

Privatisation, Welfare Services and Welfare

Author:

Encel, Diana

Publication details:

Working Paper No. No 9

Research Resource Series

0733408044 (ISBN)

1037-4035 (ISSN)

Publication Date:

1993

DOI:

<https://doi.org/10.26190/unsworks/825>

License:

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/au/>

Link to license to see what you are allowed to do with this resource.

Downloaded from <http://hdl.handle.net/1959.4/45073> in <https://unsworks.unsw.edu.au> on 2024-04-23



SOCIAL POLICY RESEARCH CENTRE

Research Resource Series

No. 9

September 1993

Privatisation, Welfare Services and Welfare

by
Diana Encel



THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW SOUTH WALES
P O BOX 1 • KENSINGTON • NEW SOUTH WALES • 2033 • AUSTRALIA

For further enquiries about the work of the Centre, or about purchasing our publications, please contact the Publications Officer, SPRC, University of New South Wales, PO Box 1, Kensington, NSW, 2033, Australia. Telephone (02) 697 3857. Fax: (02) 313 8367.

ISSN 1037 4035
ISBN 0 7334 0804 4

As with all issues in the Research Resource Series, the views expressed in this publication do not represent any official position on the part of the Social Policy Research Centre. The Research Resource Series is produced to make available the research findings of individual authors, and to promote the development of ideas and discussions about major areas of concern in the field of social policy.

Foreword

This bibliography is the first in the Centre's Research Resource Series to appear in our new format, which, in the other series of SPRC publications, has proved more convenient for readers.

The subject of the bibliography, privatisation as it affects the well-being of the population, was decided upon in the light of increasing research and political interest in the area, and the fact that both major parties have been developing policies which include elements of privatisation in their platforms. The factors which have contributed to this increasing interest vary, but the issue itself is one which affects anyone with concern for economic or social policy in Australia.

The bibliography draws together many strands of research and argument related to privatisation. The authors whose works are cited have approached the subject from a variety of angles and motives: some to promote, some to discourage, some to argue, some to describe, to make suggestions, to report effects.

The method of presentation follows closely that of our earlier bibliographies, that is, the alphabetical-by-author arrangement, the use of multiple keywords where appropriate, and the purely descriptive (not critical or evaluative) nature of the annotations. I hope that researchers and the general community alike will find it a useful resource.

Peter Saunders
Director

Contents

	Page
Foreword	i
Introduction	iii
Organisation	iv
Annotations	1
Author Index	93
Keyword Definitions and Index	101

Introduction

Interest in the subject of privatisation in Australia has increased markedly over recent years, although references to it have been made in the literature intermittently over a longer period. The original purpose of this bibliography was to record items dealing with the privatisation of welfare services. However, as work on collecting material for the entries proceeded, it became obvious that it is extremely difficult to separate privatisation of welfare services from the effects on welfare of the privatisation of enterprises not directly concerned with those services. Privatisation of enterprises such as the water supply and communication services, has direct or indirect effects on the well-being of the population. It introduces the question of 'community service obligations' (CSOs), or the non-commercial objectives of government business organisations, which are often lost when these organisations are privatised. This bibliography has therefore widened its scope to include works which refer to the effects on the well-being of the population of the privatisation of enterprises not directly in the welfare area.

Another issue which has affected the choice of entries has been that of what constitutes privatisation. A number of works cited here are concerned with definition and with detailing the nature of the changes which are entailed in different forms of privatisation: deregulation, the introduction of user-pays practices, asset sales etc. Among these may be included an expanded role for the voluntary or non-profit sector in the provision of community and welfare services. These entries are found under the keyword 'Forms'.

The keyword 'Ideology' is included to cover works which may be of interest to users who, while their main interest is in welfare and welfare services, may wish to read more widely about the debate surrounding the issue of privatisation and its relationship to welfare in the context of the welfare state.

Yet another factor considered in the selection of works for citation was that of what constitutes welfare services. Some are clearly identified; others are borderline. The inclusion of the privatisation of hospitals requires no explanation; the privatisation of prisons is not so clear cut, but justifiable. References to the privatisation of such services as communications (Telecom) and the water supply, which do impinge on the well-being of the population have, however, not been included, unless the CSOs referred to above are an important part of the work. A full list of the services selected for entries is in the detailed explanation of keywords.

All the material in this bibliography has relevance to Australia, either because it refers to Australian services, is published in Australia, is by an Australian author or compares Australian experiences to those of some other country.

Organisation

This bibliography cites whole books, parts or chapters of books, papers in series and journal articles. No newspaper material has been included. All the items have been sighted.

Each item has been annotated to give an indication of the scope and nature of the work. The annotations are descriptive only and no attempt has been made to review or evaluate the contents. Wherever possible the author's or publisher's abstract has been used (indicated by quotation marks) and in the other cases an attempt has been made to use the language of the author or authors concerned.

All annotations are arranged alphabetically by author, or, where applicable, corporate body. Where no author is known, the item is entered by title, also alphabetically.

The name is followed by the year of publication. When more than one work by the same author is cited, the works are arranged chronologically from the earliest to the most recent, and if there are several in the same year, they are then ordered alphabetically by title. Authors as single authors appear first, followed by that author in joint authorship with others.

The title of the book or name of the journal appears in italics.

Where the item appears in a journal the volume number is given followed by the number within that volume in brackets.

The last numbers in the citations indicate the length of the item (x pp. for a complete publication or x-y for part of a book or journal).

Each annotation is given a record number which appears about the citation.

Each annotation is followed by one or more keywords which indicate the subject matter covered in the item.

An index lists each keyword which is followed by a group of record numbers indicating which annotations have been placed within that keyword category.

There is an alphabetical listing of authors, separate from the annotation, which includes joint authors. The number(s) following the names are the record numbers of the annotations (not page numbers).

- 1 Abelson, Peter, ed. (1987), *Privatisation: An Australian Perspective*, Australian Professional Publications, Sydney, 319 pp.

The first chapters of the book deal with general issues, two presenting the case for privatisation, and two presenting a critical appraisal and generally opposing privatisation. Chapter 5 (Peter Saunders) examines the relationship between economic performance and the size of the public sector. John Piggott (Chapter 6) argues that the privatisation of bureaucratic functions may provide greater benefits than the sale of public enterprises, and that if privatisation reduces distortionary taxation, there may be significant additional benefits. Seven following chapters deal with privatisation in specific sectors of the economy including education (Geoff Hogbin q.v.) and health care (Jeff Richardson q.v.). The final chapters are review essays by Ross Cranston and Peter Abelson; the first argues that the public sector has an important economic and social role and is sceptical of the alleged benefits of privatisation while the second argues that the transfer of some activities and assets from the public to the private sector would increase efficiency, competition and living standards and could be achieved without diminishing the capacity of government to look after the essential interests of citizens.

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING, EDUCATION, HEALTH

- 2 Abramovitz, Mimi (1987), 'The bottom line is society loses', *New Doctor*, 46, Summer, 22-4.

This article, reprinted from the American journal, *The Nation*, discusses the privatisation of welfare under the Reagan administration, with particular reference to health care, where, the author claims, welfare state privatisation is most advanced. The role of for-profit hospitals is analysed.

HEALTH

- 3 Albin, Stephen (1992), *Bureau-shaping and Contracting Out: The Case of Australian Local Government*, Discussion Paper No. 29, Public Policy Program, Australian National University, Canberra, 33pp.

'This paper examines 58 metropolitan councils Australia-wide to determine whether contracting out has in fact produced outcomes which make taxpayers better off'. Contracting out does not necessarily lead to reduced costs; the analysis indicates that it can, however, lead to 'distinct outcomes which advantage certain professional groups within the labour force at the expense of blue collar employees'.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

- 4 Anderson, Don (1991), 'Is the privatisation of Australian schooling inevitable?', in Francis G. Castles, ed., *Australia Compared: People, Policies and Politics*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 140-67.

'This chapter examines the causes of the decline of public schooling in Australia since the 1970s and its probable continued decline during the 1990s.' The first part of the chapter examines the historical background of church-state relations and their impact on Australian schooling. It includes a definition of privatisation and a useful classification of schools. The author looks at 'trends in the public and private sectors of a number of countries and asks why Australia is different'. Finally, 'the dynamics of the decline of public education are discussed and some evidence on performance is reviewed. It is suggested that the availability of a private choice can lead to an overall lowering of the quality of education in a country'.

EDUCATION

- 5 Andrews, Gavin (1989), 'Private and public psychiatry: a comparison of two health care systems', *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 146(7), July, 881-6.

The article compares the psychiatric care system in Australia and New Zealand. The Australian combination of more psychiatrists in private practice and fewer public hospital beds costs less than the New Zealand system, which supports only public-sector, hospital-based services.

HEALTH

- 6 Austin, Carol J. (1986), 'Privatisation: the money or the box?', *Forecasting the Australian Economy, 1986-87*, Proceedings of AIESEC University of New South Wales Seminar, 8pp (pages not sequentially numbered).

'To sum up, there are efficiency gains to be had by shaking up management in the public sector and clearly privatisation has a role to play in this process. But when it is all boiled down, the major efficiency gains will come from deregulation while the major budgetary savings will come from redefining the role of government. There are much tougher decisions than selling off the occasional public enterprise or contracting out garbage collection.'

IDEOLOGY

- 7 Australian Bureau of Statistics (1989), *Commercial Long Day Child Care Australia November 1988*, AGPS, Canberra, 13pp.

'This publication presents results from a Census of Commercial and Other Private Child Care Centres and an associated survey of customers of the centres (Survey of

Private Child Care Usage), both conducted in November 1988. The census focused on **commercial long day child care.**'

CHILD CARE

- 8 Australian Council of Social Service (1988), *Legal Aid at the Crossroads*, ACOSS Paper No. 19, 26pp.

The paper discusses the provision of legal aid and the operation of the scheme in Australia. The Australian Legal Aid Office was established by the Commonwealth Government in 1973 to provide legal advice and representation to low income people on Commonwealth law matters, and to people deemed to be a Commonwealth responsibility, such as pensioners, beneficiaries, returned servicemen and newly arrived immigrants. The administration of the service and the costs associated with it have changed over the years. Increases in costs are associated with the payments to private lawyers: the casework service is provided principally by briefing out to the private profession. Some solutions to the problem are suggested.

LEGAL SERVICES

- 9 Australian Council of Social Service (1989), *Privatisation and the Human Services*, ACOSS Paper No. 26, Sydney, 31pp.

Changes have been made to those parts of the social wage often referred to as the 'welfare state'. The changes have been made within a mixed context of public sector constraint, concerns about increases in 'welfare' related expenditure and 'growing criticism of particular forms of service delivery and their impact upon consumers'. The paper is concerned with developing an analysis of these changes, commonly termed privatisation, on the welfare state in Australia. It describes the background to the discussion by giving an overview of the Australian welfare state and attitudes towards it, followed by an overview of Australia's relative position in social wage expenditure, taxation levels and redistributive tendencies. The origins of the privatisation debate are discussed and the range of issues involved are identified. The possible negative consequences of a range of mechanisms of privatisation are raised. These mechanisms are the transfer and sale of assets, reduction in state provision or state subsidy, transfer of monopolies, voluntarisation of state services, contracting out or the purchase of service and the reduction in state regulation. Arguments for privatisation are also presented. The lack of verifiable data on which to base conclusions and recommendations is noted. 'The real debate however, is probably not at the level of operationalisation of privatisation, but at the level of the principles by which society and its social arrangements are organised. Some very fundamental issues are being tested in the processes surrounding privatisation, issues within the context of social justice versus liberty.'

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING, FORMS

- 10 Australian Council of Trade Unions (1988), *Employer-Supported Child Care*, ACTU, Melbourne, 15pp plus attachments.

The background to the need for increasing numbers of child care places is presented. The paper discusses the government initiative of providing partial funding for child care places where the employer will meet all capital costs as well as some of the recurrent costs, for which they will be eligible for taxation concessions. Parent users will also pay fees, the government funding coming as fee relief. This publication presents advice to unions in negotiating these child care facilities with employers.

The attachments include government guidelines on employer supported child care from the Child Care National Strategy of the Department of Community Services and Health.

CHILD CARE

- 11 Bacon, Wendy (1988), 'Private hospitals: where does the buck stop?', *Australian Society*, 7(9), September, 16-18.

The article reviews the history of attempts to implement regulation of private hospitals through legislation. The New South Wales Government is hoping to see an expansion in private hospitals but there are no effective controls over their running and their impact on health spending. The author also looks at some businesses in the private hospital sector and their financial performance.

HEALTH

- 12 Baldock, Cora Vellekoop (1990), *Volunteers in Welfare*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 171 pp.

The book is based on a survey of volunteers and some paid staff in 61 welfare organisations in Western Australia. Included in the discussion is a chapter on volunteerism and public policy where the author looks at privatisation as it affects the voluntary sector. There is also a discussion of participatory democracy in the non-government welfare sector which is concerned among other issues, with the part played by privatisation policies. Privatisation and cost cutting are examined, and the ways in which cost cutting are effected are identified.

WELFARE FUNDING, WOMEN, COMMUNITY SERVICES

- 13 Baldock, Cora Vellekoop (1992), *Government Policies and Volunteers: Privatisation and its Discontents*, Working Paper, Program on Nonprofit Corporations, Queensland University of Technology, 22pp.

This paper focuses on 'government policies of privatisation, and their consequences for nonprofit welfare organisations and volunteers'. The author defines the 'notion of privatisation' and examines the occurrence of privatisation of community organisations, with attention to privatisation and cost-effectiveness, privatisation and democracy and privatisation and equity.

'Volunteers are essential to the contracting-out arrangements which have accompanied government policies of privatisation in Australia.' Funds given to welfare organisations sometimes allows for the payment of a volunteer co-ordinator but not generally for the hiring of paid workers to deliver services. The paper considers the supply of volunteers, 'privatisation, efficiency and the production of the professional volunteer', the training of volunteers and the future of volunteering.

WELFARE FUNDING, WOMEN, COMMUNITY SERVICES

- 14 Baldwin, Peter (1990), 'Sale time', *Australian Left Review?*, August, 16-21.

Defenders of public enterprise have argued that public ownership of business enterprises is necessary for the achievement of broader goals, including the successful restructuring of the Australian economy. 'This article argues that an active public enterprise sector does have an important role to play but that defenders of public enterprise need to "restructure" their own priorities in the current debate.' It puts the debate into the perspective of arguments about the 'socialisation objective' of the Australian Labor Party, the failure of Eastern European 'socialism' and the thrust towards privatisation and corporatisation in Britain and Australia. The author argues for the strengthening of government business enterprises so that they can be used in the pursuit of Labor's social, economic and environmental goals, along with the other instruments available to government.

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING

- 15 Bartos, Michael (1990), 'Further steps to a new educational order', *Australian Society*, 9(3), March, 12-13.

The article charts the current 'corporatisation of tertiary education'. The author argues that some administrators want 'public funding for universities to be provided on a contract basis, with universities bidding against each other to offer teaching services at the lowest price'.

EDUCATION

- 16 Bateman, Hazel et al. (1990), *Demographics, Retirement Saving, and Superannuation Policy: An Australian Perspective*, Discussion Paper No. 241, Centre for Economic Policy Research, Australian National University, 82pp.
Other Authors: Jack Frisch, Geoff Kingston and John Piggott.

'During the next 30 or 40 years our population will age considerably. This paper addresses the relationship between demographic transition and aggregate saving, analyses the policies implemented to influence private retirement savings and considers the policy context and structure of the superannuation industry in the light of its role of managing private retirement saving.'

SUPERANNUATION

- 17 Bazeley, Patricia (1989), 'Public and private immunisation services: a comparison of costs', *Community Health Studies*, 13(3), 336-40.

'Cost inputs to infant immunisation programs were identified for both the public and private health systems, based on data from the fourteen local government areas which made up the Western Metropolitan Health Region in Sydney, New South Wales. The public health approach is shown to be significantly less costly than private immunisation services. The costs of the latter, however, are largely hidden within the national health bill, while the costs of the former are spread across all three levels of government. Total public sector costs of immunisation could be decreased, but only with increased input at local government level. Thus, under present distribution and funding arrangements in NSW, covert fostering of the less cost efficient private immunisation services is likely to continue.'

HEALTH

- 18 Berry, Michael (1988), 'To buy or rent? The demise of a dual tenure policy 1945-60', in Renate Howe, ed., *New Houses for Old*, Ministry of Housing and Construction, Melbourne, 95-122.

The author presents an account of government housing policies in Australia over the period 1945-60, including analyses of the effects of the Commonwealth State Housing Agreement of 1945 and 1956. He asks why Australian housing policy developed as it did, in the direction of increasing owner-occupation, quoting politicians who claimed that 'unless we can restore the institution of private property we cannot escape the institution of slavery'. He also examines 'the ambivalent attitude of the Australian labour movement', asking why 'the ALP and the trade unions seemingly ignored public housing as a central component of their alternative visions for a more egalitarian and democratic Australia'.

In his concluding paragraphs the author links the policies and policy development of the period under review (1945-60), to the time writing (1988).

HOUSING

- 19 Blewett, Neal (1988), 'The policy context in Australia: Commonwealth Government support for improved access to health and better health', *Community Health Studies*, 12(1), 106-11.

The paper, delivered to the Public Health Association of Australia and New Zealand Conference in August 1987, outlines government policy in the health area, including the issue of hospital financing while recognising that this is primarily a State Government responsibility.

HEALTH

- 20 Botsman, Peter (1989), 'State services and social justices', *Australian Teacher*, 24, November, 21-3.

The article (a version of an address delivered to a Social Welfare Research Centre conference) examines privatisation of public services and the implications for social justice. Australian state governments are responsible for a large share of total public expenditure, in areas such as transport, power, urban development, education and health services. However, they raise only a small proportion of taxation, mainly through payroll tax, stamp duties, vehicle taxes and franchise taxes. Thus when the Commonwealth Government cuts back payments to the states they are forced back on to a narrow revenue base and the consequent severe financial constraints means that there is a greater impetus to privatisation which is then not solely ideological. 'Improvements in state based services such as education, public housing and health are essential for improved living standards and a socially just society.' Politicians face two challenges: 'to create a nationally integrated social justice strategy which encompasses all the states and the Commonwealth Government, and all of the activities which they deliver'; and 'to provide a more stable, equitable and accountable system of revenue for state governments'.

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING

- 21 Botsman, Peter and Bill Mitchell (1988), 'No need to privatise', *Australian Society*, 7(6), June, 18-20.

The authors support the arguments put forward in the Evatt Research Centre's report, *The Capital Funding of Public Enterprises* (q.v.). One of the points in the debate relates to the social responsibilities of public enterprises. 'Too often this objective is left out of assessments of enterprise performance. The Evatt report estimated that public enterprises contribute up to \$5 billion in income transfers to low-income

earners and through social services. Without public enterprises these services would have to be financed directly through the budget.' They also argue for improvement in public enterprises: public ownership is not a sufficient guarantee of social responsiveness.

WELFARE FUNDING

- 22 Brennan, Deborah (1989), 'Private vs public: child care revisited', *Current Affairs Bulletin*, 65(12), May, 27-8.

The article comments on the figures released by the ABS in April 1989 which show that 'a high proportion of child care places in the private sector are unfilled despite the fact that average fees in this type of care are lower than those in publicly supported services. In contrast, community based centres are filled to capacity and some have waiting lists with two or three hundred names.' The paper discusses the debate which arose following the release of these figures and puts forward explanations for the discrepancy, exploring the crucial differences between private and public child care centres. The political and policy questions involved in funding are also discussed. 'The child care debate should not be allowed to focus narrowly on economic issues. Nor should it be limited to adult needs. Children should be at the centre of this debate'.

CHILD CARE

- 23 Brown, David (1992), 'The prison sell', *Australian Left Review*, 141, July, 32-4.

The author argues that the current debate about privatisation of prisons offers an opportunity to 'provide a window onto a wide range of aspects of the existing penal system'. He examines the 'assertion that the power to punish is inherently a state function', issues of accountability and efforts of reformers to improve the current system.

PRISONS

- 24 Bryson, Lois (1988), 'Privatisation - future directions', *NCOSS News*, 14(5), June, 5-7.

The paper, a revised version of a paper delivered to Conference on 'The Public Sector, Privatisation and Social Justice: Future Directions', is subtitled 'Efficiency, equity and accountability: translating administrative reform into improved service delivery'. The author argues that the search for efficiency has resulted mainly in structural change, including privatisation, and the application in the public sector of private sector methods. These changes have not delivered the goals which are claimed for them; and 'the current emphasis particularly within the human services,

far from improving services and leading to greater efficiency, equity and accountability actually diverts attention and resources away from service delivery and these goals'. There are detrimental effects in such areas as equal employment opportunities, industrial democracy and occupational health and safety.

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING

- 25 Bryson, Lois (1992), *Welfare and the State: Who Benefits*, Macmillan in conjunction with the British Sociological Association, London, 270 pp.

'The aim of this book is to explore the nature of sociological perspectives on the welfare state and assess their utility for both understanding the recent changes and for facilitating the achievement of greater equality.'

One of the changes considered here, 'moving in a market-oriented direction', includes references to privatisation. The author points out that the trend towards privatisation is international, and that the policies of the Australian Labor government of the 1980s have had the same trends, in spite of the previous history of the party which was based in belief in a strong state. In two chapters, 'Men's Welfare State' and 'Women's Welfare State', the author examines the effects on women of the policies of the welfare state and the changes now occurring.

IDEOLOGY

- 26 Buckley, Bev (1990), 'Private education', *Brainstorm*, 2, October/November, 14-16.

The author proposes the privatisation of the educational system as the way to introduce educational reforms, the need for which is discussed in some detail. 'Schools are now funded by government and controlled by a Government bureaucracy which sets the rules and enforces them. An alternative would be for education funding to be channelled straight through to the individuals who require education'. A voucher system is proposed, through which the parents' rights to choose could be exercised. Savings to government would follow.

EDUCATION

- 27 Business Council of Australia (1989), 'Competitive tendering', *Business Council Bulletin*, February, 10-14.

The article reports the proceedings of a conference organised by the Graduate School of Management and Public Policy (University of Sydney), on 'Competitive tendering and contracting out' (October 1988). The speakers at the conference were Simon Domberger, Peter Forsyth, David Hensher and Stephen Rimmer. The papers are briefly summarised. The paper by Rimmer was based on two surveys which

assessed aspects of contracting out by Australian local governments. This article draws on the evidence presented in the papers to conclude that competitive tendering and contracting out provide an opportunity to improve the overall efficiency of service provision and to improve the performance of the public sector, particularly where full privatisation is not possible.

FORMS, LOCAL GOVERNMENT

- 28 Business Council of Australia (1991), *Government in Australia in the 1990s: A Business Perspective*, Business Council of Australia, Melbourne, 56 pp.

The first chapter of this publication includes a list of 'goal statements' which form the background to the policy statements and recommendations which follow. Among these goal statements is one which reads 'Provision of goods and services: "We want all goods and services to be provided by the private sector except where the national interest could be jeopardised"'. Other goal statements include one on wealth redistribution ('We only want wealth redistribution systems which are transparent and which focus on income support for the seriously disadvantaged without destroying incentives to create wealth'), and market intervention ('... only to correct clear and significant market failure for the duration of that failure').

