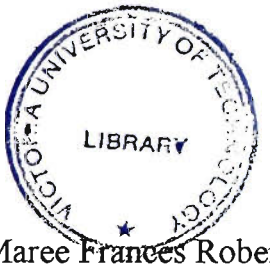
FROM HOUSING RIGHTS TO HOUSING PROVISION: TWO CASE STUDIES IN THE TRAJECTORY OF THE HOUSING RIGHTS MOVEMENT & THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITY HOUSING IN AUSTRALIA 1975-1996



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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research is to provide a socio-historical and political framework for analysing two small government programs, the Victorian Rental Housing Co-operative Program and the Local Government and Community Housing Program, through which community housing principles were introduced into Australian public housing policy. The context for this research is the failure by the housing rights movement to continue with aims which were politically independent of the ALP, the descent of the movement into "tenure politics", the move to the Right by the ALP after the collapse of Keynesianism as an economic tool, and the possible privatisation of public housing by the Liberal Government through the use of housing vouchers. Links between these themes are postulated.

A picture of these events and processes, and the ideologies and motivations of the individuals involved in the public housing policy communities both in Victoria and federally, has been built up through the examination and analysis of contemporary documentation, interviews with key informants and through secondary sources. The major conclusions postulate a relationship between the adoption of small community housing programs in the late 1970s and 1980s and the strategic co-option of the housing rights movement by the ALP, and the current inability of the movement to articulate a housing politics which transcends "tenure politics" at a time when the movement is most severely threatened.

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INTRODUCTION

Context and Purpose of the Research Study

To state that social policy is constantly changing in concert with the political and economic climate surrounding it is to arrive at a banal conclusion, but one which is constantly reiterated, in many forms and by many commentators. Judging from many commentaries, what is dimly understood is the nature of this relationship, as these commentators attempt to explain how we got from "there" to "here". Part of the task of this research project is to provide a framework for characterising this relationship through a particular historical period and policy process.

For example, in relation to public housing policy in Australia, how did we get from policies which supported widescale high rise flat construction for "the poor" and broadacre state-provided and controlled housing, to one which includes the virtual privatisation of public housing, and "choice" of directing the individual's subsidy to public or private landlords?

This process began with the formulation and implementation of community housing policies, commencing with experimental or pilot programs like those under scrutiny in this study. The principles, experiences and lessons from these programs have been distilled to a point where incorporation of these ideas into mainstream public housing policy has been contemplated. The exact nature of this process of distillation, and which specific principles have been incorporated, and why, are objects of study in this thesis.

The context for this research study encompasses the changes which have transformed social policy in Australia, significantly, during the period of the federal Labor government from 1983 to the present. The origins of these changes can be traced back to the 1960s, culminating in some significant trends through the late 1970s and early 1980s. These changes included increased targeting of government welfare and other social assistance, a subsequent fragmentation of government programs to "fill the gaps" caused by this targeting and a proliferation of experimental approaches to service provision. All of these trends were reflected in Australian housing policy, especially in relation to public housing policy, at both a federal, and often State, level. Both the Victorian Rental Housing Co-operative Program and Local Government and Community Housing Program, the programs examined in this study, encapsulate these trends.

The purpose of this research study is to use these two programs to illustrate the relationship between change at the macro social level and at the micro program or policy level; that is, the movement of ideas from each level to the other, one sector to another, especially as this relates to social policy change in the 1980s.

The progress of ideas through political, economic and social change, the process through which ideas are forged over time, means that the resultant incorporation of the ideas and of their use, may bear little relation to the intentions of the initial exponents of such ideas. In the case of community housing ideas, they came from "New Left" sources, espoused as part of the "New Dealism" designed to accompany the triumph of the ALP in the early 1980s. These ideas have been part of the policy environment since about 1976, more accepted since about 1980, and since then, under the impact of broader "economic rationalist" policy agendas, the policies appear to have more in common with the values and strategies of the "Radical Right". This has left many of the early housing

rights movement activists scratching their heads, as their ideas now appear unrecognisable, and for some, insupportable. One of the most concrete examples of this shift has been the subtle abandonment of tenant management for tenant participation, and a watering down of the original goals of empowerment.

It is argued that over this period social policy change in Australia has occurred in a far-reaching way. This has resulted from the shift in the political settlement embodied in the post-war welfare state, to a new settlement, which has itself resulted from a weakening of the position of organised labour and social movements through the institutionalisation of these interests within the ALP. This new settlement is characterised, not so much by a shift away from state intervention, as has been the popular view, but a shift in the direction and type of state intervention, emphasising consumer values in state assistance, and placing more stress on individuals and their communities, seen as responsible for their own social circumstances. A conscious and determined intervention on behalf of the state has been used to bring about these changes- the state has been active in breaking down the welfare state. Thus, the new forms of state intervention are characterised by a pulling back in funding levels, if not in actual terms, in relative terms as budgets fail to keep up with waiting lists for services. The strong emphasis on policy which accompanies this means that the role of the state is being redefined rather than "withering away".

In addition, it will be shown that the historical circumstances in which these policy shifts occurred, lead to the ideas and strategies of the organised representatives of pro-public housing policy, referred to as the housing rights movement, typically community activists and academics, being overtaken by those of forces which have been popularly termed as those of economic rationalism, typically ALP and bureaucratic policy makers. It is contended that this occurred in the struggle over ideas, particularly evident in relation to some specific policy concepts, in particular *choice*, *control* and *self help*. A widespread acceptance of the economic rationalist agenda in housing policy circles has occurred, though the rhetoric still embodies some of the old conceptions. In the case of public housing policy, these concepts were intended by their community-based initiators to result in tenants having a choice of housing, including who provides it, and more control over that housing, in terms of making key decisions, perceived in part as extending the benefits of home ownership to tenants. In practice, (that is in the historical unfolding of these ideas within a social and political context), these policy concepts have potentially resulted in a narrowing of choices for low income housing consumers which might improve their housing.

The use of "self help" is perhaps the seminal, and the most complex example of the changes which have been reflected in public housing policy. Self help, as it appeared in New Left ideology, derived from traditions as varied as anarchist, communal, (meaning the commune movement of the 1960s and early 1970s) and liberal- social-democratic (as filtered through the Keynesian state). In the texts of the Radical Right, it is related to the supremacy of the individual, the belief that individuals stand apart from society, motivated by self interest, which maximises individual initiative. It is crucial to understand that this policy change has been underpinned by a convergence in strategies amongst the key players, for example a reliance on a narrow policy community to bring about policy change.

Whilst exploring these links, the position of the housing rights movement in the policy community will be constantly examined. Its support for one particular public housing

policy prescription, the "Kemeny thesis" will be illuminated, as well as the broader debates around the appropriateness of support such policies. In the process, a key debate on the attitude of the Left in Australia to home ownership, which occurred during the 1980s and which centred on Kemeny's work, will be updated to take account of policy shifts in the late 1980s and 1990s. The current policy positions of the housing rights movement is then be able to be examined with reference to the historical unfolding of policy.

Theoretical and Methodological Overview

The research methods used to underpin this research are a mixture of both inductive and deductive techniques. At the broadest level, the approach can be said to be deductive. A general thesis (as outlined) is put forward in which verification is proposed through empirical testing of the largely qualitative data against the hypotheses.

At the level of data gathering an essentially inductive approach was used, which allowed for example, interview subjects to freely define their themes, and conclusions about the major themes in the programs were reached after analysis of the data. Multiple data collection strategies were used, including interviews with key informants, accessing of primary source material, consisting largely of government files and community sector files and newsletters, ALP policy documents and policy committee minutes, as well as contemporary journal articles, records of seminars, etc.

It is the Marxist theoretical framework which has proven to be most useful for this research. The basic elements of this approach are carefully delineated, not least to rescue it from the criticism that it is an approach based on determinism and not able to account for flexibility of human response, which is often a conclusion (and therefore a cause for rejection) amongst social policy commentators, particularly amongst the Weberian school. This criticism is based on at best a misreading of Marxist analysis, and sometimes even a non-reading of such work.

The elements of the Marxist approach employed centre principally around the analysis of the role of the state in capitalist societies, and the material basis for the construction and production of ideology. The central arguments surrounding these concepts are explored and contrasted with non-Marxist approaches to elicit a framework for understanding the historical unfolding of the ideas being analysed.

In utilising this approach, and contrasting it to other approaches, it is shown to be the most useful for illuminating the complex historical, social, and economic factors which feed the process of construction and change in ideology, in which it is proposed these profound changes in social policy are grounded. The centrality of the notion of class to this approach is re-asserted, as the analysis contends that it is fundamentally the changes in the balance of class forces (including the transformation of capitalism from Fordist productive relations to those of "postmodernism") which have allowed such far-reaching social policy changes to have been brought about.

There was, however, nothing inevitable about outcomes in particular struggles, as opposed to general trends which result from the overall balance of class forces. This balance may alter between sectors, but occurs within a general social context. There were then, genuine struggles which occurred and genuine disagreements within and between class forces in particular struggles,(often mirroring struggles which were being

played out in wider social and economic policy arenas), as to the correct strategy to pursue in order to bring about a more favourable result. The essence of the Marxist approach is its ability to illuminate these processes often perceived as economic, or social, as *political* struggles. In addition, it is further contended that the essence of political struggle is the conflict of social relations grounded upon, or defined by, material forces.

The effects of these social policy changes, such as retrenchment of the welfare state, the increasing gaps between the access of rich and poor people to services, have been abundantly clear in Britain and the USA, and frequently decried by social policy commentators here. In this highly critical climate, it appears difficult to account for the triumph of economic rationalism in social policy in Australia, which was for most of the post-war period so explicitly grounded in (a qualified) Keynesianism. This apparent enigma is able to be explained if we understand the nature of the forces which moved and continue to shape social policy up to the 1990s and beyond.

Synopsis of Chapters

Chapter 1

This chapter briefly delineates the historical background to the creation of the Australian welfare state, with an emphasis on housing policy, from World War Two and its trajectory up until the period under study. This sets the scene for the elaboration and analysis of policy change from the late 1970s to the present in respect of the impact of community housing on public housing policy.

Chapter 2

Chapter 2 links the theoretical to the methodological underpinnings of the study. The connection between these is described, and the need for the methodology to encompass qualitative information provided by key informants, as well as primary and secondary written material, in order to construct a well-rounded account of the policy process, and to provide the detail from which such broader concepts as "the changing role of the state" can be given content. The major elements of the information gathered are delineated, as are the research hypotheses.

Chapter 3

This chapter is the empirical core of the thesis. It sets out the substantive findings of the qualitative research in relation to the two programs being studied, and the broader social and political context in which they were introduced. It outlines the legacy of the activism of the 1960s, the intertwining of the ALP and the housing rights movement through the 1970s and into the current period, and the backdrop of events taking place in the political sphere. The different approaches of the Labor and Liberal Parties in power are outlined.

Chapter 4

This chapter sets out further research findings, focusing on the housing policy communities. It discusses in some detail the links between participants and differing ideological backgrounds and motivations and analyses two key debates within the policy community. The first of these is over the writings of Jim Kemeny and the second over

the fate of the Co-operative Housing Advisory Service (CHAS), and they are used to illuminate some of the ideological themes which have characterised the housing rights movement.

Chapter 5

The research findings are analysed in this chapter with reference to the research hypotheses outlined in Chapter 2.

Conclusion

Some general conclusions are drawn about the research material and results of the analysis with reference to the role of policy communities, a commentary on the utility of the Marxist approach, and the trajectory of the housing rights movement is discussed in more detail. In particular, the continued relevance of the reliance on "tenure politics" and the orientation to the state of the housing rights movement is analysed.

CHAPTER 1: THE AUSTRALIAN STATE AND HOUSING POLICY: AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Introduction

Public policy analysis often involves the explicit examination of one or a set of government policies, which are analysed with one or more aims in mind. Typically, these aims are to evaluate the success of policies, to discover underlying theoretical or ideological assumptions, or to expose a policy or interest group bias on the part of government. There are two major features common to such analysis- consideration of the role of individual policy actors and their ideas, and consideration of the role of broader social forces. Whilst this research study is primarily concerned with the examination of the events, people and ideas which have shaped Australian housing policy since the early 1970s, these very subjects of study have themselves been shaped by "what has come before".

This chapter is concerned with illuminating the historical elements which shaped the approach to public housing policy in the 1970s and beyond. The most significant historical period for the formation of modern Australian housing policy was arguably the period of post-war reconstruction. Some of the ideological and policy links between this period and housing policy from the 1970s onward are pre-figured in this chapter. In addition, the location of Australian housing policy critiques within the historical context is outlined and also placed within the context of trends in international housing studies.

The theoretical approach which has been used to make sense of these links will also be outlined, so that the reader has some sense of the filters which will be used to analyse the findings of the research which are presented in Chapters 3 and 4. This is covered in the final section of this chapter, which outlines changing approaches to the role of the state.

The State and Ideology: A Foreword

In public policy analysis, the role of the state is necessarily at the forefront. Any theory of policy analysis must have a detailed position on the role of the state as well as the role of people and their ideas. A position on both should moreover, be grounded in concrete experience in relation to the policy formulation process. The Marxist approach, which provides the theoretical framework for this study, places the state at the centre of both theory and practice. Marxist explanations should be accounted for, and usually are, by most accounts of policy analysis, although this is often done to discount the explanatory power of the approach. Because it is now not usual to utilise a Marxist approach, it is necessary to contrast the Marxist approach with others, to draw out the key differences, which will further be used in highlighting contrasting strategies in housing policy formation which are evident in the research findings.

As a result of debate amongst Marxists in the late 1960s and early 1970s, a clarification has been possible of a Marxist approach to the role of the state. The complexities associated with the approach have been articulated in ongoing dialogues between adherents. One of the most important contributions has been to rescue the approach from excessive determinism. In the approach forged by Miliband (e.g. 1973; 1984), and clarified in his exchanges with Poulanzas (1973) in particular, the state is no monolith which produces policy in a deterministic schema. Rather, its role is seen to be infused with the contributions of individual actors and the dynamics of groups which seek to

influence the policy process, and is above all the arena which reflects directly the balance of forces in the struggle between capital and labour. In this, the role of ideas and ideology is key. Ideas are the *method* by which policy actors synthesise the broader changes in society- material and ideological- into their own sphere of interest and influence, and generate new ideas or new forms of ideas in the process, as a result of their concrete experience. Marx's materialism has suffered by being used in a reductionist fashion, however, his critique was "not intended to deny the existence and/or causal efficacy of ideas... but the autonomy and/or primacy attributed to them" (Bottomore 1985, p.219). It is this distinction which has shaped the approach to the research task embodied in this study.

The movement of ideas and in ideas reflects objective change, a changing world. In the Marxist approach, the role of the state and of ideology is central to social change. Therefore, the roles of both are highlighted in the accounts which follow.

A brief account of the Marxist approach to ideology is necessary here. Marx used the term ideology in a very specific way, and not to mean, as it might now be used, the systems of ideas. For Marx it meant primarily the ideas, justifications and "inversions" (meaning the causality of something is stated to be the inverse of what it *actually* is) which are thrown up by bourgeois society (Bottomore 1985, p.219-220). Therefore, "ideology conceals the contradictory character of the hidden essential pattern by focusing upon the way in which the economic relations appear on the surface" (Bottomore 1985, p.220). Because of the mountain of attention given to ideology by subsequent Marxists and other thinkers, it is very difficult to use it simply in this "negative" sense. Yet, that is the sense which conveys much of the flavour of ambiguity in the language and terminology which is thrown up in contemporary capitalist society, something which is illuminated in the findings of this study.

"Ideology" is now more usually used to mean a more neutral concept, the "totality of forms of consciousness" (Bottomore 1985, p.220). However, the process of discovering the use to which language and ideology are put can be enriched through remembering Marx's discussions, that the surface meaning of language may well be an inversion or a perversion of the truth.

Central to Marx's analysis of ideology was his critique of idealism. He contrasted the idealist world view with his own materialist world view. Idealists in the Marxist sense, are those who do not give primacy to the essential connection between ideas and the material conditions which gave rise to them. Idealism consists of attempting to promulgate or enact ideas which have no social basis or context in the material world, with the expectation that they will be taken up by society because society is convinced of the worth of the idea, that fundamental social change can occur in this way, that is without a concrete change in class forces. The attempt to engender co-operative industries, or the alternative lifestyle settlements of the 1960s and 1970s are examples of this. It is in this sense that the term is used in this study. The critique of idealism is an important one for this study, as the extent and role of idealism was crucial to the attempt to spread community housing principles and in the strategies pursued by the housing rights movement. Materialism by contrast, looks to social relations, in particular in the Marxist approach to those forged by the class forces underpinning such relations, as the root for the success of ideas in given historical circumstances.

Part A: The post war foundations of social policy- establishing the "Active State" and the changes in the role of the state since the 1970s

> **"Fabian in its aim, revolutionary in its outlook, democratic in its method- Australian in its inspiration to remove the ills of our community"**
> **Lloyd Ross, describing his vision for post war Australia (quoted in Mamchak, 1981 p.53).**

Introduction

The Second World War period proved to be a period of far-reaching social change and the terms of the "political settlement" which grew out of it, known popularly as the welfare state, are still exerting an impact on social policy. In this analysis, David Harvey's analysis in The Condition of Postmodernity (1990) is followed , which presents public policy- the role of the state- as a political settlement, forged on the one hand by the struggles of workers and social movements, and on the other by the concessions of capital within the framework of general capital accumulation. This settlement is enforced through the agency of the state. He states of the post-war period that "Growth... depended on a series of compromises...The tense but nevertheless firm balance of power that prevailed between organised labour, large corporate capital and the nation state and which formed the power basis for the post war boom, was not arrived at by accident. It was the outcome of years of struggle..."(pp132-3). The post-war political settlement was characterised in Australia by a commitment to full employment and an expanded welfare safety net. In relation to housing policy, the impact of migration, of housing shortages, of increased family formation by returned troops, and the post-war promise of a brighter future, all exerted an influence.

The main elements of the post-war political settlement in Australia are well known- the introduction of unemployment and sickness benefits and the commitment to full employment, widow's pensions and family allowances. With only minor changes (e.g. the addition of supporting mothers' benefit in 1972), these measures have formed the foundations of the welfare state for over 50 years. The elements of post-war housing policy are perhaps less well known, and unlike the income support measures, took some time to evolve and become manifest in the political arena.

Post War Reconstruction and Keynesianism

By the late 1930s, the scene was set for change in the role of the State as a result of the catastrophic events which overtook capitalist economies in the Depression. Professionals, bureaucrats, governments, their advisors and political parties began to espouse the need for "planning" to create a better society than had existed previously. As a contemporary public servant summarised: "Idle hands, rusting machines, rotting ships and silent factories, slumps, ignorance and empty bellies. A world praying for poor harvests. These are the things that have turned men's minds to planning" (quoted in Watts, 1987 p.105).

The evidence of both Watts (1987) and Walter (1988) overwhelmingly shows the influence of the fear of return to mass unemployment. There were masses of people still unemployed when the war broke out, as many as 800,000 still living on sustenance rations (Watts, 1987 p.75). The debate (perhaps surprising today) ranged over the

capacity of capitalism itself to deliver human welfare in sufficient quantity; many, including the "new liberal planners" (Watts' term) judged that the market was not in itself capable, but required state intervention to ensure that mass unemployment, and the consequent social upheaval, was avoided. The ALP and the unions wanted to avoid mass unemployment and the ACTU pushed hard for post war reconstruction policies (Watts, 1987 pp.109-110). To the masses of still-unemployed would soon be added the masses of de-mobbed soldiers, eager to return to pre war occupations and the promise of a new order, the "light on the hill".

It was precisely the experience of the Depression which exercised Keynes' mind and motivated him to seek a solution primarily to the problem of capital cycles and unemployment, expounded in the General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money (1936). It can be demonstrated that these ideas were already beginning to take hold in the minds of economists and bureaucrats before the war started, as a response to the devastation of the Depression.

Internationally, the Keynesian approach to the post war economic situation was promoted as the way forward, foreshadowed at several international conferences held in the last stages of World War II. These included the Breton Woods Conference in 1944 and the San Francisco Conference on World Security in 1945 (which established the United Nations) (Mamchak 1981, p.82).

Keynes rejected the view that the business cycle of boom and bust was inevitable. Following this, "a correct anticyclical government policy, especially ... in the fields of taxation, money supply, credit expansion and contraction, interest rates... public works... could guarantee full or nearly full employment and a significant rate of economic growth for long periods, if not forever" (Bottomore 1985, p.250). In addition, Keynes rejected the view that a "given level of supply automatically creates its own demand" (Bottomore 1985, p.250). The level of national income was also important to creating effective demand, and this could only be supported by full employment. Keynes wrote little on social policy, though the post war welfare state is often said to be "Keynesian", primarily because welfare programs are designed to underpin the full employment objective.

This settlement did not occur in every capitalist country, the United States being a notable exception, but it did occur in countries such as Australia, Britain, Japan and in Scandinavia which had experienced high levels of pre-war labour activism. Hence, the nature of the settlement generally differed based on the relative strength of capital and labour in each country (Panitch 1986, p.196). The essential elements involved government control of the money supply, and the full employment objective underpinned by government intervention in the market and welfare reform (though again, all of this differed in different countries depending on their own particular histories).

The Intellectual and Ideological Framework for Post-War Reconstruction

In Australia, the ideas often referred to as "post war reconstruction", embodying Keynesian principles, were developed primarily during the period of the Labor Government, led by John Curtin, and after his death by Ben Chifley. The ALP government was advised by bureaucrats with similar views to plan and oversee the reconstruction. These included L.F. Giblin, Lloyd Ross (quoted above), H.C. 'Nugget' Coombs and Douglas Copland. From 1941-45 the major provisions of the Australian welfare state, added to already existing age pensions, were gradually introduced.

Walter comments that this group came from the same layer of intellectuals who had benefited from the extension of tertiary training in the inter-war period and who were behind the proliferation of social reform movements of the 1930s (1988, p.244), again inspired by the lessons of the Depression. Coombs was appointed to head up the Department of Post-War Reconstruction at the end of 1942. He had already formulated policies of full employment as early as 1938 (Mamchak 1981, p.33). The post-war reconstruction agenda crystallised from this time. The seminal document on post war planning, the White Paper on Full Employment in Australia (tabled in May, 1945), took its main thesis from the UK document "Full Employment in a Free Society" by Beveridge, who was in turn influenced by Keynes.

But, in Australia at least, the establishment of a post war Keynesian approach was contested, and this shaped the character of post war state intervention. This is because some of the events which had been planned for did not eventuate, and there was an articulate movement waiting in the wings, already beginning to form around Menzies' leadership, which was well placed to assail some of the post war plans. As Walter points out, Watts account of the period fails to take account of the attacks on Keynesian principles and assumptions by these conservative forces (1988, p.263). Whilst there undoubtedly was convergence between the liberal planners and the ALP on how to invigorate capitalism (Watts 1987, p.123), there were important debates brewing between the forces of capital on the need for and the extent of state intervention.

The speed with which the post war economy provided employment demonstrated concretely the reduced need for the planned approach foreshadowed by the ALP. In addition, reconstructed conservative forces re-asserted their dominance through the victory of the Liberal Party in the 1949 elections. If it intended to carry out its promises, the ALP's "window of opportunity" to do so came to an end, hard on the heels of the crushing defeat of its bank nationalisation plans.

The character of the post war state proposed by the ALP was contested by the conservative forces which now rallied around Menzies. Menzies was influenced by The Institute of Public Affairs (IPA), established in 1943 by Herbert Gepp, the General Manager of Australian Paper Manufacturers, and a group of business figures concerned with countering the threat to business autonomy they perceived in the reconstruction programme (Walter 1988, p.248). Walter terms this group the "business progressives", contrasting them to the old-order conservatives who sought a return to pre-war values and practices (1988, p.248). The ideological mentor for this group (Walter 1988, p.264), Hayek, was the foremost exponent of "radical liberal" views at that time and an opponent of Keynesianism, who had published a major work arguing against state intervention in economic and social life, The Road to Serfdom, in 1944.

Numbers of this group were involved in working with the government during wartime, and the IPA's programme was formulated in reaction to government pronouncements about post-war policy (Walter 1988, p.257). Full employment was central to their programme, as with the reconstructionists, however, they saw it would be achieved through individual incentive, rather than through planning and government intervention (Walter 1988, p.259). The social conservatism which accompanied these views were echoed from time to time by Menzies. In his speech on the introduction of the Unemployment and Sickness Benefits Bill 1944, when speaking in favour of a contributory scheme, he stated: "I say to the Government that while it may desire to

provide sound protection for the citizens of this country, it will do them a very ill turn if it contemplates a future in which individual effort and individual contribution are replaced by non-contributory community benevolence" (Kewley 1969, p.89).

The debate in the lead up to the end of the war was vigorous and protracted. Walter's insistence on the struggle over ideas and the character of the post-war settlement is important, because it shows the debate which was occurring both within the ruling class and between those who wanted to reform public policy whilst preserving capitalism (the professionals, the planners and advisors), with the debate centring on how best this should be done. However, the case can be overstated. The Liberals did nothing whilst in power to repeal any of the legislation enacted by Labor. Although initially they stated a desire to reduce the share of gross national product taken up by government expenditure, "this policy was never adopted in the face of strong demands for increased intervention to be exercised by the central government" (Catley and McFarlane 1983, p.79). Hayek's ideas did not triumph in this period, but significantly for the purposes of this study, his ideas continued to be discussed until they were "revived" in the mid 1970s. At the end of the day, the social reform legislation remained. Its place was if anything, reinforced by the long boom, in which unemployment remained low. Consequently, social expenditure did not rise to proportions which threatened the political settlement until towards the end of this period (that is, the mid 1970s).

Watts (1987) demonstrates persuasively that the full employment objective was the prime motivating factor in post war reconstruction policies: "Above all else, Keynesianism held out the promise of a practical policy to deal with unemployment" (p.33). H.C. Coombs, in his autobiography Trial Balance, stated that: "it was one of the most attractive features of Keynesian analysis that it seemed to by-pass the most divisive issues within our society. It seemed in everybody's interest that expenditure should be pitched at levels adequate to sustain business activity reasonably close to capacity and so to maintain high levels of employment" (Watts 1987, p.144).

Watts shows that social policy objectives were effectively subordinated to this aim. In his discussion of the introduction of widows' pension for example, he shows how it was used as the "bait" to ensure agreement to uniform taxation. The White Paper on Full Employment "proposed only a new set of functions for the state, primarily to do with monitoring economic performance and underwriting fluctuations in the total level of expenditure" (Watts 1987, p.123).

Indeed, Watts argues that the social policy reforms were part of the political solution to the ALPs' backdown on the pledge not to tax low income earners (1987, p.84). They could therefore be seen as a concession to the trade unions, and workers who would soon feel the burden of such taxation. This was an early example of the "social wage" being used as an instrument to placate labour, a solution which was replicated more recently in the ALP/ACTU Prices and Incomes Accord. The support for the full employment objective was very strong in the unions (Hagan 1981, p.186), and it is likely that this was the major drawcard to the post-war reforms for the union movement.

Housing Policy in the Post-War Period

Having sketched the social and political context of the post-war period, housing policy can now be located within the framework outlined. In 1943, Copland presented

proposals to the government for post war reconstruction, and they consisted of five basic elements:
- expansion of national (public) works
- expansion of social services
- nationalisation of certain industries, including banks
- *sound housing policy*, and
- rehabilitation of the rural economy. (Mamchak 1981, p.42) [author's italics]

Thus, it can be seen that housing was considered one of the key elements of reconstruction, and therefore integral to the post war settlement. It is clear that housing policy was designed to respond to the post-war housing shortage. Barnett and Burt (both Victorian Housing Commissioners), in Housing the Australian Nation (1942), a book which pre-figured the Commonwealth State Housing Agreement, made the connection very explicit.

The Commonwealth Housing Commission was set up in April, 1943 (Lloyd and Troy 1982, p.22). The philosophy of the Commission was set out as: "A dwelling... (is) the right of every citizen, whether the dwelling is to be rented or purchased, no tenant or purchaser should be exploited by excessive profit" (Lloyd and Troy 1982, p.25). The two elements of post-war policy were to be a reliance on home ownership for those deemed able to afford it, and a public housing program, whereby dwellings would be built and leased by the state, for those who were not able to purchase (Berry 1988, p.99). Interestingly, a reliance on private rental did not figure prominently, and this should be seen in the light of the experiences of landlordism from the Depression (Berry 1988, p.115), which had been harsh and exploitative in the extreme.

By the time it was disbanded in September 1945, the Commission had produced a report with 95 recommendations, including one to set up a committee to investigate land nationalisation (Lloyd and Troy 1982, p.38). Lloyd and Troy further state that although the report was much admired, most of the recommendations were either rejected or never implemented. (p.2). Berry comments that the ambitious program of building 80,000 dwellings per year was never realised (1988, p.98); rather 100,000 dwellings were built in the ten year period after the war under the 1945 Commonwealth State Housing Agreement (CSHA) (p.99). Nevertheless, this meant that public housing in that period came to comprise around 5% of the total housing stock, a figure which has barely changed since (Berry 1988, p.100). The Curtin government had believed that a significant public housing program was necessary to guarantee minimal housing conditions (Berry 1988, p.97).

It is clear that housing policy came increasingly to rely on the home ownership strategy. Though public housing had always been conceived of as residual, the eventual extent of any programs was the outcome of the interaction between material conditions after the war, and the position of Australian capital in the world market (Berry 1988), something which only became clear over time.

It could be argued, says Berry, that the Chifley government went a considerable way towards realising the "dual tenure strategy" of public housing and home ownership (1988, p.100). Dedman, Minister for Post War Reconstruction, spoke in 1945 of public housing in terms which characterised it very much as a residual tenure- (this speech is quoted by Kemeny, who gives it a different spin, claiming it as support for Labor's "dual tenure" strategy (Kemeny 1983, p.11)). Berry states that "the prevailing view amongst

conservative circles was... (that) public housing was merely a temporary expedient forced by the cumulative impact of Depression and war (1988, p.97). Berry shows that, with the advent of the Menzies government in 1949, public housing provision came to more closely resemble a program in line with the conservative view (1988, p.97). This is consistent with the "minimalist" Keynesian approach adopted by the conservatives, under pressure from their own business constituency. However, it is impossible to say that, with the eventual diminishing of this shortage, that owner occupation would not also have become the favoured tenure under Labor.

Home ownership did indeed grow under Menzies, and the federal government played a role in this through both the CSHA and War Service Homes Scheme (Berry 1988, p.101). Much of the CSHA funding was used by state governments to finance home ownership, consolidating an increasing trend which started under Chifley (Berry 1988, p.101). In 1955, governments were supplying about 25% of all new mortgage finance, and by 1965 this had risen to 40% of total mortgage finance (Berry 1988, p.101).

Public housing remained residual throughout the post-war period. The role which it played in the economy was the primary consideration- Watts shows that Copland developed the essentially Keynesian project of maintaining effective demand by government stimulation of public works, including roads and housing (1987, p.108). The focus of public housing authorities post-war was on providing for low income families, married couples with a male head of household, and other groups, for example single parents, were seen as lower priority (Burke et al 1984, p.83). Much of its expansion occurred in relation to the needs of new industries, for example broad acre estates alongside new industrial and manufacturing enterprises (Burke et al 1984, p.84). The Commission of Inquiry into Poverty, reporting in 1975, was influential in demonstrating a mismatch between those who were in poverty and those given priority for public housing. Single parents were recognised in 1972 as eligible for social security benefits in their own right, recognising them as a potentially disadvantaged group, and this contrasted with their lower priority for public housing at that time. Hence, the technical efficiency of public housing programs began to come under scrutiny in the 1970s in response to changing demographic and social forces (Burke et al 1984, p.84). This was a theme of academic writings at the time (e.g. Jones 1972; Jones, Hartnett and Burbidge 1976; Lee 1977).

The State Since the 1970s

It is commonly recorded that the long "post war boom", that is, the expansion of capital, began to unravel during the crises which followed the 1973 recession. This was the result of pressure to meet further social demands (e.g. higher unemployment levels) at a time when the economy was stagnating, and subsequent high inflation. The 1970s and 1980s have consequently been a troubled period of economic restructuring and consequent social and political readjustment (Harvey 1990, p.145). Unemployment rates have stabilised at higher rates following each recession since 1973, which has necessitated higher and higher levels of expenditure, or at least further pressure on the welfare state.

Harvey demonstrates that the new flexible accumulation strategies unbalanced the previous "Fordist-Keynesian" compact thus:

> "the transition was in part accomplished through the rapid redeployment of new organisational forms and new technology... their application had

> everything to do with ... accelerating turn-over time as a solution to the grumbling problems of Fordism-Keynesianism that erupted into open crisis in 1973". (1990, p.284).

The higher level of unemployment which resulted from the fight against inflation and the introduction of time-compressing technologies (and therefore labour-saving), threatened the integrity of the political settlement embodied in the post-war welfare state on two counts. Firstly, the higher levels of unemployment threatened the legitimacy of the economic structure. In other words, if higher levels continued, workers could start to doubt the ability of the system to deliver full employment and hence economic well being. Secondly, with the rising potential numbers of people requiring social support, pressure to expand the resources available to the welfare state had resulted. Arguably, this could only be done through increased taxation, or taxation restructuring such that both tax on middle to high incomes and corporate taxes are raised in response and to ease such pressures. Such higher taxation has not been an option, because of the perceived threat to the economic position of middle and high income voters, whose low taxation had been a major component of the post-war political settlement, especially in Australia. Harvey puts the case thus: "The rigidities of state commitments also became more serious as entitlement programmes grew under pressure to keep legitimacy at a time when rigidities in production restricted any expansion in the fiscal basis for state expenditures"(Harvey 1990, p.142).

Harvey characterises the post war "welfare state compact" as a period of rigidity, of relatively fixed roles for the state and labour unions. Following the crises post-1973, he postulates that what has now been required by capital is flexibility (p.145) in order to facilitate capital accumulation and revitalise it, and that this imperative of economics is reflected in a myriad of ways in contemporary political, cultural and social relations. The traditional institutions of labour have been weakened as a result, as they have consistently failed to find ways to respond to the new flexible strategies of outsourcing, sub-contracting etc. (Harvey 1990, p.284).

Australian capital and the Australian state were not protected from these changes. "For almost three decades the economy remained... at around the full employment level. Then with staggering suddenness it disappeared in the second half of 1974 as the number of unemployed doubled in three months and trebled by the end of the year. Five years later it doubled again...", wrote Ralph Willis, essentially marking the end of the Keynesian state (1980, p.89).

Clarke (1987) shows convincingly how the "new classical economists", a term which he uses to encompass both proponents of monetarism and more recently, economic rationalism, won the argument in Britain over the strategy to fight inflation, and to leave the level of unemployment to "the market". Needless to say, with the level of unemployment already increased as a result of the 1972-73 recession, in Australia exacerbated by Whitlam's tariff cutting measures, unemployment remained higher than prior to this period. This was germane to the ultimate aim of the radical liberals, which was to drive down wages. The 1979 victory of the Thatcher-led Conservative Party in Britain signalled the beginning of the attacks on trade unions, to break the power of organised labour, and on welfare expenditure such as the ever increasing levels of unemployment benefits, and on the "rights-based" approach to welfare programs, for example council housing and the National Health Scheme. The struggle over the role of

the state was fought on an ideological level in conjunction with changes to legislation, to provide justification for retrenchment of the welfare state, and to make the government seem as if it was taking the only avenue open to it. As a consequence, "the welfare state has been starved of funds in attempts to shift provision toward the private sector; particularly in the case of housing and (because increased funding has not matched the cost of needs) health" (Fine and Harris 1987, p.368).

In Australia, the process differed from that in Britain during the 1980s because of the dominance in Australia of the ALP. Thatcher in Britain employed different mechanisms to bring about policy change; the research findings of this study will partially illuminate how the process of change occurred in Australia.

Whilst the monetarists assailed the Keynesians in the economic realm, and this debate was eventually translated to Australia, the retrenchment of government welfare services found ideological allies in academia and the "think tanks" set up by the Radical Right, such as the Institute for Economic Affairs. Specifically, in the realm of social and public policy, these allies became clustered around what has become known as "public choice theory". This theory postulates that human behaviour is essentially self-interested, and therefore that each person is best equipped to know or seek out solutions which are in their best interests. Based on this assumption, the market, which offers maximum choice between services, becomes the best mechanism for satisfying human needs in all cases, including in the social welfare sphere (Self 1993, p.ix; pp4-7).

The roots of radical liberal ideology in the post war period have been alluded to previously in this chapter. Monetarism and its conservative social policy baggage were not new phenomena in the early 1970s; these ideas had been around for some time. Hayek's book, the Road to Serfdom was read by Australian conservatives at the time, including Kemp who headed the Institute for Public Affairs from 1943. Whilst this "Right-wing think tank" continued to publish its journal throughout the next decades, the influence of its policy prescriptions remained marginal. It was not until the early 1970s that it was joined by other think tanks, most notably the Centre for Independent Studies (CIS) in 1976 and then the Centre for Policy Studies in 1979 (Kemp 1988, pp.344-5). This mirrored the experience in Britain, where the Institute for Economic Affairs (IEA) was established in 1956, and of the Centre for Policy Studies (with Margaret Thatcher as President) in 1974 (Kaye 1987, p.338).

