time talking with new students in the health course. They know where I come from and what I’ve done. I also talk about the possibilities in mental health, community health and welfare areas that are possible once you do the course. Koori people from the mission know me and they now say ‘If you did it, so can we’. They don’t try the ‘I can’t do that’ because they know I’ll challenge them.

Working in the hospital system as a trainee was hard going. I found it difficult to settle in. The traineeship helped me to pick the most effective way to speak in the work place.

The two years professional work provided a goal—something to go for beyond the traineeship. It is giving me a better idea of how hospital systems work. It’s hands on. I’m becoming more effective.

The professional work is giving me the opportunity to experience and learn about Aboriginal people’s health related issues. I am more aware of how badly we need qualified Aboriginal health professionals to work with our people. It’s really motivating me to do the university study in mental health.

I am getting integrity as an Aboriginal person, nurse and mental health professional as a result of the path the tripartite agreement has started me on.

4.4 The University Component of the Nursing Pipeline

As stated earlier, in 1992 eight Aboriginal students were enrolled in the first year of the Bachelor of Nursing. One student successfully completed first year and chose not to continue. The remainder of the students abandoned their studies. In December 1992, prior to the establishment of the EIP project, the Coordinator of 100 level Nursing studies and the Project Director visited in their home towns the seven students who had discontinued first year studies. The purpose of the visit was to seek input for the development of a more successful recruitment, support and academic development strategy.

Interviews with these ex-students of Nursing revealed two focuses of difficulty: one related to issues that were of a personal nature and the other related directly to teaching and learning processes. Students identified that they experienced difficulty with:

- social and cultural separation. Being away from home creates tensions for most students and Aboriginal students have an increased level of difficulty in making the transition to an unfamiliar environment. These students were recruited from an isolated north-western New South Wales town.

- loneliness. Ex-students cited the experience of loneliness through separation from family and the complex relationships that existed in their home town.

- transition to studying in a tertiary institution; and
relating to the teaching process. In particular students cited difficulty understanding the language used in the University generally and in Nursing in particular. Some students had particular difficulty working in the laboratory environment of Science based subjects. Others had difficulty understanding lectures or the material being taught in classes. For example, the connection between Nursing and Chemistry or Physics subjects was never made.

All of these factors contributed to a feeling of dislocation and enhanced sense of shame in not knowing how or when to ask for help. The majority were unable to make a contract to receive help and the one who did successfully completed first year but failed to return in the following year.

It was decided that if the University was to contribute meaningfully to the development of the Nursing pipeline, significant changes were needed to the way in which students were recruited, inducted into the University and supported academically, socially and culturally. Importantly, the processes of testing candidates, selecting and offering them study opportunities and the strategies of teaching and learning had to be investigated and addressed in a way that was beneficial to teachers and learners. The Project Director and the Coordinator of 100 level Nursing Studies worked together to investigate and address these issues.

4.4.1 Alternative Admissions Entry to Bachelor Degrees for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Candidates

This section details processes that were available to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander candidates, for entry to Bachelor degrees at the University of Wollongong.

The University of Wollongong conducts a general alternative entry program that makes available two tests for non-matriculated candidates over the age of 21 years, both of which are titled Special Tertiary Admissions Test (STAT) (The Australian Council for Educational Research 1994). One provides entry to ‘humanities’ disciplines in the Faculties of Arts, Creative Arts, Commerce, Education, Health and Behavioural Sciences and the other provides entry to the Faculties of Science, Informatics and Engineering. Candidates wishing to enrol in the Faculty of Law must have attained 25 years of age and are required to first achieve a notional TER of at least 90 in the ‘humanities’ STAT test and then successfully undertake the Australian Law Schools Entrance Test (ALSET). For Creative Arts there are additional entry requirements.

The University of Wollongong also provides a special admissions program for people of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander descent. Access to all faculties is through an achievement test and faculty interview. The test examines literacy, numeracy and thinking skills. An advanced mathematics test is available for candidates wishing to enrol in courses such as Accountancy, Economics, Engineering, Science and others that have mathematics prerequisites. Those wishing to enrol in Creative Arts are also required to undertake an interview or audition, depending on whether the candidate wishes to undertake a major study involving visual arts or performing arts. Aboriginal students are eligible for candidature for either mode of entry.
4.4.2 Process of Testing Aboriginal Candidates for Entry to Nursing

Following investigation, the Department of Nursing and the AEC developed and conducted a modified version of Alternative Admission to facilitate processes to enhance Aborigines’ success in the Bachelor of Nursing. This process took place over three days, initiating relationships between potential students, the Department of Nursing (the Coordinator of 100 level Nursing Studies) and the AEC (mentor). This process provided a basis for:

- offering students positions subject to their agreement to participate in a specialised orientation program, ongoing tutorials that commenced during orientation, and willingness to ask for, be offered and utilise help after enrolment; and

- giving students information on how teaching would be provided and their learning facilitated.

On arrival to undertake the Aboriginal Alternative Admissions Test, potential students of Nursing were greeted by the AEC mentor for Aboriginal students enrolled in Nursing and the coordinator of 100 level Nursing studies. Candidates for admission to Nursing were then separated from the remainder of students taking the Alternative Admissions tests. The mentor and coordinator spent the first part of the day talking with them before they took the literacy, numeracy and thinking skills tests.

The purpose was to begin a relationship with Nursing candidates and to introduce them to the idea that it was acceptable for them to ask for help during the tests. A good deal of time was spent talking about how it was okay to ask for help if candidates did not know how to go about answering a question, if there was anything they did not understand in the questions or if they wanted to check their understanding of a question or the method they were using or might use.

Students were also introduced to the idea that staff were not sitting in on the exam to stop cheating; rather they were there to offer help. In offering help, the mentor and coordinator were looking to see:

- if and when students had difficulty, were they prepared to ask for help; and
- if they were prepared to ask for help, could staff help them so they could proceed.

A key issue in this process was the capacity of staff to connect with students and formulate help in a way that would be useful for the students, that is, would the assistance enable candidates to demonstrate their potential as well as current abilities. At this point students were operating at Stage I of the ZPD (see Section 2.4), where their performance needed to be assisted by more capable others.

This testing process, which incorporated help, enabled students to be assessed on their performance with and without assistance. The assessment was not based on whether answers were correct, but whether candidates had the capacity to successfully undertake the course, within the resource constraints of help available from the Department and the AEC.
Initially, when students displayed signs of discomfort or of ‘being stuck’ on a question and they did not ask for help, they were left to grapple with the question. If they continued to remain stuck, the mentor and coordinator offered assistance. This reinforced the idea that their role was to help rather than check. It also provided a demonstration of whether candidates were able to seek help that was being offered, and if received, were they able to utilise that help. If their answers to questions were not correct, the basis of their approach to the question was explored.

In this context the testing process aligns with Vygotsky’s zone of proximal development that was used as a theoretical base for establishment of learning environments in the University’s component of the Nursing pipeline. Details are set out in Section 2.4 of this report. The process was also in accord with the practice of scaffolding (Argyris, Putnam and McLain Smith 1985) which provides a mechanism for engaging students in and taking them through learning situations within their zone of proximal development when they become stuck.

If the interventionist expects participants to adhere to norms outside ‘the boundary of their ability,’ he [sic] may create a sense of failure that will lead participants to withdraw from the learning process. Yet if he does not ask them to adhere to them, they will conduct business as usual and enact norms of protectionism.

One way to manage this dilemma is to ‘scaffold’ participants as they try to reach norms that they cannot yet reach on their own. In doing this, the interventionist helps participants to act in ways that can keep the inquiry moving despite their becoming stuck (Argyris et al. 1985, p. 326).

By explicitly stating the norms of the test and offering assistance when applicants became stuck, potential students began to experience their ‘stuckness’ and move forward. Applicants also experienced a different testing and learning framework which allowed them to be assessed for potential success rather than a set of correct answers.

This provided a basis for the beginning of a fruitful teaching and learning relationship for students admitted to the course. In many ways the process was a test of the mentor’s and coordinator’s ability to join with the candidates and to provide help in a form that was acceptable to and able to be used by candidates while enabling their potential for success to be assessed.

Following the tests, candidates were interviewed by the AEC mentor and the coordinator. During the interview, candidates were asked to make a fist. A look of amazement or disbelief often followed this request. The AEC mentor would then proceed to make a fist and then ask the candidate to copy the action. They were then asked could they use their fist to knock on the table or a door. They were then invited to knock. This humorous situation was used as a mechanism to introduce the idea that a key to them being offered a position and being successful in the University, would be their preparedness to knock on doors, ask for help and use it.

This also introduced strategies for dealing with the culture of ‘shame’, frequently expressed by Aboriginal students when talking about the issue of asking for help. The culture of shame and the practice of becoming invisible, silent or absenting...
when stuck is equivalent to an act of self protection. It is important for students to develop confidence to be able to ‘knock on doors’ rather than become ‘invisible’ and think that they have to do it all on their own. This approach to gaining help, the ‘search for assistance’, focuses on holistic academic development, a blend of personal development with academic support. The search for assistance enabled the students to be engaged in processes of building academic resource networks which included their peers, faculty members and other support staff.

Towards the end of the alternative admissions interview positions in the Bachelor of Nursing were also offered with a clear understanding on the part of staff of the AEC and Department of Nursing that:

- specialist tutorials were a base offer of assistance and that assistance beyond this base level would be provided or procured;
- students would need to continue to be encouraged by staff to ask for, receive and utilise help;
- human resources could be obtained to provide help in formats that students were able to meaningfully access and utilise. For example, they would not be given repeat learning experiences that had previously led to failure; and
- development of trust relationships with students was a key to establishing learning environments that were mutually beneficial to students, the AEC and Department of Nursing.

Candidates were offered a place in the Bachelor of Nursing, conditional upon them agreeing to take part in a specialised orientation course for Aboriginal students in Nursing, which commenced a week prior to the University’s Orientation Week. They were also required to participate in on-going specialised literacy tutorials for Nursing, Chemistry and Physics. The Nursing literacy tutorial commenced during the orientation program and ran for the entire first year. It was later offered in the second and third years of study.

The tutorial initially concentrated on providing an environment in which students were introduced to the language and university culture of nurse education. It provided a safe environment to ask for, be offered and receive help and a platform from which students could begin to be assisted, become independent and undertake collaborative learning. Students were engaged in a process that would give them control and responsibility for their learning.

The tutorials provided a range of subjects and environments in which students were engaged in processes of assisted, independent and collaborative learning. While each tutorial covered different subject matter, combined they took students through assisted, independent and collaborative learning (Australian Committee for Training Curriculum 1994) that resulted in academic achievement. This provided them with a basis for trusting in and applying the processes to untried areas of study. They began to cope with the tension of not knowing specific answers to questions. Students also started relationships through tutorial support with each other and with teaching staff involved in the process of their academic development. They were beginning to build networks, to establish social capital and beginning to ‘learn to fish’.
The process of establishing an agreement with students provided a means of entering relationships that enabled them to contract for a package of educational services that would give them a good chance of success. The immediate orientation to success was based on the AEC Mentor and Coordinator of 100 level Nursing Studies’ perceptions of the potential to match students’ educational needs with staff members’ ability to facilitate students learning. This was viewed as being a primary factor in students’ attainment of nursing qualifications. Success was also believed to be contingent upon the provision of learning environments where students would learn to learn and be equipped with the tools and experience to take charge of their own learning, in and beyond the course of study. In this way it was expected that they would be able to recursively and successfully enter their zones of proximal development in a range of fields.

Students took up their offer of a place by verbally agreeing to the conditions of entry and then by taking the action to participate in the special focus orientation program. The program provided an immediate means of engaging students in actions which directly reflected the elements of the agreement. For example, students were engaged in processes which engaged them with their fellow students, the AEC mentor, Coordinator of 100 level Nursing and specialist tutor for Nursing subjects. Students were immediately engaged in processes that reinforced the nature of the agreement and the tone of relationships. By the end of the orientation process, students were grounded in the culture of cooperation that was established between the AEC and the Department of Nursing.

