Appendix H

Theories of Public Policy

In studying the reasons for changes in government policy objectives, an important element of the analysis is to investigate a number of theories of the policy-making process. The political science and public policy literature since the 1950s is a rich source of theory building that can be used for the purposes of the thesis. The central concern of the thesis has been about why policy change occurs.

The canvassing of various policy models is important because it is possible that the nature of the regional policy process itself has played a part in the decline of balanced development as a policy objective (see Chapter Nine). Moreover, the models that attempt to explain the policy process may shed light on the changing nature of the policy environment. As Hawker et al argue, “... the study of policy processes will reveal how institutions work to shape and direct ideas and political pressures. Public policies do not spring fully formed from environmental conditions, however important these may be” (Hawker et al 1979: 9).

But first, what do we mean by “policy”? According to Heclo, there are eight definitions of policy. Heclo states that policy is “... usually considered to apply to something bigger than particular decisions, but smaller than general social movements” (Hawker et al 1979: 7). According to Hawker et al “... public policy consists of continuing patterns of political and administrative activity that are shaped both by deliberate decisions and by the interplay of political and environmental forces” (Hawker et al 1979: 22).

Davis et al state that public policy is a “... process in which values, interests and resources compete through institutions to influence government action” (Davis et al 1993: 7). Elsewhere, they describe public policy as “... the interaction of values, interests and resources, guided through institutions and mediated by politics” (Davis et al 1993: 15). Lasswell saw policy making as involving “... five intellectual tasks [which] are performed at varying levels of insight and understanding: clarification of goals; description of trends; analysis of conditions; projection of future developments; and invention, evaluation and selection of alternatives” (quoted in Hawker et al 1979: 277-78). According to Hawker et al, factors that affect the shape of public policy include:

- Social and economic conditions;
- Prevailing ideas;
- Institutions and individuals;
- Technical and analytical procedures; and
- General theories of how policy is made.

They conclude that the policy process is uncertain, complex, fragmented and subject to diverse influences (Hawker et al 1979: 23). Elsewhere, they claim it is characterised by fragmentation and muddle, not by rationality and sequence (Hawker
et al 1979: 285). Thomas Dye, who has written extensively on public policy processes, has developed nine policy models:

- Institutional – policy as institutional output;
- Process – policy as political activity;
- Group – policy as group equilibrium;
- Elite – policy as elite preference;
- Rational – policy as maximum social gain;
- Incremental – policy as variation on the past;
- Game theory – policy as rational choice in competitive situations;
- Public choice – policy as collective decision-making by self-interested individuals; and

Other writers use similar schemata to describe the policy process. The two basic models most often compared and contrasted are the “rational comprehensive” model and the incremental model. Further, distinctions are drawn (eg Murray Frazer 1986) between the rational approach which seeks the best solution to policy problems and a “satisficing” model in which a sub-optimal but satisfactory solution is found to be adequate for a policy issue. Herbert Simon wrote in the 1950s about “bounded rationality” in relation to satisficing, stating that “... decision makers would sacrifice complete objectivity in order to satisfy the need for a speedy and workable solution” (Davis et al 1993: 160).

The incremental policy model first proposed by Charles Lindblom in the 1950s has proved resilient as a descriptor of the policy process. Lindblom referred to the “science of muddling through” and saw most policy outcomes as marginal changes based on past experience. Dye dismisses the rational policy model completely, stating that “... there are so many barriers to rational decision-making that it rarely takes place at all in government ...” (Davis et al 1993: 161).

More recent models have been proposed by other writers including Etzioni and Dror. The “iterative mixed-scanning model” developed by Etzioni (Davis et al 1993: 167) sees policy as a choice among different options considered. Cohen et al (Davis et al 1993: 172-3) proposed a “garbage can” model of policy, in which a “... complex but random combination of problems, solutions and participants ... move from one choice opportunity to the next”.

**Public Policy and Agenda Setting**

There are also theories of decision making and agenda setting that abound in the public policy literature, and these sometimes overlap with understandings of the policy process more generally. They are clearly important in a study of policy change. According to Dye, "who decides what will be decided" is the most important stage of the policy-making process (Dye 1992: 334). Again, Davis et al state that “how decisions are made is an integral part of public policy” (Davis et al 1993: 157).
Lasswell identified seven stages of decision making – intelligence, recommendation, prescription, invocation, application, appraisal and termination. Equally, Bridgman and Davis has described a “policy cycle”, involving a number of sequential stages in the decision-making process (Bridgman and Davis 1998: 21-29), including setting the policy agenda:

There is a crucial moment in the policy cycle, a point at which a private concern is transformed into a policy issue. Suddenly the concern commands the resources of government, while a myriad of others languish as merely private concerns (Bridgman and Davis: 1998: 30).