One of the main themes of public choice research has been the inability of traditional liberal welfare state approaches to fulfil human needs. As such, it has been a major vehicle for the movement of economic rationalist ideas through social policy networks. (Self 1993). The welfare state has been attacked by the Left for failure to alleviate poverty, with the reason ascribed to under-resourcing. Public choice theorists argue that the welfare state could never succeed because of the inherent problems associated with providing services in a non-market, state-controlled environment.

Some of the usual policy prescriptions of the public choice exponents are privatisation of government services, with the aim of making them cheaper because private enterprise it is argued, is more efficient than government organisations, and "voucherisation", or the provision of housing subsidies direct to consumers, and the selling off of publicly owned assets, including housing to tenants (Self 1993, pp127-131). All of these prescriptions have been trialed in the housing market and in some cases they have become dominant (e.g. Britain). Pusey's (1992) work shows how in Australia economic rationalist views

have become dominant within the federal bureaucracy, and that those formulating social policy were also predominantly aligned with these views in the mid 1980s.

Part B: Theoretical and Practical Approaches to the Changing State

> **"Institutions emerge from the minds and imaginations of men."**
> **Prominent Keynesian H.C. "Nugget" Coombs, 1970 Boyer Lectures, (quoted in Mamchak 1981, p.5).**
>
> **"Men make their own history but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted by the past ."**
> **Karl Marx, Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon, (quoted in Bottomore 1985, p.255).**

Introduction

The post-war welfare state outlined above lasted for more than twenty years. During the period of Liberal/County Party domination, only one other piece of social welfare legislation was passed, to establish sheltered workshops for people with disabilities in 1967 (Waters 1976, p.314). David Kemp has commented that the average number of laws passed during the period was at approximately half the rate reached during the 1970s (1988, p.331). The 1970s saw the beginnings of significant policy trends which are testimony to the changing role of the state. These policy trends have culminated in a fundamental shift in the role of the state in welfare provision, and, it is argued elsewhere in this study, in a rolling back, or retrenchment, of the welfare state, and a retreat from the post-war settlement between government and the forces which sought to influence it. Retrenchment is a familiar phenomenon under governments influenced by neo-liberal policy prescriptions, and essentially refers to the phenomenon whereby state expenditure on services is constrained, so that funding does not match need, or programs are cut altogether, and has been frequently justified by reference to large public deficits.

The major approaches which seek to explain public policy change can be categorised (for the purposes of this research) as Marxist and non-Marxist. The key "debate" reflected in the accounts given by commentators selected for discussion in this research study (for example, Ham and Hill 1993; Pusey 1992; Watts 1987; Berry 1988; Kemeny 1978; 1983; 1992) is the relationship of the state to other forces in society, whether the state can be conceptualised and demonstrated to be independent of such forces. In both Marxist and non-Marxist accounts, the central relationship of the state is with business interests, the interests of capital. An exploration of the possibility of the state being used to further the interests of other sectors of society, for example wage earners, taxpayers, "the poor"- these are often formulations in liberal commentaries- or in Marxist terms, whether the interests of the working class will ever be prioritised by the state, is a pre-occupation of many writers about the state and public policy (e.g. Ham and Hill 1993, p.185).

Again, this debate is not merely of interest because of the theoretical implications it presents. It is of primary interest because it is also a "debate" which has had some practical implications for the orientation to the state of sectors important to this study, notably, the housing rights movement and its supporters in academia and in the bureaucracy. Their activity has not occurred in a theoretical vacuum, but needs to be

located in the ideological struggles over the role of the state which have been occurring since the beginning of the period under study here.

The Context for Change in Theories of the State

Policy analysis would hardly exist apart from considerations of the role (and sometimes the character) of the state. Panitch has described the 1970s, from the Marxist perspective, as the "decade of the theory of the state" (1986, p.187). The extent of change in the scope and role of the state has lead to a plethora of responses from both non-Marxist and Marxist (that is primarily liberal) commentators.

But why has this debate around the state occurred? The steady growth of policy analysis in the public policy arena, and of the fierce debates amongst Marxists themselves and between Marxist and non-Marxist commentators can be seen in the light of the change in the role of the state. This change relates to the turmoil and readjustment set in train by the various changes in capitalist accumulation in the early 1970s, which have been working their way through economy and society, and most importantly through the state, since that time. Most particularly these have involved changes in the role of the state so that a new equilibrium for state intervention in the economy has been striven for, involving a contest over the role and scope of the state. In many western capitalist countries, as Panitch states, "the scope of the state is an object of struggle itself" (p.187).

The key change which has occurred is the turn from the Keynesian state as the management strategy for capitalism to a state which has, in Australia, come to be described as economic rationalist, the policy expression of neo-liberalism. It is these conditions which set the context for the change in housing policy which is the subject of this research study; that is not to say that a causal relationship is being hypothesised here- the analysis provided will show a much more complex picture.

One of the aims of this study is to uncover the link between philosophical and political orientation and action for those involved in the policy community, to what extent such orientations fuelled their activity and motivations. Most of the policy actors, the key informants in this research study, approached the state from a liberal perspective. The next section is therefore devoted to an exposition of the Marxist approach and a brief explanation of the liberal approach to the state, in order to allow for comparison between the two approaches to the state, and to further build the theoretical framework for the study.

Marxist Theories of the State and the Role of Ideology

The character of the state is something which has exercised Marxist thought since Marx. Partly this is because, as Ralph Miliband, one of the most influential Marxist writers on the state, said: "Marx himself never attempted a systematic analysis of the state" (Bottomore 1985, p.464). This, combined with differences over strategy, has made possible some of the contradictory conclusions about the state which have led to important divergences amongst Marxists in orienting to the state. The central question for Marxists is the possibility or the extent to which the state is an instrument of class society, governing on behalf of, or more properly because of, the ruling class. This is central because Marxism has a twofold purpose, that is not only to be a methodology for analysing the world, but in concert with Marx's famous last Thesis on Feuerbach, to change the world.

Marx and Engels did attribute a degree of independence of functioning to the state from the ruling class. They concluded that not only was this possible, but it was necessary to the overall functioning of capitalism, as a result of the necessity for the reconciliation of the interests of the different fractions of capital (the state as the "manager of the common affairs of the ruling class" (Bottomore 1985, p.466)) and the need to maintain social order, to dampen down class conflicts which would threaten the stability of the economic system (p.467). This constitutes the state's *character*, though its *role* can be ever-changing. In line with this account, fundamental changes which further working class interests (that is, *permanent* gains) are only able to be furthered when action occurs outside the state or around the role of the state. This is not to say that action within the state will not be effective, just that the conditions under which fundamental change is produced rely on pressure external to the state. This orientation is an orthodox one, following the tradition of Lenin, Rosa Luxembourg, Georg Lukacs and Ralph Miliband. It should be remembered that whilst this is a theoretical orientation, Marxist methodology insists that the orientation should also be proven with reference to history, and this is this tradition which underpins the methodology for this study (see Chapter 2).

However, under the influence of the Fabians early this century, Bernstein and his supporters argued for an extension within capitalism of "political and economic rights, which would gradually 'transform the state' in the direction of democracy (Bottomore 1985, p.49)." The most important contributor to the debate was undoubtedly Kautsky, with his appeal to an "attrition strategy", where he articulated that parliamentary institutions could be emptied of their class content through working class movements fighting for structural reforms which would transform the nature of capitalism (Mandel 1978, p.189). Thus, this theme of using the state to further working class ends, the "capture" of the state, became an important one in Marxist debate, and also has its resonances in exchanges with liberal commentators. Importantly, this debate also has its resonances in social policy and ideological discussions in the period under consideration, as will be shown.

The orthodox Marxist perspective on the State views the role of ideology as crucial, as a manifestation of the political tensions which will inevitably result from the state's prioritising of the long term interests of capital. Thus, the ideological debate surrounding the welfare state can be seen as a barometer of the balance of forces within wider society. As has been shown in the post-war period, social upheaval, both actual and potential, and the continued working class radicalisation as a result of the Depression, were still important considerations in the manufacture of a post-war consensus. The welfare state is therefore seen as a defensive strategy to stabilise the system in the face of working class radicalisation; albeit, the political rhetoric is one of begrudging compromise by the interests of capital. In the same way, the ideological debates around the extent of the state since the 1970s, of which the debate around the welfare state has been a crucial part, can be viewed as a component of the need to manufacture a new consensus for change in the light of changing material conditions for capitalist accumulation, both globally and in Australia.

Liberalism, the State and Ideology

Liberalism takes as its very foundation the separation between the state and society, the independence of the state, the cleavage between the economic and the political. Thus the liberal view of the nature of the state is of an essentially neutral object which can be used

to further certain ends, depending upon factors such as the program of the political party in power, and the influence of a "plurality" of interest groups. This is so with all variants of liberalism, whether it be Fabianism, monetarism, the Garden City movement, or social democracy. However, this is not to say that all these variants of liberal thought are the same: clearly these different strands have been thrown up in response to differing historical and political circumstances and utilise different strategies to deal with class conflict, including a different orientation to the state.

This separation is a basic ideological construct of liberalism, important as it is to liberalism to maintain the ideology of the ability of the individual to affect his or her own destiny, pursuing their own interests, regardless of the prevailing character of class relations. It is this tradition which informs the various strands of liberal policy analysis, ranging from Parsons and Parkin to the more recent "public choice" theorists.

Within this tradition, liberal policy analysis is divided on the question of the role of the state, even as Marxist thought is divided on the nature of the state. These divisions correspond to modern political divisions in "the liberal project", divisions which hinge on defining the best strategy for the facilitation of capitalist accumulation and the maintenance of the capitalist order. The division, in public policy terms, is between those who view the involvement of the state in economic and social life as a good thing, to be encouraged, so as to alleviate the worst excesses of the impact of capitalist accumulation on the working class, and those who believe that such intervention is incompatible with the full expression of the liberal project, that the unfettered market should be able to govern both social and economic life. Of course, there are many gradations within these orientations. It is this division amongst the varied supporters of "the liberal project" which are reflected in the struggle over the role of the state which began to be influential in the 1970s, and in which the "free marketers" have currently triumphed. In reality, it is a struggle which is both dialectical and ongoing.

The approach taken by many commentators to the issue of change in the role of the state and in public policy reflects this view. The state is viewed as able to be "captured" by interests which are external to it, which compete for influence over it. Unions, big business, etc. are all seen as groupings which seek to direct public policy through their influence. In a similar way, ideas are also seen to compete for primacy. Thus ideas are seen as generally "free floating", able to be taken up or relinquished depending upon the influence of the groups who hold them.

For example, though much of his work portrays a Marxist influence in its connection between ideology and material change, in the concluding remarks to The Foundations of the National Welfare State, Watts laments that social policy is always subordinated to economic and fiscal criteria (1987, p.xiv, p.22). Watts wrote his work in the mid 1980s, just at that period when Keynesianism was being replaced as the pre-dominant policy approach by economic rationalism. He wrote at the time of the Social Security Review, which concluded in 1988. He was hopeful that the Social Security Review will break the nexus between the social and the economic, as he wrote: "For 40 years the essential goal of the welfare state was a residualist conception of security, and not a commitment to social justice or equality. The Social Security Review...can play its own role in the regeneration of our political culture, if it too insists that these are the two options we as a community should debate and choose between" (1987, p.128). As subsequent events have shown, the social has increasingly become dominated by the economic, with the Review recommending no fundamental shake-up of the system.

Again, though influenced by some neo-Marxist work (in this case, Habermas), Pusey demonstrates a similar view about the ability of ideas to be an independent variable. He characterises the Australian experience thus: "[Australia] would seem to be in the unfriendly grip of ideas that come ...from Britain and the United States", (1991, p.2). Whilst this is certainly true, his characterisation of these ideas as unfriendly to the "Australian experiment" (read: welfare state), exposes a liberal idealism. If Australia could be rid of these ideas and return to friendly Keynesianism, life would be much more "pleasant" (Pusey's word, p.239). Both accounts posit the primacy of ideas as causal in changing policy, though this is more so with Pusey than Watts. Their accounts provide a useful counterpoint to this research study, as Pusey focuses on change in public policy under the "decade of Labor", that is the 1980s, and Watts on the establishment of Keynesianism in the post-war period, two periods also integral to the subject matter of this research study.

Part C: Housing Policy Debates since the early 1970s

> **"All of this (a cost rental sector) would provide a realistic alternative to home ownership... such a change would do much to increase consumer choice in housing and to improve the equality of housing for those who choose not to own."**
> **Jim Kemeny 1977, p.72.**

Introduction

It has been shown above that the ideological struggle around the role of the state had a formative effect on the type of the welfare state adopted in the post-war period, and that these debates were thrown up by the particular conjunction of the wartime experiences of the state, the pressing need to resolve pre-war tensions, including the ongoing legacy of the Depression, and pressure from Australian capital to take advantage of new opportunities in the post-war period. Through this process, policy positions were arrived at which directed the state in a Keynesian direction, though the extent of this was continually contested, especially in the immediate post-war years. It is also contended that debates also occurred from the mid 1970s which profoundly affected the nature of the welfare state and changes to it since that time. These debates also had their effect in the sphere of housing policy.

The role of the state in relation to the facilitation of home ownership as the dominant tenure in Australia and the residual role of public housing has been a central discussion in housing policy scholarship since the early 1970s. This debate was itself derivative of the vigorous debate about housing policy overseas, notable in Britain and Western Europe, as part of the rise in popularity amongst academics of the "study of the urban". Urban sociology and urban political economy had its zenith from the mid 1970s to the mid 1980s. The debate about housing tenure and the international discussions are recounted below, but not because of their theoretical interest. They are recounted because they provided important fuel for the justification for a re-orientation in Australian public housing policy such as has occurred since the early 1970s, and for the policy positions of the housing rights movement.

The Evolution of Housing Policy Critique

The increasing focus on urban policies by academics and social commentators from the early 1970s was partly in response to objective circumstances, i.e. the rise in urban social movements (e.g. France, the USA), and dissatisfaction with the response of bureaucracy to poverty, poor housing conditions, etc. (e.g. the UK and the "housing shortage"). The different approaches to housing policy reflected the national debates which were taking place. Thus the British writer Pahl, with his development of the urban managerialist perspective, focused attention on the constraints which operate in the urban setting and the role of urban actors in decision making, (Bassett & Short 1980, p.50).

Writers following Pahl tended to focus on the role of actors, differential access to power, etc. in a Weberian framework. Their focus was on the public management of housing and housing policy, as Bassett and Short comment, as a result of the easy identification of a bureaucratic layer in the British welfare housing system (1980 p.51). A large number of studies were completed on the role of urban managers across the housing spectrum, from public to private (Bassett and Short 1980, p.51). Their work often resulted in calls for "fine tuning", albeit sometimes quite radical fine tuning, of the system, of housing policy, housing allocation etc. "The evaluations of the managerial approach have centred on the question what degree of autonomy do these urban managers have" (Bassett and Short 1980, p.52). In Australia, similar critiques of housing managers began to emerge (e.g. Lee 1977, which focused on one-parent families in Tasmania and their lack of access to housing). Both Britain and Australia in the late 1970s were beginning to experience the social consequences of rising unemployment and labour market restructuring, and one of these consequences has been upheaval in housing markets, for example as unemployed people sell their housing and more and more list themselves for state provided housing, unable to move into home ownership (Burke 1984, p.86).

The limitations of these approaches are well recognised, particularly in the light of the changes in the role of the state since the 1970s, which have put beyond doubt the conclusion that urban managers do not themselves create scarcity (Bassett and Short 1980, p.52), and operate at a level of constraint which is not within bureaucratic control. It is an appreciation of the level of control, the operation of political and economic forces as constraints, which Marxists added to the discussion on housing, though this also was not without debate. Their contribution was in two basic directions, both of which fused societal level analysis with that of actual concrete situations in the urban setting, a focus on the structure in which individual or group action occurs (Kilmartin, Thorns and Burke 1985, p.12). These approaches are evident in the work of David Harvey and Manuel Castells. Harvey's work from this period is concerned largely with the relationship between residential structure and financial institutions and capitalist accumulation strategies (Harvey 1973), though both he and Castells more broadly addressed the role of housing as an essential element in the reproduction of the labour force (Bassett and Short 1980, p.1). In this way, analysis of housing markets and politics was allied to an appreciation of class and broader societal forces. Castells, concentrating on the role and position of "urban social movements", theorised the rise of movements such as the housing rights movement (e.g. Castells and Godard 1974), and reflected on the objective circumstances pre-occupying France in the wake of the social movement upheavals beginning in 1968. In Australia, there was also some attempt to replicate his approach (e.g. Mullins 1977, who wrote about urban social movements in Brisbane). Clearly, academics were attempting to come to terms with the new social movements

wherever they were arising, and to predict their potential to contribute to social change. In Australia, these movements also included the housing rights movement.

In addition, the work of the British academic, Michael Ball and analysts following his approach, added to our understanding of urban politics within the Marxist framework, seeing housing politics as the "outcome of class struggles... the complex coalitions and groupings of interests around issues concerning the existing structures of housing provision and the viable alternative policies that can be developed and sponsored in order to modify these" (Kemeny 1992, p.43). The notion of home ownership levels as part of the political settlement with labour (cf. high union support for home ownership) in the post-war period can be viewed as within this tradition, extending from the analysis of Harvey in relation to capital accumulation strategies. Indeed, the most important contribution of Marxist housing analysts in the Australian context was to critique the role and nature of home ownership and the Australian state (e.g. Berry 1985 and 1988; Hayward 1986). Significantly, this critique also involved Michael Ball, and extended further the Marxist perspective on housing in the process.

In Australia, the work of Jim Kemeny provided much fuel for the debate about housing tenure from the late 1970s. Kemeny came to Australia having had experiences of housing research in Britain and Sweden (Paris 1993, pp33-4), two countries which have much higher levels of publicly-funded housing than Australia. Although Kemeny claims his inspiration is from "radical and Marxian sociological theory" (1983, Preface), his intellectual roots seem to be anarchist in origin. For example, in a more recent book, Housing and Social Theory (1992) he speaks of the possibility of a "decentralised welfare state along co-operative lines" (p.114). The analysis he puts forward in fact has little in common with a Marxist approach, as the view of the state on which he bases his analysis is that of a "neutral state", able to act apart from the wishes of capital, and as such has more in common with the approaches to the state of commentators such as Watts (1987) and Pusey (1992). The limitations of the approaches of Pusey and Watts have been pre-figured and are also discussed later, but it is worth bearing in mind the similarity of approach to Kemeny's, as it is the view of this researcher, that they have led to mistaken readings of the policy process and therefore of the mechanisms by which policy change occurs.

The work of Kemeny was critiqued in the academic literature by commentators from a Marxist perspective. These critics have argued that a major flaw in Kemeny's approach was his concentration on the consumption of housing, and not on critiquing the social relations surrounding its production, thus paying "insufficient attention to the way in which it is provided" (Paris 1993, p.34). Hayward was critical of Kemeny because of his position on the state, and Berry because of his neglect of the historical account of the creation of high home ownership levels and the role of Australian capital. Kemeny's responses to their criticisms were vigorous (1986; 1993), though, in the opinion of this researcher, confused, under-theorised and idealistic.

Significantly, though, the criticisms of the Kemeny policy prescriptions do not appear to have been reviewed or taken account of by the housing rights movement at that time. In the mid-1980s, National Shelter in particular seems to have been more pre-occupied with the discussion of "imputed rent", as policy prescription for redistributing taxation benefits from home owners to renters. This prescription implied that home owners were the main winners from high home ownership levels, and was a logical extension of the Kemeny prescriptions. It does not challenge the overwhelming direction of the financial benefits in

the housing market, that from wage earners and working class people (whether home owners or renters) to developers and financial institutions, and to governments through stamp duties, etc.

There were some exceptions to this reliance on Kemeny, and indeed at least one challenge to it. The pamphlet "Housing Rebuilt: An Analysis of the Housing Crisis in the Western Suburbs" (1988) does outline a strategy which attempted to transcend "tenure politics", explicitly drawing on the work of Michael Ball and David Hayward. However, its challenge was not taken up by the broader housing rights movement.

Australian Debates about Home Ownership: Reflecting on the Nature of the State

The debate which began in the late 1970s should be seen in the context of post-war housing policy and the changing social and economic circumstances as outlined in Part B of this chapter. It can be seen that these changes, in particular growing unemployment and later, escalating interest rates, began to destabilise previously stable policy settlements. The debate about the dominance of home ownership in Australia is recounted in more detail in this section, as it provides the most important intellectual contribution to the housing rights movement from academia.

The growth and subsequent stability of home ownership rates is an important feature of the post-war housing sector, and the discussion of this growth undertaken earlier in this chapter sets the scene for the discussions about housing policy which began to surface in the 1970s in Australia. It is from these debates that a new possibility for orientation to public housing emerged. Public housing policy, as has been demonstrated, has its origins in the provision of a residual tenure for those "too poor" to afford home ownership. Originally, this included many working families, who were the main beneficiaries of public housing, as governments sought to tempt them to locations near to newly emerging industries, and the aged poor. As unemployment rates rose after 1974, so too did public housing waiting lists, as both private rental and home ownership became unaffordable for many (Burke 1984, p.86). A debate over expansion of public housing, and the capacity of state-provided housing to satisfy housing needs, took on increased seriousness as a result.

A critique of home ownership as a specific object of government policy came into currency in the late 1970s, popularised by the work of Jim Kemeny. Kemeny's thesis had a certain impact amongst the "New Left" emerging from universities and the anti-war experience and who were filtering into the ALP, and especially amongst housing rights movement activists (the specific nature of this influence is detailed more fully in the last section of Chapter 3) who became involved in housing policy formulation.

Kemeny's critique appeared in academic journals from 1977, and in 1983 he published The Great Australian Nightmare, which set out his theories in more detail. In summary, Kemeny's view was that government policy drove the increasing home ownership levels, through the mechanisms outlined above, and that in so doing an Australian trend of decreasing home ownership levels was reversed. In Kemeny's view, "The turnabout was both sudden and complete, and was entirely the result of the Federal Government's housing policy"(quoted by Berry 1988, p.113). This insistence on the influence of ideology pervades Kemeny's work, and as a consequence the need to attack what he saw as the ideological foundations of housing policy was the major strategy put forward to engender policy change. For example, a question which he posits at the outset (but

which he does not claim to have answered) illustrates this: "What are the underlying structures of power which have sustained the ideology against all logic and which perpetuate the ideology's social products?" (1983, Preface). The acceptance of policy making as a rational process ("*against all logic*") able to be independently influenced, and the primacy accorded to ideology rather than material conditions as a driving force, are the major assumptions which led Kemeny to his policy prescriptions. In other words, changing policy is simply a matter of convincing those in power of the *logic* of the approach being put forward.

By contrast, Berry (1988) links the growth of home ownership to the strategies of capital accumulation adopted in Australia. As Berry points out, Kemeny's arguments are a-historical, not taking account of effects of the Depression on home ownership levels, which fell dramatically in the inter-war years, and more importantly, the rising levels of wages and domestic savings in the post war period, and the inflow of capital into the Australian economy, restricting Australian capital to less profitable areas of the domestic economy, such as house building. (pp113-5). Mullins also points to the historically higher levels of home ownership (apart from the Depression hiatus) in Australia than in other industrialised countries (1981, p.41). In complete contrast to Kemeny, this analysis puts forward the view that the lack of investment in rental accommodation drove to some extent the reliance on home ownership (1981, p.38). In addition, Hayward (1986) points to the consistent working class support for home ownership, and the long-standing part which home ownership had played in Australia (p.215). Hayward accused Kemeny of fetishing home ownership (p.213).

In addition, landlordism which was concentrated in inner cities was becoming relatively unprofitable after the war, due to the re-location of workers to outer suburbs, and the memories of mass evictions meant that home ownership at low interest rates was increasingly attractive to working class families (p.114). These complex and interacting processes, which arose from structural changes in the post war period, meant home ownership was the favoured tenure of the working class, where financially possible, and was supported by Australian capital, and that government policy facilitated that growth (Berry p.116).

Of course, this inevitably meant that the electorate, with around 70 per cent owner/ purchasers became increasingly impenetrable to issues concerning the welfare of tenants, and policies which might support some redistribution in favour of their interests (Berry 1988, p.116). Thus, public housing was at best a "poor cousin" in housing policy, and it could be argued that its residual, "welfare" and "non-popular" nature meant that social experimentation could legitimately occur within its ambit, such as the disastrous high rise - after all, public tenants were the recipients of charity. This has perhaps, important resonances for the experimental programs under consideration here, and which have occurred almost exclusively in the public sector.

Kemeny's insistence on the role of the "ideology of home ownership" meant that the remedies which he put forward were designed to attack this ideology, rather than the material and structural conditions for home ownership, by setting up another sector which would be viewed more favourably by working class people, the "cost rent sector". At some point he theorised, this sector would become more attractive because of lower costs, as a result of relating rents to the historical cost of buildings which declines over time once removed from speculation. At the academic level then, this renewed questioning of the efficacy of government housing policies dovetailed with the push

coming from housing activists for improved public housing management and more tenant control over housing, as it was put at the time "extending the benefits of home ownership to the public rental sector" (Wettenhall 1982, p.9). The questioning of home ownership was enthusiastically taken up by the housing rights sector, which came to see government subsidies of home ownership as occurring at the expense of a possible expansion of the public rental sector. This analysis provides the ideological backdrop to the policy formation activities of the housing rights movement, of which the specific policy processes surrounding both the Victorian Rental Housing Co-operative and Local Government and Community Housing Programs form a part.

As discussed in the case study "The Kemeny Debate" in the concluding section to Chapter 4, the debate crystallised by Kemeny and taken up by the housing rights sector over the form of government housing assistance, was influential to a limited extent in relation to public housing policy. There was also one other important debate which needs reviewing here, as it shows the early influence of public choice or neo-liberal policy prescriptions in Australia. That was the failed Housing Assistance Voucher Experiment (or HAVE) which was attempted by the Fraser government in 1976-78. This pilot aimed to quantify the effects of housing subsidies which could be provided for privately rented housing as a replacement for state-provided housing. It was finally abandoned, but it is worth recalling who were the supporters and opponents of the scheme. National Shelter was certainly opposed (Morgan-Thomas 1994, p.33), but Brian Howe was a supporter (The Age, 28 June 1978) , as was Jim Kemeny. Kemeny welcomed the initiative as a possibility for funding the hoped-for cost-rent housing sector (1978, p.67).

Obviously the Liberal government also supported it, and it is interesting that even then the Liberals were beginning to pick up on such ideas. Today, such policy ideas are in the process of being enacted by the Howard Liberal government, but only after the path towards voucherisation had been laid by the ALP whilst still in office (The Age, 21 December, 1995 p.11). These changes will be examined further in Chapters 3 and 4.

Summary

The discussion of the post-war foundations of the welfare state, and of housing policy discussed in this chapter, emphases the ideological struggles which were contested and the material basis for broad consensus over the role of the state- a type of minimalist Keynesianism. This forms a solid foundation on which to build the picture of ideological change which began to change public housing policy from the 1970s, changes which are briefly introduced at the end of the chapter. The substantive research findings from this study are presented in Chapter 3. In setting out the account of social policy formulation through these findings, the key themes of ideology and the role of the state are highlighted. However, before turning to those findings, it is necessary to outline the methodological basis of the study, through which the primary research material was gathered. This is set out in Chapter 2.

CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The socio-historical account of the formation of public policy relies on written sources, and if the policy process is contemporary enough, on the verbal testimony of those involved. The methodology chosen for this project must be able to sustain the complexity of the theoretical framework outlined for the project in Chapter 1, which is based on the Marxist analysis of the character of the state and class relations, to pick up the nuances of action and interaction present in both the written sources used and in the accounts of key informants of the formation of the programs.

Whilst such an analysis is essentially qualitative there are some research strategies which can be used to help confirm such an account, and these are outlined in this chapter.

Research Aim

This research study, which examines policy processes and the movement of ideas in the contemporary capitalist state, is primarily concerned with demonstrating the relationship between change at the macro societal level and at the micro policy level. Key changes in public housing policy are used as examples to illustrate the explanatory power of the overall framework being utilised.

The link between methodology and the theoretical approach which underpins the analysis is crucial to the successful exposition of the account of public policy formation. Marx showed that human relations, especially under capitalism, appear "on the surface" and as such obscure the social relations which actually exist between people and between classes. In this interpretation, language inverts the social contradictions which exist in actuality. The task of the Marxist policy analyst could then be characterised as aimed at uncovering such relations and constructing an account of public policy which reflects an analysis of these social contradictions, not taking at face value what is being said in the language surrounding policy making, but examining the broader context in which such policy engagement is taking place.

It is therefore a secondary aim of this study that the validity of the Marxist approach to social policy analysis, which is used to analyse the findings, should be scrutinised in the process. It is contended that this approach has the potential to reveal a full and sophisticated account of the policy process.

Research Hypotheses

These were refined over time and have changed since the original research proposal was submitted, but only in emphasis and clarification. The following hypotheses are examined:

1. The introduction of these early community housing policies resulted from responses from different ideological viewpoints converging to promote change in the way public housing was managed. These influences included housing rights activists within and outside the Australian Labor Party (ALP), the influence of overseas experiences, and dissatisfaction within the bureaucracy and middle class professions with traditional public tenancy arrangements.

2. The context in which these policies were adopted was the success (and the lead up to this) of the ALP in gaining government over 1982-83 in Victoria and federally, and its strategic co-option of the aims of the housing rights movement and urban professionals.

3. The character of the policies was influenced by a convergence in the ideology of key players and agencies, particularly around the concepts of choice, control and self help. The policy uses to which these concepts were put changed over time as the ideological justification for such policies changed. These changes were manifested in policy change and re-formulation.

4. Whilst the success of the policies was the result of an emerging congruence between the ideologies and consequently policy agendas of key players, the eventual success of the ideas embodied in these programs reflected a shift in the nature of the welfare state resulting from the move from a Keynesian capitalist state to one dominated by ideas associated (variously) with monetarism and corporatism.

These hypotheses were examined in a variety of ways, but principally through two studies of the formulation of two early community housing programs. In order to produce a full account of the programs, a broad literature search on the key topics of community housing, public housing and housing policy was carried out to elicit relevant contemporary documentation. In addition, given that the formation of these programs was well within living memory, a list of key informants who had participated in the formation and implementation of the programs was drawn up with the aim of conducting interviews to gather further material (see Appendix 1). Present-day material was also accessed which illuminates the trajectory of these programs by providing a comparison with the initial program aims, motivations and context.

Definitions

The following definitions are used throughout the research study, and were used to assist in the process of data gathering and analysis:

Housing Rights Movement: A social movement originating in the early 1970s, the most important peak organisation of which is National Shelter (founded July 1974). This movement has focused on improving the housing situation of those at the lower end of the housing market, typically those not in home ownership, i.e. public tenants, private renters, homeless and inadequately housed people, and people in housing crisis (e.g. women escaping domestic violence).

The Victorian Rental Housing Co-operative Program: A program initiated to fund community based incorporated bodies to manage public housing in a leasing co-operative form. The management committees employ a worker to carry our day to day administrative duties associated with managing the housing stock and the association. Potential tenants must be eligible for public housing, and are therefore on low incomes. Title is retained by the Victorian government.

Co-operative Housing Advisory Service (CHAS): Funded by the Ministry of Housing from 1984 until 1990, this was set up as a peak body for the rental housing co-operatives in Victoria, to assist them in development and in co-ordinating support for the co-operative program.

Local Government and Community Housing Program: A Federal government program from 1984/85 to 1993, through which funding was allocated to States according to a population-based formula. Funding was provided to community groups and local governments to purchase or construct housing for identified groups in the community. The title to properties is retained by the funded organisations and it was overseen by state-based advisory committees.

Community Housing: The provision of public housing services "at arms length" from government, whereby the state contracts a community organisation to provide housing to people generally eligible for public housing. The title may or may not be retained by the state. Also called "social housing" and can be managed by both tenant controlled, tenant-participating and other community-based management committees. The Community Housing Program was first funded in the Federal 1992-93 Budget.

The Case Studies

The two case studies have been selected to allow for comparison and juxtaposition, and also illumination of the specific contribution of the different social histories of Victoria as contrasted with Australia more generally, to the policy context. Hence, even in discussing the federal program, the Victorian experience is particularly considered. Both programs can be considered as forerunners to the Community Housing Program, and as experimental programs where ideas were tested and synthesised. One is federal and the other State-initiated. One was initiated under a State Liberal government and one under a Federal Labor government, but both had ostensibly similar aims. The time span for material accessed was divided into three periods, that of formulation, program implementation and finally of consolidation/ stagnation. In the case of the federal program, its demise came about because of the implementation of another larger program, the Community Housing Program. A full historical account of the programs is not being made, and the amount of material which accessed was dictated primarily by the research hypotheses. However, it is considered that an adequate account for the purposes of the aims of this study can be made within these parameters.

Sources of Evidence

The task outlined above required the examination of several levels and types of written material. These are:

- material relating to the formation of the state and the historical and economic changes which have shaped the state, and the welfare state in particular, since 1941. Largely secondary sources are used for this period, up to 1976.

- material more specifically relating to the formation and change in housing policy, in particular public housing policy. This was largely secondary for the period up to 1976 and a mixture of primary and secondary from the period up to the present, with the bulk of evidence coming from primary sources.

- material contemporary to the formation and implementation of the two programs under study, including both written and oral, primary and secondary sources. Both the historical account of the unfolding of policy formulation and the mapping of the

intellectual interchange between key players and organisations is required in order to construct an accurate picture of policy formulation and change.

A literature search was conducted based on these categories. The documentation relating to the formation of the programs, policy development and decision making is essentially to be found in departmental files, community group newsletters, annual and periodic reports and committee minutes, the minutes of ALP policy committees and the personal papers of some of the participants. Contemporary articles from newspapers and the non-academic press were also felt to be important, in particular to consider the penetration of these issues into the realm of public debate.

Tracing the movement of ideas and diffusion of innovation also involves documentation of the theoretical and policy texts, etc. which appear to have influenced key actors. In addition, a mapping exercise is used to illustrate the personal and professional networks (or "policy communities"), which are suggested by the evidence.

A search for contemporary documentation was carried out in two main ways. Firstly, databases (such as AUSTROM) were searched in order to identify all possible contemporary articles which related to the programs and to public housing policy more generally. Secondly, papers held by some key informants were accessed. This proved to be a valuable source of supplementation to the paucity of primary source information available, especially in relation to the Victorian program. Major players have been identified by the literature review and this further points to possible sources of written evidence. In summary, the major sources of contemporary documentation were identified as:

- ALP policy committees and advisors,
- Bureaucrats/ Government Departments
- Community organisations and peak bodies (both consumers and committee members)

These categories applied slightly differently to each program, and the more specific sources within the categories for each program are outlined below.

Key informants were also identified through this process, and in addition, all were asked who they thought key informants would be, to assist with confirming that the right people were being interviewed. Most interviews were conducted in person, apart from two written contributions. A decision was made not to interview consumers, i.e. tenants of the programs. This was done for two major reasons. First, as both programs were "top down", neither involved tenants specifically in the formulation of the original policies. Second, although the experiences of tenants are crucial to assessing the implementation of the policies, their experiences are well covered in the documentation of the evaluations of the programs, and I have generally relied on these to assess tenants' responses. This decision has been confirmed in the course of the research process.

The list of questions is at Appendix 2.

Local Government and Community Housing Program

The major sources of documentation for this program were:

- departmental files from 1982-1986

- ALP policy committee minutes
- the personal papers of Tom Uren
- National Shelter reports and submissions

Records of the Federal ALP Infrastructure Committee (Urban and Regional Development Sub-committee) were accessed. These are held by the National Library and records relating to the period under study were handed over by the ALP in 1992 as part of a large consignment. At the time the collection was accessed, this consignment had only been partially sorted and was not catalogued. Therefore, the guide refers only to general categories, such as "Policy Committees". The boxes under this heading are labelled, however, on inspecting the boxes, some of the labelling was incorrect. The files relating to the Urban and Regional Development Sub-committee pre 1986 are not amongst these boxes. They may well be elsewhere in the consignment but this will not be known until all of the boxes are sorted and catalogued. Only some records of the Urban and Regional Development Sub-committee were found, relating to 1985-86.

Various loose and general papers on housing and policy were also in the collection, such as research papers, which yielded earlier references to housing policy, as well as copies of formal documents, such as draft housing policy and the Hayden Housing Plan and these were a useful supplementation.

Due to the lack of availability of the policy committee minutes, access to Tom Uren's papers was sought. His papers were acquired in March 1995 by the National Library. Fortunately, his papers contain copies of all of the policy committee meetings in 1981-1982. In addition, they contain many ad hoc housing papers, including some research papers presented to the policy committee or forwarded to Uren himself.

The archival records held by the (at the time of access) Departments of Human Services and Health and of Housing and Regional Development (the former since renamed, the latter since abolished) are incomplete. The records list files which either could not be found (in three cases) or have been the subject of sentencing orders, that is, destroyed (but unfortunately relevant to this research, such as the file relating to consultation on the 1984 Commonwealth State Housing Agreement). All relevant files which could be found were accessed and documented. Part of the problem lies with the fact that housing policy as a federal government function has been moved between portfolios many times since the late 1970s and the records are relatively chaotic as a consequence. Some documents on file are of indeterminate origin and are not clearly identified by date, however, an educated guess was able to be made in most cases, and such inaccuracies did not hamper the construction of an overall account of the program. Although bureaucratic restructuring has changed the names of the departments which held the records since they were accessed, these records are still referred to under the now superseded names of departments, as the current whereabouts of the records has not been confirmed.