4.5 Mentoring

The agreement provided a basis for mentoring processes which were cooperatively developed and operated by three members of staff:

- the AEC Mentor (who was also the EIP Project Director and a Lecturer);
- the Coordinator of 100 level Nursing Studies (Senior Lecturer); and
- the specialist tutor in Nursing.

These staff members acted as a mentoring team.

The mentor context is captured by (Argyris et al. 1985, p. 269):

[Mentors were required to] be willing to make themselves vulnerable and to put their own reasoning on the line, subjecting them to the same scrutiny to which they subject the reasoning and actions of [the students and their teaching and support colleagues in the AEC and the faculty]. They [were] to contend with their own defensive reactions and remain open when their views and actions are called into question, often without much compassion or skill. And they [needed to] do all this while simultaneously negotiating a dilemma faced by [student] and [mentor] alike. On the one hand, the mentoring process [was] intended to be jointly controlled, with participants taking responsibility for their own learning; while on the other hand, the process necessarily [started] out under conditions of inequity. At the outset [students were] largely unaware of their theories-in-use and only vaguely aware or able to envision the alternatives posed by the [mentor].
[Students entered] the process in a position of dependence on the [mentors]. They discovered in an explicit sense that they [knew] their own theories-in-use less well than the [mentors]..., and they [had] scarcely any idea about how to remedy the gaps they [uncovered] in them. Understandably this discovery [triggered] experiences of distress and anxiety that themselves evoke reactions that ... [got] in the way of working through the dilemma that [triggered] them. [Students at times ... concealed], even from themselves, the inconsistencies of their actions. They [sometimes resisted] the help of the [mentor] in discovering these inconsistencies or the alternatives that might [ have reduced] them. [Some grew] hostile toward the [mentors] for what they [construed] as unnecessary exertion of power. The [mentors had] to contend with such reactions, not by becoming defensive, but by enquiring into what leads to these reactions in order to move beyond them. (tenses altered.)

The mentoring activity, in the context of the project’s community development base, was one factor in enacting a community of enquiry in a community of teaching and learning practice. The purpose of this enquiry was to develop an action research process that would directly facilitate the establishment of learning environments that would retain Aboriginal students in the Bachelor of Nursing.

The AEC mentor actively engaged with students to direct their attention to their actions in the learning process and to make decisions regarding whether these actions were working for or against them. The following question was a key orientation for students.

- If your action does not work for you in the learning environment, what is the purpose of continuing the activity and expecting a positive result?

The following are the key questions to focus mentors’ reflective practice.

- What leads students to act as they do?
- What prevents them from acting differently to the way they do?17
- What are the skills they need to answer the questions on their own so they could promote their learning?

Joint reflection by the students and the AEC mentor provided material to join with teaching staff in a range of subjects and begin processes that led to changes in teaching processes that benefited Aboriginal and mainstream students.

Situations for productive reflection frequently arose during informal discussion between students, teaching staff and mentors. Discussions with students usually began on topics that related to the student as an individual.

- How’s Physics or Chemistry going?
- How are the kids?
- How is your partner, the house or health going?

Discussions with teaching staff usually began with topics related to the Aboriginal students’ learning performance:

- How is student X going in laboratory prac?
Student X is having some difficulty.

These discussions often resulted in requests for help with learning issues by students and teaching staff. They also frequently yielded a means of engaging students, and in obtaining their insight into their learning. They provided information to approach teaching or support staff about the student’s perception of the learning environment.

Teaching staff were only approached after permission had been obtained by the student to use material obtained during reflective discussion. Students were critically aware of the politics of teacher/student relationships and a good deal of time was spent discussing the potential impact of information on these relationships. Considerations of what was delivered, how it was delivered, who it was delivered to, with whom it was delivered and potential ‘pay back’ or ‘benefit’ to learners needed to be gauged at all times.

Reflective practices are a normal part of people’s every day life. The focus was on enhancing reflective practice rather than setting up activities that formalised and assessed reflection and ‘squeezed the living daylights out of’ students, teaching staff and the mentors. Situations which would promote learning were sought and utilised. Reflections were not formalised, diaries were avoided and all parties honed their reflective practice individually and jointly.

Students and the AEC mentor frequently entered into group discussion. The process of reflecting with others, rather than engaging in individual journal writing, assisted students to recognise that what often comes to us alone may be garbled by our own rationalisations and wishful thinking. Talking with others provided the potential for feedback and further productive reflection, a fact emphatically endorsed by a recent graduate who had been engaged in the mentoring process (student S3 1996).

4.5.1. Mentoring: a Rich Source of Information to Network and Align Student and Teacher Needs

Alignment of teachers’ and learners’ needs is a complex process. Development of mutually beneficial relationships between these groups was critical to the process and interfacing the range of needs could not have been undertaken without developing a network of learning relationships.

Results were assisted by aligning students’ needs with teaching possibilities, underpinned by a theoretical framework grounded on Vygotsky’s zone of proximal development and Argyris et al’s (1985) practice of scaffolding. Scaffolding was extensively used to interface mentoring and tutorial processes. It provided a mechanism to review and reorient learning environments, including teaching practices, in which students were not successful. It also provided a method for students to re-engage in the learning process and move through their zones of proximal development. A recent graduate (Student 3) described the scaffolding process in the following way:

Find the individual’s base line, thereby reinforcing the student’s comfort. Then, build a framework which will allow the student to climb at their pace. That is, let them find their own way up their own mountain [ZPD].
Mismatches between specialist tutorials, student needs and teaching processes became apparent early in the project. For example, the second round of first year students were having difficulty with physics. The following depicts a typical conversation between a number of students and the AEC mentor.

Students: We can’t understand what the lecturer is talking about!

Mentor: Are the specialist tutorials helping?

Students: Not really. The tutor just really repeats what the lecturer has been doing. We reckon we’re going to fail.

Further discussion with students and an understanding of their development and potential for physics ruled out the ‘lack of background’ or deficit argument frequently used when discounting students’ ability to succeed. Students had already demonstrated competence in the kinds of numeric operations required for successfully undertaking the Physics subjects for the Nursing degree.

The mentor met with the Physics lecturer and tutor at the AEC and put the position that students were worried about physics and were anticipating a fail because they could not understand what the lecturer was talking about. (These students had already passed Chemistry with the support of the Physics tutor). The lecturer replied they would fail Physics because they didn’t have the basic maths. The students’ position continued to be put by the mentor, who wished to dispel any notion of deficits on the part of students.

Mentor: It’s not a question of basic maths. A primary issue is the language of physics.

Further discussion between the tutor, lecturer and the mentor aided by an understanding of the students’ past performance and potential, revealed they had not come to grips with the process and language that was being used to teach and pass Physics tests. For example, the process of questioning in open ended or objective tests was largely unfamiliar to the students. They had no familiarity with questioning techniques that required them to identify a correct answer from a range of possibilities, where the question was phrased in the negative, such as ‘Which one of the following is not appropriate in this context?’

A role play in which a Physics problem was posed for solution provided a means of unpacking the teaching and learning situation and developing a strategy to work toward meeting the students’ needs. The mentor took the part of the student while the lecturer and tutor proceeded to instruct the mentor on how to perform a Physics test. As the process took place, the mentor recorded the language and the steps involved in performing the test. The lecturer was required to make explicit his tacit knowledge (see Lincoln & Guba 1990) or ‘theory-in-use’; something to which he had not needed to put words to before.

As a result of this process it was possible to create a flow chart of the language and steps that a student would have to understand and operate to successfully perform the test and complete subsequent Physics tasks. The students were working with a Physics problem but they didn’t know which formula to choose or how to use it to gain the correct answer. The following steps are the result of the role play.
1. List the formulae, give the formulae names and describe what they are
   used for.
2. Detail what each symbol means and list unit of measurement for each
   symbol.
3. Write each formula out in English.
4. Create a list of questions for each formula.
5. Select key words or phrases which apply to each formula, and therefore
   show how to choose the correct equations.
6. Then, in symbol form, rearrange the formula so the unknown is on the left
   and the known is on the right.
7. Cancel the units, if possible, doing the arithmetic in units.
8. Make sure the units on the left equal the units on the right.
9. Check the arithmetic. If the units don’t match up, check why not?
10. Then put the numbers with their units in the place of the symbols.
11. Use calculator. Check calculator entry procedure.

The role play was not a simple exercise because the mentor had no experience or
understanding of Physics (other than how to avoid doing it at school 30 years
earlier). Physics was an alien language. The role play yielded a strategy which
facilitated students obtaining control of the language and steps involved in solving
a variety of Physics tests. The tutorial process was then amended and students
successfully met the requirements of Physics. Control of the language enabled
students to go from the concrete to the abstract and from the known to the
unknown rather than from the abstract to the more abstract and the unknown to the
greater unknown. This process was identical to the direction previously taken in
Chemistry (Draisma et al. 1994).

The tutorials also provided fora for engaging students in support activities that
focused on their academic development where they learned about the relationships,
concepts and knowledge necessary to operate successfully within the University’s
Nursing education culture. The tutorials were culturally and socially supportive
because of the manner in which they addressed teaching and learning but they were
for students’ academic development and very different from the support offered by
normal ATAS and AEC student liaison activities. Difficulties with social and
cultural issues frequently presented in tandem with academic difficulties.
Academic issues provided a catalyst for students to voice personal/family
difficulties that were affecting their learning. When this occurred, difficulties were
acknowledged and strategies were developed to refer and deal with non-academic
issues outside of tutorials.
Table 4.1: Conditions of Learning (adapted from Cambourne & Turbill 1987 p.7)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conditions of Learning</th>
<th>How Manifested in Practice</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Immersion</strong> in the medium</td>
<td>Students were immersed in the medium of the University culture, at the macro level, and in the disciplines of Nursing, Physics, Chemistry etc, at the individual subject level. This immersion occurred naturally in lectures, tutorials and laboratory experiences. It also occurred through the range of reading materials to which students were exposed. Immersion was facilitated through ‘pre-wetting’ experiences of the interview and testing procedures and specialised pre-orientation program. It was continued in the special tutorial experiences that were provided.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Demonstration</strong> of discipline specific requirements</td>
<td>Demonstrations were freely available of a range of requirements for all the discipline areas in which the students were enrolled. The AEC mentor, the Nursing coordinator and the Science tutor provided on-going tutorials in which demonstrations of ‘doing Nursing’, ‘doing Physics’, ‘doing Chemistry’ etc took place. Demonstrations of essay writing, oral presentations and how to ask questions were also made.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Expectations</strong> ‘given off’ by teacher to student</td>
<td>The expectations of all staff involved in the project were that the students would succeed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Responsibility</strong> for own learning</td>
<td>All students were expected to take responsibility for their own learning and when they experienced difficulty, were expected to ask for help. ‘Invisibility’ was not an option</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Approximation</strong>: the franchise to ‘have a go’</td>
<td>The ‘safe’ environment that was created gave students the freedom to ‘have a go’ at solving an academic problem, to try out drafts of academic writing, or to rehearse oral presentations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Practise</strong> employing and developing skill</td>
<td>Constant contact with the mentor and nursing coordinator provided continuous opportunities to develop academic skills.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Engagement</strong> with the demonstrations made available</td>
<td>Students were engaged in the process of doing academic tasks from the time they began the pre-orientation program. Engagement was facilitated through peer, group and individual work in the tutorial setting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Response</strong>: mutual exchanges between experts and novices</td>
<td>Mutual exchanges took place in the process of doing academic tasks. Experts and novices interacted through peer, group and individual work in the tutorial setting (with the coordinator) and outside the tutorial setting with the AEC mentor and the discipline specific staff.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.1 adapts Cambourne’s ‘Conditions for Learning’ (Cambourne & Turbill 1987), which related to early childhood and literacy development, as a basis for the development of learning processes that met the needs of Aboriginal students undertaking Nursing education. Students were immersed in the medium of the learning culture and received demonstrations of discipline specific requirements. Teachers held expectations that their students would succeed in their studies and they were given the freedom to ‘have a go’ at solving academic problems. The practise they were given in developing skills facilitated their engagement with the milieu of nurse education and responses between experts and novices contributed to relationships that were conducive to their academic development. A student-centred focus was crucial to the project.