IDEOLOGY

- 29 Butler, Gavan (1989), 'Privatisation: what is the agenda?', *Journal of Australian Political Economy*, 24, March, 1-22.

'The purpose of this paper is to examine several co-existing agendas for the discussion of privatisation. The principal agenda to be examined involves the reasons given for privatisation by its proponents.' These are stricter managerial accountability, the extension of popular capitalism, and the preservation of political freedom, the tapping of an extra source of funding, the removal of graft, corruption and the foreclosure of a major means of disguising state subsidies to particular private interests. Each of these is discussed. 'The latter part of the paper then briefly suggests four other agendas: a possible secret agenda of the proponents, the agenda of organised capital, a democratic socialist agenda and a possible populist agenda.'

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING

- 30 Butlin, N. G., A. Barnard and J. J. Pincus (1982), *Government and Capitalism: Public and Private Choice in Twentieth Century Australia*, George Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 369pp.

Part of this survey of the Australian economy from 1901 to 1975 deals with social policy. In the process of expansion of public commitments which results in the

'cradle-to-grave' concept of welfare, and the 'vast expansion of the kinds of income support payments made and of the groups receiving them', private welfare was crowded out or surrendered part of its role. Education, health and housing were also subject to government intervention. This intervention, however, has led to 'the publicly guided private delivery of an increasing proportion of these services'. Public provision of benefits 'tended to become increasingly constrained relative to other income levels'.

'An experiment that had begun with strong emphasis on direct public action was progressively developed towards private delivery dependent on public distortion of market incentives.'

WELFARE FUNDING

- 31 Byrt, W. J. (1987), *The Nature of Privatisation*, Working Paper No. 2, Graduate School of Management, University of Melbourne, 29pp.

'Privatisation has come to be to the right what socialism has been to the left: a "noble myth"; a bogey to be conjured up by one's opponents. It means different things to different people. Essentially it constitutes an argument against "big government", against intervention. This paper discusses the various forms of privatisation, in addition to the simple sale of government undertakings; the arguments, for and against it; the methods of achieving it; its relevance to the political struggle in Australia.'

IDEOLOGY, FORMS

- 32 Carlton, Jim (1987), 'Competition and choice - the objectives of privatisation policy', in Peter Abelson, ed., *Privatisation: An Australian Perspective*, Australian Professional Publications, Sydney, 10-23.

The chapter puts arguments in favour of privatisation, discusses the objectives and benefits giving examples and answering some of the objections. One of the examples used in the discussion relates to Government policy in education, and the granting of capital and recurrent expenditure subsidies to private schools.

IDEOLOGY, EDUCATION

- 33 Castles, Frank (1990), 'Redrawing the privatisation battlelines', *Australian Society*, 9(10), October, 31.

The article argues that the 'argument for market efficiency as a sole criterion of government's action may be deeply flawed and doomed to eventual failure, but at the moment it seems peculiarly persuasive in Labor circles'. There are legitimate concerns about the performance of the public sector for which some reformers see

market disciplines as the only solution. 'There is major confusion here, to which the ideological intransigence of the defenders of the public sector contributes in no small degree'. In the instance of government intervention in the field of welfare provision it is a question of whether the objective is being achieved in a value-for-money fashion, that is, for example, whether public money to alleviate joblessness is being spent in the best way. Some solutions are suggested, not necessarily involving any less government intervention. 'Nor would we expect them to, since they are all instances of intervention to mitigate the social inadequacies of the market. But it is at least arguable that some of them would use public funds more efficiently, effectively and equitably.'

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING

- 34 Centre for Independent Studies (1986), *Policies and Prescriptions: Current Directions in Health Policy*, CIS Policy Forums 4, The Centre for Independent Studies Limited, 211pp.

The papers in this collection are based on the argument that, to a very large extent health care is not different from other goods and services and is susceptible to ordinary economic analysis, on both the demand and supply sides. The contributions to this volume are:

Introduction	Andrew S. Doman
The role of government in health care	Cotton M. Lindsay
Anatomy of a conundrum: Canadian health care in the 1980s	Michael A. Walker
Government intervention in health care in Australia: long-term implications	John Logan
Rationing health care: an independent perspective	John C. Goodman
Comments	Allan Passmore
Health insurance and efficient health service delivery	Andrew S. Doman
Regulation or reprivatization of the health care sector: which path should Australia follow?	J. Richardson (q.v.)
Competition versus regulation in the health care market: recent US experience and pre-competitive measures	Cotton M. Lindsay
Privatising government health care programs	John C. Goodman (q.v.)

IDEOLOGY, HEALTH

- 35 Champion, Ron (1989), 'The privatisation of public sector superannuation', *Superfunds*, 115, May, 30-1.

The article, an address to the Victorian Division of the Association of Superannuation Funds of Australia, outlines changes in the provision of superannuation as they affect public sector superannuation, both state and federal. Public sector funds will have to pay new taxes and will, following the May 1988

Economic Statement, come under the Occupational Superannuation Standards Regulations which include conforming to reasonable benefit limits (RBLs). The article also discusses problems which might arise from the changes.

SUPERANNUATION

- 36 Chan, Janet (1992), 'The privatisation of punishment: a reivew of the key issues', *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, 27(4), November 223-47.

'Both the New South Wales and the Queensland Governments have opened the door to privatisation of prisons in Australia. The term "privatisation" refers to a range of processes in the financing and provision of corrective "services" to criminal offenders. This paper canvasses the theoretical and policy issues related to the privatisation of prisons. Through a review of the international literature, the author suggests key areas of concern for future policy development and evaluation. The paper concludes with a comparison between privatisation and deinstitutionalisation of punishment and outlines the theoretical implications of such a comparison.'

PRISONS

- 37 Chan, Janet B. L. and Catherine J. Matthews (1992), *Privatisation of Correctional Services: A Select Bibliography*, Information Paper No. 9, Public Sector Research Centre, University of New South Wales, Kensington, 28pp.

This bibliography covers selected English language sources from Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States, published since 1980, which relate to the privatisation of correctional services. The entries are not annotated.

PRISONS, BIBLIOGRAPHIES

- 38 Coaldrake, Peter and J. R. Nethercote, eds (1989), *What Should Governments Do?*, Hale and Iremonger in association with the Royal Australian Institute of Public Administration, 260 pp.

This collection of essays is based on papers read at the 1987 National Conference of the Royal Australian Institute of Public Administration on 'Defining the Proper Role of Government'. 'It brings together apologists of the government role and advocates of small government philosophies, idealists and pragmatists, economists and political scientists, public officials, business representatives, and welfare spokespeople, educationists and philosophers.'

The papers are:

Introduction: defining the proper role of government	Peter Coaldrake and J. R. Nethercote
Redefining the role of government	Peter Self
Government growth over twenty years	Owen Hughes
Rolling back the state or moving to a contract and subsidiary state?	Christopher Hood (q.v.)
American Government in the year 2000	Constance Horner
Recognising the role of local government	M. F. Reynolds
The problem of defining necessity	Lauchlan Chipman
Government and economic development in Australia	Peter Drake and John Nieuwenhuysen
Economic policy: the case for a radical re-think	Andrew Hay
Government and public welfare	Julian Disney (q.v.)
Government intervention: an economic necessity	Peter Robson (q.v.)
Efficiency in government enterprises	David Hill
Industry, economic development and the proper role of government	John Hyde
Defining the proper role of government: social expenditures in a period of economic restructuring	Bettina Cass
The public in education	Jean Blackburn
Higher education: the roles of private investment	Donald W. Watts (q.v.)

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING, LOCAL GOVERNMENT, EDUCATION

- 39 Council of Social Service of New South Wales (1988), *Australia Reconstructed: What's in it for the Community Services Industry*, NCOSS, Sydney, 50pp.

This publication is the response of the Council of Social Service of New South Wales (NCOSS) to the trade unions report, *Australian Reconstructed*. It begins with an overview of that document and lists some of the assumptions made by its compilers before outlining the problems that NCOSS sees arising from it. The following section considers some specific areas of the community services industry, with indications of the implications of the changes proposed in report. The areas considered are: the social wage; income support; employment; unemployment; training and labour market programs; education; and housing. A further section deals with privatisation and welfare provision; under the *Australia Reconstructed* model, the forms of service provision and the means of distribution or delivery could be provided privately, either by profit making firms or by trade unions. This publication analyses the implications of these proposals.

FORMS

- 40 Cowdall, John (1989/90), 'Local government and privatisation issues', *Local Government Management*, 23(3), December/January, 12, 14-15, 26.

The paper examines privatisation policies in Britain as they affect local government services. The author believes that although the policies present local government with challenges and problems in a number of areas, such as cleaning and maintenance services, housing and health services, they also present the opportunity to 'address these issues in a professional way, strip out the duplications, the bureaucratic systems and procedures, the time-consuming paper chases and restructure local government in such a way that it can compete and win against the private sector and that it has a rigorous and effective quality assurance systems which keep the private or public sector providers on their mettle and keen to provide a service up to the required specification at all times'.

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING, LOCAL GOVERNMENT

- 41 Cox, Eva (1988), 'Privatisation and women', *Australian Social Welfare Impact*, 18(2), April, 14-15.

The article explains why privatisation in the social services area hits women hardest.

WELFARE FUNDING, WOMEN, COMMUNITY SERVICES

- 42 Cox, James (1992), 'Microeconomic reform and the welfare state', *Policy*, 8(1), Autumn, 11-14.

This article explores 'the scope for reforming the welfare state through a greater reliance on means tests and on private provision of welfare'. It discusses welfare objectives and expenditures. 'Microeconomic reform is unlikely to proceed very far in the welfare state if it violates the public's views about economic justice'. The author argues that, for particular groups, government welfare tends to 'crowd out' private welfare. 'Not only does government provision make private provision less necessary but the taxes required to finance government welfare make it harder for people to provide for themselves and others'. He also argues that 'Governments should on moral grounds, ensure the availability of a minimum - welfare net', and that there are 'good reasons for the private sector to be involved in the delivery (if not the financing) of, the welfare safety net and in the provision of services beyond the safety net'. The article lists 'possibilities for the greater use of private effort and competition to achieve government objectives' and proposes some policy changes.

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING

- 43 Cox, James (1992), *Private Welfare*, CIS Policy Monograph 22, Centre for Independent Studies, St Leonards, 96 pp.

'This monograph assesses the importance and advantages of private welfare in Australia and New Zealand today, and discusses the prospects for greater reliance on private welfare in the future.' The author argues that while governments 'should, on moral grounds, ensure the availability of a minimum welfare safety net', total private expenditure on social security and welfare is more important than government expenditure in those areas. The involvement of the private-sector in the provision of government funded welfare can be advantageous, especially where the need is clearly defined. The tax implications of changes in the balance between government and private welfare are discussed and some suggestions are made in the area of tax policy.

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING

- 44 Crough, Greg (1988), 'Trade-offs for the Federal Government', *Australian Society*, 7(6) June, 20-1.

The article is a response to the Evatt Research Centre's report *The Capital Funding of Public Enterprises* (q.v.), and their arguments against privatisation. The author argues that the government must reduce public sector debt and that the obligation to pay interest on the debt has significantly reduced the government's flexibility in framing the budget. A choice must ultimately be made between expenditure on the government's commercial enterprises and other items of the budget which include taxation (and promised cuts) and increased expenditure on the social wage.

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING

- 45 Daniel, Allan (1986), *Privatisation: The Next Great Economic Debate*, Research Service, State Library of New South Wales, 25 pp.

This bibliography of literature on privatisation lists 71 items held (with few exceptions) by the State Library of New South Wales. Items have been included if they cover any of the following areas: definitions, theory or methodology; economic rationale; advantages or disadvantages; the ideology and policy of governments, political parties and vested interests; and case studies. Items were published between 1975 and 1986 in the English language. Each item is accompanied by a brief annotation.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

- 46 Darcy, Michael (1992), 'Client-based funding and housing assistance', in *Vouchers and 'Client-based Funding' in Social Policy: Current Trends and Issues*, PSRC Discussion Paper No. 27, Public Sector Research Centre, University of New South Wales, Kensington, 13-18.

The paper examines housing policy in terms of direct and indirect housing assistance and then asks why client-based funding has been considered. The answers are, first, 'an ideological reason advanced by conservatives, while the second is given by progressives within the Federal Government who claim it to be based on pragmatism'. The nature of housing as an economic good is discussed and the proposals of the Government and the Opposition are described and debated. The paper looks at experiences of client-based funding of housing and finally emphasises the need for a 'progressive agenda'.

HOUSING

- 47 Deane, Roderick (1991), *Reflections on Privatisation*, Occasional Paper, Centre for Independent Studies, 91pp.

'Life is full of intellectual fashions and passing fads.' Privatisation of state-owned enterprises has been a popular trend in recent years. The author is concerned that there is a 'need to explore with considerable care the analytical and empirical foundation for privatisation'. Most of the paper is concerned with commercial enterprises. A short section on the provision of social services is included. 'The real issue is whether government provision of social services actually requires government production of such services. In most cases, social objectives can be pursued just as effectively if not more effectively through income transfers than through the direct provision of subsidised services.' An example of successful privatisation of service provision in New Zealand is described.

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING

- 48 Directions in Government (1989), 'Privatising prisons', *Directions in Government*, 3(5) June 32-5.

The article reviews briefly the history of the private prison project to date in Queensland. An inset of several paragraphs, by Paul Wilson ('Privatisation raises moral issues': 34) argues that 'the authority to govern behind bars, to deprive citizens of their liberty and to coerce them, must remain in the hands of government authorities'.

PRISONS

- 49 Directions in Government (1989), 'Prison to be privatised', *Directions in Government*, 3(8), September, 40, 51.

A brief update of the history of the Borallan Correctional Centre, Queensland's first private prison.

PRISONS

- 50 Directions in Government (1990), 'NSW looks at private prisons', *Directions in Government*, 4(3), April, 20-1.

The article looks at indications that NSW will introduce private prisons or prison functions, particularly reviewing the report by Kleinwort Benson, commissioned by the State Government. It quotes from that report which says 'there appears to be no difference between a government fulfilling its obligation through the use of government employees or through a private contractor'.

PRISONS

- 51 Disney, Julian (1989), 'Government and public welfare', in Peter Coaldrake and J. R. Nethercote, eds, *What Should Government Do?*, Hale and Iremonger in association with the Royal Australian Institute of Public Administration 166-78.

'The fundamental role of governments is to promote the well-being of their citizens ... Governments vary enormously in the enthusiasm with which they seek to perform this fundamental role, the means which they employ, and the success which they achieve. At least in western countries, however the general historical trend has been towards greater government involvement in a wider range of fields.' The paper explores the growth in government activity, and discusses the economic efficiency of governments, government and individual freedom, governments and poverty, and some government activities (economic policy, taxation, employment and social expenditure). The paper concludes that in some areas, the most appropriate contribution of governments to the well-being of their citizens 'is to facilitate private sector activities, rather than seek to pre-empt them. But this, in turn, may require active intervention'. It also argues that close consideration must be given to the consequences of their vacating the field.

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING

- 52 Dixon, Jane (1988), 'Community management - the state versus the people', *Welfare in Australia*, 8(1), May, 12-17.

'Nearly two-thirds of Australia's community groups receive funds from at least one government department and/or a local government council. Four in five of these

groups are run by a community management committee as opposed to a board of directors or a collective. Whereas in principle the community management model gives residents and users some say over the group's activities, in practice they often become "caretakers" on behalf of the government.

Some of the more recent research examining the ramifications of state-sponsored community participation, including the community management model, is discussed in this article. The romanticism which infuses the concept of "community" is apparent in the fostering of community management committees.'

FORMS, LOCAL GOVERNMENT

- 53 Dixon, Robert (1991), 'Privatisation and local government', in E. W. Russell, ed., *The Future of the Public Sector*, Public Sector Management Institute, Monash University, 80-97.

This paper considers the possible forms of privatisation of local government services and examines some of the theory and evidence relating to such privatisation. It begins with a brief description of the macroeconomics of the local government sector in Australia. The forms of privatisation described include contracting out and asset sales. There is also an account from some councils who have contracted out and then returned to direct provision of services.

FORMS, LOCAL GOVERNMENT

- 54 Dixon, Thomas C. and Rodney G. Miller (1989), 'Private income in higher education: the QIT case', *Research and Development in Higher Education*, 11, 262-5.

Universities and colleges are moving from being public institutions almost totally dependent upon tax support to being semi-public institutions with a significant self-generated income. 'Components of this income include interest, and administrative charge, research income, fines, consulting income including income from commercialisation of intellectual property, fees from overseas students, income from businesses (accommodation, book shops, sports centres, parking, rent, etc.), and foundations.' This paper describes the development and outcomes of the QIT Foundation (previously Friends of QIT) set up by the Queensland Institute for Technology.

EDUCATION

- 55 Doessel, D. P. (1990), 'Managed competition in health care: a contradiction in terms and an option for Australia', *Economic Analysis and Policy*, 20(2), September, 203-20.

The article describes the 'pro-competitive' developments in the health sector in the US, and considers their applicability to Australia. These developments, in particular the suggestions put forward by A. C. Enthoven, include Health Maintenance Organisations which provide voluntarily enrolled members with a comprehensive list of health services for a fixed periodic payment, thus integrating the functions of insurance and direct provision of services. The paper looks at the legal context in which such organisations operate and the author concludes that it is unlikely that such developments could be quickly transplanted to Australia.

HEALTH

- 56 Doman, Andrew (1986), 'Privatisation and deregulation in the health sector', *Canberra Bulletin of Public Administration*, 13(3), Spring, 329-36.

The author examines current regulations affecting the health sector in Australia and draws out the implications of deregulation and privatisation. He argues that 'deregulation and/or privatisation would need to be coupled with measures which reduced the effective subsidisation of demand for health services. Deregulation or privatisation which took place without a reduction in subsidies would lead to unacceptable increases in government (and community) expenditure on health services. But a Government which took such initiatives would have to be prepared for the consequences (benefits as well as unwanted side effects) of allowing market forces to play a greater part in rationing access to health services'. The article also discusses who would be the winners and who the losers from such initiatives.

HEALTH

- 57 Domberger, Simon and Piggott, John (1986), 'Privatisation policies and public enterprise: a survey', *Economic Record*, 62(177), June, 145-62.

'This paper surveys and analyses the economic literature on "privatisation" policies designed to improve the operating efficiency of public sector enterprises through increased exposure to competitive market forces. These include asset sales, liberalisation (or deregulation) and franchising. The objectives, incentives and constraints of public and private enterprises are examined, and evidence on their comparative performance is analysed. Public sector revenue effects from asset sale are also explored. On the basis of these considerations, the paper concludes that liberalisation is an important ingredient in any policy package designed to improve the operating efficiency of public sector enterprises. Asset sale may enhance the beneficial impact of deregulation but asset sale in the absence of deregulation is unlikely to improve efficiency, and may introduce additional market distortions. Franchising is seen as an appropriate mechanism for privatisation when the market is

inherently monopolistic and when the government desires to retain control over output and/or price.'

FORMS

- 58 Donnelly, Sue (1991), *Corporatisation and Commercialisation: Impact on Ability to Review and Appeal Government Decisions*, Discussion Paper No. 17, Public Sector Research Centre, University of New South Wales, 44p.

'This paper is concerned with the administrative law consequences of the commercialisation of government functions and a shift away from the form of statutory authorities to government controlled companies subject to the *Corporation Act 1990*.' It examines the issue of corporatisation and commercialisation as it may affect the access of interest groups and individuals to the protections of administrative law, pointing to areas where the scope of administrative law may be weakened. The examination is carried out by analysis of the likely effects on the *Freedom of Information Act, 1982*, the *Ombudsman Act 1975*, the *Administrative Appeals Tribunal Act 1975*, and the *Administrative Decisions (Judicial Review) Act 1977*.

FORMS, LEGAL SERVICES

- 59 Duckett, Stephen J. (1989), 'Regulating the construction of hospitals or vice versa: the courts and private hospital planning in Victoria', *Community Health Studies*, 13(4), 431-40.

'This paper examines the legal framework for regulating the development of new private hospitals in Victoria. It first reviews the genesis of the statutory power for private hospital regulation and outlines the two court cases which clarified the interpretation of the statute.

The legislation and its interpretation by the courts emphasis a particular approach to private hospital planning which does not necessarily address the problems faced by consumers of hospital services in Victoria. It is argued that the law has constructed a particular framework for private hospital regulation which does not address the critical problems facing the hospital system in the 1990s. The legal framework for regulation is based on property rights rather than the needs of hospital users, despite the language used in the legislation.'

HEALTH

- 60 Economic Planning Advisory Council (1987), *Efficiency in Public Trading Enterprises*, Council Paper No. 24, AGPS, Canberra, 77 pp.

This paper, concerned with public trading enterprises such as Telecom, electricity commissions and transport, includes a discussion of the need to 'balance commercial performance against other Government objectives that many of these enterprises are required to pursue'. 'These non-commercial objectives include regional, environmental, income distribution, human resource development and industrial concerns'. Mechanisms for meeting these objectives are discussed.

IDEOLOGY

- 61 Economic Planning Advisory Council (1988), *Economic Infrastructure in Australia*, Council Paper No. 33, AGPS, Canberra, 109 pp.

'The purpose of this paper is to examine the adequacy and efficiency of economic infrastructure in Australia.' Economic infrastructure refers to transport, communications, power and water supply which provide basic services to industry and households. Section 5 is concerned with improving the performance of public enterprises. It reviews the proposals in this context. Among these proposals are: increased competition; better definition, targeting and costing of social objectives; and increased private sector participation through contracting out of services, joint ventures and sale of assets. 'Judgements on the desirability of privatisation should hinge critically on three factors: how the competitive environment would be affected by privatisation; whether managers and workers would perform better under private than under government ownership; and whether important government objectives could continue to be met efficiently following privatisation.'

IDEOLOGY, FORMS

- 62 Economic Planning Advisory Council (EPAC) (1988), *Income Support Policies, Taxation and Incentives*, Council Paper No. 35, AGPS, 100pp.

One short section of this paper discusses 'whether, consistent with the community's social objectives, self-provision and voluntary transfers can or should play a greater role in alleviating need'.

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING

- 63 Edwards, Meredith (1988/89), 'Private versus public', *Social Justice in Australia*, supplement to *Australian Society*, 7/8 (12/1), December/January, 33-5.

Developments in the way in which government assistance is paid to sole parent families raise the issue of the dividing line between public and private

responsibilities. 'It is sometimes argued that the Child Support Scheme represents a marked shift from public to private provision for the children of sole parents. But while the scheme does place greater responsibility on parents to support their children, the fact is that the great majority of sole parents not in employment will continue to rely primarily on public support.' The article points out that the 'objectives of Australia's social security system are now much broader and more closely link income support with labour market activity'.

WELFARE FUNDING

- 64 Elliot, Grant (1984), 'The division of responsibility for welfare in Australia', *The Australian Quarterly*, 56(2), Winter, 172-82.