In addition to departmental material, the files include some records of political meetings in 1982 between Chris Hurford as Federal Housing Minister and Shadow State Housing Ministers (at that time, most State Governments were Liberal). The development of National guidelines for the program is well documented, as is the Commonwealth bureaucracy's pro-active role in its promotion. The controversy surrounding the initial level of funding for the program is also well documented.

Files relating to the evaluation of the Local Government and Community Housing Program contained only rudimentary documentation, for example the consultancy contract and distribution lists for the final report. Fortunately, this is supplemented by the full lists of consultations and the notes from them, consultations which were conducted by National Shelter and which form part of the evaluation report (Purdon and Associates 1989).

Victorian Rental Housing Co-operative Program

The papers from the state ALP policy committee are available, held by the State Library of Victoria. Material as far back as 1974 was accessed, when the emphasis on urban issues began to shift to public housing and consumer participation.

As mentioned above, the Victorian government file records are almost non-existent (due to successive cuts in archive budgets), which made accessing of files from the time impossible, in spite of several requests to various officials. Fortunately, some of the more recent policy files, which were accessed, include copies of some of the important documents from the start of the program, such as updates on the progress of the program and plans for various reviews. These were supplemented by the personal papers of two key informants which contained copies of some official material. As the housing rights movement was so intimately involved in the formation of this policy, the material from this sector, such as newsletters, articles etc., was of prime importance. Together with the ALP material sufficient detail was yielded which could be confirmed through interviews with key informants and through other secondary sources (e.g. Barwick and Hamilton 1994).

After delineating the sources of evidence, the next step involves accessing the documentation. The detailed discussion of the issues and limitations encountered in doing this are outlined in the next section.

Data Collection And Analysis

Methodological Approach

The overall construction of the thesis involves deductive logic, where it moves from a general proposition to a specific one, and empirical data is used to support such conclusions. However, the process of examination of the empirical data itself which has been compiled from the sources is inductive, whereby themes suggest themselves from the evidence. For example, interview subjects were able to freely define their themes, and conclusions about the major ideological themes in the programs were reached after analysis of the data. These two processes therefore intersect, and there is a complex relationship between them, whereby validation of data is continually used to confirm the propositions which were deductively formulated: "In practice, human reasoning is sufficiently complex and flexible that it is possible to research pre-determined questions and test hypotheses... while being quite open and naturalistic in pursuing other aspects of a program" (Corbin and Strauss 1990, p.62). In summary, whilst the overall hypotheses were deductively arrived at, the key ideological themes of choice, control and self help suggested themselves from the evidence. Whilst ideological convergence was initially postulated, it was not clear which specific concepts aided this process. This became clear on examination of the specific case-related evidence.

Data Collection

From the literature review, attempts were made to access all relevant material identified. This covered information mainly available in the public domain, in journals, newsletters, newspapers, books and conference proceedings. It was impossible to know at the outset what material was held by government departments. Both relevant government departments were contacted and lists of relevant files were drawn up and accessed where possible. As access to these files was relatively time-limited, photocopies were made of as much material as possible which looked relevant on initial examination, and this was sorted through later. Where material could not be photocopied (for example, this was prohibited by the National Library in relation to the ALP and Uren collections), extensive field notes were taken.

In addition, a list of interview subjects was compiled. Due to personal involvement in the housing rights movement, and after conducting an initial literature review, the researcher was able draw up a preliminary list of key informants. Thus, the sample was a purposive sample, constructed on the basis of detailed information available about both the size of the sample population (small) and the role played by those in that population. Not all informants were of equal value to the data gathering process, and the final list of those to be interviewed was also constructed bearing this in mind.

The feasibility of contact with each of those on the list was explored. The whereabouts of most was already known to the researcher. The most accessible of these were contacted (Cathi Moore and Jeff Harmer were still in Canberra in the Australian Public Service), and the original interview questions piloted with them. The questions were revised and a new list constructed. The second list of questions was very similar to the first, the major difference being a re-formulation of the questions on "policy shift". The final list of questions is at Appendix 2. Because of the similarity between the two lists, because of the small number of key informants, particularly in relation to the federal program, and because these two informants were the highest priority informants in relation to the federal program, the interview results of these two pilot interviews were included in the final analysis.

All possible subjects were contacted via an initial letter of introduction. A total of 14 interviews were arranged. A further two subjects provided written responses. One of these was a response to the second list of questions, and one was a copy of a response to the questions of a history honours student, many of which yielded similar information to those proposed for this study. These answers were most comprehensive, and as this informant had been interviewed early in the research process to ascertain the feasibility of the proposed study, no further information was sought. Selected informants were also asked in the original letter of introduction for the names of others they considered important. Some of these names were added to the list of subjects- some were not accessible, one was deceased (Geoff Hayes).

The key informants were selected, in addition to the considerations discussed above, on the basis of their involvement in the policy formation process, or in the progression of ideas, culminating in the legitimation of those ideas, e.g. academics or social policy commentators. It was impossible to complete interviews with all informants within the timeframe available for data gathering. The importance of informants was judged in priority order, first contact made with those who were intimately involved throughout the process (in the case of Rob Carter, this related to both programs). Some informants

were judged as not being able to add anything substantial to the perspectives already known. All major players (and some minor, to see if their perspective varied) in the policy formation process were contacted. No second interviews were sought, though some issues were followed up by telephone.

A list of those who were interviewed, and those not selected or able to be interviewed is contained in Appendix 1.

As can be seen from the lists of questions, the interviews used both closed questions, to elicit responses to the same ideas and themes from all respondents (Corbin and Strauss, 1990, p.114) and open questions, to allow for any themes not previously considered to surface and for respondents to give their own emphasis to themes, ideas etc. (Corbin and Strauss, 1990, p.15). The questions asked in the first section were open, and certainly elicited a variety of material on motivations, policy influences and many of the recurring themes from the research were mentioned by interviewees in this section. The interviews were important in establishing the "pathways" through which ideas and ideologies have moved and have been legitimated through incorporation into policy. The closed questions were formulated so as to elicit responses on specific themes identified in the literature and confirmed by the pilot interviews.

The experience with the pilot interviews was used to assess the best recording method for the interviews. Taping was ruled out as too time consuming, and the length of the interviews was short enough to enable extensive notes to be taken. In addition, note taking was found to be relatively unobtrusive, since many of the themes being identified were common and lent themselves easily to a shorthand style. The interviews lasted from half an hour to an hour and a half, often depending on the person's availability. All questions were covered with all subjects, and obviously some were more forthcoming in their answers than others. Some informants had to be drawn out in relation to themes and rephrasing questions, but at all times the full range of question material was covered consistently. All respondents displayed a degree of enthusiasm in being contacted; it was obvious that some had a good deal of emotional energy still invested in the programs' success and this assisted in the interview process, so that they were not forced or laboured- on the contrary, subjects were very willing to talk.

Data Analysis

In order to discover common concerns amongst key informants and in the contemporary material gathered, for example, common motivations for supporting the programs, any consistent themes in the accounts, any commonalties in historical accounts of the policy formation process, a thematic analysis was carried out in relation to this material. Thematic, or content analysis, as outlined in Corbin and Strauss, Basics of Qualitative Research (1990), can be used as the basis for building a "theory" of how the processes under examination occurred and inter-related. Thematic analysis involves identifying coherent and important examples, themes and patterns in the data (p.149). The data is classified according to key categories and the complexity of the information gathered is therefore simplified in order to discover core themes. Issues of convergence (data which fitted together) and divergence (data that lay outside categories) (Strauss and Corbin 1990, p.154), were also examined.

The contemporary evidence was therefore examined in this manner to discover themes, and to develop a coherent account of the process of policy origin and reformulation. The

construction of a history of the policy formulation process for the two case studies provides a solid basis for the further elucidation of the major themes: the movement of ideas and diffusion of innovation and the impact of the broader social and political context, as evidenced in program documentation.

A list of themes from both the documentation and the interviews was constructed and the data classified on this basis. Testing of the data with reference to more than one or more other sources and with evidence gathered using more than one method was utilised to enable sound conclusions to be drawn (Corbin and Strauss, 1990, p.96). Comparison and contrast of the different accounts of interviewees, documentation and questionnaires was the main method of achieving this.

Although the written contemporary material was accessed at the same time as the interviews with key players commenced, a process of validation of key themes was also carried out between these two types of source material by thematic analysis and comparison, as well as within these sources. This was done after approximately half of the interviews had been concluded and the major contemporary accounts (for example, Gib Wettenhall's articles about co-ops in Australian Society and Shelter Newsletters) had been collected. Use of text analysis software was discounted because of the time consuming nature of coding for such an exercise, and the relatively few interviews conducted. A list was made of miscellaneous issues arising, and these were referred to regularly to see if they were mentioned again during the course of the research.

Data Limitations

Limitations Due to Focus of Research Study

As the primary goal was to use the formation of the two programs as examples of the movement of ideas and in order to explore the role of ideology in policy formation, the investigation was restricted to discovering the facts necessary to constructing the minimum historical account to carry the structure of my conclusions. In other words, "each and every last detail" of the historical record was not established. However, once identified, the investigation of the key themes, such as choice, control and self help, was more exhaustive.

Availability of Contemporary Material

The other limitations encountered concerned the availability of the materials identified in the literature search. Newspaper and contemporary public accounts of the two programs and the ideas under consideration were scarce. This is to be expected for small, experimental public programs, and confirmed that the major sources of documentation would be that held by the agents and agencies involved in the policy communities. One of the main limitations was the extent of documentation held by the Victorian state government on the co-op program - their archival record is almost non-existent. In addition, cabinet material is not available as the years under question (being less than 30 years ago) are not within the time period currently able to be accessed. Judging from the brevity of background information generally included in cabinet submissions, it is unlikely that this material would shed any different light on the motivations for funding the programs.

Secondary Accounts of the Programs

The history of the VRHCP is well documented, for example by Burke in New Homes for Old (Howe ed., 1988) and variously in the same publication and in Just Like A Family (Barwick and Hamilton 1994), but the policy formation process is not (though Burke certainly refers to it). The latter provides a great deal of detail on the implementation of the policy and the perceptions of the success of the program by tenants. In addition, a history honours thesis has been written on some aspects of the program (Blackburn 1991). Just Like a Family is the only formal evaluation of the VRHCP, though several were planned earlier. Its brief was only to examine the experiences of women and children in co-ops. In addition, a conference of co-ops was held in November 1993, and a brief record of this is available.

The LGACHP is less well documented. The evaluation of the program produced a comprehensive report (Purdon Associates 1989), but this concerns itself more with the success of various aspects of the policy, and only touches on policy formation. It is however, a valuable source of information on the implementation of the policy. Only one article has been specifically devoted to the LGACHP, (Paris, 1990) where it is used to illustrate aspects of the relationship between federal and local governments.

Linking Theory and Methodology: A Note on Marx's Historical Method

The relationship between the economic and political spheres and small government programs is an issue to be sorted out with reference to the evidence.

A methodology appropriate to linking macro social analysis to that of small government programs necessarily involves a mix of approaches, all able to be utilised to test the link and investigate the nature of that link. It involves the charting of the progress of ideas, from the broader social and political arena, through individuals, to the exchange which occurs in policy committees through meetings, newsletters etc., to the political process, bureaucratic synthesis and implementation. The approaches described above allow for constant cross-validation of findings, themes and the accounts of policy development.

Marx's historical method is utilised to provide this link between theory and methodology. In order to approach the matters being studied logically, experiences, the empirical content of history, need to be reduced to categories, or universals, which are abstractions (Murray 1990, p.113). As Murray points out, Marx made critical use of the terminology surrounding "abstractions" (p.114), and this is in turn critical to Marx's rejection of empiricism (Marx was anti-empiricist, but not anti-empirical (Bottomore 1985, p.150). Marx's method, succinctly outlined in his Introduction to a Critique of Political Economy, "inverts" the usual empiricist method of proceeding, which he characterises as taking the "whole" as the point of departure, "a very vague notion of a complex whole" (Marx 1978, p.140) and "through closer definition arrive analytically at increasingly simple concepts; from imaginary concrete terms one would move to more and more tenuous abstractions" (p.140). Marx characterised his method in the opposite terms; that it is necessary "to make the journey in the opposite direction until one arrived once more at the concept..., which is this time not a vague notion..., but a totality comprising many determinations and relations" (p.140). "The concrete concept is concrete because it is a synthesis of many definitions" (p.141). In other words, concepts only have meaning because of their content, which is historically unfolding. This is the approach which must be used when utilising concepts such as "class" and "the state", for example. What does

the term "middle class" mean? In Marxist terms, it is impossible to define it apart from its historical content, apart from the role which the middle class has played. Similarly, with the Marxist approach to the state, it is the character of the state which is verifiable only with reference to its historical role. It is the relationship of the classification to historical action which makes the concept concrete and gives it its content. It is this principle which guides this research, which utilises the concepts such as class, intellectuals, ideology and the state: they are not used as abstractions, but their explanatory power is made concrete by examining their historical unfolding. Even though the specific period under study in this research is relatively short at around twenty years, some of this content is also provided by examining these categories in previous historical periods and comparing them- hence the critical use of the material from the period of post war reconstruction which is woven into the study.

In using Marx's method, there is a need to explicitly refute the uses and abuses to which it has been put in the past. Many urban political economists have used the Marxist framework, following the success of the work as such proponents as Harvey and Castells. One of the uses was excessively functionalist. In the words of Kilmartin, Thorns and Burke, it was used to "identify an area of state intervention, then the functional requirements of capital with regard to the reproduction of the labour force, then (to) show how state intervention helps reproduce the labour force" (1985, p.79). They also state that "much of the approach is profoundly a-historical" (p.79). As Marxism itself has been rescued from such excessive functionalism (good examples are Miliband 1984, Harvey 1990 and Panitch 1986), so too should urban political research. Therefore, this study has attempted to be scrupulous in "filling out" the content of categories with reference to historical content, and to appraise the contributions of individuals to the policy process, a feeling for the flexibility and complexity of human responses, at the same time as recognising the broader framework of social relations in which they operate. This is a complex approach which requires constant return to the methodological principles outlined.

Summary

The historical context in which change is proposed and succeeds, the perception of the relative importance of the issue to broader economic and social concerns, the capacity for error, or flawed or self-motivated individual or group judgement, can all be factors in a Marxist analysis. The relationship between the historical context, the economy and individual agency is the major field of exploration for this study.

The methodological framework outlined is designed to complement the theoretical framework, and allow for all the nuances of personal interactions and ideologies to filter through, whilst at the same time drawing out a rigorous and verifiable account of the socio-historical process, as well as contributing to the further illumination of such abstract categories as "intellectuals" and "the state".

The next chapter presents the substantive results of the research, setting out an account of the historical unfolding of the two programs and the social and ideological context in which the policies were formulated and implemented.

Figure 1

Critical Incidents Chart

Victorian Rental Housing Co-operative Program:

1975-82: Formulation of policy, including pilot FCRHA co-op
1982-85: Program Implementation
1985-94: Consolidation/Stagnation

Local Government and Community Housing Program:

1978-82: Formulation of policy
1983-88: Implementation of five-year program
1989-93: Consolidation/ Stagnation (post evaluation)
1993: Implementation of Community Housing Program

Date	Victorian Rental Housing Co-operative Program	Local Government and Community Housing Program	Other Housing Information/Events	Other Critical Events
1973			CSHA: allows purchase of existing dwellings, means test for public housing applicants	
1974			National Shelter founded	
1975	Cost Rent Housing Associations published			Election of federal Liberal government
1975/6	Submissions to federal government for rental housing association pilot		Australian Housing Corp. abolished	
1976	$1 million granted for three-year pilot		Victorian ALP Housing and Construction Policy Committee formed	
1977	Fitzroy/Collingwood Rental Housing Association incorporated			
1978			CSHA: market related rents introduced Federal ALP Urban and Regional Development Committee formed	
1980	Evaluation of F/CRHA pilot completed		VictorianGreen Paper on Housing	
1981	VRHCP starts: funding for 3 more co-ops CHAS incorporated		CSHA: full market rents allowed	
1982	Williamstown and Mornington co-ops funded	Hayden Housing Plan announces funding for a Community Housing Expansion Program		Labor government elected in Victoria
1983				First Accord between ACTU & Federal ALP. Federal Labor elected-discovery of $9 billion budget deficit.
1984		Funding commitment decreased, CHEP combined with local govt. Program to form LGACHP	CSHA: cost rents introduced, state accountability increased	
1985	Common Equity Rental Co-operative Program funded in Vic from LGACHP funds			Deregulation of Australian financial system
1988/89		LGACHP evaluated	Econsult paper on housing allowances (unfavourable)	
1990	CHAS defunded			
1992-93		LGACHP ceases- Community Housing Program funded	National Housing Strategy reports published, recommending more 'social housing' Industry Commission report (favourable to vouchers)	
1994	Evaluation of experiences of women and children in co-ops, Just Like A Family			
1995			Keating Govt. announces voucherisation of public housing	
1996				Howard Government elected: discovery of $21 billion budget deficit

CHAPTER 3: THE SEEDS OF CHANGE: HISTORY, HUMAN AGENCY AND PUBLIC HOUSING POLICY

Introduction

This chapter presents the major findings of the research into two experimental community housing programs. It deals respectively with the Victorian Rental Housing Co-operative Program, hereafter variously referred to as the co-op program or the Victorian program (depending on the context), and the Local Government and Community Housing Program, hereafter referred to as the federal program. The ordering of these two sections is important, as it will be demonstrated that the influence of the Victorian experience was a primary factor in the adoption of a community housing program at the federal level of government. The "Victorian experience" is covered in more detail, as many of the themes which emerged from that experience, including participatory democracy, self help and choice had an impact in the federal sphere. In addition, whilst the experience of a policy community which is geographically close, such as in one state, is relatively easy to describe, with similar historical experiences, etc.; this is not as clear with a policy community spread across several states. To describe the particular historical experiences in each of those states and how they related is beyond the scope of this study. However, differences and similarities with the "Victorian experience" are referred to when this is illuminating to the overall research.

Figure 1 (see pages opposite)outlines the critical incidents throughout the period under study, and also divides the period of study for each program into policy themes. The sections of this chapter follow these divisions approximately- as with all events, some will not fall neatly into one category or another. Yet, these policy theme categories are also useful for comparative purposes.

The findings summarised in this chapter are the result of synthesising the interviews with policy participants, who are referred to in these findings as key informants, with the material gathered in the secondary and primary literature reviews. The material is drawn together to construct a historical account of the programs, and highlight key themes and processes, both social and ideological, which will illuminate the findings about policy communities undertaken in Chapter 4, and the overall analysis of findings undertaken in Chapter 5.

Part A: The Victorian Experience

"There is an urgent need to develop new initiatives in housing policy in Australia" (D. Scott 1975, p.3)

Creating the Political Climate for Change: The Context for Policy Formulation

Before the origins of the Victorian program can be outlined, it is necessary to consider the climate in which community housing principles became incorporated into government policy. After all, the Melbourne-based Brotherhood of St Laurence had lobbied the Victorian Housing Commission for many years because the Commission would not change its policies towards inner city slum areas, nor address the plight of high rise tenants, but to no avail. The Victorian program in its final form did just this, although in a modest way. The major question is what factors were operating to "change the minds"

(to borrow from Pusey 1992) of the Commission and of the Liberal government which was in power?

Primarily, the evidence points to the influence of ideas of participatory democracy which were becoming influential in the rising social movements, and the climate of scandal surrounding the Housing Commission, which facilitated the acceptance of these ideas in the policy arena.

Housing Portfolio Politics

All of the informants for the Victorian program indicated that an important motivating factor in the fight for more progressive housing policies, including co-ops, was the intransigence of the Housing Commission as a landlord and its patronising treatment of tenants. Some informants had direct dealings with tenants and with the bureaucratic rules and petty regimentation which governed life on the estates, and saw such a situation as undignified and de-humanising.

The Housing Commission Tenants' Union was formed in 1973 and it was consulted shortly after on its views on housing by the Henderson Inquiry into Poverty. It raised issues such as the poor physical environment on high density estates, the lack of sensitivity of Housing Commission management to tenants rights, for example non-translation of notices, abusive staff and "petty restrictions on tenants... invasions of privacy and domination of tenants by Commission officials."(1975, Appendix B, p.81). The report of their views contained in the report demonstrates that these tenants found the attitudes of the Commission paternalistic and that they wanted some say over how estates were managed (1975, Appendix B, p.81-82). There is no doubt that tenants previously would have found the same types of situations odious. The difference at this point in time is that tenants began to organise themselves as a way of changing their situation, turning themselves into a political force (in the broadest sense of the word).

At the same time, reports were beginning to surface of land speculation involving the Commission. By 1977, these had become known as the "land deals" (Sandercock and Berry 1983, p.136). By August of that year, the Hamer Government had agreed to hold a public inquiry into three particular land deals. The inquiry recommended prosecution of one employee and was very critical of the then Minister for Housing, Vance Dickie. The "land deals" dominated newspaper reporting for a prolonged period and forced Dickie's resignation (e.g. The Australian "Dickie: The fall of a minister" 16/8/1978, p.11). Most informants mentioned the land deals as having contributed to a political climate whereby both the bureaucrats at the Housing Commission and the government realised that change was needed. This is probably the case, however FCRHA was funded in mid 1976 and the full weight of the scandal was apparently not clear until 1977. It is probable, however, that both politicians and bureaucrats knew of the brewing scandal and were anticipating a crisis. The land scandals are mentioned in a contemporary article by Gib Wettenhall (1982, p.9).

None of the informants mentioned a component of the election campaign in 1976 against the Liberal Party member, Brian Dixon (the successor to Dickie as Housing Minister), though it is mentioned in the literature. This was organised through the St Kilda Tenants' Union, formed in 1975 and involved running tenants' rights candidates in the election. The Tenants' Union allocated its preferences to the ALP; and the government was sufficiently worried about the intervention to promise a review of landlord-tenant

legislation (Sandercock and Berry 1983, p.145). Berry considered that the tenancy issue may have explained the size of the swing against Dixon (Sandercock and Berry 1983, p.142). As it was not mentioned by informants, it is unclear what degree of influence the campaign had on the attitude of the Liberal Party to housing issues. However, Andrew Burbidge, Chairman of the CURA Research Committee (and a researcher on the Henderson Poverty Enquiry) stated at a Seminar in 1976 that:

> "It has been suggested that the few political bones thrown to tenants at the last election.. were based on Mr [Brian] Dixon's over estimation of the popular appeal of the tenants' platform." (Jones et al 1976, p.46)

It could reasonably be argued that this campaign would have contributed to the Liberal Party feeling at least electorally sensitive in relation to these issues.

One of the consequences of land deals was the restructuring of the Housing Commission, with all housing administration centralised under the Ministry of Housing, (established in 1972, but run as a parallel body to the Commission as a source of policy advice for the Minister). The Housing Commission continued (for a time) in a rather dubious position (Power and Low 1985, p.194). As a result of criticism of the lack of policy capacity of the Commission, a policy officer was appointed. In addition, a royal commission had been set up after the 1979 election to enquire into the land deals, and corruption in public housing land dealings was therefore a constant feature in the media at the time.

Finally, total control of housing policy and provision was assumed by the Minister, so that when the ALP formed a new government in 1982, a climate of change was already well established and the Housing Commission was finally replaced by the Ministry of Housing (Power and Low 1985, p.194).

Coming Home To Roost: The Ideas and Influence of the Sixties

Informants from the housing rights sector and ALP stressed the importance of their experiences in community activism, in particular fighting against the demolition of inner suburban housing and the construction of high rise public housing, the freeway battles and struggles for the rights of public tenants and potential tenants.

In addition, the climate of activism spurred on by the anti-war movement spilled over into other social movements, including the housing rights movement. Of Tony Dalton, the first editor of the National Shelter journal, Morgan-Thomas states "He had been active in the anti-conscription movement and when Australia withdrew from the Vietnam war in 1973 he was looking for an area of social policy to take up."(1994 p.28). In NSW, the emphasis in the housing rights movement was on saving inner city housing stock (Morgan-Thomas 1994, p.27). In Victoria, activism centred initially on opposition to high-rise public housing, which spanned concern for both public tenants and for inner city dwellers displaced by their creation and by freeway building. The new emphasis on organising to achieve these aims is evident in the formation of National Shelter in 1974, and the previously mentioned Public Tenants' Union in 1973.

As early as 1967, the BSL had influenced VCOSS into sponsoring a public meeting on the high rise (Wills 1985, p.27). By 1969 the Fitzroy Residents Association had formed and was fighting to save houses in Brooks Crescent from demolition and the area from more high rise development (Wills 1985, p.28). The victory at Brooks Crescent marked

the end of high rise development by the Housing Commission for families (Wills 1985, p.112). These battles were mentioned by informants who were part of the housing rights movement at the time, as well as those in the ALP, as very important. The changes in housing through development and gentrification, the concentration of low income earners in Fitzroy through the building of the high rise, all contributed to focusing the needs of local agencies such as the BSL and community activists in the area, on housing need and the problems of families in unsuitable accommodation such as high rise.

In addition, at least one informant had been involved in the Holden Street squat in 1977. This was an occupation of two empty Housing Commission flats in North Fitzroy, which aimed to highlight the shortage of public housing for single parents (Burke 1988, p.234), and it was supported by the women's refuge movement. According to this informant, the Housing Commission management had consistently refused to meet with the protesters.

In addition to housing activism, there were important community battles with the Government in relation to freeway development, which also threatened to tear through the social fabric of established inner city working class communities. The first Fitzroy/Collingwood Rental Housing Association worker, Gib Wettenhall, had been Secretary of Citizens against Freeways whilst working as a journalist at the Melbourne Times.

It is significant that these battles all appear to have centred on Fitzroy, a traditional working class area which underwent massive upheaval as a result of the transport and housing changes. Both the housing and the freeway battles involved professionals working in the area, including some key informants, as well as residents, both working class and a newly arriving middle class.

The pressures on housing in inner city areas came from both gentrification and the ongoing "slum clearance" programs which made way for the high rise developments. The physical deprivation brought about by the high rise developments, i.e. the pressure on families of the lack of living and recreational space, gave rise to a number of concerns about the effect on family life. One key informant, for example, had also been involved in lobbying for increased facilities on estates such as adventure playgrounds.

The Ministry of Housing extensively supported the housing rights movement in the wake of the ALP victory. Grants for Shelter Victoria, the establishment of a network of regional housing councils with paid workers and support for other more specialised groups, such as youth housing groups, were forthcoming. Local groups of housing activists were becoming established with support from the regional housing councils. These were known by the generic term of "housing action groups", or HAGs, and were generally focused on agitating for public housing and publicising the plight of local people faced with high rents or insecure housing. Many of the HAG members, apart from local housing workers, were potential public tenants and some eventually became leasing co op or common equity co-op members (e.g. Knight 1988). Thus, instead of campaigning for "more and better public housing in their localities, many ended up diverting their energies to submitting for and establishing co-ops (Burke 1988, p.243). For example, the Women's Housing Co-op was formed as a result of the Holden St squat (Shelter Victoria Newsletter, November 1981, p.15).

All but one of the key informants felt that "self help" was an aim of the original pilot project, and for those involved subsequently, of the co-op program. The following comments from key informants are illustrative of the optimism of these initial views about self help:

> . Co-operatives, community involvement in planning..... were basically ideas from the Left.
> . Tenant X...helped cement my ideas..(she) instinctively... understood what co-operation and control meant for working class people.
> . Self help was an old BSL strategy...the influence was also from radical US social work.
> . Working class people...saw how they could use the system to change things.

The informant who did not associate self help with the program had a background in Shelter Victoria, and this reflects the ambivalence about why the co-op program was supported, which arose from differing perspectives, for example to inculcate the idea of co-ops or as a way of supporting the expansion of public housing. This points to another theme in the literature, and that is the response to the perceived pressing need to increase public housing. With growing waiting lists, the Liberal government had continued the sale of public housing until 1981 and research had shown that the Victorian government spent only $8.80 per head on public housing, compared to a national average of $17.78 (Barker 1982). The original "Rental Housing Associations" pamphlet talks of an "urgent need" for housing associations (1976, p.4).

From Public Housing to Community Housing: The Formation of the Victorian Rental Housing Co-operative Program 1975-1982

The Fitzroy/Collingwood Pilot Project

In 1974, The Executive Director of the Brotherhood of St Laurence (BSL), David Scott, undertook an overseas trip, taking him to England, where his interest in housing drew him to the British Housing Associations. The BSL was (and still is) based in the inner Melbourne suburb of Fitzroy.

On his return, David Scott wrote a pamphlet entitled Cost Rent Housing Associations (1975). In this pamphlet, he reported on his observations and described the operations of Housing Associations in Britain, and proposed a role for such bodies in the Australian housing scene.

As Executive Director of the BSL, he represented an organisation which had a long history of interest in housing for people in inner Melbourne suburbs. This interest dated from the 1930s when Father Tucker, its first Director, attempted to focus the attention of the government of the day on the poor standard of housing and exploitation by landlords occurring in the area. There were large numbers of people the government would not house at that time, termed "problem families" and the BSL was active in highlighting their plight. In addition to housing, the BSL had a history of innovation, setting up a free legal service in the 50s and an aged persons' village at Carrum Downs which encouraged tenant participation. Father Tucker's maxim was "The BSL showed in a small way what could be done in a larger way", (Scott interview). In the early 1970s, the Brotherhood set up the Family Centre Project and the Action Resource Centre Project serving low income families in the area.

David Scott had read about Housing Associations in New Society, a British magazine specialising in social commentary. A regular column on housing appeared in New Society at that time, and any number of articles from 1974/75 refer to alternative methods of housing in Britain, as well as numerous housing policy issues. The key concept introduced with the idea of housing associations is "self help", and it appears in Scott's original pamphlet- for example, as "the opportunity to personally participate in meeting housing needs" (Scott 1975, p.2). Scott also locates his vision for low income housing within perceived change in the broader social policy arena: "A new welfare philosophy is beginning to emerge in Australia and it is generally accepted by all political parties with certain differences in emphasis. This philosophy seeks to make provision for: (a) a range of choices for people..." (1975, p.3)

Evan Walker and Andrew McCutcheon, both urban planning professionals and ALP members, were contacted by Scott and asked to join him in a core group to develop a proposal to fund a pilot project in Melbourne. To this group he added others, including Julian Gardner from the local community legal service and Paul Madden, who worked with Brian Howe at the Centre for Urban Research and Action (CURA) also based in Fitzroy.

David Scott's pamphlet was also a catalyst for discussion at the National Shelter Conference in 1975. The National Conference passed a variety of resolutions on co-operative housing, including calling for amendments to the Commonwealth State Housing Agreement to allow the funding of third parties, and provision of funds through the Australian Housing Corporation (National Shelter 1975, p.12).

Scott's group, then called the Fitzroy Collingwood Rental Housing Association Committee, and hereafter referred to as the FCRHA, firstly aimed their sights on funding from the federal government. This seemed the most likely source, according to key informants, given there was a Liberal government in Victoria and also given the activity of the federal government in the areas of housing and urban infrastructure. A submission for funds was sent to the Whitlam government in mid 1975. As a result, a comprehensive feasibility study was carried out by Tract Pty Ltd, a firm of consultants, and financed by the federal government (Fitzroy Collingwood Rental Housing Association 1978, p.3). Based on the positive results of that report, the Australian Housing Corporation decided to provide $1 million in funding for the pilot.

However, due to the sacking of federal government in 1975, this proposal did not proceed and the Australian Housing Corporation was wound up by the incoming federal Liberal government. The new government was not unsympathetic to the proposal. The Acting Minister for Environment and Housing, Michael Mackellar, wrote to the working group in May 1976:

> "I believe that there is a need for voluntary sector involvement in housing and in the long term become an important vehicle for the involvement of a wide range of interested groups who may be concerned with the problem of housing needy persons in society". (quoted in Rogers et al 1980, p.v).

In order to secure funds for the project, Andrew McCutcheon was employed by the BSL in April 1976 as Executive Officer to co-ordinate the campaign to gain funding for the pilot project from the Victorian Government. The first pamphlet produced to promote

this campaign mentions the involvement of Shelter Victoria and its affiliated groups such as the Tenants Union of Victoria and the Housing Commission Tenants Union. It states "The urgent need for Rental Housing Associations has been supported, in principle, by politicians, and directly referred to in the Poverty Inquiry" ("Rental Housing Associations" 1976, p.4) The pamphlet shows that the proposal had support amongst the housing rights movement, and in more influential circles also.

David Scott approached the Victorian Liberal Housing Minister, Geoff Hayes. Accompanying him on the delegation were Andrew McCutcheon and Evan Walker. Although both were members of the ALP, Scott considered they lent an air of professionalism to the proposal, because of their planning backgrounds. The approach to Hayes was successful. Since Hayes died in early 1995, it is impossible to confirm his personal motives. Several informants said that they believed the Housing Commission would have discussed the decision with the Commonwealth Department, and as has been noted, the incoming federal Liberal government was certainly not opposed to the idea. In addition, as discussed earlier in this chapter, a combination of factors which had placed the spotlight on the Housing Commission, meant that this may have been a favourable time to be seen to be granting some concessions to the community.

The research findings show that in Victoria the policy had a legitimating effect for the Liberal Government vis a vis the political flack it was receiving from the high rise, freeway battles and the land scandals. The federal Liberal government is likely to have sanctioned the payment in 1977 from Commonwealth monies of the funding for the Fitzroy/ Collingwood pilot, which began under a Victorian Liberal government.

There are two possible reasons for this. First, the principle of community sector sponsorship of public housing and in particular the principle of "self help" can easily be seen to have fitted with the ideological world view of the Liberal Party. Secondly, there was some continuity of policy making through the bureaucracy, despite the disbanding of Uren's Department of Urban and Regional Development, with the federal experiments with community management (the Glebe Estate and the refuge movement) still operating. As confirmed by the only key informant who worked in the federal housing bureaucracy under the Liberals, their main interest in public housing was in the "multiplier effect" caused by stimulating the housing industry with capital building programs, such as public housing. Thus, although they did not oppose the involvement of the community in housing programs, such as embodied through community housing principles, they did nothing to actively support them either.

On September 16 1976, the Minister for Housing committed the Victorian Government to providing $1 million for the 3 year pilot project (Rogers et al 1980, p.vi). Part of the conditions of funding was that the project would be evaluated. One of the aims of evaluation was to be to test the benefits and costs of tenant participation (Rogers et al 1980, p.vii).

The FCRHA was incorporated in 1977, and set up with a Board of Directors, some of whom were tenant members and some of whom were professionals, "experts" deemed to have the skills necessary to foster the associations aims and educate its members in management, in particular, its tenants. The model came directly from the British experience, as outlined by David Scott. The aim of the project was to establish "a self-governing co-operative managed by tenants and community representatives" which provided local, low income families with "ordinary houses on the open market anywhere

within the boundaries of ... Fitzroy and Collingwood" ("Background Paper", Wettenhall papers, p.1).

The rationale for promoting such a response to what was being popularly called the "housing crisis" is couched in terms of the "diversion" of government funds into home ownership, reflecting the views of Jim Kemeny briefly pre-figured in Chapter 1. For example the original pamphlet promoting rental co-ops in Victoria says: "In recent years, the supply of rental housing in the community has declined...in the public sector, because governments are currently primarily concerned to assist families to buy homes, and so Housing Commission houses...are being sold at a greater rate than they are being replaced, thus reducing the number of houses available for rental" ("Rental Housing Associations", 1976 pamphlet, front cover). Those involved with the pilot saw the potential to add to rental stock for low income families, in such a way that would allow for some choice of location, and in "ordinary housing" as opposed to stigmatised public housing.

The role of professionals in the Fitzroy/Collingwood pilot has been much discussed, especially in the contemporary housing rights movement literature (for example, Shelter Victoria Newsletters). One Shelter Victoria Newsletter reported that Shelter NSW had been critical of the dependence for the establishment of the pilot on "high status professionals, such as... David Scott and ...Evan Walker" (Sept. 1982, p.10). This debate, which later became reflected more sharply in the co-operative movement in Victoria, demonstrates some of the ideological differences amongst the participants in the movement.

From Pilot Project to Mainstream Program? 1981-1985

David Scott was not as involved once the Association was established. The period associated with the pilot project is dominated by the activity of Shelter Victoria, which became actively involved in supporting and lobbying for an extension of the pilot, and in the ALP's re-writing of its housing policy. The research findings show that the impetus to attempt a transformation of the pilot project into a fully-fledged program came through the housing rights movement acting in concert with the ALP, strategically targeting the ALP policy arena as the way to carry through its ideas.

The pilot project was evaluated intensively over this period by the Department of Town and Regional Planning at the University of Melbourne, producing progress reports and culminating in the final report in 1981. Members of the evaluation team attended many co-op meetings as observers over the entire period. The second report emphasises the benefits to tenants from participation in management and increased housing satisfaction, and the final report focuses on ways of establishing and operating co-operatives (Rogers et al, 1980).

In the meantime, comprehensive changes had taken place at the Housing Commission, which were to culminate in its replacement by the Ministry of Housing in 1982/83. In addition, the government was prompted to review its housing policies and published the Victorian Ministry of Housing Green Paper on Housing in 1980. One of the major changes would be to scale down broad acre development and to emphasise smaller scale developments (Burke 1988, p.237), which (incidentally) suited the purposes of the co-operative movement, which wanted its members to have ordinary houses in ordinary streets.

There are several key themes from the period leading up to the establishment of the co-op program. One of these is the incremental nature of its establishment, and another the key role of the ALP election victory in 1983 in consolidating the principles as government policy. In addition, there was a growing edge to the debates which signalled a "sorting out" at an ideological level of what kind of program was being supported by the housing rights movement.