Downs has written about the “issue attention cycle”, and how issues briefly capture the public imagination, then quietly fade from view, without necessarily being resolved. Writing in 1972 about the coming to prominence of the environmental movement, Downs stated:

American public attention rarely remains sharply focused upon any one domestic issue for very long – even if it involves a continuing problem of crucial importance to society (Downs 1972: 38).

In his issue attention cycle:

Each of these problems suddenly leaps into prominence, remains there for a short time, and then – though still largely unresolved – gradually fades from the center of public attention (Downs 1972: 38).

Downs saw the characteristics of issues that go through the attention cycle as follows:

1. the majority of people not suffering from the problem nearly as much as a minority;

2. sufferings caused by the problem are generated by social arrangements that provide significant benefits to a majority or a powerful minority of the population;

3. the problem has no intrinsically exciting qualities – or no longer has them (Downs 1972: 41).

On the face of it, the issue of balanced development lends itself to analysis in terms of Downs’ issue attention cycle.

Bachrach and Baratz explored the notion of “non-decisions” and how certain political issues come to be kept off the policy-making agenda. According to them:

A non-decision ... is a decision that results in the suppression or thwarting of a latent or manifest challenge to the values and interests of the decision-maker ... non-decision-making is a means by which demands for change in the existing allocation of benefits and privileges in the community can be suffocated before they are even voiced; or kept covert; or killed before they gain access to the relevant decision-making arena; or failing all these things,
maimed or destroyed in the decision-implementing stage of the policy process (Bachrach and Baratz 1970: 44).

Elsewhere, Bachrach and Baratz refer to occasions:

... when dominant values, and accepted rules of the game, the existing power relations among groups ... simply or in combination, effectively prevent certain grievances from developing into fully-fledged issues which call for decisions (quoted in Davis et al 1993: 170).

The concept of non-decisions and the nature of the agenda setting process is clearly of interest in examining the consistent failure of balanced development to achieve policy prominence in the 1980s and 1990s, despite the continued dominance of the NSW economy by Sydney and the persistent calls from regional areas for its implementation. Hurley has referred to decentralisation as “... an event which did not happen”, despite its acknowledgement over many years as a political objective. In some ways, the study of the place of balanced development in regional policy in New South Wales in recent times has been about “non-decision-making”.

Consistent with Bachrach and Baratz’s theme, there have been frequent accusations of “Sydney-centrism” or “metro-centrism” by balanced development supporters and others, consistent with the view that city based “elites” or interest groups have continued to hold sway over successive governments. Yet Bachrach and Baratz suggest that, not only do policies occur in the absence of clear decision making (as in Lindlom 1968, quoted elsewhere), but that there is a “conspiracy” to keep certain matters off the political agenda. This is a much stronger claim, and one that is far more difficult to sustain, for example in the case of balanced development.

Models of the Policy Process

In summary, public policy analyses offer rich opportunities for extending the depth of analysis of regional policy making and the decline of balanced development in New South Wales.

• The rational model – did various New South Wales and Commonwealth governments since 1975 reach conclusions about regional policy options in response to perceived regional problems? (Chapter Six)

• The incremental model – did governments simply build on earlier regional policies in the 1980s and 1990s and change policies at the margin, in effect “muddling through”, or was there a more fundamental shift (as in Kuhn’s notion of paradigms; Kuhn 1970)? (Chapter Nine)

• The ideological model – did regional policy development reflect new ideas or new thinking among decision-makers about regional development since the 1970s? (Chapter Eight)

• The interest group model – did regional policy outcomes reflect the playing out of group politics or the agendas of opinion leaders? Were the interests/ideas relating
to the push for balanced development well represented and were the actions of its champions effective? (Chapter Seven)

- The satisficing model – were regional policy outcomes simply sub-optimal but satisfactory alternatives to the preferred solution (that is the solution sought by proponents of balanced development)? (Chapter Nine)

- The non-decision model – did balanced development disappear from the regional policy agenda as a result of deliberate decisions, or was it a case of non-decisions causing its ultimate decline as a policy objective? If it was a case of “policy inertia”, was this a deliberate strategy on the part of interests opposed to the pursuit of balanced development (see Polsby’s critique of Bachrach and Baratz; Polsby 1980). (Chapter Nine)

In applying these models to political events in New South Wales, it may be possible to draw reasonably firm conclusions about the causes of the decline of balanced development as a regional policy objective in New South Wales since 1975. It should be noted that the purpose of developing and testing models of policy processes, decision making and agenda setting is not to prove the efficacy of one model over others, but to shed further light on the changes that have occurred in regional policy.
Appendix I

Overview of the New South Wales Political System

While government policies will be considered at both State and Commonwealth level in the thesis, the subject is closely linked to the New South Wales polity. This is the stage, as it were, on which the action takes place.