'There has been significant debate in Australia in the past ten years about the extent of and means by which government should provide for the welfare of citizens. At issue also is the question of the level of government best able to provide welfare services. This article provides the background to this debate and an analysis of its implications. Elliot argues that, although proposals for an increased role for families, local government and non-government welfare agencies sound attractive, a comprehensive and preventative welfare system can be created only by federal government action.'

WELFARE FUNDING

- 65 Emery, John (1987), 'Privatising arts in education: Canada and Australia', *Lowdown*, 9 (5), 40-1.

'The myth of "privatisation to the rescue" has descended on Australia in recent months.' This article compares the Australian education system to that of Canada, with regard to decision making and funding as it effects education in the arts. The emphasis on school-based decision making in Canada, while it has some advantages also has drawbacks and hazards.

EDUCATION

- 66 Ernst, John (1991), 'The British experiment in privatising essential services', *Policy Issues Forum*, November, 11-16.

This paper draws upon British experience to question the benefits of privatisation, particularly 'corporatisation'. The author argues that a rational examination of the process may lead to a re-consideration of our haste to embrace its uncertain benefits. 'The privatisation of public utilities in Britain has, on the evidence to date, led to a deepening of the distributional inequities within that society. This is reflected at the macro-level in the effective transfer of valuable wealth-generating assets from the public as a whole to a select share-owning section of the population, and at the

micro-level, in the imposition of additional charges for utility services, which bear disproportionately on those sections of the community with least ability to pay. While the procedural rights of domestic consumers appear to have been enhanced, the character of these reforms suggest that regulation, rather than change of ownership, has been the key to these changes.'

IDEOLOGY, FORMS

- 67 Evatt Research Centre (1988), *The Capital Funding of Public Enterprise in Australia*, H. V. Evatt Foundation, Sydney, 235pp.

The principle focus of this report is on the capital financing of public enterprises. It claims, from an examination of UK and NZ experiences, that privatisation does not improve efficiency nor diversify the ownership of wealth and that partial privatisation does not save government from further injection of capital. It is also argued that the essential quality of public enterprises lies in their achievement of social and economic goals which are largely ignored by private firms. 'Throughout their history, public enterprises have been charged with developing social equity and paying due attention to strategic national interests. Private sector enterprises do not have these responsibilities and, indeed, have proved unwilling to build them into their goals and operating techniques.' A large part of the report is concerned with discussing the privatisation of specific public enterprises in the transport, banking and communications fields.

IDEOLOGY

- 68 Evatt Research Centre (1989), *State of Siege: Renewal or Privatisation for Australian State Public Services*, Pluto Press, in association with the Evatt Foundation and the Australian Public Service Federation, Sydney, 496 pp.

This book forms part of the union movement's public sector research. The first part sets the debate over state public sector functions in an historical and political context, and within the framework of the labour movement's strategy of the 1980s. Part Two establishes the macro-economic context and Part Three is concerned with micro-economic reform and state public services. The major part of the book is Part Four which is concerned with the financing of the state public sector and addresses taxation issues, non-tax revenue, capital expenditure and indebtedness and other financing issues such as equity, venture capital and economic development. Part Five comprises six chapters, each devoted to an analysis of the functions and needs of the individual Australian states and includes a number of case studies of government departments or public trading enterprises in each state.

Once conclusion reached in the book is that 'privatisation identifies many problems with the public sector including inefficiency, lack of choice, freedom and enterprise. Yet the proponents of such views rarely acknowledge the positive contribution of the public sector to problems such as market failure, the pursuit of social equity and

justice and strategic public interest and economic objectives. The fact that privatisation consistently under-rates the importance of social welfare functions is of particular concern when considering State public sectors, which are responsible for the administration of many of Australia's "people services".

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING

- 69 Evatt Research Centre (1990), *Breach of Contract: Privatisation and the Management of Australian Local Government*, Pluto Press, in association with the Evatt Foundation, Sydney, 166 pp.

The central theme of this book is an examination of the financing and forms of service delivery at the local government level. The analysis is based on a survey of local government economic and social services conducted by the Evatt Research Centre. The results of the survey indicate that local government in Australia is small by international standards, with low levels of public spending. In addition, grants to local governments are being cut. A second major theme of the book is the privatisation and contracting out of local government services, using a framework provided by the results of the survey. The book examines forms of privatisation, and shows that 'contracting out' is extensive at the local government level. The survey itself is described. A number of potential reforms are suggested as a result of the analysis of survey results.

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING, FORMS, LOCAL GOVERNMENT

- 70 Eysers, Michael (1988/89), 'Financial state and housing authorities', *Shelter-National Housing Action*, 5(2 and 3), November/March, 14-21.

The author uses NSW data to discuss the financial status of Australian housing authorities, linking the discussion with the debate about public housing as opposed to rent assistance. He also suggests some solutions to the problems revealed, including the sale of housing stock to realise capital gains, though there are clearly many types of stock which should be retained fully in public ownership.

HOUSING

- 71 Fabb, Bev (1992), 'Privatisation of prisons', *Policy Issues Forum*, December, 34-8.

The author (chaplain to women in prison in Victoria) claims that the move towards privatisation of prisons in Australia has come about with little public debate. The introduction of private prisons will make reform of the public sector more difficult. A range of issues is raised, in relation to correctional policy, public accountability

and cost effectiveness as well as the future political, economic and social direction of Australia.

PRISONS

- 72 Farrar, Adam (1989), 'Privatisation in the community welfare sector: a case for defining our terms', *Impact*, 19(3), June, 9-14.

The term 'privatisation' has become linked mainly to reduction in public ownership of enterprises or services; other changes are taking place, however. The article examines some of the terms used to identify these changes: 'public sector abrogation' which refers to the transfer of public functions to private individuals and families; 'communalisation' or the contracting of public functions to community based services which are accountable to, and increase the participation of, the community and the consumers; 'contract bureaucratisation' which is the process of linking bureaucratic involvement with contracts to the community sector; 'contract commercialisation' which is a trend to tie community based services to user pays principles; 'public subsidy extension' to services provided through private profit-making organisations; and 'service quality deregulation' which allows the entry of for-profit services and is also intended to reduce the cost of funded services such as child care centres. The ways in which each of the processes defined operate, are discussed. The author suggests that even if these terms are only a 'first attempt', it is necessary to develop some descriptions. 'A general appeal against the evils of privatisation will be no use at all unless we can say exactly what we mean and can mount convincing arguments in each case'.

A more recent version of this paper appears as 'The retreat from social responsibility: debating privatisation in our terms', *Policy Issues Forum*, May 1992, 2-6.

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING, FORMS

- 73 Farrar, Adam (1992), 'Vouchers and individualised funding - implications for the community services sector', in *Vouchers and 'Client-based Funding' in Social Policy: Current Trends and Issues*, PSRC Discussion Paper No. 27, Public Sector Research Centre, University of New South Wales, Kensington, 19-24.

This paper considers aspects of the context in which individualised funding has emerged, in terms of both the political background and the changing approach to community services. It makes comments about privatisation and locates vouchers and individualised funding in that context. The author also notes 'some of the problems (and hopes) associated with individualised funding'.

COMMUNITY SERVICES

- 74 Fine, Michael (1987), 'The sad story of the regulation of private hospitals', *New Doctor*, 46, Summer 28-9.

The article discusses the *Private Health Establishments Act 1982*, which, although passed as 'an attempt to regulate private investment in hospitals and nursing homes', has not been properly implemented. The reasons for the delay are discussed.

HEALTH

- 75 Flew, Terry (1990), 'More private thoughts: market myths', *Australian Left Review*, 123, November 29-31.

Privatisation in Australia is discussed in the light of developments in the Soviet economy, where the scope of markets is being extended and the role of the state in enterprise management is being reduced. The author argues that the 'question for socialists is how to distribute income more equitably, rather than establishing a priori what people's needs are'. He concludes that the 'general lesson to be learnt is that public ownership should be seen as a means to various economic and social ends, rather than as the end in itself. In many areas of the economy, more effective social control may be achieved through regulation rather than public ownership.

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING

- 76 Forde, Kevin and Alex Malley (1992), 'Privatisation in health care: theoretical considerations, current trends and future options', *Australian Health Review*, 15(3), 269-77.

'Privatisation is once again back on the Australian political agenda. More significantly, privatisation has become an issue in the health care industry, following a proposal by the New South Wales government to privatise a public hospital in Port Macquarie. The main aims of this article are to discuss: the international move towards privatisation; the benefits of privatisation; the problems associated with privatisation in health care; and the potential health care services which could be privatised.'

HEALTH

- 77 Forde, Kevin and Alex Malley (1992), 'Widening the privatisation debate: hospital cost cure', *Directions in Government*, 6(4), May 18-19, 24.

'Privatising government assets is firmly back on the political agenda for the Commonwealth and State governments.' The authors argue that 'selling off or privatising government assets is seen as a way of bridging the gap between expanding expenditure demands and a shrinking tax base'. The trend for governments to consider expanding the reach of privatisation to social services such

as health and education is therefore not surprising, as health and education comprise a major proportion of government spending. The article examines the main benefits attributed to privatisation, with particular reference to the proposed private hospital in Port Macquarie in northern NSW. It concludes that while there are possible real advantages to privatisation of public hospitals, it is not a 'panacea for all the problems facing hospitals in Australia, and there are real concerns about the dangers of corporate medicine. It is desirable that governments encourage private investment in socially beneficial areas rather than speculative activities', but the savings must not be squandered and pressure must be kept on governments to be accountable.

IDEOLOGY, HEALTH

- 78 Foster, Chris (1988), *Towards a National Retirement Incomes Policy*, Issues Paper No. 6, Social Security Review, Department of Social Security, Canberra, 253 pp.

The section in this paper which deals with occupational superannuation describes the existing arrangements and developments, coverage and adequacy. The paper also discusses the interaction of occupational superannuation with the age pension and its potential to contribute significantly to the income of retired workers, beyond its current role.

SUPERANNUATION

- 79 Foster, Chris and Hal. L. Kendig, eds (1987), *Who Pays? Financing Services for Older People*, Commonwealth Policy Co-ordination Unit and ANU Ageing and the Family Project, Australian National University, Canberra, 419pp.

The aim of this publication 'is to provide an overview and assessment of current knowledge and attitudes to aged care services and accommodation. Particular emphasis is given to the small amount of information currently available on the costs of programs, the effects of financing arrangements, and concepts and techniques which have potential to improve developments in the field.' In his overview of the conference on which this book is based, Peter Saunders comments that there was in fact 'relatively little discussion of the question of who pays', the emphasis being on the question of who benefits. However, a number of papers do take up the issue of public and private funding. These include:

Providers of services: local government
Government financing of the voluntary sector
Financing housing innovations for older people:
public and private alternatives
Purchase of service contracting in service provision
for older people

Margaret Bowman
Anna L. Howe (q.v.)
Hal L. Kendig
and F. E. Stephens
Elizabeth Ozanne
and Kenneth Wedel

Equity and aged care services: alternative strategies for user-charges policies

Verdon Staines (q.v.)

WELFARE FUNDING, COMMUNITY SERVICES

- 80 Fraser, Lyn (1992), *Competitive Tendering and Contracting-out of Local Government Services in Australia*, PSRC Discussion Paper No. 26, Public Sector Research Centre, University of New South Wales, Kensington, 24 pp.

'This paper provides a general overview of the nature of the debate concerning the contracting out of local government services in Australia. While the focus tends to be on the substance of the arguments, the paper places the debate within the broad economic and political context and information is also drawn from experiences in particular councils.

While the debate is at an early stage in Australia, it appears to be evolving into a highly controversial issue, following trends in Britain and the United States. Some cross-national comparisons will be drawn but there are limits to the extent to which this can be useful. It is clear that further research is required, particularly with regard to the impact of contracting out on the workforce in Australia.

What this study does indicate, however, is that in a number of councils, councillors and administrators have experimented with alternatives to contracting-out, because of perceived disadvantages associated with the contracting out of some services.'

FORMS, LOCAL GOVERNMENT

- 81 Gadiel, David (1988), 'Paying for high quality private hospital care in New South Wales', *Australian Quarterly*, 60(4), Summer, 461-5.

'Major new policies for New South Wales private hospitals seek to reduce the public hospital overload by attracting into the private system a share of private cases at present treated in public pay beds. This paper describes the policy and reviews its prospects in the light of Federal policy and the market for private health insurance.'

HEALTH

- 82 Gadiel, David L. (1990), 'Private profits and the public good in the health sector: a model for alternative hospital funding', *Economic Papers*, 9(3), September, 24-33.

'The purpose of this paper is to synthesise a relationship between a private ethos in the hospital sector and public well-being. Using NSW as a case study, it explores possible gains to health care delivery through market-type processes at the hospital

level and why in Australia discriminatory methods of hospital funding under Medicare as at present constituted have largely frustrated these gains.

By constraining experimentation with alternative modes of financing, Australia's highly centralised system of financial support for hospitals has led to a serious imbalance in the utilisation of Australia's hospital beds by way of an excess demand for public beds and underutilisation within the private sector. It will be shown that costly inefficiencies are associated with this process which are prescriptive of changes in the current system of hospital funding at the Federal level.

The net effect of government intervention upon the allocation of resources and efficiency within the Australian hospital sector is explored with reference to the possible assignment of various instruments including subsidies and taxes.'

HEALTH

- 83 George, Amanda (1988), 'Home detention: the privatisation of corrections', *Legal Service Bulletin*, 13(5), 211-13.

Home detention is presented as part of a community corrections package. It has come about because of problems in prisons, including overcrowding and costs. 'It really should be no surprise then that we are moving in the direction of "offender pays" imprisonment.' According to the literature its cost is one to seven times cheaper than institutionalisation and it is even claimed that some home detention programs are profit making. The article defines home detention, examines its use, lists the advantages and problems, discusses profits and privatisation, and examines briefly its chances of acceptance.

A short article on a similar theme appears in *Australian Society* (1988), 7(9), September, 32-3.

PRISONS

- 84 George, Amanda (1989), 'The state tries an escape', *Legal Service Bulletin*, 14(2), April 53-7.

The article looks at the privatisation of prisons beginning with the introduction of the first private prison in Queensland, pointing to the Report of the Kennedy Commission into Corrective Services in Queensland in 1988, which, the author claims, 'treats corrections as a profit-potential service industry, consistently ignoring that crime and punishment exist in a society with class, gender and race stratification'. Types of privatisation are discussed, as are the issues raised by privatisation. The article also looks at the history of privatisation of corrections and the corporate personalities which have been involved in Queensland. Questions of cost are examined, along with questions of accountability, the flexibility of the private sector, 'the investment in incarceration' and ideological issues. The author

concludes that 'because corrections involves the deprivation of liberty and the legally-sanctioned exercise of coercion by some citizens over others' it should always remain a responsibility of the state.

PRISONS

- 85 George, Jennie (1988), 'Hands up for public sector education', *Impact*, 18(2), April, 12-13.

'The community debate about privatisation has tended to overlook the fact that education has arguably already experienced the most substantial degree of privatisation of any area of public sector activity.' The article argues that 'too much of the focus of the privatisation debate has centred on the proposed sell off of government assets and instrumentalities and neglected the devastating effects that privatisation by stealth has had on industries like education and health'. The author analyses changes in the funding of education and the effects they have had on the outcomes of schooling.

IDEOLOGY, EDUCATION

- 86 Gifford, Jean (1990), 'Childcare for profit could end public care', *Impact*, 20(4), April, 9-10.

The article discusses the Labor Government's plans to extend fee relief to commercial childcare centres from 1 January 1991. It expresses the concerns of many who are involved in the community child care sector, who believe that this represents a major shift in policy away from a public sector model of child care provision towards a model of private sector provision. Arguments for and against such a shift are canvassed.

CHILD CARE

- 87 Gillespie, Jim (1988/89), 'The boundaries of public and private', *Social Justice in Australia*, Supplement to *Australian Society*, 7/8 (12/1), December/January, 23-5.

'The medical profession's power derives from its fiercely defended autonomy and its independence from lay control and government regulation. The measure of this autonomy has been the extent to which the profession has been able to control its own regulatory bodies - registration, the establishment and enforcement of ethical codes - and to exert control over the day-to-day conditions of practice. Relations between government and doctors are treated as a polar opposition of professional autonomy and state intervention, a zero-sum game in which any increase in state intervention leads necessarily to a decline in professional autonomy and standards of practice.' However political arrangements rather than the untrammelled working

of the free market have allowed doctors to maintain not only their ascendancy in the health care system but their income levels. The article traces the forms of government support for medical fees and the history of attempts to change the structure from the 1940s to the Hawke-Blewett era.

IDEOLOGY, HEALTH

- 88 Goldring, John (1990), 'Privatising regulation', *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, 49(4), December, 419-30.

'The current political climate appears to foster policies often described as "deregulatory" and to promote an attitude that the administrative machinery of the state should be dismantled. It may be assumed that such policies accompany a reduction in the amount of state intervention in the economy and society. This article argues that in fact state intervention may not be diminishing as much as might be thought. Instead, the form of intervention is changing. Instead of bureaucratic intervention by central authorities, there is a tendency to create mechanisms, often but not invariably legal mechanisms, which may be enforced by private individuals and corporations. Though possibly attractive because of the reduced cost of administrative structures and personnel, the "privatisation" of state regulation may have more disadvantages than advantages.' The article points out that the high cost of litigation to enforce rights means that the better-off are more likely to be able to take advantage of court proceedings, 'so the function of law enforcement favours them, rather than the poorer classes'.

FORMS, LEGAL SERVICES

- 89 Goodman, John C. (1986), 'Privatising government health care programs', in *Policies and Prescriptions: Current Directions in Health Policy*, CIS Policy Forums 4, The Centre for Independent Studies, Sydney 177-90.

The chapter discusses privatisation compared with the traditional practices of conservative governments which have tried to hold back the growth of the public sector and allow for the expansion of the private sector by holding down spending on public sector programs. 'The techniques of privatisation allow the government to avoid altogether the debate over how much is going to be spent on a particular program and to focus instead on the wholesale transfer of the program to the private sector. Once the transfer is made, individual choice and market forces begin to play a greater role in determining how resources are going to be allocated, and government bureaucrats and political special interests play a lesser role.' The author then argues that goods and services produced by the private sector are cheaper, and, due to competitive bidding, the quality of the product is higher. He recommends the creation of 'new coalitions that find private provision of the service in their self-interest and are willing to protect and defend the new arrangement against future politicians who are tempted to undo it'.

The chapter includes examples of privatisation in Britain, including a case study of the privatisation of certain Social Security programs. There is a section on implications for the privatisation of health care for the elderly which includes proposals being discussed in the US; and a section on implications for the privatisation of health care for the non-elderly. This concludes by arguing that as customers depart from the state system because of more attractive packages offered by private health insurers, there will be a greater financial squeeze on the state system, public sector health care will deteriorate and thus there will be even greater opting out.

IDEOLOGY, HEALTH

- 90 Goodman, John C. and Alistair J. Nicholas (1990), *Voluntary Welfare: A Greater Role for Private Charities*, The Centre for Independent Studies, St Leonards, NSW, 60 pp.

The monograph discusses the welfare-poverty debate, arguing that welfare does help people in poverty but that there is evidence that 'the welfare state encourages dependency, the breakup of families and the emergence of the single parent household'. The study argues that an ideal welfare system cannot be achieved through reform and modification of federal welfare programs. Nor can it be achieved by turning over the administration of such programs to state and local governments. It advocates the privatisation of the social security system, supporting their argument with references to American studies and evidence of problems identified in Australia. There is a survey of some Australian voluntary organisations and an analysis of 'the threat to private charity'. The last two chapters present a proposal to privatise the welfare state which is followed by a series of questions and answers on the details of the proposal.

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING

- 91 Gray, Gwen (1987), 'Privatisation: an attempt that failed', *Politics*, 22(2), November, 15-28.

'Throughout the twentieth century doctors in most western countries have strongly resisted government attempts to intervene in private medical markets. The support for privatisation that has developed during the current economic recession is welcomed therefore by the medical profession. In several countries campaigns have been staged for a full or partial return to market forces in the health care field. This article traces the cause of one such push in Canada where doctors and other advocates of privatisation demanded a larger role for the private sector in the funding and management of Medicare, the national health insurance system. The policy outcome is contrary to the general privatising tendency in many countries: after a period of intense controversy the federal government passed legislation to preserve and strengthen the public aspects of the scheme. The normally powerful medical

profession lost its campaign for an infusion of private funds into the health system and for the right of doctors to set their own fees. Consumer and other non-producer groups, which have not traditionally played a central role in health policy, mobilised in defense of Medicare and were able to achieve most of their aims.'

HEALTH

- 92 Graycar, Adam and Adam Jamrozik (1989), *How Australians Live: Social Policy in Theory and Practice*, Macmillan, Melbourne, 314 pp.

The book 'documents the theories that have set the welfare state on course, the processes by which the theories are put into effect, and their outcomes'. It focuses on policies relating to income support and direct services for most Australians. 'The debate about whether governments should or should not intervene in market activities or in social welfare is outdated. Governments do intervene ...'

A short section on governments and markets discusses the role of 'the market' in the provision of welfare services.

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING

- 93 Green, David G. and Lawrence G. Cromwell (1984), *Mutual Aid or Welfare State: Australia's Friendly Societies*, George Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 229pp.

This book begins with the premise that the welfare state is not working, and is intended for 'those who have already come to this realisation, and who are looking, as we are, for alternatives'. The authors argue that before the welfare state came into existence, 'the general welfare was in the capable hands of mutual aid, of the friendly societies. This book examines and appraises their record'. Part 2 of the book is particular concerned with medical care.

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING

- 94 Guthrie, James (1989), *The Adoption of Corporate Forms for Government Business Undertakings: Critical Issues and Implications*, Discussion Paper No. 5, Public Sector Research Centre, University of New South Wales, Kensington, 20pp.

The paper is concerned with the trend to change the legal basis of government trading enterprises from that of statutory authority to that of a company subject to the Companies Act. This change is located within the broader trends towards commercialisation of the public sector. The corporate form allows these enterprises to compete on a more equal basis commercially, but does not allow for the preservation of a broader range of economic and social responsibilities, over and

above profit-making. These responsibilities include a number of factors which involve the welfare of employees, e.g. in the health and safety area. The legislation to which these government-owned companies will be subject contain no mechanisms for the auditing of these broader responsibilities.

FORMS

- 95 Haines, Janine (1987), 'How big a welfare state and to what ends?', *The University of New South Wales Occasional Papers*, 12, 39-42.

The paper, delivered at a symposium entitled 'Will Australia come out bananas or apples and who should get the pickings', in November 1986, begins by challenging assumptions made about the welfare state. It looks at the size of the public sector, at taxation issues, at welfare payments to industry and at universal superannuation. One section outlines some 'pitfalls of privatisation', and the author claims that privatisation of any service will result in a system which 'will still require massive public subsidy to operate' and will result in 'a more unequal provision of services, relying much more on the wealth of the user than the universality of the provision of the service'.

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING

- 96 Harding, Richard W. (1992), 'Prison privatisation in Australia: a glimpse of the future', *Current Issues in Criminal Justice*, 4(1), July, 9-27.