The next co-operatives were not funded until 1981 (although Carlton had a property handover in 1978 (Barwick and Hamilton 1991, p.17). Arguably, this delay could have been because of the work being carried out on the Green Paper on the future of housing provision. It could also be that, as it was an experimental program, opinion was divided as to how the results of the evaluation would be best incorporated in an ongoing model. However, the Green Paper does not address itself to the idea of co-ops as expressed through the pilot project. The Green Paper did discuss the co-operative housing option (1980, p.219) and co-operative ownership designed more along the lines of a shared equity arrangement, more inclined to foster home ownership than co-operative housing.

In 1982, co-operatives at Williamstown and Mornington were funded. This also occurred under the Liberal Government. Thus growth was slow, and whilst not accidental, does not display a commitment to transforming the principles into a program. By contrast, by the end of the incoming ALP government's first year in office, another 10 co-operatives had been set up, two of which were for special need groups (respectively, women and people with intellectual disabilities). By continuing to expand the program in this way, the ALP was honouring a commitment made in the course of the election campaign. The ALP housing platform had promised $2.5 million for housing co-operatives, as part of a substantial increase in funds for public housing (Wettenhall Sept 1982, p.2).

By the time the pilot was accepted as a program, the use of the term "rental housing association" had been more commonly replaced in both community sector and government literature by the term "co-operative". This change was investigated in the course of the research to ascertain whether this was the result of a shift in policy orientation, or represented the outcome of an ideological battle within the housing rights movement, or indeed between the movement and the Ministry of Housing. This was investigated with both informants and in examining the extant government and housing rights literature.

The evaluation report had already signalled this transition. "We regard the R.H.A. as a type of housing co-operative" (Rogers et al 1980, p.2). However, it does not appear that at the time (1981), the transition was considered to be of much significance to informants from the bureaucracy. For example, one who was transferred out of the area for a time commented that the term "rental housing co-operative" became more usual, but it was assumed it was merely a name change by this participant. However, the same should probably not be concluded on the part of the housing rights movement. The literature makes it clear that there was a growing idealist character to the community housing vision, envisioning true tenant control.

The divisions over the extent of tenant participation or control which became apparent appear to have evolved over time. Few divisions are manifest at the start of the pilot in the literature. It is possible that in the beginning people were galvanised by their common goal. These differences seem to have become sharpened through experience

with the implementation of the program, and at some point, given an "ideological edge" or at least, justification. Firstly, an anti-intellectual push, or mistrust of professionals, began to manifest itself. The following two quotes from interviews illustrate this:

> . There was a very "anti-intellectual" push from the community sector and there developed a belief in the "untrammelled authority" of the sector.
> . At that time, there was an anti-professional attitude, more self-help oriented.

These tensions worked through the program, and had some important consequences in the longer term, isolating the activist core from the supporters of the program in the bureaucracy.

The model which was eventually adopted was commonly called a "leasing co-op" or rental housing co-operative (RHC) and the program was called the Victorian Rental Housing Co-operative Program. The model enshrined tenant participation in management only. Decisions about ceiling levels for housing prices, rent levels and eligibility were made by the Ministry of Housing. The housing rights sector, having initially supported the Fitzroy/ Collingwood model was however pushing for more tenant control, but this became more apparent as time went on (see discussion of the struggle over the resourcing co-operative, the Rental Housing Co-operative Advice Service, known as CHAS, in Chapter 4).

The process of program implementation, that is the shaping of the exact form of the program, is considered by many informants to have been driven by Gib Wettenhall. He had been the original project worker for the Fitzroy/ Collingwood co-op and moved across to the Ministry in the last period of the Liberal Government to set up the next few co-ops. Most of the articles about co-ops at the time were authored by him, he convened the Shelter Working Group and his name appears almost synonymously with co-ops in a variety of places across the period 1978- 83.

However, there were varying reasons for the support for the co-op program amongst the housing rights sector. The following quotes from key informants illustrates this:

> . Not totally cynical about co-ops, thought it should be given a chance.
> . Main motivation for supporting (co-ops) was to get decent housing.
> . Issue was more and better public housing.
> . Ministry of Housing never understood the hostility of the community sector... community sector accepted (CERCs) as "better than nothing".

From the start of the Fitzroy/Collingwood pilot program, the more liberal traditions of some of those involved in the policy communities emerged. The concept of self help was associated for this group of participants with the need for the state to encourage self reliance, that is non-dependence or reduced dependence on the state. For others self help was only possible with state funding, to empower working class people to control their own lives. These two views of self help can be characterised as from the liberal and "New Left" traditions. Self help, as associated with the traditional liberal view, provided a basis on which people could be "rescued" from dependence for all of their needs on the state. Co-ops were therefore seen as a springboard to a middle class life. Tenants were selected not on their need for housing, but on their willingness to participate in running the co-operative program. The measure of success was therefore successful integration into this lifestyle:

> "This was the whole idea of the RHA (Rental Housing Association)...to transfer skills to them. This was a classic example of the model- two good examples were (Tenant Y and Tenant Z) who were low skilled before the project. (Tenant Y) went onto the board of ACOSS".

Shelter Victoria had been convening a working group since 1979 to work on the establishment of housing co-ops (Shelter Victoria Newsletter, June 1980, p.26). The focus of housing rights movement activists was clearly on co-ops as the model, rather than the broader defined rental housing associations of the Scott pamphlet. Co-ops were seen as the model to provide maximum tenant involvement in housing management (Wettenhall 1982, p.9). It is clear that the most important aspects of such a program for housing rights activists were self help- meaning participation in or control over decision making leading to empowerment ("Rental Housing Associations" 1976, p.1; Brown 1979, p.18), -"autonomy" is another term used, (e.g. Wettenhall 1982, p.9), and responding to a perceived wish for "choice" in the housing market ("Rental Housing Associations" 1976, p.1 and p.3) , especially in the light of the usual treatment of tenants by the housing authority (Brown, 1979, p.19).

Shelter Victoria's hopes were certainly for a program which would empower participants. By 1983, there appear to have surfaced more concretely many of the tensions which existed at the formation of the policies on co-ops in the housing rights sector, and differences were beginning to result in conflict between the Ministry of Housing and that sector. Some of the issues were tension over tenant control versus professional advisors on management committees, interference from the Ministry of Housing in decision-making, resulting in a lack of autonomy within the sector, and the non-handover of properties, so that the Ministry of Housing retained title.

By 1983 the co-op program had developed some coherence and more importantly, identity. However, it was still proceeding incrementally, based on the addition of a few more co-ops each year, which were selected from submissions sent in by interested housing rights groups, some in conjunction with other interested parties such as local governments and community groups. Even this incremental increase ceased eventually, so that the co-op program remains very much a program in embryonic form.

Some of the key elements of the original motivations behind the program are encapsulated in the following quote:

> "They (RHCs) differ from traditional 'hand out' public housing policies in that they enable tenants to *participate in management*. They provide their tenant members with the basic housing rights which every home owner expects but, in the past, have been denied to tenants...."(Wettenhall, March 1983, Ministry of Housing Background Paper on RHCs, p.2).

The final program guidelines did not preclude tenant control, but merely specified tenant management as the minimum requirement. However, because of the impact of the Shelter Victoria viewpoint and organisational ability, all of the co-ops funded subsequent to Fitzroy/ Collingwood were set up as tenant control models.

The Introduction of the Common Equity Rental Co-operative Program

By 1984 however, attention shifted to a new form of co-operative, the common equity co-op, and a new program was formed, the Common Equity Rental Co-operative (CERC) Program. Few RHCs were funded after 1985. The new program was funded with funds from the Local Government and Community Housing Program (LGACHP), newly introduced at a federal level in (partial) fulfilment of an ALP policy platform promise.

The introduction of CERCs was supported by both bureaucrats and the housing rights movement, according to the key informants. It is clear though, that diverging motives for supporting the introduction of the program were beginning to be evident. Activists supported the program as a way of increasing the autonomy of the housing rights sector over housing stock and avoiding one of the sources of contention with the leasing program, i.e. non-handover of title to houses. However, on the part of the bureaucrats, support for the new program in preference to expanding the leasing co-op program, originated in budget constraint. That is, programs which were designed to promote and attract private sector finance were more attractive than the leasing program, which required subsidies for workers as well as using the Ministry's own stock.

This demonstrates the emergent and ongoing climate of constraint beginning at federal and consequently at state level, as a result in the short term of the obsession of markets with the level of government deficit, and the new found ability to send market signals of disapproval to governments through deregulation of the financial markets. "New ways" of delivering welfare programs had to be found, and in housing, this meant the attempt to mobilise non-government contributions to house those on public waiting lists. This became a consistent theme after 1985.

Paradoxically, the introduction of CERCs represents the most optimistic phase of the housing rights movement in relation to the establishment of a "third sector", following Kemeny's policy prescription and perceived as a real alternative to home ownership and private rental. A pamphlet announcing the program states:

> "A Dream Fulfilled
>
> It has long been a dream of community housing groups to establish a non-profit, co-operative housing sector similar in nature to those in Canada and Western Europe.... a broad based community housing sector which will hold perpetual title to its own housing stock, and manage its housing by headleasing on a long term basis to tenant-controlled co-operatives." (p.2)

The company established to facilitate the financial arrangements for the program, Common Equity Housing Finance Ltd, is described in the same pamphlet as a "Powerhouse for the Victorian Community Housing Sector". The cover of the pamphlet has a quote from John Cain on the potential of the program, as well as one from the Chief Executive of the State Bank of Victoria. The scene seemed set for a real expansion of community based programs. Clearly, the community sector and the bureaucracy had moved away from the leasing co-op model. But the co-op program continued to exist. The current character of the program and implementation issues are discussed later in this chapter.

The ALP and the Housing Rights Sector

It is clear from both interviews with informants and from the primary documentation, that the role of the ALP was crucial in translating the original community housing principles into a policy. Whilst there is evidence of significant activism around housing issues outside the ALP, many of the key policy participants who pushed forward with these ideas were members of the ALP. Thus, whilst the model was being developed by the housing rights movement, the ALP was finding ways to incorporate a form of community-based housing into its policy platform.

Whilst the Liberals had funded the initial pilot, it is clear that the commitment to a community housing program formed part of the broad promises of social policy reform which Labor adopted as part of its platform in the lead up to the 1982 election. This not to say that the Liberals would not have extended the pilot into a program. However, as Carter states: "the final, and vital, ingredient in the decade of change was the election in 1982 of the first Labor government in Victoria for twenty-seven years, a government with a... well researched housing policy" (1988, p.247)- mostly due to the housing rights sector.

Until 1976, housing policy within the ALP had been the province of the Urban Affairs Policy Committee. In 1976, it was decided that a new committee, the Housing and Construction Policy Committee, should be formed. In 1972-73/74, the main preoccupation of the Victorian ALP Policy Committee on Urban Affairs had centred around citizen participation in planning. Several key informants in relation to the co-op program were members of that committee. For example, the report of this committee to State Conference states: "Every citizen should have the right to influence all planning decisions likely to affect his total environment including his access to community resources"(State ALP papers, 1974 Report to State Conference, p.4). In 1975, the preoccupations of the report to State Conference reflected political considerations of the day, recommending that the Housing Commission be reconstituted as a Public Housing Authority directly responsible to a Minister (State ALP papers, 1975 Report to State Conference, p.2). Again, participation in planning was a feature, this time with an element of localism through involving local committees (p.2).

By 1976, a move was made to establish a Housing Committee separate from the Urban Affairs Policy Committee (UAPC). The reasons given for this were that the latter committee did not have time to devote itself to the wide range of work encompassed in the portfolio, and that it had not attracted the interest of the relevant building and construction unions. The work of the new committee, it was foreshadowed, was to largely consist of preparing a position paper on national housing policy (State ALP papers, letter from D. Jones, Sec. UAPC 12/5/76).

A suggestion was put forward at the first meeting of the new committee, the Housing and Construction Policy Committee (HCPC), suggesting that direct contact should be made with the National Policy Committee (State ALP papers, HCPC minutes, 28/6/76). In the 1976 report to State Conference, recommendations on national housing policy were put forward. These included a recommendation that grants be made available to national government bodies, State public housing authorities, local government and non-profit housing associations and organisations. In addition, recommendations on tenant participation in management and ideas of public housing intermixed with private housing

(which was to be realised with Co-ops and the Spot Purchase Program) were also forthcoming (State ALP papers, 1976 State Conference Report, Sections 10,14 &19).

The focus on a separate policy committee for housing signals the importance being placed on housing policy by the ALP at that time. It is clear from the documentation that the ALP was actively involved in the Fitzroy/Collingwood pilot, and indeed one of the policy committee members was the first Executive Officer of the association. The commitment to a fully-fledged program appears in the ALP policy platform by May 1981 (Shelter Victoria Newsletter, May 1981, p.9). The relationship between Shelter and the ALP policy committee appears to have been close at this time, not surprisingly, as the ALP seemed to be taking up the policy agenda being pushed by Shelter. The newsletter article announcing the new policy quotes "ALP policy committee member, Barry Pullen" as stating that

> "there is now ample evidence that rental housing associations could be an effective and economical way of providing dwellings for tenants... clearly the time has come to move from pilot schemes to a viable and significant programme involving rental housing associations in the management of public housing." (Shelter Victoria Newsletter, May 1981, p.9).

In the process of making such innovations attractive to government, and at a time when public housing supply was not keeping up with demand, self help and empowerment, the goals proposed by Scott and Shelter Victoria, mingled with appeals to efficiency and effectiveness in the final ALP formulation. Thus, self help becomes equated with mobilising volunteer effort to cut the costs of public housing.

Housing was to feature prominently in the first Cain Government budget: "The Treasurer, Mr Jolly, said in his Budget speech that the Government had decided to give housing its top priority" (Birnbauer, The Age, 23 September 1982, "Public Housing top priority with 82% lift" p.17). Community housing principles were now firmly on the policy agenda in Victoria.

Part B: The Evolution of the Local Government and Community Housing Program 1978-1982

> **" An ALP Government will earmark... another $50 million over a three year period... for an increased supply of low cost rental accommodation through the Community Housing Expansion Program. The first year's allocation will be $15 million..."**
> **Hayden Housing Plan, Part Two, 1982, p.7**

Introduction

By the mid 1960s, public housing stock had reached 7-8 percent. This varied between states, with as little as 2-3 percent in Victoria to 13% in the ACT (Paris 1993, p.196). As stated in Chapter 1, the period under discussion began to be characterised by high unemployment which placed pressure on the residual welfare system, including on public housing (Burke, Hancock and Newton 1984, p.86). The ALP rode to power federally in 1983 on a similar wave of rhetoric about the "social wage" as had John Cain in Victoria in 1982. As part of his promises on housing, Hawke promised to double public housing

stock. In fact, it grew from 6 to around 7 percent by the end of his government (Paris 1993, p.61).

The federal government bureaucracy was aware of public housing experimentation through the experiences under Tom Uren and the Department of Urban and Regional Development, and was peripherally involved in the co-op program in Victoria, but the major emphasis under the Liberals had been to use public housing as a stimulant to the economy, in true Keynesian style, which it had begun to do in its last Budget (1982-83).

In 1974, a body was established which aimed to draw together a housing rights movement, National Shelter. It resulted from several years of work, and from the ferment around the increasing impact of development on living environments, of poor public housing on tenants' lives, etc. (Morgan-Thomas 1994, pp27-29). Morgan-Thomas's account makes it clear that from the beginning National Shelter was a lobbying and "advocacy" mechanism, which very quickly went into dialogue with the federal government about housing issues (p.29). National Shelter quickly received funding to carry out its work, though this was removed by the Fraser government. In 1977, National Shelter jointly sponsored a conference with the federal government entitled "Housing and the Community". In 1978, the newly-negotiated Commonwealth State Housing Agreement (CSHA) allowed the introduction of market rents. This enabled State Governments to push out non-low income tenants by charging them higher rents, and so cemented the position of public housing as a welfare mechanism.

National Shelter continued to pursue lobbying methods to secure funding for community housing. In the lead up to the federal election, the ALP negotiated the Prices and Incomes Accord with the ACTU, which heralded unprecedented funding for the "social wage". It then became the task of the housing rights movement to ensure the ALP kept to these promises. The Accord came to provide the dominant framework in which to conduct government/ social movement relations (see also Burgmann 1993).

The Influence of the Victorian Experience on Federal Housing Policy

Two main themes are evident in the examination of the literature relating to the formation of the federal program. Firstly, in examining the source material from both the National ALP Secretariat and the Victorian Branch of the ALP, the influence of the ideas of the Victorian Housing Committee on Federal ALP policy becomes clear. Secondly, the strong focus on urban re-development which has characterised the Whitlam government's policy development was still dominant in federal policy at the start of this process.

The Victorian experience is clearly stamped on the activities of the federal ALP policy committee. For example, in 1985 Barry Pullen drafted the National housing platform and earlier platforms certainly take some of their formulations from policy position papers adopted by the Victorian Branch. Victoria was well represented on the policy committee, through Pullen, Brian Howe and Paul Madden, and as evidenced by the committee's minutes, participated vigorously in policy debates and volunteered for policy drafting tasks.

At the Federal level, Tom Uren's experience and directions in the Department of Urban and Regional Development (1972-75) had centred around infrastructure and planning issues, and his programs and policies certainly encapsulated ideas of citizen participation

(Streeton 1973, p.xii), mirroring the Victorian Branch's preoccupation at that time, and itself reflecting a broader emphasis in social policy circles. The themes which dominated contemporary policy documents were related to physical and social planning, and concomitant community participation, and housing finance arrangements, principally to be realised through the re-establishment of the Australian Housing Corporation (established in 1975, but abolished by Fraser).

Arising from his experiences with the Glebe housing estate in Sydney, Uren had set in place a program to purchase and conserve old inner suburban housing. This represents the first attempt federally to articulate the politics of locally responsive housing with tenant participation. The approach fitted generally with the policy direction of the Whitlam Government, which experimented with localism and devolution from central government in various forms (e.g. the Australian Assistance Plan).

The urban development and housing platforms were considered to be inseparable in the Whitlam Government period and in policy formulation immediately proceeding this period. Tom Uren's papers preserve an extract from an undated document,(and which is certainly from an ALP policy document), reflecting this relationship, in which housing is listed as one component of urban policy. The significant concern of the ALP was however, to extend the role of "rational planning" to intervene in the flow of capital, as it had attempted with the decentralisation policies under Whitlam. The document expressly refers to government "using its powers over investment flows" (p.67). However, by the time of the Hawke victory in 1983, such interventionist policies had been dumped from the platform.

By contrast, the prominence of public housing policies began to grow. There is only a minor mention of public housing in the 1976 document, which reads: "Assist the States to provide housing for the community in a pleasant and adequate environment in terms of the agreement reached after full consultation with the States" (p.69). The work of the federal policy committee began to focus more on public housing and this became reflected in policy documents after this time.

By 1978, it is evident that the Victorian Branch's work on housing policy was beginning to become more influential in the federal sphere. During 1978 until early 1979, the newly created Urban and Regional Development (sometimes called Urban and Regional Affairs), Policy Sub-committee met five times to re-draft several policies, including housing policy. The membership of this committee included Barry Pullen and Paul Madden from Victoria, Uren, Brian Howe (also from the Victorian Branch) and Mike Gallagher and Patrick Troy (who had both worked for Uren, the former as a staffer and the latter in the Department of Urban and Regional Development), with Arthur Gietzelt as Convenor. At the first meeting, Uren's introduction re-stated previous preoccupations: the importance of regionalism and de-centralisation and grass roots participation, and of the Australian Housing Corporation. At the second and third meetings, some discussion about the direction of housing policy was more evident, with debate on the merits of housing interest subsidies and different ways of conferring the benefits of home ownership on tenants. At the third meeting, it was resolved that Barry Pullen and Paul Madden of the Victorian Branch should draft a new policy statement. The emphasis was to be on providing for a greater component of public housing, and to re-emphasise public housing as a viable housing alternative, reflecting the push for a third sector.

Establishing the Commitment to the Federal Program

The emphasis on public housing was introduced into the 1979 Platform via the discussions outlined above. The establishment of the federal program was part of this and therefore a direct result of the ALP victory federally, and the implementation of its electoral promises. Although the Australian Housing Corporation still features significantly in this policy document, showing the continued influence of Uren, the main aims of ALP housing policy were now articulated as:

"access to home ownership and providing an adequate supply of low cost rental accommodation through:

. The Australian Housing Corporation and
. The Commonwealth State Housing Agreement" (ALP Urban and Regional Development Platform, 1979, p.4)

The emphasis on public housing is seen very much as complementary to the support for home ownership, not as an alternative to it, as many of the Victorian housing rights movement debates had aimed towards. Also appearing as a policy aim in this document possibly for the first time in housing policy terms is the encouragement of "choice" in tenure and types of housing (p.4). Kemeny of course, had mentioned it in his academic writings(1978, p.72). As will be shown by the next section on the introduction of the federal program, the concept of "choice" was to become a permanent feature of the federal housing policy landscape.

The most important feature of ALP public housing policy for the purposes of this account, was the commitment to the Community Housing Expansion (CHEP) Program, which would allow funding to be directed to non-government organisations for the purposes of providing housing. The negotiations over the shape and size of this program reflect importantly on the progress of the "third sector" debate within the ALP and its periphery. It is clear that the aims of the housing rights movement in supporting such a program were similar to those espoused in support of the Victorian program - not least because Shelter Victoria, judging by the file documentation, was the most influential part of the housing rights movement in negotiations over the program. The themes of "direct control" - that is the establishment of a true alternative to home ownership and private rental, a "third sector" removed from government control, and a mix of tenants to ensure a true public housing program, appear in the early submissions from the housing rights movement (as evidenced by file material in files held by DHSH). Once again, the housing rights sector viewed negotiation with the ALP as an important mechanism for achieving these aims, and met with and made submissions to the ALP policy committee.

The Hayden Housing Plan, released in November 1982, stated that:

> "The States and Territories will each be consulted with a view to establishing community housing trusts to manage the funds advanced by the Federal Government *and the contribution of State, Territory and local governments and non-profit organisations*." (p.7) (author's italics)

In the transition from the earlier Victorian proposals to federal ALP policy, housing policy had been given a distinctive federal twist. The involvement of funds from non-government sectors became prominent. This pre-figured the move in Victoria from

leasing co-ops to CERCs. ALP policy can be viewed therefore as developing in a loop, with the early influence of the Victorians, the subsequent imprint of the federal party, and in turn its influence back on Victorian policies.

The involvement of local government was a peculiarly federal initiative. It did not reflect a groundswell of interest from local government in housing issues and their inclusion was not the result of lobbying on their part. Rather it was "top down" approach to involve local government in housing provision, to provide some incentives and encouragement to such involvement (Paris 1990, p.54).

The ideas were those of localism, as embodied in the Australian Assistance Plan, which were carried by Uren to the housing policy arena. Localism meant both the involvement of local groups and local government in both policy and program provision, and also mistrust of state governments, in relation to their capacity to hive off funds for their own ends. The bolstering of local government and community organisations was seen by the Whitlam Government as a counter to the power of state governments in human service provision.

Tom Uren gives several instances of this mistrust in his autobiography, Straight Left. In relation to the redevelopment of the Glebe housing estate, he says "At first we didn't try to bypass the New South Wales government... Cabinet was not prepared to trust the New South Wales government in rehabilitating the estate..." (1995, p.277). In relation to the redevelopment of Woolloomoolloo he states: "A clause was inserted in the agreement that if the state government sold any of the residences, the monies would go to the Australian Treasury, not to the state." (1995, p.279).

This theme represents the particular perspective of the federal Labor Party, having dealt with hostile state governments whilst in power, governments which attempted at every turn to improve their financial situation vis a vis the federal government. This theme helped to shape the proposal for a non-state government administered program.

Whilst the major pre-occupation of housing policy continued to be home ownership, the Hayden Housing Plan committed the ALP to $15 million for CHEP in the 1982-83 Budget, with a total of $50 million over a 3 year period (1982, p.7). In addition, $15 million would be allocated for local government use in areas of high housing priority. The way in which these policies were announced is instructive. Two separate documents (called Part 1 and Part 2) were produced, the first one concentrating on home ownership and the second on other housing initiatives, principally the public housing proposals. The main publicity, to judge from the brochures and draft press material (which form part of the Federal ALP Papers), was directed towards the home ownership promises. Public housing plans feature in the material, but in a very minor way. This could suggest the documents were being produced for very different purposes, the first to convince mainstream voters of the government's financial support for working and middle class aspirations through home ownership subsidies. The second document, given the lack of attendant publicity, may almost be aimed at a narrower audience- that is the public housing policy community, those in the housing rights movement, the academics and ALP members who were interested in these issues.

The proposal for a program went through several revisions before it emerged as the Local Government and Community Housing Program in the 1984/85 budget. Discussion progressed from the moment the ALP took office, in March 1983.

A background paper for the Housing Minister's Conference in March 1983 listed issues for discussion around the shape of the program (files held by DHSH). These included consideration of whether separate waiting lists would be maintained to those held by state housing authorities. File documents indicate that the guidelines for CHEP and the proposal for a Local Government Housing Assistance Program were extensively discussed with state governments, and it seems that there was a definite intention to introduce the programs in the form they had taken in the ALP policy platform. These proposals were still being discussed at least up until 8 August 1984, when comments were received from the Victorian Ministry of Housing (files held by DHSH). In the intervening period, however, funding had not been forthcoming from the 1983-84 Budget. Guidelines for a combined local government and community-based program dated 20 August 1984 propose:

> "A minimum of $7 million will be provided by the Commonwealth in 1984/85 and $10 million will be allocated in each of 1985/86 and 1986/87." (Files held by DHSH)

The key factor in the backdown on CHEP and other innovative programs is the "discovery" of a $9 billion federal budget deficit announced by Hawke shortly after the Labor victory.

The program guidelines also proposed that States could nominate additional funds out of general CSHA or other funds. Given the reduced federal funds now available, this can be seen as an attempt to maximise the program through state contributions, but also meant that the program could be funded at the expense of public housing programs funded through the CSHA.

The Watering-down of Community Housing Principles

By December 1984, the community sector, local government and the federal and state governments had formed committees to oversee the implementation of the federal program. In Victoria, because of the strong opposition from the community sector, the now-combined federal program was for all practical purposes split into two sub programs. This was part of an ongoing struggle to maintain the separation of the community and local government sectors and this separation was principally promoted by the community sector, reflecting their ideological concern to "distance themselves" from government control. This is an important theme which paralleled the struggle for control of CHAS, further discussed in Chapter 4. In Victoria, all "community sector" federal program funds were channelled into funding Common Equity Rental Co-ops.

One of the original planks in the ALP Housing Platform, the creation of community housing trusts to *control* the CHEP funds, was also lost in the process of policy implementation. This is also an important example of the struggle for "control" over community housing programs.

The role of trusts as outlined in the Hayden Housing Plan was to manage the program funds. This promise was lost, it seems, even before the decision to merge the two programs. In a document entitled "Community Housing Expansion Program- Major Issues To Be Determined" (files held by DHSH), prepared on behalf of the Minister in 1984 (though not specifically dated), the following proposal for trusts is put forward:

> "The platform envisages Trusts being established with community and local, State and Federal government representatives. The advantage of this approach is that it
>
> .allows community groups a say in what projects will be provided which is consistent with the aim of providing an alternative to housing authorities and involving the community.
>
> Alternatively funds could be provided to States provided that they use it for "community housing"....

The paper goes on to state that the establishment of trusts is favoured and they would involve community local, State (and possibly Federal) government representatives and would be responsible for recommending which projects should be funded.

The role being outlined is that of an advisory committee, rather than a trust which would hold and administer monies, as envisaged in the Hayden Housing Plan. In fact, in Victoria, a trust was set up, to administer the CERC program (but not the local government funds). However, the change in federal policy was clearly aimed at preserving control over the program's development and may have reflected a compromise with state governments who did not want other institutions "competing" with their own state housing authorities. The desire for control over what was seen as a fledgling program is reflected in the comments from key informants (also see Harnisch et al 1986, p.3).

In addition, the commitment to "tenant mix" was equally watered down. This was a source of tension between the ALP and the housing rights movement as well as within the ALP. The aim of a mix of tenants in public housing, with the aim of breaking down the stigmatisation of public housing as suitable only for welfare recipients, is reflected in many Shelter policy documents and submissions. A submission from Shelter Victoria and the Co-operative Housing Advisory Service (CHAS) in late 1984 (presumably before full program guidelines were published) states that the program should "provide for a social mix of groups. This will ensure...that the projects are seen as a housing alternative not as a stigmatised housing sector for "poor" people" (DHSH files). This tension was a reflection of a wider debate in social policy in the late 1970s to early 1980s, that of targeted versus universal programs. As with most other programs since the early 1980s, targeting was implemented, even though the original policy drafts reflected universalist principles:

> "The public housing sector should be developed as a viable and positive housing sector for the community. It should not be a residual or stigmatised form of housing" (Federal ALP policy committee papers, Urban and Regional Development Platform paper, 1983, p.1).

The final Commonwealth guidelines were ambiguous, probably reflecting a desire to neither alienate the housing rights sector nor the state governments, who were under political pressure to address public housing waiting lists. The guidelines stated:

> " Details of management arrangements will be determined by State housing authorities and the managing bodies, but

- housing assistance provided under this program will be available to all sections of the community.....However, priority in granting assistance shall be determined by the need for such assistance
- the management group...will be required to ensure that those on public housing waiting lists have the opportunity to apply..." (DHSH files, Final program guidelines, p.4)

States interpreted these variously. The WA program guidelines state that "housing is for people who are income eligible for public housing" (DHSH files, WA guidelines, p.3). By contrast the CERC program in Victoria was able to house people who were not low income earners. This appears to have been generally the case for the co-operative sectors funded by the federal program, but other projects, for example local government projects, were expected to comply with housing authority eligibility (Purdon Associates 1989, p.60). Presumably, the Commonwealth could argue that it was left up to the state government to determine the policy. But it is significant that the Commonwealth never compelled, or even encouraged states to use a mix of tenants.

Key informants for the federal program addressed the hypothesis that support for the program was based on a positive view of the possibilities of self help. Their responses were more ambivalent than the Victorian policy community informants. Two agreed that it was, but the empowerment goal of self help was not emphasised, with one stating it was more associated with tenant management than "self help" per se. It seems that for the federal participants this may have been a secondary aim, with the major pre-occupation being the capacity to mobilise non-government contributions, including from local government, to the program. It may be this ambivalence which is ultimately reflected in the looseness of the program guidelines, the subordination of empowerment goals to more pragmatic goals such as the mobilisation of non-government contributions.

The most important component of the Victorian Program, the commitment to tenant control, was explicitly watered down in the federal program. Again, the guidelines were ambiguous, but in practice, bureaucracies showed they were only interested in the rhetoric of control, and even tenant participation had to be fought for. The NSW experience encapsulated this: "there has never been any acceptance from either the Housing Commission or the local government representatives... that they believed in this (Tenant involvement) or were interested in promoting this concept... Rather they saw it as one component of the aims of the program... to be traded off against other objectives" (Thompson and Purcell 1986, p.8).

Part C: The Victorian and Federal Programs Post-implementation and the Periods of Stagnation

"The program can be a cost-effective means in the delivery of affordable, appropriate and innovative rental housing... it is planned to carry out an economic evaluation of this form of housing in the near future."
Harnisch, Harmer & Moore 1986, p.6

Introduction

There were many similarities and some important differences between the two programs. Both sought to mobilise voluntary labour and promote "self help" as a necessary part of the program. They relied on the ability and goodwill of community based management

committees to succeed. Both emphasised tenant participation as a priority, but the extent of participation sought in the programs was very different. The federal program sought to draw in capital contributions from other sources also, whereas the Victorian program originally relied on housing spot-purchased by the housing authority. The federal program encapsulated a long-held ALP aim of mobilising local government in the provision of services, whereas the Victorian program did not seek to involve local government in any substantive way. The Victorian program only funded co-ops, the federal program funded co-ops as only one of a range of models. Neither program expanded to near the levels which had been envisaged by the housing rights movement at the start of the programs.

The federal program was specifically evaluated in 1988 (though not in "economic" terms as promised -see quote at start of this section), and so there is some good evidence on which to base discussion of implementation issues. The Victorian program was not evaluated, although there appear to have been plans to do so, judging from draft terms of reference which appear from time to time on the Department's files. However, the Victorian Ministerial Advisory Committee on Women and Housing evaluated the experiences of women and children in the program. This was published as Just Like a Family. A Conference of co-ops was also held in November 1993 and it produced a report. Some of the experiences and problems with the program can be gleaned from these two documents as well as from departmental material.

The Co-op Program Experience 1985-1994

The Victorian program did not, unlike the federal program, start life as a fully fledged program. The evaluation of the pilot re-affirmed the association of the co-op model with encouraging "self-reliance" and "control of what happens to...housing" (Rogers et al 1980, p.ii). From an initial pilot, co-ops were progressively funded as money became available in successive budgets. As at December 1993, 21 co-ops had been funded and the oldest had been operating for 16 years, and no more have been funded since. Few RHCs were funded after 1985, and as has already been noted this was around the time of the introduction of the CERC Program. Some co-ops have reached a "viable size", considered to be 35 properties; after reaching this a co-op can no longer claim an operating subsidy. So not surprisingly, some have stalled at just under this level so as to retain the subsidy. There is a sense amongst co-ops that the program has been neglected, not only for expanding the program but in terms of funds for existing co-ops, and also in support from the funding body.

The RHC Conference in 1993 noted the following issues of concern:

- the headlease agreement did not include funding for secondary upgrading, and so some properties had been handed back due to inability to fund repairs.

- there had been a "total lack of guidance" from the Ministry, and especially since the de-funding of CHAS in 1991 (RHC Conference Report 1993, p.2).

The Conference Report further notes some of the benefits of tenant participation, of community and skill development (p.2) but the feelings expressed here are that co-ops have done this with little assistance. The Conference represented an attempt by co-ops to come to terms with the type of program they had been left with after years of "benign neglect", and to discuss a model for taking the program forward and establishing a peak

management body (pp.18-20). The social activities of the conference are given prominence in the report, perhaps reflecting the co-ops' wish to accentuate the positive side of co-op life. Some of this positive side is confirmed in Just Like a Family.

By way of contrast, the experience of a CERC member who attended the conference portrayed a very negative view of the development of the CERC program. This member viewed the CERC company now as authoritarian and not responsive to tenants. The history she gave is instructive for the co-op program also:

"The model was based on tenant participation- great in theory but a nightmare in practice. CERC members realising they couldn't dedicate their lives to the program, handed the management of the program over to the company...and returned to their families. The program changed from an idealistic, and probable (sic) heading for trouble, to one of pragmatism." (p.12)

Just Like a Family has been the subject of some controversy. At the launch of the report, its approach was publicly attacked for not reflecting the experiences of older co-ops, reflecting a view that the co-op program had been "hijacked" by those fixated on tenant control at all costs, at the expense of other program aims, such as fostering co-operatives as an alternative sector.

The report certainly presents the "co-op experience" as having been a very mixed one for all tenants- the use of "family" in the title was deliberate, to try to encapsulate that like families, co-ops are a mixture of good and bad experiences. The report found that:

- the primary reason for joining was housing need
- growth in satisfaction with housing and choice was widespread
- security of tenure had been compromised by poorly specified participation in management, poor management which threatened viability, and an unclear program future.
- participation was seen as demanding and stressful
- opportunities for personal development were highly valued
- tensions between tenant and co-op member (i.e. management) roles for tenants
- natural leaders had emerged and conflict was endemic, and sometimes violent. (1993, pp.4-7)

Much of the early energy of the co-ops was consumed in fighting the Ministry over the headlease issue, "secondary upgrading" of co-op properties (the term used in the program for renovations) and in protracted negotiations with builders and architects over the minutiae of renovations. This was seen by the three key informants who had been co-op workers as one of the aspects which demobilised the activism of tenants and workers in a significant way. Thus, the controversy at the launch of Just Like a Family was reflective of real tensions within the program, tensions which had been long-standing.

Conflict between co-ops and the Ministry of Housing also occurred over the direction of the resourcing co-op, the Co-operative Housing Assistance Service (CHAS) resulting in its funding being terminated (this is covered more fully in Chapter 4). One co-op, Mornington co-op, closed in 1984 over the issue of housing choice. This occurred because of the co-op's determination to allocate a free standing detached house to a

single young member of the co-op, as it was this person's choice not to live in a flat, which was the Ministry's expectation.

Just Like a Family also shows that some women had left co-ops because of the conflict within the committees, and references to evictions occur in the report (1993, e.g. p.42, p.52). This belies the original rhetoric of the program, which referred to extending the benefits of home ownership, including security of tenure. There is much evidence of the conflict caused by the privatisation of decision making. The evictions obviously caused a lot of stress to other tenants (p.42) who saw evictions as their personal responsibility, rather than a failure due to poverty, etc.

Whilst co-ops are obviously still grappling with their future, at least one co-op was reported by key informants as attempting to turn itself into a housing association- back to the original Scott proposal. This seems to be the result of precisely the sorts of tensions described in Just Like a Family over control and power issues within co-ops, as well as the potentially all-consuming nature of co-op life and a need to share the burden.

Just Like a Family offers some reasons for the conflict, e.g. self-interested behaviour, intimidation and clique-forming in the co-ops, based on socio-biological notions of the "behaviour of human beings in group settings", and a debate over the "individual psychological basis for 'altruistic' behaviour"(1993, p.78). Far from placing these "experiences in a wider debate and context" (p.79) as is purported, these kinds of prescriptions merely reinforce the view that such problems are the result of individual pathology, of the co-ops themselves. This only serves to reinforce the view that the failure of the co-op experiment is due to the tenants themselves.