Unusually, given the importance of the State to the national economy and society, relatively little has been written about New South Wales politics, and even less about policy making. For example, only one book has been written on the Greiner and Fahey Coalition Governments (Laffin and Painter 1995). A number have been written on the Wran Government, largely focusing on Wran personally. There is little that has been written on the Askin Government and its Coalition successors (1965-76), a period critical to the thesis. A number of works have dealt with the major political parties, but often these have more been focused on politics at the Commonwealth level.

New South Wales has largely been a “Labor State”. For example, Labor held office uninterrupted for 24 years from 1941 to 1965, from 1976 to 1988, and since 1995. For the principal period under consideration in the thesis, from 1975-76 to the present, New South Wales has experienced considerable years in government by both the major parties, with Labor holding office for eighteen years and the Coalition for seven years. The Coalition also held office from 1965 to 1976, a period which is also considered in the thesis.

At the Commonwealth level, there have also been considerable periods of government by each of the major parties during the time under review. The Coalition has held power for thirteen years and Labor also for thirteen years. In the years from 1965 to 1975, the Coalition held office for seven of the ten years.

The Coalition consists of the largely (though not totally) city-based Liberal Party, normally the senior partner in the Coalition, and the National (formerly Country, then National Country) Party, which holds seats only in the non-metropolitan region. The National Party has been strong particularly in regions such as the North Coast and the New England, though this is changing due to demographic shifts and a recent willingness of country voters to abandon their traditional voting patterns.

The Coalition’s ideology has a mix of support for free enterprise and, in the case of the National Party, for support for regional areas based on its core philosophy of “countrymindedness”. Clearly this has been a recipe for tensions, since support for regionally based policies, especially where they involve elements of protection (such as in statutory marketing arrangements for agriculture), runs directly counter to the Liberal Party’s free enterprise beliefs.

The NSW Labor Party generally garners its electoral support from the greater metropolitan region, including strong pockets of support in the industrial Hunter and Illawarra areas. However, while Labor seldom holds more than a handful of country seats, the Party has a history of success in country regions, for example during the...
Wran and (current) Carr Government periods (see Appendix J). Generally, Labor
Governments at State level have been less interested in regional development than
their Federal counterparts. The activism of Labor at the national level must be seen,
however, in the context of its general definition of “regional” as including
metropolitan regions.

In the case of the Coalition, the reverse has been the case, in that Coalition
governments in New South Wales have been far more interested in regional
development than their own national colleagues. This is largely due to the States’
rights issue, the view that the Constitution allocates the issue of regional development
to the States.

While all governments need to win at least some country seats to be assured of a solid
majority in the New South Wales Legislative Assembly, the power of the non-
metropolitan constituency has waned considerably over the course of the last century
due to the urbanisation process and the increasing dominance of the State’s population
by the metropolitan region. For a time in the 1970s, the country was protected
electorally by a quota system whereby country New South Wales was guaranteed one
third of the State’s then ninety seats.

Regional development interests have achieved representation through the National
Party traditionally, and more recently through the rise of Country Independents and
the formation of “Country Labor”, a formal branch of the ALP. Local government,
while being generally weak in the face of State government and facing perennial and
increasing financial stresses, has been for many years a strong supporter of regional
development.

Government in New South Wales has generally been dominated by strong leaders.
Power is centred in the Cabinet, and the Premier plays a critical policy and
coordination role. Strong central agencies, particularly the Treasury, the Public
Service Board (until its abolition in the late 1970s), and more recently The Cabinet
Office and the Premier’s Department, provide a further element of centralisation. It
should also be noted that the central agencies, particularly the Treasury, have been
generally long-term and consistent supporters of the free market, and this has had
implications for interventionist regional policies.

Since colonial times, government and administration have been focused strongly on
Sydney, much to the continuing frustration of non-metropolitan interests.

The State has lacked the role of a coordinator general backed by legislation, unlike,
for example, the Queensland model. Hence State development agencies have not
acquired the status of a central agency of government, and have therefore been subject
to the normal, sometimes tense, relations with central agencies experienced by most
line departments.

Overall, New South Wales government is marked by the politics of convergence.
While the stuff of State government generally is largely devoid of ideological content,
in New South Wales the political parties have increasingly grown similar in their
political management styles and policy approaches. Much of State government
priorities, whichever party is in office, revolve around service delivery with the
perennial issues of electoral importance being education, health and law and order. The parties similarly pursue State development and support for resource development, investment, industry and jobs. There has been a general reluctance to overturn the policy approaches of previous administrations in the area of development policies.
Appendix J

The State ALP and Country Voters

The NSW Labor Party has had a long and relatively successful relationship with regional voters, continuing to the present Carr Government. This has at times continued while country voters were not well disposed towards national Labor governments. As Simms and Turner have noted:

One of the distinctive features of NSW Labor has been its persisting ability to appeal to country areas, even though the bulk of its support has long been found in metropolitan and industrial-mining areas (Simms and Turner in Chaples et al 1985: 109).