'With prison privatisation now part of the Australian correctional policy agenda, questions arise as to the dangers and opportunities which can arise under such arrangements. Drawing upon experience in the United States, England, a previous unsuccessful initiative in Australia at Tallong, and the one currently operating private prison in Australia at Borallon, the article addresses the main problems. These are: that incarceration and penal policies generally may be driven by private profit motivations; that private imprisonment may be beyond the reach of public accountability; that a dual standard (public system squalor, private system affluence) may be created; and that the allocation of punishment as opposed to its administration may de facto become a private matter.

On the basis of present legislation and the practical arrangements at Borallon itself, it is concluded that privatisation can readily finesse all of these problems. Moreover, successful privatisation can act as a catalyst for improvements in the public prison system, both as to cost and as to programs. Private prisons are likely to become established as a small but significant part of the total Australian imprisonment system.'

PRISONS

- 97 Hillman, Mick (1986), 'Public it's yours: private it's theirs', *Australian Social Welfare - Impact*, 16(4), July, 9-10.

The author describes some of the privatisation projects which have been implemented in Britain and discusses the stated motives as well as the suggestion by opponents that 'the real agenda consists of cuts to wages, benefits and conditions, an attack on trade union power, new markets for private industry and a general redistribution of wealth in favour of profits'. Some outcomes of the changes are presented. The article suggests that Australia could follow a similar trend.

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING

- 98 Hirst, Paul (1992), 'Sidestepping the state', *Australian Left Review*, 143, September 12-19.

The article describes the concept of 'associationalism'. 'First, the provision of public welfare and other services should be devolved to self-governing voluntary associations. Second, such associations should be enabled to obtain public funds to provide such services for their members.' Associationalisms would 'renew modern societies by transforming the private/public division; making the "private" a sphere of social co-operation and collective governance, making the "public" as far as possible nothing more than the mechanism for providing rules and funds that enable self-governing "private" institutions to work'. Associationalism offers not universal and uniform benefits, but 'empowerment' rather than equality of outcomes, as a means of social justice.

WELFARE FUNDING, FORMS

- 99 Hogan, Bruce (1988), 'The potential for privatisation in New South Wales', *Economic Papers*, 7(3), September, 1-10.

The author argues that there is 'nothing to be gained from converting a publicly owned monopoly into a privately owned monopoly'. However privatisation by contracting out, by deregulation, by asset sales and by sale of all or part of a going concern may achieve objectives related to the improvement of services and the development of competition. Some areas for privatisation are identified, including school cleaning and hospitals.

FORMS

- 100 Hogbin, Geoff (1987), 'Privatising the consumption of education', in Peter Abelson, ed., *Privatisation: An Australian Perspective*, Australian Professional Publications, Sydney, 226-48.

'The theme of this chapter is that privatisation of consumption decisions is fundamentally more important than privatisation of supply.' The author uses education, 'one of the most important of all goods and services produced and consumed in a modern economy' as the basis for discussion of privatisation. He considers the effects of restricted competition on consumers, the fundamental defects created by 'free' education, the problem of determining appropriate quality of education, ways of creating an openly competitive supply in education, the benefits to consumers, information and efficient delivery of education and other gains from competition. The chapter concludes that privatising the consumption of education 'will allow us to discover which kinds of education best satisfy the preferences of consumers and the needs of employers'.

IDEOLOGY, EDUCATION

- 101 Hood, Christopher (1989), 'Rolling back the state or moving to a contract and subsidiarity state?', in Peter Coaldrake and J. R. Nethercote, eds, *What Should Governments Do?*, Hale and Iremonger in association with the Royal Australian Institute of Public Administration, 73-99.

The paper, based on recent experience in Australia and the UK, examines the redefinition of the role of government which is currently being debated in the light of calls to 'slim down' the public bureaucracy state. The author detects no decline in government, but he does discern a sustained assault upon public bureaucracy and some attrition occurring as a result of cutbacks. The consequences of this 'squeeze' is explored in terms of the health and retirement conditions of public servants. The author argues that the shape of the public sector is unlikely to change, 'particularly in a country like Australia, where subsidiarity and contract state doctrines are traditionally much more deeply embedded into the ethos and structure of government than in traditional Protestant "statist" countries such as Sweden or the UK'.

IDEOLOGY, FORMS

- 102 Hope, Julie and Paul Miller (1988), 'Financing tertiary education: an examination of the issues', *Australian Economic Review*, 84(4), Summer, 37-57.

The article addresses several issues involved in the re-introduction of tertiary fees at Australian universities, including: economic efficiency, equality, government objectives and student loans, with contingent conditions.

EDUCATION

- 103 Howard, Michael (1989), *Evaluation of Privatisation in Australia and Overseas: A Bibliography*, Information Paper No. 4, Public Sector Research Centre, University of New South Wales, Kensington, 48pp.

This bibliography includes entries on works which evaluate the practice of privatisation; 90 per cent of the entries were published overseas, much of it concerned with experience in the UK and the US. The material is arranged under the following headings: General (International i.e. more than one country; UK; US; Other); Labour Relations; Banking; Insurance; Energy and Natural Resources; Local Government; Environment; Transport; Communications; Information Services; Social Policy - General; Income Security; Children's Services; Housing; Health; Education; Corrective Services. Each entry is briefly described and some have detailed annotations.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

- 104 Howard, Michael (1989), *Public Expenditure Constraint: Commercialisation Trends in the Child Care and Aged Care Fields*, Discussion Paper No. 4, Public Sector Research Centre, University of New South Wales, 13pp.

In a period of no increase or possible decrease in the real level of aggregate public expenditure, there may be pressure to redistribute public expenditure from low to higher income earners through the revenue raising operation of user charges. Both in child care and the HACC program, there may be pressure to direct public expenditure away from government-run or not-for-profit services towards subsidies for profit making agencies, on the basis that these agencies are currently cheaper.

WELFARE FUNDING, CHILD CARE, COMMUNITY SERVICES

- 105 Howard, Michael (1991), *Commercialisation of 'General Government' and GBEs: Issues for the Social Policy Lobby*, Working Paper, Public Sector Research Centre, University of New South Wales, Kensington, 8pp.

The paper explores the likely reactions of the social policy industry and the consumer lobby to the current extension of user pays and the emergence of the concepts and mechanism associated with the term 'community service obligations' (CSOs). The author concludes that the debate about the integration of social policy with commercialisation is much more advanced in relation to government business enterprises than it is in regard to departments and statutory authorities. It is likely that as the debate develops, the same issues will arise. The case for an extension of user pays rests on two broad arguments of which one, the macroeconomic and political, is likely to win more recognition from the social policy lobby than the other, market theory. The issues related to CSOs, that is, the scope of social obligations and their costing and funding, involve value judgements, not merely technical, objective skills. On these issues, the social policy lobby is likely to push different positions to those of conventional economic rationalism. 'The outcome

will be decided at the political level and is likely to be heavily influenced by Australia's objective fortunes in the year ahead.'

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING, FORMS

- 106 Howard, Michael (1992), 'Commercialisation of government business enterprises: implications for disadvantaged groups', in Peter Saunders and Diana Encel, eds, *Social Policy in Australia: Options of the 1990s, Proceedings of National Social Policy Conference, Volume 2: Contributed Papers*, SPRC Reports and Proceedings No. 97, Social Policy Research Centre, University of New South Wales, Kensington, 89-103; also published as *Commercialisation of Government Business Enterprises and the Debate over Community Service Obligations* (1991), Discussion Paper No. 18, Public Sector Research Centre, University of New South Wales, Kensington, 9pp.

'The purpose of this paper is to analyse the conceptual framework underlying the commercialisation of government business enterprises (GBEs) and to focus in particular on the issue of non-commercial objectives of GBEs - that is, the question of "Community Service Obligations" (CSOs).' The author concludes that there is 'little doubt that the new commercialisation regime will result in a much greater scrutiny of the financial cost of all aspects of the operations of GBEs So long as governments feel the need to retain welfarist rhetoric such as "social justice", however, the new commercialisation regime will provide the opportunity for interest groups to pressure the Government to honour its residualist rhetoric of CSOs'. The issue of 'user pays' policies is touched upon.

FORMS

- 107 Howe, Anna L. (1987), 'Government financing of the voluntary sector', in Chris Foster and Hal. L. Kendig, eds, *Who Pays? Financing Services for Older People*, Commonwealth Policy Co-ordination Unit and ANU Ageing and the Family Project, Australian National University, Canberra, 185-203.

This chapter is concerned with the involvement of the voluntary sector in care of the aged and systematic support of that role by government. The rationale for government financing services through the voluntary sector and the current patterns of funding are examined. The chapter also explores the implications of the channelling of government funds through the voluntary sector and canvasses measures likely to secure certain outcomes under these arrangements. The author concludes that unless there is 'a very major change in the direct service provision role of the Commonwealth and State governments, or large scale subsidisation of the private for-profit sector in new areas of aged care, the role of the voluntary sector is bound to continue.' A response to the paper, by Don E. Stewart, is included in the book (205-14).

WELFARE FUNDING, COMMUNITY SERVICES

- 108 Howe, Renate, ed. (1988), *New Houses for Old: Fifty Years of Public Housing in Victoria 1938-1988*, Ministry of Housing and Construction, Melbourne, 325pp.

The book 'is not a conventional history of a government department'; the history is interspersed with policy analysis, accounts of the influence of national policy on the state authority and the influence of community movements and housing interest groups on public housing policy. Some themes which recur in the various chapters are the persistence of social reform groups, the tensions with local government, the influence of the private housing lobby, the conflict between renting and home-ownership policies and the relationship with the labour movement. Chapters are:

Not above politics: housing reform in Melbourne 1910-29	David Harris
Reform and social responsibility: the establishment of the Housing Commission	Renate Howe
From rehabilitation to prevention: the war years	Renate Howe
We only build the houses: the Commission 1945-60	Warwick Eather
To buy or to rent? The demise of a dual tenure policy in Australia 1945-60	Michael Berry (q.v.)
'The enemy within our gates': slum clearance and high-rise flats	George Tibbits
The land deals	Leslie Kilmartin
Architects, engineers and rent collectors: an organisational history of the Commission	Tony Dalton
Public housing and the community	Terry Burke
A Commission for reform: policy innovation and organisational change in the fifth decade	Robert A. Carter

HOUSING

- 109 Jago, John (1987), 'Privatisation: generating both light and heat', *New Doctor*, 43, 5-7.

The paper examines the trend towards deregulation and privatisation in Australia, New Zealand and Papua New Guinea within the welfare state, and in a capitalist system. It begins by arguing that there is 'nothing intrinsically good or evil, right or wrong, superior or inferior, about either the public sector or the private sector, whether the debate is about the economy, the political or cultural realms, or the health area.' However, the author argues that privatisation has yet to be proven practical; that there is special value of the public sector, in terms of equity, in the health field. He further argues that there is need to improve the public sector rather than privatise health services. 'In the present conflict about privatisation of the public health sector, the two central questions are, as usual: (1) who benefits, and (2) who pays? It would be a tragedy if once again, as in the earlier part of this century, the majority of the population did the paying, both in dollar terms and in

lower health status, while the private sector of the health occupations and the private corporations supplying health facilities reaped the lion's share of the benefits.'

HEALTH

- 110 James, Michael, ed., (1989), *The Welfare State: Foundations and Alternatives*, Proceedings of CIS conferences held in Wellington and Sydney, November 1987, Centre for Independent Studies and the New Zealand Centre for Independent Studies, 257pp.

Much of this volume is devoted to exploring changes or alternatives to welfare state programs, related to voluntary and private income transfers and insurances systems, that 'would restore to individuals greater control over their own incomes and eliminate much of the coercion that is a necessary feature of political processes. Crucial to this approach is the evidence (some of which is cited in this volume) that state welfare is not so much a necessary supplement to voluntary effort as a hindrance to its expansion.' The chapters included are:

Welfare, coercion and reciprocity	Michael James
Unintended consequences and unthinkable solutions	David Band
Comments	Martin Krygier and Hugh High
The American experience with the welfare state	Charles Murray
The perils and pitfalls for reforming social security: the British experience	David Willets
Comments	Claudia Scott and James Cox
Private versus public provision of social welfare services in New Zealand	Alan Woodfield
Unemployment benefits and their consequences in New Zealand	James Cox
Family allowance benefits and possible alternative for reform	Susan St John
Relative poverty and welfare distribution	Susie Kerr
Possibilities for lifecycle health insurance	John Logan
Support for single parents	Mikhail S. Bernstam

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING

- 111 Jenkins, Ian (1991), 'Will superannuation be the saviour of privatisation?', *Superfunds*, 136, April, 23-4.

The article discusses the role of superannuation funds in the process of privatising public enterprises such as the Commonwealth Bank. 'The battle to get a share of the superannuation investment dollar is likely to be one of the major events during the 90s. The greatest risk to the successful investment of those dollars is the scramble by Federal and State Governments to force uneconomic investments onto the

industry by regulatory or less than gentle persuasion'. 'Keeping Government fingers out of the honey pot' is the greatest task confronting superannuation fund managers.

SUPERANNUATION

- 112 Jones, David R. and John Anwyl, eds (1987), *Privatizing Higher Education: A New Australian Issue*, Centre for the Study of Higher Education (CSHE), University of Melbourne, 135pp.

The papers included in this publication are revised versions of those delivered at a Conference on Private Initiatives in Higher Education at the Australian National University. In their introduction, the editors refer to some of the private involvement in tertiary education which has taken place in Australian history, such as 'benefactions' which established various institutions and programs in the past. However the more recent and current issues are the subjects of the papers included here.

Private initiatives in higher education	Peter Karmel (q.v.)
Address on policy	Susan Ryan
Address on policy	Peter Shack
The private potential of Australian higher education	Donald W. Watts (q.v.)
New Australian policy initiatives for overseas students:	
the IDP experience	Ken Back
Biscuits, bicycles and B. Sc's: the impact of market forces on the management of publicly-funded universities	Roger Scott
Initial plans for an internationally significant private university	A. John T. Ford and Donald W. Watts
The hybrid approach: the Northern Rivers case study	Rod Treyvaud
The Australian predicament in comparative perspective	Roger L. Geiger
Concluding summary: emerging themes in the discussion of private initiatives in higher education in Australia	David Beswick

EDUCATION

- 113 Jones, M. A. (1990), *The Australian Welfare State: Origins, Control and Classes*, Third Edition, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 284pp.

In this analysis of the welfare state, in a chapter entitled 'Welfare State in Crisis', the author includes a section on 'the rediscovery of the market'. He discusses privatisation in the context of the welfare state. 'Australia already has extensive private roles in retirement provision, health, primary and secondary education, housing and other areas. Because the means-tested selective approach has always dominated Australian social policy, the private market is far more extensive than in most parts of Europe. Australia is very unusual in allowing the private sector to become the dominant provider of retirement incomes above the bare minimum

supplied under the means-tested age pension. Welfare privatisation is therefore probably easier in Australia than in countries with less-developed private sectors.'

WELFARE FUNDING

- 114 Karmel, Peter (1987), 'Private initiatives in higher education', in David R. Jones and John Anwyl, eds, *Privatizing Higher Education: A New Australian Issue*, Centre for the Study of Higher Education, University of Melbourne, 1-11.

This chapter deals with the place of fees in higher education, 'since the charging of fees is clearly a major way of shifting the funding of higher education to the private sector'. The author recommends the introduction of modest fees along with other, internal, reforms which he argues, will produce a program 'compatible with the government's responsibilities for balanced access to higher education for equity in dealing with different social groups, and for the quality of the Australian workforce and the useful occupation of our youth'.

EDUCATION

- 115 Kasper, Wolfgang (1983), 'The market approach to social welfare', in Ronald Mendelsohn, ed., *Australian Social Welfare Finance*, George Allen and Unwin, Sydney, in association with the Centre for Research on Federal Financial Relations, Australian National University, 80-93.

The chapter begins with a definition of social welfare and a discussion of equity as a social goal. There follows a definition of the market approach to social welfare which, the author claims, 'is based on the consideration that in a complex social system which changes dynamically all the time (as industrial societies do), there is no efficient substitute for decentralised decision making and the testing and co-ordination of those decisions in the market place. The production of goods and services for social welfare is therefore best left to market competition, except where **genuine** externalities occur, externalities being economic costs and benefits of individual behaviour for which the market fails to give compensation, and which ought to be compensated by taxes or subsidies.'

The provision of social welfare is put into the context of Australian economic development, and a number of specific proposals which fall under the heading of 'market-conforming instruments' of social welfare are evaluated. 'These include negative income tax, health insurance, education vouchers and similar endowment grants', as well as the redistribution of wealth through bequest taxes. 'All these market-oriented schemes have common themes, namely that they would enhance cost effectiveness, widen individual choice, enhance future-orientatedness and self-reliance, and devolve certain responsibilities for individual welfare to the family and the individual. Spreading and well-endowed welfare bureaucracies would no longer be able to compete to push the family out of traditional functions. The influence of a

big, impersonal welfare state would be reduced. Such welfare reforms would form an important element in an Australia which welcomes and exploits structural changes and which puts - whenever possible - the market reward near where the effort is made.'

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING, EDUCATION, HEALTH

- 116 Kasper, Wolfgang (1986), 'Privatisation - market forces and distribution of wealth', *Melbourne Chamber of Commerce Journal*, 14, September, 15-17, 19.

The author asks how the long-term economic and social well-being of the nation has been affected by 'the dramatic growth of the share of resources, which the government is claiming in one form or another'. He examines the economy, claiming that Australians 'have far too easily opted for promoting all sorts of equity notions' without sufficient consideration of efficiency. The flaw in the economy is a 'structural rigidity', resulting in too little competitive behaviour, caused by 'government regulation and socialised ownership of resources'. The paper puts the case for privatisation and increase of competition in markets. The secondary objective of privatisation, the author claims, is the rejuvenation of capitalism. 'Apart from contributing to the primary objective of making the productive apparatus more competitive in the constructive and socially desirable sense, privatisation of government activities could and should, in my view, serve a second important goal: to spread share-ownership and to spread investment in productive assets further afield.' This spread of 'the base of industrial capital in society' and broadening of the share of ownership would 'induce people to be responsible for their own economic security, rather than be dependent on the State (which may ultimately not be able to deliver the pension promises)'.

WELFARE FUNDING

- 117 Kelaher, Mary (1991), 'Commercialising the public sector', *Australian Accountant*, 61 (2), March, 36-9.

The article is concerned with issues of 'contracting out' government services to the private sector as a way of reducing costs and improving productivity. Some examples are given where this procedure has taken place in Australia and internationally. The benefits and risks are canvased, and counter arguments are outlined.

FORMS

- 118 Kelley, Jonathan (1990), 'Private versus government enterprises', *National Social Science Survey Report*, 2(3), 1-3.

A survey of 2000 Australians (part of the 1990 Election Panel of the National Social Science Survey) included questions about their evaluation of the services provided by government enterprises and compared them with their evaluation of private businesses. The article analyses the responses. 'We found that the public are substantially more satisfied by private services than their government counterparts. People have mixed feelings about government enterprises, viewing them with a blend of praise and blame. Importantly, they see government enterprises offering much less variety of goods and choice of services to the customer. The survey found that choice is what ensures consumer satisfaction; and its perceived absence is the major defect of government enterprises.'

IDEOLOGY

- 119 Kemeny, Jim (1981), 'The cost of selling public rental housing: Victoria and South Australia compared', *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, 16(4), November, 297-312.

'A comparison of the cost of selling public rental housing is made between two state housing authorities which have similar sized rental stocks but which have sold different percentages of total constructions. Using data from annual reports, it is found that Victoria's policy of selling to sitting tenants has resulted in higher per unit costs on the unsold rental stock than in South Australia where very few houses have been sold to sitting tenants. It is argued that tenants who do not buy necessarily subsidise those who do buy, and that if governments wish to encourage sales then they, and not the bulk of public tenants, should pay for the cost of sales'.

HOUSING

- 120 Kendig, Hal (1990), 'Ageing and housing policies' in Hal Kendig and John McCallum, eds, *Grey Policy*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 92-109, 201-16.

This chapter concentrates on national housing policies and illustrates state and local issues with data from New South Wales. It reviews housing tenure and financial security and income support policies. The middle section considers property regulations which influence the availability of housing alternatives, and dwelling-related services which facilitate staying on in the family home. The discussion then turns to the evolution of specialised accommodation for older people provided by the voluntary sector, state housing authorities and the rapidly growing resident-funded housing industry.

HOUSING

- 121 Kendig, Hal L. and Faye Stephens (1987), 'Financing housing innovations for older people: public and private alternatives,' *Australian Journal of Regional Studies*, 1, June, 53-75.

'This paper reviews public and private sector innovations for financing housing and related services for older people. A wide range of accommodation options are suggested in order to respond to the diverse situations and preferences of individuals over the course of later life. The paper begins by reviewing the housing costs, financial resources, and residential needs of older people. Options explored for owner occupants include moves to more appropriate housing such as home units, the delivery of maintenance and other services to the home, and the provision of loans to be recouped from estates. The rapid development of resident funded housing is shown to provide important new financing and care arrangements which call for public regulation. A number of policy responses are suggested to respond to the housing needs of life-long tenants. Although the Aged or Disabled Persons Homes Act has provided subsidies primarily for former owners, these funds could be redirected to meet the capital costs of hostels for the frail aged or independent living units for private tenants. Public housing is shown to meet effectively the needs of poor older people. Joint ventures with other organisations could enable State Housing Authorities to increase provision, particularly of supportive accommodation, for the frail aged. Improved access to public housing or home ownership in mid-life would also limit the numbers of individuals facing the stresses of private tenancies in old age.'

HOUSING

- 122 King, Stephen (1992), 'What is privatisation?', *Economic Papers*, 11(3), September, 57-64.

The aim of this paper is to provide both a discussion of, and an analytical framework for definitions of privatisation which are often confused and used in contradictory ways. 'The intention is to clarify and focus the debate on public sector reform and to reform a foundation for further research into the benefits and costs of privatisation.' The author's framework involves two components: first, 'privatisation involves enterprise-based changes in the governance and organisation of an economic unit'; and second, 'these changes are directly tied to an aim for improved cost efficiency of the organisation'.

FORMS

- 123 Knox, Bruce A. (1988), 'On university fees', *Quadrant*, 32(11), November, 47-9.

'By abolishing university fees in 1974, Mr Whitlam achieved two things. First, he removed from the universities the only resource which demonstrated their character as independent, self-governing institutions. Second, he strengthened the idea that

higher education is a "right" which every citizen can claim. The present controversies surrounding the funding and organisation of higher education deserve to be viewed in this light.' The author discusses the re-introduction of fees in the light of the status of universities, particularly the concept of universities as 'instruments of the State', a suggestion which he rejects.

EDUCATION

- 124 Langmore, John (1988), 'Making a case against privatisation', *National Outlook*, 10(4), May, 11-12.

The article examines two major arguments put forward by supporters of privatisation: increased efficiency and reduction in Government debt along with the potential to reduce public sector borrowing. The author rejects both of these arguments as sufficient justification for the privatisation of public authorities. 'Privatisation involves rejecting the balance of community responsibility. It is a direct attempt to undermine the capacity of government to influence the economy on behalf of the community.'

IDEOLOGY

- 125 Latham, Mark (1990), 'Starting over', *Australian Left Review*, 123, November, 32-3.