The following is a student reflection and commentary on ‘Expectations’ that were implied by teacher to students and ‘Approximation, the franchise to “have a go”’. It provides insight into the importance of linking conditions of learning and success:

[Expectations] is an important point. [Teachers] having the faith [that we would succeed] gave students support. So we were able to have a go [Approximation] (Student 3 1996).

Teachers were generally receptive to approaches by the AEC mentor to discuss teaching practice and Aboriginal students’ learning needs but students were not necessarily enamoured when first approached about self-defeating learning strategies and actions, particularly those who continually ‘threw every ounce and fibre of themselves’ at tasks in the belief that what was required was massive solo efforts. The theories-in-use for some students were characterised by pre-established notions that collaborative learning is cheating and leads to being shamed; reflection with others on learning tasks is big noting and sets up conditions for being shamed by teachers and ostracism from student groups. When they set themselves up for failure, students’ theories-in-use and their espoused theory on learning needed to be challenged.

Student 3 provided comment after graduating (1996) on previously self-defeating learning strategies, actions and on reflective mentoring:

This was a very painful period - aching! Self defeating learning strategies was a major hurdle ... It was a big step facing [my] own inadequacies ... accepting them ... and then the challenge to find strategies that worked and fitted; strategies I was comfortable with.

The mentoring team recognised, firstly, that students wanted to learn and this required students to look at what underpinned their learning practices (theories-in-use). Secondly, students wanted to protect themselves from the pain and vulnerability that learning involves. Willingness to learn and the need for self protection are ‘generic to all growth and learning that is central to one’s sense of self’ (Argyris et al. 1985; Diamond 1983; Sullivan 1953) and are not unique to Aboriginal students. The issue for learners and mentors was how individuals manage the tension between ‘having a go’ and ‘self-protection’. Argyris describes alternative approaches which characterise the response of students and which in turn provided a clear direction for the conduct of mentoring team:
Some participants take a protective stance. They approach the learning process afraid to make mistakes for fear of appearing foolish or stupid; they shy away from experimentation and withdraw in the face of reflection; and they resent those who appear to be learning and blame them for their experience of failure. Others take a different stance. They approach learning with some of the same fears but also with the confidence that the way through these fears is to jump in, to make mistakes, and to reflect on them; they embrace experimentation and grow excited over the possibilities for reflection; and they appreciate their peer’ contributions and mistakes; seeking to learn from them (Argyris 1985, p. 277).

Student 3 (1996) commented on the need for peer contributions and mistakes in the learning process.

Perhaps this is what the LDC was about. ... [LDC lecturer] continually emphasised that he was a learner and we were learners together. Therefore we were both teachers so safe/mutual respect developed.

The tensions identified by Argyris are reflected in Cambourne’s ‘Conditions of Learning’, particularly those conditions titled ‘approximation’ and ‘responsibility’. The scaffolding method supports the reflective process by providing a practical means of working with these tensions in the learning ‘space’. It provides a practical means of enabling students to redefine their theory-in-use related to learning.

The relationship between the mentors and students was initially protective. As students, mentor and specialist tutors joined with each other and developed trust relationships, the learning environment was able to reorient toward reflective learning. A critical part in the process began with all parties experiencing a large degree of frustration when past approaches to learning did not work. For example, all participants became quickly aware that when students were experiencing difficulty:

- students were not in deficit- deficit issues had been accounted for at the time of selection;
- students’ learning needs and theories-in-use needed to be engaged in reflection;
- repetition of a teaching practice that had not facilitated learning could not be expected to produce a different result;
- teachers’ needs and theories-in-use needed to be engaged in reflection;
- mentors could not assign or accept the assignment of blame to any party; and
- mentors needed to find a means of bringing the teachers and learners together to individually and jointly reflect on teaching and learning processes for mutual benefit.
5. Utilising the Nursing Pipeline Experience to Develop Learning Environments

5.1 Introduction

This chapter moves beyond the focus of pipelines and discusses processes that were employed to extend the educational initiatives developed in the Nursing pipeline to other areas of the University. The intention was to contribute to quality learning environments and focus on the central role of collegiate groups in determining the orientation and quality of those learning environments.

The chapter also provides details of processes that were employed to utilise research as a catalyst for initiating change in learning environments. It highlights the potential of research to bring teacher, student and research roles into relationship and discusses the importance of developing cooperative, collaborative, structural and organisational spaces.

Research is used as a catalyst for change to facilitate quality learning environments and the concept of leverage is discussed in the context of a community development framework.

5.2 Learning Development and Staff Development

The successful work jointly undertaken by the Department of Nursing and the AEC highlighted the importance of the learning environment in the development and conduct of pipelines.

Interaction between the EIP Project Director and teaching staff in a range of faculties that could contribute to pipelines left the Project Director with a clear impression of the unease some lecturers felt when considering a shift from standard lecture or teaching format. Refuge from innovation was frequently expressed in ‘the need for resources to develop teaching materials’. The possibility for a major emphasis on the processes of experiential learning was generally not seen as worthwhile or viable.

There was a general belief among many people teaching in the University that access to quality teaching material resources would provide necessary conditions for quality learning environments. This belief shifted the focus from the need for acquisition of pedagogical knowledge and skills to support the development of a more successful learning environment. Since funds are not generally available for materials development and since lecturing staff are often unwilling to shift to experiential learning strategies without material resources, the status quo in teaching is reinforced.
The educational innovations involved in establishing the Nursing pipeline highlighted the power of teachers, support staff and students to reorient the learning environment when they act for mutual benefit. The innovation process raises the challenge to forgo expert and learner status, a challenge that is threatening to both the learner and the teacher because it requires each to reflect on and relinquish the status of learner or teacher with attendant values, beliefs behaviours, costs and rewards. It requires people to individually and jointly reflect on mutual gain that may be achieved when roles of teacher and student are focused on learning and all parties are learners and co-researchers.

5.2.1 Willingness to Cultivate Quality Learning Environments

Willingness to cultivate environments that meet the learning needs of students and teachers can be facilitated by respect for and understanding of the difficult positions teachers, students and administrators face when they are confronted by a misalignment of student learning need and teaching practice. For example, teachers who have worked together to plan, develop or deliver courses may find themselves pursuing different teaching directions when they begin to change the orientation of learning.

The desire to change direction will reflect differences in beliefs and values about teaching and learning and what it means to each individual, collegiate group and the organisation. Many values and beliefs that underlie existing environments may not be openly discussed or reflected upon. The desire for change will affect relationships within and between memberships of collegial networks. Differing values and beliefs about teaching and learning underlie the shifts and fuel conflict. Similarly, conflicts can be anticipated as students’ roles and relationships with each other and the teaching staff are reoriented.

Establishment and conduct of learning environments that facilitate development and operation of pipelines requires willingness in action because people involved need to address their positions or mental models. Senge (1992, p. 8) states that we all hold, ‘deeply ingrained assumptions, generalisations, or even pictures or images that influence how we understand the world and how we take action’. The addressing of mental models can facilitate:

... institutional learning, the process whereby management teams change their shared mental models of the company [university], their markets [students/employers/government] and their competitors [other universities, nationally and internationally] (Senge 1992, p. 8).

The processes of developing the community of enquiry into a community of teaching and learning practice (essential to the establishment of pipelines) involved people exposing their own thinking about learning and making that thinking open to the influence of others in the network.

Senge captures the feeling of underlying tensions behind resistance to changing formats of teaching and learning when he notes:

Whenever there is ‘resistance to change’, you can count on there being one or more ‘hidden’ balancing process. Resistance to change is neither capricious nor mysterious. It almost always arises from threats to
traditional norms and ways of doing things. Often these norms are woven into the fabric of established power relationship. The norm is entrenched because the distribution of authority and control is entrenched (Senge 1992, p. 88).

The resistance Senge identifies is to changing the entrenched patterns and distribution of authority and control that circumscribe and determine the character of the learning environment and set the culture. Identification of balancing activity highlighted the central importance of collegiate groups and their relationship to the wider learning environment. It also provided a window on the importance of personal development to change processes.

5.2.2 Collegiate Groups, Quality Teaching Environments and Personal Development

Collegiate groups have a large degree of control in the way in which learning environments are created, maintained, developed and resourced. Reorientation of learning environments require the support and resourcefulness of collegiate groups. Change requires a shift in the balance and direction of groups, their recognition and use of learning resources. This can only occur by open examination of the mental models that underlay collegiate members’ teaching, identity, roles and relationships. Change asks the collegiate members to redefine and reorient themselves. It is little wonder that successful change processes need to include personal development.

Personal development also provides a means of connecting the collegiate group to the wider university system through the desire to institutionalise a culture that is directed toward the evolution of quality learning environments. Changing the organisational structure of learning will not lead to a qualitative improvement of the learning environment unless the teachers and learners are able to examine and change their theories-in-use related to learning and teaching. Note that Senge’s mental models and Argyris’ theories-in-use, which are ‘those that can be inferred from action’ (Argyris et al. 1985, p. 82), are identical in that both describe values and attitudes that underpin behaviour. Restructuring without reorientation is equivalent to shuffling the deck chairs on the Titanic and expecting that the ship will still not be headed for disaster.

The significance of the political power of collegiate groups in influencing change processes and the evolution of learning relationships that lead to the establishment and conduct of pipelines must not be disregarded. The politics of collegiate groups was a major factor in the success of attempts to establish pipelines. Collegiate groups also provide or inhibit relationship networks that form the fabric of social capital necessary for learning environments that lead to the establishment and conduct of pipelines.

5.3 Influence of Collegiate Groups in Determining Orientation of Quality of Learning Environments: A Sketch

The Project Director’s attention to the importance of the collegial group and power relationships in groups resulted from an encounter with teaching staff who collectively taught in a way that restricted Aboriginal students’ access and equity in a field of study and employment. For the purposes of this report, the subject will be
referred to as the ‘problem subject’\textsuperscript{1}. The following sketch of the process highlights the importance of collegial groups, personal development and the relationship of the collegial group to University aspirations for quality learning environments.

The Project Director was sitting in a student lounge listening to students who were highly critical and concerned about their teaching and learning environment. After hearing the same conversation for some days he asked the students what they would like to do about their learning. The students were aware of the work being done with Nursing and decided to provide comment on the learning environment if the Project Director would find a way of presenting the material to the faculty concerned. Students were well aware of the power relationship that existed in the environment and were prepared to provide their comment in the understanding that the material would be used to start a process of change.

One of the students was undertaking the subject for a second time and considered he would fail again unless there was a major change in the learning environment. He was also concerned if he had to undertake the compulsory subject a third time, with no change occurring, he would continue to fail and this would lead to exclusion from the course of study.

The students met with the Project Director and provided detailed comment on their perceptions of the learning environment. These comments were recorded, collated, categorised and checked by the students. The categories utilised emerged from the statements the students had provided\textsuperscript{2} Discussion with a range of people who had involvement with the subject either as students from past years or staff, also confirmed the validity of students’ concerns.

The Project Director met with the Dean of the faculty and a meeting was arranged to discuss concerns and future directions. The faculty selected a member of staff to chair the meeting and the Project Director was invited to prepare material to provide a focus for discussion and possible directions based on work undertaken with Nursing. An extract from a letter to the Dean, to which the students’ comments were attached, follows.

Thank you for the opportunity to address some teaching and learning issues in subject xxxx.

I agreed with [the chairperson] to prepare material for the meeting on Monday which provides a focus for discussion and possible directions based on work we have undertaken with other teaching areas. The following material has been prepared and is presented to facilitate collaborative focus and direction:

- collection and classification of students’ comments on the teaching and learning [of the subject];
- themes drawn from students’ comments that could provide a basis for addressing their learning and teaching needs;
- possible direction for change; and
- implications of collaboration for quality teaching and benefits for teaching and learning.

