

Book Proposal to the ANU Press, 2017

Successful Public Policy: Lessons from Australia and New Zealand

Edited by Joannah Luetjens, Michael Mintrom and Paul 't Hart

Abstract

In Australia and New Zealand, many public projects, programs, and services perform well, and are sometimes quite successful. However, these cases are consistently underexposed and understudied. Studies of public policy successes are rare – not just in Australia and New Zealand, but the world over. Scholars of public policy have had very little to say about the many successes that can be attributed to careful and considered public policymaking. The aim of the book is to see, acknowledge, and learn from past and present instances of highly effective and highly valued public policymaking in both the Australian and New Zealand contexts. This book project is embedded in a broader project exploring policy successes globally. It is envisaged as a companion volume to another, to be published by Oxford University Press, where the cases involved are drawn from around the world.

Introduction

Through public policies, governments have enormous potential to shape the lives of their citizens. Actions taken at any given time can affect both present conditions and future trajectories. Much is at stake when new public policies are forged or when established ones are reformed. Since their nineteenth century development as outposts of the British Empire, successive governments in Australia and New Zealand have progressively shaped independent identities for these countries and their populations. Australia and New Zealand have emerged as nations willing to engage in much public policy experimentation. As a result, both countries have together amassed a rich body of experience in public policy development that resonates with policy developments in Europe, Scandinavia, and North America. Along the way, members of the policymaking communities in both countries have kept up a lively, mutually beneficial trade in policy ideas, policy emulation, and lesson-drawing.

The 1970s produced classic accounts on public policy, which are now established in academic curriculums and the canon of academic research worldwide. The two best known

works from this foundational set of policy studies are Pressman and Wildavsky's *Implementation* and Peter Hall's *Great Planning Disasters*. Defining the 1970s Zeitgeist, these classic accounts explored public policy failures. Having seized a much more prominent role in public life following World War II, Western governments were ambitious to achieve planned change, but internal complexities and vagaries of democratic political decision making often thwarted those ambitions. Generations of public policy and public administration students were steeped in pessimistic diagnoses from these classic studies. Waves of similar studies in the 1990s (Butler et al, 1994; 't Hart and Bovens, 1996; Gray and 't Hart, 1998) and the 2010s (Allern and Pollack, 2012; Crewe and King, 2013; Light, 2014; Schuck, 2014; Opperman and Spencer, 2016;) provided a firm analytical grounding of the institutional, behavioural, political, and media dynamics contributing to the occurrence, framing, and escalation of public policy failure. Taken together, this body of work implies that governments are often incompetent, overambitious, and chronically lack the capacity to deliver on their promises (e.g. Scott, 1998; Schuck, 2014).

This discourse has been quite influential, and day in, day out, media reports about alleged government failures exacerbate the negative frame. Though significant, however, the story of endemic government failure is palpably incomplete if not wrong. It ignores the fact that in Australia and New Zealand, as in several parts of the world, many public projects, programs and services perform well, sometimes exceptionally well (see Bovens, 't Hart and Peters, 2001; McConnell, 2010; Moore, 2013; Goderie, 2015). Yet academic students of public policy in both countries have had almost nothing to say about such instances where governmental steering efforts have been remarkably effective. We cannot properly 'see', let alone recognise and explain, variations in government performance when media, political and academic discourses alike are saturated with accounts of their shortcomings and failures but next to silent on their achievements.

This book helps to turn that tide. It aims to reset the agenda for teaching, research and dialogue on public policy performance. This is done through a series of close-up, in-depth case study accounts of the genesis and evolution of stand-out public policy achievements, across a range of sectors within Australia and New Zealand. Through these accounts, we engage with the conceptual, methodological, and theoretical challenges that have plagued extant research seeking to evaluate, explain, and design successful public policy.

Of course, like ‘failure’, success is not a matter of indisputable fact, but rather a judgment grounded in perceptions, perspectives, values, and interests. Labelling a policy or agency as successful depends on which stakeholders are involved, the positions they take, and the political environment. Actual performance and measurable ‘social outcomes’ are not the only things that matter. Public perceptions, political support, program legitimacy, and institutional reputations all come into play in shaping whether a particular government initiative or entity is considered successful or not. Questions for analysis thus abound: Successful in what regard, for whom, at which point in time, relative to what benchmark? Successful in actually ‘doing better’ to achieve public purposes, or primarily in making the public ‘feel better’ through more effective framing and dramaturgy? How do luck (context, zeitgeist, chance events, crises) or skill (political and public service craftsmanship in design, timing, political management, public relations) each play their part, and how do they affect one another?

We propose the following definition of a successful public policy:

A policy is a broadly agreed success to the extent that it: (a) demonstrably achieves highly valued social outcomes and a broad base of public and political support for these achievements and the associated processes and costs; (b) manages to sustain this performance for a considerable period of time even in the face of changing circumstances.

That said, the assessment of public policy is seldom as clear cut and invariable as that. We advance a framework here that will provide case authors with a set of factors and perspectives to consider in their analyses (See Table 1). This framework has been developed with two key assumptions in mind. First, we surmise that policy assessment is necessarily a multi-dimensional, multi-perspectivist, multi-criteria process. At the most basic level we distinguish between the *performance* of a policy and the *legitimacy* of a policy. Second, building on McConnell’s (2010) fine-grained distinction of three dimensions of public policymaking upon which a policy needs to be assessed, we add that the success or otherwise of a public policy program or project should be studied not as a snapshot but as a film. A policy’s success is therefore also to be assessed in terms of how performance and legitimacy develop over time.

