

Appendix 1

Issues in Commonwealth funding of Non-government Schools and responses from government, 1949-1998

Government:	Menzies-Holt-Gorton-McMahon	Whitlam	Frazer	Hawke	Hawke-Keating	Howard
Political party:	(Liberal-Country)	(Labor)	(Liberal-Country)	(Labor)	(Labor)	(Liberal-Country)
Years in office:	1949 - 1972	1972 - 1975	1975 - 1983	1983 - 1985	1985 - 1996	1996-
Discussed in:	(Chapter 3)	(Chapters 4&5)	(Chapter 6)	(Chapter 7)	(Chapter 8)	(Chapter 9)

<i>1. National interests</i>						
technological development and self-reliance	high priority	less important	important	high importance	high priority	high priority
international economic competitiveness	priority	less important	priority	priority	high priority	very high priority
facilitate structural changes in the economy	relatively important	relatively unimportant	important	important	high importance	high importance
economic efficiency in the use of resources	relatively important	relatively unimportant	important	important	high importance	high importance
redistribution of wealth to give equality	low	high	low	high	lower	lower still

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Years in office:	1949 - 1972	1972 - 1975	1975 - 1983	1983 - 1985	1985 - 1996	1996-
Discussed in:	(Chapter 3)	(Chapters 4&5)	(Chapter 6)	(Chapter 7)	(Chapter 8)	(Chapter 9)

pluralism, cultural diversity & social harmony	cautious approach	higher importance	lower; policies favoured minorities	high importance	high importance	rhetoric favours
the respective roles of the public and private sectors	high private	high public	higher private	high public	lower public	Contestability in public/competitive private

Government:	Menzies-Holt-Gorton-McMahon (Liberal-Country)	Whitlam	Frazer	Hawke	Hawke-Keating	Howard
Political party:		(Labor)	(Liberal-Country)	(Labor)	(Labor)	(Liberal-Country)
Years in office:	1949 - 1972	1972 - 1975	1975 - 1983	1983 - 1985	1985 - 1996	1996-
Discussed in:	(Chapter 3)	(Chapters 4&5)	(Chapter 6)	(Chapter 7)	(Chapter 8)	(Chapter 9)

2. <i>Constitutional/legal</i>						
the role of the Commonwealth	limited	extensive	limitations on assistance to public sector	limitations on assistance to private sector	further limitations after Connors report (New Schools Policy)	extended private sector; limited assistance to public sector
religion and the Commonwealth	interpretation of S116 an issue	Schools Commission as answer	DOGS High Court Appeal	ambivalent	unimportant	unimportant
states rights	important retardant to Commonwealth intervention	unimportant	new federalism favours State responsibility	centralist	centralist with Commonwealth leadership	federalist

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Years in office:	1949 - 1972	1972 - 1975	1975 - 1983	1983 - 1985	1985 - 1996	1996-
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legislative and administration procedures	preference for administration	bold legislation independent administration through statutory body	direction through guidelines	injection of other priorities	restrictive guidelines; McKinnon Review	relaxed guidelines
interest groups	covert	overt	polarisation	consensus approach	restricted influences	more influential
market solutions to economic & social problems	highly regulated environment	welfare statism	reduced social services	modified welfare statism	economic rationalist	extended economic rationalist

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3. Equity/Social Justice						
government and social welfare	moderate	high	moderate	high	moderate/high	lower
facilities	important	important	less important; declining concern as modernisation of facilities was achieved	high	replaced by outcomes focus	efficiency focus
access	low	high	high	high	high	less important
outcomes	low	high	low	high	high	high
inter-generational equity	unimportant	disregarded	razor gang cuts reduced deficit funding	increased deficit funding	more controlled; assets sales reduced deficit	emerging as an issue in its own right; assets sales and projected balanced budget

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Years in office:	1949 - 1972	1972 - 1975	1975 - 1983	1983 - 1985	1985 - 1996	1996-
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4. Choice/Personal rights						
liberty expressed as personal choice as a democratic right	in principle government provides limited facilitation	subsidiary to instrumental use of education	facilitator of increased choice	consensus overriding	subsidiary to instrumental use of education to improve employment rates	facilitator of increased choice
public funding of choice	limited	extended	further extended	partially restricted	further restricted	derestricted
obligation of State to:						
(i) maximise personal utility	medium-high	low	high	low	low	high
(ii) meet needs	low	high	low	high	low	moderate

DEFINING 'EQUITY', 'PLURALISM' AND 'POSTMODERNISM'

Equity

'Equity' may be defined as fairness in the distribution of commodities or well-being among the participants in a system (Harrold 1982, 296). When equity considerations are applied to social welfare programs such as education, they tend to be complicated by ideological commitments to equality, the belief that all participants in the system are entitled to equal opportunities to achieve full development of their personal capacities. Harrold (1982, 205) has identified five ways in which equality has been expressed at different times:

1. lifetime incomes associated with educational qualifications;
2. in-school cognitive achievements measured by test results;
3. uniformity of curricula and teaching methods;
4. resources allocated per student; and
5. the opportunity for each student to achieve his or her own level of aspiration.

It will be appreciated that some of these are complementary; others could be competitive. Only the first is concerned with an output measure. The others concern inputs with a presumed relation to resulting outputs. Dudley and Vidovich (1995, 103) point out that equality had been a fundamental of Australia's state education systems defined and effected through uniformity of provision for all students. This formal equality of opportunity came to be questioned in the 1950s and 1960s on the grounds of its effectiveness. To the more radical critics, it simply maintained the hierarchical status quo in Australian society (for example D'Urso 1971).

At issue in most discussions of 'equity' and 'equality' is the question of the distribution of benefits. Harrold (1982, 205) points to the difficulty in appraising the magnitude of social benefits from education. He argues that an implicit assumption has been that, other things being equal, an increase in the magnitude of benefits will increase social welfare, that is the well-being of the community as a whole. In so far as it is applied to education, the concept of social benefits rests on a further assumption that every person has the same capacity and the right to benefit

from a given educational output. Once this assumption is rejected, the question of who receives the benefits is pertinent. In times of economic stringency this is made even more critical than otherwise.

Johnson (1983, 23-25) has identified four logics in the 1973 Interim Committee report which impact on the question of equity. These logics carry over into the Schools Commission publications. The *compensatory logic* argued that, because formal equality of opportunity was inadequate to redress disadvantage, positive compensatory measures were needed. This notion appears to have been drawn from James Coleman (1971, 239-240) in his response to the United States Office of Education's 'Survey of Equality of Educational Opportunity' arising out of the 1964 Civil Rights Act (Barcan 1993, 174). The *equality of respect logic* simply argued that all students should be equally valued as individuals irrespective of their academic performance. The *pluralist versus mainstream culture logic* argued for all having access to basic competencies. Dudley and Vidovich (1995, 110-111) point out that, whereas these three logics accepted society as it was, the fourth, what they style as the *empowerment logic*, argued for the radical reform of society by providing individuals with the resources to change society. Implicit in this was the assumption that such changes would move society towards a more just, open and caring community.

This assumption raises a further question in the consideration of equity when applied to educational funding. This is the question of the relative distribution of benefits, whether they are indeed mainly social or whether they are mainly private. It is sufficient to say at this point that the private benefits from education may more strongly influence the response of individuals or groups in the exercise of their preferences than the social benefits. What this often means is that a government may consider a policy in terms of the social benefits it will provide, whereas individuals or groups will view it mainly in terms of the private benefits it delivers or is expected to deliver. This can lead to unexpected or unintended outcomes which cannot always be foreseen.

In any consideration of equity in education, one must take into account the external benefits Blaug (1970, 108) has identified. These are:

1. the income gains of persons other than those who have received additional education;
2. the income gains of subsequent generations from a better educated current generation;
3. the provision of an efficient mechanism for discovering and cultivating potential talents;
4. the means of assuring occupational flexibility in the labour force;

5. the creation of an institutional environment that stimulates research in science and technology;
6. the encouragement of lawful behaviour and the promotion of voluntary responsibility for welfare activities, both of which reduce the demand on the social services financed out of taxation;
7. the tendency to foster political stability by developing an informed electorate and competent political leadership;
8. the emergence of 'social cohesion' by the transmission of a common cultural heritage; and
9. the widening of intellectual horizons of both the educated and the uneducated, contributing to the enhanced enjoyment of leisure.

Consideration will be given to these at various points in the argument.

Finally, consideration will be given to the way the dominant neo-Marxist influences on the sociology of education in Australia have influenced how thought about equity and equality has been conducted and the ways in which the political programs of governments have been affected by this discourse. Barcan (1993, 179) has discerned three major periods: the rapid rise of the new sociology of education between 1971 and 1976; the crisis of its major component, neo-Marxism, around 1983; and the decline of this and other theoretical perspectives since 1987. The correspondence of these trends to the way in which successive governments have addressed the issue of funding will be examined from Chapter 4 to Chapter 9.

Pluralism

A cursory review of the literature reveals that pluralism is used in more than one sense in public life. At one level the term is often used descriptively but may be used normatively. Public debate often confuses the two. At another level the term may be used in three other ways. It may express the diversity of visions that give direction to people's lives. It may express the diversity of human associations. Finally, it may express differing cultural contexts - racial, ethnic, geographic, gender and class experiences. Mouw and Griffioen (1993, 17-18) bring these two sets of distinctions used in classifying pluralisms together to provide a useful six-category framework for analysis of the operations of society. These are (1) *descriptive directional pluralism* which highlights the fact of a plurality of directional perspectives held by individuals and groups in a community; (2) *normative directional pluralism* which advocates directional pluralism as a

good state of affairs; (3) *descriptive associational pluralism* which highlights the fact of a plurality of associational patterns; (4) *normative associational pluralism* which advocates associational plurality as a good state of affairs; (5) *descriptive contextual pluralism* which highlights the fact of a plurality of cultural contexts; and (6) *normative contextual pluralism* which advocates contextual plurality as a good state of affairs. This helpful set of distinctions will be used to consider the contested claims about pluralism in Australia.

Postmodernism

Defining post-modernism is problematic. It is easier to say what it is not than to look upon it either as a systematic theory or comprehensive philosophy. It rejects the modern scientific rationalist notion that an overarching metanarrative can be derived from human experience. It therefore presents no system of ideas or concepts, nor does it denote, explain or give rise to a unified social or cultural movement. The post-modern is 'a *contested* terrain' (Usher & Edwards 1994, 7). It can encompass an attitude, a condition, a set of practices, a cultural discourse and a mode of analysis. Three main themes can be distinguished. The dominant philosophical framework is nihilist, the possibility of meaning is rejected as is the scientific method. Because of this, history has no meaning - it is the present, experientially understood through heightened sensations that is important. Postmodernism sees the product of modern technological man to be power and holds that it is meaningless to speak of the ethical dimension of its use (Robinson 1994, 56-57).

Education does not fit into the post-modernist movement because its theory and practice is established on modernist assumptions. The rational subject and personal autonomy as the goal of education are rejected. The existing concepts, structures and hierarchies of knowledge are challenged by post-modernist thinkers such as Lacan, Foucault, Derrida and Lyotard. Instead, the way is opened for a multiplicity of perspectives and the importance of self-referentiality. Discourse is power and we exercise that power through the way we construct our reality. In turn we are constructed by that reality. It is at this point that education is important for it gives empowerment. Modern education in all its forms has been disabling. The post-modernist sees the function of education as opening the individual, through critical dialogue with others and with texts, to all varieties of educational tradition (Usher & Edwards 1994, 24-31). Postmodernism has impacted Australian education indirectly rather than directly. It can be seen

in the way in which many of the certainties of the 1950s and 1960s were jettisoned in the 1970s and 1980s as thinkers and administrators subjected theory and practice to critical appraisal. Its seeds were to be found in the existentialist social critique of the 1950s and 1960s.

Appendix 3

TIMELINE OF POLICY INITIATIVES, ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES AND COMMUNITY REACTIONS AFFECTING NON- GOVERNMENT SCHOOL FUNDING

1872-1895	Cessation of state aid to non-government schools by the various Australian colonial legislatures.
1900	Passage of the Australian Constitution Act by the British parliament.
1901	Federation: the Australian Constitution came into effect with education as a residual power of the states (sections 51 & 108); the ability of the Commonwealth to grant financial assistance to the states (section 96); and prohibiting the Commonwealth from legislating with respect of religion (section 116).
1927 on	Land grants in the Australian Capital Territory (ACT) made by the Commonwealth for setting up denominational schools.
1937	Section 96 grants to the states for technical education.
1943	The Drummond decision by the High Court of Australia.
1945	Commonwealth Education Act establishing the Commonwealth Office of Education to advise the minister concerning grants of financial assistance to the states and other authorities for education.
1946	Constitutional amendment: permitting the Commonwealth to have power to make laws for 'benefits to students' (section 51 xxiiiA).
1948	Free radio licences for schools and access to Australian Broadcasting Commission's schools programs.
1951	Australian Catholic bishops propose relief for non-government schools on the same basis as funding was given to church-run hospitals.
1952	Commonwealth income tax deductions were allowed for educational expenses and full sales tax exemption was granted to non-government schools for the purchase of educational supplies.
1954	Commonwealth permitted income tax deductions for gifts to schools.
1956	Commonwealth assumption of first 5% of interest payments being made by non-government secondary schools in the ACT.