According to Jack Hallam, Minister for Decentralisation and Minister for Agriculture in various Wran administrations:

Political allegiance by class is less binding in rural and provincial towns and cities (with the exception of industrial towns or cities such as Broken Hill) than in Sydney, Newcastle and Wollongong. This is because of the importance in country areas of regional loyalties (Hallam quoted in Chaples et al 1985: 109-10).

The Labor Party’s strength in regional New South Wales is not new, and goes back to its very early days. In fact, only six of the ALP’s then 25 Legislative Assembly seats it held in 1904 were from Sydney. The ALP’s regional strength was particularly reinforced by the legacy of Premier McKell and his successors as Premier from the 1940s (See Clune 1984 a and b).

According to Wran’s Press Secretary Brian Dale, referring to what he has termed to the “scrub vote”:

McKell showed the ALP that there was life, and votes, on the western side of the Great Dividing Range (Dale 1985: 35).

McKell’s strategy had been built around both political strategies and policy decisions. As Simms and Turner have noted:

Sensitive to the problems of small farmers, he included realistic policies on rural finance and debt postponement, farm rehabilitation, tenure conversion, closer settlement, farm mechanization, rural electrification and decentralization (Simms and Turner in Chaples et al 1985: 114).

Interestingly, McKell is said by Simms and Turner to have “… sold to the party and to the electorate a master plan of balanced development” (Simms and Turner in Chaples et al: 114). According to Clune:
The election of the Wran Labor Government in 1976 saw a conscious attempt to revive the McKell legacy and rebuild Labor’s rural strength in NSW (Clune 1984a: 97).

Wran said that the State Opposition believed that many country people deserved special treatment in government policies on employment, education, decentralisation and rural subsidies (Dale 1985: 34). According to Clune, the Wran Cabinet met in country regions on seventeen occasions between 1976 and 1983. These Cabinet meetings were invariably followed by announcements of initiatives specifically favourable to the region visited (Clune 1984a: 97-98). As Clune has pointed out, representation in Cabinet of country members, including in senior portfolios and disproportionate to their numbers in Caucus, won further favour in the country (Clune 1984a). Policy decisions such as the extension of the XPT train services also gained favour with regional electorates.

Wran’s success raises the question as to whether country voters see “regional development” more in terms of government decisions generally favourable to them rather than in terms of decisions specifically designed to enhance balanced development.
Bibliography

Aitkin D A (1977) Stability and Change in Australian Politics, ANU Press, Canberra
Allison G T (1971) Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis, Little, Brown and Co, Boston
Anderson J (1999a) One Nation or Two? Securing a Future for Rural and Regional Australia, Address to the National Press Club, Canberra, 17 February
Anderson J (1999b) Regional Australia: Meeting the Challenges, Budget Statement
Anderson J (1999c) Closing Address to the Regional Australia Summit, 29 October
Anderson J (2000a) Regional Australia: Making a Difference, Budget Statement
Anderson J (2000b) Launch of the Regional Solutions Program, Parliament House, Canberra, 27 October
Anderson J (2001a) Stronger Regions, A Stronger Australia, Canberra
Anderson J (2001c) Stronger Regions, A Stronger Australia, Speech at the National Press Club, 29 August
Anderson J (2001d) *Regional Australia: Partners in Growth*, Budget Statement
Apthorpe G (undated) *Introducing Enterprise Zones: The Tool for the Future of Regional Development in Australia*
Australian Bureau of Statistics (1998) *Australian Social Trends*, 4102.0
Australian Bureau of Statistics (2001b) *Long Term Retail Price Index*, January
Australian Institute of Political Science (1966) *Australian Cities: Chaos or Planned Growth?* Proceedings of the 32nd Summer School, January


Beer A, Maude A, Bolam A (1994) *Beyond the Capitals: Urban Growth in Regional Australia*, Urban Futures Research Program, AGPS, Canberra


Birrell R (1991) "Infrastructure Costs on the Urban Fringe", in Economic Planning and Advisory Council *Background Papers on Urban and Regional Issues*, Background Paper No 10, AGPS, Canberra


Blainey G (1997) "Regional Communities Die at Our Peril: Blainey", *The Land*, 30 January


456


Butterfield W A (1965) “Rural Areas and Decentralisation”, *Public Administration*, Volume 14, No 1, March


