

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-46779-7 - Beyond the Two Party System: Political Representation, Economic Competitiveness and Australian Politics

Ian Marsh

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

BEYOND THE
TWO PARTY SYSTEM

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-46779-7 - Beyond the Two Party System: Political Representation, Economic Competitiveness and Australian Politics

Ian Marsh

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

RESHAPING AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTIONS

Series editors: John Braithwaite and Geoffrey Brennan,
Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National
University

Published in association with the Research School of
Social Sciences, Australian National University

This program of publications arises from the School's
initiative in sponsoring a fundamental rethinking of
Australia's key institutions before the centenary of
Federation in 2001

Published in this program will be the work of scholars
from the Australian National University and elsewhere
who are researching and writing on the institutions of
the nation. The scope of the program includes the insti-
tutions of public governance, intergovernmental rela-
tions, Aboriginal Australia, gender, population, the
environment, the economy, business, the labour market,
the welfare state, the city, education, the media, criminal
justice and the Constitution.

Brian Galligan *A Federal Republic*

Patrick Troy (ed.) *Australian Cities*

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-46779-7 - Beyond the Two Party System: Political Representation, Economic Competitiveness and Australian Politics

Ian Marsh

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

BEYOND THE TWO PARTY SYSTEM

Political Representation, Economic
Competitiveness and Australian Politics

IAN MARSH

*Australian Graduate School of Management
University of New South Wales*



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-46779-7 - Beyond the Two Party System: Political Representation, Economic Competitiveness and Australian Politics

Ian Marsh

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

For:
Malcolm Howard Marsh
 1898–1969

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi

Cambridge University Press

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521467797

© Cambridge University Press 1995

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1995

Re-issued in this digitally printed version 2009

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

National Library of Australia Cataloguing in publication data

Marsh, Ian.

Beyond the two party system: political representation, economic competitiveness and Australian politics.

Bibliography.

Includes index.

1. Political parties – Australia. 2. Competition.
3. Political participation – Australia. 4. Australia – Politics and government – 1990–. I. Title. (Series: Reshaping Australian institutions).

324.294

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Marsh, Ian.

Beyond the two party system: political representation, economic competitiveness and Australian politics / Ian Marsh.

p. cm. – (Reshaping Australian Institutions)

Includes bibliographical references (p.) and index.

1. Representative government and representation – Australia.
2. Political participation – Australia. 3. Political planning – Australia. 4. Pressure groups – Australia. 5. Australia – Politics and government. 6. Comparative government. 7. Competition.

I. Title. II. Title: Beyond the 2 party system. III. Series.

JF1059.A8M37 1995

324'.0994–dc20

95–3727

ISBN 978-0-521-46223-5 hardback

ISBN 978-0-521-46779-7 paperback

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	vii
<i>List of Tables</i>	viii
<i>Abbreviations</i>	x
<i>Preface</i>	xii
<i>Introduction</i>	1
 Part I The Two Party Regime	
1 The Formation, Structure and Impact of the Two Party Regime	17
 Part II The Challenge to Governance	
2 A Pluralised Polity? The Rise of Interest Groups and Issue Movements	47
3 Setting and Implementing the Political Agenda: Political Parties, Interest Groups and Issue Movements	82
4 Political Parties, Representation and the Electorate	108
 Part III The Challenge of Competitiveness	
5 Australia and the World Economy	135
6 Competitiveness	154
7 The Tasks of Government	181

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-46779-7 - Beyond the Two Party System: Political Representation, Economic Competitiveness and Australian Politics
Ian Marsh
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Part IV Competitiveness and the Structure of Politics

8 Competitiveness and Consent	211
9 Parliament and Policy Making	241
10 Governments and Parliament	271
11 Parliamentary Committees and Interest Groups: A Case Study of Income Norms	303

Part V Beyond the Two Party Regime

12 Political Learning, Participation and Citizenship	335
Postscript	356
<i>Appendix</i>	358
<i>Notes</i>	360
<i>Index</i>	400