- 1957 Democratic Labor Party adopted direct aid to non-government schools as part of its party platform.
- 1958 & 1960 National Education Conferences of state school parents and teachers publicised the plight of state schools.
- 1961 Commonwealth interest payments extended to ACT primary schools.
NSW Catholic bishops campaign for justice in school funding.
- 1962 Country Party adopted direct aid as part of its platform.
Direct action taken by Goulburn (NSW) Catholic schools.
- 1963 Sydney Catholic Archbishop Gilroy's five point proposal.
Commonwealth introduced direct aid for science laboratories and equipment and ten thousand Commonwealth secondary scholarships for students in non-government schools.
- 1964 Australian Education Council (AEC), *Statement of Some Needs of Australian Education*.
- 1966 Library Association of Australia campaign for school libraries and services.
- 1968 AEC agreed to approach the Commonwealth about library funding.
Commonwealth funding for school libraries announced.
- 1969 Commonwealth per capita recurrent grants to non-government schools.
Commonwealth programs for child migrant education and special aboriginal education scholarships.
- 1971 Increased per-capita recurrent grants
- 1972 Liberal-Country Parties promises of capital assistance programs, technical education funding, isolated children's allowances, primary school library funding and education for the handicapped.
Mounting opposition from public schools.
- 1972 Council for the Defence of Government Schools (DOGS) media and electoral campaign.
Australian Labor Party (ALP) political program of needs-based assistance determined by a national inquiry and administered by an independent Australian Schools Commission.
- 1973 Interim Committee (Karmel) Report.
Schools Commission Bill and States Grants (Schools) Bill to effect recommendations.
Establishment of the Schools Commission with seven targeted programs to meet needs and to lift resource levels in all schools.

	Non-government schools classified into eight funding categories for Commonwealth subsidies. Establishment of education lobby groups – Catholics form National Catholic Education Commission, National Council of Independent Schools for the interests of non-systemic, non-government schools. Increased vigour in existing groups such as ATF and ACSO.
1973-1983	Rationalisation and consolidation of independent non-government schools
1974	Application of the Schools Recurrent Resources Index (SRRI) to non-government schools. Introduction of eight funding categories (A-H).
1975	Schools Commission <i>Report for the Triennium 1976-1978</i>. Eight funding categories reduced to six. 1976 declared a year outside triennial funding. Whitlam government dismissed from office and replaced by the Fraser government.
1976	Impact of inflation on education funding is becoming significant. Coombs Royal Commission on Australian Governments Administration findings released. Inaugural issuing of Ministerial Guidelines for the Schools Commission leading to a reduction in status and restriction of the role of the Commission to recommending the best use of a predetermined level of education funding. Rising influence of Treasury on federal education policy. Increased role of the Australian Education Council. Release of Schools Commission <i>Report: Rolling Triennium 1977-79</i>. ATF conference rejects unlimited parental choice in schooling, supports Schools Commission 'needs' philosophy and triennial planning scheme.
1977	ATI begins public campaign to raise the level of public consciousness about education and gain support for the government school sector. Also called for Schools Commission members to include nominated representative of parent and teacher organisations. Introduction of basic per pupil grant.
1978	ATF call for no further transfer of funds from government schools to the private sector, also 'public systems' for non-government schools, full public accountability and an end to discriminatory enrolment policies. ATF establish ATF Schools Commission Committee to investigate school funding. Schools Commission publishes <i>Some Aspect of Schools Finance in Australia</i> (October) which canvassed a range of funding ideas.

- 1976-78 Achievement of resources targets by government school systems, sooner than expected.
Fraser government's 'new federalism' policy increased share of revenue returned to states, thus greater responsibility to the states for education funding.
Increasing Catholic concerns about under resourcing of Catholic schools comparative to government schools.
- 1979 Williams Committee of Inquiry into Education and Training & Auchmuty National of Inquiry into Education and Training reveal prevalence of human capital theory.
- 1980 Nearly 80% of all non-government schools in the lowest funding category, therefore receiving maximum aid.
- 1981 Dr P Tannock, former Interim Committee and foundation Schools Commission member, notable supporter of Catholic and non-governments school sector, appointed Chairman of the Schools Commission on the completion of Ken McKinnon's term of office.
Schools Commission *Report for 1982-84 Triennium* recognised that systemic schools have been advantaged over non-systemic schools.
Schools Commission Minority Report from supporters of government school interests / commissioners with ATF allegiance.
High Court ruling on the constitutionality of Commonwealth grants to non-government schools ('DOGS' case).
- 1982 Non-government sector reaches 25.8% of total school enrolments.
ATF conference returns to policy of no state aid.
There are fewer, but larger Catholic schools than previously.
ATF successful in revising ALP education policy to state 'that Commonwealth funds be available only to those non-government schools whose total private and public resources do not exceed the resources of comparable government schools'.
D Bennett (former Schools Commissioner) in *Labor Essay* charts new policy for the ALP on education funding with focus on producing a more equal society by increasing chances of underprivileged students.
Six funding categories reduced to three with subsidies of 20%, 30% and 40% of government school recurrent costs.
- 1983 April election sees the dismissal of the Fraser government and replacement by the Hawke government.
A 14% increase in the number of non-government school enrolments has taken place since the Fraser government was elected in 1975.
Australian Education Council Report *Registration on Non-Government Schools*.
Roman Catholic bishops affirm principle of a basic grant for all students, and lobby for a basic grant 25% of the recurrent cost of education a government school student.
Labor's first Schools Commission Guidelines abandon the nexus between non-government schools funding and government schools operating costs, and reduce by 25% recurrent funding to the wealthiest 41 private schools.
Catholic Education Commissions side with independent non-government schools against the Labor government.

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- Labor ceases to issue Schools Commission Guidelines.
ALP – ACTU Accord.
- 1984 Schools Commission Minority Report again from supporters of government school interests / commissioners with ATF allegiance. NCIS, state AIS, HMC and APC all pressuring government to limit the expansion of small low fee non-government schools, thus protecting established schools. Schools Commission Guidelines announce 12 month deferral of triennial report. Inquiry of the Panel of Schools Commission established to investigate funding policies of new non-government schools and develop more equitable approach to their planning and establishment, culminating in the Connors Report. Government adopts Schools Commission recommendation to categorise non-government schools into 12 levels of funding. Change to quadrennial period for education funding starting from 1985
- 1985 Year 12 retention rates reach 46.4%, a rise from 34.5% in 1980. Quality Education Review Committee established to report on Commonwealth funding for schools. Chaired by Professor Karmel, formerly of the Interim Committee, Review Committee omits from its membership Schools Commissioners. QERC focuses on the outcomes of schooling and recommends funding be conditional on negotiated educational targets. States Grants (Schools Assistance) Act 1984 preempts the recommendation of the Connors Report. Connors report *Planning and Funding Policies for New Non Government Schools* recommends 'proper long term planning' to minimise conflict over state aid. Government accepts all recommendation of the Connors panel. New Schools Policy introduced. Establishes the ERI, 12 funding categories, Community Standard as a measure of resource requirements and the basis for funding policies and negotiations between the Commonwealth and states, Schools Price Index, and development of Assessment Standards.
- 1986 NSP Administrative Guidelines introduced. Commonwealth Auditor General undertakes efficiency audit of Schools Commission capital grants program. Responsibility for the administration of the recurrent and capital grants programs transferred from the Schools Commission to the Commonwealth Department of Education. Transitional arrangements for establishing new non-government schools
- 1987 Non government schools enrolments reach 26.9% of total school enrolments. John Dawkins appointed Minister of newly created mega department for Education Employment and Training. Commonwealth Schools Commission restructured as the Schools Council of the National Board of Employment, Education and Training, one of its four advisory councils.

- 1988 Education Minister Dawkins issued *Strengthening Australia's Schools: A Consideration of the Focus and Content of Schooling*.
May 1988 Economic statements introduces modifications to the funding policy.
Administrative Guidelines for 1989 limit new (non-systemic) non-government schools to applying for funding in Categories 1-6.
- 1989 Hobart Declaration of Common and Agreed National Goals for Schooling in Australia.
- 1991 Changes to NSP announced, to come into operation on 1 Jan 1993.
- 1992 First periodic review of NSP funding categories for 1993-96 reveals widespread dissatisfaction with the way the system is structured and the operation of the ERI.
- 1994 June Dr Tannock resigns as Chair of the Schools Commission.
- 1995 McKinnon Review of the New Schools Policy established in the lead up to the federal election, final report not released until after the change of government in 1996.
Enrolments in non-government schools exhibit growth of 12.5% since 1986.
Coalition education policy to promote choice and diversity.
- 1995-6 Second review of NSP funding categories for the 1997-2000 period.
- 1996 Budget establishes the Enrolment Benchmark Adjustment (EBA) as a basis for education funding, creating dissent among union supporters of the governments school sector.
National Commission of Audit, Chaired by R R Officer.
Abolition of New Schools Policy and removal of Category 6 cap.
AEU argues that residualisation of government sector will result.
- 1997 Commonwealth review of ERI established.
South Australian state government introduces its own New Schools Policy.
Senate Employment, Education and Training Reference Committee report *Not a level playing field* released, critical of perceived government retreat from education funding responsibilities.
Schools Funding: Consultative Report released by ERI review.
- 1998 NSW Director-General addresses Australian College of Education urging public education sector to 'compete or deplete'.
AEU revives the state aid debate using the EBA as argument against any funding of non-government schools.
ALP education policy revealed by the Leader of the Opposition Kim Beazley.
APC call for scrapping of EBA.

THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION SETTLEMENT

In this brief survey of the competing educational ideologies, it is argued that the nineteenth century education settlement was only stable in so far as the majority of Australians were in support of the liberal democratic world view and a common evangelical Christian basis for civic life (which Richard Ely [1989, 11-20] has termed 'civic Protestantism'). In pursuing this argument, an attempt has been made to demonstrate that the very concept of public education was flawed in so far as it failed to recognise the full implications of Australia's being a pluralist society. By overlooking the social and religious justifications Catholic Irish Australians had advanced in support of denominational schools to maintain a cultural identity and heritage, over twenty percent of Australians were excluded from the liberal democratic settlement.

The second part of the chapter shows that three main factors were at work bringing disparate views closer together during the first half of the twentieth century: the need for modernisation; a shift in both secular and religious thought; and, as a consequence of Australia's changed immigration policy, significant post-war population growth which increased the size of the educationally disadvantaged Roman Catholic population.

Opposition Leader Robert Menzies foresaw in 1943 that these changes in Australian society raised significant equity questions which the Commonwealth government could no longer afford to ignore. He argued that, because a religious background for education is so important,

'we must all be prepared to come together in the post-war world to devise ways and means of ensuring that those who are content with a purely secular education should be able to get it, while those whom such an education will never satisfy, should be able to get the kind of training they want for their children without absolutely bankrupting themselves in the process.' (cited by Hogan 1978, 18)

Despite constitutional limitations, the Commonwealth has accepted funding responsibility for significant areas of education. Rather than risking possible sectarian strife and legal challenges, administrative means were used to provide some financial relief to the struggling non-government sector in the form of indirect aid between 1952 and 1963, while government addressed the more urgent problem of university funding and, at the same time, probed for an acceptable basis for fulfilment of Menzies 1943 dream of all Australians coming together.

A 4.1 CHURCH AND STATE IN EDUCATION BEFORE 1850: a clash of world-views.

Barcan (1988, 7), in identifying the three great themes underlying the history of formal education in New South Wales, points to the foremost of these as being the changing balance between church and state in education and the changing character of that relationship. Austin (1961) shows that the same holds true for the other Australian states (at least until the start of the twentieth century). This conflict in his view has occupied two major periods. The first conflict was from the 1788 British settlement until 1872 in Victoria, 1875 in South Australia and Queensland, 1880 in New South Wales, 1885 in Tasmania and 1895 in Western Australia. The second period has been from 1965 until the present.