Cities Commission (1975) *Bulletin*, No 12, April


457

Coates B E, Knox P L, Johnston R J (1977) Geography and Inequality, Oxford University Press, Oxford

Cobb R W, Elder C D (1972) Participation in American Politics: The Dynamics of Agenda Building, Allyn and Bacon, Boston


Collits P (1999a) Should Governments Try to “Save” Small Towns? Small Town Decline as a Regional Policy Problem, Paper presented at the Australian and New Zealand Regional Science Association International Conference, Newcastle, September

Collits P (1999b) “Up-skilling Local and Regional Leaders and Economic Development Practitioners: a Survey of Current Issues and Possible Future Directions”, Regional Policy and Practice, Volume 8, No 1, May

Collits P (2000b) *Achieving Genuine Statewide Development: A Department of State and Regional Development Perspective*, Speech to the Local Government and Shires Associations’ State Assembly, July


Committee of Commonwealth/State Officials on Decentralisation (1972) *Report*, October


Country Manufacturers Association of NSW (1993) *Advantages/Disadvantages of Manufacturing by Country Location*


Country Mayors’ Association (1992) *Balanced State Development – A Solution for the Future*


Country Mayors’ Association (1994a) *Policies for Balanced State Development*

Country Mayors’ Association (1994b) The Case for Balanced Development in NSW, Paper presented by the Chairman of the NSW Country Mayors’ Association to Country Seminars, August to October


Country Summit Alliance (1999) Brochure, February


Daly M (1973) “Decentralisation: the New South Wales Case”, Geography Bulletin, Volume 5, No 1, March


Davis R, Stimson R (1998) “Disillusionment and Disenchantment at the Fringe: Explaining the Geography of the One Nation Party Vote at the Queensland Election”, People and Place, Volume 6, No 3


Department of Business and Consumer Affairs (1990) Regional Development – A New Balance for the 90’s

Department of Business and Consumer Affairs (undated) Analysis of Payroll Tax Rebate Files, unpublished

Department of Business and Regional Development (1993a) Developing Regional New South Wales: A Consultative Paper


Department of Business and Regional Development (1993c) Response to the Country Mayors’ Association’s A Strategy For Balanced State Development, unpublished

Department of Business and Regional Development (1994) Making Regional Development Happen, NSW Government’s Statement on Regional Development

Department of Commerce and Trade (1999) Capacity Building in Regional Western Australia, A Technical Paper, July 1999
Department of Decentralisation (1979) *Annual Report 1978-79*

Department of Decentralisation and Development (1970) *Annual Report 1969-70*

Department of Decentralisation and Development (1971a) *Annual Report 1969-70*

Department of Decentralisation and Development (1971b) *New South Wales Horizons, September/October*

Department of Decentralisation and Development (1972a) *Annual Report 1971-72*

Department of Decentralisation and Development (1972b) *New South Wales Horizons, November/December*

Department of Decentralisation and Development (1973a) *Annual Report 1972-73*

Department of Decentralisation and Development (1973b) *New South Wales Horizons, January/February*

Department of Decentralisation and Development (1973c) *New South Wales Horizons, May/June*

Department of Decentralisation and Development (1974a) *Annual Report 1973-74*

Department of Decentralisation and Development (1974b) *New South Wales Horizons, January/February*

Department of Decentralisation and Development (1975) *Annual Report 1974-75*

Department of Decentralisation and Development (1976) *Annual Report 1975-76*

Department of Decentralisation and Development (1977) *Annual Report 1976-77*

Department of Decentralisation and Development (1978) *Annual Report 1977-78*

Department of Employment, Workplace Relations and Small Business (2001) *Small Area Labour Markets, March Quarter*


Department of Environment, Housing and Community Development (1976) *Annual Report*

Department of Environment, Housing and Community Development (1977) *Annual Report*

Department of Housing and Regional Development (1993) *Processes of Regional Development: Changing Research Perspectives of the Past Decade, Occasional Paper*


Department of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs (1987) *Australian Regional Developments: Country Centres Project 1986-87, AGPS, Canberra*

Department of Industrial Development and Decentralisation (1981) *Annual Report 1980-81*

Department of Industrial Development and Decentralisation (1982) *Annual Report 1981-82*
Department of Industrial Development and Decentralisation (1983) *Annual Report 1982-83*

Department of Industrial Development and Decentralisation (1984) *Annual Report 1983-84*

Department of Industrial Development and Decentralisation (1985) *Annual Report 1984-85*

Department of Industrial Development and Decentralisation (1986) *Annual Report 1985-86*

Department of Industrial Development and Decentralisation (1987) *Corporate Plan*

Department of Planning (1993) *Sydney’s Future, A Discussion Paper on Planning the Greater Metropolitan Region*