Australia's economic policy during this century is briefly described, especially in relation to policies of Labor Governments. The author argues that the ALP must redefine its goals for equity and economic performance, understanding that 'the real issue is not private versus public ownership in the economy, but monopoly versus competition in key markets'. He also argues that government spending and taxation can improve both the nominal income and social wage of the less privileged. Governments can generate public resources and allocate them to areas of need. Wage policy must also be addressed in order to build a growth economy.

IDEOLOGY

- 126 Lawrence, John (1991), 'The ethics of privatisation', *Australian Association of Social Workers Newsletter (New South Wales)*, 1, 9-10.

The article is concerned with the ethical arguments surrounding privatisation. 'Until recently, the long term trend in western industrialised democracies has been towards greater government involvement in the social and economic life of the society - through direct provision of goods and services, through subsidies, and through regulation. Though often described by the ethically loaded term 'welfare state', this various state activity is now coming under much closer scrutiny'. Some of the criticisms are canvassed; many of the criticisms of state interventions may have been

well-founded, but the author asks 'is privatisation an ethically preferable alternative?' Privatisation proposals can involve reduction in any one of the major forms of state intervention and what is to replace it also may have various forms. 'Only detailed analysis of each proposal in terms of the likely effects on the lives of those involved will provide adequate ethical justification, and this must include looking at a full range of practical options.'

IDEOLOGY

- 127 Leeder, Stephen R. (1988), 'Commentary: public health in Australia: planning for beyond 2000', *Community Health Studies*, 12(3), 239-45.

The paper, delivered at the Public Health Association of Australia and New Zealand Conference in August 1988, analyses health care policies both in Australia and American. 'The US runs hot with competition and the private sector supplies health care to the population who can pay. Charity serves the 30 or 50 million who cannot pay. As one US administrator ... said, he is employed to manage the health of his organisation, not the health of the community.'

HEALTH

- 128 Le Grand, Julian (1988/89), 'Welfare and the market', *Social Justice in Australia*, supplement to *Australian Society*, 7/8 (12/1), December/January, 13-15.

The article draws attention to criticisms of the welfare state from both left and right, and to some of the ways suggested for improving the situation. 'One of the ways suggested to make it more responsive is a greater use of markets'. The author asks: 'Is it possible to introduce markets, or elements of markets, into welfare provision to create greater responsiveness and greater inequality?' Two of the ways in which this might be done are examined. One is education vouchers and the author argues for 'an experimental area-bound discriminatory voucher scheme' to determine whether they are 'dangerous extremist nonsense or a potentially useful instrument for attaining welfare ends'. The other is user-taxation or charges. Ways of implementing such taxes are explored but again the author argues that any implementation should be on an experimental basis. 'Experiments of this kind have to be carefully monitored; but they are more likely to reveal the true merits and demerits of market-oriented welfare reform than any amount of armchair theorising.'

WELFARE FUNDING, FORMS, EDUCATION

- 129 Legislative Council, Standing Committee on State Development (1989), *Public Sector Tendering and Contracting in New South Wales: Local Government Tendering and Contracting*, Report No. 2, Parliament of New South Wales, 22pp.

This report is based on an analysis of the responses to a questionnaire sent to all government councils in New South Wales about their tendering and contracting practices. It presents the legal framework for these practices and discusses the range of practices. Some recommendations are made.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

- 130 Lindsay, Greg (1988), 'Privatisation: restating the obvious', *CIS Policy Report*, 4(2), April, 1-2.

The author 'spells out some of the elementary reasons why enterprises capable of operating in the private sector should not be retained under state control'. He also discusses the subject of 'distributing the proceeds' of privatisation. 'Unfortunately, some leading government ministers, faced with opposition from their own backbenchers, have hinted that they want the money to finance additional education and welfare spending.' It is argued that this contradicts the government message that we should be weaned from 'dependence on the public purse'.

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING

- 131 Lipsky, Michael and Steven Rathgeb Smith (1990), *Government Provision of Social Services Through Nonprofit Organisations*, URU Working Paper No. 21, Urban Research Unit, Research School of Social Science, Australian National University, 7-38.

'Historically, nonprofit organisations in the United States have played a critical role in helping people in need by providing education, training, residential counselling and in-kind and cash support. Today, contrary to popular belief, most nonprofit service organisations in the United States depend on government for over half of their revenues.' This paper 'considers the implications of this relationship between government and nonprofit organisations for our understanding of the welfare state in advanced industrial countries. They argue that recently the American government has used nonprofit agencies to expand the boundaries of the welfare state in a host of service categories, from child abuse to domestic violence to homelessness. The result is a welfare state that is more expansive than would be the case if policymakers relied solely on the public sector. The paper also examines the effects of this evolving relationship on the organisational norms of nonprofit agencies. These agencies have an emphasis on particularistic responses to the individual, while the government requires an equity-based focus in which all clients are treated alike. The new funding arrangements mean increased government intrusion into the affairs

of nonprofit agencies, thereby, altering the character of social policy and the American welfare state.'

The publication also includes 'a note on contracting as a regime and its possible relevance to Australia' by Michael Lipsky.

FORMS

- 132 Lipsky, Michael and Steven Rathgeb Smith (1990), 'Public problem, private answer', *Impact*, 20(4), April, 11-13.

'In the United States, government use of contracting with non-profit agencies to achieve public purposes in social services has become widespread. Since the 1970s, as new social problems - teenage runaways, battered women, hunger, homelessness, AIDS hospices - have been accepted as requiring public action, policy responses have been the fiscal responsibility of governments and implementation the responsibility of the voluntary sector.' The authors argue that the welfare state is more expensive than if policy makers relied solely on the private sector, but that some of the values that the private voluntary sector contribute to social welfare provision have been compromised.

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING

- 133 Lloyd, Peter J., Ian M. McDonald and Ross A. Williams (1989), 'Calculating costs and setting fees for university tuition', *Journal of Tertiary Educational Administration*, 11(1), May, 15-17.

The paper examines some of the issues that arise when a university is permitted to charge fees for the educational services it supplies. A method for calculating fees is presented.

EDUCATION

- 134 Logan, John (1991), *Medicare Reconstructed: An Alternative Health Policy*, Working Paper No. 5, Draft Version 2, Centre for Independent Studies, St Leonards, New South Wales, 33pp.

The author argues that medicare 'has led to distortions and inefficiencies in the allocation of health resources'. Problems involve excessive intervention and government control, misunderstandings about economic costs and 'misplaced support for the government's health policy'. The 'reconstruction' suggested in the paper should 'transform it from a quasi-socialist "universal" policy to a generous, but targeted, safety net for those with inadequate means, for the chronically ill and for other disadvantaged persons and families'. Measures suggested for such a policy include: means-tested vouchers; administration by the Department of Social

Security 'along with other welfare funding'; the deregulation of private health insurance; the cessation of subsidisation by governments of private patients in public hospitals; the corporatisation of public hospitals; and the deregulation of medical markets. The paper also includes a discussion of benefits which would occur as a result of the reconstruction.

HEALTH

- 135 Loughman, Janet (1989), 'Legal aid: the community legal centre alternative', *Law Society Journal*, 27(5), June, 72-5.

'Government funding cuts are creating a crisis for the delivery of legal aid services. The Law Society is proposing a major privatisation of legal aid delivery.' The author claims that more creative solutions are necessary to deal with the situation. 'Provision of legal aid by the private profession is characterised by the use of individual litigation as the dominant method of legal service delivery. It treats the poor as individuals who simply don't have enough cash to pay the normal fee, but neglects the needs of the poor as a class affected by a wider range of disadvantages than financial hardship.' The article examines the submission of the Law Society and puts forward a series of reasons to oppose a proposal to privatise legal aid.

LEGAL SERVICES

- 136 Lumley, Judith (1988), 'Research funding: problems, policies and priorities. Is privatisation the answer?', *New Doctor*, 47, Autumn, 26-8.

The author examines propositions that medical research should be funded by the private sector, asking whether resistance to this alternative is based upon ideological consideration alone, or on 'realistic anxieties'. The article looks at some problems and concludes that there are reasons of 'good science and good medicine' for government-funded research.

HEALTH

- 137 Lyons, Mark (1990), *Government and the Nonprofit Sector in Australia: An Overview*, CACOM Working Paper No. 1, Centre for Australian Community Organisations and Management, University of Technology, Sydney, 22 pp.

'This paper begins with an overview of the private, not-for-profit sector in Australia. It then focuses on the relationship between private, non-profit organisations and governments, drawing on two research projects-in-progress. The first part of this section delineates growing financial support for non-profit organisations by governments, but also growing government dependence on non-profits. The second part takes a longer perspective and traces major shifts in the pattern of government/non-profit relations over the past two hundred years. This section

concludes by examining the changing pattern of relationships over the last decade and identifying likely future developments. The paper ends with brief suggestions for future research.'

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING

- 138 Lyons, Mark (1991), 'How government social expenditure cuts would affect the community sector', Part 2 of *Private and Public Support for Community Organisations. Some Comparative Data and Policy Issues*, CACOM Working Paper No. 4, Centre for Australian Community Organisations and Management, University of Technology, Sydney, 8 pp.

The paper is a response to Goodman and Nicholas (1990) (q.v.), which proposed a greater role for private charities in the provision of welfare services, including income support, a proposal also 'floated' by the Leader of the Federal Opposition. The Australian situation is compared, in the paper, with the American situation on which the proposal is based. The author argues that 'any attempt in Australia to cut Commonwealth social expenditure in the expectation that the community sector, via increased private donations, can pick up the difference would not only fail, but would have a disastrous effect.'

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING

- 139 Lyons, Mark (1991), *The Privatisation of Human Services in Australia: Myth and Reality*, CACOM Working Paper No. 5, Centre for Australian Community Organisations and Management, University of Technology, Sydney, 23 pp.

The paper examines evidence for the claim that human services in Australia have been the subject of privatisation during the 1980s. ABS data shows that if privatisation has occurred in human services it occurred in the 1970s and 'ceased as a major consequence of government policy during the 1980s'. Examples are given, with data on health, nursing homes, non-institutional health care, primary and secondary education, housing and community development, labour and employment affairs, recreation and culture and welfare services. The data includes information on support for non-profit organisations by all governments over the period 1968/69 to 1986/87. The author concludes that claims that privatisation is occurring or has occurred may be based on overseas trends. Attention must be paid to the pattern of human services provision in Australia, 'attention which is alert to the possibility that what has developed in Australia is not a pale shadow of overseas, but something which, for good or bad, is uniquely Australia'.

An abbreviated form of this paper appears as 'Privatisation in Australia - a myth borrowed from abroad', *Impact*, 21(11), December, 20-1.

WELFARE FUNDING

- 140 Lyons, Mark (1991), 'Welfare under threat in Canberra's quiet war', *Impact*, 21(2), March, 10-13.

The article is concerned with 'the war called the Review of Commonwealth/State relations' which is concerned with Commonwealth Financial Assistances Grants (FAGs) and Special Purpose Payments (SPPs). These are necessary because, while the Commonwealth raises most of the revenue, the Constitution limits the types of activities or services on which it can spend it, and therefore passes a proportion to the States in one form or another. The article argues that if the responsibility for programs is passed back to the States, because the Commonwealth and the States have different political priorities 'and because they have many programs which are funded only from their own revenue sources which have been relatively starved of funds, those social programs handed back to the States will inevitably experience cuts in their funding'. Some of the cuts will result in fewer public hospitals beds, less public housing, higher nursing home fees, more expensive school fees, etc. The role of the market would be enhanced.

WELFARE FUNDING

- 141 Lyons, Mark (1992), 'A voucher system - by stealth', *Impact*, 22(10), November, 12-14.

'The most significant development in the provision of human services during the 1980s was not privatisation but, rather, the move away from supporting private organisations towards subsidising users. In effect, governments are slowly moving towards providing vouchers. This is most noticeable in subsidies from the Department of Health, Housing and Community Services (DHHCS) to services such as child care, disability services, nursing homes for the aged and home care services. It is not yet evident in most state government programs.' The article discusses the implications for both users and service providing organisations. Private non-profit organisations will be forced into competition with for-profit organisations with a consequent change in ways they will be able to operate.

FORMS, COMMUNITY SERVICES

- 142 Marcus, David (1988), 'Privatisation - the issues', *Consuming Interest*, 35, March, 12-14.

The article outlines briefly the history of the political debate about privatisation in Australia. It presents definitions of privatisation and formulates criteria and questions for consumer impact assessments which should be applied before privatisation takes place. The principle of 'user-pays' is discussed and compared with the related concept of 'cost recovery'. The necessity for imposing policies of privatisation are examined along with related issues which could be relevant. The

author (writing on behalf of the Australian Consumers' Association) is concerned with community service obligations and the effect of privatisation on consumers.

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING, FORMS

- 143 Marginson, Simon (1990), 'Why do private schools often seem better than state schools?', in Anne Gollan, ed., *Questions for the Nineties*, Left Book Club Co-operative Ltd., Sydney, 95-111.

The author considers a range of factors involved in answering the question posed in the title as well as discussing social goals. He concludes that it is 'impossible to provide full equality of opportunity across the whole of schooling when middle class families tend to concentrate their educational efforts in one type of school, poorer families in another, and there's a society-wide competition between the two types of school for social standing and financial resources'. The paper also argues that the 'solution lies in converting those private schools, now financed heavily by federal and state governments, into state schools open to all children'.

EDUCATION

- 144 Marginson, Simon (1991), *Development of Educational Markets in Australia*, Discussion Paper No. 16, Public Sector Research Centre, University of New South Wales, Kensington, 13 pp; also in *Economic Papers*, 10(4), December 44-58.

This paper is an outline of the privatisation and commercialisation of Australian education (including vocational training) since the 1960s. These developments point to the growing role of market systems in the production and delivery of education, particularly in the last half of the decade. The development of markets in Australian education is of particular interest because the public sector has dominated the provision of education, and the public sector has been even more dominant in education financing especially at university level. The paper defines the terms 'privatisation', 'corporatisation', 'commercialisation' and 'deregulation'. It examines enrolments in Australian schools and universities as well as fees and charges in both schools and institutions of further education. It also discusses briefly the establishment of a fully private university (Bond University) in 1989. The author argues that 'in both training and higher education the strong trends towards profit-based commercialisation are likely to also strengthen the role of the private sector in the long term. The question is whether fully capitalist education markets become the dominant form of production and distribution, with non-market production in the public sector left to play a residual role'.

EDUCATION

- 145 Marginson, Simon (1992), 'Implications of the emerging educational markets', in Peter Saunders and Diana Encel, eds, *Social Policy in Australia: Options for the 1990s*, Proceedings of National Social Policy Conference, Sydney, 3-5 July 1991, Volume 2: Contributed Papers, SPRC Reports and Proceedings No. 97, Social Policy Research Centre, University of New South Wales, Kensington, 121-31.

The paper describes the emergence of markets in Australian education and training, and draws attention to some policy implications. Historically, the dominant form of production of educational services was a non-market one. While there was a significant private sector in schooling and training, commercially-driven production was of minor importance. The last five years have seen strengthened competition in upper secondary education; the rise of entrepreneurial styles of management, and the emergence of comprehensive user pays arrangement such as the Higher Education Contribution scheme. Within this environment new educational markets have flourished: overseas students and a fee-paying population in TAFE and post-graduate studies.

The implications of this trend include a relative decline in public funding, a reduction in government responsibility for educational and vocational outcomes and greater social inequalities in the distribution of educational opportunities.

EDUCATION

- 146 Martin, Roy (1992), 'Commercialisation, markets and vouchers in education', in *Vouchers and 'Client-based Funding' in Social Policy: Current Trends and Issues*, PSRC Discussion Paper No. 27, Public Sector Research Centre, University of New South Wales, Kensington, 7-12.

This paper concentrates on the potential impact of the introduction of vouchers on government schools. The differences between public and private education in Australia are briefly described; and the trends towards commercialisation are assessed, including the increasing need for school fundraising. The trends towards markets in education is seen as a strategy to 'de-systemise' the state system. The problems associated with this trend and the 'opting out' proposals are explored: proposals for the introduction of vouchers are analysed in this context. The outcomes of the scheme are 'potentially even more disastrous than privatisation, although the two interact and can never really be separated'.

EDUCATION

- 147 Mathews, John (1988), *A Culture of Power: Rethinking Labour Movement Goals for the 1990s*, Pluto Press, Sydney, in association with the Australian Fabian Society, Victoria, 60pp.

This pamphlet, one of a series on strategies for renewal for the Labor Party in power is concerned with democratisation of a range of policy areas. One section (49-53), is concerned with privatisation and the defence of the public sector - 'the issue that is currently dominating political debate in Australia'.

IDEOLOGY

- 148 McCarthy, Kath (1992), 'Privatising punishment for profit', *Alternative Law Journal*, 17(3), June 111-13.

The article discusses the trend towards privatisation of prisons in Australia where there is one privately owned and operated prison in Queensland and another being built in New South Wales. The issue is examined in the light of 'new right ideology', the role of the state in punishment and 'symbolism and state justice'.

PRISONS

- 149 McCoy, Elaine and Charles Allan McCoy (1990), 'Privatisation and state activity: the "privatisation" of public service culture and the privatisation of tradeable enterprise as contradictory elements within an analysis of new state reforms', *Policy Organisation and Society*, 2, Summer, 32-40.

The paper argues that the privatisation of tradeable enterprises and the 'insidious' privatisation of public service culture are two separate aspects of privatisation; and that the latter is often ignored. It is also argued that the former is supportable 'but that the introduction of a private corporate culture into the public service must be approached with caution', as it 'appears to seriously compromise the function of representative government through the "depoliticisation" of bureaucracy'. The privatisation of trading enterprise on the other hand 'appears to serve majoritarian interests in the divestiture of "illegitimate" welfare provision by the state through a radical reform of state responsibilities and encumbrances'.

IDEOLOGY

- 150 McDonald, Catherine (1989), 'Privatisation in the human services sector', *Impact*, 19(3), June, 13-14.

The article draws attention to changes occurring in the funding and administration of community services, arguing that they are happening without proper debate. Examples are given. 'In the overall content - on a national policy level, all the little decisions are adding up into several big ones whether we agree with it or not. The

lack of response at this level of analysis does equate to decisions being made in a vacuum, decisions we may regret.'

WELFARE FUNDING

- 151 McGrath, Amy (1989), 'The controversy over the nationalisation of medicine 1941-1949', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, 74(4), April, 348-59.

'In the period 1941-9, the medical profession of Australia came under serious threat of nationalisation in the fullest sense of the term, when it experienced the challenge of the Labor Party's proposal for a salaried free medical service for the nation. The profession bitterly opposed the proposal with few exceptions. Their vociferous opposition was a major force in the defeat of the Labor Government in the 1949 election after eight years of office 194-9.' The article canvasses the arguments of the time and outlines the actions taken by the parties to the dispute.

[It is included in the this bibliography as an example of efforts to bring about the opposite to privatisation, that is, nationalisation of a service.]

HEALTH

- 152 McHarg, Malcolm (1987), 'A different viewpoint', *New Doctor*, 45, Spring, 15-17.

The article discusses government policy in hospital provision in both New Zealand and Australia. Among other issues, the paper points to the lack of high quality data and information on which to base analysis and decision making.

HEALTH

- 153 Mendelsohn, Ronald, ed. (1983), *Australian Social Welfare Finance*, George Allen and Unwin, Sydney, in association with the Centre for Research on Federal Financial Relations, Australian National University, 246 pp.

This book resulted from discussion set up by the Centre for Research on Federal Financial Relations in 1980. It is 'primarily about the finance of social welfare in the Australian federal system'. R. L. Mathews and the editor in the their chapter 'A perspective', summarising the issues, claim that debate about welfare has been politically superficial, concentrating n 'emotional or humanitarian or allied aspects of the various programs, and has failed to give adequate weight to economic or financial aspects, or to alternatives in rigorous economic terms'. The major themes of the book are discussed in this introductory chapter, and the chapter themes are delineated. Chapters which impinge on the issue of privatisation are:

The market approach to social welfare	Wolfgang Kasper (q.v.)
Income security: the economics of retirement provision	Keith Hancock
The financing of schooling	Greg Hancock
The financing of health services	J. S. Doble
The financing of housing	R. J. Egan and E. C. Wall

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING, EDUCATION, HEALTH, HOUSING, SUPERANNUATION

- 154 Minford, Patrick (1987), 'Achieving public objectives with less money', in Michael James, ed., *Restraining Leviathan: Small Government in Practice*, CIS Policy Forums 6, Centre for Independent Studies, Sydney, 67-95.

This chapter is mainly concerned with trading enterprises. It discusses public sector inefficiency and private remedies in terms of public production, public consumption and taxation and goes on to suggest where cuts can be made. In connection with public consumption, reference is made to health services, education and social security. The recommendation then is that the state should replace public consumption in those areas 'by a 70 per cent Negative Income Tax to help the poor, conditional on their subscribing to medical and disability insurance and to a pension scheme, and paying their school fees. All "welfare" services would then be bought by individuals in a normal manner for cash.'

IDEOLOGY, EDUCATION, HEALTH

- 155 Molony, John (1990), 'Should those who benefit from tertiary education pay for it? Should tertiary education be geared to the needs of industry? And subsidised by industry?', in Anne Gollan, ed., *Questions for the Nineties*, Left Book Club Co-operative Ltd., Sydney, 112-24.

The chapter describes the changes in tertiary education policy of the Whitlam Government, which on 1 January 1974 'assumed full financial responsibility' for tertiary education, as well as introducing non-competitive financial assistance for tertiary students. The fact that this changed very little in the student population at universities is discussed. 'The privileged continued to be the main recipients of higher learning'. The arguments of the Wran Report of 1988 are canvassed and its recommendations for the reintroduction of fees and the development of AUSTUDY are discussed. The Dawkins era followed, with its changes in the binary system of tertiary education, including the assumption of control over the tertiary system by the Department of Employment, Education and Training. The paper argues that more control and direction by governments will result in the setting up of private institutions which, as in the secondary system of education, will appeal to the Commonwealth and the states for partial funding. The author foresees a process

whereby there will be further loss to the underprivileged as well as changes in disciplines taught.

EDUCATION

- 156 Moore, Sharon (1990), 'Privatisation at community level', *Impact*, 20(4), April, 14-15.

'The privatisation debate in Australia has largely revolved around the issue of whether or not the government should sell off major public enterprises, but there is a lesser known privatisation debate occurring at the community level. The most significant form of privatisation in local government is the transfer of functions to the private sector. This has occurred in four major ways: contracting out services, public service abrogation, the return of public responsibilities to individuals and their families and the use of charitable non-government organisations and volunteers.' The article specifies some ways in which these processes are occurring, looks at some arguments in their favour and against them. The author also looks briefly at the effects on women and migrants.

FORMS, LOCAL GOVERNMENT, WOMEN, COMMUNITY SERVICES

- 157 Moyle, Paul (1992), 'Privatising prisons: the underlying issues', *Alternative Law Journal*, 17(3), June, 114-9.

This article focuses on Australia's first private prison, Borallon Correctional Centre in Queensland, in an examination of the privatisation of prisons. Issues examined include: accountability, democracy, the identification of people as a source of profit, delegation of the power to punish, natural justice and monitoring. It is argued that privatisation should not proceed without adequate preliminary research. 'Ultimately the state cannot abrogate its obligation to provide a safe, accountable and efficient correctional service which encourages meaningful skill acquisition and socialisation to inmates imprisoned by the authority of the state.'