On the one side in the nineteenth century educational debate were those who held a predominantly religious view of society inherited from the pre-Enlightenment era and wedded to the political conservatism of Edmund Burke. On the other are those who stand in the English liberal political tradition from Locke to Bentham who judged the conservative viewpoint inappropriate for the situation in Australia at that time with its particular social and political environment. Whereas the former was medieval, hierarchical, authoritarian and Christian, the alternative was liberal, democratic, rational and non-sectarian, even at times a-religious. A brief interpretive summary of the major landmarks in the first period until the liberal democratic settlements of 1872 to 1895, together with the particular issues that were debated and resolved in the various Australian colonies, is therefore offered as background to a more detailed discussion of early twentieth century developments until 1960. These are considered as the immediate antecedents of Barcan's second period (from 1965 until the present), the subject of subsequent chapters.

A 4.2 EARLY COLONIAL SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS: the struggle to impose order

The first schools were Anglican institutions set up by colonial chaplains who saw the education of colonial children as a natural part of their clerical duties. They were soon joined by fee-paying private venture activities begun as a pragmatic response to population growth. Governors King, Bligh and Macquarie lent their moral support to these activities and provided some funding from colonial excise revenue. The pluralist nature of Australian society from the start meant that private venture schools in their orientation were not necessarily Anglican (the established religion of England). In fact, the first known boarding school was set up by a Congregationalist minister in 1804 and the first Catholic school began in 1805 (Barcan 1988, 13) while many of the elementary 'dame schools' had no particular religious affiliation. By 1815

many diverse types of schools existed in Sydney (Barcan 1988, 17). As Macintyre (1991, 8) has observed 'Settler societies applied the known to the unknown and necessarily modified expectations in the light of experience'.

A 4.2.1 Attempts at Anglican Hegemony

Between 1815 and 1821 the Anglican church increasingly took responsibility for elementary education in New South Wales, during which time the school age population doubled. Its action was based on the dual assumptions that the Anglican church would be the established church in all English colonies and, secondly, that the relationship of church and state was indissoluble. The introduction of the Anglican Bell monitorial system and the appointment of the Rev Thomas Reddall as colonial chaplain and director of education were expressions of these verities (Judd & Cable 1987, 7). The influx of Nonconformist free settlers after the Napoleonic wars soon challenged this Anglican monopoly by arguing that English church-state relations were inappropriate in New South Wales. The dispersion of population presented the practical reality that many children were beyond reach of these schools.

To preserve this Anglican monopoly, Thomas Hobbes Scott (secretary to Commissioner Bigge) successfully recommended to the Secretary of State for the Colonies the establishment of a Church and Schools Land Corporation to which would be assigned one-seventh of all the land in each district in order to establish an Anglican network of schools, which Scott himself as Archdeacon was to oversee.

The whole concept soon came under challenge in New South Wales, in the courts from the Methodist master of the Female Orphan School, William Walker, and in the newly emerged free press from the Presbyterian, John Dunmore Lang. As Barcan observes, 'The spirit of the age was moving against the whole concept of a privileged church'. In England the repeal of the Corporation and Test Act in 1828 and the Catholic Emancipation Act in 1829 provided evidence of the success of the liberal rationalist attack (Barcan 1988, 22-23). Though the number of Corporation schools had grown from 18 to 36 by 1829, Scott was faced with the failure of his cause as the income from the assigned lands never proved sufficient to meet the educational needs of the rapidly-growing colony. He resigned in 1829 ahead of the repeal of the Corporation's charter (Burns 1969, 17 & 21).

A 4.2.2 Religious pluralism in Australia: the search for an educational settlement

By 1830 many of the elements which have characterised Australian education had emerged already. These included dependence on the state for financial support, brief and irregular schooling, preference for a practical commercial or vocational curriculum, the problems

of providing rural education, the lack of support for the more ambitious college concept, and denominational rivalry (Barcan 1988, 29). Equally apparent was the strong challenge from those who had embraced the Enlightenment world-view that the duty of the state was not to be identified with any one religious belief but to be separate from all beliefs and, secondly, that its duty to all of its citizens was to provide the education necessary for them to exercise their responsibilities as participants in the democratic process. Those who clung to the pre-modern world-view of a state-church being funded by the government to provide education for a select number of students found their position under increasing attack.

The central issue was how the state could best provide sufficient services in the small but rapidly growing colonial society that New South Wales was in the 1830s (with a population of 44,558 people in 1830 rapidly growing to 71,304 in 1835). Education was but one of a number of services needed by this community. Anglican Archdeacon (later Bishop) W G Broughton, Scott's successor, insisted on the need for an education based on the bible and taught by those well grounded in the confessional religious teaching of the Anglican church (Shaw 1978, 29-30). Broughton's view was that his church was the church of the nation. As Breward (1993, 31) remarks: 'He never quite fitted the established Church of Scotland into the scheme of things, let alone Roman Catholics and Dissenters'.

Others drew on different models. Anglo-Irish Whig Governor Richard Bourke, although a loyal Anglican, recognised that cultural pluralism required a different response to create a common social experience. He was attracted to the Irish National School System based on a common Christianity in which secular instruction predominated but included general religious education using approved Scripture readings. Denominations had access one day a week for specific instruction in the teaching of their confession (Cleverley 1969, 30). Presbyterian J D Lang was also attracted to the national system concept because of his experience of the Scottish common system and his knowledge of similar developments in the United States, but Lang wanted to go further than the governor by allowing the churches to control the appointment of teachers (Breward 1993, 31).

Roman Catholics, not yet hardened by the 1864 *Syllabus of Errors* against state interference in the prerogatives of the church, were also supportive because Bourke's policy was known to have worked in Ireland and because it promised greater equity and it allowed Catholic children to escape the risks of proselytism in Anglican schools (Breward 1993, 32). Yet their support for the Irish National System was a factor in its failure in the face of a coalition of opponents drawn from amongst Anglicans, other Protestants, the large land holders and senior officials (Cleverley 1969, 53; Shaw 1978, 108-113). Growing anti-Catholic sectarianism in New South Wales had been fanned by inflammatory reports of the Oxford movement's danger to

English Anglicanism (Piggin 1996, 35). Protestants saw no reason why the state should assist the teaching of Roman Catholic error (Breward 1993, 32).

In the face of united Anglican and Protestant opposition, Bourke solved this impasse by the Church Act of 29 July 1836 which offered government funding to the four major denominations (Barcan 1988, 32). At the end of the first stage of educational development in New South Wales, Australians were faced, as a consequence of their rejection of the English church-state relationship, with a future of competing state-aided denominational systems of which the Anglican was the dominant one.

This measure eased religious pressures on government but it soon caused financial difficulties for Governor Gipps during the economic downturn of the 1840s. With the spread of pastoral activities beyond the Nineteen Counties, this system of educational administration failed to meet the schooling needs of many young Australians.

To address this problem Gipps sought a unitary system which might be universally acceptable. He favoured the British and Foreign School System to provide 'general' religious instruction for all Protestants. Broughton was in the forefront in forming a new coalition of Anglicans and Catholics opposing such a system (Barcan 1988, 43). However divisions were emerging within these two denominations - between the High Church clergy led by Broughton and the significant group of Evangelical Anglican clergy and laity, and between the English Benedictine Catholic hierarchy and the Irish parish clergy and laity. These divisions were to affect the continuation of Anglican schools after 1880 (Cable 1952) while it ensured the tenacity of the predominantly Irish Roman Catholics in maintaining their own system (Fogarty 1959).

The new factor which caused these divisions was a shift in the political attitudes of many lay people after 1830. For Anglicans this was hastened by their contact with leading colonial liberals in Freemasonry (Piggin 1996, 26-27). Whereas conservatives such as Broughton believed that the state should support and preserve the Christian community (Shaw 1978, 68-70, 103-104), liberals believed that the state has a duty independent of the churches to secure the freedom, equality and the pursuit of happiness through material provision for its citizens. This liberalism, with its dislike of authoritarian control, reached its high point in the prosperous 1870s and 1880s. Its lines have been discerned by Macintyre: the state constituted its members as free and equal individuals, their interests being ensured through the machinery of political representation; the citizen was expected to give primary allegiance to the state which in turn would guide its citizens to self-fulfilment. Its ubiquity led Macintyre (1991, 214) to conclude:

So many of the programmes for change that have been mobilised in twentieth-century Australia - labourism, welfarism, the market-based neoliberalism of the new right,

consensual nationalism and perhaps even multiculturalism as well - employ arguments that are conducted within the terms of liberal discourse.

During the 1840s in New South Wales these liberal ideals had some way to go to find their fulfilment. The 1842 Constitution Act which, as well as providing for a partly elective Legislative Council, provided an annual grant of thirty thousand pounds for the maintenance of public worship to be distributed on the basis of the 1841 Census. This provided some relief for the churches which could devote more of their own resources to education. However, other forces were at work giving impetus to the assumption of educational provision by the state. The 1844 Select Committee report recommended the formation of a National System as well as continuing state aid to denominational schools (Barcan 1988, 48).

A 4.3 THE DUAL SYSTEM: The increasing impact of the liberal world-view

A 4.3.1 New South Wales

Change came when Governor Fitzroy toured the inland in the summer of 1846-47 and realised the negligible amount of schooling available for many Australian citizens. He allocated two thousand pounds for new national schools under a separate board (Barcan 1988, 48-49). Opposition from the churches was muted, largely because of their increasing dependence on government for financial support. Inevitably, because of the taxation powers of government, the national system had the potential of overwhelming the four rival denominational systems, as it eventually did in 1880.

The relative fortunes of each system between 1848 and 1866 can be seen from Table A 4.1. The decline in the Presbyterian and Wesleyan schools is explained partly by the changing distribution of population, partly by internal divisions within Presbyterianism, partly by a greater commitment to National schools by Wesleyan Methodists. Some Presbyterian and Wesleyan schools were transferred to National School Board control.

The explanation for this shift in the balance in favour of the state in education was due in large part to the work of William Wilkins. His tireless efforts in training teachers, in organising National education, in lifting standards and in bringing about uniformity throughout the colony using a highly structured inspectorial system convinced many Protestants of the value of National schools and confirmed them in their belief that the liberal solution to the education question was the right one (Turney 1969, 193-245).

Table A 4.1 NSW: National and Denominational Schools

	1849	1856	1866
National	14	54	272
Anglican	85	102	186
Presbyterian	47	18	31
Wesleyan	17	11	23
Roman Catholic	35	69	138

Source: Barcan 1988, Tables 6.1 and 7.2 64 & 90.

The next stage in the liberal advance began when Wilkins impressed on Colonial Secretary Henry Parkes that the dual system was in need of reform because it was unnecessarily expensive, it led to schools of an inferior quality, it engendered jealousies and uncharitable feelings, and it was limited in its supply (Barcan 1988, 107). Parkes's solution was the 1866 Public Schools Act which was introduced into the NSW parliament in the face of Anglican and Catholic opposition (Austin 1961, 118). The Act set up a single Council of Education (with Wilkins as Secretary) which had responsibilities for setting up and maintaining National Schools and granting aid to certified denominational schools. Strict limitations were placed upon the establishment of new denominational schools in terms of enrolments and distances from government schools. These regulations favoured National Schools and ensured continued improvement in educational standards. They also guaranteed an accessible public school even for thinly populated areas.

As a concession to the churches, Clause 19 drew on the Irish National System idea of providing access to public schools for one hour in each day by visiting clergy for religious instruction as well as requiring general religious education by the classroom teacher. This concession was worthless to Roman Catholic parents who, since 1864, had been prohibited by the episcopal directive based on the *Syllabus of Errors* from sending their children to government schools because of the error of liberalism propounded there (Austin 1961, 196-204). Anglicans were more ambivalent in the absence of any such definitive anti-liberal teaching. Most of the laity and some of the clergy accepted the liberal utilitarian argument and supported the unified state system. On the other hand Bishop Barker and some of the clergy continued to pursue the conservative line that Broughton had espoused in arguing the case for denominational schools (Judd and Cable 1987, 97-102).

A further step towards the liberal ideal of complete separation of church and state was the staged removal of state aid for churches after 1862. This caused a reassessment amongst Protestants of their commitment to educational expenditure as the delayed effects were felt when clergy in receipt of government support relocated, retired or died. The denominations favoured using their resources to support church extension and clerical stipends rather than in funding schools (Turner 1972, 202-222). The effect can be seen in Anglican school enrolments in Sydney which stood at 7690 in 1866, rose to 8446 in 1876 but then fell to 7751 by 1881 (Maple 1992, 43 & 74-76).