Table 1: A Policy Success Assessment Map

Programmatic assessment: Purposeful and valued action	Process assessment: Thoughtful and effective policymaking practices	Political: Stakeholder and public legitimacy for the policy
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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A well-developed <i>public value proposition</i> and <i>theory of change</i> underpin the policy • <i>Achievement</i> of (or, considerable momentum towards) the policy's intended and/or of other <i>beneficial social outcomes</i> • Costs/benefits associated with the policy are <i>distributed equitably in society</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The design process ensures carefully considered <i>choice of policy instruments appropriate to context</i> and in a manner that is perceived to be correct and fair • The decision-making process results in firm political commitment and <i>adequate levels of funding, realistic time lines, and administrative capacity</i> • The delivery process effectively and adaptively deploys (mix of) policy instrument(s) to <i>achieve intended outcomes with acceptable costs, and with limited unintended negative consequences</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A relatively broad and deep political <i>coalition</i> supports the policy's value proposition • Being associated with the policy <i>enhances the political capital</i> of the responsible policy-makers • <i>Being associated with the policy enhances the organisational reputation</i> of the relevant public agencies
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Degree to which programmatic, process, and political <i>performance is maintained</i> over time • Degree of <i>convergence in perceptions of the policy's value proposition</i> over time • Degree to which the policy confers <i>legitimacy on the broader political system</i> 		

Target Market

This edited volume is expected to be of high interest to students of public policy and public management, as well as practitioners working in all levels of government. With a focus on Australia and New Zealand, we see the primary market as comprising university students and public sector practitioners in these two countries. Because two of the editors of this volume (Mintrom and 't Hart) are both Academic Directors of key programs at the Australia and New Zealand School of Government, we anticipate that interest in this volume will be high among influential members of governments across the two countries. We expect the book will be adopted in the graduate schools of public policy and public administration as well as executive education programs. Beyond this 'domestic' market, we also anticipate that the whole volume and individual chapters within it will be of high interest to scholars and

practitioners in many countries around the world. For example, given the openness to learning about Australian and New Zealand government processes shown by elites in India and China, we anticipate strong interest in this book from individuals and institutions in those countries, as well as others in South East Asia.

Research Method

Methodologically, the volume proposed here follows in the footsteps of the classics noted earlier; the works of Hall and Pressman and Wildavsky in that it presents a series of up-close, case studies of highly successful public policymaking in Australia and New Zealand. The cases have been carefully chosen, after intensive consultation with panels of public policy experts in both countries. The expert panels included professors of public policy, heads of think tanks, senior public policy practitioners, and former secretaries of the Treasury, the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet and other central agencies. Experts were asked to list up to five cases from their respective country that they considered exemplary examples of successful policies and were provided with the definition of what the authors constituted a successful policy (see above). Experts were also asked to provide the names of two other people they believed should also be approached. This was to triangulate suggestions across expert respondents. In total, 23 experts participated in the process. Once the initial lists of successful policies were created, they were returned to the respective country expert panels for confirmation and comment.

The selection method was designed to be both reliable and replicable. We believe we have chosen the most salient examples of successful public policy from both countries over the past few decades. Analytically, the editors will identify commonalities and mechanisms at play and infer tentative propositions to inspire future policy designers and researchers.

Following consultation, the suggestions for Australian and New Zealand policy successes were collated. Next invitations were sent to potential authors to write on one of the selected cases. Authors were chosen based on their senior work experience or their academic research expertise. The full list of policy success cases to be discussed can be found in the Volume Outline in this document.

A Common Structure Across All Case Chapters

To increase the book's accessibility and use for teaching purposes and to facilitate thematic comparisons across cases we ask case authors *to address the following analytical questions* derived from the above framework, and broadly use the following section structure and word limits to structure their chapter:

A policy success? (1500 words)

1. What is this case about and why is this policy included in this volume? What, in other words, is its fundamental 'claim to success' in terms of the definition and the assessment dimensions of Table 1 above?

Contexts, challenges, agents (2000 words)

2. What was the social, political, and institutional context in which the policy (program, project, initiative) was developed?
3. What specific challenges was it seeking to tackle, what if any specific aims did it seek to achieve?
4. Who were the policy's main drivers and stewards, and how did they raise and maintain support for the policy?

Design and choice (2000 words)

5. How did the policy design process – the progression from ambitions and ideas to plans and instruments – unfold, and what motivations and contextual factors shaped it most?
6. How did the political decision-making process leading up to its adoption – the progression from proposals (bills, proposals) to commitments (laws, budgets) – unfold, and what motivations and contextual factors shaped it most?

Delivery, legitimacy and endurance (2000 words)

7. How did the implementation process – 'what happens after a bill becomes a law' (Bardach, 1977) – unfold, and what motivations and contextual factors shaped it most?
8. How did the legitimacy of the policy — the political and public support garnered -- unfold, and what motivations and contextual factors shaped it most?
9. How did changes over time in the operating or political context (such as government turnover, fiscal positions, critical incidents) affect:
 - a. The policy's central features
 - b. Levels of popular support, or perceived legitimacy

Analysis and conclusions (1500 words)

10. What key lessons can policy designers and other participants in public policymaking learn from this instance of policy success?
 - a. How have the lessons learned evolved over time? Has this case always been deemed a 'success,' and if not, what changed?
 - b. How likely is this case to remain a 'success' in the future? What are potential future problems with this policy case, or a similar class of cases?
11. What unique factors may limit how broadly the lessons from this case can be applied (in terms of political, social, or economic context, or policy domain, etc.)?

Timeline

Chapter authors will be asked to meet the following deadlines, to ensure completion of the volume by the end of 2018.

- May 1, 2018 Compete first draft submitted
- May 25-26, 2018 Authors' workshop, Melbourne
- August 15, 2018 Submit final drafts

Volume Outline

Part I. Introduction

1. Studying Policy Successes. *Joannah Luetjens and Paul 't Hart*

Part II. Policy Successes in Australia

2. The HECS Student Loan Scheme: history, evolution, lessons, and future challenges. *Timothy Higgins*
3. Medicare. *Anne-Marie Boxall*
4. The Australian Response to HIV/AIDS. *Lisa Fitzgerald and Allyson Mutch*
5. Australia's National Competition Policy as an Instance of Policy Success. *Alan Fenna*
6. From Policy Inertia to World Leader: Australia's 'Perfect Storm' of Gun Control. *Philip Alpers and Zareh Ghazarian*
7. GST as the Most Successful Tax Policy Reform in Recent Australian History. *Binh Tran-Nam*
8. Australia's Innovative Child Support Scheme. *Meredith Edwards*
9. The Leader of the Pack: Australia's Tobacco Control Success. *Becky Freeman*
10. Weathering the GFC. *Stephen Bell and Paul 't Hart*
11. Picking Winners: The Construction and Refinement of Australia's Skilled Migration Policy. *Lesleyanne Hawthorne*
12. The Australian Water Markets Reform: The Inside Story. *Quentin Grafton and James Horne*