PRISONS

- 158 Murn, John (1991), 'The review of legal services to the NSW Government', *Legal Service Bulletin*, 16(3), June, 109-12.

The Review of Government Legal Services Commission was established by the NSW Government in September 1990. 'The Lawyers Reform Association is concerned that the review may be window dressing for a move by the New South Wales Government to privatise state public sector legal work.' The author believes that there are 'unassailable reasons why the NSW Government should retain and develop its in-house legal capabilities'. The article discusses three areas where in-house legal services have an objective advantage over private firms: conflict,

expertise and cost. Arguments in favour of privatising government legal work are also canvassed.

LEGAL SERVICES

- 159 Nairn, M. E. (1989), 'Managing financial resources for higher education - problems and solutions', *Research and Development in Higher Education*, 10, 435-7.

It is commonly accepted that financial resources provided by the Federal Government are inadequate for higher education institutions to maintain high quality programs for recurrent needs, capital works and major equipment. The paper puts forward solutions to this problem, including alternative sources of funding. These sources include: fees from overseas students; money from industry, possibly by way of joint ventures in the commercialisation of intellectual property; and additional research money to be raised by staff.

EDUCATION

- 160 Naufal, Roland (1991), 'Government business enterprises have social goals', *Policy Issues Forum*, November, 17-21.

This article, adapted from a submission to the Victorian Parliamentary Economic and Budget Review Committee inquiry into the Community Service Obligations (CSOs) of Government Business Enterprises (GBEs), argues that CSOs cannot be separated from the fundamental purpose of GBEs. It defines CSOs, identifies community expectations and discusses the need to ensure that they are met. 'The financing of the social goals of the GBEs is too often arbitrarily defined as financing programs for socially disadvantaged people. Community service is a far broader concept and CSOs are not discrete and cannot be separately financed.'

IDEOLOGY

- 161 New South Wales Department of Health (1989), *Options Paper on State Strategies to Improve the Balance Between Public and Private Hospital Services*, Discussion Paper, NSW Department of Health, 17pp + appendices.

'This options paper identifies strategies which may be implemented at State level to achieve a better balance of patient load between the public and private sectors. The paper receives a wide range of options at Federal and State Government levels, identifies issues and constraints and recommends a number of strategies which could be adopted by the State. The primary recommendation is that the State encourage greater use of private hospitals by the currently insured population, rather than attempt to increase health insurance coverage which is largely a Federal matter.'

Recommended strategies include: development and upgrading of private hospitals; contracting arrangements between Area Health Services and private hospitals; early discharge programs; an advertising campaign; and a review of Medicare and health insurance arrangements. 'The paper also examines broad cost implications of a shift of private patients from the public hospital system.'

HEALTH

- 162 New South Wales State Development (1990), *Guidelines for Private Sector Participation in Infrastructure Provision in the 'State of Business'*, State Development, Sydney, 16pp.

The publication begins with a quotation from the Premier: 'My Government is committed to encouraging increased private sector participation in infrastructure provision. We welcome initiatives from the private sector to work with us to enhance the State's infrastructure base and to assist in making New South Wales a leading economy in the Asia-Pacific Region'. The government has set up a Task Force to develop the NSW Economic Development Strategy, with members from the business community as well as public sector participants. This publication presents a review of current guidelines, a description of the current procedures and assessment process, and broad directions for both private and public sector managers.

The objectives of the infrastructure policy include enhancement and modernisation of the public infrastructure, the need to safeguard the public interest, and reduction of the Government's financial burden, an increase of efficiency and the provision of sound opportunities for private sector investment. The opportunities identified for private sector involvement include transport links, energy and water systems, environment protection projects and hospitals.

FORMS

- 163 Nicolades, John (1988), 'Privatisation', *Shelter-National Housing Action*, 4(3), March, 28-32.

This article examines the stated policies of both Liberal and Labor parties before the March 1988 election, 'to ascertain whether the respective party policies are forms of privatisation' and 'to measure what their effects will be on the provision of public housing in NSW'. The impact of the sale of public housing in NSW on the Commonwealth-State Housing Agreement (CSHA) is assessed.

IDEOLOGY, HOUSING

- 164 Nurick, John, ed. (1987), *Madate to Govern: A Handbook for the Next Australian Government*, Australian Institute for Public Policy and the Australian Chamber of Commerce, Perth, 224pp.

This 'handbook' includes chapters and recommendations on: macroeconomic policy; government and administration; tax reform; the labour market; foreign affairs and defence; health; education; welfare; housing; trade and industry; transport; communications; primary industry; the environment; and policy management. Recommendations related to the privatisation of government activities occur in several chapters and include specific suggestions in some cases. In general, the 'questions should be: What is government doing that could better be done by competitive private sector suppliers, if necessary with some form of subsidy to protect the needy?' Specifically, among other suggestions, it recommends: the transfer of Medibank Private to the private sector; the transfer of public hospitals from the present system to a fee-for-service system for public as well as private patients; the replacement of present recurrent funding of non-government schools with a voucher system; the availability of the Pensioner Health Benefit care to all pensioners and beneficiaries who want it, but its sale to those whose income is over the limit; the use of funds saved through abolishing the Commonwealth-State Housing Agreement to increase rent allowance and family income supplement to achieve equity between low-income tenants in privately and publicly owned dwellings. All these recommendations are discussed.

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING, EDUCATION, HEALTH, HOUSING

- 165 O'Connor, Peter (1990), 'Privatisation and welfare issues', *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, 25(1), February, 27-39.

'This paper traces some of the persistent criticisms which have attended welfare provision in Australia and many other western industrialised nations over the past twenty years.' It emphasises the need to counter the attacks which have come from the radical Right 'who are becoming more adept at manipulating and hijacking the language and sentiments of supporters of welfare. The paper argues that the welfare crisis debate, of which privatisation has become an important component, has deceptively seized upon a particular, and simplistic, interpretation of economics and the economy of welfare, as a means of unfurling a broader ideological position on social and economic policy'.

IDEOLOGY

- 166 Opit, Lou (1987), 'The privatisation of the NHS', *New Doctor*, 43, 8-10.

The article examines the privatisation of the National Health Service in Britain under Thatcher, its effects on the welfare state and on British society.

HEALTH

- 167 Paddon, Mick (1991), *The Real Cost of Contracting Out: Re-assessing the Australian Debate from UK Experience*, Discussion Paper No. 21, Public Sector Research Centre, University of New South Wales, Kensington, 13pp.

This paper includes a review of the extent of contracting out and competitive tendering in Australian government activities and of the assumptions made in proposals to extend such processes. It also examines some Australian literature in the area; describes the Compulsory Competitive Tendering (CCT) now operating in the UK; and analyses the effects, costs and benefits of competitive tendering. Some issues addressed are the additional costs of preparing for competition, overall costs or savings from competition, and the sources of the cost savings. The author asks whether competition is necessary to achieve change. The review 'challenges many of the claims and assertions made in the Australian literature about the positive benefits of competitive tendering and contracting out'.

FORMS, LOCAL GOVERNMENT

- 168 Page, Barbara (1986), *Privatisation*, Background Paper 1986/2, New South Wales Parliamentary Library, Sydney, 32pp.

This paper is a 'non-partisan' account of some issues involved in privatisation. It presents arguments both for and against privatisation and includes some discussion of government intervention and public ownership in Australia, along with mention of social equity issues.

IDEOLOGY

- 169 Pamment, Philip (1991), 'Profit and the provision of housing', *Shelter-NHA*, 8(1), Spring/Summer, 27-8.

The author briefly compares the Dutch housing system with that of Australia. 'In Holland, the right to make a profit from property is over-ridden by the right of everyone to decent housing'.

HOUSING

- 170 Papadakis, Elim (1990), *Attitudes to State and Private Welfare: Analysis of Results from a National Survey*, SPRC Reports and Proceedings No. 88, Social Policy Research Centre, University of New South Wales, Kensington, 132 pp.

The results of a survey of attitudes to spending on social welfare form the body of this report. The survey was carried out in 1988-89, based on a sample of 3507 people from all States and Territories and focused on attitudes to health services, education and provision for old age. The report discusses public opinion, public policy and the mechanisms which link them, arguing that these mechanisms are

complex and that they vary in their significance according to the time, the circumstance and the issues under consideration. It may serve to draw attention to the constraints on policy makers, however politically committed they are to goals of state regulation, privatisation or decentralisation; and to the sources of popular acceptance or resistance to alternative policy directions.

The Australian welfare state has been the subject of debate during the last two decades, during which time social policy, public expenditure and taxation have all played an important part in political discourse. The Federal opposition has placed on the agenda the notion of much greater involvement by the private sector and by charitable and voluntary organisations, in order to reduce government spending and to address the problem of an apparent decline in the work ethic among sections of the population. The government has instituted reforms and held a major review of the social security system. This report argues that the review did not address the problem of the political acceptability of some of its proposals for reform, and outlines some of the criticisms the review has met.

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING, EDUCATION, HEALTH

- 171 Papadakis, Elim (1990), 'Privatisation and the welfare state', in Barry Hindess, ed., *Reactions to the Right*, Routledge, London, 99-124.

Attempts to alter radically the structures of welfare provision have 'prompted a wide range of intellectual responses and the formulation of alternative strategies'. The author identifies three streams among these responses: pragmatic acceptance by 'welfare pluralists'; defensive attempts by Fabians, to adapt the welfare state to new circumstances; and the development of radical reform counter-strategies. Each of these three groups are described and discussed with examples of arguments from each. It is concluded that the 'pattern and future direction of the welfare state has been influenced in a decisive manner by the new right'. However, the 'initiatives for privatisation have not led to any significant decline in overall spending levels'.

'The struggle over the future direction and reform of the welfare state is far from over. The explanation for the absence of collective action lies in the weakness of existing organisations, in the difficulty of reformulating the goals of social democracy.'

IDEOLOGY

- 172 Papadakis, Elim and Peter Taylor-Gooby (1987), *The Private Provision of Public Welfare*, Wheatsheaf Books, Brighton, Sussex, 226 pp.

This book is an analysis of privatisation of health, education housing and the provision of occupational and private pensions in Britain, demonstrating the expansion of private provision since 1979, under the Thatcher Government.

WELFARE FUNDING, EDUCATION, HEALTH, HOUSING, SUPERANNUATION

- 173 Parker, R. A. (1987), *The Elderly and Residential Care: Australian Lessons for Britain*, Gower, Aldershot, 128pp.

This book is concerned with the provision of residential care for the elderly in Australia. The issues which emerge from the study relate 'especially to the subsidisation, planning and general regulation of the private and voluntary sectors as well as to the question of the nature of public attitudes towards residential care for elderly people'. While funding for individual elderly people is a Commonwealth Government responsibility, the factors affecting provision and regulation fall outside Commonwealth control. Private and voluntary sector bodies which provide most places are varied as to styles, costs, size and the type of residents admitted, and in the pattern of ownership. All these aspects are examined.

WELFARE FUNDING

- 174 Paterson, John (1991), 'Privatisation and the billion dollar cottage industry', *Policy Issues Forum*, April, 2-6.

The article (by the Director General of Community Services Victoria) analyses the origins of the non-government social and community services industry, questioning the validity of assumptions made in the debate about the privatisation of welfare services. The article includes review of the arguments presented by Goodman and Nicholas (q.v.).

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING

- 175 Porter, Rae (1989), 'The federal election: what does it mean for housing?', *Shelter-National Housing Action*, 6(2), November, 3-16.

The article provides an overview of the housing policies of the three major federal political parties (the Australian Labor Party, the Australian Democrats and the Liberal/National Coalition) based upon their election platforms. The policies are

assessed in relation to the policy objectives of a comprehensive, integrated and co-ordinated National Housing Strategy.

HOUSING

- 176 Preston, Barbara (1989), 'The eight year plan for schools funding', *Australian Teacher*, 23, July 15-16.

The article examines government funding of non-government schools as compared with funding of government schools. 'There is no doubt that public funding of private schools has a determined impact on public education. The author quotes a Schools Commission Report (1981) which puts forward 'the view that one of the factors that has contributed to the rise in non-government enrolments has been the policies of successive State and Commonwealth Governments on the funding of non-government schools since 1973'.

EDUCATION

- 177 Pringle, Helen (1992), 'The privatisation of our common life: the ALP and the Commonwealth Bank', *Current Affairs Bulletin*, 68(9), February, 13-18.

'Privatisation is one of the planks of conservative ideology. Transferring public services and activities to private hands sits well with notions of economic efficiency and the free operation of the market.' The author uses the partial privatisation of the Commonwealth Bank which occupies an important place in Labor Party tradition, symbolic of a commitment to the security and protection of Australia's working classes, to examine the implications of Labor's privatisation plans.

IDEOLOGY

- 178 Public Sector Research Centre (1992), *Vouchers and 'Client-based Funding'*, in *Social Policy: Current Trends and Issues*, PSRC Discussion Paper No. 27, University of New South Wales, Kensington, 29pp.

The publication includes five papers which were delivered at a conference held in Melbourne in 1991. They identify the main strands of a push for marketisation, indicated by such terms as 'vouchers', 'brokerage', 'client-based' or 'individualised' funding. 'The underlying rationale is to create a competitive market amongst would-be producers or service providers for the clients' dollar. The assumption is that producer power over the consumer will be reduced, if not removed and the consumer's choice greatly widened. The dangers as well as the benefits are discussed with reference to education, housing and community services by the five papers.

Foreword	Michael Howard
Vouchers in higher education	Simon Marginson
Commercialisation, markets and vouchers in school education	Roy Martin (q.v.)
Client-based funding and housing assistance	Michael Darcy (q.v.)
Vouchers and individualised funding - implications for the community services sector	Adam Farrar (q.v.)
Community options: a brokerage model	Sara Graham

COMMUNITY SERVICES, EDUCATION, HEALTH, HOUSING

- 179 Pusey, Michael (1991), *Economic Rationalism in Canberra*, Cambridge University Press, Australia, 310pp.

This book, sub-titled 'A nation building state changes its mind', is based on a survey and interviews conducted with top public servants, in the middle and late 1980s. The results of the survey lead the author to conclude that there has been a 'dynamic of rationalisation' that has come from a strong Cabinet, across the market-oriented departments and 'more forcibly still across the program and service departments, in a process that is anything but neutral and which has greatly reduced the redistributive function of the Canberra state apparatus and altered the whole cast of public policy'. That policy includes greater dependence on 'market' mechanisms and a trend towards privatisation.

IDEOLOGY

- 180 Quiggin, John (1992), 'Free lunches in the case for privatisation and deregulation', *Economic Analysis and Policy*, 22(1), March, 67-84.

'Free lunches arise when benefits of public or private organisational forms are estimated without regard to the associated costs. Two forms of the free lunch fallacy are prevalent in the literature on privatisation and deregulation. First, transfers from employees and transfers associated with tax evasion are treated as if they are net gains. Second, the benefits of market discipline, arising from the threat of bankruptcy or takeover form a major part of the case for privatisation. However, the social costs of bankruptcy and of the operation of the market for corporate control are typically not taken into account.'

IDEOLOGY

- 181 Quiggin, John (1993), *The Industry Commission Approach to Public Sector Reform*, paper prepared for the Public Sector Working Party of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, February, Evatt Foundation, Sydney, 31pp.

'The Industry Commission (IC) has been one of the leading proponents of microeconomic reform .. The object of this article is to provide a critical survey of

the IC approach to public sector reform, particularly as it is embodied in the ORANI model.' The author claims that the 'IC approach is essentially *a priori* in nature' and that it is 'difficult to conceive of any empirical evidence that would lead to a change in the Commissions deeply held view that free markets are superior to intervention and that private ownership is superior to public'.

Two main theoretical criticisms of the IC framework are presented here. One is concerned with the failure to treat unemployment as a factor. The IC also takes not account of the effects of its policy recommendations on income distribution. 'Thus a policy which resulted in a large loss to low-income wage earners, but yielded a slightly larger increase in corporate profits (or to high income salary earners) would normally be supported.' The paper also looks at the IC approach to community service obligations through the budget or by adjusting the rate of return required of government business enterprises.

The effects of supported reforms on the living standards of the population is also discussed.

IDEOLOGY

- 182 Rannald, Pat ed. (undated, 1988), *Privatisation: How it Affects You*, Australian Council of Social Service, Sydney, 24pp.

This booklet has been produced by a range of community and union organisations to examine what effects trends towards privatisation (in the form of budget cuts, 'user pays' and deregulation) will have on living standards, and the quality of life of ordinary Australians. It includes sections on: trends in wealth and income distribution in Australia; problems in the Australia economy; the public sector in Australia; the deregulation debate; those who will benefit from privatisation; taxation; and suggestions for real reform rather than cost-cutting. It is suggested that further discussion is necessary.

WELFARE FUNDING

- 183 Rannald, Patricia (1991), 'The public sector constituency', *Labor Forum*, 1, May-July, 17-20.

This article discusses the Labor Party policy on privatisation, and the implications of the 1991 Special Conference of the Party where the decision was taken to open Australia's telecommunications market to the private sector. It presents a brief history of changes in Party policy. The author comments that senior government ministers developed a 'strong ideological commitment to privatisation and a reduced role for the public sector which ran counter to ALP policy and to the 1983 government vision of a reformed public sector which could deliver better and more effective services to the community. The ideological commitment to privatisation

appears to originate from and to have been cemented by the economic advice received initially from Finance and Treasury.'

IDEOLOGY

- 184 Rein, Martin (1981), 'Private provision of welfare; from welfare state to welfare society', in Ronald F. Henderson, ed., *The Welfare States: Strategies for Australian Social Policy*, Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research, University of Melbourne, 9-37; with notes by Ian Manning, 37-9; commentary by Tom Brennan, 39-42; and Hugh Stretton, 43-4.

The chapter inquires into the phenomenon of fringe benefits as part of the public-private mix in the provision of welfare. It discusses the role of government in private sector welfare under the headings: mandating, regulating, stimulating and supporting. These government activities are contrasted with 'the more conventional interpretation that social policy is carried out by the welfare state'. The chapter stresses the importance (and variety) of arrangements made by companies and statutory authorities which affect the welfare of employees throughout their lives, covering such things as sick pay, holidays, car allowances, workers' compensation and superannuation. The notes by Ian Manning put money figures to some of these benefits.

WELFARE FUNDING

- 185 Richardson, J. (1986), 'Regulation or reprivatisation of the health care sector: which path should Australia follow?', in *Policies and Prescriptions: Current Directions in Health Policy*, CIS Policy Forums 4, The Centre for Independent Studies Limited, Sydney, 131-61.

The purpose of this article is to review some of the major arguments relevant to the debate about the role of government in the Australian health care sector. Some 'key aspects of the conventional welfare case for government intervention are reviewed', and a number of new claims of 'positive theorists' are discussed. 'The conclusion is that both approaches have been misused; comparing an imperfect market with an omnipotent and benign government, or a stumbling and purely self-interested regulatory body with a fantasised competitive environment, are equally invalid forms of argument.' The author also argues that the 'case for the market or for regulation depends upon the quantitative relationships between means and objectives and upon the social value judgements that determine the relative importance of different objectives'. Australia and the USA, appear to attach quite different weights to equity and efficiency'; and success is 'not independent of the institutions, traditions and characteristics of a particular country'. Some evidence of success of regulatory systems is reviewed and the procompetitive regulatory proposals in the USA are discussed and evaluated.

HEALTH

- 186 Richardson, Jeff (1987), 'Ownership and regulation in the health care sector', in Peter Abelson, ed., *Privatisation: An Australian Perspective*, Australian Professional Publications, Sydney, 249-74.

The private sector produces a high proportion of health services, but governments dominate the financing of health care and particularly the financing of hospital and medical services. 'In these circumstances it is not surprising that health care, and especially health insurance and hospitals, have attracted the attention of Australian advocates of privatisation. This paper evaluates the arguments and evidence for regulation and government ownership in the two major health care subsectors, namely hospital and medical care and their financing.' The application of theories of welfare economics and regulation to the health care sector is reviewed. The author argues that 'the comparison of an imperfect market with an omnipotent and benign government and the comparison of a stumbling and purely self-interested regulatory body with a fantasized competitive environment are equally invalid. It is argued that the case for state intervention depends upon the quantitative relationships between means and objectives, and upon the social value judgements which determine the relative importance of different objectives. The importance attached to equity in Australia implies that some degree of regulation may be desirable unless the regulation required to achieve this social objective results in an unacceptably high loss of efficiency. Evidence on the effects of regulating health care and on the performance of private hospitals and private health insurance is examined.' Some options for regulated competition in Australia are discussed.

IDEOLOGY, HEALTH

- 187 Rimmer, Stephen (1988), *Contracting Out as a Form of Privatisation: A Study of Victorian Local Government*, ACC Research Paper No. 1, Australian Chamber of Commerce, Canberra, 11pp.

In 1986 a survey of 52 Melbourne municipalities was undertaken. This research paper analyses the results to indicate the use of private enterprises in the provision of services. Aspects of privatisation are examined, with particular emphasis on contracting out of services. Benefits, problems and impediments to the process are discussed.

FORMS, LOCAL GOVERNMENT

- 188 Rimmer, Stephen (1988), 'Privatisation: local government leads the way', *CIS Policy Report*, 4(2), April, 6-8.

This paper, one of several in a symposium included in the Report, deals with the increasing use of privatisation processes by local government. It argues that benefits

outweigh problems and that 'privatisation can yield distinct economic improvements in Australia's public sector'.

FORMS, LOCAL GOVERNMENT

- 189 Rimmer, Stephen (1990), 'Local government and competitive tendering: the Evatt Research Centre's critique of contracting out', *Policy*, 6(3), Spring, 38-40.

This review of the Evatt Research Centre's publication *Breach of Contract: Privatisation and the Management of Australian Local Government* (1990, q.v.) is critical of its methods and conclusions. One of the criticisms is that it does not consider 'the most widely-used bidding process, in which both private and public bids are accepted'.

FORMS, LOCAL GOVERNMENT

- 190 Rimmer, Stephen (1991), 'Competitive tendering, contracting out and franchising: key concepts and issues', *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, 50(3), September, 292-302.

'While governments make extensive use of competitive tendering for the procurement of goods and services, there is a considerable degree of confusion in Australian and overseas literature about key terms and principles. This impacts on the debate about its use and on its implementation, monitoring and evaluation by governments. A major report on the use of competitive tendering by Australian local government, published by the Evatt Research Centre (1990, q.v.) is analysed here in detail, to highlight the nature and extent of conceptual ambiguities evident in the current literature. This paper provides a description of the use of competitive tendering by governments in Australia and overseas and discusses the key concepts involved. The analysis addresses important questions such as : What is competitive tendering? Is it a form of privatisation? How does it impact on the cost of government services and how does it work in theory and practice?'

A reply to this paper, by Tim Lee, follows in the same journal: 'Evatt's *Breach of Contract*: has the critic got it right', pp. 303-8.

FORMS

- 191 Rix, Steve (1991), 'Lost authority', *Australian Left Review*, 127, March, 28-9.