A 4.3.2 Other Colonies

In the other colonies the picture was much the same. Victoria, after separation from New South Wales, had to face the immediate crisis of the gold rush population explosion in the face of very limited government resources. National Schools were placed under the administration of the Denominational Board Commissioners until suitable legislation could be passed to establish a National Board (Austin 1961, 120-1). As a result of this and the more radical nature of the political beliefs of many of the immigrant miners, Victoria became the stage for rival claims for dominance by denominationalism and secularism. This provoked an initial alliance between church and state where favoured treatment was given to denominational schools. Catholics saw National schools as centres of Protestant proselytism (Austin 1961, 123). The National Board was revived between 1853 and 1862 so that when the Common Schools Bill was introduced into the Victorian legislature in 1862 the initiative had passed to those who believed a state system could be based on common Christianity (Austin 1961, 127).

Queensland was much quicker to resolve the problem after achieving independence in 1859. Within eighteen months the Primary Education Bill was introduced into parliament, reducing denominational schools to non-vested status and setting up a National system. This move was aided by the absence of a unified voice in the Anglican church, because the first bishop had not then arrived (Austin 1961, 129).

In Tasmania Anglicans and Catholics accepted that denominational schools could be sustained only in Hobart and Launceston and some other towns, but not in the thinly populated country districts. In 1852 Catholic Bishop Willson spoke of 'the inestimable blessings of a good secular education'. His only concern at that time was that texts should be unobjectionable to everyone (Austin 1961, 136). Anglican Bishop Nixon, fearing lay opposition to pursuit of denominational schools, saw that it was folly to use scarce resources to proliferate small Anglican schools throughout the island when these funds were needed for clergy support. A modified Irish National system was implemented where teachers taught students religious instruction at the start

of each day with the right for Catholics to withdraw if the teacher was a Protestant and vice versa. Denominational instruction could occur on specified days. The 1868 Public Schools Act sanctioned the system in operation since 1854 (Austin 1961, 139).

Western Australia during the 1850s and 1860s did not display the agnostic, voluntarist, sectarian and liberal tendencies which shaped education in the eastern colonies. Poverty and isolation caused dependence on English ideas and standards (Austin 1961, 142-3). To economise, Governor Kennedy was instructed in 1855 to confine government school education to a plain and practical education and to cease separate grants for Catholic schools. This he was more than happy to do because of his intense personal dislike of the Catholic bishop, Dr Serra. Kennedy sought to introduce the Irish National System with provision for special religious education by visiting clergy. Anglicans supported this because of poverty, distance and diminishing influence. Needless to say Catholics did not. Later attempts by Governor Weld to redress the imbalance by providing funds for Catholic schools provoked bitter sectarianism. The English Elementary Education Act of 1870 opened the opportunity for a similar act in Western Australia in 1871 introducing a dual system of government and assisted schools (Austin 1961, 146, 153).

South Australia, although preferring English precedents to those from Victoria and New South Wales, was a colony founded on the principles of voluntarism, liberalism and laissez-faire. Pike (1958a, 51) has argued that education started with a handicap because many of the influential pioneers were Dissenters who opposed all forms of state aid. Early attempts at the voluntarist principle saw many schools bankrupted with consequential recriminations in the small community (1958a, 54). Pike in another study (1958b, 69-70) argues that voluntarism in practice was a curious blend of avarice, ambition and expediency. This is not that different from A W Martin's picture (1962a) of Henry Parkes's motivation in NSW. In 1851 government aid was made available in South Australia to schools which gave 'good secular instruction based on the Christian religion, apart from all theological and controversial differences on discipline and doctrine' (Austin 1961, 156). South Australia had achieved what other colonies were still trying to achieve in the 1860s - a sound secular education based on a common Christianity. Yet objections were made to this settlement by Lutherans and Catholics. The driving force behind this was Catholic Bishop Geoghegan who, as early as 1852 before a Victorian Select Committee, had enunciated what came to be the agreed Australian Catholic position during the 1860s: 'We wish religion to be introduced into almost every act which comes under the notice of the child during education. We Catholics must have separate schools or none at all aided by the state' (Austin 1961, 159). This was a clear warning to all Australians that in developing state education systems on the basis of a common Christianity, a rival system of Catholic schools would also be created (Austin 1961, 160).

This warning was not heeded during the final stage of the nineteenth century march towards what has been characterised as the liberal ideal of 'free, compulsory and secular education'. This period saw the rise of secularism and the removal of government funding.

A 4.4 THE TRIUMPH OF SECULAR LIBERALISM IN THE SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

A 4.4.1 Three responses to the liberal challenge

It was soon found that the legislation of the 1850s and 1860s had failed to achieve its desired results. Although the number of government schools increased dramatically, as did the standard of teaching in most systems, it was known that too few children attended school with any regularity and in many rural districts there were no schools within reasonable distance to ensure they did. The combined pressure of the fear of lawlessness and the need for a tractable working class in a democratic society led many away from conservative educational rationales. The widespread adoption of secular liberal ideals and the Utilitarian belief that education could transform men's natures led to a coalition of rationalists, dissenting Protestants (including Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists and some Presbyterians) and a significant number of low church Anglicans who subscribed to Bentham, Mills and Macaulay's argument that the state rather than the church should assume responsibility for the control, subsidy and support of education. This was based on the complementary argument that education was necessary for sound democratic leadership, responsible civic participation and national prosperity (Austin 1961, 171-172). None of the Christian leaders was unduly concerned for the position of minority non-Christian groups such as Jews and Chinese who were disadvantaged by the common Christianity assumptions of the government school proponents.

Opposing the liberal coalition were Catholics, Lutherans (in South Australia) and some Presbyterians and Anglicans who believed that the non-sectarian approach of common Christianity of government schools was as bad as no education at all. Their reasons for opposing the liberal settlement differed. Evangelical Protestants, including low church Anglicans, were more concerned with the role of the church in evangelism than its educative function. Therefore they could accept schools based on a common Christianity more readily than high church Anglicans, Presbyterians and Roman Catholics, who continued to place a much higher priority on the church's role in education (Breward 1993, 68). It was these who were prepared to persevere with denominational schools after the removal of government funding.

In contrast, Catholics were instructed by their bishops on the dangers of liberalism, the need for denominational schools which allowed full expression of the Catholic faith, and the

necessity of sending their children to Catholic rather than 'godless' secular schools. At a time when 18% of government school children were nominally Catholic, the hierarchy used the threat of withdrawal of the sacraments as the means of obtaining compliance (Austin 1961, 196). Lutherans and Anglicans opposed to the government systems of schools saw the generic form of religious education as failing to do sufficient justice to the teachings of their respective churches. At the same time they were conscious of the cost of maintaining their school systems and the difficulty of continuing if public funding was withdrawn. To compensate, they as well as Dissenters worked to extend the number and outreach of Sunday Schools (Barcan 1988, 120). They also focused their energies more on secondary schooling rather than compete with the increasingly strong government system in elementary education.

As Catholics insisted on Catholic children being educated in Catholic schools, others saw them as being anti-liberal. Sectarian bitterness and bigotry developed from the clash of ideologies and surfaced when circumstances allowed. It reached a peak on the occasion of the attempted assassination of the Duke of Edinburgh at Clontarf in Sydney in 1868. Passions ran high and sides were quickly taken when it was revealed that James O'Farrell, the would be assassin, was a mad Irish Catholic with supposed Fenian connections. As Irish colonists hastened to protest their loyalty, opportunists used the occasion then and later to further their political cause and personal fortunes. Perhaps most notable of these was Henry Parkes who used the memory of these events to get himself re-elected in 1869 (Martin 1962b, 36-37). It should be noted that Parkes just as easily formed an alliance in 1872 with the leading Catholic MLA, Edward Butler to further his career after securing discharge from his second bankruptcy (Martin 1962b, 41). It serves to indicate the extent to which at least some of the parliamentarians were prepared to jettison both principles and the habits of a lifetime in pursuit of personal goals of political dominance. It was in this context that the break was made in government funding of non-government schools.

While Catholics and Lutherans were committed to denominational schools for all members of their faith, Presbyterians and Anglicans tended to be attracted to a third type of rationale. This was an intermediate position which evolved as state aid was removed. It represented a regrouping of those who had argued for state funding for denominational schools. A significant proportion of Protestant church leaders came to accept that state-provided secular, elementary education was indeed beneficial for the masses by increasing their work skills and improving their civic participation. However, drawing on Edmund Burke they went on to argue that a different type of education was required for leaders. The essential moral tone of the whole society depended on these leaders being educated by the best private denominational schools where religious, moral and patriotic values would be instilled. In this way the influence of the established churches of England and Scotland could be maintained over the leaders of a pluralist colonial society. Removal of state aid was not an obstacle, rather a guarantee that the church

secondary schools, modelled as they were on the English public schools such as Eton, Harrow and Rugby, would remain the preserve of the colonial elite and would ensure that university places were filled by their matriculating students. As Hogan (1978, 18-19) observes, this was still the position of Menzies, Gorton and Fraser in the 1960s.

A 4.4.2 "Free, compulsory and secular' education

Victoria was the first colony to rid itself of what was judged to be an inefficient dual system. The passage of the 1872 Education Act restricted public funding to government schools. In many respects the Victorian legislation represented the minimal concession to the Christian churches. Unlike Queensland (1875), New South Wales (1880), Tasmania (1885) and Western Australia (1893 & 1895) which all made specific provision for general religious education by the classroom teacher and in most cases special religious education by visiting clergy, Victoria simply left the way open to local Boards of Advice to arrange religious education as they desired it. South Australia in 1875 provided for voluntary attendance at Bible reading. Austin (1961, 166-204) argues at length that these acts provided neither free, compulsory or secular education in government schools. Fees were still charged, children were able to escape minimum attendance requirements and secular simply meant non-sectarian.

Argument has arisen amongst historians over the question of the strength of the secular influence on the Victorian settlement. Gregory (1960 & 1973), took the view that in the history of human action the individual is a free agent and that the significant participants in the Victorian settlement worked as free agents for the triumph of the rational liberal state at the expense of the churches. In contrast, Austin (1961, 181-190) argues that secularists had not driven religion out of schools, rather a coalition of interests had removed funding from denominational schools. Bannister (1983) presents an interesting analysis of how Gregory's work became the received view of the situation.

With the passage of these acts, the weakness of liberalism was revealed - Catholics could not be accommodated in the education settlement. Already the Catholics had set about creating a low-cost alternative of schools staffed by religious orders. Nevertheless, they did not let the proposed legislation proceed without a fight for the continuation of government funding. Yet this was construed by Protestant liberals as 'episcopal dictation' in the context of the 1869-1870 Vatican I declaration of Papal Infallibility. Any attempts to influence the political decision was seen as ecclesiastical interference in the affairs of state and therefore resisted without any examination of the merits of the case. Concern for equity and acceptance of the pluralist nature of Australian society ought to have led liberals to an attempt at greater fairness. The concern for maintaining the coalition between Protestants, secularists and rationalists meant that equity

questions were overlooked or minimised. Sometimes secularist claims were designed to provoke, as in the case of the parliamentarian who claimed, 'The primary duty of every man is to the state as a citizen. Afterwards he can consider the interests of his own Church, but not before.' (Austin 1961, 214)

In New South Wales anti-Catholic sectarian bitterness was fuelled by the publication in 1879 of Archbishop Vaughan's five Pastoral Letters on top of the provocative Joint Pastoral Letter on Education in June. It appears that Vaughan deliberately exploited the Irish sense of persecution when he called public schools 'seed-plots of future immorality, infidelity and lawlessness, being calculated to debase the standard of human excellence, and to corrupt the political, social and individual life of future citizens' (Austin 1961, 209). He wanted Catholic parents to believe that the faith of their children would be visibly enfeebled if they were sent to state schools. The bitterness these pastorals provoked was not equalled in other colonies. By the time Western Australia removed aid to non-government schools (in 1895), the issue had lost its heat. However, the deep-seated sectarian animosities remained until at least the 1950s in some sections of most Australian communities.

A 4.5 REASONS FOR THE BREAK WITH NINETEENTH CENTURY COLONIAL SETTLEMENTS

Three factors worked together to make the nineteenth century liberal settlement unacceptable by the middle of the twentieth century. The first was the changed capacity of individual state governments to fund educational growth and improvement. Under the federal system of government with its vertical fiscal imbalance, revenue raising was concentrated primarily with the Commonwealth but the responsibility for spending in the large areas of education and health belonged to the states. The second factor was the ideological shift in the eighty years following the high point of liberal democratic thought which delivered the universal education system of the 1870s and 1880s. During this time the optimism of the liberal democrats was subjected to two major depressions and Australian involvement in two world wars. Political ideology was not the only subject of disillusionment. All aspects of Western culture, including the religious certainties of the past were to be submitted to radical critique and external challenge. Thirdly, the common Protestant education settlement, which effectively excluded participation by the one in five Australians who belonged to the Roman Catholic faith, was starkly revealed as inadequate and inequitable by the demographic changes after the Second World War.