Part III. Policy Successes in New Zealand

13. Independent and accountable? The depoliticization of monetary policy and the Reserve Bank of New Zealand Act 1989. *Chris Eichbaum*

14. How Fiscal Responsibility Became Part of New Zealand’s Constitutional Arrangements. *Derek Gill*
15. New Zealand’s Treaty of Waitangi Settlements Policy. *Janine Hayward*
16. Superannuation and KiwiSaver. *Ross Guest and Kirsten MacDonald*
17. Whanau Ora: Embedding indigenous cultural values and governance into mainstream policy. *Verna Smith*
18. New Zealand’s universal no-fault accident compensation scheme (ACC). *Grant Duncan*
19. Nuclear Free New Zealand: Contingency, Contestation and Consensus in Public Policy Making. *David Capie*
20. Early Childhood Education Policy Pathways: A Learning Story. *Sandy Farquhar and Andrew Gibbons*

Part IV Lesson-drawing

21. Practitioner Reflections on Policy Success
 - *Peter Shergold*
 - *Mark Prebble*
22. Learning From Policy Success: Implications for Policy Design and Implementation.

Editors

Chapter Abstracts and Author Information

Part I. Introduction

1. Studying Policy Successes. Chapter authors: Joannah Luetjens and Paul 't Hart

Joannah Luetjens is a doctoral candidate at Utrecht University School of Governance. Her research expertise is in public policy and policy advocacy. Her email address is:

j.c.luetjens@uu.nl

Indicative relevant past publication(s):

- Michael Mintrom and Joannah Luetjens. (forthcoming). “Design Thinking for Public Policy.” In *Routledge Handbook of Policy Design* Eds. Michael Howlett and Ishani Mukherjee. Oxon: Routledge.

- Mintrom, Michael, and Joannah Luetjens. (2017). “Creating Public Value: Tightening Connections Between Policy Design and Public Management.” *Policy Studies Journal* 45 (1): 170–190.

Paul ‘t Hart is a professor of public administration at Utrecht University School of Governance and is also Associate Dean at the Netherlands School of Government in The Hague. His research expertise is in public sector leadership, policy evaluation, public accountability, and crisis management. His email address is: p.thart@uu.nl

Indicative relevant past publication(s):

- Bovens, M.A.P. & ‘t Hart, P. (2016). “Revisiting the study of policy failure.” *Journal of European Public Policy* (14 p.).
- Rhodes, R.A.W. & ‘t Hart, Paul (2014). *The Oxford Handbook of Political Leadership*. (772 p.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Part II. Policy Successes in Australia

2. HECS Student Loan Scheme. Chapter author: Timothy Higgins

Working Title: The HECS Student Loan Scheme: history, evolution, lessons, and future challenges

Draft Abstract: In 1989 the Australian Government re-introduced tuition fees for higher education, alongside the first national university tuition fee loan program in which loan repayments depend on the participant’s income. The program, initially known as the Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS), enables deferral of fees, ensuring that those without upfront funds for tuition can still participate. HECS is an example of an income contingent loan, and has a number of key features and advantages over conventional loans: because loan repayments are linked to income, it eliminates repayment hardship and the risk of default for participants, and since the government administers and collects repayments efficiently via the income tax system, it has low transactional costs. Since the introduction of HECS, domestic student enrolments in Australia have almost tripled, and the success of the Australian program has influenced the adoption of similar student loan schemes in eight other countries. In this chapter, we discuss the political and economic motivations that led to the development

of HECS, the key features of the program and how these have changed over the last three decades, the lessons learned from the Australian experience and how these have influenced the adoption of similar loan schemes internationally, and finally, the current pressures and unresolved challenges facing HECS.

Tim Higgins is an Associate Professor in Actuarial Studies in the Research School of Finance, Actuarial Studies and Statistics at the Australian National University. His primary field of research is income contingent loan policy analysis and development, including model development and costing of the Australian HECS scheme. His email address is:

tim.higgins@anu.edu.au

Indicative relevant past publication(s):

- [Higgins, T & Chapman, B 2015, Feasibility and design of a tertiary education entitlement in Australia: modelling and costing a universal income contingent loan.](#)
- [Chapman, B, Higgins, T & Stiglitz, J, eds, 2014, Income Contingent Loans: Theory, Practice and Prospects, Palgrave Macmillan Ltd, England.](#)

3. Medicare. Chapter author: Anne-Marie Boxall.

Draft Abstract: When Medicare was implemented in Australia by the Hawke Labor government in 1984, all citizens were guaranteed access to affordable health care. Its introduction came just at the time that many other countries were attempting to wind back expensive, large-scale health and welfare programs. Medicare, however, was implemented with relative ease because:

- it preserved many elements of the existing health insurance scheme;
- a previous conflict-ridden, and ultimately failed, attempt to introduce universal health care had neutralized much of the opposition to it; and,
- it was integrated into a broader program of economic transformation by an innovative and pragmatic political leader.

Medicare has endured for more than 30 years almost without alteration. It enjoys strong bipartisan and community support, but it is under strain. Lessons from history suggest that future reformers are most likely to succeed by making incremental changes to Medicare that effectively balance the nation's economic and health policy objectives.

Dr. Anne-marie Boxall is an Adjunct Senior Lecturer at the University of Wollongong, an Adjunct Lecturer at the University of Sydney, and the Director at the Commonwealth Department of Health. She is an expert in health policy and has published a book on Medicare. Her email address is: annemarie.boxall@gmail.com

Indicative relevant past publication(s):

- Boxall, Anne-Marie. & Gillespie, James A. (2013). *Making Medicare: the politics of universal health care in Australia*. Sydney, NSW: UNSW Press.