However, it seems likely that these tensions are the result of contradictions which are built-in to the program. The state attempted to reconcile many conflicting aims through funding the co-op program. In summary, these were to mobilise voluntary effort to house people, to deflect criticism from itself as an "uncaring" landlord, to be seen to its constituency (in particular the broader housing policy community) as listening to ideas from "the Left" about housing, to be seen to be tackling public housing waiting lists in a "new way" and adding to "housing choice". Thus conflict within the co-op program over housing need versus desire for a co-operative life would seem inevitable, since people have been primarily motivated to join by their housing need.

The co-op program has stagnated in recent years, as the lessons from the experience are synthesised into new models of community housing provision. The latest report on options for managing the co-op program recommends discretionary tenant participation (Barwick and Hamilton,1995). Co-ops are now just "one of the models" of such provision, and it seems likely that the models of tenant participation, rather than tenant control, will finally triumph.

The Federal Program Experience 1983-1988

It could be argued that the guidelines for the federal program were much looser than those of the Victorian program, because of the need to get agreement from all state governments. It is clear from both the interviews with key informants and the departmental documentation that not all states welcomed the federal program equally. Where similar principles were already entrenched, such as in Victoria and South Australia, the federal program funds were added to a pool already available for

community housing. In Tasmania and the Northern Territory, by contrast, there was difficulty having the principles accepted. The bureaucracy was not aided in this process by the very small allocations for small states, which were population-based. For example, the Northern Territory's allocation in 1985/86 was $92,000. This, combined with the lack of a local community housing culture, was seen by key informants as a major difficulty in the attempts to promote the program in these areas. The looseness of the guidelines also meant that although it was a national program, the federal program developed very differently in different states (Purdon Associates 1989, passim) due to local factors.

The evaluation of the federal program by Purdon and Associates was published in 1989 as a review of the first three years of operation. It gives some evidence of very patchy implementation in relation to the acceptance of community housing and tenant participation and other objectives. The evaluation was divided into a program evaluation, undertaken by professional consultants, and a separate evaluation of tenant participation undertaken by Shelter. The two are presented in the same document, but interestingly, only the professional evaluation is listed and indexed at the front- if you did not know about the Shelter consultation, then it would be easily overlooked. Interestingly, Shelter was more or less coerced into undertaking the consultancy, according to the file material and a key informant. To bring their peak-body funding up to an acceptable level, they had to be seen to be doing something for it, not just advocacy.

In the context of the overall housing budget, the federal program remained relatively small, at only $24.5 million in its last year of operation (Randolph 1993, p.29). It did manage to mobilise some additional funds for housing, for instance, around 20% of total project funds in the first three years were contributed by local government and community agencies (Purdon Associates 1989, p.xiv). The attraction of additional funds seems to have been an equally important aim to encouraging tenant participation (Harnisch et al 1986, p.2).

The program was not successful in mobilising local government as an equally interested party to the other tiers of government in housing provision. Partly this would have been the result of the small number of councils who were able to receive grants, because of the low level of funds available. Paris comments that it was a mistake for the Commonwealth to group together local government and the community sector in the program, "rather than defining local government as a partner with the Commonwealth and states" (Paris 1990, p.60). He argues that federal bureaucrats held local government in low esteem and believed simply that its role should be to provide more funds for housing. Local government was already extensively (and in terms of housing provision almost exclusively) involved in the provision of aged person's housing throughout Australia. Paris further argues that many of the projects funded during the first few years provided accommodation to this already high priority group (Paris 1990, p.62), so did little to expand the role. He asserts that local government remains hostile to a wider role in housing provision (p.63). The program evaluation report shows that local government was not involved at all in Tasmania or the Northern Territory in the first three years (Purdon Associates 1989, p.59). In addition, the evaluation shows that funds were disproportionately allocated to more affluent councils (p.58). This may have been a result of requiring contributions to the program, which these councils could more easily afford.

Tenant control or tenant management were concerns which were to the forefront of the community based projects. Generally, tenant involvement in local government projects and those sponsored by larger welfare organisations was limited to a tenant representative (or two) on the management committee for the project. These projects were usually managed through existing organisational structures (Purdon Associates 1989, pp.13-14) which meant that tenants were only one of a variety of interests represented. Some local governments were unaware of the requirement for tenant participation (e.g. ps.60, 64). In contrast, those projects auspiced by smaller community groups showed awareness and commitment to tenant participation, and many to tenant management (p.15). The level of participation was patchy and often dependent on help from other organisations (p.15). In the consultations with groups, tenants voiced concern over the number of meetings they had to attend (sometimes daily, e.g. ps.63, 74), the tapering off of participation in many projects, and non-participation by some tenants (e.g. ps 73, 74, 72, 67, 64). Although the report asserts that the co-ops had high levels of tenant involvement (p.16), from the reported consultations it seems that tasks sometimes fell to a few active members (e.g. ps.63, 74) and in some cases participation was mandatory (e.g. p.77). One of the persistent reported tensions was between wanting a house and the requirement to participate in management (e.g. ps 62,74, 75). This echoes the concerns of tenants in Just Like A Family. The co-ops are reviewed very favourably by National Shelter as having "enormous practical experience in alternative financing methods, alternative management structures, alternative financing methods," (e.g. National Shelter 1989, p.17).

The Fate of the Victorian and the Federal Programs

The findings of the 1989 evaluation suggested that the federal program should continue. However, in the 1992-93 Budget, the program was replaced by the Community Housing Program (CHP). This is seen partly by key informants to be an explicit recognition of the failure of local government to embrace housing provision (though they are certainly not excluded from the new program) and also a more explicit aim to mobilise contributions from larger community organisations, especially churches. Brian Howe himself said "its very hard for the Commonwealth to do a lot with local government" (Gardiner 1994, p.9).

The Community Housing Program represents the synthesis of the lessons learnt from the community housing experiments around Australia. It does not follow one particular model of provision, such as co-ops, and is designed to mobilise significant contributions from non-government agencies. Stock purchased by the program is retained by the funded organisation. The program is not very much different to the Local Government and Community Housing Program, and it is these principles which are incorporated into the program, rather than those seen as more narrowly-focused, such as the co-op program.

According to the Victorian Office of Housing, it is planned to incorporate the co-op program into the federally funded (and state administered) Community Housing Program, a move which is being opposed by some co-ops as they will receive less subsidy if this occurs. But the government perceives that the program should be put on the same footing as other community housing programs. Thus the program which introduced community housing principles to Australia, is itself being swallowed up by a program which has taken and transformed those very principles.

From the beginning, it had been shown that there were differing views about precisely what was meant by key concepts such as self help, control and choice amongst the policy community. A selection of views about what was meant by "self help" is given earlier in this Chapter, however, there were several strands present in these views, ranging from social liberal to socialist. This is also reflected in the trajectory of "tenant control" which ultimately, in the federal program, is cast as "tenant participation". The following quotes show the diversity of views on precisely how these concepts should be cast, and what strategies should flow from this:

> . The co-op program was like a "new era" in community sector and government co-operation.
> . Reservations about the extent to which participation was taken.
> . The policies were supported by the "trendy left", the old left were concerned about horizontal equity.
> . Liberal social democratic agenda coming through the Brotherhood of St Laurence.
> . Women's refuges were wanting to help women control their own lives... co-ops were seen as in keeping with this empowerment philosophy.

In addition, several key informants mentioned efficiency and cost effectiveness as motivating factors. From the beginning also, the benefits to the state of tenant management, in terms of possible tenant participation in maintenance of housing and taking on of administrative functions, was part of the vocabulary of these policy communities, to quote a selection of the key informants:

> ."Co-ops... were probably more attractive (to the Ministry of Housing) because of perceived cheaper outcomes.
> . People looking after themselves, doing their own maintenance" rather than the ideological commitment to self management.
> . Hayes... (Victorian Housing Minister 1977) would have sniffed the need for change and it represented a low cost opportunity.

At the federal level, the possibility that such experiments might cut the cost of public housing, was already beginning to shape the policy agenda when the original Community Housing Expansion Program was being mooted. For example, a document produced after the ALP victory on 1983, (but before the conflation of the original two programs into one), states "The present serious housing situation, reflected in high levels of outstanding applications to State housing authorities, calls for all possible resources in this area to be tapped" (DHSH files, Shadow Ministers Meeting Agenda Papers, 3/2/84). This clearly shows the political unwillingness of the government to increase ordinary public housing programs to address this increased need.

One of the aims of the evaluation of the federal program was to test the efficiency of the program and how that efficiency could be improved (Purdon Associates 1989, p.3). It states that one of the benefits of the program "In particular there should be significant cost savings on administration and management costs" (p.117). The cost effectiveness is also mentioned as a positive aspect by some of those involved in the evaluation consultations, for example Cairns Council, who said the program had been "cost efficient" (p.78). The various attempts to evaluate the co-op program also refer to cost effectiveness and efficiency. This includes the original evaluation of the pilot carried out by Melbourne University, as well as the proposed evaluations in 1984, 1989, and finally

an evaluation which was to report by May 1993 which was titled (in draft form) "A Comparative Cost Effectiveness Analysis of the Rental Housing Co-operatives Program".

Over time, cost effectiveness began to be used by the housing rights sector itself as a reason for expanding such programs. For example in the evaluation consultations for the federal program, a co-op in Queensland states that "The SHA has to consider the various and many advantages of co-op housing over Commission housing, particularly cost benefits for them" (p.76). National Shelter documents however, still tend to reflect the social values, such as tenant involvement and empowerment above those of cost effectiveness (e.g. National Shelter, 1994, 1989). However, some community housing sector documents do refer to cost effectiveness positively (e.g. Oikos, Vol.1 No. 4 p.6). Whilst cost effectiveness per se is not overly stressed, the concern with so-called "viability issues", which pervaded the contributions from the community housing sector at the 1994 National Conference on Community Housing, suggests that the principles have been accepted. The following quote, for example, is from a session facilitated by National Shelter, "community housing organisations must be able to pay their bills through recurrent funds. For the majority of cases this is from rents.." (Community Housing Conference Papers 1994, p59) and "Every housing association... has the capacity to access the entrepreneurial talents of the community in which it operates... can lead to better exploitation of available resources and attraction of resources" (Mason 1994, p.10).

A difference is evident in the views of the original Victorian policy community, which emphasised tenant empowerment and control, and the federal policy community, in which the aim of empowerment of tenants was subordinated by vaguer references to "tenant participation". It is this latter formulation which is evident in the language which is now used to describe the benefits of community housing. The emphasis on efficiency and effectiveness means that self help has now become conflated with cost-cutting in community housing. This has now become all-pervasive in the language used in describing the benefits of community housing.

Similarly, with the concept of choice, although it appeared early in the language of the policy community, it seems to have been more related to Kemeny's policy prescription of creating an alternative to public housing and home ownership (e.g. Rental Housing Association pamphlet 1976, p.4, Brown 1979, p.19). In the housing rights movement in Victoria, as has been shown, there was also considerable support for the co-op program as a means of meeting housing need, rather than as a way of providing choice. The practical aspects of co-ops, the right to decorate etc., seem to also have received more emphasis (e.g. Wettenhall 1982, p.9). Choice was also often associated with practical ideals, such as the right to choose the dwelling, and that dwelling's location (e.g. Brown 1979, p.19). But over the period under study, appeals for housing choice seem to have become more prominent. Housing choice was not a prominent objective for the federal program (Purdon Associates 1989, p.7), but it appears as a major objective for the Community Housing Program (National Community Housing Program Conference Papers, p.1).

Part D: From Community Housing Principles to Vouchers 1992-1996

"A Move for the Best"
Title of article by Brian Howe justifying move to voucherisation announced in Prime Ministers "Community and Nation" address in December 1995. The Age, 21/12/95, p.11.

In this period, several key events have occurred in housing policy. In 1992, the National Housing Strategy research was reported in a series of publications. Amongst many recommendations, one of the major ones was to increase 'social housing' (National Housing Strategy 1992a, p.118), a term which had in the Australian context is being used to try to capture the breadth of not-for-profit housing provision. This was already occurring with the establishment of the Community Housing Program. Funding attached to this in 1994-95 was $61 million, compared to the Local Government and Community Housing Program funding of $24.5 million in 1991-92. However, even at the increased level, the funds for community housing still represented only about 5% of total CSHA funds.

The orientation of the housing rights movement to the Labor Party in office and to the incoming Liberal governments is worth examining to see how the current orientation to the Howard Government is likely to proceed. Shelter Victoria resurrected People for Public Housing in 1993 after an absence through the late 1980s and planned a trip to Canberra at Budget time, and was again protesting at the Home Show in Melbourne (Shelter Victoria Newsletter, November 1993, p.22). However, it was also reporting nationally that the Victorian Liberal Government "maintains a commitment to housing that is appropriate and affordable, at least proving the Liberals were listening to something the community sector has been saying" (Shelter- National Housing Action, Summer 1992, p.35). In fact, this formulation represents a reduction of the aims of the housing rights movement to what had become official government policy under the ALP, that is appropriate and affordable housing (National Housing Strategy 1992b, p.3). It was this weapon, ALP policy, with which they signalled their orientation to the Liberal Government. Similarly, in response to the Greiner cuts of the late 1980s, Shelter NSW contributed that they needed to "try to develop a more open approach... that means speaking to people in the Liberal Party and the National Party... there is no other choice" (Nicolades 1988/89, p.65). Similarly in the federal sphere, the National Shelter worker espoused the importance of participating more on Government reviews as a way of effecting change (Shelter Victoria Newsletter June 1994, p.11).

The rhetoric and principles of market-driven policy making has certainly become currency within the community housing policy community, to judge from the 1994 Community Housing Conference Papers. However, the research findings show that such principles had always been part of the vocabulary of the community housing policy community. However, the prominence of such principles has increased over the time period examined. The research findings show that the "residual welfare state" has become the dominant paradigm in the housing rights movement, for example "a larger public and community housing sector would be an important guarantee for those whose opportunities in the private market are reduced by economic and social circumstances" (Pintos-Lopez 1992, p.25). This is in contrast to the diverse and at times conflicting views of the earlier policy community.

A good indication of the changing attitudes to market-driven policy solutions, and their increasing favour, is the attitude to voucher schemes over this period. In the mid 1970s, the Fraser government embarked on setting up a housing voucher experiment, known as HAVE. The scheme was to pilot the granting of direct housing subsidies to selected low income families so that they could spend them in the market as they wished, but ultimately it did not get off the ground. As part of his policy prescriptions, Jim Kemeny supported the "voucherisation" of housing assistance, stating that

> "the experimental voucher scheme as a means of providing social service benefits to low-income private tenants is a move in the right direction since it could pave the way for public housing to shed its welfare functions" (1978, p.67).

By this, he meant that vouchers could be one way of re-directing subsidy away from home ownership to expand a cost-rental sector. Brian Howe also supported the scheme, condemning its abolition in 1978 (The Age 28/6/1978). However, the housing rights sector at that time generally did not support the scheme (Morgan-Thomas 1994, pp32-33).

One of Brian Howe's last tasks in office was to re-introduce the notion of vouchers, and he used the rhetoric of "tenure neutrality" to do so, but with an important difference. This time, the neutrality was only to be between two tenures, public and private rental, and did not include neutrality of subsidy with home ownership. This policy has been enthusiastically taken up by the new Liberal government, and it is proposed to use it to further retrench public housing programs, through ending capital subsidies to state governments (Eager 1996, p.12) .

Although officially the housing rights sector seems to oppose voucherisation, it is likely that the acceptance of the dominant policy paradigms of a residual welfare state and increased targeting of assistance, together with a strategy which relies primarily on dialogue with the Government in power, could lead to an eventual acceptance of voucherisation. That there was some acceptance of the voucher approach early in the formulation of community housing principles has laid open the way for broader acceptance in the policy community, when these policies were being pushed more intensively by government. Obviously, one of the keys to this change has been the role of Brian Howe, firstly as a member of the early policy communities and then as a government Minister. The housing rights movement of the earlier period saw a clear conflict between vouchers and "more and better public housing", but because of the extent of the acceptance of "market principles" within the sector today, this conflict is no longer clearly espoused. The interests of the housing rights movement and the community housing sector are no longer necessarily the same.

Finally, since the Liberal Party took office in March 1996, there has been a series of indications as to how it intends to approach public housing policy. Not only is it keen to take on the voucher proposal, but it is also intent on ending capital funding to public housing (Eager 1996, p.12). There are campaigns developing amongst the housing rights movement to resist this approach (Eager 1996, p.12). The end to capital funding is a threat to both community and public housing. The Howard government has made a judgement that it needs neither. The capacity of the current housing rights movement to respond to such an attack is currently being severely tested.

Summary

It can be seen that the original aims of the housing rights movement in promoting community housing principles were not fully realised in the formulation or implementation of the two programs under scrutiny. By contrast, the aim of the Federal and eventually the Victorian Governments, to mobilise non-government contributions to public housing programs, both from tenants themselves and from other organisations, was relatively successful, and importantly established the principle that public housing should no longer be considered totally a government responsibility. The principle of tenant control and tenure mix which were supported by the housing rights movement, were replaced with tenant participation and a continuation of principles which promoted "social mix"- the isolation of public tenants in predominantly owner/purchaser suburbs. The notion of self help, linked by the housing rights movement to ideas of empowerment, is now firmly linked to the mobilisation of non-government contributions to housing programs and the rhetoric of efficiency. The aim of encouraging choice in housing was poorly articulated by the housing rights movement. In reality, the "choice" to live in community-controlled housing was made by tenants in conditions of a shortage of affordable housing, and many felt that in fact there was "no choice" but to accept community housing. "Choice" is now associated with "efficiency" and "flexibility". Principles of co-operation too, have failed because of the broader social context in which tenants are located and in the end, have not been enthusiastically supported by governments.

The exact processes which occurred within policy communities to "filter" ideas and forge agreement or otherwise over directions is examined in the next chapter. The political context of both economic and ideological change is sketched, and the parameters in which this and other social movements operated is outlined, in particular the growth of participatory democracy. The ideological background to the policy communities is examined in detail, by outlining the struggle over community housing principles with reference to two strategic conflicts, that of the struggle for control of the peak housing co-op organisation, and the struggle over the influence of the writings of Jim Kemeny, and also with reference to establishing the ideological background and motivations behind some key concepts which are pre-eminent in the policy formation processes examined in this chapter.

CHAPTER 4: IDEOLOGY AND PRACTICE: THE HOUSING POLICY COMMUNITIES

Part A: The Housing Policy Communities

> **"It was thought that National Shelter needed better linkages with unions and the Left to influence the Government. There was some pessimism along the lines that lobbying... will not affect Hawke and Keating's positions."**
> **Minutes of National Shelter Executive meeting, 23-24/3/85, p.2**

Introduction

This chapter discusses and analyses the policy communities which were involved with the programs in more detail. The concept of policy communities is used as a method of delineating the groups and individuals involved in policy processes. This concept is used in this chapter as a shorthand way of referring to the participants and groups as they were involved together in the policy formation process, rather than in the more definitive sense as used for example by Rhodes (1988). The final section of the chapter deals with two specific debates within the policy communities and is used to illustrate in detail the tensions and processes which occurred in the policy communities.

The group of people who discussed, formulated and then implemented both the Victorian and federal programs were relatively small. Significantly, little evidence of opposition to the programs at the time of formulation is apparent. The only opposition cited by key informants (and none is cited in the literature) is that of a small group of bureaucrats in Victoria within the Ministry of Housing, who mistrusted tenants and the community sector more generally. More than one informant suggested that this lack of opposition was due to the limited size of the group involved, so that the issues were not widely known or discussed. There was certainly no broad discussion about the program in the media, though the Victorian policies are certainly mentioned briefly in contemporary media coverage (e.g. Birnbauer, the Age 23 September 1982, p.17) .

In order to discuss the role and relationships of individual participants, the concept of policy communities is employed. The role of the networks of actors, or key agents, in policy formulation has been much contested and debated, using the framework provided by several disciplines, including political science and sociology (e.g. Rhodes 1988). Their role is an important element in the study of policy, as human actors are the connecting link between broader social forces and day to day policy making, and it is human activity which is of ultimate interest in this study. Much of the debate has occurred over the relative power of individuals, as well as the relative power of organised interests, such as farmers, the business lobby, community activists, etc. to influence the policy agenda. The role of the bureaucracy, and its relative power, is always contested.

The historical, social and political elements described in this chapter can be seen as resulting in the formation not only of outputs, such as actual policies and programs, but also of housing policy communities. The following definition, which is not unproblematic, nevertheless is useful in conveying an initial sense of the concept of policy communities:

VRHCP- The Policy Community

Early policy community
D Scott (BSL Director)

wrote

Cost Rent Housing Associations

Scott involved

T Dalton (ALP) — Rob Carter (ALP) (Assisted in writing submission to Federal Govt)

Scott involved

A McCutcheon (ALP) (1st Exec Office, FCRHC) — Evan Walker (ALP) (Delegation to Victorian Minister Hayes with Scott)

Wider policy community:
B Howe (ALP) P Madden (ALP) J Gardner (ALP) M Salvaris (ALP) B Pullen (ALP) (influential in ALP housing policy)

J Wills (Fiztroy Social Planning Office) E Morgan (Collingwood Council social worker) N Lewis (ALP) Judi Dance (Fitzroy SPO) (periphery Fitzroy workers who supported community housing ideas)

Bureacracy:

Les Allwinton (HC Commissioner) David McCutchan (HC, then MOH) Tony Cahir (HC, then MOH)

(succeeded by)

Roy Gilbert (Director General, MOH)

recruited:

G Wettenhall (first FCRHA worker, later MOH Community Programs area)

Jane Herington (FCRHA worker, MOH head of Community Programs)

Community sector:

Shelter Victoria

Joan Doyle Irena Davis Maree Pardy (community sector/Shelter activists and co-op workers)

ALP: Australian Labor Party
FCRHC: Fitzroy/Collingwood Rental Housing Association Committee

HC: Victorian Housing Commission
MOH: Ministry of Housing (Victoria)
FCRHA: Fitzroy/Collingwood Rental Housing Assoc.

> " Policy communities are networks characterised by stability of relationships, continuity of a highly restrictive membership, vertical interdependence based on shared service delivery responsibilities and insulation from other networks and invariably from the general public (including Parliament)." (Rhodes 1988, p.78).

The concept is not an unproblematic one, especially as Rhodes' formulation is very much in the Weberian tradition placing importance on the policy-defining role of elites in a pluralist society. However, the following discussion elicits some observations which will be used in Chapter 5 to refine the concept and adapt it use within a Marxist framework.

The Victorian Policy Community

The major participants in this policy community and their professional roles and relationships are listed in Figure 2 (see page opposite).

This group shared many common characteristics. They lived and worked in inner Melbourne suburbs like Fitzroy, Collingwood and Carlton, and most were professionals. Many (about half) had contact with public tenants through their work and were involved in community campaigns, such as opposition to the high rise and to freeways. The Centre for Urban Research and Action (CURA) was also based in Fitzroy, and there were also links with Australian Frontier, a grouping of religious concerned about a variety of welfare and social justice issues. This group were certainly interested on housing issues- a seminar on low income housing was held in Adelaide in 1972 by Australian Frontier and the Australian Institute of Urban Studies. From the report of the proceedings (Australian Frontier, 1972), the list of participants looks like a "who's who" of the broader Australian housing policy community at that time: Tom Uren, Hugh Streeton, Andrew Burbidge, David Scott, Michael Jones, and Les Allwinton, then of the Department of Housing in Tasmania. Whilst the seminar did not pose many concrete solutions to the "problem" of the lack of housing for low income earners, it did recommend government control over land development and a decentralisation policy, both of which were influential policies under Whitlam. The seminar is notable in that the need for "choice" in housing is introduced and is all pervasive in the report, although it is interesting that it nowhere provides a rationale for encouraging such choice.

At the same time, Shelter Victoria was being constituted, and ALP members were also active in this organisation (e.g. Dalton and McCutcheon), as were independent activists. This intertwining of ALP members and independent activists within the policy community became a familiar pattern. For example, pressure within and on Fitzroy Council from ALP and independent councillors resulted in the setting up of the Social Planning Office (October 1976), which delivered Council's Community Services as well as acting as a base for a number of community organisations, including Shelter Victoria.

Terry Burke (1988, p.212) sketches a useful diagram of the organisational players influencing public housing policy in the 1970s and early 1980s in Victoria. He mentions state and local government, the voluntary/community sector and the private sector. This could be considered the broader housing policy network, and elements of it formed the basis of the policy community for the Victorian program. However, he omits the ALP housing policy committee as a specific organisational player. It is correct to say that the elements of the policy committee were drawn from those broader ranks, e.g. Shelter, professional groups, but the research findings show that the policy committee was a specific source of policy formulation in its own right.

In summary, those who participated in the policy communities for these programs could therefore be characterised as:

. planning professionals
. welfare agency representatives
. housing rights activists and groups
. ALP members
. academics

Most of the people involved belonged to more than one of these categories, and there was especially an overlap with ALP membership in Victoria. Thus, the views of the policy community influenced the broader policy networks they were involved in, including the professions, welfare agencies, etc. as those involved recounted their experiences in the policy community to their colleagues (see e.g. Wills 1985, p.39). This was an important mechanism for gaining broader support for innovative policies.

As this account and the documentation shows, the ALP became involved in community activities and emerging "social movements" such as housing and freeway resistance. In an exchange of letters in early 1977, Race Matthews suggested to State Secretary Hogg that work with public tenants afforded the ALP an "ideal opportunity for applying the classic 'educate, agitate, organise'" approach amongst tenants and that it would be an ideal recruiting ground, as well as a chance to organise a "truly effective tenants association, oriented to work in close harmony with the Party at all its levels" (State ALP papers, correspondence, 23/2/77).

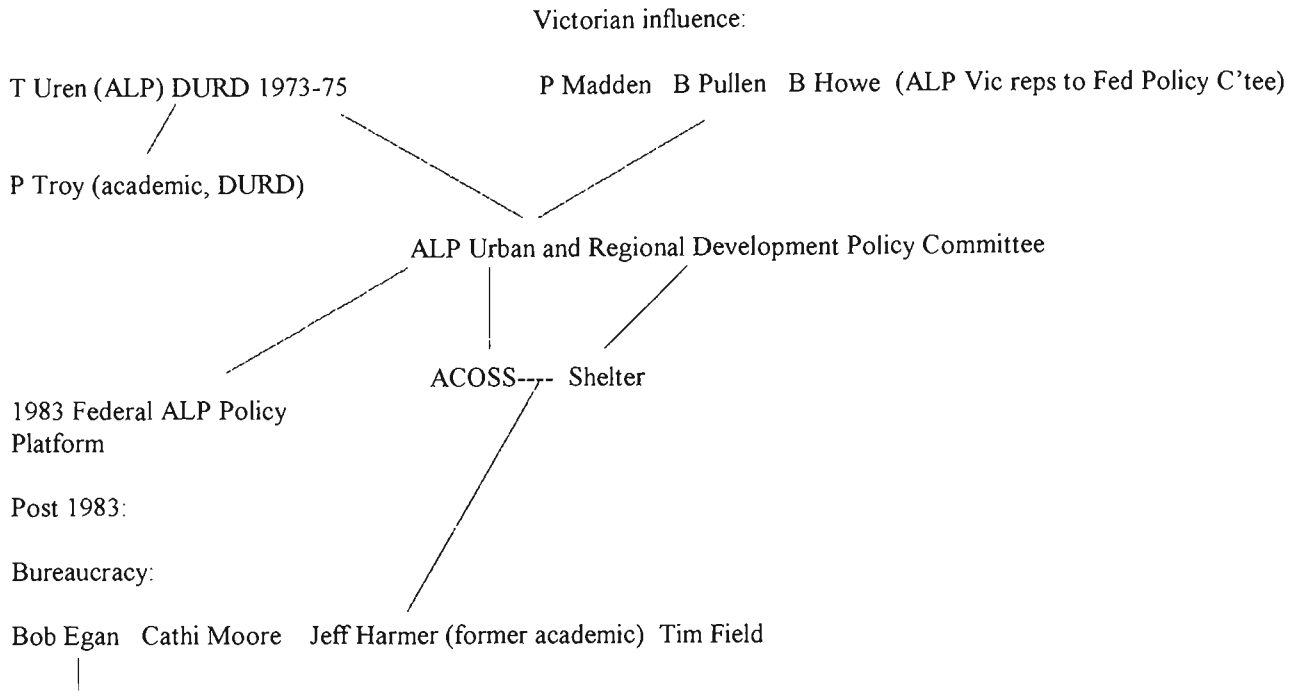
Interestingly, the majority (if not all) of the key informants who are or had been ALP members mentioned as influential of housing policy and the housing rights agenda, were professionals. For example many of the original professional participants in the Fitzroy/Collingwood Rental Housing Association were in the ALP, (Policy Committee Minutes, State ALP papers). Andrew McCutheon is a good example. An architect, he had also been a Methodist minister and lived and worked with public housing tenants for a number of years. He had been part of Australian Frontier, with Brian Howe. He had been a member of the ALP since 1965 and a Collingwood councillor. He was very active in community and social movement politics, and was a Chairman of National Shelter.

At the time the Victorian program was being formulated, public housing tenants were themselves beginning to be organised into groups, such as the Public Tenants Union. Governments were now beginning to consult those at whom their policies were aimed and their advocates. An important example of this is the Henderson Poverty Enquiry which reported in 1975, and this report highlights the differences in views between tenants and those more closely involved in the policy community.

Whilst it surveyed the empirical evidence of poverty, and the effects of government programs on its amelioration, it also canvassed the views of the Housing Commission Tenants Union, formed in 1973 and the forerunner group to the Public Tenants Union of Victoria. Andrew Burbidge, who worked for CURA was also a researcher on the Poverty Inquiry, and it is undoubtedly through this mechanism that alternative mechanisms for housing low income earners were put on the wider national agenda for discussion. The Poverty Inquiry recommended that cost rent housing associations be

LGACHP - The Policy Community

Early policy community (ALP Platform):



Community Sector:

Shelter (Tony Dalton (Vic, ALP), Chairperson through this period, Rae Porter)

supported by:

Vic Shelter (e.g. Joan Doyle) SA community sector (e.g. Greg Black, M. Hill) NSW (Dick Persson)

Advisors to ALP State Ministers/ Shadow Ministers for Housing :

Rob Carter (Vic, ALP) Greg Black (SA) Dick Persson (NSW)

Federal Minister:

Chris Hurford (1982-83)

Tim Field (advisor 1984-86)

examined for low income housing provision (1975, p.176). By contrast, the consultations with tenants showed that tenants wanted more control over community facilities (not their housing per se) and took a tenants rights approach, that is that they wanted the Housing Commission to be more responsive to their needs, and to be able to engage in wider community activities to break down the stigma associated with public housing (Appendix B, p.82). The tenants consulted do not mention tenant-controlled housing programs.

However, groups such as organised Commission tenants who wanted to achieve certain outcomes, were obviously ripe for input from professionals, who, as has been shown, were actively working with them at the time. To the extent that public tenants were involved in Shelter, (especially the state Shelters and especially Victoria), it could be argued that they formed part of the policy network. But they certainly did not figure largely in the detailed discussions held by the Victorian policy community. This feature is discussed again in the concluding section to this chapter on the peak housing co-op organisation, where it is clear that as tenants became more conscious of the broader context in which they operated, they were less tolerant of such patronage from professionals and of interference by bureaucrats.

The Federal Policy Community

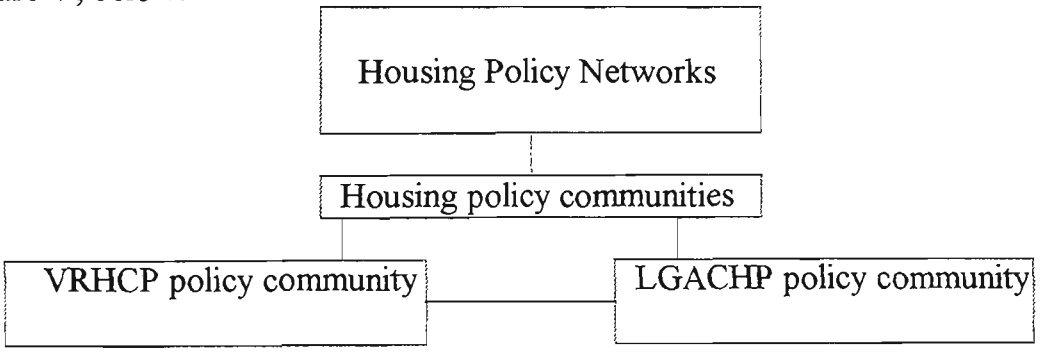
The federal policy community can be characterised as having relied on elements within and close to the ALP. As such, this policy community was much narrower than that which was involved in the Victorian policy process. Two key informants noted that because the program essentially came from the ALP, there was not really an issue about support or opposition to the program. The federal policy community is outlined in Figure 3 (see page opposite). This shows that similar groups were involved as those with the Victorian program, including Shelter Victoria. The involvement of the housing rights movement in this case however, occurred in a different, more centralised way, undoubtedly related to the national character of the program and the difficulty for the housing rights movement to intervene effectively at a national level, but possibly also related to the different characters of Shelter Victoria and National Shelter. At the national level, Shelter appears to have confined itself largely to lobbying the ALP and responding to ALP proposals, rather than for example, organising public tenants in campaigns to extend public housing, which became a characteristic of the Victorian housing rights movement. Shelter Victoria had its own working groups and public housing campaigns to strengthen its demands for inclusion in the policy community and ultimately for policy change. For example, it was Shelter Victoria who annually co-ordinated the trips to Canberra under the banner "People for Public Housing" to place demands on the federal government, and not National Shelter, who are in fact based in Canberra.

The influence of the Victorians on the federal policy arena is attested to by all key informants, and submissions and comments from Victoria dominate the correspondence on the federal program files. "The push came from Victoria", commented one key informant. This section documents the relationship between the Victorian ALP housing policy development process and its influence on the federal sphere. In addition, minutes of a National Shelter meeting noted that "National Shelter's position is frequently only that (of) Shelter Victoria" (National Council meeting minutes, 23-24 March 1985, p.2). This is a key point, that it was the Victorian policy community, *as mediated through* the Victorian ALP and National Shelter, which was most influential.

Victoria was also heavily represented on the federal ALP policy committee. As foreshadowed above, this encapsulates one of the essential differences between the two policy communities. The Victorian policy community conducted its work through a variety of fora, including, but not limited to the state ALP policy committee. Seminars were held, newsletters written, a working group was formed under the umbrella of Shelter Victoria. By contrast, much of the work leading up to the adoption of the federal program, was conducted almost entirely through the federal ALP policy committee. There had been early discussion and mention at housing rights sector conferences of the need for such a program, usually linked to housing co-operatives, but National Shelter in particular seems to have concentrated its efforts mainly on influencing the policy committee. This is a significant difference, and one of the concrete outcomes of this was that the federal program was not very successful in states which lagged behind in terms of thinking about innovative housing provision. By contrast, because there was a policy community with links to program providers in the community sector, there was no lack of enthusiasm or submissions for the Victorian program, especially initially (pre- CERC period). However, from the beginning of the federal program, much effort went into developing submissions, especially from local governments, and a key informant commented that one of the reasons behind re-formulation of the program into the Community Housing Program was the lack of submissions coming forward, and therefore it was difficult to argue for increased funding based on increased demand.

Similarities Between the Two Policy Communities

The specific policy communities involved in the formulation of both programs is outlined in Figure 4 , below:



It outlines a schema for representing the relationship between the two early community housing policy communities and also the wider, more general policy community, as well as the broader policy networks. The broader policy networks are classified as those which constitute all possible players, including all sectors which may wish to influence housing policy. The housing policy communities are those players who come together over specific policy formulation tasks, which may operate over time. The early community housing policy communities are an example of this latter category.

From the documentation and the interviews, it is clear that there were few participants who were involved from the beginning to the end of the policy process, though some were involved for long periods. Whilst the membership may not have been stable (to refer back to the definition quoted at the start of this section), it is clear that the *types* of participants were very similar over the entire period. As noted above, both policy communities were much narrower in composition than those involved in broader community housing policy networks, but more importantly perhaps, they were narrower than other housing policy communities, for example that involved in formulating home

ownership or urban policies. This reflects several themes. The first is the more specialised nature of the policy material, and the lack of familiarity with ideas of self management in these broader networks, or society generally, particularly in relation to housing. Secondly, a "top down" approach to policy development is reflected, as has been shown, which had little influence from the people for whom the policies were being formulated, i.e. tenants or potential tenants.

Of those key informants who entered the bureaucracy from the community sector or academia, some felt that they had attempted to inculcate the communities' values in the bureaucracy, and there is some evidence that this occurred, for example, with the initial support for a tenant control model in the co-op program and the setting up of the CERC model, and closer involvement of the housing rights sector in ongoing program implementation (e.g. National Shelter's conducting of the consultations for the federal program evaluation). None of those are now involved in the housing bureaucracy, though still in the delivery of human services, and most expressed some frustration in dealing with the demands of the community sector once they had entered the bureaucracy, and clearly saw some demands as unrealistic, divisive or hostile to the bureaucracy. Similarly, of those non-academics from the housing rights sector who did not enter the bureaucracy, none of those are still involved, and all expressed some frustration in dealings with the bureaucracy, for example the struggle over the control of CHAS, the secondary resourcing co-op.