As early as 1942 both sides of Australian politics had come to accept that there was a need for change, not only in the relationship between the Commonwealth and the states with respect to finance for education, but also between state and church over the provision of a higher standard of education to suit current national needs. How this was to be accomplished in an equitable way without causing serious division within the body politic was the dilemma few politicians cared to predict.

COMMONWEALTH POWERS, VOUCHERS, THE 'DOGS' CASE

A 5.1 Commonwealth powers relating to school funding

The following are the relevant sections of the Australian Constitution under which the Commonwealth has introduced funding for schools:

Legislative powers of the Parliament

Section 51

The Parliament shall, subject to this Constitution, have power to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of the Commonwealth with respect to:

(xxiiiA)
the provision of maternity allowances, widows' pensions, child endowment, unemployment pharmaceutical, sickness and hospital benefits, medical and dental services (but not so as to authorise any form of civil conscription), *benefits to students* and family allowances;

(xxix)
external affairs;

Financial assistance to States

Section 96

During a period of ten years after the establishment of the Commonwealth and thereafter until the Parliament otherwise provides, the parliament may grant financial assistance to any State on such terms and conditions as the Parliament thinks fit.

Commonwealth not to legislate in respect of religion

Section 116

The Commonwealth shall not make any law for establishing any religion, or for imposing any religious observance, or for prohibiting the free exercise of any religion, and no religious test shall be required as qualification for any office or public trust under the Commonwealth.

A 5.2 Educational Vouchers.

The concept of an educational voucher system, proposed by American economist Milton Friedman in 1962, is that schools (or universities) would not be funded directly by government grants but indirectly through grants contingent on the enrolment of students. Each family would be issued with a voucher to the value of a year's education for each school-aged child. On enrolment, the voucher is presented and the school claims the entitlement from the government. If a student transfers between schools, the portion of the value of the voucher still remaining transfers to the new school (see Harrold 1982, 119).

As Marginson (1973, 71-73) points out, vouchers are seen as a mechanism for achieving a unified free market in educational services. The transition to this requires:

1. The development of a market outlook among 'consumers' and 'producers';
2. The development of the relations of market exchange in place of free collective services; and
3. The establishment of a unified national market of producer institutions in which all institutions, public or private, are autonomous and competitive enterprises. Depoliticisation of funding is achieved by removing the distinction between public and private. The only requirement is that institutions in receipt of funding are 'approved' by government.

The object of vouchers, apart from depoliticising state aid, would be to encourage privatisation, to extend the range of choices and to ensure that only schools that satisfied customer demand would survive.

A 5.3 The High Court challenge to the constitutionality of Commonwealth grants to non-government schools

The constitutional validity of Commonwealth support for non-government schools under the States Grants (Schools) Acts 1972 to 1976, the States Grants (Schools Assistance) Acts 1976 to 1978, the Schools Commission Act 1973, Independent Schools (Loan Guarantee) Act 1969 and Appropriation Acts 1972 to 1979 were challenged by the Attorney-General for the State of Victoria (at the relation of Black) and others (Commonwealth Law Reports 146, High Court of Australia, 1980-1981, 559-661). This has been popularly known as the 'DOGS Case'.

The plaintiffs submitted that section 116 of the Constitution prevents the Commonwealth parliament from making any law which provides any recognition or aid or support to one or more religions or to religion generally. That the States Grants legislation is invalid because it infringes section 116 in so far as it provides grants for the funding of religious

schools. The States grants legislation is beyond the power conferred by section 96. Since section 116 controls laws enacted pursuant to the power conferred by sections 81, 83 and 122, the general Appropriation Acts and the Independent Schools (Loans Guarantee) Act 1969 are invalid. The laws referred to together with the Schools Commission Act 1973 and the facts surrounding their administration establish an undue involvement of the Commonwealth in the affairs of religion, contrary to section 116, and the said laws are therefore invalid (Wilson J, CLR 146, 636). The plaintiffs sought an injunction restraining the Treasurer, the Minister for Education and the Minister for Finance from applying consolidated revenue pursuant to these acts.

Evidence was taken before Mr Justice Murphy between March and June 1979. On 9 January 1980, Justice Murphy ordered that the case be argued before the Full Court. Judgment was handed down on 2 February 1981.

It was held by Chief Justice Barwick and Justices Gibbs, Stephen, Mason, Aickin and Wilson (with Justice Murphy contra) that a law offends against section 116 if it has the effect or purpose of constituting or recognising a particular religion (including a branch of religion or church) as a national institution; also that a law which provides for financial aid to the educational activities of church schools is not a law for establishing a religion even though the operation of the law might indirectly assist the practice of the religion. The whole court ruled that a statute which grants money to a state is a valid exercise of section 96 notwithstanding that the statute requires the state to apply moneys for a particular purpose or to pay the moneys to a particular recipient. With a six to one majority (as above), the court held that the laws in question were valid laws of the Commonwealth.

Appendix 6

FUNDING MECHANISMS

A 6.1 THE SCHOOLS RECURRENT RESOURCES INDEX (SRRI)

The Schools Recurrent Resources Index (SRRI) was introduced in 1974 in order to determine the relative needs of schools for Commonwealth financial assistance. In the case of non-government schools, it calculated the quantity of recurrent resources (from private sources) used in a school or system as a percentage of the national average resource standard in government schools of a similar type and size.

The SRRI rating:

- catered for major cost differences between schools, including:
 - differences between government and non-government school costs;
 - levels of education; and
 - school size;
- included objectively measurable components common to all schools; and
- was readily determined and easily understood.

Additional discretionary assistance was available to schools in special circumstances, such as extremely isolated schools or new, small schools experiencing rapid expansion.

(Source: DEETYA 1997a, 19)

A 6.2 THE COMMUNITY STANDARD

The Community Standard introduced in 1985, was a set of educational resource standards relating to general provision of schooling (class size, staffing, equipment, books, etc) and some special needs. It served as the basis for Commonwealth recurrent funding of government and non-government schools.

The Community Standard was intended to serve a number of purposes. It provided:

- a standard against which the resource requirement of schools could be measured;
- a basis for the development of specific funding policies and mechanisms;

- a basis for negotiations between the Commonwealth and the states and non-government school authorities on resource improvements;
- a basis for the development of appropriate accountability procedures in the context of Commonwealth general recurrent programs for schools; and
- a means by which school communities could assess resource allocation decisions.

Assessment Standards

- The ERI Assessment Standards were derived from existing 1984 standards and the three components (primary, junior and senior secondary) of the new Community Standard.
- Until 1992, the Assessment Standards were adjusted annually in line with movements in the Schools Price Index.

The Community Standard was replaced by the Average Government School Recurrent Costs in 1993.

(Source: DEETYA 1997a, 20)

A 6.3 THE SCHOOLS PRICE INDEX (SPI)

Until 1992, the Schools Price Index (SPI) was the basis on which adjustments to recurrent grant levels for changes in cost were made. The SPI:

- was a measure of the movement in cost of a basket of school-specific goods and services;
- included only those items for which reliable data were available;
- categorised costs into teacher salaries, non-teacher salaries, and administrative/non-salary costs (about two thirds of the SPI was based on movements in teacher award salaries);
- until 1988, was calculated annually by the Schools Commission and then the Department of Education;
- after 1989, was adjusted in line with the Schools Price Deflator, a schools specific index maintained by the Australian Bureau of Statistics;
- until 1991, was projected for periods of up to twelve months in line with the prevailing legislative and administrative processes; and
- in 1993, was replaced by the Average Government School Recurrent Costs.

(Source: DEETYA 1997a, 21)

A 6.4 THE EDUCATION RESOURCES INDEX (ERI)

Between 1985 and 1988 schools were categorised into one of twelve funding categories on the basis of the Education Resources Index (ERI). The ERI assesses each school's level of income from private sources, including income for capital purposes. This is compared with a standard level of resources derived from the Commonwealth Community Standard (see above).

1 COMPONENTS OF THE ERI

(a) Total Private Cash Income

The sum of tuition and boarding components for each of the following items:

- fees for operating purposes
- all other operating income from private sources
- Fees reserved for capital purposes
- private contributions to loan principal repayments
- all other capital income from private sources excluding the proceeds of new long term loans for capital purposes.

(b) Contributed Services

The value of the shortfall, if any, in the actual salaries paid by the school to its teachers and professional support staff, relative to the average salaries paid to teachers and professional support staff in government schools.

(c) Total Private Income

The sum of total private cash income and contributed services = (a) + (b)

(d) Allowances for boarding school costs

- Allowances are made, as a deduction from total private income, for: expenditure on boarding operations (including debt servicing and minor capital costs) up to a limit of \$3 000 per boarder (in average 1983 price levels);
- major boarding school capital expenditure financed from private income other than loans, up to a limit of \$500 per boarder (in average 1983 price levels).

(e) Allowance for day school capital-related costs

A general allowance is made, as a deduction from total private income, for capital-related costs (i.e. direct capital expenditure, debt servicing, cash provisions for future capital works, etc). It is calculated as a percentage of the school's private cash income (after the education of allowable boarding costs), with the percentage determined by the value of private cash income as a proportion of the assessment standard, as follows:

<i>Private cash income as % of assessment standard</i>	<i>% of private cash income allowed for capital costs</i>
<i>15 or less</i>	<i>40.0</i>
<i>100 or more</i>	<i>7.5</i>

(f) Net Private Income

This forms the numerator of the ERI and is calculated as total private income less allowance = (c) - (d) - (e). If a school's net private income is less than the amount of private income which the school actually allocates to recurrent tuition resources, the latter amount replaces net private income in the index calculation.

(g) Assessment Standard

The assessment standard has been determined on the basis of progress from the assessment standard for 1984 towards the Community Standard, as an average for the period 1985-1988. In dollar per student terms the assessment standard for 1985-88 at each level of education (expressed in average 1983 price levels) is:

Primary	1,839
Junior Secondary	2,547
Senior Secondary	3,146

As in the past, the assessment standard is multiplied by a size weight factor for schools with enrolments below certain limits. The maximum size weight factor is 1.5; it applies to primary schools with 200 or more students or to secondary schools with 500 or more students. Size weighting factors vary progressively between these limits.

2 CALCULATION OF THE ERI

The Education Resources Index is calculated according to the formula:

$$\text{ERI} = \frac{\text{net private income (f)}}{\text{assessment standard (g)}} \times 100$$

3 DERIVATION OF GRANT CATEGORY

The ERI value used for the 1985 general recurrent grants classification is the enrolment-weighted average of the ERI values based on 1981 data and 1983 data respectively. After calculation, the average is truncated to its whole number part and this value is used as the basis for classification.

(Source: Harrold 1988, 50, 57-59)

NON-GOVERNMENT SCHOOL EXPANSION DURING THE FRASER YEARS: a sectoral analysis

1. THE CATHOLIC SECTOR

The Catholic sector was characterised by mainly systemic primary schools, some systemic secondary schools and a range of non-systemic secondary or mixed schools which had been established by one of the teaching orders.

1.1 Systemic Schools

Between 1973 and 1975 the number of Catholic schools had fallen. Table 6.2 (in Chapter 6, above) reveals that there was a 10% overall increase in Catholic school enrolments between 1975 and 1985. Table A 7.1 shows that the majority of these students were to be found in the denominational systemic schools. Furthermore, virtually all of these schools were classed as category 3 schools and received the maximum Commonwealth recurrent subsidy. There was every incentive for parents who valued a Catholic education to take advantage of the very low fee structure of these schools and enrol their children. Table A 7.2 gives an indication of the ratio of fees to total income as a measure of affordability. From this one can gauge the impact of the Fraser government's funding arrangements on the Catholic sector.

Catholic primary schools, most of which were systemic schools and already affordable, were made more so despite the fall in contributed services during this period. Private income rose by less than the Commonwealth recurrent grants (27.7% against 32.8%). The most significant increase took place in State grants including interest subsidies (42.6%). In Catholic secondary schools, fees rose at a lower rate than primary fees. The low fees made them affordable despite the fall in contributed services. The gap had been made up by an increase in private income (74%), in Commonwealth recurrent grants (36.9%) and in state grants including interest subsidies (36.1%). Most Catholic mixed schools were non-systemic and are considered below.

Table A 7.1

Commonwealth General Recurrent Grants Program:

Non-government Students by Subsidy Groups 1982

(Enrolments - Full-time equivalents, excluding non-government special schools)

	<i>Subsidy Group</i>	<i>\$ per student</i>	<i>Number of Students</i>
Primary systemic	1	314	53
	2	470	786
	3	596	317,708
	Total		318,547
Primary non-systemic	1	314	39,385
	2	470	6,546
	3	596	27,715
	Total		73,645
Total Primary	1	314	39,438
	2	470	7,332
	3	596	345,423
	Total		392,192
Secondary systemic	1	509	-
	2	764	97
	3	967	111,036
	Total		111,133
Secondary non-systemic	1	509	83,382
	2	764	11,402
	3	967	110,694
	Total		205,478
Total secondary	1	509	83,382
	2	764	11,499
	3	967	221,730
	Total		316,611

Source: Schools Commission (1984), *Australian School Statistics*. Canberra: Canberra Publishing Company, Table 4.3 p.39.