The article discusses the New South Wales Government's policy of 'corporatisation' defined as 'the application of private sector forms and methods to statutory authorities, including the application of securities legislation to issues of accountability'. The place of statutory authorities in the Australian context is

described. The author concludes that 'without precise understanding of the ultimate ownership of public sector institutions and assets, programs such as corporatisation threaten the right of the ultimate owners (the citizens) to participate in decision-making about their goals and operations. This would be a step back from the political gains made by progressives over many decades'.

FORMS

- 192 Roberts, Margaret (1992), 'The need for a strong, independent welfare sector', *IPA Review*, 45(1), 19-20, 59.

The article argues that 'strengthening the non-government welfare sector will raise, and not lower, standards in the services from which Australians benefit. Without such a sector, we would, as a nation, be less free than we are.' The limitations of government-run services are canvassed; and some of the features of the 'voluntary' or not-for-profit are listed. Funding issues are considered, including the need for government support for these non-profit organisations.

IDEOLOGY

- 193 Robson, Peter (1989), 'Government intervention: an economic necessity', in Peter Coaldrake and J. R. Nethercote, eds, *What Should Governments Do?*, Hale and Iremonger in association with the Royal Australian Institute of Public Administration, 197-87.

The paper is concerned with the views of those who argue that public sector activity, including public sector investment, should be reduced to allow the 'invisible hand' of the market to prevail. A key element of the market approach is privatisation. The author argues that 'the economic, efficiency and productivity arguments used against public sector intervention are in fact ideologically based and if adhered to will provide no answer to Australia's economic problems'. Among the examples of the efficiency of public enterprises, evidence is given from the operation of Medicare.

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING, HEALTH

- 194 Rosenman, Linda (1989), 'Privatisation of social welfare services and social work practice: an overview of the issues', *Australian Social Work*, 42(4), December, 5-10.

This paper reviews two major trends in privatisation. Privatisation of social welfare services is discussed in terms of financing and of delivery of services. The development of social work in private practice is also described. The implications of these developments are discussed. Changes in social work practice in the United States of America which involve increasing privatisation have led to a call for 'a recommitment of social work to public welfare and the need to prepare workers who

are willing to work in the public social services'. This point has not been reached in Australia, nor has government policy explicitly developed in this direction, but 'it is important that social work is aware of, and is prepared to deal with, the implications of this trend'.

WELFARE FUNDING, COMMUNITY SERVICES

- 195 Roughley, Anne (1991), 'Guest editorial', *Australian Association of Social Workers Newsletter*, (New South Wales Branch), 1, 7-8.

This editorial is concerned with the implications of privatisation for social work practice, especially the privatisation of welfare services which have hitherto been provided by public organisations. The author deals particularly with changes in adoption services, but examines the role of social workers more generally. 'Surely the lesson is that each privatisation proposal has to be carefully examined to determine whose interests are being served. To focus primarily on industrial issues bears the mark of self interest. Any sort of blanket rejection has the flavour of workers rights rather than clients rights. Intrinsically there may be nothing wrong with a privatisation proposal, however, it is a social workers' professional and ethical responsibility to examine the risk factors of each proposal and to determine whose interests are being compromised and whose are being enhanced.'

WELFARE FUNDING, COMMUNITY SERVICES

- 196 Rowthorn, Bob and Ha-Joon Chang (1992), 'The political economy of privatisation', *Economic and Labour Relations Review*, 3(2), December, 1-17.

'This paper examines some of the main arguments relating to the effect of privatisation on efficiency.' It argues that 'the question of public enterprise efficiency cannot be divorced from politics' and that 'even where the performance of public enterprise is inadequate it may be feasible to improve without privatisation, thereby retaining the traditional advantages of public ownership, whilst avoiding the considerable transactions costs and regressive income distribution often associated with privatisation'.

IDEOLOGY

- 197 Royal Australian Institute of Public Administration, (1986), *Privatisation and Deregulation*, J. R. Nethercote, ed., Special number of the *Canberra Bulletin of Public Administration*, 13(3), Spring.

This number of the journal includes papers from the 1986 Autumn Seminar, Canberra, March 1986, and also incorporates papers from the *Financial Review* Seminar on 'Selling the Public Sector', Sydney, February 1986, the Privatisation Conference, H. V. Evatt Memorial Foundation, Sydney, July 1986 and the 1986

Annual Conference, RAIPA (Victorian Division), Melbourne, August 1986. The papers in this special number of the journal include:

Privatisation and deregulation	J. J. Carlton
Government regulation and privatisation	Michael G. Porter
Privatisation and deregulation - a business perspective	George R. Webb
Privatisation and deregulation	Andrew Robb
Public sector efficiency and finance	Peter Walsh
Privatisation and deregulation: myths and practicalities	John Dawkins
The case against privatisation	Frank Walker
Privatisation: issues arguments and implications	Rob Jolly
Privatisation - a trade union viewpoint	W. Mansfield
The politics of privatisation and deregulation	Paul Kelly
Privatisation, deregulation and the Australian community	John Braithwaite
Privatisation	Hugh Stretton
The public-private sector debate	E. L. Wheelwright
Privatisation: what is it? Why do it? And who wants it?	John Langford
The privatisation debate: reflections on the	
<i>Financial Review</i> Seminar	David Clark
Issues in the privatisation debate	John Howard
Privatisation and deregulation in the health sector	Andrew Doman
	(q.v.)

The editor outlines the debate and briefly categorises the papers. He summarises the argument and concludes that the welfare state has not 'resolved all issues of social policy. Public expenditure does not always benefit the poor. Public services are not inevitably more just or more equitable than markets'.

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING, FORMS

198 Russell, E. W., ed. (1991), *The Future of the Public Sector*, Public Sector Management Institute, Monash University, 111pp.

This collection of articles is intended to explain why there is a future for the public sector and to question policy makers about the 'benefits the new right vision of a much reduced sphere of public activity might bring'. 'The new right contend that we are witnessing an inevitable and once only correction of the aberration of excessive state intervention in the economy, and they target public enterprise particularly as an unnatural phenomenon, to be scourged through privatisation or closure as soon as possible.' The editor of this collection believes that Australia's tradition of public enterprise is older and more far-reaching than that of most other countries, and that privatisation is still not supported by the majority of Australians. The articles included are:

The future of the public sector	Bill Russell
After Thatcher, where next?	Andrew Graham

Division of labour among the public, private and domestic sectors: fixing the mix	Hugh Stretton
Sector, sector on the wall, which is the fairest one of all?	
A comment on Hugh Stretton's paper	David Corbett
The role of the public sector in Australia's economy and society	Ann Byrne
Capital funding of public enterprise	Leslie Fallick
The future of the public sector at state level	Tony Aspromourgos
Privatisation and local government	Robert Dixon (q.v.)
Public sector reform in New Zealand	Hyam Gold

IDEOLOGY, FORMS, LOCAL GOVERNMENT

- 199 Saunders, Peter (1987), 'An economic perspective on the finance and provision of community services', in Peter Saunders and Adam Jamrozik, eds, *Community Services in a Changing Economic and Social Environment*, SWRC Reports and Proceedings No. 70, Social Welfare Research Centre, University of New South Wales, Kensington, 9-50.

This paper addresses a number of issues in the provision and finance of community services by Government in the light of the social, economic and demographic changes which have taken place since the mid-seventies. Community services are defined here to include provisions and expenditures in the areas of education, health and welfare services (not housing). Sections of the paper deal with trends in public sector outlays and expenditure on community services, 1965-1986; employment in community services over the same period; expenditure on community services by the individual states; and poverty and income inequality in the individual states.

Section 6 discusses a number of issues at the forefront of current debates over the future prospects for community service provision and finance. Emphasis is placed on three major alternative mechanisms for public welfare intervention: direct service provision, subsidisation through the tax system and government regulation. Attention is also drawn to the significant role that private welfare provisions and private finance thereof play in the current mixed economy of welfare in Australia. Recognition of the full extent of the mixed economy of welfare is central to contemporary social policy analysis. With these aspects in mind, the paper then discusses some of the principles underlying recent welfare state privatisation proposals. It is argued that however correct the suspicions over the underlying motives of privatisation proponents, there is a need for a more open-minded approach in order to fully assess the potential for privatisation in some areas in order to provide a system which is more effective and financially viable in the medium-term.

WELFARE FUNDING

- 200 Saunders, Peter (1990), 'To market, to market', *SPRC Newsletter*, 39, December, 2-5.

The article discusses the application of market solutions to economic problems, in particular to problems posed by social policies and welfare states. The author argues that 'there are many undoubted benefits to market solutions which make then a potentially new and exciting policy option, at least in some instances', but that 'it is also important to recognise that the welfare state is intended to offer vulnerable and disadvantaged people some certainty in their economic and social circumstances'. Thus the starting point for better social policies should be to take a critical, yet supportive, look at current policies, at the same time giving consideration to how market solutions might be introduced and what their consequences are likely to be. The arguments of economic rationalists in favour of market based solutions are examined; the author concludes that there is 'no guarantee that the solutions achieved through the market will be regarded as desirable from a broader social perspective'.

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING

- 201 Saunders, Peter and Michael Fine (1992), *The Mixed Economy of Support for the Aged in Australia: Lessons for Privatisation*, Discussion Paper No. 36, Social Policy Research Centre, University of New South Wales, Kensington, 26pp; also in *Economic and Labour Relations Review*, 3(2), December, 18-42.

This paper describes and analyses the aspect of Australian income support and service arrangements for the aged in the context of broader issues relating to privatisation. It is argued that much of the welfare privatisation debate is overly simplistic and does not recognise the important role which the non-government sector already plays in both aspects of support for the aged. Analysis of income data shows, for example, that transfer income currently accounts for less than half of the income of the aged. The trend towards superannuation is apparent in the data, although some doubts are raised about the impact of superannuation expansion on the implications for the costs of retirement income support of population ageing. In the area of community services, the paper describes the development of policy over the last few decades in order to illustrate the complexity of existing arrangements. The switch from institutional to community care is identified as a major trend, particularly during the 1980s, and some of the implications of this development for privatisation are drawn out and analysed.

COMMUNITY SERVICES, HEALTH

- 202 Saunders, Peter and Adam Jamrozik, eds (1987), *Community Services in a Changing Economic and Social Environment*, SWRC Reports and Proceedings No. 70, Social Welfare Research Centre, University of New South Wales, Kensington, 165pp.

The publication consists of the proceedings of a conference held in Brisbane, Queensland on 16 October 1987. The papers delivered were:

Welcome - introductory remarks	Linda Rosenman
Opening address	Yvonne Chapman
An economic perspective on the finance and provision of community services	Peter Saunders (q.v.)
Child poverty and the reform of family assistance	Peter Whiteford
Tension in community care policy: the case of family day care	Andrew Jones
Policies and services for young people: social concern or political expediency?	Cathy Boland and Adam Jamrozik
Disability policy: can the non-government welfare sector deliver the goods?	Christopher Brown and Charles Ringma
Aged care policy: can the non-government sector deliver the goods?	Deborah Setterlund

The papers discuss the relationship of 'community services' and 'community caring' to 'institutional care'; the economic underpinning of community services rhetoric; and the danger that 'community services' may become a form of 'community neglect'.

WELFARE FUNDING, COMMUNITY SERVICES

- 203 Scates, Bob (1990), 'The impact of the sales of public housing in Australia', in Sara Graham, ed., *Social Policy in Australia: What Future for the Welfare State*, Proceedings of National Social Policy Conference, Sydney 5-7 July 1989, Volume 6: Concurrent Sessions, *Community Services: Policy and Practice*, Reports and Proceedings No. 84, Social Policy Research Centre, University of New South Wales, Kensington, 79-83.

The paper discusses the housing policy of the Victorian Government and the Victorian Housing Commission. The proportion of dwellings available for rental purposes to civilians is decreasing as the policy of selling units, in some cases to the tenants, is escalated. It is suggested that the remaining tenants subsidise those who buy. There is a need for more public rental housing for low earners.

HOUSING

- 204 Scates, Bob (1990/91), 'Selling public housing: on towards the 1990s or back to the 1960s', *Shelter - National Housing Action*, (2), Summer/Autumn, 27-30.

The article gives a brief history of the sale of public housing especially in Victoria since 1956. The promotion of home ownership and the sale of public housing, including sales to tenants is discussed.

HOUSING

- 205 Simms, Marian (1986), '"The dilemmas and paradoxes of public bodies performing commercial tasks": the rhetoric of rationality and the rejection of traditional Labor philosophy on the role of the state', *Politics*, 21(2), November, 32-40; also appears in *Australasian Political Studies Association Conference Proceedings* (1985), 2, 576-97.

The article looks at the ways in which political parties in Australia have regarded a commitment to an active public sector, in particular examining changes in the policy of the Labor Party. The paper uses 'the policy area of the function and administration of public sector enterprises in order to demonstrate the depth and significance of this change'. There have been changes in rhetoric, part of a wider tendency to reject appeals to traditional Labor imagery (such as equality, welfare, the public sector as a good in its own right and other social as opposed to economic goals).

IDEOLOGY

- 206 Sloan, Judith (1989), 'Education', in Richard Blandy and Cliff Walsh, eds, *Budgetary Stress: The South Australian Experience*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 175-96.

This chapter 'shows the importance for public sector performance of permitting competition, putting schools into a more parent-responsible, financial environment by adopting capitation funding, devolving decision-making over resource use to the schools and introducing more *glasnost* (transparency) about the outcomes of each school'. Education spending has grown in real terms despite budgetary stress for the public sector and despite falling student numbers in government schools. The author argues that the shift in enrolments to non-government schools is 'indicative of a decline in the relative quality of government schools as seen by parents' and that to improve outputs from government schools must be put in place. 'The size and influence of the Departmental bureaucracy should be severely reduced as autonomy is granted to each school and its community.'

'In theory, government involvement in education should involve subsidisation of users through some voucher arrangement. However, public sector production and

partial subsidies to private providers of education services are the dominant means of government involvement.'

EDUCATION

- 207 Staines, Verdon (1987), 'Equity and aged care services: alternative strategies for user-charges policies', in Chris Foster and Hal. L. Kendig, eds, *Who Pays? Financing Services for Older People*, Commonwealth Policy Co-ordination Unit and ANU Ageing and the Family Project, Australian National University, Canberra, 379-403.

This paper is concerned primarily with the aspect of the financing of aged care services that is concerned with the potential contribution of service users. One underlying theme of the paper is that the development of a user-charges strategy for aged care services should be seen not as an isolated task but rather as part of a balanced and integrated system, responsive to changing patterns of needs and capable of being linked with the broader aspects of social policy. The chapter includes sections on: broad and specific policy contexts; definitional issues related to user-charges and the cost and value of services; considerations of horizontal equity, vertical equity and efficiency; service oriented and client-oriented casework; allocation and assessment; allocation through casework; allocation through a mixed process; alternative user-charges policies such as separate flat-rate charges, income-related separate charges, an income-related package charge and an insurance-style charge.

WELFARE FUNDING, COMMUNITY SERVICES

- 208 Stone, Diane (1988), 'Private challenges to public goods: transformations in Australian higher education', *Australian Quarterly*, 60(1), Autumn, 40-62.

'Over the past decade the Australian higher education system has experienced burgeoning student demand and a real decline in government outlays. Privatisation, ranging from full fee courses for overseas students to the creation of private universities, has been pursued by many higher education institutions as a means to develop alternative funding sources. In addition to resource constraints, this paper identifies the penetration of neo-liberal market philosophy as a significant, albeit irregular, influence on policy formulation and the advocacy of privatisation. Problems with the neo-liberal position are indicated, having regard to the claims that privatisation programs in higher education would lead to efficiency and benefit the consumer in terms of improved freedom of choice. Finally, the paper assesses the impact of free market ideas on the recent policy initiative outlined in the governments *Green Paper on Higher Education*. The paper concludes that privatisation in higher education is likely to continue to proceed in an *ad hoc*

incremental fashion as the deficit conscious government attempts to curtail expenditure'.

EDUCATION

- 209 Stretton, Hugh (1986), 'Private or public: a false choice', *Australian Society*, 5(11), November, 3-4.

The article provides examples of privatisation (good and bad), and of public sector activity, including 'one sensible takeover from the private to the public sector'. These are intended to suggest principles to apply in making decisions about privatisation. The author favours a mix which is adaptable; attention should be paid to particular industries, regions, skills and types of unemployment. 'There will often be need for special purpose public enterprises to meet those particular needs. And those business problems connect with social problems: with questions of equity, local rights, gender rights, and so on.'

IDEOLOGY, FORMS

- 210 Sylvan, Louise and Ian McAuley (1992), 'The privatisation game', *Consuming Interest*, 53, October/November/December, 8-11.

The article examines some issues related to the privatisation debate. The arguments in favour are marshalled under four headings: efficiency, 'smaller' government, the ability to attract capital without being a burden on the capital purse, and the reduction of debt. On the other hand, the article looks at the public interest and the use of cross subsidies. The issue of cross-subsidies was argued in the UK by 'conservative economists' thus: 'cross-subsidising some consumers, through the lower pricing of services to them, was inefficient and was resulting in a misallocation of the enterprise's and the nation's resources; consumers having difficulty with bills should be given a government welfare subsidy' so that 'the enterprise should not be hobbled by an inefficient pricing policy'. This article argues that it is better to have the cross-subsidy located within the service provider rather than introducing welfare compensation schemes which create welfare traps and regulatory complexity.

WELFARE FUNDING, COMMUNITY SERVICES

- 211 Szoke, Helen (1990), 'Are private hospital standards better? Do private hospitals threaten public health care standards?', in Anne Gollan, ed., *Questions for the Nineties*, Left Book Club Co-operative Ltd., Sydney, 148-60.

The article looks at a range of health care services and identifies their funding sources. The author assesses the effectiveness of our health system and asks a series of questions about the role of government. The question of medical fees is

addressed as well as private and public health insurance, and the service provided by private and public hospitals. The author then discusses the process of 'privatisation by stealth' and the concept of 'efficiency' in economic terms which over-rides the principles of equity and accountability on which, it is argued, our health system should be based. 'The danger will be the temptation to hand over bits of the system to the willing entrepreneur, to be enchanted by the alphabetic soup of the new technologies or to be seduced by seeing the new heroic interventions as marketable commodities.'

HEALTH

- 212 Taylor, John and Susan Pitman (1992), 'Moving along the privatisation continuum', *Policy Issues Forum*, December, 24-33.

'In large part the growth of the modern welfare state was in response to the failure of the free market to ensure a minimum standard of living for all of its citizens the non-government sector has always had some part in meeting the welfare needs in the community often in co-operation with government.' The article discusses the growth in government social expenditure and the proportion going to non-government providers of services as well as the trend in the other direction, of government taking over responsibility for some previously privately run services. The extent to which government should be involved in the delivery of welfare services is debated 'in terms of responsible economic management and/or the need for privatisation'. The article canvasses models of privatisation; negotiated service contracting; competitive tendering; individualised service funding; taxation funding for 'charities'; and full privatisation. The author then discusses the perceived advantages of privatisation and the possible problems.

The author concludes that 'it is essential for the non-government voice to be heard in the political debate'. The debate should focus on funding, auspice and competition.

WELFARE FUNDING, FORMS

- 213 Thompson, Grahame (1988), *Privatisation and the Thatcher 'Miracle': Any Lessons for Australia?*, H. V. Research Centre, Sydney, 52pp.

The paper presents information about policy changes made by the Thatcher Government in Britain and analyses some of the effects of those changes. 'Contracting out of local transport, refuse collection, education and health services, catering, cleaning and maintenance also represents a controversial exercise in privatisation. Proponents of contracting out make a case on the basis of lower costs, however, critics show that initial cost savings are not sustained over the longer term and that quality of service criteria are not properly considered.' The effect of

contracting out on wage levels is also considered. The author argues that the main lesson for Australia is: 'try to avoid getting into this mess to begin with'.

WELFARE FUNDING, FORMS

- 214 Thompson, Grahame (1990), 'The private paradox', *Australian Left Review*, 124, December 52-6.

The article examines privatisation of various public sector activities in the UK. 'Privatisation programs are usually discussed in terms of the increased resort to the market mechanisms for organising and regulating the economic activity involved. The author argues that regulation, not ownership, should be the key issue. Government intervention is inevitable in industrially interdependent economies like those of Western Europe, North America and Australia. 'Thus, despite calls for a withdrawal from intervention and a rhetoric that claims to produce this, the actual picture is considerably more complex.' As previously nationalised British institutions are transformed from large public monopolies into private ones, it is the regulatory apparatuses which acquire importance. Protection of consumer interest and the prevention of abuse by monopoly power are the role of regulatory bodies.

WELFARE FUNDING, FORMS

- 215 Tilse, Cheryl, Linda Rosenman and Robyne Le Brocque (1992), 'Who pays for community care? Income support and caring', in Peter Saunders and Diana Encel, eds, *Social Policy in Australia: Options for the 1990s, Proceedings of National Social Policy Conference, Volume 2: Contributed Papers*, SPRC Reports and Proceedings No. 97, Social Policy Research Centre, University of New South Wales, Kensington, 179-91.

This paper explores programs and policies providing income support to carers to assist with the costs of caring for frail and disable people in the community. These carers are involved in programs which are designed to prevent disabled people from premature residential placement. It is based on a survey of carers.

WELFARE FUNDING, COMMUNITY SERVICES

- 216 Timar, Les (1990), 'Privatising prisons', *IPA Review*, 44(1), Spring, 41-4.

It is argued that the 'privatisation of prisons can provide savings for government and better conditions for prisoners, as well as greater public confidence that criminals will not have their punishment reduced because of over-crowding of gaols'.

PRISONS

- 217 Tregillis, Shane, Andrea Shaw et al. (1990), *The Role of the Public Sector in Australia's Economy and Society*, Public Sector Management Institute, Monash University and Labour Centre, 204 pp.

The authors of this book are proponents of the public-sector who feel the need to reclaim 'the conceptual ground by reasserting the important economic and political justifications for public sector activity'; to refute misconceptions about the public sector; and maintain public support for a viable public sector. The book includes a chapter on privatisation: 'dismantling the public sector' which discusses the ways in which it is taking place, as well as examining economic performance of both public and private sector enterprises. The final section of the book is concerned with equity and redistribution, with particular reference to women, education and health care.

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING, FORMS, WOMEN, EDUCATION, HEALTH

- 218 Vallance, Sarah (1991), 'Private prison management: panacea or pretence', *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, 50(3), September, 397-413.

At least two Australian states have examined the policy of private prison management. This article argues that Australian policy makers have 'little appreciation of the factors which motivated private prison management in the United States' where the policy initiative had its genesis. It looks at the rationale for privatising prisons, examines the US experience in terms of several issues (including government responsibility, cost effectiveness, quality of management, a range of legal issues, and the contract), and finally turns to Australian prospects. The author argues that, instead of introducing private corporations into prison management, governments should improve their own gaols while making greater use of the private sector in the design and construction of prison facilities.

PRISONS

- 219 Vintila, Peter, John Phillimore and Peter Newman, eds (1992), *Markets, Morals and Manifestos*, Institute for Science and Technology Policy, Murdoch University, Western Australia, 274pp.