Other similarities show the influence of overseas experience and ideas on the policy communities. Many of the key informants involved in the policy communities recounted how they had travelled overseas and had there encountered examples of community housing principles at work. This was the case not only with David Scott, who provided the initial impetus for the Victorian program from his overseas trip, but also Gib Wettenhall, who went to Canada, Rob Carter, who went to England and Scandinavia, and in the federal context with Cathi Moore visiting England, all of whom participated in the early national Shelter network. All cited the influence of these trips in formulating their support for the policies. It is no coincidence of course, that this group were newly emerging professionals, academics and bureaucrats, with access to the kinds of funds necessary to undertake such travel. The inner Melbourne freeway and housing protests were characterised by the alliance between professionals and grass-roots and local activists. This mirrored experience in other protest movements at that time, both in Australia and overseas.

The housing policy networks of the 1970s were influenced by the aftermath of the radicalisation and community based local activism which had characterised much of the contest over policy formation in the 1960s (the most notable example cited here being the freeway and high rise protest activists). It is no coincidence that many of the key non-bureaucratic players involved in the formation of housing policy in the 1970s had been directly involved in such activity. These included the housing rights movement activists and those in the ALP. Bureaucratic players had little choice about whether they were involved in the specific policy formation under discussion, or the broader parameters of their involvement, though some, like Cathi Moore and Jane Herington applied for jobs because of a specific commitment to housing policy. Others (more the norm), like David McCutcheon, who had been in the housing bureaucracy all his public service life, were just there at the "right time". It was however, a significant feature of the bureaucracy at this time that several housing rights activists were drawn into the bureaucracy, as can be seen from Figures 2 and 3.

Policy Communities: Not "Who", but "How"

The above discussion shows that those involved in the policy communities came from varied backgrounds and experiences as well as ideological frameworks. However, what this does not detail is precisely how the meaning of concepts and the watering-down or changes in previously agreed positions occurred. This is more difficult to glean, since seldom does the literature yield any of the flavour of debate around actual content at key moments. The research findings show that there was a definite struggle over the meanings of certain concepts, but only occasionally is the flavour of debate preserved, for example, in official minutes of the policy committees. Perhaps it is surprising that any of this flavour has survived, yet some has, for example in a debate over why home ownership continues to receive support and whether it should, reported in the Minutes of the federal ALP Urban and Regional Development Policy Sub-committee (10/11/78).

Morgan-Thomas's necessarily broad-brush account of National Shelter over the past twenty years, is also unable to shed much light on this process, apart from illustrating some key written debates, for example, those in the National Shelter journal. The process of incorporation of key individuals through the policy process, the involvement of policy communities with bureaucrats in forging agreement as to the way forward, is undoubtedly the mechanism through which this is achieved. The view of the policy community which comes through the evidence is of an essentially undemocratic process, in which key players, often known to each other and part of the same professional or political networks, are able to influence the policy process, with little accountability built into the process. Some of the housing rights movements' organisations did attempt to generate accountability, for example through policy-making conferences, position papers which "delegates" were then bound to support. Certainly this was the case with the co-ops- there is ample evidence in the literature of their democratic basis. However, the co-ops and associations themselves were quite far from the policy process, particularly in relation to the federal program.

The research shows that the input of the various housing rights organisations occurred mainly thorough the involvement of Shelter Victoria and at the national level, National Shelter. It also shows that tenants themselves were generally far removed from the policy process. However, a comparison between a contemporary account of a national conference in 1977 and the one which survives in Morgan-Thomas's article does give some insight into how some perspectives may have been marginalised in the rush to achieve a unified housing rights sector position, and one moreover, which would be an acceptable basis on which to bargain with governments.

The "Housing and the Community Conference" was held in Canberra on 27-28 March 1997, and sponsored by National Shelter jointly with the then federal portfolio department, the Department of Environment, Housing and Community Development. A brief account the conference is provided in the Morgan-Thomas' article, and an account from an attendee from Victoria, Arthur Faulkner, was printed in 1978 in Ekstasis, the journal of the Centre for Urban Research and Action. Morgan-Thomas's account paints a picture of a conference which drew "together a whole range of interests either currently involved or wishing to be involved in the formulation of housing policy" and "the key characteristics of the development of effective housing policy- dialogue, participation, and confrontation" (1994, p.32).

In contrast, Faulkner's account is of a conference which effectively marginalised "grass roots groups" (it is unclear precisely which groups he was referring to, but it is likely he meant tenant or other housing consumer-based organisations) and it asserts that a consensus about policy was constructed, based on the manipulation of proceedings and undemocratic processes (1977, p.26). Because the conference was jointly sponsored, he states, and as such was not an "official Shelter conference", "participants had no power to shape proceedings" (p.26). In addition, "the conference organisers were able to develop de facto policy without formal authority... using the traditional meetings procedures the conference was able to arrive at a consensus of views" (p.26). He adds that he would find it "difficult to believe that these views will not be conveyed to the relevant ministers, department people, etc., ... in practice, they will represent the actual views of Shelter, particularly in the absence of alternative views" (p.26).

Whether the account is biased for some personal reasons, and what the alternative views he refers to, is a matter for speculation. Faulkner's name does not appear in other documentation relating to the Victorian policy community. However, his account does throw up some important considerations. Firstly, it shows that the official face of the housing rights movement hid some important differences within the sector, and secondly, that co-operation between the government and housing rights sector in the policy community had become an important strategy to the housing rights sector. Finally, it shows the it was not only debate which was used to change the parameters of discussion and marginalise particular views, but that manoeuvring over rules was also used as a method of bringing about "consensus".

The literature of the housing rights movement since the late 1980s is peppered with bewilderment and indignation at the perceived abandonment of the sector by the ALP in government (e.g. Marston 1994; Scates 1987; Porter 1989). Although there is some soul-searching reflecting on the differences between the movement then and now (e.g. Bennett 1988/89), there is no sense that the movement has gone beyond this - instead, there is a more vigorous discussion about lobbying the Liberals as the new primary strategy (e.g. Nicolades 1988/89).

The Involvement of the Housing Rights Sector in the Policy Communities

A generalisation can be made from the research findings that few participants in the policy communities, whether as groups or individuals, relied solely on their position within the policy community to influence policy-making, that is, on merely being a member of the community. The relative influence of their status within the groups involved was also a factor. For example, Andrew McCutcheon was very influential in the ALP, ultimately a Government Minister, and had been Chair of National Shelter. Similarly with Brian Howe in the federal policy sphere. Those key informants who crossed from the housing rights sector to the bureaucracy had a certain status in then negotiating with the sector, maintaining as they all did that they had the best interests of the sector at heart whilst working within the bureaucracy.

The housing rights sector certainly did not rely solely on its position within the community, but employed other strategies also to influence policy-making. Rents strikes were used, both in public and in private housing, for example in St Kilda between 1981 and 1983 and in Fairfield in 1986 (Mowbray 1987, p.14). However, their use was not widespread. As with other social movements in Australia such as the peace and environment movements (as shown by Burgmann 1993), it attempted to show it had

grassroots support for its policy proposals, and called on its constituent members to demonstrate this through direct action, but only at certain times, such as around the Budget. The resulting events and displays are what could be termed activist politics, and were mostly aimed at reminding those in power of the potential political fallout, mainly through adverse publicity, of not acceding to their demands, and the possibility of a destabilising of the political consensus.

In reviewing the documentation associated with the programs and in interviewing the key informants, the researcher has attempted to investigate the relative balance between the various strategies. To concentrate only on the involvement in formal policy-making, such as through policy committees and conferences would give a very one-sided view of the activities of the housing rights sector, and of the influences operating within the policy community.

Activity-based campaigns were a feature of housing rights organisation form the beginning. "Community activism was a feature of the 1970s as Australians realised they wanted and could organise themselves to lobby governments and decision makers" (Morgan-Thomas 1994, p.28). In her brief history of National Shelter to celebrate 20 years of the organisation, Morgan-Thomas delineates the main strategies of Shelter's activity. These are lobbying and policy participation, activist campaigns, conferences and a national journal, Shelter- National Housing Action. Although activist campaigns are mentioned as significant at the beginning of Shelter (for example, the anti-development activity in inner Sydney), it is the debates in the journal (for example, over taxation treatment of home owners) and the formal policy involvement which receive more emphasis after that period (Morgan-Thomas 1994).

The history of the Victorian housing bureaucracy, New Houses for Old, documents many examples of activism, especially in the years up to 1985. At the same time that Shelter was participating in policy fora with government and academia, activism continued through the vehicle of People for Public Housing. This organisation was run from approximately 1980 (beginning life as a Shelter Victoria committee, the Defend and Extend Public Housing Committee) to the late 1980s, and then revived in 1993, as a non-funded activist-based campaign. It organised activities such as an annual protest outside the Home Show in Melbourne, and an annual trip to Canberra to protest and lobby for increases in public housing in the lead up to the Budget, as well as smaller protests in suburban areas, such as over resistance to public housing at the local level. In addition, there were long-running disputes with the housing bureaucracy and Victorian ALP government over evictions from public housing, which were sometimes physically resisted by activists, and other policies (e.g. transfer and priority allocation policies) considered as repressive.

It may well be telling that this activism has not yet made it into the history of the housing movement. Of course, it may simply be a reflection of the experience, possibly not activist-oriented, of those who are writing such histories. Alternatively it could be a reflection of the relative importance placed by the housing rights movement, or its formal bodies, such as National Shelter, on policy participation and activist campaigning. Activist campaigns certainly became an increasingly minor tactic employed by the movement over time. The following summary of the situation of the current housing rights movement was made in the "Shelter Victoria Report" in the National Shelter Journal:

> "Our focus has traditionally been on the need for more and better public housing. In the 1970s Shelter Victoria was comprised largely of a group of housing activists. The Liberal Government was clearly the enemy.... Labor Governments have thrown us into confusion by promising the world and not delivering and by appointing fellow activists to positions in the bureaucracy and even to ministries... there has also been a proliferation of housing workers paid to do a job, but who have to apply bandaids on behalf of the Government and who are less politicised, in many cases, than the old activists" (Bennett 1988/89, p.57).

The relative balance between the strategies of activism and full participation in the policy community and the work of the state is also reflected in the absence of public tenants from the policy communities, except on the periphery. In contrast, tenants were an important feature of the protests and demonstrations initiated by the housing rights movement.

Part B: Housing Policy Communities and Ideological Struggle: Two Studies

Case Study 1: The "Kemeny Debate" and its Influence on Housing Policy

"Much of the discussion centred around the problems of home ownership and the need to emphasise public sector housing as a worthwhile alternative." (Minutes, ALP Urban and Regional Development Policy Committee, 8-9/11/81).

The debate over the academic, and to some extent more populist writings of Jim Kemeny on Australian housing policy, is instructive as a case study of how ideas were assimilated and supported and promulgated by the housing rights sector, and what influence this was able to have on the eventual outcome of policy formation processes.

Two arenas of Kemeny's criticism are important here. The first is his critique of government policies which favoured (and favour) home ownership in Australia. The second, which is linked, is his prescription for a non-profit housing sector, created by basing a publicly owned housing sector on the "cost rents" of public housing, and the related policy stance of "tenure neutrality" whereby government policy would cease to favour home ownership and begin to properly resource publicly owned housing (Kemeny 1978).

The policies of Shelter Victoria, National Shelter and the housing rights sector were heavily influenced by Kemeny's writings. The academics involved in Shelter subscribed to his views (e.g. Carter 1983, p.9). Andrew McCutcheon, then Chairperson of National Shelter, stated his support for Kemeny's policy prescriptions at a housing seminar in 1976 (Jones et al., 1976). Burke comments that the logic of Kemeny's arguments was accepted "somewhat uncritically" by housing activists and academics in Victoria, and used as the basis for campaigning for a bigger and better public housing system (1988, p.241). The struggle both within and outside the ALP, to reflect Kemeny's research in ALP and then in government policy, began in the late 1970s and is reflected in the policy formation processes under study.

Kemeny's views on the origins of growth in home ownership are outlined in Chapter 1.

It is necessary at this stage to further expand on the details of his arguments. Kemeny argued that far from remaining a residual welfare sector, that public housing could be expanded into a cost rental sector. This was argued on the basis that the historical provision of low interest loans for public housing construction to the States, and the retention of old housing stock which had been "paid off", meaning that public housing is intrinsically cheaper to provide than that constructed in the private market (Kemeny 1978, p.67). Therefore, if rents in the public sector were based on this "true cost", then the competition engendered by a lower cost sector would introduce a more attractive housing tenure to home ownership to the Australian housing landscape. It need not be restricted only to low income earners and would thereby sweep away the political support for home ownership (Kemeny 1978, p.70) and institute "tenure neutrality" whereby large scale subsidy of home ownership would not be needed. He compared the situation with some overseas examples of advanced capitalist countries, notably Sweden, the Netherlands and West Germany where a large cost rental sector has developed (Kemeny 1978, p.68).

There is no doubt that such a policy would work, as it has overseas, and would provide a cheaper housing sector. But its credibility was (and is) not at issue. What is at issue is the extent of political support for such home ownership, and the consequent lack of support for any alternatives.

Kemeny's major contribution to housing policy analysis is his exposure of the extent to which owner occupation is the favoured tenure in housing and the extent to which government policies (including taxation) support this situation. Home ownership subsidies have been a feature of every Commonwealth State Housing Agreement (CSHA) since the war. Support for home ownership has dominated each federal ALP policy statement on housing. For example, the 1979 National ALP Party Platform stated their intention to continue to promote access to home ownership and provide an adequate supply of low cost rental accommodation (Tom Uren's papers, Urban and Regional Development Platform, p.4). The intention was still for the rental sector to remain a residual sector, for those who could not afford home ownership, whether public or private.

Kemeny was correct in demonstrating the bias towards home ownership in government policy- post war housing policy concentrated on supporting home ownership through non-taxation of capital gains on the "family home" and through subsidies to low income earners and veterans and also at various times, to first home buyers. But following Berry's criticisms, what Kemeny's proposals ignored was the nature of the support for home ownership, and its place in the political settlement which had been reached in wartime and post war reconstruction. The availability of low interest loans was a factor, as well as the perceived security, particularly for old age, and memories of the "slum landlordism" of the pre-war era, and the rising level of wages which made home ownership possible for large numbers of working Australians. In contrast to Kemeny's pleas, home ownership was the major policy plank, the showcase of the Hayden Housing Plan, used in the lead up to the 1982 election.

However, in the late 1970s, the academics in particular, and some ALP members involved in National Shelter as has been shown, pushed on with Kemeny's proposals. The following quote from a National Shelter document illustrates well the reliance on Kemeny's research:

> " Some progress has been made in recent years in the reform of housing policy. This process stems from 2 factors. First, there has been a *new analysis* of housing policy which has made explicit the underlying inequalities and inefficiencies. Second, **a *new housing politics*** has developed around this analysis. Parties to this process have included *sections of the ALP and ALP governments, trade unions, academic institutions and community organisations"*. (National Shelter 1985, Submission on Housing Policy) (author's italics).

It is of further interest that the document from which this quote was taken was a 1985 submission of housing policy to the federal ALP Infrastructure Committee. This illustrates the attempt to influence ALP policy with these ideas. The concept of "tenure neutrality", where government policy favoured neither rental or ownership tenures, was used by both Kemeny and then Shelter to argue for an expanded public rental sector.

Under the Fraser government, a move to market rents was negotiated in the CSHA of 1978 (Burke et al 1984, p.104). This meant that public housing rents were pegged to market rates for comparable stock. This produced an incentive for well-off tenants who now paid higher rents, to move out of public housing. In turn, this had the effect of keeping public rental as a residual sector, as state governments could claim they were starved of the internal funds to generate more housing. The turn to market rents was thus one of the causes for anxiety for those arguing for the expansion of public housing. In addition, the lengthening waiting lists for public housing, as a result of growing intractable unemployment levels, was weighing heavily on the minds of the housing rights sector.

There is some evidence that serious debate on these issues occurred within the ALP. For example, at the second meeting of the federal ALP Urban and Regional Development sub-Committee in 1978, there was debate as to whether home ownership subsidy was a good thing or merely subsidised the middle class. A percentage equity arrangement for public housing tenants which could convey some of the advantages of home ownership was suggested (interestingly, a similar prescription to the 1981 Liberal Green Paper from Victoria). A case for interest subsidy to help the lower middle income earners get "off the bottom rung" was also stated. This discussion gives some of the flavour of debate within the ALP, (although minutes rarely give details of how policy positions are actually negotiated). At the third meeting of the committee, it was resolved that two Victorian draft a new policy statement which included a principle (amongst others) that:

> "In order to make public housing a viable alternative, all eligibility criteria should be abolished. Rents should be related to averaged costs of production with social welfare subsidies for low income earners" (Tom Uren's papers, ALP Policy Committee Minutes of meeting 4/12/78).

The recommendations of the Victorian ALP to National Conference included a statement on security of tenure, whether public or private, tenanted or owned (Tom Uren's papers, Series 9). It can be seen that there was a push to redraft housing policy along quasi-Kemeny lines, and that the debate had been influential. A reflection of tenure neutrality is contained in some of the wording of ALP policy documents. For example, the 1979 National Platform promises choice in housing tenure and types of housing (p.4).

It is evident that there was some push by the ALP Left, who were heavily involved in housing policy (Ray Gietzelt was convenor of the sub-committee, Brian Howe and Tom Uren were members), to bring about some structural reforms which would modify the overwhelming policy support for home ownership. Uren, in a speech in 1977, even went as far as to say that "our first objective should be to have control over production... for the home market" (Tom Uren's papers, 1978 speech on Labor's Housing and Land Policies).

From rhetoric used in some of the policy discussions, it can be seen that the ALP Left was attempting to move housing policy in what they perceived as a Left-ward direction. "Tenure neutrality" was introducing into the 1984 Commonwealth State Housing Agreement, but as Paris states "without any identifiable mechanism for ensuring it" (1993, p.199).

The push for tenure neutrality was not a success, and it is argued it misunderstood the political support for home ownership, which was based on widespread community support, itself based on long term experience with home ownership which had been maintained at high levels. Many politicians understood this. An example which reflects this analysis can be seen in a speech by Jeff Kennett, who when Minister for Housing in 1981 to a housing seminar attended by community groups, said the following to a group which included supporters of the Kemeny prescriptions:

> " We have promoted and will continue to promote the philosophy of home ownership... Recently criticism has appeared in the press that the Ministry of Housing is doing a disservice to low income earners in assisting with home ownership. It has been suggested that low income earners would prefer rental accommodation. I believe this is the attitude of the middle class; the *academics* (my italics), the social workers, those professionals, who do or may, at some stage, have the opportunity to own a home. The 10,000 welfare clients currently on my waiting list to buy a home surely demonstrate the need and a desire. If the so called rich and middle class can aspire to the security of home ownership, I believe the low income groups should have the same opportunity." (Human Resource Centre 1981, p.13)

However, the change which was ultimately reflected in national housing policy formulation is that of establishing "third sector" type programs, i.e. the Local Government and Community Housing Program. It could reasonably be hypothesised that this made it onto the policy agenda partly as compensation for the ALP Left and the housing rights sector for the defeat in the tenure neutrality debate. But because in Kemeny's prescriptions it was intimately linked with the de-subsidisation of home ownership, the form of the "third sector" again appears as residual, and as we have seen, once Labor came to power, it was watered down even further. It is the very success of this policy initiative which illuminates the failure of the quasi-Kemeny policies on tenure neutrality. For Kemeny, these two issues, tenure neutrality and the establishment of a third sector were inextricably linked- the first was the mechanism through which the second would be achieved. What the ALP succeeded in doing was "unpacking" these two notions, and presenting the resulting policy as a success for Kemeny policy advocates. Despite the rhetoric of National Shelter that there was widespread support for the "new housing politics", this was not reflected in reality or in success in changing housing policy in anything but a marginal way.

The implementation of the Kemeny policy prescriptions would require a fundamental restructuring of taxation and social expenditure, which would shift funding away from home ownership. But there was no objective basis on which to change, no mass movement supporting it, or business groups lobbying for it, or change in the finance sector such that financing of home ownership was no longer profitable- i.e. the banks were still turning handsome profits from home ownership, and Labor showed both in its election policies and subsequently that it was not willing to take on that particular sector of capital. By contrast, the establishment of the "third sector" could be done in a minor, even symbolic, way. The "third sector" which is now talked of is not the cost-rent sector that Kemeny espoused, which was based on a continually- added to public housing sector (Kemeny 1978, p.71). It could even be argued that the form of establishment of community based and controlled housing through the federal program and its successor, the Community Housing Program, *worked against* the establishment of a cost-rent sector. This is because for a cost-rent sector to succeed, it needs to be based on the historical cost of many dwellings, including those purchased long ago. The community housing programs would need rapid expansion over a short period in order for this to be effective. Instead, predictably they were funded at the expense of public housing, or at least at the same time as public housing was not being expanded to keep up with increasing need to the extent it had previously. In contrast, the public housing sector provided a ready-made avenue for the institution of such policies.

Finally, a comment needs to be made on the view that these policy prescriptions were "from the Left", as was widely claimed by the key informants. The preceding discussion shows that the ideas were more social democratic or anarchist in origin. They certainly were not Marxist ideas, as has been shown by Hayward (1986). Yet, this is a common misconception in the housing rights movement, and shows the fuzziness of thinking, of the connection between ideology and strategy. The following quote exemplifies this:

> On the right the worship of home ownership by economic rationalists leads to the dogmatic rejection of the heresy of public housing. On the left, the divine blessing bestowed by Marxists on public housing results in their condemnation of home purchase. (Oikos, 1991/92 p.2).

It would be an understatement to say that this misses the point entirely about the Marxist approach, which instead emphasises that the structures governing housing are the result of the balance of forces between labour and capital, and change in these structures will reflect the wider struggles and compromises made in the broader political sphere. As Hayward (1986) points out, there is nothing wrong with the Left supporting home ownership, if in so doing a larger share of wealth and resources can be gained for working class people.

CHAS: In and Against the State?

The Rental Housing Co-operative Advice Service (CHAS) was incorporated by Shelter Victoria in December 1981 with the aim of being a "secondary co-op". The incorporated aims were:

1. To actively promote the spread of rental housing co-ops.
2. To act as a resource base for groups wishing to set up rental co-ops.
3. To act as a focal point for the co-operative housing movement. (Shelter Victoria Newsletter, April 1982, p.10).

The overwhelming flavour of the articles about co-ops at this time were concerned with engendering a large and independent co-operative housing sector, along the lines of those established in Canada, (as opposed to the rental housing association model from Britain). As I have shown, this notion also grew out of Kemeny's policy prescriptions for a "third sector".

Following Kemeny, key informants and the literature indicates that the housing rights sector believed that it was possible to create a viable alternative sector to home ownership and rental. They believed that co-ops could combine some of the benefits of both these sectors, and enshrined in the leasing co-ops the right to decorate, fixed lower rents, the application of public rental standards, with the responsibility of major maintenance and modification remaining with the landlord. For some this seems to have resulted from a social democratic perspective, the commitment to citizen participation. Others saw such participation as the first step on the inevitable road to tenant control, control which would take the program from the state into tenants' hands. This was one source of tension, and ultimately of struggle in the process of implementing the program.

Another initial tension between those involved in the pilot program was between those who wanted to promote co-ops as an alternative sector, and those who saw the co-ops as simply a way of increasing housing provision within municipalities. This tension was reflected at the launch of the report, Just Like a Family. Some welfare workers on the original committee are considered by key informants to have held this latter view, out of concern about families who were on long waiting lists for public housing, or who had difficulty obtaining suitable housing. Of course, the two motivations were not always couterposed; it was more a question of priorities. Of the three key informants from the housing rights sector who did not enter the bureaucracy, two supported co-ops primarily for the latter reason. However, both these informants admitted a secondary interest in seeing whether co-ops could actually work.

Another tension, which appears to have developed once the pilot was extended into a program, was between those who felt co-ops needed "expert input" and those who felt tenant control was paramount. Fitzroy/Collingwood is the only co-op set up as a rental housing association, with some directors on an ongoing basis who were not tenants. Williamstown and the Camberwell Independent Living Association Co-op had transition phases, whereby some non-tenants were members of the management committee, with the intention that this be gradually phased out in favour of tenant control, according to key informants. The model which became standard in the 21 co-ops eventually funded was the tenant control model. The guidelines as set up by the Ministry of Housing were vague enough to allow this to happen; indicating that sharp divisions between those advocating tenant control and those who allowed for professional help on committees, were not perceived at the start of the collaboration.

This tension was ultimately reflected in the secondary resourcing co-operative, CHAS. It was set up to receive government funding to act as a resource for co-ops, but soon became an advocacy group which lobbied the Ministry for improvements and expansion of the program, and participated in wider action around public housing issues. The resourcing co-op became an arena for some of the central ideological struggles being played out. The central question was how to orient to government, when government funds the organisations' activities? In other words, a key question being played out was whether it is possible to criticise government policy, and distance the organisation from government control, at the same time as accepting funding.

The negotiations in 1984/85 of the MOH headlease for co-ops is widely credited amongst informants as being an acrimonious one and as having contributed significantly to the bitterness which developed in the housing rights sector/ Ministry of Housing relationship and the ultimate breakdown of such relationships over CHAS. As discussed in Chapter 3, title to properties was never handed over to the co-ops. Some saw this as the Ministry wanting to maintain too much control. There were many features of the headlease agreement which groups did not like, and some headleases remained unsigned for a long time. The co-ops initially wanted a 99 year lease as a guarantee of autonomy and security. Eventually a five year lease became the norm and the Ministry retained its own rent policy and eligibility criteria for applicants (Barwick and Hamilton 1993, pp.18-19).

All of the key informants who had been in the bureaucracy at that time mentioned or implied in interview the destructive nature of many of these conflicts, in particular with regard to what they saw as an ideological conflict played out in CHAS. One voiced the opinion that CHAS became a vehicle for lobbying for the political aims of the housing rights movement, rather than a resource to expand the co-op sector. Two bureaucrats were original members of CHAS, but it was made clear that their presence was not welcomed.

It was stated by several key informants that what had developed, as one informant succinctly put it, was a belief in "untrammelled autonomy" in the co-op sector. This belief can be seen to have developed from those involved in the campaign, mainly housing workers, who considered they were applying socialist principles of control, rather than liberal principles of tenant participation. This view, that the control by working class people over their lives could and should be extended, was overtly considered at the time to be Marxist (e.g. Wills 1985, p.41-6). It seems more likely however, that the main influence was anarchist, in line with ideas of setting up institutions beyond the reach of the state (though in this case with state funds!). Colin Ward, the British anarchist and housing activist is cited as a reference in the 1984 CHAS booklet "What is Co-operative Housing"? In any case, the formulations used in the literature are generally a mix of utopian rhetoric and social democratic principles.

It seems that the conflict reflected all of the tensions outlined above. The insistence on tenant control and the "banning" of professionals from the co-ops were anathema to the bureaucracy and to notions of accountability for public funds. The resourcing co-op was supposed to fulfil the aims of expanding the co-op sector, through education about co-ops etc., to carry out the government's agenda. On the contrary, the resourcing co-op members asserted their right to democratic decision making, without government interference in decision making processes. Once it was perceived that resourcing co-op activists were heavily involved in activities which were critical of the government (e.g. pro public housing demonstrations), rather than concentrating on the aims for which it was set up, government support was likely to be very conditional.

Ultimately, CHAS consistently refused to agree to the Ministry's conditions for funding and did not receive funding after December 1990 (Victorian Co-operative Conference Papers 1993, p.21).

Summary

The discussion and case studies show the complex nature of the "conversion" of ideology into practice and into policy. They also show how views can become marginalised, and how those in control of the policy process acted to synthesise and compromise the aims of the housing rights movement with the dominant paradigm, i.e. in the early 1980s with social-democratic values such as participation, and in the late 1980s and 1990s with economic rationalism. The lack of clarity in ideology, seemingly endemic in these policy communities, is shown to contribute to the ability of certain views to be marginalised, as the connection between ideology and tactics is poorly realised in practice and certainly not widely discussed.

The next chapter, Chapter 5, analyses the findings of Chapters 3 and 4 with respect to the research hypotheses.

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

Introduction

Whilst the findings presented in Chapters 3 and 4 give an outline of the origins of community housing principles, and the changes in ideology and consequently in policy which have been reflected in these principles, these findings are not capable in themselves of answering the questions raised by the hypotheses put forward in Chapter 2.

In order to do this, connections must be made between the ideas and policy prescriptions debated in the arena of broader social change which has worked its way though Australian society since the late 1970s and the implementation of community housing ideas in social policy. This must make the connection between the events listed in Figure 1, but not as a one-way process, but as events interacting upon each other and influencing responses. More importantly, the mapping of the role of individuals and groupings in this process is essential to determine in detail the methods by which change is brought about.

Essentially, the hypotheses postulate a progression from the political and social consciousness emanating from the radicalising experiences of the 1960s and the establishment of idealistic community housing principles, shaped through the co-option of the housing rights movement by the newly politically dominant ALP in the early 1980s, and emerging as principles re-shaped by engagement in the policy process, characterised as a political process, the changes in wider social and economic forces and the political responses to these factors, finally the resurgence of conservative policy prescriptions, labelled for discussion purposes as neo-liberalism.

In other words, there was an adaptation to broader social and economic policy exigencies at the bureaucratic level, and also in the housing rights movement which meant that the principles finally embodied in social policy were quite different to those originally envisaged by the early community housing policy communities. As the findings show, this manifested itself as the continual justification for the continuation of community housing polices in political terms, at first in "New Left" rhetoric and in the last instance, in the language of the Radical Right. This involved a change in the usage of key terms, such as choice and self help and the blurring of the definition of others, such as control. This chapter will map these adaptations and link them to broader social policy debates, as well as reflect on the roles throughout the period of key groupings and individuals.

Chapter 1 briefly outlines the Marxist approach to the state. This approach sees the role of the state as shaped by the broad and long-term needs of capital, tempered by the general balance of class forces. It also explains ideology as an expression of material conditions, and so explores social outcomes as the product of the interaction of all of these forces. It is the effects of these forces on micro social policy, such as the establishment of community housing principles, which must be analysed in this chapter. In order to test these connections, evidence would need to be present in the findings of parallel (but subsequent) change in the congruence between ideas and policy prescriptions put forward in the broader social context and policy communities, and the more finite policies and ideas which shape community housing principles.

These themes will form reference points throughout the examination of the research findings as they relate to the hypotheses set out in Chapter 2. This chapter is therefore structured as a discussion of the hypotheses, with reference to these broader themes. In order to deal with the hypotheses in depth, each is discussed with reference to the broader debates, for example, the Marxist approach to the state, drawing on the evidence present in the research findings. Thus, some of the broader questions underpinning the hypotheses will also be able to be examined and provide some contribution to this broader debate.

However, before such a discussion commences, it is necessary to briefly summarise the research findings.

Summary of Research Findings

The findings show that the introduction of community housing principles occurred in Australian public housing policy in response to several factors. First, they were a result of the influence of overseas ideas, such as those from the British rental housing associations, Canadian and Scandinavian experiences. This came about through the exposure of key policy community members to these ideas, partly through the writings of Jim Kemeny, and partly because they pursued their own interest in public housing when visiting overseas themselves.

Secondly, criticism of state housing authorities, in particular their management of housing and tenancy issues, and their approach to housing provision, especially the "estates experiments", de-legitimised them as the sole providers of public housing. This, combined with the rise of participatory democracy as an antidote to the activism and direct action of the late 1960s, meant that there was a willingness in the broader policy community to accommodate the direct participation in policy-making of those affected, in this case tenants, in policy-related decisions. In the early community housing programs, this took the form of involving tenants in the management of their housing.

The political context in which these policy ideas were circulating also played a crucial part. The formulation by the ALP of strategies to win the Victorian and then the Federal elections involved drawing in, amongst others, a layer of intellectuals, academics and activists, many of whom had begun to coalesce around the ALP from (at least) the Whitlam years, who were committed to continuing social reform and saw the advent of another period of Labor in office as a chance to continue the reforms begun by Whitlam. This is particularly true in the case of housing policy, where a link can be drawn between the urban and housing policies of the Whitlam government and those put forward by the ALP in opposition, although as has been shown, there were different emphases emerging.

In addition, the policy community attracted those from a more radical perspective than that put forward by the ALP, who viewed the process of policy formulation and implementation at that time as a chance to push policy further to the Left, such as was evident in the formulation and implementation of the Victorian Rental Housing Co-operative Program. They were influenced, amongst other things by ideas such as anarchist co-operative principles and the climate engendered by the move to engage in "revolutionary reforms" (Beilharz 1994) by the pro-Accord forces within the Australian communist movement.

Overall, however, the number of people involved in policy formulation was relatively small, and was confined to ALP policy participants and the small group of activists surrounding Shelter Victoria and National Shelter, and in Victoria also professionals from Fitzroy and surrounding suburbs. The Victorian debates and experience had a defining influence at the Federal policy formulation level.

In both the formulation and implementation of the policy ideas, particularly in the lead up to the "period of consolidation" of both programs (as outlined in Figure 1), there was debate between the different political perspectives which can be represented as social democratic through to anarchist and self-styled Marxists. This debate was an active one, and can be seen as reflected in the debates over the parameters and key elements of the programs, for example tenant participation versus tenant control and the limits to "choice" for tenants in the programs.

The period of consolidation of the programs coincided with the consolidation of the "decade of Labor" (Beilharz 1994), and the increasing implementation of the neo-liberal policy agenda, involving the transference of free-market economic policy prescriptions to the sphere of social policy, as embodied in public choice theory. This was a gradual process, which accelerated towards the end of the ALP's period in office, marked most notably by Brian Howe's call for the complete de-regulation of public housing assistance through the introduction of voucher principles.

Hypothesis 1: Change in Public Housing Policy and the Ideological Response

Hypothesis 1: The introduction of these early community housing policies resulted from responses from different ideological viewpoints converging to promote change in the way public housing was managed. These influences included housing rights activists within and outside the Australian Labor Party (ALP), the influence of overseas experiences, and dissatisfaction within the bureaucracy and middle class professions with traditional public tenancy arrangements.

Although small, the early community housing policy communities did consist of diverse viewpoints. From the interviews, it is clear that each participant had their own views about why they were participating and what could be achieved by participating. In some cases, participants had a strongly ideological viewpoint; in others whilst not articulated as strongly ideological, the views expressed were generally of the social democratic/ social liberal variety.

As examples of the variety of views, Jim Kemeny began to write about community housing principles at around the same time David Scott was investigating rental housing associations in Britain. Both came at the issue from different perspectives. Scott's perspective reflected the concerns of traditional welfare organisations with those in poverty and with lifting people out of disadvantaged circumstances and restoring dignity to the individual and families. Kemeny's perspective was an attempt to work through the inequities of "subsidies" for home ownership and to articulate a new, "radical" framework for housing which would remove housing from the speculative market. His views, as shown, had some associations with anarchist thought.

Some in the ALP clearly saw that the introduction of community housing principles could result in the ensuing models being a catalyst for change in public housing policy, along Kemeny-style lines. Housing activists not aligned to the ALP generally had a more

limited view of what could be achieved, viewing community housing only as another method of extending public housing, although at the same genuinely wanting such an experiment to work.

In the case of both programs, pressure was bought to bear on the incumbent Liberal governments to change public housing policy to allow "third sector" organisations to deliver public housing. The Liberal governments, rather than overtly encouraging such experiments, could see the advantage in fostering housing services which did not rely totally on the state for funding, but harnessed voluntary effort as well, echoing their own philosophical outlook. In essence, seems to have been viewed as a reform not to be opposed, rather than to be actively supported, and the Liberals did nothing to foster or encourage the spread of the ideas under study. This was left to the ALP, and its policy networks and supporters. This conclusion is further confirmed by the list of participants outlined in Appendix 1.

Similar educational backgrounds characterised many of the policy participants, including urban planning, social work, and other professional backgrounds. The transference of views within the policy community was aided by the movement of housing rights activists into the bureaucracy and in some case into government, either through obtaining a parliamentary position (including as Ministers in three cases) or as ministerial advisors.

In summary, the hypothesis is borne out by the evidence, though the evidence shows that the forces involved brought no simple ideological schema to their involvement, nor was there a shared understanding or consensus about the way forward, except perhaps about the "bottom line", that is to extend the influence of community housing ideas. In addition, those housing rights activists who entered the bureaucracy were able to carry the agenda of the housing rights movement with them- up to a point. However, once that agenda came into conflict with broader evolving policy imperatives, whether that be financial constraint or bureaucratic control and accountability, the difference which they were able to make within the bureaucracy became limited.

One of the strongest themes to emerge is an "anti-statism" amongst the policy communities, one almost akin to anarchism and certainly based on an idealistic world view. The differing motivations around this shared anti-statism led to differing policy conclusions and strategies for change. However, the connecting thread is a liberal critique of the state, a judgement that the state stands apart from the exigencies of economic imperatives, and either can be captured by interest groups or that such imperatives can be ignored (as in anarchism).

Hypothesis 2: The Political Context for the Emergence and Success of Community Housing Policies

Hypothesis 2: The context in which these policies were adopted was the success (and the lead up to this) of the ALP in gaining government over 1982-83 in Victoria and federally, and its strategic co-option of the aims of the housing rights movement and urban professionals.

The research findings support the view that, although the policies were initially introduced during Liberal governments, the initiative for their expansion came as a result of the Victorian and Federal ALP victories in 1982 and 1983 respectively.