The ideological and religious character of Catholic schools was changing during the 1970s. In part this was due to the change in the composition of the teachers in Catholic schools (from 43% religious in 1972 to only 10% by 1982) that accompanied the decline in religious

Table A 7.2
Income of Non-government Schools 1976 & 1981
(\$ per student, estimated in December 1982 prices)

	1976	1981	1976-81 % change
PRIMARY SCHOOLS			
- Catholic			
(a) Tuition Fees	102	125	22.5
(b) Total Income	1,115	1,378	23.6
(a) as % of (b)	9.15	9.07	
- Other			
(c) Tuition Fees	715	742	3.8
(d) Total Income	1,729	2,133	23.4
(c) as % of (d)	41.35	34.79	
SECONDARY SCHOOLS			
- Catholic			
(e) Tuition Fees	331	373	12.7
(f) Total Income	1,834	2,225	21.3
(e) as % of (f)	18.05	16.76	
- Other			
(g) Tuition Fees	1,625	1,688	3.9
(h) Total Income	2,904	3,378	16.3
(g) as % of (h)	55.96	49.97	
MIXED SCHOOLS			
- Catholic	418	463	10.8
(j) Tuition Fees			
(k) Total Income	1,674	2,034	21.5
(j) as % of (k)	24.97	22.76	
- Other			
(l) Tuition Fees	1,945	1,867	- 4.0
(m) Total Income	2,775	3,065	10.5
(l) as % of (m)	70.09	60.91	

Source: Schools Commission (1984), *Australian School Statistics*. Canberra: Canberra Publishing Company, Table 5.6 pp.51-53.

orders and their redeployment in social welfare roles. With the secularisation of the teaching staff of most Catholic schools, including 27% who were not Catholic, came a change of focus away from an emphasis on 'saving souls' and providing upward social mobility through education for the children of poor Irish immigrants to providing an education comparable to that in state schools for a wide range of students from diverse ethnic backgrounds, including some 10% by 1982 who were not Catholic (Barcan 1988, 297). The low cost of these schools, particularly at the primary level, had a big bearing on their appeal to non-Catholics as standards and resources rose to an acceptable level (on average about the same as state primary schools in 1973).

1.2 Non-systemic Schools

There was no obvious advantage or external incentive for Catholic school authorities to establish any additional non-systemic schools. The ones already in existence had been founded by the religious teaching orders which were now in decline and therefore more likely to concentrate their educational efforts, rather than expand them. Secondly, the financial advantages of being classified in a category for higher government funding by placing any new Catholic schools under the systemic umbrella of the Catholic Education Office far outweighed any perceived advantage of independence in the non-systemic part of the non-government sector. Thirdly, the system was far more able to assist with the high start-up costs than any individual Catholic parish or religious community. Fourthly, many of the generic reasons and some of the specific reasons that made Anglican and Uniting church authorities reluctant to commit further resources to education (see below) also applied in this case. Not surprisingly the result was that there were no significant developments in this part of the non-government sector.

The level of fees of these schools varied considerably, depending on the nature of their foundation and the length of their existence and resource levels. Those with relatively high resource levels were as exposed as non-Catholic non-government schools to categorisation in the lowest level of funding (Category 1). Some measure of their attractiveness to and affordability for prospective parents can be gauged from the Catholic Mixed School category of Table 6.4. Fee levels had increased at a slower rate but were three times those of systemic primary schools and a good 25% higher than secondary schools. They had suffered a 26.5% loss in contributed services and the school community was being called on to raise nearly as much private income as the secondary schools and more than primary school communities. Recurrent grants from Commonwealth and state had risen at similar levels to other Catholic schools. Where they suffered more was in the loss of capital funding (down 25.8%) compared with 46.9% increases for systemic primary schools and 5% for secondary school capital projects. Expansion in this sector was much more likely to come from increases in enrolments in existing schools than from new schools in growing areas of population.

2 THE NEW PROVIDERS

It was the new Christian schools that proliferated most during the period under discussion. Although they catered for a relatively small proportion of enrolments, they had an impact far beyond their size. The reasons for this are twofold. Their low fees drew students away from existing Protestant denominational schools, causing irritation to school managers. Secondly and more importantly, they upset the good relationships that existed between state education departments, the Catholic Education Commissions and traditional non-government providers for

planning purposes, because they were established without reference to any other providers and they drew students predominantly from the government sector. Both factors caused tensions among existing providers and their supporters in the context of a diminishing pool of enrolments and the relative decline in funding. (The other groups providing for a particular type of education, such as special schools for specific disabilities which were replacing institutional care, were not of significant concern.)

2.1 Parent Controlled Christian Schools

The first Parent-Controlled Christian School, the Tyndale Christian School, had been opened at Blacktown in western Sydney in 1966. The second was the John Wycliffe Christian School at Warrimoo on the Blue Mountains in 1976. By 1982 there were eleven of these schools in New South Wales, seven in Victoria, six in Western Australia, two in Queensland and one in South Australia, making a total of twenty seven in Australia (Barcan 1988, 298). In 1983 there were 35 schools in Australia with 5,303 students (*Nurture* 1993, 6). These schools were supported by the National Union of Associations for Parent-Controlled Christian Schools. The movement has strong links with the Netherlands and the United States. It was brought to Australia by post-war Dutch immigrants belonging to the Reformed tradition. Membership of the Association is dependent on the signing of a doctrinal statement of the Reformed theological tradition. Enrolment in Parent-Controlled Schools was not restricted to children of parents who had signed the doctrinal statement, but participation in the operation of the school was restricted to parents who had. A Board of members of the Association was responsible for the hiring and firing of staff, who also were required to sign the doctrinal statement, although their membership of the Association was optional. (see Uniting Church of Australia 1981 *Report on the Emerging Christian or Non-Systemic Schools Movement*, 8-10 for a critique of these schools).

The movement is inter-denominational and has two leading ideas: parental responsibility for education and a permeation of the whole curriculum with Christian truth. The objectives of these schools were to develop the child as an individual and to enable the child to make full use of his/her individual gifts in a co-operating community situation. The curriculum was similar to that offered in government schools, but subjects were approached from a specifically Christian orientation. As a consequence the Schools Commission *Small Schools Study* (1980, 25) found they were attractive to many Protestant Christians. The study found that the association effectively united the efforts of future parents and friends as well as the parents of children actually attending the school. By means of many sub-committees and voluntary contributions of parents in terms of contributed effort, these schools have a very high level of parental and community involvement. This enables fees to be kept low and access for those of limited means is maintained. The schools, although repudiating secularism, provide a solid grounding in

academic subjects. Thus they have much in common with the traditions of other non-government schools. The Uniting Church survey (1981, 9-10) saw their strength in assisting Christian parents in fulfilling their perceived responsibility to God regarding their children, in relating the Bible to the classroom, in enabling the world to see a willingness of the whole Christian community to participate in a sacrificial lifestyle in obedience to God, and in providing an alternative to government school at a considerably lower cost than the traditional church school. The disadvantages were the relatively small size of these schools which placed a limitation on the variety of experiences the schools could offer, and the location of the schools meant that some students had to travel considerable distances to attend.

The closeness in orientation of some of these schools to traditional Protestant denominational schools meant that a number of parents would be prepared to choose them as being more affordable. Their concentration in New South Wales and Victoria was a concern for some of the less viable high fee schools. Their seemingly mushroom-like growth without cooperative planning or consultation with existing schools was of concern to both government and non-government school administrators. Government school lobby groups feared unlimited expansion under the Fraser government funding policy (Swan 1994).

2.2 Accelerated Christian Education (ACE) Schools

During the 1970s as a consequence of the growth of fundamentalist Christian groups who emphasised a faith based on a literal interpretation of the Bible, these schools were founded. They had their origin in 1970 in Texas, USA in the Southern Baptist community and were the brainchild of Dr Donald Howard. In the United States some 2,500 of these schools opened during the 1970s and many others were established in at least eleven other European, African and Asian countries. The first ACE school was established at Blackheath in New South Wales in 1977. By 1983 there were 73 in Australia, some were registered so that their students could sit for public examinations, others were not.

The underlying philosophy of these schools is that they must separate themselves from the darkness of secular humanism, liberalism and modernism. They see themselves as training leaders for the revival of the church. The curriculum materials and courses of training are made available by ACE for church pastors who appoint school principals and screen enrolments. The churches in Australia that have adopted this approach have been mainly independent and tending to be Pentecostal in emphasis and expression (for example Bethel Christian Academy, Mt. Druitt (1979), Newcastle Christian Life Academy and Wahroonga Christian Academy (1978) - the latter being one of the ten schools visited by the Small Schools Study consultant (1980, 19-20). Informing the pedagogy of this program is the rationale that, on the foundation Biblical texts

Deuteronomy 6:6-8, Ephesians 6:4 and Matthew 28:19, the responsibility for education with the child lies with the parents and the church, not the state. The teaching materials developed centrally by ACE in America use Scripture to program the mind of the child to see the world from God's point of view. The materials comprise of learning resources known as pacers, a self-instructional package on which the child learns at his/her own pace. This has a Skinnerian approach to learning with self-correction and reinforcement. The student spends up to four hours per day working at an individual carrel on individual learning tasks. Trained teachers are present, although this system makes much greater use of untrained aides and ancillary staff. The rest of the day is spent in group learning experiences, discussion groups and sporting activities. A strict code of discipline including corporal punishment is binding on parent and child from enrolment. The Small Schools Study found these schools to be economical to run, flexible in organisation and adaptable to normal church buildings where lockable carrels are used (1980, 26).

The Uniting Church Report expressed some concerns about ACE schools. These included the American orientation of the curriculum materials, the implication of the materials that all truth is encapsulated within them, the methods of obtaining conformity to school disciplinary policy, the inconsistency within the materials of rejecting secular scholarship and yet basing the whole program on Skinner's secular psychology which stand in direct contradiction to well-documented research findings regarding language acquisition, the reduced level of pupil-teacher and pupil-pupil interaction especially necessary for language development, the deprivation of students from exploring their cultural heritage through reading, the absence of self-expression and self-understanding through drama, and the artificial division between learning from the self-directed pacers and that in group sessions. The value of the system was seen to lie in the conjunction of parental attitudes and values with those of the school, the use of only committed Christian teachers, the advantages of low student numbers and low fees, the consistency of teaching methods and values across all schools using this program (Uniting Church Report 1981, 7-8).

The Small Schools Study noted that one trained teacher and two 'monitors' (untrained aides) per 40 to 50 students is the norm. The fees at Wahroonga in 1978 were \$180 per term, the lowest of the ten schools surveyed. It noted that "Some ACE schools make no claim for government grants as an act of faith that 'God will provide'. Other schools believe that not claiming grants inhibits State influence on their schools and/or assists in the separation of Church and State." (*Small Schools Survey* 1980, 20)

It was these schools, more than any other type, that caused strongly negative reactions from government school interests, which tended to see all Christian schools as being the same. The teaching methods in particular were seen to be in direct opposition to current educational thinking. Other providers disliked the very low cost approach which undercut their fees. All objected to their development in an unplanned way (Swan 1994).

2.3 Christian Community Schools

The third group of new Christian schools were the Christian Community Schools. These were mainly confined to New South Wales where there were eleven in 1983. The most notable of these was the Christian Community High School opened in 1976 by the Regents Park and Lidcombe-Berala Baptist churches in Sydney. As with the other Christian schools the fundamental emphasis is on the right of parents to educate their children in a school that provides a genuine Christian philosophy. The values of secular humanism were seen to be antithetical to Biblical truth. Management of these schools consisted of a Board made up of the pastor and four elected members of the initiating church, the principal and one member of the school staff, and two parents. The teaching staff are called by the church on a similar basis as the pastor and become members of the ministry team. Only children from Christian homes are accepted for enrolment. School fees were approximately \$500 per annum for primary children and \$900 for secondary students. No objections were made to state or Commonwealth funding. A deliberate policy existed not to exclude students because their parents were unable to meet the fees.