A detailed presentation and analysis of students’ comments which were presented to the meeting are included in Appendix Two.
5.3.1 Meeting Dynamics

The meeting and events that immediately followed could be said to have followed the script of the celebrated BBC television series, *Yes Prime Minister*. The meeting was a lively affair which saw the Coordinator of the subject and the Mentor clash. The coordinator forcefully and volubly stated:

We have done everything we can. We can’t do more! This is not TAFE. Look at our teaching evaluations. It’s those students not us [who have problems]. Well, we’re not going to drop academic standards (Gluck & Spence 1994, p. 20).

Members of the collegiate group who also taught in the subject largely remained silent, other than to state that they offered help if students approached them. Before the meeting was adjourned the Chairperson undertook to review the model of teaching and the teaching practice currently employed in the subject.

Following the meeting the Mentor was approached individually by most members of the collegiate group. They expressed their concerns with the subject and offered their time and energy to resource Aboriginal students’ learning. Consequently, learning needs were linked to human resources and the majority of students passed the subject. The following example drawn from the Mentor’s diary depicts one of the ways human resources were linked to student needs and highlights the applicability of the nursing model to other areas of education.

On return to the AEC the Mentor debriefed with a member of staff and related the offers of help if students approached collegiate members. The Mentor’s attention was drawn to the situation a student and the member of staff were grappling with. The student had put a good deal of effort into the development of an essay for the subject. The essay was overdue and the student considered the work was not up to scratch and that they may as well quit university. The staff member assisting the student considered the material prepared was of good quality and with a little extra work would meet the standard required. Discussion with the student and the staff member revealed the student did not feel able to ask the coordinator of the subject for an extension or to discuss the work already undertaken toward completion of the essay because the lecturer talked in jargon and it was very difficult to understand what was being said. An extension would just prolong the inevitability of failure and departure from the University. Further discussion between the student, Mentor and staff member provided a window to the student’s learning theory-in-use and revealed a means of connecting with a lecturer identified as approachable by the student. A strategy was then developed by the student and the staff member which successfully engaged the student in the ‘search for assistance’.

The student was operating from experience of ‘when stuck in a learning situation’, absent and protect yourself. The Mentor’s experience with Nursing students and the offer of help during the meeting with the collegiate group enabled a strategy to be developed which successfully engaged the:
Ongoing trust relationships between the AEC and faculty can provide social capital that Aboriginal students can utilise to enhance academic success. A key factor in pursuing the development of trust relationships is willingness to examine processes of offering and providing help to students. The following statement represents the direction of many conversations that the Mentor had with teaching staff about the provision of help:

Lecturer: I tell them in the first lecture my door is open. If they want help, all they have to do is come and knock on my door. They don’t come. So they obviously don’t want help.

This offer of help, whilst genuine, fails to acknowledge the full social and emotional dynamic involved in a student seeking help from a lecturer. It is not interpreted by students as a genuine offer of help because it lacks a process of joining with the students to begin a communicative relationship. It also is replete with traditional power relationships and difficulties of access when teaching staff are only required to set aside a limited time (2–4 hours per week) in which they see students.

The Nursing experience provides an example of a process in which real help was offered, received and utilised.

A short time after the meeting, the Mentor received an EMail from the Chairperson which stated the model of teaching and teaching practice employed in the subject had been investigated and was sound.

Issues related to the learning environment (pedagogical processes, learner needs, collaboration and future directions) entered a balancing situation. Senge describes this as ‘balancing loop [activity]’ and is equivalent to Mindell’s expression of slipping off the ‘edge’ which occurs when issues are presented and people decide not to deal with them.

There are many ways for processes to unfold, but perhaps the most essential way is to stay with the edge, with awareness of the group’s forbidden communication, its tendency to avoid emotional issues, personal feelings, idealistic visions and relationship conflicts.

The issues against which a group has an edge will return if they are not dealt with thoroughly ... If the group does not stay with the issue ... it will return until the issue is fully processed (Mindell 1992, p. 39).

It was clear from the Chairperson’s message to the Mentor (Project Director) that Argyris and Schön’s (1974) Model I was in use (see Section 5.3.2 below).

5.3.2 An Analysis of Dynamics within the Faculty/AEC Meeting

When the Faculty and the AEC met, the meeting dynamics heavily coincided with Argyris and Schön’s (1974) Model I: Theory-in-Use:
The four governing variables of Model I are:

1. achieve the purpose as the actor defines it;
2. win, do not lose;
3. suppress negative feelings; and
4. emphasise rationality.

The primary behavioural strategies of Model I are to control the relevant environment and tasks unilaterally and to protect oneself and others unilaterally. Thus, the underlying behavioural strategy is unilateral control over others. Characteristic ways of implementing this strategy include making unillustrated attributions and evaluations, advocating courses of action in ways that discourage inquiry, treating one’s own views as obviously correct, making covert attributions, evaluations, and face-saving moves such as leaving potentially embarrassing facts unstated.

The consequences of Model I strategies include defensive interpersonal and group relationships, low freedom of choice, and reduced production of valid information. There are negative consequences for learning, because there is little public testing of ideas. The hypotheses people generate tend to become self-sealing. What learning does occur remains within the bounds of what is acceptable... As a result, error escalates and effectiveness in problem solving and in execution of action tends to decrease (Argyris et al. 1985, p. 89).

The coordinator’s behaviour coincided directly with Argyris et al’s example of behaviour that frequently occurs when people operating within Model I are confronted with an unintended outcome from an action strategy, that is, poor performance by Aboriginal students and an approach by the Mentor to the Faculty to reflect on the teaching practice.

If the agent wants to suppress conflict... and to this end avoids saying anything that might be controversial ... but others raise threatening issues anyway..., the agent may try the strategy of talking volubly about issues on which everyone is likely to agree [standards, teaching evaluations, university is not TAFE, cast doubt on the suitability of students] (Argyris et al. 1985, p. 86).

As can be seen from the long example of meeting dynamics presented in Section 5.3.1, the primary issue is what to do when an action is blocked through a ‘balancing loop’ so that people are re-engaged with the issue at hand. Section 5.3.3 introduces the concept of ‘edge’ in the re-engagement process.

5.3.3. Re-engaging the Faculty with the ‘Edge’

The Mentor undertook a number of activities which enabled the faculty with what Mindell (1992) describes as ‘having the edge’ to be re-engaged in discussion of the learning environment. These included:

- meeting with a member of the collegiate group who taught in the problem subject to explore processes that would enable the learning environment to align teaching with students’ learning needs;
conduct of a workshop with all faculties in the University to disseminate information on the learning innovations that had been developed within Nursing. The workshop also aimed to foster relationships that could underpin collaborative processes for future enhancement of learning environments necessary for the establishment of future pipelines; and

development of joint action research proposals that directly focused on the learning needs of Aboriginal students and the applicability of the findings for the management and enhancement of the mainstream learning environment.

The workshop resulted in:

- engagement of all faculties at the University in processes which enabled Aboriginal students in Nursing, the Coordinator of 100 level Nursing Studies, lecturers in Chemistry, Physics and specialist tutors to share their experiences and the benefits they gained from participating in collaborative action research;
- the Specialist Tutor in Nursing being engaged by the Faculty with the problem subject to conduct subject specific literacy tutorials with Aboriginal students. This led to a student learning development focus similar to the process used in Nursing. All students who utilised the tutorial process passed the subject;
- the Faculty not making the tutorials a condition of student entry or change the learning environment for all students; and
- development of joint action research proposals that directly focused on learning needs of Aboriginal students and the applicability of the findings for the management and enhancement of the mainstream learning environment.

The meeting with the collegiate member who wished to explore pedagogical processes that would enable reorientation of the learning environment in the problem subject resulted in the identification of that person as an internal catalyst. At the end of 1996, this internal catalyst has brought about long term change in the subject and in the pedagogical strategies of the collegiate group.

The combination of the initial intervention meeting, the workshop and the joint research process directly contributed to an environment in which the catalyst could pursue change. The combination of activities is similar to the method of introducing a camel into the sheik’s tent.

If you want to introduce a camel into the tent, first parade it around the outside of the tent so that people inside can see its shape and get used to it. Then stand the camel outside the tent entrance. Later put the camel’s head in the tent. Then introduce the camel into the tent as part of the tent dwellers’ community.

Some days after the meeting the Project Director, staff member of the AEC, a lecturer in the problem subject (and member of the collegiate group) met and discussed future directions that could be explored to facilitate a learning
environment to enable students to succeed. A clear indication was given by the catalyst that Aboriginal students’ learning needs were an accurate reflection of all students’ needs in the course.

Alternative presentation formats for the subject, which would meet the needs of Aboriginal students and mainstream students, were framed to overcome the distinct misalignment of teaching practice and student learning. A course structure and process was determined that would lead to greater possibilities for effective learning. An assessment of current resources was made and compared with requirements to run the course if the new direction were to be adopted. It was determined that the resource requirements would be able to be reduced if the new mode of teaching went ahead because the student centred direction, which required attention to assisted, independent and collaborative learning opportunities, was not resource intensive. This learning environment was consistent with the direction of the Nursing model.

The long-term outcome of the meeting is that the problem subject has been refocussed through revised teaching processes. Specific changes have been brought about by addressing the delivery process and contribution of tutorials and lectures to learning and assessment. The relative importance of the final examination to total assessment has also been reduced. The lecturer (catalyst) considers that this is having a significant effect on the reorientation of the whole subject. Recognition that Aboriginal student needs and concerns were a direct reflection of mainstream student learning issues has contributed to the reorientation process.

Lecturers devised a series of focus questions that are given to students a week in advance of lecture and tutorial sessions which act as ‘organisers’ to lectures, tutorials and readings, providing students with a frame of reference for learning activities. Students are also provided with a clear indication of the purpose of reading and its relationship with lectures and tutorials a week in advance. These initiatives provide a means of positioning each week’s learning directions within the total context of the course.

Tutorials have been reconstituted so that they consist of small learning groups or clusters of four or five students working on problem solving tasks. Each group passes the information they develop to other groups to make up a jigsaw of the subject material. This process provides a means of engaging students with a total context of theory and practice in the field of study.

Tutorials are now led by tutors instead of student presenting seminar papers. Consequently, all students and lecturers are able to align their efforts with a common focus. Previously tutorials were organised in a manner which required students new to this field of study to prepare seminar papers and present them to other students who were also new to the field of study. The role of the tutor in this situation was that of either critical commentator on novice attempts or passive observer. This situation resulted in novices in the field presenting information to other novices, with the consequence of little in-depth or directed learning taking place. These observations were made by the AEC staff member while auditing the subject in question in order to verify students’ comments (see Appendix 2).

The emphasis is now on learning rather than standards measured by testing which focussed on essay writing ability in the limited time frames of formal exams. This
is providing the basis for instituting changes that are leading to the alignment of practice with needs.

The two years that elapsed between the meeting and the action taken is significant. It indicates that the brokerage process needs time to mature and cannot be hurried through. Changes were made possible because the external catalyst’s interactions with the collegiate group provided a basis for intervention which enabled the social relationships that formed the power base of the problem subject to be reflected upon and reformed. The external catalyst’s role enabled the collegiate group to address its relationships, which in turn provided a positive culture for the subject to change. This work provides a useful model for valuing and utilising the contribution of equity groups to the evolution of social arrangements that drive structural and systems change.

Confronting the issue of the problem subject established the basis for ongoing dialogue in areas outside the focus of the initial collegiate group. Significantly, the initial confrontation between the Mentor and the faculty shifted to a state where the AEC was able to propose a learning direction that would incorporate a new partnership with learners, teachers and management. The Mentor’s relationship to the faculty shifted from attempting to convince a collegiate group of a misalignment of teaching models and practice with learners’ needs, to a state in which a collaborative action research proposal was designed and submitted to address learning. The project was nominated by the University for priority funding by the Committee for the Advancement of University Teaching (CAUT).