Figures

(i)	Interrelationship of central concepts	6
(ii)	Genesis, accumulation and concentration of power in a two party regime	7
(iii)	The contemporary policy making system	8
3.1	Development of Australian regulatory framework by government of origin: 1970–84	84
3.2	Development of Australian regulatory framework by regulatory area: 1970–84	84
3.3	Trends in and sources of Australian legislation: 1970–84	85
3.4	Federal–State consultative arrangements by policy area: 1985	86
4.1	The Australian electoral party system – factors affecting party success	115
4.2	The psychological basis of materialist and post-materialist attitudes	116
4.3	The social construction of post-materialism	117
7.1	The evolution of Japan’s industrial structure	197
7.2	Japan’s advanced technology projects: 1975–2000	199
7.3	Model of development based on science and technology	200
8.1	Ten requirements for policy making	221
10.1	Electoral outcomes, House of Representatives: 1901–6	273
10.2	Electoral results, Senate: 1901–6	290
11.1	Importance of policy development channels, broken down by union size (UK)	323
11.2	Frequency of articles appearing in union newspapers over six months (UK)	326

Tables

1.1	'Strong' two party political and policy making system	35
2.1	Sample of producer groups (Australia): 1992/93	58
2.2	Sample of health, education and welfare client groups (Australia): 1992/93	62
2.3	Sample of health, education and welfare provider groups (Australia): 1992/93	66
2.4	Sample of professional groups (Australia): 1992/93	70
2.5	Major Australian issue movements: 1993	72
3.1	Australia's post-Federation political agenda	82
3.2	Sample of Australian advisory and consultative bodies	88
4.1	Values of UK voters – a cluster analysis: 1987	120
4.2	The puzzle facing UK party strategists	120
4.3	Changes in Australian society by census: 1933, 1986	122
4.4	Australian party identification among immigrants and the Australian born: 1988	122
4.5	Australian party identification: 1967–90	123
4.6	Issues affecting the choices of Australian voters (%): 1990	124
4.7	Timing of Australians' voting decision (%): 1990	125
4.8	Political exposure of Australian voters (%): 1990	125
4.9	Australian socio-economic characteristics and vote (%): 1967 and 1979	126
4.10	Australian socio-economic characteristics and vote (%): 1984, 1987 and 1990	127
6.1	Economic strategies: inward–outward	175
6.2	Economic strategies: producer <i>vs.</i> consumer	176
7.1	Visions and commitments, selected countries: 1991	185
7.2	Proportion of equipment investment deductible within two years in representative industries across various countries (%)	186

Cambridge University Press
 978-0-521-46779-7 - Beyond the Two Party System: Political Representation, Economic Competitiveness and Australian Politics
 Ian Marsh
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

LIST OF TABLES ix

7.3	Examples of tax incentives in South-East Asian countries: 1991	188
7.4	Savings and investment as per cent of GDP: 1965 and 1992	189
8.1	Public policy making cycle: illustrative phases and tasks	226
8.2	Strategic public policy making (Australia)	232
8.3	Strategies for policy making: hierarchical and participative approaches contrasted	237
8.4	Interest group role in alternative policy making systems	239
9.1	Strategic assessments by House of Commons committees: 1982–83	244
9.2	‘Current’ inquiries by House of Commons committees: 1982–83	249
9.3	Inquiries on UK government initiatives: 1982–83	251
9.4	Coverage of UK budget cycle: 1982–83	252
9.5	Illustrative list of bills referred to Senate committees: August–December 1990	258
9.6	Interest group engagement – role of central government (UK): 1982–83	260
9.7	Illustrative outreach by federal parliamentary committees to interest groups (Australia): 1991	261
10.1	Federal governments: 1901–10	275
10.2	Cross-party support – Free Trade/Protectionist/Labor parliamentary parties: 1901–9	276
10.3	Government defeats – Free Trade/Protectionist/Labor parliamentary parties: 1901–9	278
10.4	Alliances explored – Free Trade/Protectionist/Labor parliamentary parties: 1901–9	279
10.5	Federal government programs: 1901–9	281
10.6	Illustrations of cross-party influence in federal government: 1901–9	287
10.7	Royal Commissions and Select Committees (Commonwealth parliament): 1901–9	294
11.1	Central wage agreements (Australia): 1983–90	312

Abbreviations

ACAC	Australian Conciliation and Arbitration Commission
ACOSS	Australian Council of Social Services
ACTU	Australian Council of Trade Unions
AD	Australian Democrats
AGPS	Australian Government Publishing Service
ALP	Australian Labor Party
AMC	Australian Manufacturing Council
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
BCA	Business Council of Australia
CEDA	Committee for Economic Development of Australia
CPA	Combined Pensioners Association
CPI	Consumer Price Index
CSIRO	Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation
DCA	Director of Commercial Associations
DLP	Democratic Labor Party
EPAC	Economic Planning Advisory Council
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
H of R	House of Representatives
IAC	Industries Assistance Commission
ID	Identity (card)
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MFP	Multi-Function Polis
MITI	Ministry for International Trade and Industry (Japan)
MP	Member of Parliament
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-46779-7 - Beyond the Two Party System: Political Representation, Economic Competitiveness and Australian Politics
Ian Marsh
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