The students of these schools study courses developed by the statutory Boards and Departments of Education. Curriculum support material is designed around special units of work known as 'measures'. This is a study guide which frees the teacher from much of the normal face to face teaching. Individualisation is provided by three different levels of work in each course. Mastery of one measure is necessary before progressing to the next. The support material deliberately emphasises both conventional basic skills and the integration of all studies to promote the individual's development of his/her physical, mental and spiritual gifts, the growth in the knowledge of God and of Christ likeness, and the learning to co-operate in love, humility and subjection to the head and other members of the body of Christ. The system is known by the acronym GIFTS (Graded Individualised Focused Teaching System). The school routine is normal. Lessons, homework and student assessment are conventional. What is different is the focus and expected outcomes of becoming Christlike (*Small School Study* 1980, 16-18; *Uniting Church Report* 1981, 10-11).

The relatively small number of these schools and the lack of clear understanding of difference from other new Christian schools led to the same kinds of objections from various quarters.

2.4 OTHER NON-DENOMINATIONAL CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS

A number of non-denominational or inter-denominational Christian schools developed between 1975 and 1983 as a response to the needs of individual communities. Examples of these are found in the Small Schools Study and in the Uniting Church Report. In general, these were schools more in the tradition of the non-systemic non-government schools. In some cases, such as the Maryborough Christian Community College (Victoria), were formed as an ecumenical venture on the basis of an existing but uneconomic school. Others, such as the O'Connor Christian School (ACT), grew out of the particular concerns of a church (in this case a Uniting Church in the Canberra suburb of O'Connor) and were open to enrolment by students from other denominations or from non-Christian families in sympathy with the aims of the school. In all cases there is an emphasis on the central truths of the Christian faith, on Christian moral values, and on living in community in the light of these ideals. No precise details exist as to the number, although the Small Schools Survey lists six or seven which may be included in this category.

In general, this group were not distinguished from other new providers and were objected to for the same sorts of reasons.

2.5 SEVENTH DAY ADVENTIST SCHOOLS

By 1983 there were 79 Seventh Day Adventist schools in Australia, of these 21 were in New South Wales where Seventh Day Adventism has its headquarters and is at its strongest. These schools had been set up to provide specifically denominational education. Although small in size (generally with fewer than 100 students), they were not included in the Small Schools Study. Little information about them exists in the public domain. It is sufficient to note that no dramatic expansion took place in the number of schools or the student population in the period under review in this chapter. They do not appear to have been a focus for criticism.

2.6 RUDOLPH STEINER, PROGRESSIVE SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLS

CATERING FOR SPECIFIC ETHNIC GROUPS

Some 162 schools in Australia in 1975 were classed as non-denominational (95 in New South Wales) but by 1983 this number had increased to 325 (97 in New South Wales). Of these, 174 were non-government special schools set up by a range of providers to cater for students with special disabilities. Another significant group were the progressive schools based on a particular educational philosophy (see Appendix 1 of *Small Schools Study* 1980 for a listing of some of these, included as Appendix III of this thesis).

Some examples of progressive schools were the ERA School in Donvale (Victoria) promoted by the Educational Reform Association and with supporting interest from academics, professionals and the World Education Fellowship. The school sought to balance the child's academic requirements with the development of a sense of personal identity and social involvement. By reducing the rigidity of normal schools, the ERA school sought to promote the child's capacity to become a loving, inquiring, creative and courageous person. Students were given responsibility for the management of the school; parents and outsiders were welcome to contribute to the school (*Small School Study* 1980, 10-11). Another was the Lorien Novalis School for Rudolph Steiner Education at Dural (NSW) based on the Steiner principles of the original Waldorf School movement. The emphasis was on enhancing the spiritual consciousness, on the arts and on biodynamic theories of health and horticulture. The curriculum is composed of thematic studies across the traditional subject areas pursued intensively, diversely and creatively for two hours each morning for three weeks. A practical program along similar lines occupied the afternoons. Some departures from the original Waldorf plan were permitted in the professional leadership, management and discipline of the school. Six of these schools had been developed in Australia (*Small Schools Study*, 1980, 11-12). The small size, the innovative approach and the dispersion of these schools kept them free from the criticisms that the Christian schools received.

A different type of alternative school was the Nimbin Community School in northern New South Wales. This school, arose out of the movement of new settlers into the district after the 1973 Aquarius festival. Literacy and numeracy are the two skills given the highest priority in a school that concentrates on relationships between students and adult mentors who contribute their services. Another type of alternative school was that of Kinma School at Terrey Hills in Sydney's northern suburbs. Here a child-centred learning program was developed on open-plan teaching and the discovery method utilising parents' desire to be involved in all aspects of their children's learning. Strong links have been forged with outside experts in early childhood learning (*Small Schools Study* 1980, 15, 18-19). These schools were so small and unique that they were not regarded as a particular threat by other providers. Opposition from the ATF was directed against them on educational and funding grounds.

Of the schools catering for specific ethnic groups, the Sholem Aleichem School in Elsternwick (Victoria) is an example. It was set up in 1975 to provide bi-lingual education in English and Yiddish and Hebrew for Russian families with a Jewish background. The school also gave the community a focus and a medium for social exchange. It was a secular school with daily lessons in Yiddish and, from Year 3, Hebrew as well (*Small Schools Study* 1980, 12-13). Because of their smallness and limited clientele and because of the growing acceptance of multiculturalism in Australia, these schools did not meet with significant opposition.

A significant number of special schools had been formed particularly in capital cities by both religious and non-religious bodies to cater for the specific educational needs of groups of

physically and intellectually disadvantaged students. This development had proceeded unevenly, some states had seen marked numbers come into existence before 1975, while others saw a rapid growth as a result of the more liberal recurrent funding of the Fraser years. Such developments were fully in line with Schools Commission policy and reflect a concern in the wider community to provide the maximum educational opportunities for young Australians many of whom had previously been regarded as ineducable. Few objected to the establishment and funding of such schools.

The generous Schools Commission general recurrent funding made available to all registered schools in Australia encouraged the previously unparalleled growth of the non-government sector between 1975 and 1983 by reducing the costs of establishing a school and by bringing fee levels within reach of a much greater proportion of the population. This was largely as a consequence of the ministerial guidelines which directed the Schools Commission to provide minimum recurrent funding to all schools regardless of resource levels. The outcome was that by 1983 the 24% of students in non-government schools were receiving 56% of the Schools Commission's recurrent grant budget (Smart 1989, 307).

3 THE INDEPENDENT SCHOOL SECTOR

The response in the traditional non-systemic non-government school sector continued to be cautious in the period from 1975 to 1983, despite the perceived favouring of the non-government sector by the Fraser government in its guidelines to the Schools Commission. The reasons for this caution are complex. Some are common to all sections of the non-government sector, others are specific to particular Christian denominations and providers.

3.1 The Anglican Church

After the passage of the various colonial education acts in Australia in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Anglican church decided to forego elementary education in favour of the negotiated right of access to public schools for the teaching of Special Religious Education (Maple 1992, 146-147 & 1994, 25). The ongoing legacy was a group of fee charging diocesan secondary schools which catered for the small number of students who wished to further their education to matriculation level. The organisation, curriculum and standards in these schools were a rather pale imitation of the English 'public' school. Because of the level of fees charged, these schools were out of the reach of the majority of Anglicans. As a result, the diocesan synods had a somewhat ambivalent relationship with the church schools within their boundaries. On the one hand there was a reluctance to give full support to the schools because of the fact that the

majority of Anglican children were being educated in state schools and church schools were regarded as elitist. On the other hand, the schools were seen by their promoters as vital for the presentation of Christian truth and ethics to Australia's future leaders. A further complication was that a number of these schools had been commenced as private venture schools and the synods had very little control over their governance.

The Anglican church in New South Wales faced other demands on its resources. Since some 54% of the state schools 668,630 children were nominally Anglican, to provide Special Religious Education (SRE) for the 360,595 Anglican children, resources were needed for the training of 800 more voluntary lay teachers (ACA Report 1966, 24). When it came to a consideration of the possibility of state aid being made available, a Synod Commission had canvassed possible responses and proposed that, in the event of increased state aid, the Anglican church, being unable to provide Christian education in a church school for all nominal Anglicans, should advocate that aid "should be made available to those denominations which do not want to enter into competition with the state school system, in order to improve the quality of their religious education activities" (ACA Report 1966, 33). Such money might be used for one or more of training and salaries of full-time SRE staff, the establishment of Anglican education centres, the provision of school chaplains in Victoria, the provision of training and editorial staff, or the development of an 'agreed syllabus' on the English model. (ACA Report 1966, 33-34). These recommendations were somewhat tentative, probably because of their political naivety. It is not surprising that, when Commonwealth funding became available, the Anglican church lacked clear resolution. A report to the 1972 Sydney Anglican synod had set as the future priorities, firstly, the diocesan responsibility for religious education in state schools; secondly, the development of the diocese's contribution to the meeting of specific needs in the various fields of special education; and thirdly, a coordinated diocesan policy for the establishment of new schools, especially in geographical areas where the need for such a school is seen to exist (ACA Report 1972, 14). Another factor inhibiting an Anglican response was the lax resource management in the past leading to very low returns on diocesan property and an inability to mobilise capital resources to establish new non-government schools, even if it considered this as a high priority.

The inherent caution was reinforced by the financial difficulties which overtook the SCEGGS group of schools in 1974-1975 which necessitated the closing of one, the amalgamation of another, and the assumption of governance by the parent body of the two largest. With a damaged psyche, Sydney diocese was unlikely to give the lead in any rapid expansion of church schools. It called on governments to avoid discrimination in favour of one denomination over others in the interests of equity (ACA 1985).

In 1981 the Sydney Anglican Diocesan Education Commission had put together a policy document entitled *Towards a Diocesan Policy on Education*. This showed the diocese moving rather

belatedly to come to terms with the current impact of state aid on education. It recorded that some leadership had been given by the diocesan Council for the Promotion of ... Diocesan Schools in exploring the possibility of some new schools and it also recognised that some Anglican parents had played a leading role in the formation of Parent-Controlled Christian Schools (ACA Report 1981, 11). It went on to suggest some guidelines for the establishment of parochial schools. The concept of systemic schools on the model of the Roman Catholic system does not appear to have been considered seriously.

If the largest and wealthiest Australian Anglican diocese was troubled by the insufficiency of its resources for the tasks in hand, let alone the expansion of its school system, it is not surprising that the smaller dioceses reacted similarly. The metropolitan diocese of Melbourne was in a different position. SRE was not part of the Victorian curriculum. Dissatisfaction was more widespread amongst a significant proportion of Victorian parents over the trends in public schools. Therefore a greater groundswell of denominational opinion in Victoria favoured the enlargement of the church schools. Although the number of Anglican schools in Victoria decreased from 32 to 27 between 1972 and 1982, enrolments increased from 17,717 to 22,973. Such growth was within existing schools, the average size of which was 753, compared with 118 in Lutheran schools and 335 for Catholic schools (Mortensen 1985, 81). The same tendency was to influence South Australia, Western Australia and Queensland in different ways. Only Western Australia was to consider seriously the concept of a system of low-fee schools being made available to Anglican parents. Other parishes (in the case of Sydney and Grafton dioceses) or dioceses (such as Brisbane, Melbourne, and North Queensland) set up individual low-fee Anglican schools between 1980 and 1993.

Because of the large stake Anglicans had in state schools and because of the significant number of trained state school teachers it had in its membership, the Anglican church was particularly sensitive to government school views. The division within its membership on the question of government funding made it over cautious and prevented it from exploiting the opportunities the Fraser government policy offered.

3.2 The Uniting Church

The Uniting Church found itself in a somewhat difficult position during the period under consideration. Its prime concern in these years was with the process of achieving and implementing the 1977 union of the constituent Methodist, Congregational and some Presbyterian churches. Important among the issues it had to consider, especially in relation to the continuing Presbyterian church was the question of ownership of existing church schools. Its focus was therefore not on new advances in the area of educational provision. Many of the issues confronting the Sydney Anglican church were also of concern to Uniting church members. Its tradition of a strong social conscience predisposed it even less to the elitist nature of many church

schools. The Congregationalists had never established any denominational schools, the Methodists had been much less ready to do so than the Presbyterians. The social origins of each had a lot to do with their prime concerns and their reactions to church schools. As was the case with Anglicans, some Uniting church parents had an active involvement in the founding or support of new non-denominational Christian schools.

The interest of the NSW Synod *Report on the Emerging Christian or Non-Systemic Schools Movement* in the activity of the O'Connor Uniting Church parish school (UCA Report 1981, 12-14) led to a series of recommendations. These, like the Sydney Anglicans, affirmed that public schools had the potential to provide a suitable environment for the education of Christian children, that parents should be encouraged to be closely involved in these schools, that the provision of SRE in these schools should be ensured, that parishes should look to providing inter-generational education, and that if parishes wish to witness in education through the establishment of a local school they should be assisted by the Board of Education within the regulations set down by the Assembly. In effect, these recommendations worked as a disclaimer against any proposal that the denomination should actively foster new church schools. The Board of Education also undertook to continue to monitor the situation in other synods and to investigate developments at Aberfoyle Park school in South Australia (UCA Report 1981, 14-15).