4. Response to HIV/AIDS. Chapter authors: Lisa Fitzgerald and Allyson Mutch

Working Title: The Australian Response to HIV/AIDS

Draft Abstract: Australia has been internationally recognised as a policy leader in its response to HIV/AIDS since the start of the epidemic in the early 1980s. The first National Strategy developed in 1989, and the six that have followed, are distinguished by their grounding in a strong partnership approach that involved bipartisan political support and collaboration between communities affected by HIV and the organisations that represent them, clinicians, researchers and policy makers. Over the 30 years of the epidemic, the strategies have effectively drawn on these collaborations to respond to the changing profile of priority populations and biomedical advances in treatment and prevention to achieve some of the lowest HIV infection rates across the developed world. The following chapter will use a historical narrative approach to critically explore how the seven strategies have been developed and adapted over time in response to changing political, social and medical contexts.

Dr. Lisa Fitzgerald is a public health sociologist and lecturer in the School of Public Health at the University of Queensland. She is an expert in public health and sexual health, and has done extensive social research on HIV/AIDS. Her email address is:

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Dr Allyson Mutch is the Director of teaching and Learning and a Senior Lecturer in Health System in the School of Public Health at the University of Queensland. Her research

expertise is the social determinants of health and the health and wellbeing of people who are marginalised and experiencing disadvantage, with extensive research on HIV/AIDS. Her email address is: a.mutch@sph.uq.edu.au

Indicative relevant past publication(s):

- Mutch, A.J., Lui, C., Dean, J., Mao, L., Lemoire, J., Debattista, J., Howard, C., Whittaker, A. & Fitzgerald, L. (2017) Increasing HIV testing among hard-to-reach groups: examination of RAPID, a community-based testing service in Queensland, Australia. *BMC Health Services Research*, 17 1
- Lui, C., Dean, J., Mutch, A., Mao, L., Debattista, J., Lemoire, J., Howard, C., Whittaker, A., Hollingdrake, O., & Fitzgerald, L. (2017) HIV testing in men who have sex with men: a follow-up review of the qualitative literature since 2010. *AIDS and Behavior*, 1-13.

5. National Competition Policy. Chapter author: Alan Fenna

Working Title: Australia's National Competition Policy as an Instance of Policy Success

Draft Abstract: The suite of reforms implemented across Australia in the 1990s under the label of National Competition Policy (NCP) has earned itself almost mythical status as an example of policy success, belonging to what is already being looked back upon as a golden age of reformist policy making. In 1995, the States and the Commonwealth formally agreed to a sweeping set of market liberalising reforms in heavily regulated markets often dominated by government-owned monopolies. A governance structure was created and over the ensuing decade the promised reforms were steadily implemented. This has been hailed as a great success in at least three regards. First, it has been a shining example of 'cooperative federalism' at work, with Australia's governments maintaining to an unprecedented degree a close coordination and collaboration. Second, despite being ambitious and containing inherently controversial elements, the program was implemented in full and has been sustained over time. Third, it is generally seen as having achieved worthwhile policy goals in increasing national economic efficiency. This chapter will assess the extent to which these views are correct and, to the extent that they seem to be, it will explain how and why. Assessment will consider a range of procedural and substantive criteria while explanation

will focus on the conducive context in which NCP arose and the conducive character of the policy itself.

Alan Fenna is a Professor in the John Curtin Business School of Public Policy at Curtin University. He is an expert in Australian public policy, Australian government and politics, and Australian and comparative federalism. His email address is:

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Indicative relevant past publication(s):

- Fenna, A. 2013. "[The Economic Policy Agenda in Australia, 1962-2012.](#)" *Australian Journal of Public Administration* 72 (2): 89-102.
- Fenna, A. 2016. "[Shaping comparative advantage: the evolution of trade and industry policy in Australia.](#)" *Australian Journal of Political Science* 51 (4): 618-635.

6. Gun Control. Chapter author: Philip Alpers and Zareh Ghazarian

Working Title: From Policy Inertia to World Leader: Australia's 'Perfect Storm' of Gun Control

Draft Abstract: Australian firearm policy had altered very little in 65 years prior to the 1990s. The events in April 1996, however, precipitated 12 days that dramatically changed national firearm legislation. Thirty-five people were killed when a gunman opened fire at the Port Arthur Historic Site in the state of Tasmania. This chapter explores how these events created a 'perfect storm' of outrage, law and leadership that forced policy reform. It considers the political and constitutional challenges the national government faced and details the swift legislative changes implemented following the massacre. With over 20 years of research and data, the chapter describes the attitude adjustments which enabled effective enforcement of gun laws, and the notable improvements to public health and safety. These changes contributed to Australia being seen as a world leader on gun policy. At the United Nations, the country now takes a role in reducing the proliferation of illicit firearms and assists countries in the Pacific region and beyond to improve their gun control legislation.

Philip Alpers is an Adjunct Associate Professor in the Sydney School of Public Health at the University of Sydney. He is an expert on gun laws, and is the founding director of GunPolicy.org which compares armed violence, firearm injury prevention, and gun laws across 350 jurisdictions world-wide. His email address is: philip.alpers@sydney.edu.au

Indicative relevant past publication(s):

- Chapman, S., Alpers, P., Agho, K., Jones, M. (2015). Australia's 1996 gun law reforms: Faster falls in firearm deaths, firearm suicides, and a decade without mass shootings. *Injury Prevention*, 21(5), 355-362

Zareh Ghazarian is a lecturer in the School of Social Sciences at Monash University. He is an expert in Australian politics and public policy and a leading commentator in the media. His email address is: zareh.ghazarian@monash.edu

Indicative relevant past publication(s):

- Ghazarian, Z. (2015). *The Making of a Party System: Minor Parties in the Australian Senate*. Clayton, Victoria: Monash University Publishing
- Economou, N., & Ghazarian, Z. (2010). *Australian Politics for Dummies*. Milton, QLD: John Wiley & Sons Australia.