A summary of this CAUT action research proposal is provided in Appendix Three. It demonstrates the ability of research to engage learners, teachers and researchers in reflection and action for enhancement of their learning environment. It was a clear departure from the strategy of utilising the specialist tutor in Nursing to meet students’ learning needs. The research aimed to cooperatively address underlying causes that bring about misalignment of teaching and learning. It also provided a basis for casting all participants as learners and co-researchers.

This change in relationships between the faculty and the historical perception of the AEC as only having a student support function, draws attention to the potential interconnectedness of collegiate groups that make up the total environment within a university and provides an interesting view of networking in action. The direction and sequence of the Mentor’s activity with the Faculty collegiate groups took the form of staged processes or interactions. Tables 5.1 and 5.2 describe the sequence of interactions between the Mentor and two collegiate groups.
Table 5.1: Sequence of Interactions with Collegiate Group 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interaction 1</th>
<th>Interaction 2</th>
<th>Interaction 3</th>
<th>Interaction 4</th>
<th>Interaction 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Advanced perception of the learning environment</td>
<td>Rejected students’ and Project Director’s perceptions and possibility for jointly addressing concerns</td>
<td>Obtained and utilised offers of help from some collegiate members to address immediate problem</td>
<td>Retreated and regrouped</td>
<td>Utilised relationship with collegiate offers of help to develop a basis for continued dialogue with Faculty and link to future projects consistent with a vision of learning environments that could underpin pipelines</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first sequence commenced with the Project Director advancing a perception of teaching while the second sought an opportunity to join for mutual benefit. However, at all times, the Project Director’s interactions were focused on a vision of facilitating learning environments that would underpin pipelines. The focus was not event oriented but was consistent with the community development focus on networking and process. Consequently, interactions with Collegiate Group 1 were able to open relationships for future activity. Simple event orientation would have resulted in not seeking an opportunity for relationships with collegiate and Faculty members beyond the initial sequence.

A meeting with a second collegiate group was organised by the Project Director in consultation with the Dean of the faculty. This second collegiate group consisted of none of the people from Collegiate Group 1; however, the Dean acted as a conduit for the meeting to occur and selected the participants. The Dean also acted as a conduit for Collegiate Group 1 but did not participate in any meetings of either group.

Table 5.2: Sequence of Interactions with Collegiate Group 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interaction 1</th>
<th>Interaction 2</th>
<th>Interaction 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Highlighted the opportunity for jointly enhancing the learning environment</td>
<td>Joined together to initiate a research proposal</td>
<td>Advanced joint action research proposal for mutual benefit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the sequence of interactions with Collegiate Group 2, opportunities for joint action research were opened up within the faculty. These opportunities occurred as a result of relationships that flowed from the sequence of interactions with Collegiate Group 1 and because of the time taken for maturation of reflections on the meeting and on the issue at hand. More importantly, however, the Mentor was
able to reframe his approach to the faculty from ‘advanc[ing] perception of [the learning environment’ to ‘highlight[ing] the opportunity for jointly enhancing the learning environment [through mutually beneficial action research]’ (see Tables 5.1 and 5.2 above).

Table 5.3: Purposes and Foci of Spaces in the Change Process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stages</th>
<th>Cooperative Space</th>
<th>Collaborative Space</th>
<th>Structural Space</th>
<th>Organisational Space</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>Identifying shared directions and building relationships that result in agreement to jointly pursue them (cooperation).</td>
<td>Taking action in pursuit of developing a project, eg resourcing, piloting, evaluating etc.</td>
<td>Providing an administrative base that allows the loose collaboration of colleagues to occur for the purpose of seeding initiatives, eg providing opportunities, resources and time for people from seemingly unrelated areas to come together for the purpose of a project. Adopting innovations and facilitating their incorporation into mainstream activities.</td>
<td>Operationalising program delivery, eg mainstreaming teaching programs developed for equity students.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus</td>
<td>Identifying areas for mutual benefit.</td>
<td>Developing a project for implementation.</td>
<td>Incorporating innovations into mainstream (administrative level).</td>
<td>Incorporating innovations into mainstream (operational level).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the process of the interactions with Collegiate Groups 1 and 2, four spaces that characterise the nature of relationships in the evolution of the change process were identified: Cooperative, Collaborative, Structural and Organisational Spaces. Table 5.3 above summarises the purposes and foci of these spaces.
Figure 5.1 depicts the spaces summarised in Table 5.3 as a continuum.

**Figure 5.1: The Continuum of Cooperative, Collaborative, Structural and Organisational Spaces**

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5.4 Research as a Catalyst for Change

A formal research opportunity through CAUT provided a environment to engage the second collegiate group in a process focused on evolving learning environments that align organisation of learning with learners’ needs. The AEC utilised the development of a joint research proposal to focus AEC and Faculty attention on mutual benefits that could be obtained from cooperative research on learning issues. The research proposal provided a setting for heightening collegiate and faculty awareness of issues and established an auspice to address them.

The submission of the joint research proposal was initiated from a cooperative space and because it was project based, was transformed into a collaborative space in which both groups worked for mutual benefit. This collaborative space generated the time, energy and resources to focus on environments that promote learning. It also encouraged relationships that produce the social capital necessary for establishing and operating a pipeline component in the University.

Relationships developed in the collaborative space provided a basis for processes to pursue formal pipeline agreements with community and employer groups in the Faculty’s professional field. Learning environments necessary for the success of Aboriginal students are a central consideration of the pipeline development process. The collaborative space enables the development of a shared vision between the community, employers and educators for qualified and professionally employed Aboriginals in the field.

This aligns with the Nursing experience where the foundation of the work was in a shared vision between the AEC Mentor, Department of Nursing’s Coordinator of 100 level Nursing studies and later, the Head of the LDC. The time, energy and
resources for framing the research direction grew out of the collaborative space between Nursing and the AEC. The time energy and resources to actively pursue the direction came from networking the AEC, the Department of Nursing and the LDC.

The joint AEC and Nursing activity was successful in attracting funds from a variety of mainstream research and community sources. This resulted in the development of a structural space between the AEC and Nursing to address Nursing education for Aborigines and employment issues. People in the community became so aware of the project that it was referred to as: ‘Wollongong’s Aboriginal Nursing program’.

The conduct of the program was dependent upon educational processes that made up the organisational space. This organisational space differs from structural space (or administrative reference point) in that it is the operational level of the Nursing program. For example, the inter-weaving of specialist tutorials and discipline areas, and the alignment of teaching and learning strategies with students’ needs occur within the organisational space.

The community development processes used in the Nursing project led to a model for development of the social capital necessary for Aborigines to succeed in tertiary education. The work undertaken with the Nursing Department increased the stock of human capital that Aboriginal people held in Nursing because it produced qualified Registered Nurses. The process has continued to align teaching with the diverse needs of learners in a variety of tertiary nurse education contexts over a period of years. This is continuing to occur because the relationships that underlie the academic learning development network have been incorporated into Nurse education. Consequently, it is generating social capital which enables Nursing students beyond the time frame of the action research project to succeed in tertiary education.

5.5 Acceptance of Change Process Through Leverage

The processes and network analysis employed in the Nursing project and the interaction with other faculties are in accord with Senge’s principle of leverage:

... small, well focused actions [that] can produce significant, enduring improvements, if they’re in the right place. Systems thinkers refer to this principle as ‘leverage’.

Tackling a difficult problem is often a matter of seeing where the high leverage lies, a change which - with a minimum of effort - would lead to lasting, significant improvement...

There are no simple rules for finding high-leverage changes, but there are ways of thinking that make it more likely. Learning to see underlying ‘structures’ rather than ‘events’ is a starting point; ...Thinking in terms of processes rather than ‘snapshots’ is another (Senge 1992, p. 64–65).

The process of networking and the principle of anchorage enabled identification of the range of cultures that needed to be brought into relationship if a pipeline were to occur. This was also supported by the principle of systems boundary: ‘...
interactions that must be examined are those most important to the issue at hand, regardless of parochial organisational boundaries (Senge 1992, p. 66).

Research enabled relationships between the structural roles (student, teacher and researcher) to be developed so that needs were able to be brought together and addressed for mutual benefit, which was the lever to initiate the change process. These would contribute to the learning environment necessary for pipeline construction and operation. Table 5.4 below illustrates the needs of particular groups as they relate to structural roles.

*Table 5.4: Structural Roles and Needs of Students, Lecturers and Researchers*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structural Roles</th>
<th>Needs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>learning environment focused on learners’ learning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lecturers</td>
<td>teaching model and practice that fosters learners’ learning, time, energy and resources to reflect on and redevelop the teaching model and practice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Researchers</td>
<td>projects that will yield the time, energy and resources to successfully undertake research</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Research provided context for leverage by bringing all roles into reflective relationships for mutual benefit. Teachers, researchers and students engaged in processes that individually and jointly challenged their practice in the context of their espoused theories-in-use of quality learning environments. It enabled all parties to reassess their directions, to conceive strategies and take actions directed toward learning environments that better met collective needs.

Therefore research enabled reflection and action on learning environments to become public activity. The public dimension of research enabled participants to witness their learning theories-in-use and to begin processes of identifying and shifting from theories-in-use Model I where:

> There are inconsistencies in organisational theory-in-use, which are perceived in win-lose terms. Groups learn to protect themselves, to form coalitions with other groups to enhance their positions, and to withhold or distort information that may increase their vulnerability (Argyris *et al.* 1985, pp. 97–98).

Participants shifted to theories-in-use Model II where:

> The governing variables ... include (1) valid information, (2) free and informed choice, and (3) internal commitment. ... Creating conditions in which these values are realised is the primary task of the interventionist [external catalyst] (Argyris 1970 cited in Argyris *et al.* 1985, p. 98).

The behavioural strategies ... involve sharing control with those who have competence and who participate in designing or implementing the action. Rather than unilateral advocacy (Model I) or inquiry that conceals the agent’s own views (opposite Model), in Model II the agent combines advocacy and inquiry.
Attributions and evaluations are illustrated with relatively directly observable data, and the surfacing of conflicting views is encouraged in order to facilitate public testing of them (Argyris et al. 1985, pp. 98; 102).

Research provided the context for people to engage in pursuing mutual benefits that allowed spaces to occur. Therefore, consideration of mutual benefits facilitated people’s movement from Model I to Model II.

5.5.1 Community Development, Learning and Research

Community development provided a context which enabled research to connect personal learning and organisational learning. It provided a long term process orientation in which personal development could be used to facilitate personal, collegiate and faculty visions of learning and equity as a resource. Most importantly the process orientation of community development fostered ‘reciprocal commitments between individual and organisation essential to a spirit of enterprise made up of learners’ (Senge 1992, p. 9).

The major gains in Acute Care Nursing and Nursing Science subjects (Physics, Chemistry) were undertaken without major sources of funds. The key resided in accessing people who could facilitate learning networks. The development of relationships and use of the credibility base that had been developed from the total direction of work, previously undertaken with nursing, provided a key for changes in learning.

In all cases the development of relationships provided the basis for cooperative and collaborative space from which to align the organisation of learning and needs. The process and direction of relationships is also providing the social capital necessary for current and future students to succeed.

Processes for the development of relationship networks in which teachers, learners and researchers can evolve cooperative and collaborative spaces are keys to realise mutual benefit. Generation of safe environments for all parties to join, participate and experience research processes that provide mutual benefit to all parties is a primary consideration for future activity. The following issues need to be considered in order to assist people to engage in collaborative learning research in their discipline areas:

- Learning research—what is it?
- How is it conducted?
- Who can be involved?
- How can it be resourced?
- What are the benefits for participants?
- How is it to be valued by the University and what form of recognition will be given to publicly demonstrate that value?

The process of delivering the information and networking student, teacher and research roles will be critical for the reorientation of learning environments.

5.6 Conclusion
Chapter 5 addressed processes that were employed to extend the educational initiatives developed in the Nursing pipeline to other areas of the University. The central role of collegiate groups and the importance of developing cooperative, collaborative, structural and organisational spaces were discussed.