This book, subtitled *Fightback! and the Politics of Economic Rationalism in the 1990s*, is a collection of essays which explores 'the likely impact of a more determined politics of economic rationalism on Australian society'. Part II of the book contains a series of essays on *Fightback* and social policy. The chapters concerned with education ('Consuming ideas: the Coalition's plans for "Choice" in education') by Jane Nicholls, on health, by Stephen Leeder and Jason Grossman, and housing, by Terry Burke, discuss the issues of privatisation as they apply in these areas.

IDEOLOGY, EDUCATION, HEALTH, HOUSING

- 220 Walsh, Cliff (1987), 'Reducing public sector spending in Australia: strategies and options', in Michael James, ed., *Restraining Leviathan: Small Government in Practice*, CIS Policy Forums 6, Centre for Independent Studies, Sydney, 97-126.

This chapter is concerned, firstly, with an analysis of public sector spending in terms of size, nature and consequences. A further section deals with initial reductions and sustained restraint. 'Even those averse to private supply of education and all health and hospital services and insurance, and in favour of substantial welfare benefits including some in-kind, should favour elimination of "free-access" to many public services and the introduction of market-like fees and charges, with means-tested subsidies to particular categories of individuals - whether low-income or chronically ill or whatever. Private competitive supply, rather than public supply ... would free yet more resources and lower overall social costs - a presumption that applies to public housing too ...'

IDEOLOGY

- 221 Walsh, Cliff (1989), 'Housing', in Richard Blandy and Cliff Walsh, eds, *Budgetary Stress: The South Australian Experience*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 240-65.

This chapter 'illustrates the importance of improved management information systems, including the clear separation of commercial objectives from community service obligations, in improving decision-making about the financing and provision of public sector housing programs'.

The policies of the South Australian Housing Trust are examined in the light of this contention. The author concludes that 'shifting the focus of government subsidies for housing from producers to consumers through a generally accessible program of rent rebates on the basis of need', would reduce the scope for special interest groups (such as home building and real estate interests) to exercise undue influence over public sector housing activities.

HOUSING

- 222 Waterford, Jack (1991), 'Trading away welfare', *ACTCOSS News*, April, 11-13.

The article discusses the handing over to the states, by the Commonwealth, control of most of its community service programs, in exchange for their industrial relations powers. The record of the states in developing and implementing programs for the disadvantaged is discussed. The states are likely to pass on the implementation of programs to institutional and church welfare bodies. The author is also concerned at the possibility of diversity arising in standards of service and in eligibility for services. 'It is worthwhile remembering why the Commonwealth first became

involved in such areas. Its massive direct role in community services - and its finger in the state pie through tied grants - came about because the states were manifestly failing to deliver services in just these areas.' He goes on to suggest that 'nice, safe charities will probably be fine if what is proposed eventuates but the worst-off citizens may not be so happy'.

WELFARE FUNDING

- 223 Watts, Donald W. (1987), 'The private potential of Australian higher education', in David R. Jones and John Anwyl, eds, *Privatising Higher Education: A New Australian Issue*, Centre for the Study of Higher Education, University of Melbourne, 29-45.

The author argues the case for private universities in the current situation prevailing in Australia. Education in this argument must be seen as an investment in human capital. The paper includes an examination of earnings through the formal teaching program earnings through consulting services, earnings through research contracts, earnings from intellectual property, through the marketing of management services, and through short courses. The author argues that rethinking our approach to higher education could create 'a system involving less regulation, decreased bureaucracy, and increased private investment in harmony with government investment in producing a more equitable and exciting system'.

EDUCATION

- 224 Watts, Donald W. (1989), 'Higher education: the roles of private investment', in Peter Coaldrake and J. R. Nethercote, eds, *What Should Governments Do?*, Hale and Iremonger in association with the Royal Australian Institute of Public Administration, 232-42.

The paper discusses the private funding of universities. The author argues for 'a system involving less regulation, decreased bureaucracy and increased private investment in harmony with government investment to produce a more equitable and exciting system ... many institutions would be forced to change their aspirations in the face of competition ... Australia would also find a more diverse system meeting the needs of more people without a proportionate increase in public expenditure'.

IDEOLOGY, EDUCATION

- 225 Weingarth, Lisa (1988), 'The privatisation debate', *Rattler*, 5, Autumn, 20-1.

The article describes existing children's service programs and funding, then discusses the statements made by the Federal Finance Minister which indicated that he supported subsidising commercial child care centres.

CHILD CARE

- 226 Westcott-Lewis, Michele (1991), 'The sale of public housing and social inequality: the British case', *Shelter - NHA*, 8(1), Spring/Summer, 7-13.

'This paper seeks to summarise some of the main issues and consequences of public housing sales in Britain with regard to their effect on equality in society.'

HOUSING

- 227 Wettenhall, Roger (1983), 'Privatisation: a shifting frontier between private and public sectors', *Current Affairs Bulletin*, 60(6), November, 1, 14-22; republished (1986), *Canberra Bulletin of Public Administration*, 13(1), Autumn, 47-54.

'This article looks first at the concept of privatisation, and then describes some early examples of privatising activity by Australian, British and Canadian governments. The more recent development of the small-government lobby is then noted, with comment on some contemporary manifestations of privatisation.'

FORMS

- 228 Wettenhall, Roger (1988), 'Why public enterprise? A public interest perspective', *Canberra Bulletin of Public Administration*, 57, December, 44-50.

The author describes the roles of public enterprises including that of providing public utilities and the concept of 'public interest' which has been served by a regulatory framework or commission. He then asks why there is now pressure to privatise and deregulate simultaneously. The Australian situation is described and discussed. Finally suggestions are made about strategies to deal with the privatisation which is occurring. Some questions raised relate to: public interest and protection of the public; the distribution of shares; the paradox which means that successful public enterprises are increasingly attractive to 'privatisers'; issues of accountability; and issues of regulation.

IDEOLOGY, FORMS

- 229 Wettenhall, Roger (1993), 'Public enterprise in an age of privatisation', *Current Affairs Bulletin*, 69(9), February, 4-12.

'The push towards privatisation has prompted prediction that we are seeing the demise of public enterprise worldwide. But closer study shows that many so-called privatisations are not really eliminating government involvement, though they may be changing its form. Many new "hybrid" arrangements are emerging and much public enterprise of a more traditional kind remains. Old assumptions about a clear divide between the public and private sector are no longer adequate: we need a redefinition of the boundary to acknowledge the myriad shades of grey that now exist'. This article describes the progress of privatisation in a number of countries and areas and reviews the survival prospects for public enterprise. The role of social obligations or 'public interest' in public enterprises is significant in the process of privatisation.

FORMS

- 230 Wharf, Brian (1991), 'From privatisation to community management', *Policy Issues Forum*, November, 22-9.

The paper draws on Canadian experience of privatisation of social service to show that the goal of smaller government is not always achieved. It discusses the implications of what might be considered as the latest version of privatisation - individualised service funding - and develops an argument for community management of social service.

FORMS, COMMUNITY SERVICES

- 231 Wheelwright, Ted (1986), *The Public-Private Sector Debate*, Address to the Evatt Foundation Privatisation Conference, (mimeo), 8pp.

The author places the debate about privatisation in a historical perspective and outlines the role of ideology in the debate. He concludes that it is very doubtful that all future development can occur on a user-pays basis, 'the preferred ideology of the privatisers'. The functions of the public sector are examined and seven are listed, the first of which is 'supplying uneconomic functions which private enterprise will not undertake until a profitable stage is reached'; and the last is 'providing essential public services, promoting some redistribution of income, and thereby some social justice, helping to guarantee some industrial freedoms'. The author also argues 'that there should be a better chance of reforming what we know is wrong with public enterprise - its autocracy, its bureaucracy, its lack of information and democracy - than in selling it off to private enterprise. There is no guarantee that private enterprise will be any better in these respects; the push to privatisation should provide the spur to provide a **better** public sector, **not** to abolish it.'

IDEOLOGY, WELFARE FUNDING

- 232 Williams, P. G. (1991), 'Privatising patient food services: opportunity or threat?', *Australian Journal of Nutrition and Dietetics*, 48(3), September, 76-80; based on paper presented at 9th National Conference, Dietitians Association of Australia, Melbourne, 1990.

'Approximately 20 per cent of hospital catering is now provided by private contracts in the UK and USA. Studies suggest competitive tendering for food services can lead to cost savings of between 10 and 20 per cent. In NSW the Government is strongly encouraging tendering and the same trend is likely to develop throughout Australia in the 1990s. Dietitians should actually participate in the process to maintain standards of service and widen their professional responsibilities.'

The article describes some 'options for privatisation', their advantages and disadvantages, some implications for dietitians and strategies for dealing with the situation when it arises.

FORMS, HEALTH

- 233 Williams, Ross A. (1985), 'The economic determinants of private schooling in Australia', *Economic Record*, 61(174), September, 622-8.

'The demand for private schooling is particularly dependent on the relationship between fees charged and services provided. This relationship in turn depends upon the extent of government funding of private schools, the level of teachers' salaries and the value of contributed services. This paper documents movements in these and other variables and examines the extent to which they explain the shift of enrolments to private schools.' It is argued that government tax concessions and the method of allocating transfers to private schools both encourage non-government schools to shift private revenue raising towards capital items.

EDUCATION

- 234 Wiltshire, Kenneth (1987), *Privatisation: The British Experience: An Australian Perspective*, Committee for Economic Development of Australia and Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 130pp.

The study describes the concept of privatisation and its origins, defines the process and canvasses the objectives. It also details the steps in the process as they have occurred in Britain and presents criticisms of the privatisation which has taken place. The final chapter presents criteria for evaluation of privatisation. It discusses also the likely situation if British-style privatisation were to take hold in Australia. The appendix collects summary data that conveys some of the impact of the program in terms of: public shareholding; employee shareholding; the performance of privatised enterprises; the impact on government finances; the performance of the regulatory regime; the impact on the trade unions, on the public, on political parties and on the media. The author argues that 'Australians would have difficulty with the

equity considerations of privatisation British style, especially as the Australian trade union movement has become such a vigilant watchdog over shifts in redistribution of income in order to encapsulate them within the wages accord with the government'.

IDEOLOGY, FORMS

- 235 Wiltshire, Kenneth (1990), 'The Australian flirtation with privatisation', in Alexander Kouzmin and Nicholas Scott, eds, *Dynamics in Australian Public Management: Selected Essays*, Macmillan, Melbourne, 224-47.

The essay presents an account of privatisation in Australia including Australian notions of privatisation, descriptions of projects in privatisation, arguments of both the proponents and opponents of privatisation and an overview of the debate in retrospect.

An element in the arguments in favour of privatisation is that privatisation of government business enterprises and other services would protect funds for welfare needs. The author states that this is an 'argument that has not appeared explicitly in privatisation debates in other countries'. Arguments put forward by opponents of privatisation include the claim that the standard of services in health and welfare would be affected. Access for the poor and underprivileged would decrease and the quality of care would deteriorate as profit and/or cost-cutting becomes the driving force. Evidence to support this claim is drawn from overseas.

WELFARE FUNDING

Author Index

followed by

Keyword Index

Author Index(All numbers refer to entry numbers, **not** page numbers)

Abelson, P.	1
Abramovitz, M.	2
Albin, S.	3
Anderson, D.	4
Andrews, G.	5
Anwyl, J.	112
Aspromourgos, T.	198
Austin, C. J.	6
Australian Bureau of Statistics	7
Australian Council of Social Service	8, 9
Australian Council of Trade Unions	10
Back, K.	112
Bacon, W.	11
Baldock, C. V.	12, 13
Baldwin, P.	14
Band, D.	110
Barnard, A.	30
Bartos, M.	15
Bateman, H.	16
Bazeley, P.	17
Bernstam, M. S.	110
Berry, M.	18, 108
Beswick, D.	112
Blackburn, J.	38
Blewett, N.	19
Boland, C.	202
Botsman, P.	20, 21
Bowman, M.	79
Braithwaite, J.	197
Brennan, D.	22
Brennan, T.	184
Brown, C.	202
Brown, D.	23
Bryson, L.	24, 25
Buckley, B.	26
Burke, T.	108, 219
Business Council of Australia	27, 28
Butler, G.	29
Butlin, N. G.	30
Byrne, A.	198
Byrt, W. J.	31

Carlton, J.	32, 197
Carter, R. A.	108
Cass, B.	38
Castles, F.	33
Centre for Independent Studies	34
Champion, R.	35
Chan, J.	36, 37
Chang, H-J.	196
Chapman, Y.	202
Chipman, L.	38
Clark, D.	197
Coaldrake, P.	38
Corbett, D.	198
Council of Social Service of New South Wales	39
Cowdall, J.	40
Cox, E.	41
Cox, J.	42, 43, 110
Cranston, R.	1
Cromwell, L. G.	93
Crough, G.	44
Dalton, T.	108
Daniel, A.	45
Darcy, M.	46, 178
Dawkins, J.	197
Deane, R.	47
Directions in Government	48, 49, 50
Disney, J.	38, 51
Dixon, J.	52
Dixon, R.	53, 198
Dixon, T.	54
Doble, J. S.	153
Doessel, D. P.	55
Doman, A. S.	34, 56, 197
Domberger, S.	27, 57
Donnelly, S.	58
Drake, P.	38
Duckett, S.	59
Eather, W.	108
Economic Planning Advisory Council	60, 61, 62
Edwards, M.	63
Egan, R. J.	153
Elliot, G.	64
Emery, J.	65
Ernst, J.	66

Evatt Research Centre	67, 68, 69, 189, 190
Eyers, M.	70
Fabb, B.	71
Fallick, L.	198
Farrar, A.	72, 73, 178
Fine, M.	74, 201
Flew, T.	75
Ford, A. J. T.	112
Forde, K.	76, 77
Forsyth, P.	27
Foster, C.	78, 79
Fraser, L.	80
Frisch, J.	16
Gadiel, D. L.	81, 82
Geiger, R. L.	112
George, A.	83, 84
George, J.	85
Gifford, J.	86
Gillespie, J.	87
Gold, H.	198
Goldring, J.	88
Goodman, J. C.	34, 89, 90
Graham, A.	197
Graham, S.	178
Gray, G.	91
Graycar, A.	92
Green, D. G.	93
Grossman, J.	219
Guthrie, J.	94
Haines, J.	95
Hancock, G.	153
Hancock, K.	153
Harding, R. W.	96
Harris, D.	108
Hay, A.	38
Hensher, D.	27
High, H.	110
Hill, D.	38
Hillman, M.	97
Hirst, P.	98
Hogan, B.	99
Hogbin, G.	1, 100
Hood, C.	38, 101
Hope, J.	102

Homer, C.	38
Howard, J.	197
Howard, M.	103, 104, 105, 106, 178
Howe, A. L.	79, 107
Howe, R.	108
Hughes, O.	38
Hyde, J.	38
Jago, J.	109
James, M.	110
Jamrozik, A.	92, 202
Jenkins, I.	111
Jolly, R.	197
Jones, A.	202
Jones, D. R.	112
Jones, M. A.	113
Karmel, P.	112, 114
Kasper, W.	115, 116, 153
Kelaher, M.	117
Kelley, J.	118
Kelly, P.	197
Kemeny, J.	119
Kendig, H. L.	79, 120, 121
Kerr, S.	110
Kilmartin, L.	108
King, S.	122
Kingston, G.	16
Knox, B. A.	123
Krygier, M.	110
Langford, J.	197
Langmore, J.	124
Latham, M.	125
Lawrence, J.	126
Le Brocque, R.	215
Lee, T.	190
Leeder, S. R.	127, 219
Le Grand, J.	128
Legislative Council, Standing Committee on State Development	129
Lindsay, C. M.	34
Lindsay, G.	130
Lipsky, M.	131, 132
Lloyd, P. J.	133
Logan, J.	34, 110, 134
Loughman, J.	135

Lumley, J.	136
Lyons, M.	137, 138, 139, 140, 141
Malley, A.	76, 77
Manning, I.	184
Mansfield, W.	197
Marcus, D.	142
Marginson, S.	143, 144, 145, 178
Martin, R.	146, 178
Mathews, J.	147
Mathews, R. L.	153
Matthews, C. J.	37
McAuley, I.	210
McCarthy, K.	148
McCoy, C. A.	149
McCoy, E.	149
McDonald, C.	150
McDonald, I. M.	133
McGrath, A.	151
McHarg, M.	152
Mendelsohn, R.	153
Miller, P.	102
Miller, R. G.	54
Minford, P.	154
Mitchell, B.	21
Moloney, J.	155
Moore, S.	156
Moyle, P.	157
Murn, J.	158
Murray, C.	110
Naim, M. E.	159
Naufal, R.	160
Nethercote, J. R.	38, 197
Newman, P.	219
New South Wales Department of Health	161
New South Wales State Development	162
Nicholas, A. J.	90
Nicholls, J.	219
Nicolades, J.	163
Nieuwenhuysen, J.	38
Nurick, J.	164
O'Connor, P.	165
Opit, L.	166
Ozanne, E.	79

Paddon, M	167
Page, B.	168
Pamment, P.	169
Papadakis, E.	170, 171, 172
Parker, R. A.	173
Passmore, A.	34
Paterson, J.	174
Phillmore, J.	219
Pincus, J. J.	30
Piggott, J.	1, 16, 57
Pitman, S.	212
Porter, M. J.	197
Porter, R.	175
Preston, B.	176
Pringle, H.	177
Public Sector Research Centre	178
Pusey, M.	179
Quiggin, J.	180, 181
Ran(n)ald, P.	182, 183
Rathgeb Smith, S.	131, 132
Rein, M.	184
Reynolds, M. F.	38
Richardson, J.	1, 34, 185, 186
Rimmer, S.	27, 187, 188, 189, 190
Ringma, C.	202
Rix, S.	191
Robb, A.	197
Roberts, M.	192
Robson, P.	38, 193
Rosenman, L.	194, 202, 215
Roughley, A.	195
Rowthorn, B.	196
Royal Australian Institute of Public Administration	197
Russell, E. W.	198
Ryan, S.	112
Saunders, P.	1, 79, 199, 200, 201, 202
Scates, B.	203, 204
Scott, C.	110
Scott, R.	112
Self, P.	38
Setterlund, D.	202
Shack, P.	112
Shaw, A.	217

Simms, M.	205
Sloan, J.	206
Staines, V.	79, 207
Stephens, F. E.	79, 121
St John, S.	110
Stewart, D. E.	107
Stone, D.	208
Stretton, H.	184, 197, 198, 209
Sylvan, L.	210
Szoke, H.	211
Taylor, J.	212
Taylor-Gooby, P.	172
Thompson, G.	213, 214
Tibbits, G.	108
Tilse, C.	215
Timar, L.	216
Tregillis, S.	217
Treyvaud, R.	112
Vallance, S.	218
Vintila, P.	219
Wall, E. C.	153
Walker, F.	197
Walsh, C.	220, 221
Walsh, P.	197
Waterford, J.	222
Watts, D. W.	38, 112, 223, 224
Webb, G. R.	197
Wedel, K.	79
Weingarth, L.	225
Westcott-Lewis, M.	226
Wettenhall, R.	227, 228, 229
Wharf, B.	230
Wheelwright, E. L.	197, 231
Whiteford, P.	202
Willets, D.	110
Williams, P. G.	232
Williams, R. A.	133, 233
Wilson, P.	48
Wiltshire, K.	234, 235
Woodfield, A.	110

Keyword Definitions and Index

IDEOLOGY: works which argue for or against privatisation, or discuss the pros and cons, particularly with reference to welfare and welfare services.

1, 6, 9, 14, 20, 24, 25, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 38, 40, 42, 43, 44, 47, 51, 60, 61, 62, 66, 67, 68, 69, 72, 75, 77, 85, 87, 89, 90, 92, 93, 95, 97, 100, 101, 105, 110, 115, 118, 124, 125, 126, 130, 132, 137, 138, 142, 147, 149, 153, 154, 160, 163, 164, 165, 168, 170, 171, 174, 177, 179, 180, 181, 183, 186, 192, 193, 196, 197, 198, 200, 205, 209, 217, 219, 220, 224, 228, 231, 234

WELFARE FUNDING: works which discuss the funding of welfare services.

1, 9, 12, 13, 14, 20, 21, 24, 29, 30, 33, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 47, 51, 62, 63, 64, 68, 69, 72, 75, 79, 90, 92, 93, 95, 97, 98, 104, 105, 107, 110, 113, 115, 116, 128, 130, 132, 137, 138, 139, 140, 142, 150, 153, 164, 170, 172, 173, 174, 182, 184, 193, 194, 195, 197, 199, 200, 202, 207, 210, 212, 213, 214, 215, 217, 222, 231, 235

FORMS: works which discuss processes such as sale of assets, contracting out, user charges, deregulation etc., which result in forms of privatisation; works dealing with the role of the voluntary and non-profit sectors.

9, 31, 39, 52, 53, 57, 58, 61, 66, 69, 72, 88, 94, 98, 99, 101, 105, 106, 117, 122, 131, 141, 142, 156, 162, 167, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 197, 198, 209, 212, 213, 214, 217, 227, 228, 229, 230, 232, 234

LOCAL GOVERNMENT: works which discuss the role of local government in the provision of welfare services, with particular reference to changes towards forms of privatisation.

3, 27, 38, 40, 52, 53, 69, 80, 129, 156, 167, 187, 188, 189, 198

WOMEN: works concerned predominantly with the effects of privatisation on women.

12, 13, 41, 156, 217

CHILD CARE: works concerned with the privatisation of child care services.

7, 10, 22, 86, 104, 225

COMMUNITY SERVICES: works concerned with the privatisation of services for the aged and for people with disabilities; works discussing the services of social workers.

12, 13, 41, 73, 79, 104, 107, 141, 156, 178, 194, 195, 201, 202, 207, 210, 215, 230

EDUCATION: works concerned with the privatisation of education, both in schools and tertiary institutions.

1, 4, 15, 26, 32, 38, 54, 65, 85, 100, 102, 112, 114, 115, 123, 128, 133, 143, 144, 145, 146, 153, 154, 155, 159, 164, 170, 172, 176, 178, 206, 208, 217, 219, 223, 224, 233

HEALTH: works concerned with the privatisation of health services both in and out of hospitals and the privatisation of hospitals themselves.

1, 2, 5, 11, 17, 19, 34, 55, 56, 59, 74, 76, 77, 81, 82, 87, 89, 91, 109, 115, 127, 134, 136, 151, 152, 153, 154, 161, 164, 166, 170, 172, 178, 185, 186, 193, 201, 211, 217, 219, 232

HOUSING: works concerned with the provision of public housing and trends towards private provision.

18, 46, 70, 108, 119, 120, 121, 153, 163, 164, 169, 172, 175, 178, 203, 204, 219, 221, 226

LEGAL SERVICES: works concerned with privatisation of access to legal services (legal aid).

8, 58, 88, 135, 158

PRISONS: works concerned with the introduction of private prisons.

36, 37, 48, 49, 50, 71, 83, 84, 96, 148, 157, 216, 218

SUPERANNUATION: works concerned with the introduction of private funding of retirement incomes.

16, 35, 78, 153, 172

BIBLIOGRAPHIES: other bibliographies covering aspects of privatisation, including some which include non-Australian material.

37, 45, 103