7. GST. Chapter author: Binh Tran-Nam

Working Title: GST as the Most Successful Tax Policy Reform in Recent Australian History

Draft Abstract: My proposed chapter is concerned with the introduction to the Goods and Services Tax (GST) by the Howard Government to replace the Wholesale Sales Tax (WST) and a number of State taxes with effect from 1 July 2000. The GST represents undoubtedly the most significant tax reform in Australia in the past three decades. The GST can also be regarded as a successful public policy in several different ways. First, despite imposing some additional burdens on both businesses and consumers, the GST has attracted broad base of public and political support, culminating in the return of the Howard Government on the platform of a new tax. Secondly, the GST has modernised the indirect tax system in Australia, and resulted in a growing, sustained tax base that equips Australia well as an open

economy with an ageing population. The chapter begins with a brief history of the introduction of GST in Australia, dating back to the 1975 Asprey Report. It then examines the key reasons that made GST acceptable to the Australian public. Finally, it explains why and how GST can be regarded as a success both from policy and administrative perspectives.

Binh Tran-Nam is a professor in the School of Taxation and Business Law at the University of New South Wales. He is a leading tax academic in Australasia, researching tax policy, tax administration, international trade, and development economics. His email address is: b.tran-nam@unsw.edu.au

Indicative relevant past publication(s):

- Datt K; Nienaber G; Tran-Nam B, 2017, 'GST/VAT General Anti-Avoidance Approaches: Some Preliminary Findings from a Comparative Study of Australia and South Africa' *Australian Tax Forum: a journal of taxation policy, law and reform*, vol. 32, pp. 377 – 398
- Tran-Nam B; Glover J, 2005, 'The GST Recurrent Compliance Costs/Benefits of Small Business in Australia: A Case Study Approach' *Journal of the Australasian Tax Teachers Association*, vol. 1, pp. 237 – 258.

8. Child Support. Chapter author: Meredith Edwards

Working Title: Australia's Innovative Child Support Scheme

Draft Abstract: This chapter deals with the policy development process for Australia's Child Support Scheme (CSS) focusing on 1986-88. This is a world leading scheme which financially benefits both children and government revenue: a formula determines, in relation to income, what a non-custodial parent pays and the tax system collects payments for the custodial parent through a Child Support Agency (CSS). Despite tackling a highly emotive issue, the CSS was successful in meeting its objectives in a short space of time by: increasing the proportion of children of separated parents receiving support as well as increasing the amount paid; and, providing revenue for government. The chapter first outlines the economic and political context at the time. It then turns to the stages by which policy was developed from problem identification to evaluation. It reflects on the enablers and challenges arising,

including the role played by organizational processes, the players and the politics. The chapter concludes assessing the CSS then and as it is now.

Meredith Edwards is Emeritus Professor at the Institute for Governance and Policy Analysis, University of Canberra. Her research interests are social policy, public policy processes, and women, among others. Her email address is:

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Indicative relevant past publication(s):

- Edwards, M. (2010), "The Researcher-Policy-Practitioner Relationship: Some Evidence and Suggestions", *Bridging the Know-Do Gap: Knowledge Brokering to Improve Child Wellbeing*, ANU Press.
- Edwards, M., Howard, C., & Miller, R. (2001). *Social Policy, Public Policy: From Problem to Practice*. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin.

9. Anti-Tobacco Policies. Chapter author: Becky Freeman

Working Title: The leader of the pack: Australia's tobacco control success

Draft Abstract: Australia is recognized as a global leader in tobacco control. Successfully defending multiple legal challenges to standardized tobacco packaging laws paved the way for other nations to follow Australia's lead. Pairing plain pack laws with substantial tobacco tax increases, bans on tobacco advertising, promotion, and sponsorship, smokefree public places, and memorable mass media campaigns urging smokers to quit, has resulted in Australia having one of the lowest population smoking rates in the world. The combination of these policies has had a protective effect on youth, with 98% (2016 national data) of Australian teenagers having never smoked more than 100 cigarettes. This chapter outlines how Australia achieved tobacco control policy success through a united and effective public health workforce, the leadership of political champions, and a commitment to evidence generation and translation.

Becky Freeman is a senior lecturer in the School of Public Health at the University of Sydney. She is an expert in tobacco control and well versed in program and policy best

practice. She is also the Associate Editor of New Media for the international journal, Tobacco Control. Her email address is: becky.freeman@sydney.edu.au

Indicative relevant past publication(s):

- Dunlop, S., Freeman, B., Perez, D. (2016). Exposure to Internet-Based Tobacco Advertising and Branding: Results From Population Surveys of Australian Youth 2010-2013. *Journal of Medical Internet Research*, 18(6), 1-16.

10. Weathering the GFC. Chapter authors: Stephen Bell and Paul ‘t Hart

Draft Abstract: Australia has been the only OECD economy to escape the Global Financial Crisis without falling into recession, keeping intact a now 25+ plus year record of uninterrupted economic growth since 1992. An economy once notoriously prone to boom-bust cycles has turned into a highly resilient growth machine. In this chapter we examine how this model remained intact even in the face of international financial upheaval and institutional collapses at an unprecedented scale. We ask two central questions: The micro-economic puzzle is why the Australian banks enjoyed relative immunity from entanglement in risky US mortgage-backed securities that wreaked so much damage in overseas financial markets. To what extent was this due to effective regulatory policies and government oversight? The macro-economic puzzle is why the Australian economy was spared the fallout of the global crisis. We show how bold crisis management by the Australian government accomplished this remarkable feat. Subsequent controversy concerning the alleged mismanagement of the implementation of some of the key measures in the government's recession-busting packages pales in comparison to what was achieved then.

Stephen Bell is Professor of political economy and former Head of the School of Political Science and International Studies at the University of Queensland. He is a Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences in Australia and an Honorary Professor at the University of Sheffield. He has held visiting positions at the Australian National University and the Copenhagen Business School. His main research interests focus on institutional questions associated with the politics of economic policy. He is the author or editor of eleven books has published widely in national and international journals. His most recent books include *Australia's Money Mandarins: The Reserve Bank and the Politics of Money*, Cambridge University Press, and *Rethinking Governance*, Cambridge University Press, *The Rise of the*

People's Bank of China, Harvard University Press, and *Masters of the Universe, Slaves of the Market*, Harvard University Press, and *Fair Share: Competing Claims and Australia's Economic Future*, Melbourne University Press. He is currently engaged in two further projects: China's changing financial system and banking reform in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis. His email address is: stephen.bell@uq.edu.au

Indicative relevant past publication(s):

- Bell, Stephen and Hindmoor, Andrew. (2015). *Masters of the Universe, Slaves of the Market*. London, United Kingdom: Harvard University Press.