Department of Planning (1995a) *Cities for the 21st Century, Integrated Urban Management for Sydney, Newcastle, the Central Coast and Wollongong*

Department of Planning (1995b) *State Planning: Planning for Regional NSW, Building on Local Strengths*

Department of Planning (1992) *Inland Centres of New South Wales: Trends and Opportunities, Information Paper*


Department of State and Regional Development (1997) *Summary of Report on Industries at Risk from Urban Encroachment, prepared by Peter Bryant*

Department of State and Regional Development (2000) *Submission to the Standing Committee on State Development Inquiry into Opportunities for Strengthening Rural Towns*

Department of State and Regional Development (2001) *Annual Report 2000-01*


Department of Urban and Regional Development (1973) *Annual Report 1972-73*

Department of Urban and Regional Development (1974a) *A National Strategy for Urban and Regional Development, An Interim Statement, Canberra*

Department of Urban and Regional Development (1974b) *Annual Report 1973-74*

Department of Urban and Regional Development (1975) *Studies Commissioned by the Committee of Commonwealth/State Officials on Decentralisation, AGPS, Canberra*


Development Corporation of New South Wales (1969) *Report on Selective Decentralisation*


Drane N T (1966) “Requirements for an Industrial Decentralisation Policy”, Australian Quarterly, Volume 38, No 2, June
Dror Y (1968) Public Policymaking Reexamined, Chandler, New York
Economic Planning Advisory Council (1991a) Urban and Regional Trends and Issues, Council Paper No 46, AGPS, Canberra
Economic Planning and Advisory Council (1991b) Background Papers on Urban and Regional Issues, Background Paper No 10, AGPS, Canberra
Egan M (1997) Response to Questions from Fiona Stewart, Western Advocate, 3 April
Forth G (2001) "Following the Yellow Brick Road and the Future of Australia's Declining Country Towns", in Rogers M F and Collins Y M J (eds) The Future of Australia's Country Towns, Centre for Sustainable Regional Communities, La Trobe University


Friedman M, Friedman R (1980) Free To Choose, Macmillan, Melbourne


Fulop L, Brennan M (1997) Meeting the Challenge: Regional Economic Development Organisations (REDOs) in Australia, National Study for the Australian Local Government Association


Glass, R E (1976) The Attraction of Manufacturing Employment to Decentralised Locations, Department of Environment, Housing and Community Development, Report No 21, December


Greenwood I (1976) “Basis for Development of Growth Centres in Australia”, The Valuer, July


Henning C (2000) “Why We Must Hate Sydney”, *The Eye*, 5 April


Hope A D (2000) Selected Poetry and Prose, Halstead, Sydney


Hugonnier B (1999) *Regional Development Tendencies in OECD Countries*, Keynote Presentation at the Regional Australia Summit, October

Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commission (1999) *Bush Talks*


John D (1993) Address at the Launch of the CMA’s Strategy for Balanced Development in New South Wales, Sydney, 21 May


Keating P (1992) *One Nation*, February, AGPS, Canberra


Kelty W (1993) *Developing Australia: A Regional Perspective*, Three Volumes, Canberra

Kenyon P (1999) *Don’t Wait for the Cavalry, It’s ‘Do It Yourself’ Time: An Australian Community Development Perspective*, Keynote Presentation, Regional Australia Summit, October


Kerr A (1972) “Growth Centres as Stimuli to Development”, *Economic Activity*, Volume 15, No 3, July


Legislative Assembly (1961) *Parliamentary Hansard*, 24 August

Legislative Assembly (1977) *Parliamentary Hansard*, 24 August

Legislative Assembly (1988) *Parliamentary Hansard*, 20 October
Legislative Assembly (2000) *Parliamentary Hansard*, 11 April
Legislative Assembly (2001a) *Parliamentary Hansard*, 4 September
Legislative Assembly (2001b) *Parliamentary Hansard*, 16 October
Legislative Council (1966) *Parliamentary Hansard*, 1 March
Lloyd C, Anderton N (1990) “From Growth Centres to Growth Centres?” *Australian Planner*, Volume 28, No 1, March
Logan A (1979) “Recent Directions of Regional Policy in Australia”, *Regional Studies*, Volume 13, No 2


Luchetti A (1965) *Decentralisation of Secondary Industries*, Seminar on Decentralisation, Orange, June


Lucy R (1979b) “Wran’s Our Man: the 1978 NSW State Election”, *Politics*, Volume 14, No 1, May


Manning I (2001) *Enterprise Zones: Creating Jobs and Prosperity in Regional Australia*, Institute of Chartered Accountants in Australia and the Local Government and Shires Associations of New South Wales


McKewen J (1965) *Decentralisation of Secondary Industries*, Seminar on Decentralisation, Orange, June