Many key participants who were interviewed mentioned the fact of the ALP in opposition as a major stimulus to that party seeking out and adopting new programs of social reform. In addition, the national policy was far more modest, and it is contended that this was as a result of examining the Victorian experience of co-ops and the limitations of the program from a national perspective, as well as some particular federal factors, such as the emphasis on local government.

Ian Ward's thesis (1987) makes it clear that people from middle class backgrounds were joining the ALP in Victoria in increasing numbers, for example, nine members of Cain's first Cabinet had tertiary degrees (p.2). Although he found that there was not a shared ideological outlook amongst them, he did summarise that some of these elements were more concerned with quality of life and social justice issues (p. 143). This would seem to be confirmed by the attitudes expressed by those key informants who were ALP members and who were interviewed for this study.

The political context in which such shifts were occurring, and ultimately the context the early community housing policies emerged, was conditioned to a large extent, for those from all intellectual traditions, by the experience of the 1960s. It is little disputed, even in the non-marxist literature, that the social and hence, political upheavals of the 1960s had fundamental effects on the way citizens perceived government, representative democracy and the role of government. "It is impossible to analyse high-rise protest in Melbourne without reference to community protest occurring simultaneously world-side. This protest encompasses the black riots in the USA, the anti-Vietnam protests on university campuses both in the USA and Australia, the riots of Paris in 1968" (Burke, p221). Tony Dalton's activity against the Vietnam war was specifically linked to his involvement in Shelter in the recently published account of the history of National Shelter (Morgan-Thomas 1994, p.28). Thus, the radicalising effects of the Vietnam war protests spilled over into other struggles. As a result of this and also of the impact of the massive wave of civil rights protests in the US, the idea that democracy extended beyond the ballot box, that people could and should become involved in decisions which affect them, gained widespread currency.

Those in the ALP and their periphery were also influenced by the earlier experiments with urban rehabilitation which occurred under Whitlam. The failure of planning professionals, through such disasters as high rise housing and "slum clearance" which broke up traditional neighbourhoods had been well highlighted in overseas protests as well as in Australia, and the legitimacy of the role of planning professionals, the "technological fix" was also being called into question by social movements (Burke, 1988, p.222). There is no doubt the inner city riots made an impact on the development and modernist mentality of planning professionals. Tom Uren specifically links the motivation for urban rehabilitation schemes to planning failures, calling the Sydney high rise developments "some of the worst examples of social engineering imaginable" (Uren 1994, p.276). Andrew McCutcheon and Evan Walker represented the "new" planning professionals, those willing to engage with consumers of their products in order to develop housing solutions which were less alienating.

Little is said in the research findings or contemporary accounts about the influence of organised communist forces, yet their presence was certainly influential during the whole pre-Accord period, as they were active in unions (Laurie Carmicheal, a prominent Communist Party of Ausltraia member is acknowledged as a chief architect of the Accord), and in the other social movements (Burgmann 1993). This however, cannot be

taken as evidence that they were not influential. Indeed, as Beilharz (1994) demonstrates, what occurred at that time within the communist Left provided an important contextualising influence on Left politics of which the social movements were arguably a part.

The reaction against Stalinism encapsulated in the Eurocommunist approach, meant that the time was ripe for the participation in policy communities of those from the radical or communist Left, as Beilharz makes clear (1994). The Australian Communist Party, which became influenced by the language of "revolutionary reforms" which underpinned Eurocommunism, and the major example of this is the participation by prominent CPA members in the Accord process. Some of the policy participants in the early community housing policy communities were clearly of this mould, though none identified as members of Left parties or organisations, they certainly considered themselves as "Left independents".

The climate in which such participants were drawn to the housing policy community also needs to be sketched. Eurocommunism gained prominence in 1973 (Bottomore 1985, p.154) and its thesis was justified in particular by the Italians, through an appeal to Gramsci's views that the working class could develop an alternative hegemony in civil society, that is, where institutions under working class control would allow "workers to understand their place in the productive and social system and to develop the skills required to create a new society" (Bottomore 1985, p.194). As part of this orientation, came the view that the working class could "unify itself hegemonically on corporatist terrain" (Panitch 1986, p.193).

In this way, Eurocommunism gave intellectual credence to the possibility of the achievement of revolutionary goals through reform (Beilharz 1994, pp106-107). The tour of Stuart Holland, author of a major British Eurocommunist text, the Socialist Challenge (1975) helped to consolidate the following for this tendency (Beilharz 1994, pp106-107). As an interesting (but relevant) aside, well known Marxist economist, Ernest Mandel, toured at the same time, but his ideas were not taken up with quite the same vigour, though he gained some popular exposure (Beilharz 1994, p.110). The historic (and by this I mean historical materialist) tide had turned. As Beilharz states "By the time Mandel toured again, in 1983, ... Labor was in office and its (Left) critics were already marginal" (1994, p.110).

The time was therefore ripe for such a shift towards supporting "revolutionary reforms" to take hold in the Left in Australia. Although the roots of the ALP tradition are social democratic, or reformist, the ideas of Eurocommunism provided an important vehicle for the shift in the intellectual climate of the late 1970s, which allowed a view of the "neutral state" to become part of the intellectual culture, particularly amongst social movements, where radical and communist elements were present.

The precise formula for "extending democracy" then, was being debated amongst a host of different traditions. The spectrum of liberal/ social democratic views about how this was best accomplished within the prevailing economic system was popularly summarised at the time by Sherry Arnstein's article "A Ladder of Citizen Participation" (1969), encapsulating many of the views about how the renewed citizen interest in politics and shaping policy should be translated in practice. Arnstein herself opens the article with "The heated controversy over "citizen participation", "citizen control" and "maximum feasible involvement of the poor"..."(1969, p.216). She goes on to state "There is a

critical difference between going through an empty ritual of participation and having the real power needed to effect the outcome of the process" (1969, p.216). She goes on to define an "ideal type" of "citizen control" which could be the epitome of participatory democracy (1969, p.223). This debate is clearly reflected in the types of discussions which took place around the shape of the two housing programs, in the literature of the housing rights movement, the bureaucracy and academia. It is easy to see also that this sort of solution would fit well over time with the developing ideas of "revolutionary reforms" associated with Eurocommunism and the social democratic traditions as exemplified by the ALP, and that policy participants associated with these traditions would therefore attempt to push the formulations involved in programs to the Left, that is towards the tenant control model. This is borne out by the research findings.

There are two other intellectual traditions which were also represented in the early community housing policy communities. These were the anarcho-syndicalist tradition and the liberal traditions. In both, the non-reliance on the state is a key plank, though for different reasons. The liberal tradition saw virtue in encouraging self-reliance amongst individuals, the anarchists saw that there was a possibility for setting up a program which fostered true citizen control, without interference from the state.

The liberal tradition was clearly influenced by the upheavals of the 1960s, and this is evident in the move to incorporate participatory principles at many levels. This was justified in terms of creating a "bulwark against socialism" by reinforcing the legitimacy of representative democracy. Representative democracy became seen as necessary but not sufficient in itself, needing to be complemented by the experiences of an "enlightened, informed... citizenry" (Wharf, 1981 p.16).

One of the most well-known examples of reactions to the ferment of the 1960s is the setting up of self-contained communities, in the belief that an alternative culture and lifestyle could exist which was removed from mainstream society, that is communes and hippie culture. This belief, derived vaguely from anarchist values, is replicated in some of the contemporary rhetoric surrounding the co-op program. Though there were no policy community participants who identified themselves as anarchists (or as hippies!), it is clear from some of the interviews that these ideas were influential.

The process which unfolds in the findings shows that many intellectual traditions were represented in the community housing policy communities. The role of the ALP policy committees seems to have been pivotal role in bringing together the key players and synthesising and formulating community housing principles into a program. From the beginning, it was clear that the aim was to reflect the policies of the housing rights sector in government programs. Hence, negotiations commenced with the Liberals, but were more concentrated in relation to the ALP, partly because of the shared personnel between the ALP and the housing rights sector, and partly also because the ALP was actively seeking input from such sectors, whereas the Liberal Party was not. In the period before the ALP won office, the process of formulating and influencing ALP policy drew much of the energy of the housing rights movement, to judge by publications and submissions.

The findings also show that the original aims of the housing rights movement in Victoria were not changed to any great extent through incorporation into ALP policy. The major changes occurred in the process of then converting ALP policy into a government program, where title to property was not handed over, and the program did not continue

to expand and become mainstream. In a sense, the "deals were done" in relation to the federal program very early on, and there seems to have been more emphasis on what would be acceptable to government. Hence, the emphasis was on a range of models, and not on strict tenant control.

David Scott's original idea of creating rental housing associations similar to those in Britain was transformed into a policy based on co-operatives through the involvement of Shelter Victoria activists, and this was adopted by the ALP in essence, because of the close involvement of ALP members with Shelter and housing rights activists. In the federal sphere, the policy was adopted because of the influence of the Victorian ALP members who took the major running on drafting policy in the lead up to the 1983 election. The policy adopted did not reflect the Victorian emphasis on co-operatives, rather it opted to support a range of community housing models.

Once the ALP adopted the policies, the dominant strategy pursued by the housing rights movement was to negotiate with government over the size and parameters of the programs. Negotiations were rarely backed up by direct action at the national level, in contrast with Victoria, where they often were. This level of activism in Victoria may be responsible for the co-op program remaining intact, when there were clearly misgivings being voiced about it in the bureaucracy, most clearly evident in the de-funding of CHAS. Nevertheless, the stalemate which grew in relation to the Victorian program may also have been responsible for its stagnation, with the bureaucracy neither willing to close it down and risk the political fallout in its relationship with the housing rights movement, or to expand it.

At the federal level, growth continued to occur, but at a level which was unsatisfactory to the housing rights movement nationally, which continued to put pressure on the government for its expansion. However, the federal program also remained a residual program. The involvement of local government in the program added an extra layer of bureaucracy, slowing the process and acting as an extra filter for proposals. The program was so loosely structured that many local government projects did not embody the aims of community housing, including tenant participation, choice etc. Thus, the principles of community housing were effectively watered down through the combining of the two original local government and community housing programs.

The manner in which the aims of the housing rights movement became entwined in ALP and then government policy processes is mirrored to some extent by the experiences of other social movements. Burgmann's (1990) analysis shows that this also occurred with the environment, gay liberation and peace movements. The zenith of the housing rights movement, it could be argued, was the period from 1984-1988/89. By 1984, the rhetoric about cost rents was reflected in the CSHA, as well as better accountability of state governments, and a new co-operative program (CERC) was being planned for Victoria. The relative funding levels for National and Victorian Shelter reflect the relative strength of the housing rights movement on each stage: in 1985, Shelter Victoria received $100,000 in funding, National Shelter received just $34,000 (National Shelter Council Minutes 23-24/3/85). The 1989 CSHA had been destined to stand for ten years, but was already being reviewed in 1990 (Oikos, 1991/92, p.13). By 1989, National Shelter was forced to undertake an evaluation to justify its funding. By 1993, Shelter Victoria was receiving no core government funding.

Hypothesis 3: Ideological Convergence?

Hypothesis 3: The character of the policies was influenced by a convergence in the ideology of key players and agencies, particularly around the concepts of choice, control and self help. The policy uses to which these concepts were put changed over time as the ideological justification for such policies changed. These changes were manifested in policy change and re-formulation.

In Chapter 3, it was demonstrated that some of the key concepts identified with the early community housing programs meant different things to different participants. This section will firstly analyse the findings in general, and secondly discuss the specific concepts mentioned in the hypothesis, choice, control and self help, the investigation of which is intended to demonstrate the arguments in more concrete terms.

In summary, it is possible to say that the meaning for the participant of the terminology used was conditioned by that person's own political leanings. For example, in relation to self help, David Scott's view was influenced by the traditional liberal views of the Brotherhood of St Laurence, which emphasised self help as self-reliance, whereas Gib Wettenhall had a more "left of centre" approach, which equated self help with empowerment.

However, the hypothesis put forward in Chapter 2 that a convergence in ideology occurred would seem to assume that there was no struggle over the meaning and limits of these concepts. In contrast, the findings show that there was tremendous, even acrimonious, disagreement over meanings, and hence the aims and directions of the programs. Based on this, it is postulated that what occurred was not ideological convergence but a form of "ideological filtering".

By the phrase "ideological filtering", what is meant is the gradual marginalisation of some forms of meaning of key concepts, through compromise and negotiation over what is over time reflected in official documents, that is housing rights movement submissions and policy papers, ALP policy and government policies and program guidelines. As has been shown, the meaning of key phrases was by no means agreed at the beginning of the policy formulation process, yet by the end of the period what was reflected was a more conservative view of what was meant, at least by some of the original participants. It is contended that this filtering was aided by the continual need to justify the programs in terms which appealed to the new orthodoxy, and ultimately the dominance of market principles, that is, competition, benchmarking, comparative efficiency, etc. In addition, the policy participants who argued most strongly for the elements which are more associated with leftist prescriptions, as opposed to liberal/ social democratic, that is, tenant control, autonomy in all decision making, had left the policy community quite early in the period under study. A level of frustration was certainly evident in their response to the current policy directions, and their perception that those who stayed in the bureaucracy did not have the aims of the housing rights movement as a first priority, but were perhaps more concerned with organisational consolidation and status within the broader policy community.

One of the principles on which community housing policies was based is the extension of democratic control of people over their own lives. This principle, as demonstrated in the above discussion of Hypothesis 2, is not incompatible with the range of different

intellectual traditions. This was especially the case at the time community housing principles were introduced in the mid to late 1970s, as has been discussed above, the political experiences of the 1960s had produced reactions from both the Left intellectual and liberal and conservative traditions which accommodated such principles. Participants from all of these traditions participated in the early community housing policy communities.

Ultimately though, it was the ideas associated with participatory democracy which became dominant in the policies and programs through which community housing principles were articulated. No "revolutionary reforms" eventuated, and neither were program participants able to ignore the state's involvement as the funding mechanism, as the experience with CHAS in Victoria showed. The liberal/ social democratic tradition overtook the more radical elements embodied in the principles. It is contended that this is demonstrated in the way in which the key concepts were progressively emptied of any radical meaning through the struggles which occurred in the policy communities. Of course, the adherence to "tenant control" still persists in Victoria, testimony to the greater strength of radicalism within that policy community. It is likely that this is one of the reasons the co-op program has not grown, and that other programs have grown at its expense.

The manner in which this occurred is neatly encapsulated in the comparison in Chapter 3 between the contemporary account of the "Housing and the Community Conference" held in 1977, and the account which has filtered into National Shelter's historical account (Morgan-Thomas 1994). What this shows, and indeed this is supported by much of the evidence about the debates between bureaucracy and the housing rights movement, and within the housing rights movement, is that a process of legitimising certain interpretations was undertaken either by the bureaucracy or in debate with the bureaucracy, and other interpretations were marginalised or silenced in this process. It is postulated that the shifts in meaning which occurred mirrored shifts taking place at the wider societal level, and this becomes clearer in the following discussion of the trajectory in the meanings of key concepts, which help to demonstrate how this process happened in more concrete terms.

It is not the case, as Peel argues in his reflection on the parlous state of the movement, that it is simply a matter of packaging such ideas to "close off potential interpretations" (1993, p.20). The ideas were never particularly clear from a theoretical perspective, nor explicitly tied to strategies designed to achieve them in reality. The best that can be hoped for from lobbying, no matter how worthy the ideas, is partial acceptance. Besides, Kemeny openly supported vouchers. Ideological filtering has meant that the housing rights movement has forgotten even that.

The Concepts and Conception of Self Help and Tenant Control

From the outset, it is clear from the documentation and interviews that the phrases "self help" and "tenant control" were synonymous for some participants, but not for others. The literature of the housing rights movement is full of examples of the equation of these two phrases. For others, such as David Scott, it is clear that it was not necessarily synonymous, but that his vision was that of participation rather than control (Scott 1975).

Colin Ward, a British anarchist who has vigorously promoted co-operative housing, locates the rise in popularity of ideas such as self help and mutual aid to the period of the late 1960s (1985, p.28), and his analysis helps reinforce what the evidence presented in this study has shown, that the original popularity of such ideas had its roots in the "New Left" and social movements of that time. The views of key informants about the initiation of the policy outlined in Chapter 3 demonstrate that the conception of self help as originally conceived was linked with ideas of empowerment, particularly in the original Victorian policy community.

There was quite a strong influence of anarchist ideas in the early policy community literature, as part of a "mish mash" of New Left ideas. For example, issues were debated such as collective versus individual responsibility for housing (e.g. Shelter Victoria Newsletter April 1982, p.12), and the taking of control over people's lives away from institutions such as the state. This latter idea has some links with anarchist notions, the idea that an "enclave" away from the control of the state can be created and run by ordinary working class people: to quote one commentator, "to nurture the seeds of a new society based on ...self-regulating associations" (Birchall 1988, p.3). The debate between the two principles was a seminal one in anarchist-influenced housing literature. For example, Colin Ward discusses at length the benefits of true tenant control, as opposed to participation in When Tenants Take Over (1974, pp59-80). Some references could be found to anarchist literature in the housing rights material which was accessed (e.g. CHAS 1984), and it seems a reasonable assumption that the sharpness of the debate and formulations used derived from these sources.

However, the meaning of self help changed throughout the period under study, and from the research findings it is evident this has become linked to a more liberal/conservative view of self help as self reliance, that is, non-reliance on the state. This view overtook the earlier meanings which were part of the lexicon of the community housing policy communities. Ward, in When We Build Again (1985) is at a loss to explain why self help has become a "dirty word". He states his plight as follows: "whenever someone on a public platform eulogises self help and mutual aid, half the audience stop listening since they regard these words not merely as Conservative platitudes but as a smokescreen to conceal the abdication of government responsibilities. I cannot imagine how these phrases came to be dirty words for socialists since they refer to human attributes without which any conceivable socialist society would founder" (1985, p.27).

In contrast to Ward's bewilderment, analysis of the findings of this study demonstrates that the meaning of ideas and concepts is related to the social and political context in which they exist. They are not free-floating, but are grounded in the changing forces which underpin social and economic policy formulation. The shift from self help as empowerment to self help as self-reliance can therefore be located within wider ideological shifts. Perhaps more than this can be inferred, and that is the continuum of thought from anarchism (of at least this strand) to liberalism, as reflected in the convergence between their approaches to the state; it is a small step from the "non-statism" of these anarchists to the liberalist minimal (however defined) state intervention.

The original conception of self help relied on an active state, that is a state which was prepared to provide funding to people and groups as a basis on which to build self help. The early literature and the interviews make clear that this was not conceived by policy community participants as possible without government support. In this way, their thinking was reflective of, depending on their own intellectual tradition, the reforming

liberalism and "Whitlamism" of the early 1970s, or the "revolutionary reforms" perspective, which were based on an expansive interventionist state.

The 1980s were the period of debate about the extent of the state, as was discussed in Chapter 1. The ideology of community self-reliance and self help was linked at the time of policy formulation for the two programs with the potential for cutbacks in government funding by some commentators. Bryson and Mowbray (1981), argued governments would attempt to spread the funding load more thinly by enforcing contributions from other sectors. However, this critique was not taken up in any meaningful way by either the housing rights movement or wider social policy activists. Mowbray also wrote in 1987 that "the strong emphasis on seeing community development as about 'community self-reliance, 'institutional voluntarism' and 'doing more with less'... matches the increasingly familiar New Right rhetoric about reduction of public expenditure and contraction of the welfare state" (p.42).

The triumph of economic rationalism in the economic sphere, a gradual process whilst the ALP were in power, has now been hastened by the recent Liberal victory. The triumph of economic rationalism within the bureaucracy has been well documented by Pusey (1992). The transference of the economic language and imperatives from the economic sphere to that of social policy has been less well documented. The account of the research findings contained in this study go some way towards filling out this picture, and show how the process of engagement with the political and bureaucratic sphere over *program funding* was one of the major ways in which the *policy aims* of the housing rights movement were changed and compromised to accommodate the policy prescriptions of the economic rationalists.

Although the original program was "sold" to both the bureaucracy and ALP in terms of its potential to minimise the cost of public housing programs, this was not the major rationale given in housing rights literature for supporting the program. However, by the time the program guidelines for the Federal program were being written in 1984, this had become much more explicit. It has been shown that this more constrained approach was linked to the discovery by the new Labor government of the "nine billion dollar black hole". From this point onwards, policies began to become increasingly justified by appeals to their efficiency (e.g. Purdon and Associates, 1989 p.3) and competitiveness with other publicly funded housing programs (e.g. National Conference on Community Housing Conference Papers, 1994 p.20).

Self help in particular, has been extensively discussed by commentators associated with the resurgence of neo-liberalism, and its policy tool, economic rationalism (e.g. James 1990). Whilst it seems generally accepted that the more obvious Thatcherite policies such as privatisation and contracting of welfare services have their roots in such "Radical Right" thinking, it was still being assumed by the housing rights movement at the end of the period studied that the concepts which they themselves started out in the movement with, self help, choice and control, still meant in the policy arena what they meant to them twenty years ago. Clearly, the findings show that they do not.

For the neo-liberals, self help is equated with non-reliance on the state: "The bureaucratic, non-discretionary approach of the welfare state makes it hard to .... adjust in the light of observed effects... voluntary agencies, in contrast, are more likely to make sure the assistance comes with the sticks and carrots that actually help the poor become 'self-reliant' in the relevant sense" (James 1990, p.32). In contrast, the version of non-

reliance which the housing rights movement was attempting to engender through its support for the early community housing experiments, was provision of funds coupled with complete autonomy over decision making. This was overtaken, as has been shown, by the political "reality" of the need to be accountable for expenditure.

Finally, in addition to the growing influence of neo-liberalism through the tightening connection between economic and social policy, the influence of the practice of the ideas put forward and disillusionment in ideal notions should not be discounted. Both the federal program evaluation and Just Like a Family show the reality of tenant control and tenant participation. With tenant control, it is clear that dominance of powerful persons and cliques occurs and with tenant participation, that it can be patronising and tokenistic. In addition, the real parameters of tenant control do not extend to setting rents, for example, which are set by the funding body according to a rental formula. It also means that tenants participate in the eviction of members when required. For the state, and for tenants, too, there are obviously some advantages and disadvantages in tenant control. Tenant control can by no means be called the purest form of community management, though it may have been the most idealistic.

Tenant participation reflects an attempt to balance the objectives of tenant involvement and housing need, however, if participation is discretionary, it could be argued it can never lead to tenant control, as discretionary participation could weaken the democratic nature of decision making. The experience of the co-ops is then, that even the partial form of tenant control attempted in the co-op is only realised through coercion, that is, mandatory participation. The shift from tenant control to tenant participation has been subtly accomplished through the now interchangeable use of these terms in the literature. To quote one key informant, "the call to arms" of tenant control...was then read as ideology....now its just "sensible management".

Chapter 3 shows how tenant control has been overtaken by the more liberal notion of "tenant participation". Indeed in the case of the federal program, Victoria seems to have been the only state where tenant control was more seriously on the policy agenda through the CERC program. What became perceived as the "negative" connotations engendered by the tenant control experiences in Victoria appear to have contributed to this, in the minds of some of the key informants. Of course, the ideas do survive in Victoria, but in a very stagnant form, and one which has in reality been overtaken by a plethora of other programs.

It is postulated that the watering down of the original ideals of tenant control are partly a response to the difficulty of achieving this in practice. That is, ideas exist in the real world, because those who implement them do so in a social and political context, and this is especially so where government funds are concerned. Tenants do not control the circumstances which govern their lives, instead they are part of wider societal processes, and as was shown in Chapter 3, they do not leave behind these values just because they participate in housing co-operatives. Thus, the requirement for participation rather than control could be seen as pragmatic and possibly reflective of the real contradictions involved in tenant participation, particularly through the experiences of the Victorian program.

Housing Choice: A Concept Afloat in a Sea of Constraint

"Housing choice" is an extremely pervasive concept in housing policy, and its use certainly increased during the former Labor government. Choice has come to mean many things - choice of dwelling, of tenure type, of location of housing, and of cost of housing. The increasing policy emphasis on physical choice, for example, is related to the government agenda of minimising urban infrastructure costs (National Housing Strategy Discussion paper No. 6, 1992, p.6), a preoccupation of the Labor Left whilst Labor was in power, and related to the urban reform ideas of Tom Uren et al. The Community Housing Program also increasingly justified through appeals to the provision of housing choice (National Conference on Community Housing 1994, p.1).

Choice is not mentioned as pervasively in the literature or by key participants as an aim for the early community housing experiments, and it is clear that where it is mentioned, it is in conjunction with a quite different notion of choice that exists in the housing policy communities today. Kemeny's response in the 1970s to the dominance of the home ownership tenure was based on a call for choice in terms of an "alternative tenure", so that government policy might be engineered to favour the establishment of a third tenure, which people would choose to participate in because of its lower costs (1978, p.70). Kemeny's call for choice can be seen therefore as a strategy to break the housing policy/home ownership nexus which he saw as fundamental to housing inequality in Australia. If only a third sector could be established with lower costs through a cost rent structure, then the dominance of home ownership would be undermined. As we have seen, this did not occur due to the overwhelming political support for home ownership. It is this notion of choice which is mainly reflected in the contemporary literature relating to federal and Victorian programs.

The idea of choice is related to the primacy accorded to consumer values in western capitalist societies. It is this potential feature of home ownership which the policy participants wished to replicate in the early community housing programs, for example choice in interior decoration, dwelling type, landscaping etc. As such, this is reflective of the increasing "middle classing" of the ALP (Ward 1987), and of the underlying social democratic/ liberal assumptions about choice as a market mechanism, that is, if people are given perfect information about their choices, then they will maximise their utility, or benefit, through their choice. Hence, even Kemeny's notion of choice is based on an underlying market approach.

The research findings show that the current appeal to choice seems to be inextricably linked to engendering competition in the housing sector, but not competition as it was in Kemeny's prescriptions between home ownership and alternative rental tenures, but between *rental tenures*, that is *within* public housing and *between* public and private rental housing. The housing rights sector at the end of the period studied was saying that people need a choice of housing providers, for example, that "tenants must have a genuine choice of outcomes" (National Community Housing Conference 1994, p.67).

There were still those in the housing policy community at the end of the period with a benevolent view of what "choice as competition" means for the community housing sector. For example, the aim of "friendly competition" between housing authorities and community housing (Oikos, 1991-92 p.7) should be contrasted with the comments of one key informant, still involved in housing, that both community and public housing will

be compared in future on a cost basis and funding shifted to "whichever is the most efficient" (see also Wade 1996, p.14).

Competition between government provided and "privately" provided services (meaning both for-profit and not for profit non-government agencies), is a favourite policy prescription of neo-liberalism. It is based on a notion that government "monopoly providers" will allocate welfare inefficiently because of a lack of market principles (e.g. James 1990, p.32) . In this prescription, "choice" is linked to responsiveness to consumers, or "customers" (p.180) and the ultimate benefits of choice between service providers is competition, getting "more for less" (p.184). This is a strategy for welfare state retrenchment, and it is sold through the sales pitch of "increasing choice".

However, the concept of choice in reality exists in a climate of constraint, as shown in Chapter 3. This climate became obvious in the period of program implementation. It was evident, for example, in the debate between the Mornington co-op and the bureaucracy over the allocation of a multi-bedroom house to a single person. In addition, co-ops complained long and loud about the funding ceiling levels which constrained them into purchasing lower quality or less suitable housing (e.g. Rental Housing Co-operative Conference 1993, p.32; Dixon The Age, 1987). Brian Howe has stated the appeal to choice as: "You need to be asking 'what *choices do we have* to respond to this person's need? What *choices do they need to make* so that they will get the most appropriate housing?'" (p.6). In other words, a person can be presented with a choice, no matter how limited that choice may be, and if they "choose" not to accept any of the alternatives offered, then their lack of "appropriate housing" is then the individual's choice, rather than systemic failure.

In practice, policies have been re-formulated over time to preserve the illusion of choice. Yet, there is no simple corollary between the need for diversity in housing stock and housing responses and the need for more diverse management models. It is not a simple equation that "failure" by the public housing system to offer choices necessarily leads to the creation of another sector; as Wade (1994) points out, much could be done to fix the public housing system instead. Yet, the housing rights sector has subordinated itself to the "logic of choice" and by extension, the logic of the market.

The rhetoric of choice, which has now been accepted by the housing rights sector, is being further used to "tighten up" the sector. Once the sector shows its "viability", new methods of constraint will be, and are already being considered. For example, Brian Howe stated at the 1994 National Conference on Community Housing that:

> "community housing organisations (will) develop agreements with government which indicate how running costs such as maintenance, depreciation, tenancy management, rates and charges are to be met on an ongoing basis. This will also require government to clarify the eligibility of community housing tenants for rental assistance in an environment where operational subsidies are also being provided" (p.65).

Expansion of the sector will only occur through the reining in of costs and mobilisation of voluntary effort, which will produce lower costs and therefore give the sector a "competitive advantage"(National Community Housing Conference 1994 pp.21-2). Tenant participation in some form then is now an integral part of the "competitive advantage" being touted for community housing.

The concept of choice is now more rhetorical in content- public housing tenants, whether they be on waiting lists, clients of housing authorities or of community housing organisations, do not have either choice or control. It is impossible to have choice, when all around is scarcity. In addition, the continued use of the concept obscures the objective conditions which low income earners find themselves in, and that is with "choices" circumscribed through their lack of income, and with control having been defined away by the housing rights sector and by government, with control firmly and squarely back in the hands of the professions and bureaucrats. The market solution *par excellence*, voucherisation, is in the process of being introduced into public housing policy, and tenants in future will be able to use a cash benefit to "choose" public or private rental. This is precisely the choice, or lack of it, between often low quality (the high rise are still there) or unsuitable public housing, or high rental private sector housing, that the housing rights movement set out to change in the first place.

Hypothesis 4: The Shift in the Conception of the Welfare State

Hypothesis 4: Whilst the success of the policies was the result of an emerging congruence between the ideologies and consequently policy agendas of key players, the eventual success of the ideas embodied in these programs reflected a shift in the nature of the welfare state resulting from the move from a Keynesian capitalist state to one dominated by ideas associated (variously) with monetarism and corporatism.

In line with the methodology outlined in Chapter 2, a (very partial) picture of the Australian state has been built up through the research findings, demonstrated through approaches to public housing policy. In the 1970s, a commitment to working with the state to achieve policy change was made by the newly emerging housing rights sector. Despite the intentions of those involved in the original policy communities, the policy process has resulted in policies which have more in common with neo-liberal marketised approaches than the participative democratic approaches of the original communities. This has occurred at the same time as a resurgent neo-liberal agenda has gained dominance in the economic and political spheres. What has emerged from the evidence is a complex picture of struggle over the policy terrain, with certain "New Left" ideas being usurped through language and the forging of agreement on the way forward between some key players. The struggle over policy reflected in this way the struggle over ideology which was being carried on in the broader societal sphere.

In Chapter 1, mention was made of studies of the period immediately prior to the resurgence of neo-liberalism in Britain which show that there was indeed a debate between Keynesians and neo-liberals over strategies to accommodate the changing nature of capital accumulation and that these focused primarily on the role of the state (Fine & Harris 1987; Clarke 1987) in economic policy. Pusey (1992) shows that the approach of neo-liberalism quickly triumphed through rapid acceptance in the Australian public sector (though he interprets his information somewhat differently from this). As the research findings demonstrate, the same kinds of debates had their corollary in the sphere of social policy, with the Keynesian expansionist policies and rhetoric being gradually forced off the social policy agenda by orthodoxies which emphasised individual responsibility, voluntarism and a move away from the "rights model" of public housing provision.

As the findings show, few in the policy communities acknowledged or discussed the possible pitfalls associated with pursuing a policy which moved the state away from housing provision, at a time when the evolving political agenda involved cutting back the state's overall role in welfare and social infrastructure provision. Yet this analysis was being made at the time by some commentators, e.g. Mowbray and Bryson (1981) and Mowbray (1984). The picture of the Australian state which emerges is of a state where the translation of economic imperatives into the social policy arena is being accomplished relatively quickly, and with comparatively little resistance from policy communities or broad discussion of the potential consequences for social policy amongst the social movements.

The research findings show that neo-liberal policies were able to draw on the rhetoric of participatory democracy to support this evolving agenda, for example though the use of appeals to "choice", "community" and control". Neo-liberal exhortations have come increasingly to resemble community development texts. For example, in a reputedly influential American text, Reinventing Government (1993), Osborne and Gaebler applaud administrations which have been able to devolve responsibility for services to the community level. They approvingly cite the view of a local official who states "There is a mistaken notion that our society has a problem in terms of effective human services....our essential problem is weak communities" (p.66). The language of economic justification is echoed in the rationales given at the end of the period under study for supporting the Community Housing Program, which is consistently justified with reference to "efficiency", "competitiveness" etc.

The Marxist analysis takes as its first premise the proposition there is a relationship between the mode of production, including the relations of production (that is between owners and producers), and social relations in general, including the role of the state. Further, it is argued that fundamental changes in the mode of production will define changes in social relations such that these general social relations are themselves historical expressions of the mode of production. As a system where the mode of production is not only the prime mover but also at the fore of its ideology, as "economics", capitalism constructs a politics where the relationship between the mode of production and the state is manifest. No longer is stability the preferred strategy of capital accumulation, as it was under Keynesianism. Constant change, constant reinvention, even chaos, are now preferred, with the aim of destabilising the previous balance of forces and compromises, to produce another balance more favourable to capital (Harvey 1990).

Thus, following the analysis of Marxists such as Harvey, Fine and Harris and Clarke summarised in Chapter 1, the logic driving change in social policy is seen as an ideology which is the product of the adoption of new strategies for capital accumulation, that is flexibility, the driving down of public sector wages through privatisation etc. Thus in economic policy, if the privatisation of public industries results in lower wage levels, the corollary in the welfare state is the drive to push services into the community or private hands. Thus, it cannot be seen as accidental that the community sector in Australia has lower wage levels than the public sector (Lyons, 1993 p.43). In this way, the successive Commonwealth State Housing Agreements can be seen as embodying each stage in the shifts in the balance of forces as reflected in new strategies- home ownership to an emphasis on welfare housing and now to voucherisation.

If this framework is designed then, to explain *why* changes in the role of the state have occurred, the role of ideology is also therefore, a key to explaining *how* change occurs. If the framework is correct, then the research findings should support such conclusions. One of the important ways in which to confirm this analysis of the findings is to filter them through another framework. For this purpose the non-Marxist perspective is used, a perspective which was described in Chapter 1. The commentators from this perspective who are discussed in that section are Watts (1987) and Pusey (1992) (though both may acknowledge some debt to Marxism methodologically). Their analyses are particularly relevant because the historical periods they studied are directly relevant to this research study, respectively the formation of public policy in the post-war reconstruction period and in the mid to late 1980s.

The research findings in this study show that what people say they believe, their policy aims etc. change over time (for example from tenant control to community-control with tenant participation). The questions which Watts and Pusey fail to ask in both their accounts of the policy process is "did the key players always believe the same things?" In Watts' case, he fails to account for the shift in policy prescriptions by key protagonists, from Great Depression-related cost cutting measures to Keynesian state expansionism. Though he mentions that both Giblin and Copland had been intimately involved in public policy in the Depression, including in a committee which recommended a 20% cut in pensions (1987, p.9), he fails to compare or even note the responses of the same individuals during the different economic climates.

In Pusey's case, he asks questions about what senior bureaucrats believe, and about their educational background, and then equates their economic rationalist policy aims with their educational background. He does not ask whether his interview subjects always believed in economic rationalist policies, nor whether their length of service, for example, had any effect (some would have worked for avowedly reformist administrations, such as Whitlam's). By contrast, the sorts of questions asked in this study were designed to ascertain what the views of the key informants had been originally, how these had changed over time, and the relative influence of their own experiences and ideological trends.

Both Pusey and Watts' analyses therefore, fail to come to terms with why policy, and consequently ideology, changes, yet this would seem to be the central concern of their explorations. Their explanations, on the one hand that economics-related educational backgrounds were to blame for the change to, or that the social is too much subordinated to the economic, do not explain what the triggers are for change. Their views have echoes of a view of the state as set apart from wider societal pressures, the "neutral state", as if for example, by administrative fiat the social security system could be divorced from economic considerations, or by simply recruiting less economists public policy would take a Keynesian turn once again. The research findings show, by contrast, how closely, and how increasingly, social policy is tied to the economic, and how social actors are influenced by the ideas around them over time, as well as constrained by the overall need to justify their activity according to acceptable criteria which are dictated in the main by the state.

However, this is not the major problem in attempting to filter the research findings through the type of framework used by Watts and Pusey. The research findings above all demonstrate that an ideological struggle exists within policy communities, such that certain values and ideas are discarded in the process of this conflict. Watts misses this in

his account of the post-war period, with his failure to take account of the ideological debates between the conservatives and the Keynesians, and Pusey between the those same forces forty years on (though with the opposite result). Why did the Keynesians dominate post-war and fail in the 1980s? This is not a question which their accounts answer, yet the answers are fundamental to understanding the public policy process. By contrast, it is the detail of the ideological debates and their relationship to broader social change which in this study, in the view of the researcher, has provided the truly illuminating material in relation to the community housing policy process, and by implication, would do so in other cases also.

The Shift in the Welfare State and Housing Policy Change

It is possible to use the findings to locate housing policy changes within the broader economic transitions and subsequent changes in the welfare state. It is not necessary here to list each and every feature of the programs and its relationship to broader change processes. The findings give credence to the proposition that if the *overall direction* of state policy is seen as being determined broadly by material forces, the *precise character* of policies can be understood as the terrain of ideological struggle, as players attempt to have their ideologies inculcated in programs. This statement helps to define the extent to which "determinism" or causality exists. What follows then, is representative enough to confirm the hypothesis about the connection between macro and micro policy formulation.