The potential intersection of learning development and staff development was identified as a key area of interest for the transformation of tertiary level pedagogy from teaching and instruction to the facilitation of learning environments so that learning takes place. It provided a means of challenging teachers’ beliefs that quality teaching materials provide necessary and sufficient conditions for quality learning environments and that pedagogical skills are a secondary consideration and poor relation.

The chapter also emphasised that development of learning environments and learning requires students, teachers and researchers to address their mental models or theories-in-use and practice of teaching and learning. It also recognised the need for people to address resistance to change in the context of entrenched patterns and distribution of authority and control that circumscribe and determine the character of the learning environment and culture. It pointed out that the collegiate groups that make up the teaching staff resources have a large degree of control in the way that learning environments are created, maintained, developed and resourced. The nexus of personal development and learning development provided a means of addressing the reorientation of teaching to learning. The chapter further identified and utilised research as a context for aligning the needs of teachers, students and researchers in a manner that enabled the parties to engage in action for mutual benefit.

The chapter provided an analysis of action taken by the Project Director to address students’ learning issues in a field dominated by the teaching paradigm and provided extended commentary on the interactions undertaken to bring about change. It reported on the primary intervention and on a range of subsequent interactions with staff in a ‘problem subject’, finishing with an observation of the state of the change process in the learning environment and the pecking order in the collegiate group two years after the initial intervention.

The chapter also recognised that the identified patient label applied to Aboriginal students, in Chapter 2, was synonymous with the labelling of the ‘problem subject’.

The real issue was the politics of the collegiate group, which supported teaching as the dominant paradigm, at the expense of learning.

The chapter concluded by drawing on processes used in the Nursing pipeline and ‘problem subject’ to address the central role of collegiate groups in facilitating learning. This led to the identification of cooperative, collaborative, structural and organisational spaces that were formed in the process of reorienting teaching to a learning focus. It also provided a means of utilising research as a context to harness the power of collegiate groups so that student, teacher and researcher roles were brought into relationship to generate quality learning outcomes for the benefit of all parties.

Chapter 6 concludes this report.
Footnotes

1 Whilst the term ‘problem subject’ would seem an inadequate label, particularly in the light of the adoption in this report of Mindell's (1992) criticism of the identified patient concept, it is nevertheless an apt shorthand description drawing attention to the social relationships and collegiate power issues that enabled it to exist in its problematic form. The real issue for change is the social relationships that prevented catalysts for change being able to operate. Many criticisms of content, teaching strategies, assessment and access to teaching staff have been documented, but without a change in the social relationships in operation, change in these elements could not be brought about.


3 See Chapter 4 for the Nursing experience.
6. Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

This chapter concludes the report and highlights the central importance of the role of politics in the development of pipelines. It re-emphasises the importance of people and relationships to structural adjustment that underpinned the project and provides a summary of the theoretical tools used to envision and establish the project.

6.2 Politics: An Essential Part of the Investigation

This EIP project was concerned with brokerage, ‘to permanently access the most disadvantaged people to the social systems that have been set up to serve them’ (Kelly & Sewell 1988, p. 90).

The Project Director worked toward building pipelines that were flexible and capable of meeting the needs of Aboriginal people, professional bodies and employers. Consequently, the project investigated the establishment of continuums of pre-vocational, vocational and tertiary education in the context of professional employment and community need. Development of multiple entry and exit points to the continuum of education and professional employment was a key focus.

The project successfully investigated and established an agreement between the Illawarra Area Health Service, the Illawarra Institute of TAFE (Aboriginal Development Division, Shellharbour Campus) and the University of Wollongong to educate and employ Aboriginal people in enrolled and registered Nursing. This facilitated the development of continuums of learning and employment environments that are providing permanent access for Aborigines into enrolled and registered nurse education and professional nurse employment.

The establishment of pipelines for the fields of Mental Health, Education, Law and Engineering were also investigated, with limited success. A key factor in the success of the Nursing investigation was direct acknowledgment that a pipeline agreement would only be meaningful if:

- Aboriginal communities saw the area of Nurse education and professional employment as important to them;

- education providers were able to facilitate learning environments that would enable Aboriginal people to professionally qualify; and

- employers could provide professional work environments in which Aborigines could develop careers in areas of community need with continued access to mainstream professional development opportunities. For example, a graduate clearly stated the need to guard against being
given ‘soft work’ areas that are often given to equity groups. The graduate was very clear on the need to gain ‘real’ professional employment in order to be of service to the community. A number of graduates expressed the importance of being competent professionals, not ‘Claytons’ nurses who are Aboriginal.

The process of investigating and establishing the Nursing pipeline required the project to engage with Aboriginal community interests in health and education, professional bodies, employment and pre-vocational, vocational and tertiary education groups.

The project was directed toward actions that would broker permanent access for Aboriginal people into the continuum of pre-vocational, vocational and tertiary education and professional employment. It was about change and consequently was political.

The work of Badham and Buchanan (1996), Badham, Couchman and Buchanan (1995) from the management field of Socio-Technical-Change, and Kelly and Sewell (1988) from the Community Development sector, highlight the central importance of politics to change processes and getting things done. It was never a question of whether the project should be engaged in political activity. The project was involved in developing and aligning relationships across community, education and employment sectors in order to investigate, develop, pilot and establish pipelines. The process of developing and aligning relationships was therefore inherently political. Badham and Buchanan (1996) directly address the importance of the political context and project activity.

... A deliberate and principled failure to address the political dimensions of change can be portrayed as unethical and unprofessional. Avoidance of political issues may result in tacit support for existing organisational power inequalities, may lead to project failure and to disappointment of the hopes and aspirations of those persuaded to become involved in the change process, and benefit from it...

... the change driver should seek to integrate and deploy the repertoires of social engineer, therapist facilitator and political activist (Badham and Buchanan 1996, p. 2).

They quote Morgan (1989) in focussing on the consequences of repressing the political as part of change processes:

One of the curious features of organisational life is the fact that though many people know they are surrounded by organisational politics, they rarely come out and say so. One ponders politics in private moments or discusses it off the record with close confidants and friends, or in the context of one’s own political manoeuvrings with members of one’s own coalition. ... It breaks all the rules of organisational etiquette to impute private motive to organisational acts which are supposed to serve the organisation’s interests above all else. For these and other reasons, including the fact that privatisation and secrecy can serve political ends, organisations’ politics becomes a taboo subject, which at times makes it
extremely difficult for organisation members to deal with crucially important aspects of organisational reality (Morgan 1989, p. 195).

The project constantly encountered and needed to deal with a broad range of competing agendas. For example, tensions at all levels and across the cultures of education (tertiary, pre-vocational, and vocational collegiate teaching groups), the COSI in Aboriginal health and education, and in the Nursing profession, were often palpable. Networking provided a means of developing positive relationships within and across these cultures so that the politics of each group were able to be recognised and utilised to develop the pipeline. The heart of the matter was developing workable relationships for mutual benefit.

6.3 Methodology and Theoretical Tools of the Investigation

The methodology adopted in this EIP project differs from traditional, positivist approaches to research that is based upon the view that: reality is single, tangible and fragmentable; knower and known are independent; time and context-free generalisations are possible; there are real causes, temporally precedent to or simultaneous with their effects; and, inquiry is value-free. In this investigation a naturalist approach was utilised. This approach holds that: realities are multiple, constructed and holistic; knower and known are interactive and inseparable; only time and context-bound working hypotheses are possible; all entities are in a state of mutual simultaneous shaping, so that it is impossible to distinguish causes from effects; and, inquiry is value bound (Lincoln & Guba 1985).

The following theoretical tools were a great assistance for visualising pipelines and facilitating processes that would enable them to be established.

- Mindell’s (1988) work highlighted the potential of Aboriginal students in Nursing to provide a leading edge to the development of learning environments that benefited all teachers and students in Acute Care Nursing. It also provided a stimulus to demonstrate how equity groups are a leading edge resource for the development of quality learning environments for all students.

- Vygotsky’s (1978) educational theory (ZPD), Cambourne’s Conditions of Learning (Cambourne & Turbill 1987) and Argyris’ Scaffolding techniques (Argyris et al. 1985) provided means of challenging and addressing the belief systems that underpin many educators’ remediation direction when considering Aboriginal education, a direction which contributes to limited access and performance of Aborigines in tertiary education.

- A combination of Vygotsky, Argyris and Cambourne’s work provided a theoretical and practical direction for the creation of quality learning environments conducive to Aboriginal students’ success in tertiary education. This work underpinned processes which incorporated establishment of contracts for developmental education relationships between students, mentors and lecturers as an integral part of testing, selecting and offering places to Aboriginal students in Nursing.
Their work also supported the growth of students’ academic development networks and self directed learning groups. These groups contributed to the alignment of teacher, student and researcher needs and facilitated changes in mainstream learning environments necessary for the construction, maintenance and continued development of the Nursing pipeline.

- The Boissevain network diagram (Boissevain 1974) was particularly useful as a tool for identifying, directing and networking cultural groups and individuals within those groups who were essential to brokering the Nursing pipeline. Standard network diagrams (see Chapter 3) were particularly useful in determining switch points/gate keepers or controllers of access to groups that were important to the development of an aspect of the pipeline.

- Argyris and Schön’s (1974; 1985) work which described theories-in-use that inhibit and promote learning behaviours, were particularly useful in analysing and developing relationships between and within cultural groups for the purpose of establishing social capital. Their model provided a window on the nature of interactions and a means of advancing the development of networks toward the brokering of pipelines. This was particularly useful when engaging with professional bodies to discuss some members’ concerns that the pre-vocational course would set up another level of nurse employment at a time when the profession was wrestling with the place in the work place of the Assistants in Nursing qualification. The models were also useful when seeking to engage collegiate teaching groups within the University which held keys to the development of learning environments that could enable Aboriginal people to successfully complete tertiary qualifications.

At the same time, Dethlefs and Kelly’s (1984) approach to networks and space provided a framework within which to think about the purpose of each triad or space. This enabled the cooperative, collaborative, structural and organisational spaces to be conceived, sequenced and utilised to make purposeful use of networking.

- Senge’s (1990) work was particularly useful in conceiving and developing leverage to bring student, research and teaching roles into relationships which led to the establishment of the university component of the Nursing pipeline. This also highlighted the potential power of developing mutually beneficial learning and research relationships to facilitate quality learning environments in a range of study and professional fields.

- The model of brokerage utilised in this project was drawn from the work of Kelly and Sewell (1988). Brokerage was seen as a key concept in the development of social capital that enabled Aboriginal students to achieve success in Nursing studies. It provided the means of establishing relationships and consequently structural change that continues to facilitate equity of outcome, as opposed to equity of access for entry, for professional studies. It also facilitated an affirmative action strategy in employment of Aboriginal nurses.
The brokerage process was able to ensure that personal development issues, where people actively engaged in examination of their personal theories-in-use, were a key part of ensuring that structural change evolved. It also enabled people to face their fears of change and work for mutual benefit across sectors.

6.4 Conclusion

In accord with stated objectives, this Evaluations and Investigations project has:

- developed an awareness amongst the Aboriginal community in the Illawarra area of the levels of education, professional accreditation and registration required to perform professional roles in the Aboriginal and wider community;
- increased real opportunities for Aborigines to gain access to and connect with different levels of education, professional employment and accreditation, particularly in the area of nursing; and
- increased the ability of Aborigines in the Illawarra area to match formal education with professional training and employment.

In turn, this EIP project facilitated the development and operation of a Nursing pipeline. The pre-vocational and Enrolled Nursing programs continue to attract and enable Aboriginal people to enter the Nursing discipline. A number of Aboriginal people have been placed in education or employment stages of the pipeline. The mentoring, research and learning processes instituted at the tertiary level continue to benefit staff, researchers and students. Brokerage occurred. Although consortia were established and joint investigations and proposals to establish pipelines were pursued, brokerage did not occur in the areas of Law Education, or Engineering.