National Competition Council (1999) *National Competition Policy: Some Impacts on Society and the Economy*, Canberra
Neutze G M (1965) *Economic Policy and the Size of Cities*, Australian National University, Canberra
New South Wales Government (1992) *New South Wales Facing the World*


New South Wales Government (1994) *Statement on Regional Development: Making Regional Development Happen*


New South Wales Government (1998b) *Government Beyond the Major Cities*


New South Wales Government (2000) *Staying in Town*


New South Wales Treasury (1995) *Budget Speech*

New South Wales Treasury (2000) *Budget Speech*

New South Wales Treasury (2001a) *Budget Speech*

New South Wales Treasury (2001b) *Budget Paper, No 3, Volume 2*

Nicholas Clark and Associates (1997) *Success in Country Manufacturing*, Unpublished Report to the Department of State and Regional Development


Orchard L (1999a) “Shifting Visions in National Urban and Regional Policy 1: The Formative Years”, *Australian Planner*, Volume 36, No 1

Orchard L (1999b) “Shifting Visions in National Urban and Regional Policy 2: The Whitlam Program, the Backlash and the Keating Revival”, *Australian Planner*, Volume 36, No 4


Painter M, Carey B (1979) *Politics Between Departments: The Fragmentation of Executive Control in Australian Government*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane


Powell R (1997a) “Market Economies and Small Towns”, *Regional & Enterprise Development Network*, Newsletter of the Centre for Australian Regional and Enterprise Development, Volume 2, No 1, April


Public Sector Research Centre (1991) *Metropolitan and Non-metropolitan Areas: Comparative Economies*, Report commissioned by the Department of Employment, Education and Training


Real Estate Institute of New South Wales (1995) *Whole of State Approach to State Development*

Regional Australia Now (undated) Regional Australia Now

Regional Australia Summit Steering Committee (2000) Final Report, December


Richardson H W (1973a) Elements of Regional Economics, Penguin

Richardson H W (1973b) The Economics of Urban Size, Saxon House, Lexington


Rose A J (1966) “Metropolitan Primacy as the Normal State”, Pacific Viewpoint, Volume 7

Rose A J (1967) Patterns of Cities, Nelson, Sydney


Rowland D T (1979) Internal Migration in Australia, Census Monograph Series, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra


Royal Australian Planning Institute (2000) Liveable Communities: A National Agenda, October

Rural Development Centre (1993) Business Growth and Export Development: Issues for Firms in Rural Areas


478
Sandercock L (1979) “Urban Policy” in Head B, Patience A (eds) From Whitlam to Fraser: Reform and Reaction in Australian Politics, Oxford University Press, Melbourne


Scott P (ed) (1978) Australian Cities and Public Policy, Georgian House, Melbourne


Scott R (ed) (1980) Interest Groups and Public Policy, Macmillan, Melbourne


Searle G (1996) Sydney as a Global City, A Discussion Paper, Department of Urban Affairs and Planning, Department of State and Regional Development


Searle G (2000) Interview, in Australian Broadcasting Corporation Country Reality, Background Briefing, Radio National Transcript, 5 November

Seddon G (ed) (1977) Urbanisation, Papers delivered at the 48th Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science Conference


Sharp J (1996) Rebuilding Regional Australia, Budget Statement

Sharp J (1997) Regional Australia: Leading the Way, Budget Statement

Sharp J (1998) “We are One, We’re Australians”, Sydney Morning Herald, 19 June

Shaw A G L (1972) The Story of Australia, Faber, London

479
Simmons D (1992) Towards a More Competitive Regional Australia, Address to the Regional Development in the 1990s: Fact or Fiction Seminar, Wagga Wagga, July


Sorensen A D (1994a) “The Folly of Regional Policy”, Agenda, Volume 1, No 1

Sorensen A D (1994b) “Silk Purse or Sow’s Ear: Canberra’s Recent Approaches to Regional Development Policy”, Policy, Spring


Sorensen A D (forthcoming) “Regional Economic Governance” in Bell S (ed) Australian Economic Governance, Oxford University Press, Melbourne

Sorensen A D (undated) GeoPlan 345: Regional Development Policy, Study Guide, School of Human and Environmental Studies, University of New England