Paul 't Hart is a Professor of Public Administration at Utrecht University and Associate Dean of the Netherlands School of Public Administration (NSOB) in The Hague. He was Professor of Political Science at the Australian National University from 2005-2010. He currently conducts a large 5-year program of research on successful public governance funded by the European Research Council. His recent books include *Settling the Office: The Australian Prime Ministership From Federation to Reconstruction* (Miegunyah Press of MUP 2016), *The Leadership Capital Index: A New Perspective on Political Leadership* (Oxford University Press 2017) and *The Pivot of Power: Australian Prime Ministers and Political Leadership, 1949-2016* (Miegunyah Press of MUP 2017). His email address is: p.thart@uu.nl

Indicative relevant past publication(s):

- 't Hart, P., & Tindall, K. (Eds.). (2009). *Framing the Global Economic Downturn: Crisis rhetoric and the politics of recessions*. ANU Press.

11. The Skilled Migration Program. Chapter author: Lesleyanne Hawthorne

Working Title: Picking Winners: The Construction and Refinement of Australia's Skilled Migration Policy

Draft Abstract: In the past two decades Australia has placed unprecedented emphasis on the selection of skilled migrants from highly diverse source countries. Economic migrants now constitute two-thirds of permanent intakes, but have been eclipsed by the scale of temporary

labour flows. This chapter analyses Australia's reconstruction of the skilled migration program from 1999, including the evolution and relative merits of the permanent, temporary and study-migration pathways. It defines Australia's scale of recent reliance on skilled migrants in the fields of medicine, nursing, engineering, accounting and IT, including factors influencing their labour market integration. It examines Australia's constant use of the research evidence to refine policy settings to maximise early employment outcomes. Finally, it assesses Australia's degree of success in 'picking winners' relative to key competitors in the global race for talent (focused on Canada, USA, UK, New Zealand and the European Union).

Leselyanne Hawthorne is a professor in the Centre for Health Policy at the University of Melbourne. She is an expert in global skilled migration, labour market integration and retention, international student flows, and foreign qualification recognition. Her email address is: l.hawthorne@unimelb.edu.au

Indicative relevant past publication(s):

- Hawthorne, L. (2015). The impact of skilled migration on foreign qualification recognition reform in Australia. *Canadian Public Policy*, 41(Supplement 1), S173-S187.

12. The Water Market Management in the Murray-Darling Basin. Chapter authors: Quentin Grafton and James Horne

Working Title: The Australian Water Markets Reform: The Inside Story

Draft Abstract: The chapter will examine the drivers, principles and processes behind a multi-decade reform process to improve the allocation of water across competing uses in the Murray-Darling Basin. It will provide a context to the water reform process in Australia that goes beyond the water sector. Water markets reform will be used as an exemplar of the challenges to achieving cross state co-operation and moving theory to practice. The focus will be on explaining how water market reform was accomplished with an emphasis on: the policy narrative; the key stakeholders; the implementation and sequencing of reforms; and the outcomes. Over a period of two decades or so, water rights were separated from land and then unbundled into a multiple set of rights (access, delivery and use) and that has become a

competitive and low transaction cost markets that, during the drought of the mid 2000s delivered benefits to water users that are worth multiple billions of dollars.

Quentin Grafton is a professor of Economics, ANU Public Policy Fellow, Fellow of the Asia and the Pacific Policy Society and Director of the Centre for Water Economics, Environment and Policy (CWEPP) at the Crawford School of Public Policy at the Australian National University. He is an expert in natural resource economics. His email address is: quentin.grafton@anu.edu.au

Indicative relevant past publication(s):

- R.Q. Grafton, J. Horne and S. Wheeler.(2016) ‘On the Marketization of Water: Theory and Evidence from the Murray-Darling Basin, Australia’. *Water Resource Management* 30 (3), pp 913–926.
- D Connell and R.Q. Grafton Eds. (2011) *Basin Futures: Water Reform in the Murray-Darling Basin* (ANU E Press, Canberra)

James Horne is a policy practitioner who has written with Quentin Grafton on water reform. His email address is: jameshorne@iinet.net.au

Part III. Policy Successes in New Zealand

13. The Reserve Bank Act. Chapter author: Chris Eichbaum

Working Title: Independent and accountable? The depoliticization of monetary policy and the Reserve Bank of New Zealand Act 1989

Draft Abstract: The period from 1984 through to the early 1990s saw a remarkable set of policy changes in New Zealand. Those changes involved a significant recalibration of the relationship between and relative standing of state and market. To a very large extent most of those institutional changes have been enduring, with change only at the margin. Key among those changes was the repeal of the Reserve Bank of New Zealand Act 1963 and its replacement with a new and radically different statute. Multiple objectives were discarded in

favour of a single economic objective of price stability; decision-making was vested in one person – the Governor of the Reserve Bank, with a Board of Directors – excluding, by design, the Secretary of the New Zealand Treasury - providing oversight of the actions of the Governor (and of the governance of the Bank). The Bank would have operational independence with the terms of engagement between Bank and government codified in a Policy Targets Agreement negotiated between the Bank Governor and the responsible Minister of the Crown. The quest was for dynamic consistency in the setting of monetary policy, and the prize was price stability. The Act – some minor amendments notwithstanding – remains in place. The prize of price stability has been realised. New challenges – to what is a full service central bank with responsibility for prudential regulation and systemic stability - have however emerged. And there are, increasingly, questions being asked of the existing institutional regime and the potential for legislated changes in mandate and governance.