The pre-vocational, enrolled nursing, bachelor degree and employment components of the pipeline are established. A network of relationships between the Aboriginal community, Nurse educators, Aboriginal ENs in the IAHS, and personnel teaching the Advanced Certificate in Nursing is operating because social capital has been firmly established in the pre university sections of the pipeline. However, the strength of the connection to the University remains thin. There is a need to further strengthen the University’s position in the network if Aboriginal ENs are to go on to the Bachelor of Nursing and Registered Nurse employment.

This EIP report concludes that in educating Aboriginal people for professional roles in the Aboriginal and wider community, infrastructures need to be put in place that facilitate the connection between the various stakeholder groups. For tertiary education the implications are clear: quality learning environments that support students through the various stages of learning, from assisted to independent and collaborative learning, rather than environments that seek to overcome student deficits, need to be established if the number of Aboriginal graduates, and therefore Aboriginal professionals, is to be increased.
Appendix 1: Scenario—the Fledgling Advanced Flying Company

Preamble

The Fledgling Advanced Flying Company scenario document provided a qualitative analysis of the tertiary education environment in which Aboriginal students, learning developers and social and cultural support staff within the AEC perceived they were positioned, prior to the development of the initiatives addressed in this EIP project.

The scenario was constructed by interviewing all members of the AEC to determine their perceptions of the environment in which they worked. It was used as part of a process to focus directions for change. The perceptions recorded were not necessarily facts, however, they represented views of Aboriginal education within the University in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

It was important to utilise perceptions in the change process because acknowledgment of perceptions validates the experiences of individuals, which in turn provides a basis for groups to begin to consider and to generate new directions for work. The key was its placement within a workshop process that facilitated a vision. Without this process for future directions, relationships with the wider University community and the Aboriginal community would have remained stuck in old models of operation.

Effectively the workshop triggered the development of the Communities of Special Interest and Pipeline concepts that are at the heart of this EIP project. For this reason, it is included in the report.

The workshop process, within which the scenario was incorporated, was developed over a period of years through the Project Director’s work with Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory and the north west of Western Australia. Following the conduct of the process, the TAFE Counselling Service requested the Project Director to utilise this process to facilitate a series of workshops contributing to shaping the future direction of their service in the context of restructuring. A detailed presentation and analysis of the process is presented in Gluck (1990b). The work with TAFE Counsellors led to a series of relationships that contributed to the social capital that underpinned the TAFE component of the Nursing pipeline.
Scenario: The Fledgling Advanced Flying Company

Background

The Fledgling Advanced Flying Company (The Company) was established to help potential fliers from an underprivileged background fly at advanced levels.

The ability to fly at advanced levels is perceived as essential to get on in the world. People who cannot fly at advanced levels are regarded as second rate and do not gain access to resource potential.

Flying institutes teach and test people from all sections of society to fly at advanced levels. People who are certified to fly at advanced levels can go to highly paid and resource rich areas. Their lives are potentially rich and considered full. Some may even go on to the heady, powerful position of creating policy. [Nobody quite knows what that means but it is highly paid and said to be extremely powerful. Possibly they may even advise a Minister of the government!].

The potential markets that the Company wishes to recruit fledglings from and then assist through the Advanced Flying Institute are not clearly defined.

The potential markets that the Company can approach have not been rigorously thought through. There is a popular term called ‘the community’ from which clients are to be recruited.

Nobody in the Company knows precisely:

- what the community is;
- where the community is located, geographically;
- whether it is a community of interests, like landing rights, take off;
- business or legal matters;
- how to approach the community; and/or
- who to approach.

A myth exists which says the Company is to service the needs of the local geographic district. This myth creates tension among the members of the Company and between the Company and the community.

An abundance of ideas exist within the Company on the Community idea, which will allow a significant return for effort.

The Company has gained special admission for some clients to the Institute. This has resulted in a large increase in the number of clients for the company to assist through the Institute—in addition to those recruited through the Institute’s normal procedures.

The Company’s special admissions and testing procedures are regarded as top of the line by many other competing companies and their institutions.

The Company is not sure that the special admissions and assessment procedures are as crash hot as they thought because of the intense amount of work that is required...
to assist the clients through the institution. The drop out rate is significant and the Company’s return [successful completions without trauma to the recruit or the life of the Company] for effort invested is questionable.

Potential clients the Company wishes to recruit and assist are often not aware that:

- they could fly at advanced levels;
- there are difficulties and personal challenges in learning to fly at advanced levels; and
- there are clear sets of demands that will be made of them by the institute and that assistance is possible on a contractual basis through the resources of the Company.

At the outset the Advanced Flying Institute:

- was not aware of the ways that fledglings think, feel, behave, relate, learn and see the world around them;
- believed, and to a large degree still believe, if fledglings want certificates they will need to conform to the Institute’s requirements of behaviour, thinking and performance. After all, if fledglings want to fly at advanced levels they must conform to the Institute’s requirements;
- was unable to consider that fledglings would want to use advanced flying skills for their own purposes that are beyond the thought patterns of the Institute, and
- was unable to conceive or consider the needs that fledglings have in their communities and how courses could be developed that account for what fledglings want to do for themselves in their own way.

Matters of dignity were never considered.

The Company has been operating for six years. By some miracle or unknown power it has survived and there have been some successes, or runs on the board; fledglings have been certified, are flying at advanced levels and are employed in activities that are self determined and directed.

The cost to the fledgling community has been intense. Many have entered the institution and ‘failed’ or become confused.

**Funds for Existence**

Funds for the Company have been obtained through action of the ‘Angry’ division of the Community on the Government.

Institutes were given funds to establish Companies and to make access to Advanced Flying ‘easier’, reforms were also promised IN PRINCIPLE. Fledglings are aware this means a promise to do nothing.

**The Institute promised a lot, took the money and has given little.**
Our Company does not have:

- access to all aspects of its budget;
- full Power to determine how it uses its budget;
- program reports on how its budget was spent; and/or
- basic financial program planning and budgeting data.

Faculties from the Institute have independently obtained funds for Fledgling research and programs. The Company has not been informed directly and it is clear that the funds may have been diverted elsewhere.

Government is frustrated. It has put up a series of planning strategies which will force Institutes ‘to perform’ or get no more money.

**If the institutes do not perform the Company and its clients will cease to exist.**

The Company has spent a lot of time letting people in the Institute know that it exists:

- awareness courses for faculties: ‘Hello we are here’;
- awareness courses for staff: ‘What we can do for you’; and
- awareness courses for students as an integral part of curriculum [sounds great].

This has led to a large number of requests for guest lectures by the Company. It has given the Company a high visibility to some students and faculty staff. Many staff in the Company are pissed off with the demand for lectures and this activity has become known as RENT A FLEDGLING.

Recruitment drives, Community talks, Community liaison and education, film making, Kulture promotion, recruit welfare and performance recruit hand-holding are just some of the tasks being undertaken.

**The Company has become the flagship for fledgling fliers.**

**It is a ship which has a very confused course; a course that does not line up with the requirements of the government. It is definitely not clear what the staff of the Company want.**

The Company has received a letter from the Government which boils down to:

- Fledgling bums on seats or no money;
- Fledglings bums on seats which complete the course or no money;
- Fledgling bums in seats that teach special advanced flying courses:
  - law of flight
  - education of flight
  - healthy flight
  - engineering flight.
These courses are aimed at getting access for fledglings to areas of resource and life that are highly protected and are preventing them from being able to make decisions and meaningfully participate in the development of their own direction.

The Government has had the cheek to suggest that access and completion of these specialised courses will result in self managed and self determined flight.

Dissidents within the Company and an ex senior Policy adviser to the revolving minister’s position FOR FLEDGLING AFFAIRS and PRIME MINISTERS has suggested that the proposed policy will result in the production of advanced fliers for coconut industries.

Is the proposed policy blatantly assimilationist?

The Company has suggested that the policy could allow for self directed and managed flight if faculties in the institutions are forced into the position of having to propose courses that have direct use and relevance to fledglings such as Landing Rights, Land Management, Health, Business and many others.

Crash Rate

Assessment courses for special admission which were designed by education experts show that recruits are most capable of completing courses.

Poor completion rate for effort may result from course structures, teaching methods and most of all, the irrelevance of the greater part of course content and re-direction of help to fledgling life and style of living.

Direct Entry Preparation Courses

Should faculties carry the responsibility for direct pre-entry courses?

Setting the Agenda

The possibility exists under the new government proposals for the Company to directly enter into the business of what and how the faculties do business. The Company is in a unique position to determine:

- what it wants to do;
- where it wants to do it;
- when it wants to do it;
- who it wants to do it with;
- who gets the benefits of what it does;
- whether their proposed actions are doing more harm than good;
- what if the plans they make don’t work; and
- how it wants to operate.

There has never been a better chance for the Company to set the training agenda.

Staff are: confused, wondering what to do, frustrated and aware that the Company will disappear and be gobbled up by the Institute unless it comes up with a future
plan of action, which, under extreme pressure will mean that they just keeping
doing what they have been doing.

**WARNING: Notice has been given on timing for Agenda Establishment**

The government has announced that it intends to have planning for Fledglings become part of the general Institution planning and budgetary process within 3 years. *This proposal is aimed at restructuring the costs to government. It has very little to do with the reorientation of the Institutions to meeting the needs of Fledglings. The company has a very real memory of what happens to Fledgling considerations when they are left to faculties and the Institution.*

The time available for the Company to set the agenda is extremely short. Unless the Company firmly establishes a place in the agenda in the next year, we can kiss hopes of a better deal for Fledglings. **GOODBYE.**

**Current Management**

Management consists of:

- tasks being distributed by the Company Head;
- staff working incredibly long hours with no time off in lieu;
- impromptu meetings when crises happen or conflicting roles need to be squeezed into one time; and
- hoping the fledgling’s Community organisation to promote advanced flying and low level flying will become highly functional. The organisation has office bearers but that’s about it. Meetings have not been held for a time and their position on advanced flying and where it is headed are not clear.

**Staffing**

Company staffing consists of:

- Director or the head rooster;
- Community liaison officer but in reality resourcer of student and public demands. Who this person liaises with now or when there is time to do it and about what are not specified;
- Student Adviser/Counsellor or ‘I can rescue you’ person;
- Administrative assistant or ‘can you do the impossible on a daily basis’ person;
- Researcher ‘of what’ person; and
- Lecturer or proposed doer of all things.

**The Daily Scene**

The usual impromptu staff meeting and staff wanting to get on with their tasks.
A Crisis:

The funding body is coming in June or July and they want to see the Company’s future action plan. It is not clear what they want.

The head rooster is extremely worried. Lines of concern are on his crest.

Nobody has time to look at the Company direction. Counsellor is over worked and stressed out because of false recruitment demands, not being able to say ‘no’ or ‘that is your responsibility’. There is no clear picture or definition of what the Company expects from the recruits or the counsellor.

Liaison is not happening—too many demands and no clear direction.

Administrative Assistant—gets it from all sides - confronted with rooster requirements, everyone’s complaints from the as yet undefined Community, staff bitch sessions commonly known as tea break discussions.

Proposed Solution—Setting the Agenda

The head rooster puts the Idea, ‘Let’s do some long term strategic planning with a live in workshop’. Staff are not only enthusiastic but looking forward to review where they have been and plan where they are going!

The Company is critically aware of the intent of government restructuring to produce more of the same and to render recruits powerless to effect change for self directed and managed flying at advanced levels.

We will be looking at reorientation rather than restructuring.
Appendix 2: Students’ Issues with their Learning Environment

This appendix provides evidence of communication between the Project Director, the Dean of the Faculty and Chair of the enquiry on students concerns with their learning environment in the ‘problem subject area’ presented in Chapter 5. All identifying features have been removed in order to preserve the anonymity of all concerned.

Dean, Head of Enquiry, ******,

Thank you for the opportunity to address some teaching and learning issues in [subject xxx].