Australian Geographical Studies, Volume 29, No 1, April
Spate O H K (1968) Australia, Ernest Benn, London
Spearritt P (1978) Sydney Since the Twenties, Hale and Iremonger, Sydney
Spiller M (1999) “From Victim to Vanguard: The Remaking of Regional Planning in
Australia”, Australian Planner, Volume 36, No 4
Sproats K W (1983) A Tale of Two Towns: Policy and Action in the Bathurst-
Orange Growth Centre: A Case of Perceptions, Politics and Power in Centrally
Commanded Regional Policy Planning, PhD Thesis, University of New England
Decentralisation”, Australian Planner, Volume 28, No 1, March
State Planning Authority (1967) Growth and Change: Prelude to a Plan
Rural Policies, Canberra, August
Stayner R, Reeve I (1990) “Uncoupling”: Relationships Between Agriculture and
the Local Economies of Rural Areas in New South Wales, Rural Development
Centre, Armidale
Report to the Department of Decentralisation and Development
Steketee M, Cockburn M (1986) Wran: An Unauthorized Biography, Allen and
Unwin, Sydney
Stewart J (1991) “Australian Public Policy and the Problem of Fragmentation”,
Australian Journal of Public Administration, Volume 50, No 3, September
Future, Text Publishing, Melbourne
and Reversal: Lessons from the Coalition Government in New South Wales 1988-
1995, Macmillan, Melbourne
Zealand Book Company, Sydney
Stilwell F (1983) “State and Capital in Urban and Regional Development”, in
Head B (ed) State and Economy in Australia, Oxford University Press, Melbourne
Stilwell F (1992a) Understanding Cities and Regions: Spatial Political Economy,
Pluto Press, Sydney
Stilwell F (1992b) Economic Rationalism, Cities and Regions, Keynote Address to
the Australian and New Zealand Regional Science Association Conference,
Ballarat, July
Sydney
Place, Volume 5, No 3

481

Stilwell F, Hardwick J (1973) *Regional Development in Australia*, Planning Research Centre, University of Sydney


Tullock G, Perlman M (1976) *The Vote Motive*, Institute of Economic Affairs

Turner H B (1970) "New South Wales" in Rorke J (ed) *Politics at State Level – Australia*, Department of Adult Education, University of Sydney


Uren T (1975) *Urban and Regional Development 1975-76*, Budget Statement


Vaile M (1998) *Regional Australia: Our Commitment*, Budget Statement

Van Dugteren T (1971) "A Time to Decentralise", *Current Affairs Bulletin*, December

Van Dugteren T (ed) (1978) *Rural Australia: The Other Nation*, Australian Institute of Political Science


Vipond J (1977) "Are National Decentralisation Policies Necessary?” *Australian Quarterly*, Volume 49, Number 1, June


Wahlquist A (1996) "The Gutting of Rural New South Wales”, *The Land*, 8, 15 and 22 August


Watson S, Murphy P (1993) “Into the Nineties: The Regional Impacts of Twenty Years of Economic Restructuring in Australia”, *Australian Planner*, December


Western Australian Planning Commission (1996) *State Planning Strategy*

Whitlam E G (1965) “Cities in a Federation”, *Australian Planning Institute Journal*, October


Whitlam E G (1968) *Cities for People: Problems and Solutions in Urban and Regional Development*, Address to the Urban Affairs Symposium of the NSW Fabian Society, 2 October


484

Wilson R K (1980) *Australia's Resources and Their Development*, Department of Adult Education, University of Sydney


Winston D (1957) *Sydney's Great Experiment: The Progress of the Cumberland County Plan*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney

Winston D (1970) *Population Explosion and Urban Development*, A Talk to Staff and Students of the University of Sydney in the Series "Man Against Himself" organised by the Genesis Committee, July

Woods P (1999) *Speech to the State Assembly of Local Government*, April


Woolmington E R (1972) "Population, Location and Urban Growth", in Sinden J A (ed) *The Natural Resources of Australia: Prospects and Problems for Development*, Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science, Angus and Robertson, Sydney


Notes

1. In addition to the references above, numerous regional and metropolitan newspapers were consulted, too numerous to include here. Well quoted, they are referred to individually in the text.

2. The author attended meetings of the CMA between 1995 and 2001 as part of the research for the thesis. Where information gained from these meetings is used in the text (principally in Chapter Seven), it is acknowledged in footnotes. In addition, the author was involved directly in a number of internal DBRD and DSRD regional policy discussions that had a bearing on events described in the thesis. These are acknowledged in footnotes to the text where appropriate.
3. A number of informal discussions took place with key informants. Those quoted in the text are Warwick Bennett (November 1996), former Chairman of the CMA, and Professor John Steinke (May 1998). Other discussions included the following:

- Professor Patrick Troy (former adviser to Tom Uren and Deputy Secretary, DURD)
- Mr Bob Lansdown (former Secretary, DURD and EHCD)
- Mr Keith Coughlan (former Associate Commissioner, Cities Commission)
- Ms Narelle Kennedy (author of BACA 1989)
- Associate Professor Chris Cunningham (former employee of DDD and SPA)
- Professor Kevin Sproats (see above)
- Dr Glen Searle (see above)
- Mr Phil Day (former Director, DDD)