For the same reasons as outlined above for the Anglican church, the situations in Victoria and to a lesser extent in South Australia, Western Australia and Queensland led to differing attitudes to the provision of denominational schools in those states as an antidote to what church members saw as the drift in education away from traditional values.

3.3 The Presbyterian Church

The process of union left the small continuing Presbyterian church with a number of schools incommensurate with its size. With 64% of Presbyterians joining the Uniting Church and ownership of twenty of the twenty eight Presbyterian schools being transferred to the combined denomination (some of which were amalgamated with nearby Methodist schools to ensure viability and efficiency), the limited remaining resources and support meant that the continuing Presbyterian church lacked the capacity to inaugurate any further educational endeavours in the short term. The previously strong Scottish contribution to Australian independent education was thus curtailed.

Appendix 8

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS IN AUSTRALIA 1881 - 1991

Religious Denominations In Australia 1881 - 1991

	1881	1901	1921	1933	1947	1961	1971	1981	1991
Anglican %	819 645 38.4	1 497 576 39.7	2 372 995 43.7	2 565 118 38.7	2 957 032 39.0	3 668 931 34.9	3 953 204 31.0	3 810 469 26.1	4 018 800 23.8
Catholic ¹ %	516 503 24.2	855 799 22.7	1 172 661 21.6	1 300 908 19.6	1 568 738 20.9	2 620 011 24.9	3 442 634 24.9	3 786 505 26.0	4 606 000 27.3
Uniting %	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	712 609 4.9	1 387 700 8.2
Presbyterian %	246 666 11.5	426 105 11.3	636 974 11.7	713 229 10.8	743 540 9.8	976 518 9.3	1 028 581 8.1	637 818 4.4	732 000 4.3
Methodist ² %	241 963 11.3	504 101 13.4	632 629 11.6	684 022 10.3	871 425 11.5	1 076 395 10.2	1 099 019 8.6	490 767 3.4	-
Orthodox ⁴ %	-	-	-	-	-	154 924 1.5	338 632 2.7	421 281 2.9	474 800 2.8
Lutheran ³ %	-	75 021 2.0	57 519 1.1	60 803 0.9	66 891 0.9	160 181 1.5	196 847 1.5	199 760 1.4	250 900 1.5
Baptist ⁵ %	47 242 2.2	89 338 2.4	105 703 1.9	105 874 1.6	113 527 1.5	149 819 1.4	175 969 1.4	190 259 1.3	279 800 1.7
Church of Christ ⁶ %	-	24 192 0.6	54 574 1.0	62 754 0.9	71 771 0.9	95 641 0.9	97 423 0.8	89 424 0.6	78 300 0.5
Muslim ⁷ %	-	-	-	-	-	-	22 311 0.2	76 792 0.5	147 500 0.9
Pentecostal ¹⁰ %	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	72 148 0.5	150 600 0.9
Salvation Army ⁸	-	31 100 0.8	31 589 0.6	31 210 0.5	37 572 0.6	51 084 0.5	65 831 0.5	71 570 0.5	72 400 0.4
Hebrew %	8 815 0.4	15 239 0.4	21 615 0.4	23 553 0.3	32 019 0.4	59 343 0.6	62 208 0.5	62 126 0.4	74 300 0.4
Jehovah's Witness ⁹ %	-	-	-	-	-	-	35 752 0.3	51 815 0.4	74 800 0.4
Buddhism ¹³ %	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	139 800 0.8
Other %	256 073 11.9	192 360 5.1	236 673 4.4	218 003 3.3	247 691 3.2	354 859 3.3	600 304 4.7	731 074 5.0	423 200 2.5
No Religion %	-	6 779 0.2	20 544 0.4	15 417 0.2	26 328 0.3	37 550 0.4	855 676 6.7	1 576 718 10.8	2 176 600 12.9
No Reply ¹² %	-	56 191 1.5	92 258 1.7	848 948 12.8	824 824 10.8	1 102 930 10.5	781 247 6.1	1 595 195 10.9	1 762 200 10.2
TOTAL	2 136 912	3 773 801	5 435 734	6 629 839	7 579 358	10 508 186	12 755 638	14 576 330	16 850 300

¹ Includes Roman Catholics and Catholics unspecified² Includes Bible Christian and, Primitive Methodists, Methodist New Connexion³ Included in 'Other' until 1891⁴ Included in 'Other' until 1854⁵ Included in 'Other' until 1871⁶ Included in 'Other' until 1891⁷ Included in 'Other' until 1971⁸ Included in 'Other' until 1891⁹ Included in 'Other' until 1971¹⁰ Included in 'Other' until 1981¹¹ Included in 'Other' until 1891¹² Included in 'Other' until 1891¹³ Included in 'Other' until 1991

Sources: H Mol (1985), *The Faith of Australians*, Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 6-7;
Official Yearbook of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1994.

Selected recommendations of the Connors' Report *Planning and Funding Policies.*

A 9.1 Priorities for Commonwealth assistance to non-government schools

Criteria indicating high priority

- Schools in growing areas, which are consistent with planned educational provision
- Extensions in stable and declining areas which are consistent with planned educational provision and relate to the logical completion of a stage of schooling
- Developments reflecting the planned rationalisation of services and facilities
- Schools providing services students with particular forms of educational disadvantage, which are consistent with the planned educational provision for these students

Criteria indicating medium priority

- Schools serving stable areas which are consistent with planned educational provision, excluding extensions already given high priority
- Schools serving declining areas which are consistent with planned educational provision, excluding extensions already given high priority

Criteria indicating low priority

- Schools serving growing areas which do not reflect planned educational provision
- Schools serving stable areas which are not consistent with planned educational provision

Criteria indicating lowest priority

- Schools serving students in declining areas, which are not consistent with planned educational provision (Connors 1985, 23, s.94).

A 9.2 Recommendations for coordinated administrative arrangements

- a) eligibility and priority of new non-government schools for both Commonwealth general and capital assistance should be considered and approved at the same time by the Commonwealth Minister, on the advice of the Commission;
- b) priorities for the provision of Commonwealth capital funds for new schools be determined according to the criteria, as set out in paragraph 94 above [Determining Priorities for New Non-Government Schools], in addition to the normal criteria of educational and financial need and the Government's objectives for the Capital Program; and
- c) consideration be given to the incorporation of a separate "new schools" element within the Commonwealth's Capital Program for non-government schools (Connors 1985, 25, s.105).

Appendix 10

COMMON AND AGREED NATIONAL GOALS FOR SCHOOLING IN AUSTRALIA

(as ratified by the Australian Education Council at the Hobart Conference in 1989)

To provide an excellent education for all young people, bring one which develops their talents and capacities to full potential, and is relevant to the social, cultural and economic needs of the nation.

To enable all students to achieve high standards of learning and to develop self-confidence, optimism, high self-esteem, respect for others, and achievement of personal excellence.

To promote equality of educational opportunities, and to provide for groups with special learning requirements.

To respond to the current and emerging economic and social needs of the nation, and to provide those skills which will allow students maximum flexibility and adaptability in their future employment and other aspects of life.

To provide a foundation for further education and training, in terms of knowledge and skills, respect for learning and positive attitudes for life-long education.

To develop in students:

- skills of English literacy, including skills in listening, speaking, reading and writing
- skills of numeracy, and other mathematical skills
- skills of analysis and problem-solving
- skills of information-processing and computing
- an understanding of the role of science and technology in society, together with scientific and technological skills
- a knowledge and appreciation of Australia's historic and geographic context
- a knowledge of languages other than English
- an appreciation and understanding of, and confidence to participate in, the creative arts
- an understanding of and concern for balanced development of the global environment and
- a capacity to exercise judgement in matters of morality, ethics and social justice.

To develop knowledge, skills, attitudes and values which will enable students to participate as active and informed citizens in our democratic Australian society within an international context.

To provide students with an understanding of and respect for our cultural heritage including the particular cultural background of Aboriginal and ethnic groups, and for other cultures.

To provide for the physical development and personal health and fitness of students, and for the creative use of leisure time.

To provide appropriate career education and knowledge of the world of work, including and understanding of the nature and place of work in our society.

OTHER HOWARD GOVERNMENT INITIATIVES AFFECTING NON-GOVERNMENT SCHOOL FUNDING 1996-1998

The first Howard government budget contained a 5% increase (to \$3.44 billion) in funding allocations for schools. Supplementation of recurrent grants by 2.5% in line with changes in the Average Government School Costs and supplementation of capital grants by 2.2% were also announced. The promised additional \$10 million was made available in the first year for the capital program for non-government schools (to total \$83 million). It is interesting to note that the distribution of capital grants had an inbuilt inhibitory factor. Two-thirds of the \$327 million of capital grants went to government schools in 1996 and 66% of total funds were allocated to existing schools. This suggests that around \$33 million was available to the 99 commencing schools. This allowed a subsidy of \$333,000 each, an amount not likely to encourage the unbridled expansion of non-government sector (DEETYA 1997b).

The Students at Risk, the National Professional Development and Key Competencies Programs were wound up from the end of 1996. Working parties were set up to inquire into the needs of students with disabilities and the Education Resource Index. Another \$45 million was allocated to literacy and numeracy programs and for national testing, while another \$80 million was being made available to schools for vocational education over four years (D Kemp, CPD, HoR, 16 October 1996).

Despite criticisms to the contrary from government school lobbyists, the Howard government's first budget provided for an increase of 5.7% in school funding allocations for 1996-97 (Budget Paper No 1, 3-90, 1996). Early indications of the outcomes of the Howard government's school funding policies are found in the DEETYA Annual Report 1996-97 (published in October 1997). School recurrent funding program allocations had risen from \$2930 million in 1995-96 to \$3069 million in 1996-97, an increase of 4.7% (the difference between this and the 5.7% announced in the budget was to be found in the Targeted, Indigenous and Other programs [DEETYA 1997b, 52]). This was slightly ahead of inflation and it compares

favourably with the 2.35% increase in higher education and the 27% decrease in employment programs. However, critics saw the recurrent funding increase for government schools as delivering too little in view of the needs in the public sector. They also objected to the discontinuation of a number of Labor initiatives (P Baldwin & C Lawrence, CPD HofR, 16 October 1996).

In 1997-98 school recurrent funding program allocations were increased by a further 9.5% to \$3392 million, while the 1998 Commonwealth Budget promised a further 4.0% increase to \$3533 million during 1998-99 (Budget Paper No 1 4-39, 1998). What has aggrieved government school supporters is the small increases in allocations to government schools (0.4% in 1998-99) compared with the apparently large increase in non-government school outlays (6.4% in 1998-99). When the increase is compared with the changes in enrolments, the 0.4% increase in allocations to government schools matches the 0.4% increase in enrolments between 1996 and 1997 while the 6.4% increase in non-government school allocations is almost three times the 1996-97 enrolment increase rate of 2.2% (ABS, *Schools, Australia*, 1997, 9). The Commonwealth government's justification of this apparent favouritism is that it is the main provider of funding for the non-government sector, whereas it is within the state and territory government's area of responsibility and power to address the specific needs of state government schools (Kemp 1998).

The Senate Employment Education and Training Legislation Committee reviewed some of these criticisms in its November 1996 report. Submissions from DEETYA showed that, between 1996 and 2000, average per capita Commonwealth funding for a student in a government school was expected to increase from \$2263 to \$2668, or by 17.9%. Over the same period, average per capita Commonwealth funding for a student in a non-government school would increase from \$2405 to \$2764, or by 14.9%. Since Commonwealth per capita funding for government school students represented some 44% of government school cost, the government school increase would be even greater when state and territory government funding was taken into account. The majority report concluded that there was no substance in the claim that the States Grants (Primary and Secondary Education Assistance) Bill bestowed benefits on private schools at a direct cost to public schools. ALP and Australian Democrat Senators Carr, Crowley and Allison dissented (Report, 59). The substance of the dissent appears to be ideological rather than factual.

Subsequent Budgets have maintained the projected growth in General Recurrent Grants for both government and non-government schools. When cost supplementation is taken into

account, Commonwealth funding allocations during 1997-98 were 6.9% above Keating government projections for that stage of the 1997-2000 quadrennium (Forward Estimates, Budget paper No 1, 1998). In contrast, Higher Education funding was reduced by 7.1% in the 1998-99 Budget and total education funding was down by 11.6% (Budget Papers No 1, 1998). The conclusion can be drawn that, at a time when many other Commonwealth areas of responsibility have faced cuts, school funding has enjoyed a particularly benign funding regime, a fact appreciated by non-government school parents (*APC Review*, 4/1996, 7), if not by government school supporters (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 16, 17 & 18 June 1998).