Chris Eichbaum is a researcher in the School of Government at Victoria University of Wellington. His research expertise includes governance and institutional design and political economy of central banking. His email address is: chris.eichbaum@vuw.ac.nz

Indicative relevant past publication(s):

- Eichbaum, C., "The Political Economy of Central Banking in Australia and New Zealand" in Dyson, Kenneth and Martin Marcussen (eds.) *Central Banks in the Age of the Euro*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Eichbaum, C. and Boston, J., "Financial management and democratic accountability: Lessons from New Zealand:", in Lapsley, Irvine (ed.) *Accounting in Politics: Devolution and Democratic Accountability*, Routledge, 2008.
- Shaw, R., & Eichbaum, C. (2011). *Public Policy in New Zealand: Institutions, Processes and Outcomes*. Auckland, New Zealand: Pearson Education New Zealand.

14. The Fiscal Responsibility Act. Chapter author: Derek Gill

Working Title: How Fiscal Responsibility Became Part of New Zealand's Constitutional Arrangements

Draft Abstract: The Fiscal Responsibility Act (FRA) has become an enduring part of New Zealand's constitutional arrangements, since it came into force in 1993. Budgeting is simultaneously both an inherently political process and a technocratic exercise and the FRA has succeeded at both levels. At the technical level, New Zealand's fiscal aggregates have been turned around since the FRA with large structural fiscal surpluses (apart from a brief period after the GFC and the Christchurch earthquake). As a result, net Government debt has plummeted and Government net worth increased dramatically. At the political level, the concept of fiscal responsibility has been adopted by political parties across the spectrum. This was epitomised during the 2017 election campaign when the opposition Labour and Greens parties signed an electoral pack that was framed in terms of the fiscal responsibility provisions of the FRA. This success is striking given that the FRA was developed by the then National Government through a very top down policy process, with almost no public or cross party engagement before Select Committee consideration. The chapter will explore how fiscal responsibility became an integral part of New Zealand's constitutional arrangements.

Derek Gill is a Principal Economist and Head of Public Good at the New Zealand Institute of Economic Research. His research focus is on public management and public policy with the application of economic and financial analysis on practical policy problems. His email address is: derek.gill@nzier.org.nz

Indicative relevant past publication(s):

- Norman, R., & Gill, D. (2010). Budgeting in New Zealand after the reforms: from radical revolutionary to cautious consolidator in J. de Vries, J. Wanna, & L. Jensen (Eds). *The Reality of Budgetary Reform in OECD Nations: Trajectories and Consequences*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.

15. Treaty Settlements. Chapter author: Janine Hayward

Working Title: New Zealand's Treaty of Waitangi Settlements Policy

Draft Abstract: In the 1990s, New Zealand governments began to develop a comprehensive policy for the settlement of Māori grievances relating to the Treaty of Waitangi. This policy process has been through considerable change and development, and has been subject to criticism and controversy. Nevertheless, it has attracted considerable international attention as

New Zealand makes progress is addressing the impacts of its colonial past. Indeed, it is anticipated that by 2018 New Zealand will be close to completing all historical Treaty of Waitangi settlements. This chapter reviews the apparent success of the Treaty settlement policy and what has been achieved through the policy. It also considered criticisms that, despite the policy, much remains unsettled in Māori/Crown relations in New Zealand.

Janine Hayward is Professor and Head of the Department of Politics at the University of Otago. She is an expert in New Zealand politics, including the Treaty of Waitangi politics, New Zealand's constitution, electoral politics, and local government politics. Her email address is: janine.hayward@otago.ac.nz

Indicative relevant past publication(s):

- Hayward, J., & Wheen, N. R. (Eds.). (2004). *The Waitangi Tribunal: Te Roopu Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi*. Wellington, New Zealand: Bridget Williams Books, 296p
- Wheen, N. R., & Hayward, J. (2012). The meaning of Treaty settlements and the evolution of the Treaty settlement process. In N. R. Wheen & J. Hayward (Eds.), *Treaty of Waitangi settlements*. (pp. 13-25). Wellington, New Zealand: Bridget Williams Books.

16. Superannuation and KiwiSaver. Chapter authors: Ross Guest and Kirsten MacDonald

Draft Abstract: New Zealand's flat rate, universal government pension, New Zealand Superannuation (NZS), has helped to deliver one of the world's lowest rates of poverty for the 65 and over population. However, private savings through superannuation vehicles such as New Zealand's KiwiSaver are becoming more important to ensure retirement adequacy for middle to high income earners. This chapter evaluates the distinctive design features of NZS and KiwiSaver and what we can learn from New Zealand retirement policy. Kiwisaver puts more control in the hands of the individual member compared to a compulsory system such as Australia's. While this has advantages and disadvantages, both systems tend to suffer from investor myopia and excessive risk aversion. Overall, the New Zealand retirement system takes

a straightforward approach to administration and taxation and offers New Zealanders the flexibility to react to financial events throughout their lives.

Ross Guest is Dean (Learning and Teaching) and Professor of Economics in the Griffith Business School at Griffith University. He is an Adjunct Professor with ANZSOG and a National Senior Teaching Fellow with the Australian Government Office for Learning and Teaching. He is an expert in the economics of population ageing. His email address is: r.guest@griffith.edu.au

Indicative relevant past publication(s):

- Guest, R. (2013) Population Ageing and Productivity: implications and policy options for New Zealand. New Zealand Treasury Working Papers, 13/21. Wellington: New Zealand Treasury.

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Indicative relevant past publication(s):

- Macdonald, K, Bianchi, R, and Drew, M 2012, 'KiwiSaver and retirement adequacy', *Australasian Accounting and Business Finance Journal*, vol. 6, no. 4, pp. 61-78.

17. Whanau Ora. Chapter author: Verna Smith

Working Title: Whanau Ora: Embedding indigenous cultural values and governance into mainstream policy.