The first significant policy imperative which came to dominate the original policy communities' aims was the appeal to "flexibility", hence choice has become the buzzword of social policy in the 1980s and 1990s, being a commonplace in government social policy documents. Flexibility in relation to social welfare programs has come to mean the ability within and between programs to tailor state assistance such that a person is not given more than they need. In the words of one neo-liberal commentator "The bureaucratic, non-discretionary approach of the welfare state makes it hard to tailor assistance to the particular needs of recipients and to adjust it in the light of observed effects" (James 1990, p.32). For example, the benefits of co-op housing are listed in the evaluation of the federal program as the ability to "respond to individual and local needs" (Purdon Associates 1989, p.46).

It could be argued that the plethora of programs and governmental responses to policy issues since the mid to late seventies, in attempting to deliver more flexible programs and to find niche solutions to policy issues, such as the experimental community housing programs, is reflecting the requirement for more flexibility in the economic sector. What has been broken down through the partial substitution of public housing with community housing programs is the "rights model" of public housing, so that a plethora of providers exists, both obscuring need and the mechanisms to access the housing they provide by allowing "non standard" approaches to provision, eligibility etc.

The "rights model" of welfare provision, pursued since the mid 1970s (e.g. Wills 1985, p.40), sought to entrench the right to affordable accommodation for low income earners (if not for all people). The research findings show that this was gradually undermined through the incorporation of the housing rights movement into policy processes and the "logic" of retrenchment, "doing more with less", which is evidently now accepted, judging from the 1994 National Conference on Community Housing.

These changes in social policy certainly indicate that the type of welfare spending which characterised the "long boom" was no longer considered suitable to the 1980s, 1990s and beyond. Indeed, the propensity for change, fine-tuning of programs, etc., may be required to complement the rapidity of change in the economic sphere, to match programs to evolving structural change. Such trends would then represent attempts to find new levels, or combinations of levels of welfare spending which will underpin social stability at any given time.

The use of submission-based funding, the basis of both of the programs studied, is a method of undermining the rights-approach to welfare. For housing, this relies on local groups with sufficient resources and expertise to submit and negotiate with the funding body. The evaluation of the federal program noted a subsequent mismatch between grants and high housing need (Purdon Associates 1989, p.65). In addition, some projects imposed stricter limits on tenant freedom, such as allowing overnight visitors (p.76), students having to share rooms (p.72), than were imposed in mainstream public housing.

Although as has been shown "tenant mix" was not explicit in the guidelines, but was certainly an objective of those from the housing rights sector who participated in the program, in practice there were few people housed other than low income earners. For example, even in Victoria, where perhaps the greatest commitment to this mix existed, 90% of those housed in the federal funded co-operative sector were receiving rent rebates (Purdon Associates 1989, p.61). The evaluation report reinforces the need for the program to "effectively target low income earners" (Purdon Associates 1989, p.60), barely mentioning the arguments in support of tenant mix. This represents an effective abandonment of the principle in public housing policy, and entrenches the notion of public housing as "welfare housing", which the housing-rights approach was designed to eliminate. The move towards more highly targeted programs was a feature of social policy under the Labor government, as many programs which were previously considered universal also became subject to this approach, for example aged pensions through the application of the assets test, the means-testing of family allowances and the increased targeting of child care assistance to working families.

Through these means, and contrary to the aim of the housing rights sector, the program started to break down the concept of the right to housing which is highlighted by the existence of public, and publicly growing, housing waiting lists. Housing in this "new sector" it has become clear, will not be based on "need", but on the capacity of local groups, indeed on the existence of local groups, to carry out all of the functions associated with housing. There are serious questions to be asked about the "autonomy" of the community housing organisations in relation to certain practices, such as providing housing only to selected tenant groups, and making their own rules and regulations will result (as it has in federal program) in a wide disparity in tenants' rights, and in certain groups (in the case of the federal program, the aged) being favoured over others. Attempts to set quotas or standardised rules in place will be at odds with the raison d'être of many of these groups, which typically established themselves to deal with certain aspects of housing need, for example, people with disabilities, single parents, women, etc. In the interest of their continued involvement in these programs, attempts to standardise rights and procedures are likely to be only half-heartedly pursued on the part of the bureaucracy.

The second important policy imperative to overtake the original policy community aims was "arms length" provision of government services as a means of rolling back the interventionist state. In the economic sphere, this took the form of privatisation of public infrastructure. In the social policy sphere, this took the form of increased involvement of non-government providers in service provision. What the history of the two programs studied shows is that the housing rights movement collaborated with firstly the ALP and then the government in securing government support for community-based provision, but that this was gradually whittled away, with the housing rights sector having to bear an increasing proportion of the burden of finding alternative financial support, for example, in the Community Housing Program through the hoped-for increased involvement of church landholdings etc.

Lastly, the hypothesis mentions the ideas associated with corporatism as also becoming dominant during the period under study. Corporatism is one strategy employed by the state to secure agreement on economic change (Panitch 1986, p.132ff), and usually involves government, unions and industry, though some commentators also saw it at work in the sphere of social policy.

The ALP policy committee process, such as occurred in relation to housing policy, pre-figured what could be characterised as a minimal corporatist approach. The policy committees involved layers of participants form the new social movements, as in the case with the housing rights movement. However, as has been shown, the types of policy prescriptions which ultimately came out of that process represented significant compromises on the part of the housing rights movement. In its period in opposition, the ALP sought to involve itself with a layer of groups which became its "natural constituency" in subsequent government. This can be described as "strategic co-option" meaning the taking on of strategic policy agendas and key individuals, as Labor sought to win over the votes of a newly emerging constituency, the new social movements (Burgmann 1990, p.271). The evidence presented in the research findings of the success of Labor continuing to promote home ownership on the one hand, but appealing to "third sectorism" hopes on the other, lends much weight to the hypothesis that the early community housing policies should be seen in this light (see Hypothesis 2).

The Marxist approach views economic policies such as corporatism and economic rationalism above all as political strategies of the capitalist state (following Panitch 1986). This is not to argue that such policies are viewed equally. Their successful promulgation results from the judgements which are made about the balance between class forces, as mediated through the accommodations which political parties must come to with their various constituencies. Thus, the ALP has been drawn more into corporatist-type arrangements with unions and social movements than has the Liberal Party. This is borne out by the research findings in this study, which show the differential attitude of both parties to the housing rights movement, both between the two parties and over time. The unions and social movements are much more a part of the constituency of the ALP than of the Liberal Party. But both the ALP and the Liberals must accommodate themselves to business interests if they are to remain in office. Hence, the ALP has developed much more sophisticated policy mechanisms and administrative apparatus to walk this particular tightrope. This tightrope became even more taut after the deregulation of the financial system in 1985. The constraint which this placed on government policy should not be underestimated. Apart from the evolving ideological adherence in the ALP to balanced budgets, the reaction of the financial markets to shifts away from policies of constraint sealed the fate of growth in sectors not

directly linked to economic policy. After this, social policy was a balancing act. Giving with one hand, for example growth in community housing, whilst taking with the other, in this case lower than promised spending on public housing, was the consummate expression of this.

This "minimal corporatism" of the ALP was characterised by the dominance of narrow groups of actors intimately involved in the process, and which did not include the subjects of such policy, except on the periphery, such as with public tenants. Groups such as National Shelter, academics and trade unions, (some of whom collaborated on the Prices and Incomes Accord documents), were all involved in the process of drafting policy in the lead up to the 1982 election. Yet the close connection between the housing rights movement and the ALP, described in Chapters 3 and 4, meant very little it seems, when cutbacks in public expenditure became the imperative, and programs were twisted to fit the newly dominant ideology of market mechanisms. Indeed, it could be said that they were locked into a corporatist approach by the failure to build a broader policy network or constituency, which could then resist such changes as were seen to be detrimental to the overall policy aim.. In relation to housing policy, the state successfully instituted change by securing a formula of consultation and involvement to minimise resistance to that change. This formula evolved over time, and was replicated in other policy spheres (e.g. Burgmann 1990, p.273) and as such was a key administrative success of the ALP in power, that is, the translation of economic imperatives to the social policy and other spheres of public policy.

Summary

Generally, the hypotheses are supported by the research. The process by which the ALP policy agenda and that of the housing rights movement enmeshed occurred within a broader ideological context of a Right-ward political shift, itself the result of changes in capital accumulation strategies. It is possible to chart the progress of this shift, and the gradual diminution in influence of the housing rights movement. However, in the case of Hypothesis Two, it was found that the hypotheses did not encapsulate the complexity of the processes which occur within policy communities. The Marxist framework, with its emphasis on delineating processes as struggles helped to illuminate this aspect. Synthesis or "convergence" did not occur, rather it was the triumph of certain meanings over others, in line with a broader ideological triumph of the Radical Right.

CONCLUSION: POLICY COMMUNITIES, THE MOVEMENT OF IDEAS AND THE HOUSING RIGHTS MOVEMENT

The concluding themes can broadly be divided into two categories: the implications of the findings for policy analysis, including the role of policy communities and of ideology, and more broadly, what the findings suggest about the current position of the housing rights movement in Australia.

Some Reflections on the Concept of Policy Communities

The picture which is built through the research findings and analysis of the public housing policy communities, is of their narrowness and the consequent shallowness of support for community housing policies, so that defence against attack is difficult; trialing of an idealistic policy in the public sphere which would have difficulty attracting people to it in the private sphere.

Those who stayed with their original conceptions of community housing were effectively marginalised within the housing rights sector and housing policy community more generally. The findings in Chapter 3 and 4 and the analysis in Chapter 5 show that whilst the policy community was able to agree on a "form of words" which would carry policy development forward, this did not necessarily mean that they agreed on what those words meant, or on the strategy to achieve agreed aims. This is something which becomes clearer through an examination of the ideological filtering which occurs in the policy process, as a result of the struggle over what is reflected in actual programs.

This calls into question the traditional Weberian analysis of policy communities (e.g. Rhodes 1988) who employ a largely pluralist analysis to deal with the dynamics of policy communities. This approach is well illustrated in influential policy analysis, for example, Hall, Land et al., in Change, Choice and Conflict in Social Policy (1975). The approach is summed up as follows: "Our proposition (is)...that the making of day to day policy on social issues in Britain does operate within a distinctly pluralist process, but that the limits of policy-making are set by elites which for many purposes are indistinguishable from what Miliband calls a ruling class" (pp150-151).

Such a "fusion" of Marx and Weber does not assist in uncovering the elements of struggle within policy communities which is outlined in the research findings and analysis. The Marxist conception of the ruling class is not the same as Weber's "elites". As Bottomore states, "elites" is not a sufficient concept to bear the weight of bias in the state towards the economically dominant classes (1973, p.274). The orientation of policy makers to the state, and the ideological constructs in which they operate, and the bias of the state towards the long term interests of those who own the means of production, mean that policy interventions are conditioned to reflect these biases, *even if only in the long term*. In the absence of any broader opposition to this agenda, the terrain of debate moves increasingly towards those interests, that is to the Right. This is the scenario of the "decade of Labor", where opposition has been marginalised through the Accord process and minimised through the partial incorporation of ALP supporter's interests in the policy agenda.

It is implicit in much of the work on policy communities that the state is able to reconcile certain competing interests, and that many are able to put their views in the policy realm. The account presented in the research findings rather shows the state as a mechanism for

filtering unwanted views, that its activities are circumscribed by the general balance of forces in which it operates. Hence the Victorian housing rights movement, with its stronger organisational and activist slant was perhaps able to ensure policy reflected its original aims far better and possibly for longer than the housing rights representatives at the federal level, where it was much more of a lobbying mechanism.

As the evidence from this study shows, policy communities' activities occur in a specific socially defined space - for example, of finding "new ways" to relate welfare policy to the newly emerging economic parameters set under the period of Labor government through deregulation and the consequent obsession with the level of budget deficits. The public housing policy community was mainly concerned with re-distributing the benefits of taxation through public housing from taxpayers (mainly wage earners in Australia) to those at the bottom of the income groups, a process Panitch refers to as "socialism in one class" (1986, p.199). It's impact on extending the overall size of the public housing policy cake was non-existent by the late 1980s, given the failure of public housing budgets to keep up with demand (Burke, Hancock and Newton 1984, pp86-87). The research findings show that in the absence of any broader struggle putting pressure on politicians and hence on bureaucrats, the power of the housing rights movement is very minimal, for example in attempting to pressure governments into increasing public housing expenditure.

The narrowness of the policy communities being described in the research findings help to dispel the pluralist myth even further. The few documents where this is preserved show that policy communities are not a "contest of elites", but a terrain in which broader social patternings and realities are being played out. There is also some suggestion of a lack of internal democracy and accountability, and in these circumstances it is easier for marginalisation of views to occur which are seen as unfriendly to the continuation of the forms of the policy community which have developed. The research findings do demonstrate that those involved in the policy process were given access to policy-making in a way which was privileged, for example, in which tenants were generally not included, but the ultimate aim of this was to co-opt not to share power.

The concept of "policy communities" as it currently stands in the neo-Weberian tradition is in need of an infusion of the consideration of those involved as **social** actors, (of which Poulanzas reminds us, see 1973, p.295), who perform **social** actions with **social** consequences. In a Marxist sense, these social consequences are seen as consequences for the struggle between class forces in society, and it is this level of analysis which has the potential to make the link between the individual, micro policy formation and the macro policy environment.

In contrast to Pusey and Watts, it is contended that the overall class nature of the state conditions what issues are available for comment in the public arena. To this extent pluralism is merely something which is "on the surface" of human relations (to borrow from Marx), and not reflective of the true patterns which lie beneath such relations, that is, the class nature of the state. For example, tenant groups may be consulted about renovations on public housing estates, but they are not consulted about the size of budget deficits - whereas the wishes of capital, as expressed through "the market", in particular the stock market, are most certainly taken into account. This certainly belies the notions of elites: indeed, calling all policy participant groups "elites" of itself denotes a certain equality amongst their power, even if this is not meant.

In addition, the critique which the housing rights movement was able to push forward was one which only called for a partial transformation of housing provision, without calling into question the role of financial institutions and the effective extraction of higher wage levels through interest rate differentials on borrowings and lendings, high by world standards, or the lack of facilitation of cheap housing models by the state. The purpose in pushing this type of critique might have been considered strategic, however there is no evidence of it in this case. The strategic aim would be to build broader support for a longer term strategy for more fundamental reform. This could be seen as sacrificing longer term aims for short term gains, and as such seems to be an inherent problematic of the policy-making process in the modern capitalist state. Once drawn into the policy community, it has been very difficult for the housing rights movement to extricate itself from the processes. The actual creation of a policy community is therefore not an inevitable process, it only occurs if all parties agree to participate.

Having said this, there were definite differences between the effectiveness of the housing rights movement in pushing forward with their own community housing agenda at the Victorian and federal levels, with the Victorians keeping co-op program principles around for longer, and capturing the community sector federal program funds for common equity co-ops. How are these differences accounted for within the theoretical framework? Whilst National Shelter was and is essentially a lobby group, Shelter Victoria attempted to maintain a balance between involvement and independent activism. National Shelter certainly maintained the rhetoric of "more and better public housing", but the resources actually devoted to this aim did not match the rhetoric. This is not as true of Shelter Victoria, which attempted to maintain an ongoing campaign of activism to highlight the lack of public housing, underpinned by a large network of regional groups which also contributed to that activism. Shelter Victoria has a base which was in contact with public and private tenants on a daily basis, and could mobilise their constituencies when needed. The membership of National Shelter were the State Shelters, and perhaps because of this as well as the overall lack of focus on activism, this meant that it became overwhelmingly a lobbying mechanism. It is postulated that there may be a direct relationship between the maintenance of activism *outside of* the policy community, and in some senses, *in opposition to* the processes of the policy community, and the overall pressure which the social movement is able to bring to bear on policy directions. This is certainly the flavour of Burgmann's conclusions about some of the other social movements which participated in the ALP policy communities, the gay and lesbian, peace and environment and womens' movements (Burgmann 1993). This helps to underline the caution which social movements should exercise in participating on such fora, and the need for a clear understanding of the extent of such involvement, what is and is not achievable through such processes. Participation in policy communities is an important strategy, but should not be the only policy weapon on which a movement relies.

The Policy Process: A Note on Methodology

The account of the findings of this research study help to illuminate the real world of policy-making. What flows from the account is a picture of the interaction of policy elites and of compromise of social movement objectives in the process of incorporation in government programs. The interaction of the policy elites shows that this does not occur in a consensual way and that those closest to the government's agenda are those given credibility in the policy community. Contrary to the hope of Watts, the social is now even further subordinated to the economic, as part of the Right-ward shift of policy, and

the aims of the housing rights movement have therefore been drawn closer to that of government, in a bid to remain relevant in the economy-dominated policy climate.

Something needs to be said here about the difficulty in obtaining a sense from outside of how policy communities actually work, that is, how the researcher gains a real sense of the activities of policy communities. Very few documented sources give any of the flavour of the debates, conflicts and struggles within the communities. If conflict existed, then why is it so notably absent from documentary accounts?

Many types of documentation are designed specifically to eliminate such references, especially minutes of meetings, on which this research has heavily drawn. The conflict has certainly been present in the oral accounts, and this has been supplemented where possible with written accounts, e.g. the comparison of the Faulkner version of the 1977 conference, and the version which appears in Shelter's written account of its history. Larger debates have certainly been documented, for example that between Kemeny and his critics. But what is missing from written sources is a flavour of the smaller struggles which may have led to the adoption ultimately of certain positions. The inference here is that if accounts of policy making concentrate on written accounts only, the flavour of how policy positions are *actually* arrived at, may be lost. Thus, the view of policy-making which emphasises ideological convergence may be based only on a partial understanding of the workings of policy communities, as the evidence they access, minutes etc. This would seem to help confirm the methodology pursued in this case of using oral as well as written accounts, and is perhaps a powerful argument for writing accounts of policy-making which is within living memory.

The Utility of the Marxist Approach

As a secondary aim, this study aimed to test the utility of the Marxist framework as a tool for analysing policy change. On the one hand, the Marxist methodological approach has proven useful, in constructing categories from historical experience. For example, the "category" of policy community has been richly illuminated through this process. On the other hand, the utility of the Marxist theoretical framework has only been partially realised. In order to fully explore its potential, it is concluded that the primary aim of research would need to be to test this, and that this would require a substantially larger piece of analytical work than has been undertaken here.

Nevertheless, the account which has been constructed has provided insights into questions other than those originally hypothesised. On one level, it has furnished an account which evaluates the housing rights movement's aims with the actual state of public housing policy at the end of the period. Above all, it has shown the flawed nature of the strategy of "tenure politics" as a means for expanding public housing provision at a time of constraint in the welfare sector. Even if this was not understood, or was even not the case at the start of the period, that is the mid 1970s, these things must surely have become clear by about 1986. Yet, the housing rights movement continued to follow the Kemeny-style policy prescriptions uncritically. This is not to say that these policy prescriptions would never have worked. Indeed, one benefit of the Marxist approach is to show that it is not the case that a reformist orientation can *never* succeed and that it is therefore "wrong" to push for such things. The very act of pushing for reforms, if coupled with suitable strategies to ensure they are achieved, can have an enormous impact, especially in particular struggles, which have the potential to inspire others. The picture which is constructed in this study shows the shallowness of reformist

and lobbying strategies in *given* historical and economic circumstances. This is not just the power of hindsight - contemporary critics of Kemeny did question the usefulness of these strategies, "the extent to which Kemeny represents a satisfactory basis for left-wing housing strategies" (Hayward 1986, p.211). In other words, had there been more and objective pressure on the state from the housing rights movement and its allies, unions etc, there certainly may have been more of a reflection of their policy aims in actual programs and they may well have succeeded in expanding public housing. But at a time when the bulk of the working class was focused on home ownership as desirable, and for sound material reasons, the detour into tenure politics has not improved the overall housing position of working class people.

It is this complex interaction between strategy, motive and objective circumstances which the Marxist approach uncovers. The whole experience of the 1960s led to reaction from both Left, in terms of the failure of revolutionary change *and also* the spillover of radicalised elements into social movements, and from liberalism in terms of the growth in alternative strategies to accommodated this growing radicalism, from corporatist-style strategies to participatory democracy, and ultimately, to neo-liberal prescriptions as embodied in economic rationalism and restructuring. It is the interaction of all these factors, and the capacity to view these interactions as political interactions, that is the reflection of the balance between class forces, which is central to this approach.

The experience of the housing rights movement over the past twenty years also helps to underline the importance of understanding the role of ideology and of ideas in policy processes. It is precisely the double nature of the language used in the policy communities, such as "choice" "control" etc. which conveys best the sense of the word "ideology" as originally envisaged by Marx. It is clear that the period under discussion was a period of struggle between Keynesian and newly resurgent neo-liberal values, and that this was played out in many different forums within the ALP, within the housing rights movement, within the bureaucracy, and also between all of these key players. As a result of these struggles, a schism has come to exist between the language employed by the housing rights sector, which is still focused on improving the housing situation of low income earners, and the acceptance of the policy prescriptions of retrenchment. In other words, a deep schism has developed, or widened, between the rhetoric and the reality, as not only regards the state, but of the social movement in question where it attempted to remain engaged in the policy process. The largely unquestioning acceptance of agreed policy aims such as "choice" etc., makes possible the continued use of such terms, even though the context in which policy is operating means the very antithesis of such terms is actually occurring. That thought and language "conceal social contradictions" (Bottomore 1986, p.120), assists the researcher to uncover the complex interplay between individual policy participants, policy communities and the broader social and economic imperatives which shape policy choices. Perhaps it is as Marx stated: "Actual extremes cannot be mediated with each other , precisely because they are actual extremes" (quoted in Murray 1990, p.33). Though this overstates the case, the point is that synthesis is not possible with opposing meanings. Thus, the triumph of one meaning necessitates the negation of any other meaning- that is, if something narrower, or broader is now meant, then the previous meaning is lost. This is perhaps where ideology may become "doublespeak", where the players themselves are conscious that they are not speaking the truth, but its very opposite. The role of language has been crucial in maintaining the compliance of the housing rights movement within the policy community. The failure to understand this by the community themselves is one of the reasons for the

continuation of their policy prescriptions in the face of evidence which shows they are failing, that is they are not a "self conscious" movement.

The key role played by ideas in the formulation of the policies under study has also been integrated within the account. This should help to dispel the view, common amongst non-Marxist academics, that the Marxist account eschews the importance of ideas. On the contrary, this account shows that ideas were important, but that their importance is conditioned by the social relations which exist in the broader society, and that this is a two way process. This serves almost to confirm the adage "an idea whose time has come". That is, the success (meaning their integration within the policy community) of ideas *within the capitalist economy*, is dependent on their ability to be accommodated with prevailing ideological and economic parameters. If they do not, struggle ensues, and either the ideas are made to fit, or instability results as groups pursue their ideas outside of the policy community and of compact with the state.

Whither the Housing Rights Movement?

The housing rights movement has for much of its history since 1975, the establishment of National Shelter, been characterised by a strong adherence to a particular policy prescription, that of the inculcation of a third housing sector. For some, this has been achieved and can only continue. For others, the character of what has resulted has not changed the fundamental housing landscape in Australia in terms of opening up real opportunities for low income earners to obtain secure, affordable housing.

Although there was criticism of this path in academic circles, there does not appear to have been a serious attempt to review this policy orientation. The criticisms put forward by Hayward in his 1986 article, that the working class supported home ownership, and by Berry (1988) shows that there were material reasons for this and for the investment by Australian capital in the promotion of this tenure. One of the consequences of the narrowness of the housing policy communities was the lack of consideration of the views of working class Australians as to their housing policy preferences. In any case, it was fairly obvious what these preferences were, yet they were consistently ignored in favour of an academic, idealistic solution which bore little relation to the material circumstances of most Australians.

The housing rights movement now has some twenty years of history from which to learn. In a sense, it is time to "update" the academic debate of the mid 1980s between Kemeny and his critics. The historical unfolding of the interaction between government policy imperatives and the work of the housing rights movement show that Kemeny's policy prescriptions were based on an inadequate understanding of the role of the state. "Today, what is on the agenda everywhere is not reform but austerity" Mandel had stated at the start of the neo-liberal attacks (1978, p.35), sharply contrasting the Eurocommunist-style approach to the reality of the neo-liberal agenda. That is, the material conditions which set the policy framework were changing, and for this reason, it is argued that the housing rights movement would have done well to review their adherence to Kemeny's ideas at least by the late 1980s, when growth in public housing had slowed. There are many issues which could be taken up, not least the massive privatisation of public assets is occurring in general, in line with neo-liberal policy prescriptions, and the reliance of banks on high interest-rate differentials, at a time of record bank profits.

The question of what the significance is of the continuance of community housing policies through the Community Housing Program crystallises many of the themes of this research study. It seems clear that the adoption of the particular policy prescription came out of an accommodation which the ALP made with certain of its constituency groups. It has remained small, at approximately 5% of federal public housing allocations (Department of Health, Housing, Local Government and Community Services 1993, Appendix, p.81), testimony to the limited power of such a constituency, that is the housing rights movement, within the policy process. It is true that it has grown over the period, albeit slowly, and that public housing has not kept up with growing demand over the same period. The co-op and federal programs were never "economically evaluated" as promised in speeches and file notes. This seems to be because the ultimate aim of the programs was of the incorporation of the housing rights movement, and so it was not ultimately important whether they were cost-effective or not. "Cost-effectiveness" is then just the rhetoric through which the programs were made generally acceptable, for example to non-housing bureaucrats, such as those in Finance or Treasury.

For these reasons, it is probably not true to say community housing represents a method of retrenchment- the explanation which comes from the findings is far more complex than that. Rather, it has been the means by which the attention of the housing rights movement has been focused away from the agenda of public housing expansion, the diversion into tenure politics, the ALP's balancing act The research does not show that this was done in any conscious sense, but was more the consequence of the enmeshing of the housing rights movement's aims with the ALP policy agenda from a very early stage, such that when that policy agenda was forced to find new accommodations because of the impact of fiscal restraint, so too had the movement.

The housing rights movement now has really two parts, the community housing sector and the remnants of a rights movement. The community housing sector should now be seen as a part of the housing industry, albeit with a benevolent face. The remnants of any "rights approach" are difficult to spot, enmeshed as they are with the community housing sector (e.g. Eager 1996, p.12) or within bureaucratic structures of their own (e.g. government-funded tenants' organisations and advice services). It may be time to set up completely separate housing rights organisations, which are solely campaigning organisations operating solely on the issues of housing rights and not limited by "tenure politics". After all, what happens to those tenants who are dissatisfied with community housing landlords? This is an issue the housing rights movement has not seriously addressed.

Another crucial question suggested by the findings is can low income people be represented equally and successfully by service provider or coalitions of service provider organisations? The evidence from the findings would suggest that only tokenistic and short-term attempts to represent housing consumers' interests have occurred in the housing rights movement, and that the agenda of expanding organisational control by the housing rights movement has become as important as housing consumers' rights. Furthermore, it may be the case that the current forms of the housing rights organisations do not allow for democratic decision-making processes, which would truly relate the aspirations of housing consumers to the policy agenda. The picture which has emerged is of an isolated, quasi-academic and idealist group, which set its sights on mobilising behind one particular policy prescription, without reference to the views of any broader constituency. In this climate, the ubiquitous "consultation" becomes self-reinforcing, as the policy agenda has already been defined early in the trajectory of the movement, as has

been shown. If the questions are not asked, the answers cannot be given. The only exception to this is the mobilisation of public tenants, principally in Victoria, however this is only touched on in the research, but it was certainly an important feature of the housing rights movement in that state.

Clearly, the introduction of community housing has not allowed the winding back of public housing expenditure quickly enough for economic rationalist tastes, partly because they have not been wholeheartedly embraced. Based on a premise alien to the experiences of most Australians- that of co-operative, collective management of housing, the expansion of co-ops is dependent on the will of locally based groups, and cannot be foisted on welfare recipients without the co-operation of a large voluntary sector. Other methods of widning back costs are now in the process of being adopted, a return to voucherisation. Community housing principles are just one method by which the state tried to put public housing services at "arms length".

In the end, the policy prescription preferred by the Radical Right as a method of retrenchment, that is privatisation, is set to triumph - market forces rather than self help are its preference.

The ideas and ideologies which were thrown up by the changes in capitalist accumulation strategies in the 1970s and 1980s were responses from the Left- Eurocommunist-style and Accordist prescriptions, and from the Right- the rise of public choice and economic rationalism. There was a struggle over ideology, as this account shows in a very small way, as each "side" attempted to respond to these changes. As Ellen Meiskins Wood puts it: "it would be better to regard the (new emphasis on revolutionary reforms in) socialism not simply as a response to the New Right, but rather as a reaction to the same causes which produced the New Right" (1986, p.10).

Understanding the roots of ideology and the role of the state are key issues for the Left. It is a perspective based on this which asks for a review of the policy prescriptions which have been adopted by social movements such as the housing rights movement in the period of minimal corporatism ushered in by the ALP. Never was a time riper, with the accession of the Liberal government, with their "inclusive" (read "non-inclusive") style, to review such approaches.

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Willis, R. 1980, "Employment" in Labor: Directions for the Eighties eds J. North and P.Weller, Ian Novak Publishing Co., Sydney.
Wills, J. 1985, Local Government and Community Services: Fitzroy- A Study in Social Planning, Hard Pressed Publications, Clifton Hill.
Wilson, D. 1978, "Dickie: the fall of a minister", The Australian, 16 August, p.11.

B. Documentary Sources

Newsletters and Journals

Shelter Victoria, Shelter Victoria Newsletter, 1984-1993
National Shelter, Shelter - National Housing Action, vols 1-10, 1985-1994

Personal Papers:

The papers of the following individuals were accessed:

Andrew McCutcheon (personal collection)
- including first Rental Housing Association pamphlet, early Victorian Program pamphlets, Shelter material
Tom Uren (National Library)
- including Minutes of Urban and Regional Development Policy Sub Committee 1978-79
Gib Wettenhall (personal collection)
- including miscellaneous policy papers and pamphlets relating to the development of the Victorian Program

Australian Labor Party Documents:

. State ALP papers held by the State Library of Victoria, including:
- Minutes of the Policy Committee on Urban Affairs1972-1974
- Minutes of the Housing and Construction Policy Committee 1976-1980
- miscellaneous housing-related documents
- State Conference minutes 1973-1978

. National ALP papers held by the National Library, Canberra, including:
- Minutes of the Urban and Regional Development Policy Sub Committee 1985-1986
- miscellaneous housing related documents, including the Hayden Housing Plan and 1979 Urban and Regional Development Platform

Government Files:

Victorian Government:

Victorian Rental Housing Co-operative Policy files 1991-1995

Federal Government Files:

Accessed a list of 533 files held by the former Departments of Human Services and Health (DHSH) and Housing and Regional Development (HRD), composed of files relating to the following keywords:
Local Government and Community Housing Program
Shelter, National Shelter
CSHA, CSHA negotiation, CSHA implementation
ALP, CHEP, Innovative Projects, community housing

50% of files listed relating to the national Community Housing Program. Of the remainder, 35 files were accessed and analysed.

Appendix 1

Policy Community Participants

This appendix lists the key participants in the policy community, briefly noting any political affiliation and key roles. Those interviewed or from whom written information was obtained for this research project are asterisked.

The details provided are compiled from the interviews and Who's Who in Australia (1983, 1985 and 1996). Where possible I have mentioned professional background.

Victorian Rental Housing Co-operative Program

Geoff Hayes (dec): Liberal Party, Minister for Housing and Planning 1976-78, Minister for Housing 1978-79.
David Scott*: Director, Brotherhood of St Laurence, 1971-1981; President ACOSS, 1972-78; convenor of working group to establish first housing co-op in Victoria.
Andrew McCutcheon*: architect; Labor Party (since 1961); Chairperson, National Shelter; Executive Officer Fitzroy/Collingwood Rental Housing Association (FCRHA) (1976-78); State Minister for Planning and Housing 191- 1992.
Les Alwinton: Director of Housing 1975-82.
Roy Gilbert: Chief General Manager of Housing 1979-82, Director of Housing 1982-85.
Tony Dalton*: academic; Labor Party; worked at VCOSS 1974-75; DURD 1975-77; member of State ALP Policy Committee; now at the Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute.
Brian Howe: Labor Party; religious minister; member of State and Federal Policy Committees; Federal Minister for Housing and Regional Development 1992-95.
Barry Pullen: civil engineer; Labor Party, member State and Federal ALP Policy Committees; State Minister for Housing and Construction 1988-90.
David McCutcheon: Director, Ministry of Housing 198?- 198?
Evan Walker: architect; Labor Party, Original member of group formed to lobby for the pilot co-op project; Minister for Planning and Environment 1982-86, now Dean of Planning RMIT.
Tony Cahir*: economist; First policy officer appointed in the Housing Commission of Victoria 1978; now Director, Policy and Community Housing, Victorian Office of Housing.
Rob Carter*: academic/economist; Labor Party, initial working group member to establish FCRHA 1976-78; worker for federal bureaucracy finalising 1984 CSHA; Honorary Director FCRHA 1977-87; Deputy Director General, State Ministry of Housing 1987-91; Director General, State Dept of Planning and Housing 1991-92.
Paul Madden: Labor Party, initial working group member to establish FCRHA; member State and Federal Policy Committees (not involved after 1983).
Gib Wettenhall*: journalist; First Housing Officer, FCRHA 1978-82; Ministry of Housing 1982-84; worked for Registrar of Co-operatives 1984-86.
Jane Herington*: social worker; Housing Officer, Fitzroy/Collingwood Accommodation Service 1977-1982; National Shelter President 1980-81; Ministry of Housing 1982-89.
Maree Pardy*: social worker; Mornington RHC worker 1982-1984; Western Regional Housing Council 1984-87; Shelter Victoria Executive member; representative Victorian LGACHP committee 1984-85.

Joan Doyle*: Co-ordinator Shelter Victorias 1978-80; Western Regional Housing Council 1982-86; former representative Victorian LGACHP committee, currently worker at Footscray RHC.
Irena Davis*: Williamstown RHC worker 1982-85; CERC worker 1985-87.
Gina Pearson*: Director, Rental Housing Co-op Program, Victorian Office of Housing.

Local Government & Community Housing Program

Jeff Harmer*: academic geographer; Assistant Secretary, Public Housing Branch 1983-84, 1985-1988; Deputy Secretary Dept Housing and Regional Development 1994-96.
Cathi Moore*: social worker; First National Shelter worker 1975, Dept Housing and Construction, Director LGACHP Section 1984-87.
Margi Hill: Dept Housing and Construction Director, LGACHP Section 1987-89, involved in National Shelter in 1987.
Bob Egan: First Assistant Secretary, federal Dept Housing and Construction 1983?-1985.
Rae Porter*: National Co-ordinator National Shelter 1985-1987; Director, LGACHP Section 1990-92.
Roz Lucas*: Worked in LGACHP/Community Housing Section 1990-93.
Tom Uren: Labor Party, federal Minister for Urban and Regional Development 1972-75; federal Minister for Territories and Local Government 1983-84.
Chris Hurford: Labor Party, Minister for Housing and Construction 1983-84.
Tim Field*: Advisor to Federal Housing Minister 1984-1986, Assistant Secretary, Public Housing Branch 1987-1990.
John McWilliam*: Assistant Secretary, Public Housing Branch, 1982-83.

Those involved with both programs:

Rob Carter, Maree Pardy, Joan Doyle, Barry Pullen, Brian Howe, Paul Madden.

asters by Research

TLE: Case Studies in Policy Formation and the Movement of Ideas: An examination of e Victorian Rental Housing Program and the Local Government and Community Housing ogram.

me periods for study: VRHC 1977-84; Present
LGACHP 1982-85; 1988-89

uestions for Interviewees

rsonal Involvement

Briefly, what was your role in the formation and implementation of the program?

What was the period of your involvement?

What was the extent of your involvement?

olicy Formulation/ Initiation

rigin

How were ideas about community managed housing first encountered by you and/or other y players?

Was there a relationship in this first encounter with community management with the idea self help?

In your view, who were the supporters (and if relevant, opponents) of the policy/ ogram?

what about those key players (if any) who crossed from one sector to another, e.g. mmunity sector to bureacracy, ALP/political parties to bureaucracy/ vice versa? Did their otivations/support also change?

What was your motivation for supporting the policy?

What was the character of the Department's relationship with the community sector? at was the impact of the initiation of these policies on that relationship?

What networks (i.e. like minded people) supported/ encouraged the adoption of the icy?

What factors dictated the relatively small size of the program?

eformulation (i.e. after the evaluation of the LGACHP in 1988, VRHC under the overnment)

vere the major changes which occurred to the program in the later years? Did this y other changes, e.g. political, or broader policy changes?

ne key players changed (both in terms of the personnel and the organisations/areas at the time of reformulation?

was/wasn't the program evaluated?

ensured the policies remained as policy alternatives?

evaluation, "success" of programs
ey failed to increase in size or become mainstreamed /remained as niche options

nift

ou consider that the bases of support for the policy differ/differed at the point of ation?

there a shift in the relative value assigned to tenant participation/control in the later the program? For example, did cost effectiveness considerations become more nant?

t was the role of the "cost effectiveness" argument in continuing support for the

the relationship between the bureaucracy and the housing rights sector changed origin of the policy, and if so what characterised this change?