I agreed with [the Head of the Enquiry] to prepare material for the meeting on Monday, to provide a focus for discussion and possible direction based on work we have undertaken with other areas. The following material has been prepared and is presented to facilitate collaborative focus and direction:

- collection and classification of students’ comments on the teaching and learning in ... subject;
- themes drawn from students’ comments that could provide a basis for addressing students’ learning and teaching needs;
- possible direction for change; and
- implications of collaboration for quality teaching and benefits for teaching and learning.

1 Collection and classification of students’ comments on the teaching and learning in ... subject

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Summary comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>They are talking to us as though we have already graduated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Knowledge Base

- Language is not explained in every day language.
- The chapters we are given to read are in the same language as the lectures.
- The language used is full of jargon.
- The relationship between tutorials and lectures: clarification of lecture material does not occur.
- Meaning is never within grasp.

Teaching Technique
One lecturer does give real life examples.
No room for interruptions or questions.
Speaking at people.
The theories presented are not related to every day life in plain language.
There is no introduction to topics or connection from topic to topic.
They speak hell for leather, put up overheads take them down and just keep talking.
Basic things on how to use overheads, talk and present examples so that many different things aren’t happening at once would be useful.

Teaching and Learning Awareness

- It is not clear what is being asked, or in what context it is being asked.
- Essays topics are wide open to interpretation.
- Examples are not related to experience of everyday practice.
- How do I assess where I am at?
- How does what is being presented relate to assessment?
- I read the chapters before the lectures- it’s the same language. I try to read the words and understand but it is more of the same again.
- Lectures and reading are not focused.
- Lectures regurgitate the text and cover a huge amount of material. They also can jump all over the place.
- Talking text book jargon lectures are not helpful.
- No checking by lecturers on what is understood by students.
- No direction given by lecturers on what to review.
- No interaction or exchange between lecturers and students.
- New lecturer each couple of weeks.
- Sitting listening for 50 minutes to flat out talking with poor use of visuals is very difficult.
- When visuals and talking are all combined and happening at once it is extremely difficult.
- The bulk of information is never able to be processed.
- What is its relevance?
- What is it we need to know?
- What is the theoretical basis of the teaching process they are using? It doesn’t seem sound to me.

Inconsistencies and Ambiguities

- On the occasions they go back over material they use the same jargon language in different ways.

Relevance and Significance

- Connection of theory to real life needs to be emphasised.
- How is it going to help me [in the work place]?
- What is really important, why, and what for, what is really relevant is just not clear at any stage.
- What is the relevance of the subject material [to the field of study and professional practice]?
- A guide or purpose and what I am specifically looking for would be useful when reading the 70 page chapters.
What am I reading the 70 page chapters for each week?
Again the meaning or direction we are supposed to be going is never clear.

Student summary comment

They are talking to us as though we have already graduated.

2 Themes Drawn from Students’ Comments that could Provide a Basis for Addressing Student Learning and Teaching Needs

Disempowerment of lecturers and learners in communication process by restrictive teaching practices.

Absence of dialogue which could support development of understanding.

Enhancement of lecturers’ communication potential through identification of relevance and usefulness of information to key issues for students.

Provision of a framework and processes for:

- organising and categorising the information meaningfully;
- interpreting the jargon; and
- bringing previous understanding to the task of developing new understandings.

Revealing the whole picture in the context of the student/learner and future [professional practitioner]. ‘I feel I am being kept in the dark.’

Meaning and direction are not accessible and not concrete.

- What is it we need to know?
- What is its relevance?
- How does it relate to professional practice and assessment?
- Access to information to broaden knowledge base.

An understanding of the teaching/learning process being used by lecturers would help both lecturers and students achieve their aims.

Explicit statement of the theoretical basis of the teaching process so that it is open and able to be questioned.

A framework for determining the significance of information so students have criteria to organise and make sense of information.

Provision of a framework for focussing and organising information of learning.

A process for making meaning of what is presented in lectures and relating it to real life in real life language, needs to be made explicit and ‘doable’.

Detailed learning objectives of each lesson and necessary reading should be available to students prior to going into the lecture or tutorial.
Detail of what students need to focus on and learn when going into lectures and tutorials and doing prescribed reading.

A basis for a teaching and learning process so that we can be introduced to the discourse and be able to deconstruct the language.

A process for making meaning of what is presented in lectures and relating it to real life in real life language.

Connection between theories and themes.

Far fewer lectures that swamp us with information; more tutorials which are used as a basis for professional practice.

Linking tutorials, lectures, meaning and real life.

Providing space and opportunity and invitation to students to bring their real life experiences to the information. This may well be much more information than the text books and could provide a richer learning environment.

3 Possible Direction for Change

In other areas we have developed a relationship with lecturers which has radically changed student learning, performance and teaching.

These involve:

- learning objectives at the beginning of each week written in plain language and which detail what it is the student needs to know at the end of each week;
- learning objectives which can form the basis of questions and lead to self assessment;
- reading that is focused to the objectives;
- language in objectives that is easily transferred into assessment tools and language;
- a process and resource for tackling the language and the genre;
- relevance of what is being taught and learned;
- workshops for review and peer review and a basis for peer study group; and
- peer group/tutor learning processes which teach what is important, why it is important and provide a basis for using what is known in the language of the discipline. It enables students to use language to learn the language.

Student statement

We recognise there are 300 of us in lectures. [...] This is used to justify the way they are teaching us!

A possible format for restructuring the lecture for teaching the large group which would enhance students learning and take account of the students’ comments:
Before the lecture:

- state the principle/theory to be taught and learned in plain English;
- set readings that are to be done before the lecture;
- define terms in the reading in real life language;
- provide focused questions to direct students’ reading;
- request students to state:
  - what they understand about the material read at that point;
  - how they relate what they read to their personal experiences; and
  - how and when this will be useful to them when they practice.

At the beginning of the lecture:

- ask whether there are any questions about the terms used in the reading or the definitions and clarify;
- ask students to turn to the person next to them and to report:
  - what they understand about the material read at that point;
  - how they relate what they read to their personal experiences;
  - how and when this will be useful to them when they practice; and
  - repeat in fours.

Then ask for volunteers to:

- raise problems with definitions as they have been written;
- give their current understanding of what the theorists are saying;
- put their personal experience that might help others to understand and also to state where and when they could use the theory; and
- state what else they think they need to know, to understand.

**Linking Lectures and Tutorials**

Tutorials could then be used to explore questions raised by students to enhance understanding and to explore what else they need to know. Students could group themselves in fours:

- write up scenarios in real life;
- act them out for the rest of the tutorial; and then
- explain what they were doing in theoretical language.

Tutorials also could provide an environment for concrete learning. For example ...

This would build a resource which articulates development of students’ personal theory of learning. It would also provide an environment in which students would learn what is important to them because they will all work or desire to work with different [clientele]. It will also recognise and utilise the fact that students each bring different personal histories and therefore have different patterns of significance.
4 Implications of Collaboration for Quality Teaching and Benefits for Teaching and Learning

The lecture tutorial format would provide a structure in which students could question and relate theories to their own experience and develop patterns of significance. It would also enable students to take responsibility for their learning.

Russell Gluck  
Project Director, EIP  
Aboriginal Education Centre

Appendix 3: Joint Faculty/AEC Learning Research Proposal

This appendix provides details of the joint Faculty/AEC learning research proposal that was generated with another collegiate group from within the Faculty with the ‘problem subject’. Details of comments on the problem subject are provided in Appendix 2.

While the proposal received University priority funding nomination to CAUT, the project was not funded. The importance of this proposal is that it shows the shift that had taken place in relationships between the AEC and the Faculty. It provides ample demonstration of the power of research to provide a context for aligning the needs of student, and teacher roles and bring about relationships that can alter the system of relationships that contribute to quality teaching environments. It also demonstrates the creation of cooperative and collaborative space. For example, the EIP Project Director was able to initiate a process with the Dean and another collegiate group in the Faculty with the problem subject to design a project which would:

- coordinate and deploy teaching teams essential to the redefinition of support and success of Aboriginal students. This will occur by shifting support from uncoordinated cultural and social activity and remediation seeing the learner in the deficit model, to support derived through three integrated processes:

  [i] development of a student centred curriculum;

  [ii] development of students’ specific literacy skills and discourses to facilitate and enhance student understanding of the learning context;

  [iii] development of culturally based, peer support and learning development groups [including tutorial processes] that fit within the curriculum process and support the student in academic development.
The project aims to institute a coordination process within the faculty that:

- establishes a dialogue between the personnel of the Faculty, AEC, Learning Development Centre, students and tutors;
- enable an appropriate pedagogy for Aboriginal students to be developed and implemented;
- produces a process for the coordination of teaching teams able to develop and provide culturally relevant teaching;
- address literacy in a broad sense involving: literacy of organisation patterns, literacy of practices and processes of academic contexts, as well as the specialised vocabularies and discourse demands of the content and pragmatics of the discipline; and
- extend the concept of literacy to include the need to improve literacy demands of academic learning contexts.

The proposal incorporates a management mechanism to bring teaching and learning development together within the total support process by:

- tracking students in their first year of University study;
- establishing responsive teaching and learning environments which enable teaching and support to match students’ perceived needs. The project recognises this would require:

  – acknowledging Indigenous students’ literacy that works in their own context and build on these known skills;
  – addressing the position that Indigenous students have had few experiences with the language and study skills used in University contexts;
  – emphasis on the acquisition and control of the discourse of various university disciplines; and
  – focus on Indigenous students’ learning processes and help them to move from assisted literacy competence to independent competence and then most essentially, collaborative literacy competence, thus developing self-directed learning strategies.

The project intended to bridge the understandings about learning of two cultures by:

- tracking students, lectures, tutorials and assignments and monitoring the development of teaching and learning processes which enable the acquisition of:

  – abilities and skills necessary to; question, clarify, predict, anticipate, draw hypotheses, self test, reflect, make connections, organise, and gain access to resources;
  – positive attitudes towards learning that involve; risk taking, searching for meaning when directions are unclear, accepting short term lack of clarity and direction in order to seek additional information, accept intellectual unrest as part of the learning process;
  – processes of collaborative learning, team learning, sharing, interacting and cooperating for mutual benefit and building a positive independent learning environment;
  – processes of making meaning from demonstrations through construction of
analyses and use of metaphors that link to one’s own experience, going from the known to the unknown;

- implementing feedback loops which enable students’ progress, the teaching process, learning objectives and students’ academic development needs to be evaluated; and

- redefining and implementing changes to the support process.

Students and staff are to be engaged in a spiral of planning, acting, observing and reflecting, with each of these activities being systematically and self-critically implemented and interrelated.

The method will involve collaborative discussion, debriefing, member checking, reflection, planning, and the sharing and refining of both data gathering techniques and data analysis. Collaboration will involve participants in weekly peer support in learning contexts, paired or group debriefing with lecturers. Collaborative support, a sense of working as a team and joint ownership of outcomes will be central components of the method. Meeting to share, providing opportunities for reflection on the achievements and direction will be essential.

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Appendix 4: Excerpt from TAFE Handbook 1997—

Aboriginal Community Education, Health

Qualification: Certificate II

Course No: 4347

[The course gives participants] skills in communicating [their] needs in health situations, delivering first aid, planning and preparing meals suited to [their] lifestyles, understanding alcohol and other drug issues and developing preventative and educational health programs.

The course is practically oriented with an emphasis on community involvement, field trips, practical application of skills, workshops and guest lecturers from Aboriginal health services.

The course does not train health workers but gives [participants ]knowledge and skills which [they] can use in their homes and communities.

Subjects/Modules:

Core:

- Aboriginal Health
- Introduction to Primary Health Care
- Working with Communities
- Developing an Aboriginal perspective
- Understanding Aboriginal Issues
- Focus on Skills
- Coping with Injury in the Workshop
- Learning How to Learn
- People Skills.

**Elective: subjects** [undertaken by participants in the pre-vocational course in the Illawarra are]:

- Computer, personal computer, and
- First Aid.

(TAFE NSW Handbook 1997, p. 47)

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