ABBREVIATIONS xi

PCEK	Pappas, Carter, Evans and Koop/Telesis
R & D	Research and Development
<i>SMH</i>	<i>Sydney Morning Herald</i>
TUC	Trades Union Congress (UK)
VAT	Value Added Tax
YMCA	Young Men’s Christian Association

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-46779-7 - Beyond the Two Party System: Political Representation, Economic Competitiveness and Australian Politics

Ian Marsh

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Preface

My greatest intellectual debt is to Samuel Beer, formerly Eaton Professor of the Science of Government at Harvard, whose scholarship and sensibility are a continuing influence. My doctoral thesis, in which the basic ideas developed here were originally explored, drew on his study *Britain Against Itself*. Central elements of the argument and the future, elaborated in the pages that follow, are anticipated in that work.

Bruce Scott introduced me to the idea of competitiveness and its variations. His technical rigour and lucidity helped me greatly. Jonathan West made this link possible – indeed this study has been the vehicle for consolidating a valued friendship. Jonathan also commented on several chapters.

Two books by authors unknown to me personally have been particular sources of inspiration. These are *Taking Japan Seriously* by Ronald Dore and *Metaphysics as a Guide to Morals* by Iris Murdoch. Neither author is, of course, responsible for the uses to which their work has been put.

Various friends have commented on aspects of the manuscript. I thank Martin Krygier particularly whose patience was sorely tried. Peter Thompson has helped in a variety of ways and his friendship has been a continuing support. Brian Galligan helped at major steps in the evolution of the manuscript and Elim Papadakis and John Braithwaite commented on the whole. Parts were read by Barry Hindess, Damian Grace, Ruth Abbey, Jean Blondel, Linda Weiss, Willy Brown and Jeremy Moon. I thank them all for help and encouragement.

In the course of preparing this study I had the privilege of spending a period at the European University Institute, an experience made possible by Gosta Esping-Anderson and enhanced by Jean and Tess Blondel. Italy was an unforeseeable – and ravishing – bonus. Athanasious and Gail Moulakis contributed essential elements, as did Bianca Beccalli and

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-46779-7 - Beyond the Two Party System: Political Representation, Economic Competitiveness and Australian Politics

Ian Marsh

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

PREFACE

xiii

Michele Salvati, who began it all. Roger Luscombe, Mary Spillane, Jolande and Wilfred van Gunsteren, and Bill and Pat Crowley have all been generous with their hospitality. Van Hodgkinson has been a great friend. Michael Burrell made possible some of the empirical research reported later. The Institute for Public Policy Research in London also provided a congenial base for some of my work and I thank James Cornford for this and other support.

The Australian Graduate School of Management library will be relieved this project is complete. Pam Taylor and her staff have been splendid.

Financial support over the past four years has been provided by a number of sources: the Australian Research Council, the Nuffield Foundation, the Australian Graduate School of Management and the Committee for Economic Development of Australia. I thank them all. I particularly acknowledge a long and productive relationship with Peter Grey. Work with CEDA is the basis of chapters 3, 6 and 10.

I thank Jeffrey Smart for allowing me to reproduce 'The Arrow Carriers' on the cover. His pictures are a continuing source of pleasure and challenge.

In the final stage the manuscript was extensively reworked under the guidance of Sasha Soldatow. I owe him a very great debt. His care and precision rescued sentences from jargon and thoughts from obscurity. Lingering failings are mine alone.

The manuscript was typed by various people including Helen Koursaris, Era Koirala and Rene Trian. Their patience was tried.

The dedication acknowledges gifts too late appreciated – regrettably not before my father's death. This study reflects values and horizons that were in their own way his and, as my understanding extends, my appreciation for his concerns and the good fortune that made them mine in another key, is enhanced.

Again, my most heartfelt debt is to Lorine, whose support was essential and has been unflinching.

IAN MARSH

*Australian Graduate School of Management
University of New South Wales*