Draft Abstract: Whanau Ora is an innovative strengths-based approach to indigenous policy in New Zealand, empowering the whanau as a whole and devolving, to the collective, self-determining processes of health and social service design and delivery. Whanau were initially able to apply for sums of money to prepare and implement whanau wellbeing plans. Collectives of service delivery agencies were formed to provide services to whanau, including navigators to facilitate their access to services. Three commissioning agencies were

developed to integrate capacity to deliver whanau-oriented services. Despite criticism of unclear purpose, implementation delays and excessive administrative spending, Whanau Ora has been embedded as a unique policy innovation, improving Maori governance over services for Maori. In this chapter, the rationale and process of policy design of this initiative is set out, its implementation is documented and new qualitative research will be presented which assesses the current impact of Whanau Ora on self-determination by whanau of their health and social services in New Zealand.

Verna Smith is a lecturer in the School of Government at Victoria University of Wellington. She is an expert in health care policy and has a forthcoming book on health care agenda setting to be published by Palgrave. Her email address is: verna.smith@vuw.ac.nz

Indicative relevant past publication(s):

- Smith, V. (2017) *Bargaining Power: General practitioners and the State Drivers of policy change in health systems in England and New Zealand*. London: Palgrave.
- Smith, V and Cumming, Jacqueline. Pay for performance in primary health care: negotiating new logics of consequentiality. *Policy and Society* Special Edition. In preparation.

18. Accident Compensation Scheme. Chapter author: Grant Duncan

Working Title: New Zealand's universal no-fault accident compensation scheme (ACC)

Draft Abstract: In 1967 a Royal Commission of Inquiry recommended a comprehensive, universal accident compensation scheme, delivered by a state monopoly, coupled with a ban on the right to sue. This was implemented in 1974 and remains in place today. ACC is now financially sound and performs comparatively well, providing compensation and rehabilitation at low cost to levy-payers. There is no significant pressure for a return to common-law negligence actions. The neoliberal reforms of the 1990s threatened to disband ACC in favour of competitive private-sector provision. While the scheme has become more insurance-based, however, the monopoly model remains and is relatively cost-effective. In terms of sheer longevity and the delivery of social and economic benefits, ACC is a notable

public-policy success story. The principles underpinning this success are well known, and the present chapter will summarise them, then outline the scheme's history, and discuss some unresolved issues.

Grant Duncan is an Associate Professor in the School of People, Environment and Planning at Massey University. His research expertise is in New Zealand political theory and public policy. His email address is: L.G.Duncan@massey.ac.nz

Indicative relevant past publication(s):

- Duncan, G. (2016). *Expanding ACC to cover sickness. Briefing Papers. Retrieved from: <http://briefingpapers.co.nz/expanding-acc-to-cover-sickness/>*
- Duncan, G. (2003). Workers' compensation and the governance of pain. *Economy and Society*. 32(3), 449-477

19. The Nuclear Free Policy. Chapter author: David Capie

Working Title: Nuclear Free New Zealand: Contingency, Contestation and Consensus in Public Policy Making

Draft Abstract: If New Zealand is associated with one policy initiative in international politics, it is its embrace of a non-nuclear position in the 1980s, which ultimately led to the breakdown in its defence relationship with the United States. In many respects, the nuclear-free position looks like a clear example of public policy success. Despite strong international opposition from the United States -- and at times from some New Zealand political parties -- the policy has remained in force uninterrupted for more than three decades. It now attracts bipartisan political support and, after decades of chill, the US-NZ relationship has returned to a 'new normal' including visits by the US Navy. This chapter will explore the context in which nuclear free New Zealand emerged, how it became law and how the policy was contested, before ultimately acquiring widespread support and legitimacy across the political spectrum.

David Capie is an Associate Professor in the School of History, Philosophy, Political Science & International Relations at Victoria University of Wellington. His research

expertise is in international relations with a focus on conflict and security issues in the Asia-Pacific region, and New Zealand's foreign relations. His email address is:

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Indicative relevant past publication(s):

- "New Zealand and the World: Imperial, International and Global Relations" in Giselle Byrnes (ed.) *The New Oxford History of New Zealand* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2009).
- Capie, D. (2010). When does track two matter? Structure, agency, and Asian regionalism. *Review of International Political Economy*, 17(2), 291-318.

20. Early Childhood Education/Kohunga Reo. Chapter author: Sandy Farquhar and Andrew Gibbons

Working Title: Early Childhood Education Policy Pathways: A Learning Story

Draft Abstract: *Ngā Huarahi Arataki* (Ministry of Education, 2002) is a comprehensive policy that increased access and participation for young children's care and education. The policy addressed quality of education, enhancing teacher qualifications and research-informed practices along with stronger funding mechanisms. In addition it addressed concerns around diversity in early childhood education (ECE) participation. Although the intentions of the plan were not fully realised (in part due to the 'global financial crisis'), its influence within the ECE sector continues. While no further policy of similar magnitude has emerged, a series of reports have maintained and furthered key directions of the plan. With a particular focus on assessment and standardisation, this chapter explores how policies have engaged with the globalised standardisation and measurement movement (OECD, nd) effectively resisting the narrowing of curriculum and assessment and remaining consistent with government objectives in 21st century learning.

Sandy Farquhar is Programme Director for Early Childhood Education and Senior Lecturer in the Faculty of Education at the University of Auckland. Her research expertise is in early childhood curriculum and pedagogy and childhood politics and policy, among others. Her email address is: s.farquhar@auckland.ac.nz

Indicative relevant past publication(s):

- Tesar, M., Farquhar, S., Gibbons, A., Myers, C. Y., & Bloch, M. N. (2016).
Childhoods and time: Rethinking notions of temporality in early childhood education.
Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood, 17 (4), 359-366

Andrew Gibbons is an Associate Professor in the School of Education at Auckland University of Technology. His research expertise includes New Zealand early childhood education policy and early childhood curriculum, among others. His email address is: agibbons@aut.ac.nz

Indicative relevant past publication(s):

- Gibbons, A., & Farquhar, S. Mapping policies and pathways in early childhood education: A note from Aotearoa New Zealand [online]. *New Zealand Research in Early Childhood Education*, No. 17, 2014: 1-10.

Part IV. Lesson-drawing

Chapter 21 Practitioner Reflections on Policy Success

- **Peter Shergold**
- **Mark Prebble**

Chapter 22. Learning From Policy Success: Implications for Policy Design and Implementation

Editors